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**MASTER-KEY
TO POPERY,**

**GIVING A FULL ACCOUNT OF ALL THE CUSTOMS OF THE
PRIESTS AND FRIARS,**

AND THE

RITES AND CEREMONIES

OF THE

POPISH RELIGION,

In four Parts,

—*•*—
BY ANTHONY GAVIN,

ONE OF THE ROMAN-CATHOLIC PRIESTS OF SARAGOSSA.

—*•*—
TO WHICH IS ADDED—AN ACCOUNT OF THE

INQUISITION OF GOA,

EXTRACTED FROM A RECENT WORK, ENTITLED,

“CHRISTIAN RESEARCHES IN ASIA.”

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PREFACE.

WHEN I first designed to publish the following sheets, it was a matter of some doubt with me, whether or no I should put my name to them ; for if I did, I considered that I exposed myself to the malice of a great body of men, who would endeavor on all occasions to injure me in my reputation and fortune, if not in my life ; which last (to say no more) was no unnatural suspicion of a Spaniard, and one in my case, to entertain of some fiery zealots of the church of Rome.

BUT on the other hand, I foresaw, that if I concealed my name, a great part of the benefit, intended to the public by this work, might be lost. For I have often observed, as to books of this kind, where facts only are related (the truth of which in the greatest measure must depend on the credit of the relater) that wherever the authors, out of caution or fear, have concealed themselves, the event commonly has been, that even the friends to the cause, which the facts support, give but a cold assent to them, and the enemies reject them entirely as calumnies, and forgeries, without ever giving themselves the trouble of examining into the truth of that which the relater dares not openly avow. On this account, whatever the consequences may be, I resolved to put my name to this, and accordingly did so to the first proposals, which were made for printing it.

BUT, by this means, I am at the same time obliged to say something in vindication of myself from several aspersions which I lie under, and which indeed I have already in a great degree been a sufferer by, in the opinion of many worthy gentlemen. The first is, that I never was a priest, because I have not my letters of order to produce. This it must be confessed, is a testimonial, without which no one has a right, or can expect to be regarded as a person of that character ; unless he has very convincing arguments to offer the world, that, in his circumstances no such thing could reasonably be expected from him ; and whether or no mine are such, I leave the world to judge. My case was this :

As soon as it had pleased God by his grace to overcome in me the prejudices of my education in favor of that corrupt church, in which I had been bred up, and to inspire me with a resolution to embrace the protestant religion, I saw, that in order to preserve my life, I must immediately quit Spain, where all persons, who do not publicly profess the Romish religion, are condemned to death. Upon this I resolved to loose no time in making my escape, but how to make it was a matter of the greatest difficulty and danger: However, I determined rather to hazard all events, than either to continue in that church, or expose myself to certain death; and accordingly made choice of disguises as the most probable method of favouring my escape. The first I made use of, was the habit of an officer in the army: And, as I was sure there would be strict inquiry and search made after me, I durst not bring along with me my letters of orders, which upon my being suspected in any place, for the person searched after, or on any other unhappy accident, would have been an undeniable evidence against me, and consequently would have condemned me to the inquisition. By this means I got safely to London, where I was most civilly received by the late Earl Stanhope, to whom I had the honor to be known when he was in Saragossa. He told me, that there were some other new converts of my nation in town, and that he hoped I would follow the command of Jesus to Peter, viz. When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren.

UPON this I went to the late Lord Bishop of London, and by his lordship's order, his domestic chaplain examined me three days together; and as I could not produce the *letters of orders*, he advised me to get a certificate from my Lord Stanhope, that he knew me, and that I was a priest, which I obtained the very same day; and upon this certificate, his lordship received my recantation after morning prayers in his chapel of Somerset house, and licensed me to preach and officiate in a Spanish congregation composed of my Lord Stanhope, several English officers, and a few Spanish officers new converts. My first sermon I had the honor to dedicate to my Lord Stanhope, and was printed by Mr. William Bowyer, and was sold afterwards, by Mr. Denoyer a French bookseller, at Erasmus's head in the Strand. By virtue of this licence, I preached two years and eight months, first in the chapel of Queen's square, Westminster, and afterwards in Oxenden's chapel, near the hay-market. But my benefactor, desirous to settle

me in the English church, advised me to go chaplain to the Preston man of war, where I might have a great deal of leisure to learn the language ; and being presented and approved by the Bishop of London, the Lords of the Admiralty granted me the warrant or commission of chaplain. Then his lordship, though he had given me his consent in writing, to preach in Spanish, enlarged it in the warrant of the Admiralty, which licence I shall take leave to insert here at large.

WHEREAS the Reverend Mr. Anthony Gavin was recommended to me, by the right honorable Lord Stanhope ; and by the same and other English gentlemen, I was certified that the said Reverend Mr. Gavin was a secular priest, and master of arts, in the university of the city of Saragossa, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, and that they knew him in the said city, and conversed with him several times : This is to certify that the said Reverend Mr. Gavin, after having publicly and solemnly abjured the errors of the Romish religion ; and being thereupon by me reconciled to the church of England, on the 3d day of January, 1715-16; he had then my leave to officiate, in the Spanish language, in the chapel of Queens-square, Westminster ; and now being appointed chaplain of his Majesty's ship, the Preston has my licence to preach in English, and to administer the sacraments, at home and abroad, in all the churches and chapels of my diocess. Given under my hand, in London, the 13th of July, 1720.

Signed, JOHN LONDON.

THE certificate, licence, and warrant, may be seen at any time, for I have them by me.

AFTER that, the ship being put out of commission, and my Lord Stanhope being in Hanover with the King, I came over to Ireland on the importunity of a friend, with a design to stay here till my Lord's return into England : But when I was thinking of going over again, I heard of my Lord's death, and having in him lost my best patron, I resolved to try in this kingdom, whether I could find any settlement : And in a few days after, by the favour of his grace my Lord Archbishop of Cashel, and the Reverend Dean Percival, I got the curacy of Gowran, which I served almost eleven months, by the licence of my Lord Bishop of Ossory, who afterwards, upon my going to Cork, gave me his letters dismissory.

I was in Cork very near a year, serving the cure of a parish near it, and the Rev. Dean Maule being at that time in London, and I being recommended to him, to preach in his parish church of Shandon, he went to inquire about me to the Bishop of London, who, and several other persons of distinction, were pleased to give me a good character, as the Dean on my leaving him did me the favor to certify under his hand, together with my good behavior during my stay in Cork.

Now my case being such, as I have represented it, I freely submit it to the judgment of every gentleman of ingenuity and candor to determine, whether it could be expected from me, that I should have my *letters of orders* to show : and yet whether there can be any tolerable reason to suspect my not having been a priest. I think it might be enough to silence all suspicions on this account, that I was received as a priest into the church of England, and licensed as such to preach and administer the sacraments both in that kingdom and this : And I hope no one can imagine, that any of the bishops of the best constituted and governed churches upon earth, would admit any person to so sacred a trust, without their being fully satisfied that he was in orders.

I shall, on this occasion, beg leave to mention what the Bishop of London said to me, when I told him I had not my letters of orders, but that my Lord Stanhope, and other gentlemen of honor and credit, who knew me in my native city of Saragossa, would certify, that I there was esteemed and officiated as a priest. Bring such a certificate, said he, and I will receive and licence you ; for I would rather depend upon it, than any *letters of orders* you could produce, which, for ought I could tell, you might have forged.

I hope what I have here said may convince even my enemies, of my being a clergyman : And how I have behaved myself as such, since I came into this kingdom, I appeal to those gentlemen I conversed with in Gowran, Gortroe, and Cork, and for this last year and an half, to the officers of Col. Barrel, Brigadier Napper, Col. Hawley, Col. Newton, and Col. Lanoe's regiments, who, I am sure will do me justice, and I desire no more of them ; and upon an enquiry into my behavior, I flatter myself, that the public will not lightly give credit to the ill reports spread abroad by my enemies.

ANOTHER objection raised against me is, that I have perjured myself in discovering the private confessions which were made to me. In one point indeed they may call me perjured, and it is my comfort and glory, that I am so in it, viz. That I have broke the oath I took, when I was ordained priest, which was to live and die in the Roman-Catholic faith. But as to the other perjury charged upon me they lie under a mistake; for there is no oath of secrecy at all administered to confessors, as most protestants imagine. Secrecy indeed is recommended to all confessors by the casuists, and enjoined by the councils and Popes so strictly, that if a confessor reveals (except in some particular cases) what is confessed to him, so as the penitent is discovered, he is to be punished for it in the inquisition; which, it must be owned, is a more effectual way of enjoining secrecy than oaths themselves.

HOWEVER, I am far from imagining, that because in this case I have broken no oath, I should therefore be guilty of no crime, though I revealed every thing which was committed to my trust as a confessor, of whatever ill consequence it might be to the penitent; no, such a practice I take to be exceedingly criminal, and I do from my soul abhor it.

BUT nevertheless there are cases where, by the constitution of the Church of Rome itself, the most dangerous secrets may and ought to be revealed: Such as those which are called *reserved cases*, of which there are many; some reserved to the pope himself as *heresy*; some to his apostolical commissary or his deputy, as *incest in the first degree*: Some to the bishop of the diocess, as the *setting a neighbor's house on fire*. Now in such cases the confessor cannot absolve the penitent, and therefore he is obliged to reveal the confession to the person, to whom the absolution of that sin is reserved; though indeed he never mentions the penitent's name, or any circumstance by which he may be discovered.

AGAIN, there are other cases (such as a *conspiracy against the life of the Prince, or a traitorous design to overturn the government*) which the confessor is obliged in conscience, and for the safety of the public, to reveal.

But besides all these, whenever the penitent's case happens to have any thing of an uncommon difficulty in it, common prudence, and a due regard to the faithful discharge of his office, will oblige a confessor to discover it to men of experience and judgment in

casuistry, that he may have their advice how to proceed in it : And this is what confessors in Spain not only may do, but are bound by the word of a priest to do wherever they have an opportunity of consulting a college of confessors, or (as it is commonly called) a *moral academy*.

I BELIEVE it may be of some service on the present occasion, to inform my readers what those *moral academies* are, which are to be met with through Spain, in every city and town where there is a number of secular and regular priests : But I shall speak only of those in the city of Saragossa, as being the most perfectly acquainted with them.

A MORAL academy is a college or assembly consisting of several Father-Confessors, in which each of them proposes some moral case which has happened to him in confession, with an exact and particular account of the confession, without mentioning the penitent's name : And the proponent having done this, every member is to deliver his opinion upon it. This is constantly practised every Friday, from two of the clock in the afternoon, till six, and sometimes till eight, as the cases proposed happen to be more or less difficult. But when there is an extraordinary intricate case to be resolved, and the members cannot agree in the resolution of it, they send one of their assembly to the *great academy*, which is a college composed of sixteen casuistical doctors, and four professors of divinity, the most learned and experienced in moral cases that may be had ; and by them the case in debate is resolved, and the resolution of it entered in the books of the academy by the consent of the president and members.

THE academy of the holy trinity, founded and very nobly endowed by Archbishop *Gamboa*, is one of the most famous in the city of Saragossa ; and of it I was member for three years. I was very young and unexpert in cases of conscience, when I was first licensed to be a confessor ; for the Pope having dispensed with thirteen months of the time required by the canons for the age of a Priest (for which I paid sixty pistoles) I was ordained before I was twenty-three years old, by Don Antotónio Ibanez de la Rivia de Herrera, Archbishop of Saragossa, and Viceroy of Arragon ; and at the same time licensed by him to hear confessions of both sexes. In order then the better and more speedily to qualify myself for the office, I thought it my most prudent way to

apply, as soon as possible, to be admitted into this learned society, and as it happened, I had interest enough to succeed.

Now among many statutes left by the founder to this academy, one is this, viz. That every person, who is chosen a member of it, is on his admission to promise upon the word of a priest, to give the whole assembly a faithful account of all the private confessions he has heard the week before, which have any thing in them difficult to be resolved ; yet so as not to mention any circumstance by which the penitents may be known.

AND for this end there is a book, where the secretary enters all the cases proposed and resolved every Friday ; and every third year there is, by the consent of the president and members of the academy, and by the approbation of the *great one*, a book printed containing all the cases resolved for three years before, and which is entitled, *compendium casuum moralium academice S. S. trinitatis*.—The academy of the holy trinity is always composed of twenty members, so that every one may easily perceive, that each of the members may be acquainted in a year or two, with many hundreds of private confessions of all ranks and conditions of people, besides those which were made to themselves: Which remark I only make by the by to satisfy some men, who, I am told, find fault with me for pretending to impose on the public for genuine, several confessions which were not made to myself, and consequently for the reality of which, I can have no sufficient authority.

Now after all that has been said on this head, I believe I need not be at much trouble to vindicate myself from the imputation of any criminal breach of secrecy ; for if the reader observe, that on the foregoing grounds, there is no confession whatever which may not lawfully be revealed (provided the confessor do not discover the penitent) he cannot in justice condemn me for publishing a few, by which it is morally impossible, in the present circumstances, that the penitents should be known. Had I been much more particular than I am in my relations, and mentioned even the names and every thing else I knew of the persons, there would scarce be a possibility (considering the distance and little intercourse there is between this place and Saragossa) of their suffering in any degree by it : And I need not observe that the chief, and indeed only reason of enjoining and keeping secrecy, is the hazards the penitent may run by a discovery, but I do assure the reader, that in every confession I have related, I have made use of feigned names, and

avoided every circumstance by which I had the least cause to suspect the parties might be found out. And I assure him further, that most of the cases, here published by me are, in their most material points, already printed in the *compendiums* of that *moral academy* of which I was a member.

As for the reasons which moved me to publish this book, I shall only say, that as the corrupt practices, which are the subject of it first set me upon examining into the principles of the church of Rome, and by that means of renouncing them; so I thought that the making of them public might happily produce the same effect in some others.

I DID design on this occasion to give a particular account of the motives of my conversion, and leaving Spain; but being confined to three hundred pages, I must leave that and some other things relating to the sacraments of the church of Rome, to the second part, which I intend to print if the public think fit to encourage me.

I MUST beg the reader's pardon for my presumption in writing in his own language, on so short an acquaintance as I have with it. I hope he will excuse the many mistakes I have committed in the book: I shall be very well pleased to be told of, and I shall take the greater care to avoid them in the second part.

Master-Key to Popery.

PART I.

Of the Roman Catholics' Auricular Confession.

AURICULAR confession being one of the five commandments of the Roman-Catholic church, and a condition necessarily required in one of their sacraments; and being too an article that will contribute very much to the discovery of many other errors of that communion, it may be proper to make use of the Master-Key, and begin with it: And first of all, with the Father confessors, who are the only key-keepers of it.

Though a priest cannot be licensed, by the canons of their church, to hear men's confessions, till he is thirty years, nor to confess women till forty years of age, yet ordinarily he gets a dispensation from the bishop, to whom his probity, secrecy, and sober conversation are represented by one of the diocesan * examiners, his friend, or by some person of interest with his lordship; and by that means he gets a confessor's licence, most commonly, the day he gets his letters of orders, viz. Some at three and twenty, and some at four and twenty years of age, not only for men, but for women's confessions also. I say, some at three and twenty; for the Pope dispenses with thirteen months, to those that pay a sum of money; of which I shall speak in another place.

* Those that are appointed, by the bishop, to examine those that are to be ordained, or licensed to preach and hear confessions.

To priests thus licensed, to be judges of the tribunal of conscience, men and women discover their sins, their actions, their thoughts, nay, their very dreams, if they happen to be impure. I say, judges of the tribunal of conscience; for when they are licensed, they ought to resolve any case (let it be ever so hard) proposed by the penitent; And by this means it must often happen, that a young man who, perhaps, does not know more than a few definitions (which he hath learned in a little manual of some casuistical authors) of what is sin, shall sit in such a tribunal, to judge, in the most intricate cases, the consciences of men, and of men too that may be his masters.

I saw a reverend father* who had been eight and twenty years professor of divinity in one of the most considerable* universities of Spain, and one of the most famous men for his learning, in that religion, kneel down before a young* priest of twenty-four years of age, and confess his sins to him. Who would not be surprised at them both? A man fit to be the judge, to act the part of a criminal before an ignorant judge, who, I am sure, could scarcely then tell the titles of the *Summæ Morales*.

Nay, the Pope, notwithstanding all his infallibility, doth kneel down before his confessor, tell him his sins, heareth his correction, and receives and performs whatever penance he imposeth upon him. This is the only difference between the Pope's confessor, and the confessors of Kings and other persons, that all confessors sit down to hear Kings and other persons, but the Pope's confessor kneels down himself to hear the Holy Father. What, the holy one upon earth humble himself as a sinner? Holiness and sin in one and the same subject, is a plain contradiction in terms.

* Fr. James Garcia.

* The university of Saragossa, in the kingdom of Arragon, in Spain, which, according to their historians, was built by Sertorius.

* The thing happened to me when I was 24 years of age.

If we ask the Roman-Catholics, Why so learned men, and the Pope, do so? They will answer, that they do it out of reverence to such a sacrament, out of humility, and to give a token and testimony of their hearty sorrow for their sins. And as for the Pope, they say he does it to show an example of humility, as Jesus Christ did, when he washed the apostles' feet.

This answer is true, but they do not say the whole truth in it; for, besides the aforesaid reasons, they have another, as Molina tells them,* viz That the penitent ought to submit entirely to his confessor's correction, advice, and penance; and he excepts no body from this necessary requisite of a true penitent. Who would not be surprized (I say again) that a man of noted learning would submit himself to a young, unexperienced priest, as to a judge of his conscience, take his advice, and receive his correction and penance?

What would a Roman-Catholic say, if he should see one of our learned bishops go to the college to consult a young collegian in a nice point of divinity; nay, to take his advice, and submit to his opinion?—Really the Romans would heartily laugh at him, and with a great deal of reason; nay, he could say, that his lordship was not right in his senses. What then can a protestant say of those infatuated, learned men of the church of Rome, when they do more than what is here supposed?

As to the Pope (I say) it is a damnable opinion to compare him, in this case, with our Savior Jesus; for Christ knew not sin, but gave us an example of humility and patience, obedience and poverty. He washed the Apostles' feet; and though we cannot know by the scripture whether he did kneel down or not to wash them: Suppose that he did, he did it only out of a true humility, and not to confess his sins: But the Pope doth kneel down, not to give an example of hu-

* In his Moral Summ. Chap. xviii. of the requisites of a true penitent.

mility and patience, but ready to confess his sins :— Not to give an example of obedience ; for, being *supreme pontifex*, he obeys nobody, and assumes a command over the whole world ; nor of poverty ; for Pope and necessity dwell far from one another. And if some ignorant Roman Catholic should say, that the Pope, as Pope, has no sin, we may prove the contrary with Cipriano de Valera,* who gives an account of all the bastards of several Popes for many years past. The Pope's bastards, in *Latin*, are called *nepotes*. Now mind, O reader, this common saying in *Latin*, among the Roman-Catholics : *Solent clerici filios suos vocare sobrinos aut nepotes* : That is, The priests use to call their own sons *cousins* or *nephews*. And when we give these instances to some of their learned men (as I did to one in London) they say, *Anglorum est peccare, hominumque penitere* ; i. e. It belongs to Angels to sin, and to men to repent. By this they acknowledge that the Pope is a sinner, and nevertheless they call him His holiness, and the most Holy father.

Who then would not be surprised to see the most holy Jesus Christ's vicar on earth, and the infallible in whatever he says, and doth submit himself to confess his sins to a man, and a man too that has no other power to correct him, to advise and impose a penance upon the most holy one, than what his holiness has been pleased to grant him ? Every body indeed that has a grain of sense of religion, and reflects seriously on it.

I come now to their *Auricular Confession*, and of the ways and methods they practise and observe in the confessing of their sins. There is among them two ranks of people, learned and unlearned. The learned confess by these three general heads, thought, word and deed, reducing into them all sorts of sins. The unlearned confess the ten commandments, discovering by them all the mortal sins which they have committed since their last confession. I say mortal

* The lives of the Popes, and the sacrifice of Mass.

sins; for as to the venial sins or sins of a small matter, the opinion of their casuistical authors (g) is, they are washed away by the sign of the cross, or by sprinkling the face with the holy water. To the discovery of the mortal sins the father confessor doth very much help the penitent; for he sometimes out of pure zeal, but most commonly out of curiosity, asks them many questions to know whether they do remember all their sins, or not? By these and the like questions, the confessors do more mischief than good especially to the ignorant people and young women; for perhaps they do not know what simple fornication is? What voluntary or involuntary pollution? What impure desire? What sinful motion of our hearts? What relapse, reincident, or reiteration of sins? And the like; and then by the confessor's indiscreet questions, the penitents learn things of which they never had dreamed before; and when they come to that tribunal with a sincere, ignorant heart, to receive advice and instruction, they go home with light, knowledge, and an idea of sins unknown to them before.

I said, that the confessors do ask questions, most commonly out of curiosity, though they are warned by the casuistical authors to be prudent, discreet, and very cautious in the questions they ask especially if the penitent be a young woman, or an ignorant; for as Pineda says, (h) It is better to let them go ignorant than instructed in new sins. But contrary to this good maxim, they are so indiscreet in this point, that I saw in the city of Lisbon in Portugal a girl of ten years of age, coming from church, ask her mother what

(g) *Parez, Iribarren, and Salazar*, in his compound. Moral Sect 12 *de vitiis et peccatis*, gives a catalogue of the venial sins, and says, among others, that to eat flesh in a day prohibited by the church, without minding it, was so. To kill a man, throwing a stone through the window, or being drunk, or in the first motion of his passion, are venial sins, &c.

(h) *Tract, de Penit. Sect. 1. sect. vii.*

deflouring was ? For the father confessor had asked her whether she was defloured or not ? And the mother, more discreet than the confessor, told the girl, that the meaning was, whether she took delight in smelling flowers or not ? And so she stopped her child's curiosity. But of this and many other indiscretions I shall speak more particularly by and by.

Now observe, that as a penitent cannot hide any thing from the spiritual judge, else he would make a sacrilegious confession ; so I cannot hide any thing from the public which is to be my hearer, and the temporal judge of my work, else I should betray my conscience ; Therefore (to the best of my memory, and as one that expects to be called before the dreadful tribunal of God, on account of what I now write and say, if I do not say and write the truth from the bottom of my heart) I shall give a faithful, plain account of the Roman's auricular confession, and of the most usual questions and answers between the confessors and penitents ; and this I shall do in so plain a style that every body may go along with me.

And first it is very proper to give an account of what the penitents do, from the time they come into the church till they begin their confession. When the penitent comes into the church, he takes holy water, and sprinkles his face, and, making the sign of the cross, says, *per signum crucis de inimicis nostris libera nos Deus noster: In nomine Patris et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti. Amen. i. e.* By the sign of the cross deliver us our God from our enemies, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. *Amen.* Then the penitent goes on, and kneels down before the great altar, where the great host (of which I shall speak in another place) is kept in a neat and rich tabernacle, with a brass or silver lamp hanging before it, and burning continually, night and day. There he makes a prayer, first to the holy sacrament of the altar (as they call it) after to the Virgin Mary, and to the tit-

ular saints of the church. Then turns about upon his knees, and visits five altars, or if there is but one altar in the church, five times that altar, and says before each of them five times, *Pater noster, &c.* and five times *Ave Maria, &c.* with *Gloria Patria, &c.*

Then he rises, and goes to the confessionary, i. e. The confessing place, where the confessor sits in a chair like our hackney chairs, which is most commonly placed in some of the chapels, and in the darkest place of the church. The chairs, generally speaking, have an iron-grate at each side, but none at all before: and some days of devotion, or on a great festival, there is such a crowd of people that you may see three penitents at once about the chair, one at each grate, and the other at the door, though only one confesses at a time, whispering in the confessor's ear, that the others should not hear what he says; and when one has done, the other begins, and so on: But most commonly they confess at the door of the chair one after another; for thus, the confessor has an opportunity of knowing the penitent: And though many gentlewomen either out of bashfulness, shame, or modesty, do endeavor to hide their faces with a fan, or veil, notwithstanding all this they are known by the confessor, who if curious, by crafty questions brings them to tell him their names and houses, and this in the very act of confession, or else he examines their faces when the confession is over whilst the penitents are kissing his hand or sleeve; and if he cannot know them this way, he goes himself to give the sacrament, and then every one being obliged to show her face, is known by the curious confessor, who doth this not without a private view and design, as will appear at the end of some private confessions.

The penitent then kneeling, bows herself to the ground before the confessor, and makes again the sign of the cross in the aforesaid form; and having in her hand the beads, or rosary of the Virgin Mary, begins the general confession of sins, which some say in La-

tin, and some in the vulgar tongue ; therefore it seems proper to give a copy of it both in Latin and English.

Confiteor Deo Omnipotenti ; beatæ Mariæ semper Virgini, beato Michaeli Archangelo, beato Joanni Baptistæ, sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo, omnibus sanctis, et tibi, Pater ; quia peccavi nimis cogitatione, verbo, et opere, mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa : Ideo precor beatam Mariam semper Virginem, beatum Michaelem Archangelum, beatum Joannem Baptistam, sanctos apostolos Petrum et Paulum, omnes sanctos et te, Pater, orare pro me ad Domini num Deum nostrum. Amen.

I do confess to God Almighty, to the blessed Mary, always a Virgin, to the blessed Archangel Michael, to the blessed John Baptist, to the holy apostles Peter and Paul, to all the saints, and to thee, O Father, that I have too much sinned by thought, word, and deed, by my fault, by my fault, by my greatest fault : Therefore I beseech the blessed Mary, always a Virgin, the blessed Archangel Michael, the blessed John Baptist, the holy apostles Peter and Paul, all the saints, and thee, O Father, to pray to God our Lord for me. *Amen.*

This done the penitent raises him from his prostration to his knees, and touching with his lip, either the ear or the cheek of the Spiritual Father, begins to discover his sins by the ten commandments : And here it may be necessary to give a translation of their ten commandments, word for word.

THE commandments of the law of God are ten : The three first do pertain to the honor of God ; and the other seven to the benefit of our neighbor.

The I. Thou shalt love God above all things.

II. Thou shalt not swear.

III. Thou shalt sanctify the holy days.

IV. Thou shalt honor father and mother.

V. Thou shalt not kill.

VI. Thou shalt not commit fornication.

VII. Thou shalt not steal.

- VIII. Thou shalt not bear false witness, nor lie.
 IX. Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife
 X. Thou shalt not covet the things which are
 another's.

These ten commandments are comprised in two : viz. to serve and love God, and thy neighbor as thyself. *Amen.*

Now, not to forget any thing that may instruct the public, it is to the purpose to give an account of the little children's confessions ; I mean of those that have not yet attained the seventh year of their age ; for at seven they begin most commonly to receive the sacrament, and confess in private with all the formalities of their church.

There is in every city, in every parish, in every town and village, a Lent preacher ; and there is but one difference among them, viz. that some preachers preach every day in Lent, some three sermons a week ; some two, viz. on Wednesdays and Sundays, and some only on Sundays, and the holy days that happen to fall in Lent. The preacher of the parish pitches upon one day of the week, most commonly, in the middle of Lent, to hear the children's confessions, and gives notice to the congregation the Sunday before, that every father of a family may send his children, both boys and girls, to church, on the day appointed in the afternoon. The mothers dress their children the best they can that day, and give them the offering money for the expiation of their sins. That afternoon is a holy day in the parish, not by precept, but by custom, for no parishioner, either old or young, man or woman, misseth to go and hear the children's confessions. For it is reckoned, among them, a greater diversion than a comedy, as you may judge by the following account.

The day appointed, the children repair to church at three of the clock, where the preacher is waiting for them with a long reed in his hand, and when all are together, (sometimes 150 in number, and some-

times less) the reverend Father placeth them in a circle round himself, and then kneeling down (the children also doing the same) makes the sign of the cross, and says a short prayer. This done, he exhorteth the children to hide no sin from him, but to tell him all they have committed. Then he strikes, with the reed, the child whom he designs to confess the first, and asks him the following questions.

Confessor. How long is it since you last confessed?

Boy. Father, a whole year, or the last Lent.

Conf. And how many sins have you committed from that time till now?

Boy. Two dozen.

Now the Confessor asks round about.

Conf. And you?

Boy. A thousand and ten

Another will say a bag full of small lies, and ten big sins; and so one after another answers, and tells many childish things.

Conf. But pray, you say, that you have committed ten big sins, tell me, how big?

Boy. As big as a tree.

Conf. But tell me the sins.

Boy. There is one sin I committed, which I dare not tell your reverence before all the people; for some body here present will kill me, if he heareth me.

Conf. Well, come out of the circle, and tell it me.

They both go out, with a loud voice, he tells him, that such a day he stole a nest of sparrows from a tree of another boy's, and that if he knew it, he would kill him. Then both come again into the circle, and the Father asks other boys and girls so many ridiculous questions, and the children answer him so many pleasnat, innocent things, that the congregation laughs all the while. One will say, that his sins are red, another that one of his sins is white, one black, and one green, and in these trifling questions they spend two hours time. When the congregation is weary of

laughing, the Confessor gives the children a correction, and bids them not to sin any more, for a black boy takes along with him the wicked children: Then he asks the offering, and after he has got all from them gives them the penance for their sins. To one he says, I give you for penance, to eat a sweet cake, to another not to go to school the day following. To another, to desire his mother to buy him a new hat, and such things as these, and pronouncing the words of absolution, he dismisseth the congregation with *Amen*, so be it, every year.

These are the first foundations of the Romish religion for youth. Now, O reader! You may make reflections upon it, and the more you will reflect, so much more you will hate the corruptions of that communion, and it shall evidently appear to you, that the serious, religious instruction of our church, as to the youth, is reasonable, solid, and without reproach. O! that all Protestants would remember the rules they learned from their youth, and practise them while they live! Sure I am, they should be like angels on earth, and blessed for ever after death in heaven.

From seven till fifteen, there is no extraordinary thing to say of young people, only that from seven years of age, they begin to confess in private, and receive the sacrament in public. The Confessors have very little trouble with such young people, and likewise little profit, except with a Puella, who sometimes begins at twelve years the course of a lewd life, and then the Confessor finds business and profit enough, when she comes to confess. Now I come to give an account of several private confessions of both sexes, beginning from people of fifteen years of age. The confession is a dialogue between the Spiritual Father and the penitent; therefore I shall deliver the confessions in a way of dialogue. The letter C. signifies Confessor, and several other letters, the names of the penitents.

The confession of a young woman in Saragossa, whom I shall call Mary. And this I set down chiefly to shew the common form of their confessing penitents: The thing was not public; and therefore I give it under a supposed name.

Confessor. HOW long is it since you last confessed?

Mary. It is two years and two months.

Conf. Pray, do you know the commandments of our holy mother the church?

Mary. Yea, Father.

Conf. Rehearse them.

Mary. The commandments of our holy mother, the church, are five. 1. To hear Mass on Sundays and Holy-days. 2. To Confess, at least, once in a year, and oftener if there be danger of death. 3. To receive the eucharist. 4. To fast. 5. To pay tithes and Primitia.*

Conf. Now rehearse the seven sacraments.

Mary. The sacraments of the holy mother, the church, are seven. 1. Baptism. 2. Confirmation.— 3. Penance. 4. The Lord's supper. 5. Extreme unction. 6. Holy orders. 7. Matrimony.—*Amen.*

Conf. You see in the second commandment of the church, and in the third, among the sacraments, that you are obliged to confess every year. Why, then, have you neglected so much longer a time to fulfil the precept of our holy mother?

Mary. As I am young, and a great sinner, I was ashamed, reverend Father, to confess my sins to the Priest of our parish, for fear he should know me by some passages of my life, which would be prejudicial to me, and to several other persons related to my family.

Conf. But you know that it is the indispensable duty of the minister of the parish, to expose in the church, after Easter, all those who have not confessed, nor received the sacrament before that time.

* Primitia is to pay, besides the tenth, one thirtieth part of the fruits of the earth, towards the repair of the church-vestments, &c.

Mary. I do know it very well; but I went out of the city towards the middle of Lent, and I did not come back again till after Easter; and when I was asked in the country, whether I had confessed that Lent or not? I said, that I had done it in the city: And when the minister of the parish asked me the same question, I told him, I had done it in the country: So, with this lie, I freed myself from the public censure of the church.

Conf. And did you perform the last penance imposed upon you?

Mary. Yea, Father, but not with that exactness I was commanded.

Conf. What was the penance?

Mary. To fast three days upon bread and water, and to give ten reals of plate,* and to say five Masses for the souls in purgatory. I did perform the first part, but not the second, because I could not get money for it, unknown to my parents at that time.

Conf. Do you promise me to perform it, as soon as you can?

Mary. I have the money here, which I will leave with you, and you may say, or order another Priest to say the Masses.

Conf. Very well: But tell me now, what reason have you to come to confess out of the time appointed by the church? Is it for devotion, to quiet your conscience, and merely to make your peace with God Almighty, or some worldly end?

Mary. Good Father, pity my condition, and pray put me in the right way of salvation, for I am ready to despair of God's mercy, if you do not quiet and ease my troubled conscience. Now I will answer to your question: The reason is, because a gentleman, who under promise of marriage, has kept me these two last years, is dead two months ago; and I have resolved in my heart to retire myself into a monastery, and to end there my days, serving God and his holy mother, the Virgin Mary.

* A real of plate is about seven pence of our money in Ireland.

Conf. Do not take any resolution precipitately, for, may be, if your passion grows cool, you will alter your mind; and I suspect, with a great deal of reason, that your repentance is not sincere, and that you come to confess out of sorrow for the gentleman's death, more than out of sorrow for your sins; and if it be so, I advise you to take more time to consider the state of your conscience, and to come to me a fortnight hence.

Mary. My father, all the world shall not alter my mind, and the daily remorse of my conscience brings me to your feet, with a full resolution to confess all my sins, in order to obtain absolution, and to live a new life hereafter.

Conf. If it is so, let us, in the name of God, begin the confession, and I require of you not to forget any circumstance of sin, which may contribute to ease your conscience. And above all, I desire of you to lay aside shame, while you confess your sins; for, suppose that your sins exceed the number of stars, or the number of the sands of the sea, God's mercy is infinite, and accepts of the true penitent heart, for he will not the death of a sinner, but that he should repent and turn to him.

Mary. I do design to open freely my heart to you, and to follow your advice, as to the spiritual course of my life.

Conf. Begin then by the first commandment.

Mary. I do confess, in this commandment, that I have not loved God above all things; for all my care, these two years past, has been to please Don Francisco, in whatever thing he desired me, and, to the best of my memory, I did not think of God, nor of his mother Mary, for many months together.

Conf. Have you constantly frequented the assemblies of the faithful, and heard Mass on Sundays, and holy days?

Mary. No, Father: Sometimes I have been four months without going to church.

Conf. You have done a great injury to your soul, and you have given a great scandal to your neighbors.

Mary. As for the first, I own it, for every Sunday and holy day I went out in the morning, and in so populous a city they could not know the church I used to resort to.

Conf. Did it come into your mind all this while, that God would punish you for your sins?

Mary. Yea, Father: But the Virgin Mary is my advocate, I keep her image by my bed-side, and used to address my prayer to her every night before I went to bed, and I always had a great hope in her.

Conf. If your devotion to the Virgin Mary is so fervent, you must believe that your heart is moved to repentance by her influence and mediation; and I charge you to continue the same devotion while you live, and fear nothing afterwards.

Mary. That is my design.

Conf. Go on.

Mary. The second commandment is, *Thou shalt not swear*: I never was guilty of swearing, but I have a custom of saying, *Such a thing is so, as sure as there is a God in heaven*: And this I repeat very often every day.

Conf. That is a sinful custom, for we cannot swear, nor affirm any thing by heaven or earth, as the scripture tells us; and less by Him who has the throne of his habitation in heaven: So you must break off that custom, or else you commit a sin every time you make use of it. Go on.

Mary. The third is, *Thou shalt sanctify the holy days*. I have told you already, my spiritual Father, that I have neglected, some time, to go to Mass, four months together; and, to the best of my memory, in these two years and two months, I have missed sixty Sundays and holy days going to Mass, and when I did go my mind was so much taken up with other diversions, that I did not mind the requisite devotion, for which I am heartily sorry.

Conf. I hope you will not do so for the future ; and so go on.

Mary. The fourth is, *Thou shalt honor father and mother.* I have father and mother ; as to my father, I do love, honor and fear him ; as to my mother, I do confess, that I have answered and acted contrary to the duty, respect and reverence due to her, for her suspecting and watching my actions and falsesteps, and giving me a christian correction, I have abused her, nay, sometimes, I have lifted up my hand to threaten her ; and these proceedings of mine towards my good mother, torture now my heart.

Conf. I am glad to observe your grief, and you may be sure, God will forgive you these and other sins upon your hearty repentance, if you persevere in it.—Go on.

Mary. The fifth is, *Thou shalt not kill.* I have not transgressed this commandment effectively and immediately, but I have done it affectively and mediately, and at second hand ; for a gentlewoman, who was a great hindrance to my designs, once provoked me to such a pitch that I put in execution all the means of revenge I could think of, and gave ten pistoles to an assassin to take away her life.

Conf. And did he kill her ?

Mary. No, Father, for she kept her house for three months, and in that time we were reconciled, and now we are very good friends.

Conf. Have you asked her pardon, and told her your design ?

Mary. I did not tell her in express terms, but I told her that I had an ill will to her, and that at that time, I could have killed her, had I got an opportunity for it : For which I heartily begged her pardon ; she did forgive me, and so we live ever since like two sisters.

Conf. Go on.

Mary. The sixth, *Thou shalt not commit fornication.* In the first place, I do confess that I have unlawfully conversed with the said Don Francisco, for

two years, and this unlawful commerce has made me fall into many other sins.

Conf. Did he promise solemnly to marry you ?

Mary. He did, but could not perform it, while his father was alive.

Conf. Tell me, from the beginning, to the day of his death, and to the best of your memory, your sinful thoughts, words, actions, nay, your very dreams, about this matter.

Mary. Father, the gentleman was our neighbor of a good family and fortune, and by means of the neighborly friendship of our parents, we had the opportunity to talk with one another as often as we pleased.— For two years together we loved one another with innocence ; but at last he discovered to me one day, when our parents were abroad, the great inclination he had for me ; and that having grown to a passion, and this to an inexpressible love, he could no longer hide it from me : That his design was to marry me, as soon as his father should die, and that he was willing to give me all the proofs of sincerity and unfeigned love, I could desire from him. To this I answered, that if it was so, I was ready to promise never to marry another during his life : To this, he took a crucifix in his hands, and bowing down before an image of the Virgin Mary, called the four elements to be witnesses of the sincerity of his vows, nay, all the saints of the heavenly court, to appear against him in the day of judgment, if he was not true in heart and words ; and said, that by the crucifix in his hands, and by the image of the Virgin Mary, there present, he promised and swore never to marry another during my life. I answered him in the same manner ; and ever since, we have lived with the familiarities of husband and wife. The effect of this reciprocal promise was the ruin of my soul, and the beginning of my sinful life ; for ever since, I minded nothing else, but to please him and myself, when I had opportunity for it.

Conf. How often did he visit you ?

Mary. The first year he come to my room every night, after both families were gone to bed; for in the vault of his house, which joins to ours, we dug one night through the earth, and made a passage wide enough for the purpose, which we covered on each side with a large earthen water-jar; and by that means he came to me every night. But my grief is double, when I consider, that, engaging my own maid into this intrigue, I have been the occasion of her ruin too; for by my ill example, she lived in the same way with the gentleman's servant, and I own, that I have been the occasion of all her sins too.

Conf. And the second year did he visit you so often?

Mary. No, father; for the breach in the vault was discovered by his father, and was stopped immediately; but nobody suspected any thing of our intimacy, except my mother, who from something she had observed, began to question me, and afterwards became more suspicious and watchful.

Conf. Did any effect of these visits come to light?

Mary. It would, had I not been so barbarous and inhuman to prevent it, by a remedy I took, which answered my purpose.

Conf. And how could you get the remedy, there being a rigorous law against it?

Mary. The procuring it brought me into a yet wickeder life; for I was acquainted with a Friar, a cousin of mine, who had always expressed a great esteem for me; but one day after dinner, being alone, he began to make love to me, and was going to take greater liberties than ever he had done before: I told him that if he could keep a secret, and do me a service, I would comply with his desire. He promised me to do it upon the word of a priest. Then I told him my business, and the day after he brought me the necessary medicine; and ever since I was freed from that uneasiness, I have lived the same course of life with my cousin; nay, as I was under such an obliga-

tion to him, I have ever since been obliged to allow him many other liberties in my house.

Conf. Are those other liberties, he took in your house, sinful or not ?

Mary. The liberties I mean are, that he desired me to gratify his companion too, several times, and to consent that my maid should satisfy his lusts ; and not only this, but, by desiring me to corrupt one of my friends, he has ruined her soul ; for, being in the same condition I had been in before, I was obliged, out of fear, to furnish her with the same remedy, which produced the same effect. Besides these wicked actions, I have robbed my parents to supply him with whatever money he demanded.

Conf. But as to Don Francisco, pray tell me, how often did he visit you since ?

Mary. The second year he could not see me in private but very seldom, and in a sacred place ; for having no opportunity at home, nor abroad, I used to go to a little chapel out of the town ; and having gained the hermit with money, we continued our commerce, that way, for six or eight times the second year.

Conf. Your sins are aggravated, both by the circumstance of the sacred place, and by your cousin's being a Priest, besides the two murders committed by you, one in yourself, and the other in your friend. Nay, go on, if you have any more to say upon this subject.

Mary. I have nothing else to say, as to the commandment, but that I am heartily sorry for all these my misdoings. *Conf.* Go on.

Mary. The seventh, *Thou shalt not steal.* I have nothing to confess in this commandment, but what I have told you already, i. e. that I have stolen many things from my father's house, to satisfy my cousin's thirst of money ; and that I have advised my friend to do the same ; tho' this was done by me, only for fear that he should expose us, if we had not given him what he desired.

Conf. And do you design to continue the same life with your cousin for fear of being discovered?

Mary. No, Father; for he is sent to another convent to be professor of divinity for three years, and if he comes back again, he shall find me in a monastery; and then I will be safe, and free from his wicked attempts.

Conf. How long is it since he went away?

Mary. Three months, and his companion is dead; so, God be thanked, I am without any apprehension or fear now, and I hope to see my good design accomplished.

Conf. Go on.

Mary. The eighth is, *Thou shalt not bear false witness, nor lie.* The ninth, *Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife.* The tenth, *Thou shalt not covet any things which are another's.* I know nothing in these three commandments, that trouble my conscience: Therefore, I conclude by confessing, in general and particular, all the sins of my whole life, committed by *thought, word and deed*, and I am heartily sorry for them all, and ask God's pardon and your advice, penance and absolution. *Amen.*

Conf. Have you transgressed the fourth commendment of the church?

Mary. Yea, father; for I did not fast as it prescribes, for though I did abstain from flesh, yet I did not keep the form of fasting these two years past; but I have done it since the gentleman's death.

Conf. Have you this year taken the bull of indulgencies.

Mary. Yea, Father.

Conf. Have you visited five altars, the days appointed for his holiness to take a soul out of purgatory?

Mary. I did not for several days.

Conf. Do you promise me, as a minister of God, and as if you were now before the tribunal of the dreadful judge, to amend your life, and to avoid all

the occasions of falling into the same or other sins, and to frequent for the future, this sacrament, and the others, and to obey the commandments of God, as things absolutely necessary to the salvation of your soul?

Mary. That is my design with the help of God, and of the blessed virgin Mary, in whom I put my whole trust and confidence.

Conf. Your contrition must be the foundation of your new life, for if you fall into other sins after this signal benefit you have received from God, and his blessed mother, of calling you to repentance, it will be a hard thing for you to obtain pardon and forgiveness. You see God has taken away all the obstacles of your true repentance; pray ask continually his grace, that you may make good use of these heavenly favours. But you ought to consider, that though you shall be freed by my absolution from the eternal pains your manifold sins deserve, you shall not be free from the sufferings of purgatory, where your soul must be purified by fire, if you in this present life do not take care to redeem your soul from that terrible flame, by ordering some masses for the relief of souls in purgatory.

Mary. I design to do it as far as it lies in my power.

Conf. Now to shew your obedience to God, and our mother, the church, you must perform the following penance. You must fast every second day, to mortify your lusts and passions, and this for the space of two months. You must visit five altars every second day, and one privileged altar, and say in each of them five times *pater-noster*, &c. and five times *Ave Mary*, &c. You must say too every day for two months time, three and thirty times the *creed*, in honor and memory of the three and thirty years that our Saviour did live upon earth; and you must confess once a week; that by the continuance of these spiritual exercises, your soul may be preserved

from several temptations, and may be happy forever.

Mary. I will do all that with the help of God.

Conf. Say the act of contrition, while I absolve you.

Mary. O God, my God, I have sinned against thee, I am heartily sorry, &c.

Conf. Our Lord Jesus Christ absolve thee; and by the authority given me I absolve thee, &c. *Amen.*

The second. A private confession of a woman to a friar of the dominican order, laid down in writing before the moral academy, 1710, and the opinions of the members about it, the person was not known, therefore I shall call her *Leonore.*

Leonore did confess to F. Joseph Riva the following misdoings.

Leonore. MY reverend Father, I come to this place to make a general confession of all the sins I have committed in the whole course of my life, or of all those I can remember.

Conf. How long have you been in preparing yourself for this general confession?

Leon. Eight days.

Conf. Eight days are not enough to recollect yourself, and bring into your memory all the sins of your life.

Leon. Father, have patience till you hear me, and then you may judge whether my confession be perfect or imperfect.

Conf. And how long is it since you confessed the last time?

Leon. The last time I confessed was the *Sunday* before *Easter*, which is eleven months and twenty days.

Conf. Did you accomplish the penance then imposed upon you?

Leon. Yea, Father.

Conf. Begin then your confession.

Leon. I have neglected my duty towards God, by whose holy name I have many times sworn. I have not sanctified his holy days as I was obliged by law, nor honored my parents and superiors. I have many and many times desired the death of my neighbours, when I was in a passion. I have been deeply engaged in amorous intrigues with many people of all ranks, but these two years past most constantly with *Don Pedro Hasta*, who is the only support of my life.

Conf. Now I find out the reason why you have so long neglected to come to confess, and I do expect, that you will tell me all the circumstances of your life, that I may judge the present state of your conscience.

Leon. Father: As for the sins of my youth, till I was 16 years of age, they are of no great consequence, and I hope God Almighty will pardon me. Now my general confession begins from that time, when I fell into the first sin, which was in the following manner.

The confessor of our family was a Franciscan friar who was absolute master in our house; for my father and my mother were entirely governed by him. It was about that time of my life I lost my mother; and a month after her my father died, leaving all his substance to the father confessor, to dispose of at his own fancy, reserving only a certain part which I was to have, to settle me in the world conditionally that if I was obedient to him. A month after my father's death, on pretence of taking care of every thing that was in the house, he ordered a bed for himself in the chamber next to mine, where my maid also used to lie. After supper, the first night he came home, he addressed himself thus to me. My daughter, you may with reason call me your father, for you are the only child your father left under my care. Your patrimony is in my hands, and you ought to obey me blindly in every thing: So in the first place order your maid's bed to be removed out of your own chamber into another. Which being done accordingly, we

parted and went each one to our own room ; but scarcely had an hour past away, when the father came into my chamber, and what by flattery and promises, and what by threatnings, he deprived me of the best patrimony, my innocence. We continued this course of life till, as I believe, he was tired of me ; for two months after, he took every thing out of the house, and went to his convent, where he died in ten days time ; and by his death I lost the patrimony left me by my father, and with it all my support, and as my parents had spared nothing in my education, and as I had always been kept in the greatest affluence, you may judge how I was affected by the miserable circumstances I was then left in, with servants to maintain, and nothing in the world to supply even the necessary expenses of my house. This made me the more ready to accept the first offer should be made me, and my condition being known to an officer of the army, he came to offer me his humble services. I complied with his desire, and so for two years we lived together till at last he was obliged to repair to his regiment at Catalonia ; and though he left me appointments more than sufficient for my subsistence during his absence yet all our correspondence was soon broken off by his death, which happened soon after. Then, resolving to alter my life and conversation, I went to confess, and after having given an account to my confessor of my life, he asked my name, did promise to come next day to see me, and to put me into a comfortable and credible way of living. I was very glad to get such a patron, and so the next day I waited at home for him.

The father came, and after various discourses, he took me by the hand into my chamber, and told me that if I was willing to put in his hands my jewels, and what other things of value I had got from the officer, he would engage to get a gentleman suitable to my condition to marry me. I did every thing as he desired me, and so taking along with him all I had in the world, he carried them to his cell.

The next day he came to see me, and made me another proposal very different from what I expected; for he told me that I must comply with his desire, or else he would expose me, and inform against me before the holy tribunal of the inquisition: So, rather than incur that danger, I did for the space of six months, in which, having nothing to live upon (for he kept my jewels) I was obliged to abandon myself to many other gentlemen, by whom I was maintained.

At last, he left me, and I still continued my wicked life, unlawfully conversing with married and unmarried gentlemen a whole year, and not daring to confess, for fear of experiencing the same treatment from another confessor.

Conf. But how could you fulfil the precept of the church, and not be exposed in the church after Easter, all that while.

Leon. I went to an old easy father, and promised him a pistole for a certificate of confession, which he gave me without further inquiring into the matter; and so I did satisfy the curate of the parish with it.— But last year I went to confess, and the confessor was very strict, and would not give me absolution because I was an habitual sinner, but I gave him five pistoles for ten masses, and then he told me that a confessor's duty was to take care of the souls in purgatory; and that upon their account he could not refuse me absolution; so by that way I escaped the censure of the church.

Conf. How long is it since you broke off your sinful life?

Leon. But six weeks.

Conf. I cannot absolve you now, but come again next Thursday, and I will consult upon all the circumstances of your life, and then I will absolve you.

Leon. Father, I have more to say: For I stole from the church, a chalice, by the advice of the said confessor, and he made use himself of the money I got for the silver, which I cut in pieces; and I did

converse unlawfully several times in the church with him. To this I must add an infinite number of sins by *thought, word and deed*, I have committed in this time, especially with the last person of my acquaintance, though at present I am free from him.

Conf. Pray give me leave to consult upon all these things, and I will resolve them to you the next confession; now go in peace.

THE first point to be resolved was, whether Leonore could sue the Franciscan convent for the patrimony left by her father in the confessor's hands?

The president went through all the reasons *pro* and *con.* and after resolved, that though the said Leonore was never disobedient to her confessor, she could not sue the community without lessening her own reputation, and laying upon the order so black a crime, as that of her confessor; and that it was the common maxim of all Casuists that, *In rebus dubiis, minium est sequendum*, in things doubtful, that of the least evil consequence is to be pursued; and seeing the losing of her patrimony would be less damage than the exposing of the whole Franciscan order, and her own reputation: It did seem proper to leave the thing as it was.

The second point to be resolved was, whether Leonore was in *proxima occasione peccati*, in the next occasion of sin, with such a confessor the two first months?

Six members of the academy did think that she was; for immediate occasion of sin signifies, that the person may satisfy his passions *toties quoties*, without any impediment which Leonore could do all that while. But the other members of the academy did object against it: That the nature of *occasio proxima*, besides the said reason, implies freedom and liberty, which Leonore did want at that time, being as she was young, unexperienced, timorous, and under the confessor's care and power; so it was resolved,

that she was not the first two months in *proxima occasione peccati*.

The third point: Whether she committed greater sin with the second confessor, who threatened her with the inquisition? And whether she was obliged to undergo all the hardships, nay death itself, rather than comply with the confessor's desire?

It was resolved *nemine contradicente*, that she was obliged for self-preservation's sake to comply with the friar's desire, and therefore her sin was less than other sins.

The fourth: Whether she was obliged to make restitution of the chalice she stole out of the church by the advice of the confessor?

The members could not agree in the decision of this point, for some were of opinion, that both she and the friar were obliged to make restitution, grounded in the moral maxim: *Facientes, et consentientes eadem pena puniuntur*, those that act, and those who consent, are to be punished alike. Others said that Leonore was only an instrument of theft, and that the friar did put her in the way of doing what she never had done, but for fear of him, and that she was forced to do it; therefore that she had not committed sacrilege, nay, nor venial sin by it; and that the friar only, was guilty of sacrilege and robbery, and obliged to make restitution. Upon this division, the reverend Mr. Ant. Palomo, then professor of philosophy, was appointed to lay the case before the members of the great academy, with this limitation, that he should not mention any thing of the friar in it; except the members of the academy should ask him the aggravating circumstances in the case.

He did it accordingly, and being asked by the president about the circumstances, it was resolved that Leonore was free from restitution, taking a bull of pardons. And as for the friar by his belonging to the community, and having nothing of his own, and obliged to leave at his death, every thing to the convent.

he must be excused from making such restitution, &c.

The fifth point : Whether the church was desecrated by their unlawful commerce? And whether the confessor was obliged to reveal the nature of the thing to the bishop, or not?

As to the first part, all did agree, that the church was polluted. As to the second, four were of opinion, that the thing was to be revealed to the bishop in general terms : But sixteen did object against it, and said, that the dominical, *asperges me Hysopo, and mundabor, thou shalt sprinkle me with hysop, and I shall be clean, &c.* When the priest with holy water and Hysop, sprinkles the church, it was enough to restore and purify the church.

After which, the president moved another question. viz. Whether this private confession was to be entered in the academy's book ; *adperpetuam rei memoriam*, in perpetual memory of the thing. And it was agreed to enter the cases and resolutions, mentioning nothing concerning the confessors, nor their orders. *Item*, it was resolved that the proponent could safely in conscience absolve Leonore the next confession, if she had the bull of indulgencies ; and promised to be zealous in the correction and penance, which he was to give her, &c. And accordingly he did, and Leonore was absolved.

The third private confession proposed in the academy, by father Gasca, Jesuit, and member of the academy : Of a woman of thirty-three years of age.

MOST Reverend and learned Fathers, I have thought fit not to trouble you with the methodical way of private confession I heard last Sunday, but to give you only an account of the difficult case in it.—The case is this : A woman of thirty-three years of age came to confess, and told me, that from sixteen years of age, till twenty-four, she had committed all

sorts of lewdness, only with ecclesiastical persons, having in every convent a friar, who, under the name of cousin, did use to visit her: And notwithstanding the multiplicity of cousins, she lived so poorly; that she was forced to turn procuress at the same time for new cousins, and that she had followed that wicked life till thirty-two years of age: That last year she dreamed that the devil was very free with her, and these dreams or visions continuing for a long while, she found herself with child; and she protests that she knew no man for fourteen months before: She is delivered of a boy, and she says that he is the devil's son, and that her conscience is so troubled about it, that if I do not find some way to quiet her mind, she will lay violent hands upon herself. I asked her leave to consult the case, with a promise to resolve it next Sunday. Now I ask your wise advice upon this case.

The president said, that the case was impossible, and that the woman was mad, that he was of opinion to send the woman to the physicians to be cured of some bodily distemper she was troubled with. The Jesuit proponent replied that the woman was in her perfect senses, and that the case well required further consideration: Upon which F. Antonio Palomo, who was reputed the most learned of the academy, said, that saint Augustin treats *de Incubo and Succubo*, and he would examine the case and see whether he might not give some light for the resolution of the case?

And another member said, that there was in the case something more than apparition and devilish liberty, and that he thought fit that the father Jesuit should inquire more carefully into the matter, and go himself to examine the house, and question the people of it:—Which being approved by the whole assembly, he did it the next morning, and in the afternoon, being an extraordinary meeting, he came and said,

Most reverend and learned fathers, the woman was so strongly possessed with such a vision, that she has made public the case among the neighbours, and it is spread abroad; upon which the inquisitors did send for the woman and the maid, and this has discovered the whole story, viz. That father Conchillos, victorian friar, was in love with a woman, but she could not endure the sight of him: That he gained the maid, and by that means he got into the house every night, and the maid putting some opium into her mistress's supper she fell fast asleep, and the said father did lie with her six nights together; So the child is not the son of the devil, but of father Conchillos.— Afterwards it was resolved to enter the case for a *memorandum*, in the academy's book.

The friar was put into inquisition, for having persuaded the maid to tell her mistress that it was the devil; for she had been under the same fear, and really she was in the same condition. What became of the friar I do not know, this I do aver for a truth, that I spoke with the woman myself, and with the maid; and that the children used to go to her door, and call for the son of the devil: And being so mocked, she left the city in a few days after, and we were told that she lived after it a retired christain life in the country.

The fourth private confession of a priest, being at the point of death, in 1710. I shall call him Don Paulo.

Don Paulo. SINCE God Almighty is pleased to visit me with this sickness, I ought to make good use of the time I have to live, and I desire of you to help me with your prayers, and to take the trouble to write some substantial points of my confession, that you may perform, after my death whatever I think may enable me in some measure to discharge my duty towards God and men. When I was ordained priest, I made a general confession of all my sins from my

youth to that time, and I wish I could now be as true a penitent, as I was at that time ; but I hope, though it is too late, that God will hear the prayer of my heart.

I have served my parish sixteen years, and all my care has been to discover the tempers and inclinations of my parishoners, and I have been as happy in this world as unhappy before my Savior. I have in ready money fifteen thousand pistoles, and I have given away more than six thousand. I had no patrimony, and my living is worth but four hundred pistoles a year. By this you may easily know, that my money is unlawfully gotten, as I shall tell you, if God spare my life till I make an end of my confession. There are in my parish sixteen hundred families, and more or less I have defrauded them all some way or other.

My thoughts have been impure ever since I began to hear confessions ; my words grave and severe with them all, and all my parishoners have respected and feared me. I have had so great an empire over them, that some of them, knowing of my misdoings, have taken my defence in public. They have had in me a solicitor in all emergencies, and I have omitted nothing to please them in outward appearance ; but my actions have been the most criminal of mankind ; for as to my ecclesiastical duty, what I have done has been for custom's sake. The necessary intention of a priest, in the administration of baptism and consecration, without which the sacraments are of no effect, I confess I had it not several times, as you shall see in the parish books ; and observe there, that all those names marked with a star, the baptism was not valid, for I had no intention : And for this I can give no other reason than my malice and wickedness :— Many of them are dead, for which I am heartily sorry. As for the times I have consecrated without intention, we must leave it to God Almighty's mer-

cy, for the wrong done by it to the souls of my parishoners, and those in purgatory cannot be helped.

As to the confessions and wills I have received from my parishoners at the point of their death, I do confess, I have made myself master of as much as I could, and by that means I have gathered together all my riches. I have sent this morning for fifty bulls, and I have given one hundred pistoles for the benefit of the holy *crusade*, by which his holiness secures my soul from eternal death.

As to my duty towards God, I am guilty to the highest degree ; For I have not loved him ; I have neglected to say the private divine service at home every day ; I have polluted his *holy days* by my grievous sins : I have not minded my superiors in the respect due to them : And I have been the cause of many innocent deaths. I have procured, by remedies, sixty abortions, making the fathers of the children their murderers ; besides many other intended, though not executed, by some unexpected accident.

As to the sixth commandment, I cannot confess by particulars, but by general heads, my sins. I confess, in the first place, that I have frequented the parish elub twelve years. We were only six parish priests in it ; and there we did consult and contrive all the ways to satisfy our passions. Every body had a list of the handsomest women in his parish ; and when one had a fancy to see any woman, remarkable for her beauty, in another's parish, the priest of her parish sent for her to his own house ; and having prepared the way for wickedness, the other had nothing to do but to meet her there, and fulfil his desires ; and so we have served one another these twelve years past. Our method has been, to persuade the husbands and fathers not to hinder them any spiritual comfort ; and to the ladies to persuade them to be subject to our advice and will ; and that in so doing, have liberty at any time to go out on pre-

tence of communicating some spiritual business to the priest : And if they refuse to do it, then we should speak to their husbands and fathers not to let them go out at all, or, which would be worse for them, we should inform against them to the holy tribunal of inquisition : And by these diabolical persuasions, they were always at our command, without fear of revealing the secret.

I have spared no woman of my parish, whom I had a fancy for, and many other of my brethren's parish-
es ; but I cannot tell the number. I have sixty *ne-
potes* alive, of several women : But my principal care
ought to be of those that I have by the two young
women I keep at home since their parents died.—
Both are sisters, and I have by the eldest two boys,
and by the youngest one ; and one which I had by
my own sister is dead. Therefore I leave to my sis-
ter five thousand pistoles, upon condition that she
would enter nun in St. Bernards's monastery ; and
upon the same condition I leave two thousand pis-
toles a piece to the two young women ; and the re-
mainder I leave to my three *nepotes* under the care
of *Mossen John Peralta*, and ordering that they should
be heirs to one another, if any of them should die
before they are settled in the world, and if all should
die, I leave the money to the treasury of the church,
for the benefit of the souls in purgatory : *Item*, I
order that all the papers of such a little trunk be
burnt after my confession is over (which was done
accordingly) and that the holy bull of the dead be
bought before I die, that I may have the comfort of
having at home the Pope's pass for the next world.—
Now I ask your penance and absolution for all the
sins reserved in all the bulls, from the first Pope ; for
which purpose I have taken the bull of privileges in
such cases as mine. So I did absolve him, and assist
him afterwards, and he died the next day. What to
do in such a case, was all my uneasiness after his
death ; for if I did propose the case before the mem-

bers of the academy, every body could easily know the person, which was against one of the articles we did swear at our admittance into it : And if I did not propose it, I should act against another article. All my difficulty was about the baptisms which he had administered without intention : For it is the known opinion of their church that the intention of a priest is absolutely necessary to the validity of the sacrament, and that without it there is no sacrament at all. I had examined the books of the parish, and I found a hundred and fifty-two names marked with a star : and examining the register of the dead, I found eighty-six of them dead : According to the principles of the church, all those that were alive were to be baptized ; which could not be done without great scandal, and prejudice to the clergy. In this uneasiness of mind, I continued till I went to visit the reverend father John Garcia, who had been my master in divinity, and I did consult him on the case, *sub secreto naturali*. He did advise me to propose the case to the assembly, upon supposition, that if such a case should happen, what should be done in it ; and he recommended to me to talk with a great deal of caution, and to insist that it ought to be communicated to the bishop ; and if the members did agree with me, then without further confession, I was to go to the bishop, and tell his lordship the case, under secrecy of confession : I did so, and the bishop said he would send for the books, and take the list of all those names ; and as many of them as could be found he would send for, one by one, into his own chamber, and baptize them ; commanding them under the pain of ecclesiastical censure, not to talk of it, neither in public or private. But as for the other sins, there was no necessity of revealing them, for by virtue of the bull of Crusade (of which I shall speak in the second chapter) we could absolve them all.

Hear, O heaven ! Give ear, O earth ! And be horribly astonished ! To see the best religion in the

world turned into superstition and folly; to see too that those who are to guide the people, and put their flock in the way of salvation, are wolves in sheep's clothing that devour them, and put them into the snare of damnation. O God, open the eyes of the ignorant, that they may see the injuries done to them by their own guides.

Write this out of any private end, to blame the confessors; for there are some who, according to the principles of their religion, do discharge their duty with exactness and purity, and in their own way are unblamable, and respected among men. Such confessors as

are speaking of are sober in their actions: They mortify their bodies with fasting over and above the rules prescribed by the church, by discipline, by kneeling down in their closets six or eight hours every day, to meditate on the holy mysteries, the goodness of God, and to pray to him for all sorts of sinners, that they may be brought to repentance and salvation, &c. They sleep but few hours: They spend most of their spare time in reading the ancient fathers of the church, and other books of devotion.

They live poorly, because whatever they have, the poor are enjoyers of it. The time they give to the public is but very little, and not every day; and then whatever counsels they give are right, sincere, without flattery or interest. All pious, religious persons do solicit their acquaintance and conversation, but they avoid all pomp and vanity, and keep themselves, as much as they can, within the limits of solitude; and if they make some visits, it must be upon urgent necessity. Sometimes you may find them in the hospitals among the poor, sick, helping and exhorting them: But they go there most commonly in the night, for what they do, they do it not out of pride, but humility.

I knew some of these exemplary men, but a very few; and I heard some of them preach with a fervent

zeal about the promoting of Christ's religion, and exhorting the people to put their lives voluntarily in the defence of the roman-catholic faith, and extirpate and destroy all the enemies of their communion. I do not pretend to judge them, for judgment belongeth to God: This I say with St. Paul, that if those religious men *have a zeal of God, their zeal is not according to knowledge.*

The fifth private confession of a nun, in the convent of S. O.

Before I begin the confession, it will not be improper to give an account of the customs of the nuns, and places of their confessions.

BY the constitutions of their order, so many days are appointed, in which all the nuns are obliged to confess, from the Mother Abbess to the very wheeler, i. e. the nun that turns the wheel near the door, through which they give and receive every thing they want. They have a father confessor, and a father companion, who live next to the convent, and have a small grate in the wall of their chamber, which answers to the upper cloister or gallery of the convent. The Confessor hath care of the souls of the convent, and he is obliged to say mass every day, hear confessions, administer the sacraments, and visit the sick Nuns. There are several narrow closets in the church, with a small iron grate: One side answers to the cloister, and the other to the church. So the Nun being on the inside, and the Confessor on the outside, they hear one another. There is a large grate facing the great altar, and the holes of it are a quarter of a yard square, but that grate is double, that is, one within, and another without, and the distance between both is more than half a yard. And besides these, there is another grate for relations, and benefactors of the community, which grate is single and consists of very thin iron bars: The holes of such a grate are near a

quarter and a half square. In all those grates the Nuns confess their sins; for, on a solemn day, they send for ten or twelve Confessors, otherwise they could not confess the fourth part of them, for there are in some monasteries, 110 Nuns, in others 80, in others 40, but this last is a small number.

The Nuns Father, Confessor hath but little trouble with the young Nuns, for they generally send for a Confessor who is a stranger to them, so that all his trouble is with the old ones, who have no business at the grate. These trouble their Confessor almost every day with many ridiculous trifles, and will keep the poor man two hours at the grate, telling him how many times they have spit in the church, how many flies they have killed, how many times they have flown into a passion with their lap-dogs, and other nonsensical, ridiculous things like these; and the reason is because they have nothing to do, nobody goes to visit them, nor cares for them, so sometimes they chuse to be spies for the young Nuns, when they are at the grate with their gallants, and for fear of their Mother Abbess, they place some of the old Nuns before the door of the parlor, to watch the Mother Abbess, and to give them timely notice of her coming; and the poor old Nuns perform this office with a great deal of pleasure, faithfulness, and some profit too. But I shall not say any more of them, confining myself wholly to the way of living among the young Nuns.

Many gentlemen send their daughters to the nunnery when they are some five, some six, some eight years old, under the care of some Nun of their relations, or else some old Nun of their acquaintance; and there they get education till they are fifteen years old. The tutress takes a great deal of care not to let them go to the grate, nor converse with men all the while, to prevent in them the knowledge and love of the world. They are carressed by all the Nuns, and thinking it will be always so, they are very well pleased with their confinement. They have only liberty to

go to the grate to their parents or relations, and always accompanied with the old Mother Tutress. And when they are fifteen years old, which is the age fixed by the constitutions of all the orders, they receive the habit of a Nun, and begin the year of noviciate, which is the year of trial to see whether they can go through all the hardships, fastings, disciplines, prayers, hours of divine service, obedience, poverty, chastity, and penances practised in the monastery: But the Prioress or Abbess, and the rest of the professed Nuns, do dispense with, and excuse the Novices from all the severities, for fear that the Novices should be dissatisfied with, and leave the convent: And in this they are very much in the wrong, for, besides that they do not observe the precepts of their monastical rule, they deceive the poor, ignorant, unexperienced young Novices, who, after their profession and vows of perpetuity, do heartily repent they had been so much indulged. Thus the Novices, flattered in the year of noviciate, and thinking they will be so all their life time, when the year is expired, make profession and swear to observe *chastity, obedience, and poverty*, during their lives, and *clausura, i. e. confinement*; obliging themselves, by it, never to go out of the monastery.

After the profession is made, they begin to feel the severity and hardships of the monastical life; for one is made a door-keeper, another turner of the wheel, to receive and deliver by it all the Nun's messages, another bell Nun, that is to call the Nuns, when any one comes to visit them; another baker, another book-keeper of all the rents and expenses, and the like; and in the performance of all these employments they must expend a great deal of their own money. After this they have liberty to go to the grate, and talk with gentlemen, Priests and Friars, who only go there as a gallant goes to see his mistress. So when the young Nuns begin to have a notion of the pleasures of the world, and how they have been deceived, they are

heartily sorry; but too late, for there is no remedy. And minding nothing but to satisfy their passions as well as they can, they abandon themselves to all sorts of wickedness, and amorous intrigues.

There is another sort of Nuns, whom the people call *las forcadas*, the forced Nuns, i. e. those who have made a false step in the world, and cannot find husbands, on account of their crimes being public.—Those are despised and ill used by their parents and relations, till they choose to go to the nunnery: So by this it is easily known what sort of Nuns they will make.

Now as to the spending of their time. They get up at six in the morning and go to prayers, and to hear Mass till seven, from seven till ten, they work or go to breakfast, either in their chambers, or in the common-hall. At ten they go to the great Mass till eleven: After it, they go to dinner, after dinner they may divert themselves till two; at two they go to prayers, for a quarter of an hour, or (if they sing vespers) for half an hour; and afterwards they are free till the next morning: So every one is waiting for her *Devoto*, that is, a gallant, or spiritual husband, as they call him. When it is dark evening they send away the *Devotos*, and the doors are locked up; so they go to their own chamber to write a billet, or letter to the spiritual husband, which they send in the morning to them, and get an answer; and though they see one another almost every day, for all that, they must write to one another every morning: And these letters of love, they call the *recreation of the spirit* for the time the *Devotos* are absent from them. Every day they must give one another an account of whatever thing they have done since the last visit; and indeed there are warmer expressions of love, and jealousy between the nun, and the *Devoto*, than between real wife and husband.

Now I come to the private Confession ; and I wish I could have the style of an angel, to express myself with purity, and modesty, in this confession.

Nun. REVEREND Father, as the number of my sins are so great, and so great the variety of circumstances attending them ; mistrusting my memory, I have set down in writing this confession, that you may entirely be acquainted with every thing that troubles my conscience, and so I humbly beg of you to read it.

Con. I did approve the method of writing, but you ought to read it yourself or else it cannot be *oris confessio*, or confession by mouth.

Nun. If it is so, I begin. I thought fit to acquaint you with the circumstances of my life past, that you may form a right judgment of my monastical life and conversation, which, in some measure, will excuse me before the world, though not before God our righteous judge.

I am the only daughter of councillor N. E. who brought me up in the fear of God, and gave me a writing-master, which is a rare thing. I was not quite thirteen years of age, when a gentleman of quality, though not very rich, began his love to me, by letters which he (gaining my writing-master) sent to me by him. There was nothing in the world so obliging, civil, modest and endearing, as his expressions seemed to me, and at last having the opportunity of meeting him at the house of one of my aunts, his person and conversation did so charm my heart, that a few days after we gave one another reciprocal promises of an eternal union : But by a letter which unfortunately was miscarried, and fell into my father's hands, our honest designs were discovered ; and without telling me any thing, he went to see the gentleman, and spoke to him in this manner : Sir, my daughter, in discharging of her duty to so good a father, has communicated to me your honorable designs, and I come

to thank you for the honor you are pleased to do my family: But, being so young, we think proper to put off the performance of it, till she comes to be 15 years of age: Now she, and I also, as a father to you both (for I look upon you as upon my own son) do desire of you the favour not to give any public occasion of censure to the watchful neighbours, and if you have any regard for her, I hope you will do this and more for her, and for me: And to shew you my great affection, I offer you a captain's commission in the regiment that the city raiseth for the king, and advise you to serve two years, and afterwards, you may accomplish your desire. The gentleman accepted it, and the next day the commission was signed and delivered to him, with an order to go to Catalonia. At the same time the writing master was sent out of the town under pretence of receiving some money for my father; and I was kept close at home, so he could not get an opportunity of seeing or writing to me; for my father told him I was sick in bed. As soon as he left the town, my father told me that he was dead, and that I must retire myself into the nunnery, for that was his will: So immediately he brought me here, and gave severe directions to the mother-abbess, not to let me see any body but himself. Indeed he did spare nothing to please me, until I received the habit, and made the profession and vows of a monastical life: After which he told me the whole story himself; and the gentleman was killed in Catalonia the first campaign.

I do confess, that ever since, I did not care what should become of me, and I have abandoned myself to all the sins I have been capable to commit. It is but ten months since I made my profession, and bound myself to perpetuity; though as I did it without intention, I am not a nun before God, nor obliged to keep the vow of religion; and of this opinion are many other nuns, especially ten young nuns, my intimate friends, who, as well as I, do communicate to one another, the most secret things of our hearts.

Each of this assembly has her devoto, and we are every day in the afternoon at the grate: We shew one another the letters we receive from them, and there is nothing that we do not invent for the accomplishment of our pleasures.

Conf. Pray, confess your own sins, and omit the sins of your friends.

Nun. I cannot, for my sins are so confounded with the sins of my friends, that I cannot mention the one without the other.

But coming now to my greatest sin; I must tell you, that a nun of our assembly has a friar her devoto, the most beautiful young man, and we contrived and agreed together to bring him into the convent, as we did, and have kept him two and twenty days in our chamber: During which time we went to the grate very seldom, on pretence of being not well.— We have given no scandal, for no body has suspected the least thing in the case. And this is the greatest sin I have committed with man.

Conf. Pray, tell me, how could you let him in without scandal?

Nun. One of the assembly contrived to mat all the floor of her chamber, and sent for the mat-maker to take the measure of the length and breadth of the room, and to make it in one piece, and send it to the Sexton's chamber, who is a poor ignorant fellow.— When the mat was there, and the man paid for it, one day in the evening, we sent the Sexton on several messages, and kept the key of his room. The friar had asked leave of his prior to go into the country for a month's time, and disguising himself in a layman's habit, seeing well two porters, came, in the dusk of the evening, into the Sexton's room, and rolling up himself in the mat, the porters brought the mat to the door, where we were waiting for it; and taking it, we carried it up to one of our chambers. We were afraid that the porters would discover the thing, but by money we have secured ourselves from them;

for we hired ruffians to make away with them. We put him out of the convent in a great chest which could be opened on the inside, and of which he had the key, and giving the chest to the Sexton, he, and the servant of the convent, carried it into the Sexton's room. We ordered him to leave the key at the door, for we expected some relations, which were to take a collation there; and we sent him on some errand till the friar had got out of the chest and of danger.

A month after, three of our friends began to perceive the condition they were in, and left the convent in one night, by which they have given great scandal to the city, and we do not know what has become of them; as for me, I design to do the same, for I am under the same apprehensions and fear; for I consider, that if I do continue in the convent, my unusual size will discover me, and though one life shall be saved, I shall lose mine by the rulers of our order in a miserable manner, and not only so, but a heavy reflection will fall upon the whole order, and the dishonor of my family shall be the more public: Whereas, if I quit the convent by night, I save two lives, and the world will reflect only upon me, and then I shall take care to go so far off that nobody shall hear of me; and as I am sure, in my conscience, that I am not a nun for want of intention, when I did promise to keep *obedience, chastity, poverty, and perpetuity*, I shall not incur the crime of apostacy, in leaving the convent; and if I continue in it, I am fully resolved to prevent my ruin and death by a strong operating remedy.— This is all I have to say, and I do expect from you, not only your advice, but your assistance too.

Conf. I do find the case so intricate, that I want experience and learning to resolve what to do in it; and I do think it proper for you to send for another confessor of years and learning, and then you shall have the satisfaction of being well directed and advised.

Nun. Now, reverend Father, I do tell you positively, that I shall never open my heart to another confessor, while I live; and if you do not advise me what to do, I shall call you before God for it; and now I lay upon you whatever thing may happen in my case.

Conf. Ignorance will excuse me from sin, and I tell you I am ignorant how to resolve the case.

Nun. I am resolved for all events, and if you refuse me this comfort, I shall cry out, and say, that you have been solliciting and corrupting me in the very act of confession, and you shall suffer for it in the inquisition.

Conf. Well, have patience, means may be found out; And if you give me leave to consult the case, I shall resolve you about it in three days time.

Nun. How can you consult my case, without exposing the order, and my reputation too, perhaps, by some circumstance?

Conf. Leave it to me, and be not uneasy about it, and I do promise to come with the resolution on Sunday next.

Nun. Pray, Father, if it be possible, come next Monday morning, and I shall be free from company.

Conf. It is very well: But, in the mean time, have before your eyes the wrath of God against those that abandon themselves, and forget that he is a living God, to punish suddenly great sinners; and with this, farewell.

My mind never before was so much troubled as it was after this case. I was, more by the interest of others, than by my learning, appointed penitentiary confessor in the cathedral church of St. *Salvator*; and as the duty of such a confessor is to be every day, in the morning, four hours in the confessional, from eight till twelve, except he be called abroad; every body thinks that such a confessor must be able to resolve all cases and difficulties: But it was not so with me; for I was young and without experience. And

as to this case, the next academical day I proposed it in the following manner :

There is a person bound by word of mouth, but at the same time without intention, nay, with a mind and heart averse to it; bound, I say, to *obedience*, *chastity*, and *poverty*. If the person leaves the convent, the crime of apostacy is not committed in *foro interno*; and if the person continues in the convent, the consequence is to be a great sin in *foro externo* and *interon*. The person expects the resolution, or else is fully resolved to expose the confessor to scandal, and personal sufferings: This is the case which I humbly lay down before your learned reverences.

The president's opinion was, that in such a case, the confessor was obliged, in the first place, to reveal it in general terms, to the holy inquisitors; for (said he) though this case is not mentioned in our authors, there are others very like this, which ought to be revealed, viz. all those that are against either the temporal or spiritual good of our neighbour, which cases are reserved to the bishop or to his deputy; and this case, by the last circumstance, being injurious to the holy tribunal, the confessor ought to prevent the scandal which might otherwise fall upon him, to reveal the last circumstance. As for the first circumstance of the case, in this and others, we must judge *secundum allegata and probata*; and we must suppose, that no penitent comes to confess with a lie in his mouth; therefore, if the person affirms that he was bound without intention, he is free before God: Besides, *in rebus dubiis minimum est sequendum*; so to prevent greater evil, I think the person may be advised to quit the convent; and this is agreeable to the Pope's dispensations to such persons; when they swear and produce witness, that (before they were bound to the vow) heard the person say, they had no intention to it.

The reverend Mr. Palomo's opinion was, that the confessor was to take the safest part, which was to

advise the penitent to send to Rome for a dispensation, which could be obtained by money, or to the Pope's *Nuncio*, who would give leave to quit the convent for six months, upon necessity of preserving or recovering bodily health; and in that time, may be the person would dissipate some fumes of grief or melancholy fancies, &c.

But I replied to this, that the person could not do the first, for want of witness, nor the second, for being in perfect health, the physician never would grant his certificate to be produced before the Pope's *Nuncio*, which is absolutely necessary in such cases; and as to revealing the case to the holy inquisitors, it is very dangerous, both to the person and the confessor, as we could prove by several instances.

To this, several members being of my opinion, it was resolved, that the confessor, first of all, was to absolve the penitent, having a bull of *cruzade*, and *extra confessionem*, or out of confession give, as a private person, advice to the penitent to quit the convent, and take a certificate. Wherein the penitent was to specify, that the confessor had given such advice *extra actum confessionis*. The case and resolution was entered in the academy's book. And accordingly Monday following, I went to the nun and performed what was resolved; and the very same week, we heard in the city, that such a nun had made her escape out of the convent.

Two years and a half after this, I saw this very nun one day at the court of Lisbon, but I did not speak with her, for as I was dressed like an officer of the army, I thought she would not know me; but I was mistaken, for she knew me in my disguise, as well as I did her. The next day she came to my lodgings followed by a lacquey, who, by her orders, had dogged me the night before. I was so troubled for fear to be discovered, that I thought the best way I could take was to run away and secure myself in an ~~inn~~: But by her first words I discovered,

that her fear was greater than mine : for after giving me an account of her escape out of the convent, and safe delivery, she told me that a Portuguese captain happening to quarter in the same town where she was, took her away one night, and carried her to Barcelona, but that she refusing to comply with his desires, on any but honorable terms, he had married her and brought her to Lisbon : That her husband knew nothing of her having been a nun ; that she took another name, and that she was very happy with her husband, who was very rich, and a man of good sense. She begged me with tears in her eyes not to ruin her by discovering any thing of her life past. I assured her, that nothing should happen on my account, that should disoblige her ; and afterwards she asked me, why I was not dressed in a clerical habit ? To which I desired her to take no notice of it, for I was there upon secret business, and of great consequence, and that as there was no body there who knew me in Saragossa, it was proper to be disguised. She desired my leave to introduce me to her husband, under the title of a country gentleman, who was come thither for Charles the 3d's sake. I thanked her, and she went home overjoyed with my promise, and I was no less with hers. The next day her husband came to visit me, and ever after, we visited almost every day one another, till I left that city. This I say, she was a better wife, than she had been a nun, and lived more religiously in the world, than she had done in the cloister of the convent.

Now I must leave off the account of private cases and confessions, not to be tedious to the readers by insisting too long a time upon one subject. But, as I promised to the public to discover the most secret practices of the Romish priests ; in this point of *auricular confession*, I cannot dismiss nor put an end to this first chapter, without performing my promise.

By the account I have already given of a few private confessions, every body may easily know the

wickedness of the Romish priests, but more particularly their covetousness and thirst of money will be detected by my following observations.

First of all, if a poor countryman goes to confess, the father confessor takes little pains with him, for, as he expects little or nothing from him, he heareth him, and with bitter words corrects the poor man, and, most commonly, without any correction, imposing upon him a hard penance, sends him away with the same ignorance, he went to confess.

2. If a soldier happens to go to make his peace with God (so they express themselves when they go to confess) then the confessor sheweth the power of a spiritual guide. He questions him about three sins only, viz. *thefts*, *drukenness* and *uncleaness*. Perhaps the poor soldier is free from the two first, but if he is guilty of the last, the confessor draws the consequence, that he is guilty of all the three, and terrifying him with hell, and all the devils, and the fire of it, he chargeth him with restitution, and that he is obliged to give so much money for the relief of the souls in purgatory, or else he cannot get absolution. So the poor man, out of better conscience than his confessor, offers a months pay, which must be given upon the spot (for in the shop of confessors there is neither trust nor credit) to appease the rough, bitter confessor, and to get absolution; and I believe this hard way of using the poor soldiers is the reason that they do not care at all for that act of devotion; and as they are so bad customers to the confessors shop, the confessors use their endeavours, when they go to buy absolution, to sell it as dear as they can; so they pay at one time for two, three or more years.

I heard a soldier, damning the confessors, say, "if I continue in the king's service 20 years, I will not go to confess, for it is easier and cheaper to lift up my finger* and be absolved by our chaplain, than

* The custom of the Spanish army in the field, and the day before the battle, or before the engagement, the chaplain goes through

to go to a devilish friar, who doth nothing but rail and grumble at me, and yet I must give him money for masses, or else he will not absolve me: I will give him leave to bury me alive, if ever he gets me near him again."

If a collegian goes to confess, he finds a mild, and sweet confessor, and without being questioned, and with a small penance, he generally gets absolution.—The reason the confessors have to use the collegians with so great civility and mildness is, first, because if a collegian is ill used by his confessor, he goes to a deaf friar, who absolves *ad dexteram*, and *ad Sinistram*, all sorts of penitents for a real of plate; and after, he inquireth and examineth into all the other confessor's actions, visits and intrigues; and when he has got matter enough, he will write a lampoon on him, which has happened very often in my time. So the confessor dares not meddle with the collegians, for fear that his tricks should be brought to light; and another reason is because the collegians, for the generality, are like the *filles de joys in Lent*, i. e. without money, and so the confessor cannot expect any profit by them.

I say, if absolution is denied to a collegian, he goes to a *deaf confessor*,; for some confessors are called *deaf*, not because they are really, but because they give small penance without correction; and never deny absolution, though the sins be reserved to the pope. I knew two Dominican friars, who were known by the name of *deaf confessors*, because they never used to question the penitent.

Only one of such confessors has more business in Lent, than twenty of the others, for he (like our

all the companies, to ask the officers whether they have a mind to confess, and if one has any thing to say, he whispers in the chaplain's ear, and so through all the officers. As for the private men: Crying out, says, he that has a sin, let him lift up one finger, and gives a general absolution to all at once.

couple-beggars, who for six-pence do marry the people) for the same sum gives absolution. And for this reason all the great and habitual sinners go to the *deaf confessor*, who gives, upon a bargain, a certificate in which he says that such a one has fulfilled the commandment of the church, for every body is obliged to produce a certificate of confession to the minister of the parish before Easter, or else he must be exposed in the church: So as it is a hard thing for any old sinner to get absolution and a certificate from other covetous confessors, without a great deal of money, they generally go to the *deaf confessors*. I had a friend in the same convent, who told me, that such confessors were obliged to give two thirds of their profit to the community, and being only two *deaf confessors* in that convent, he assured me, that in one Lent, they gave to the father prior 600 pistoles a piece. I found the thing incredible, thinking that only poor and debauched people used to go to them; but he satisfied me, saying, that rich and poor, men and women, priests and nuns, were customers to them, and that only the poor and loose people used to go to confess in the church; but as for the rich, priests and nuns, they were sent for by them in the afternoon, and at night; and that the poor *Deafs* had scarcely time to get their rest; and that when they were sent for, the common price was a pistole, and sometimes ten pistoles according to the quality and circumstances of the person. And thus much of *deaf confessors*.

4. If a friar or a priest comes to confess, every body ought to suppose, that the father confessor has nothing to do, but to give the penance, and pronounce the words of absolution; for both penitent and confessor being of the same trade, and of the same corporation, or brotherhood; the fashion of this cloak of absolution is not paid among them, and they work one for another, without any interest, in expectation of the same return.

This must be understood between the friars only, not between a friar and secular priest ; for these do not like one another, and the reason is, because the friars, for the generality, are such officious and insinuating persons in families, that by their importunities and assiduity of visits, they become at least the masters of families, and goods ; so the secular priest hath nothing to busy himself with ; and observe, that there are twenty friars to one secular priest, so the small fish is eaten by the greater : Therefore if it happens sometimes, upon necessity, that a priest goes to confess to a friar, or a friar to a priest, they make use of such an opportunity, to exact as much as they can from one another.

I know a good merry priest, who had been in company with a friar's *devota*, i. e. in proper terms, *mistress* ; and jested a little with her : Afterwards the poor priest having something to confess, and no other confessor in his way, but the *devoto* of that *devota*, he was forced to open his heart to him ; but the confessor was so hard upon him, that he made him pay on the nail two pieces of eight, to get absolution. So he payed dear for jesting with the mistress of a friar ; and he protested to me, that if ever it happened, that that friar should come to confess to him, he should not go away at so cheap a rate.

This I can aver, that I went to a Franciscan convent the second day of August, to get the indulgences of the Jubilee of Poreiunculæ, and my confessor was so hard, that he began to persuade me, he could not absolve me without a pistole in hand : I told him, that I had not confessed any reserved sin, and that he did not know I could ruin him : But the friar, knowing that it was a great scandal, to get up from his feet without absolution, he insisted upon it ; and I was obliged, to avoid scandal, to give him his demand. After the confession was over, as I had been in a great passion at the unreasonable usage the of friar ; I thought it was not fit for me to celebrate the Mass,

without a new reconciliation, (as we call the short confession) so I went to the father guardian or superior of the convent, and confessing that sin of passion, occasioned by the covetous usage of such a confessor, his correction to me was, to pay down another pistole for scandalizing both the friar and the Franciscan habit; I refused the correction, and went home without the second absolution. I had a mind to expose both of them; but upon second thoughts, I did nothing at all, for fear that the whole order should be against me.

5. If a modest, serious, religious lady comes to confess, he useth her in another way; for he knows that such ladies never come to confess, without giving a good charity for Masses; so all the confessor's care is, to get himself into the lady's favor, which he doth by hypocritical expressions of godliness and devotion, of humility and strictness of life. He speaks gravely and conscientiously, and if the lady has a family, he gives her excellent advices, as, to keep her children within the limits of sobriety and virtue, for the world is so deceitful, that we ought always to be upon our guard; and to watch continually over our souls, &c. And by that means and the like, (the good lady believing him a sincere and devout man) he becomes the guide of her soul, of her house and family, and most commonly the ruin of her children, and sometimes her own ruin too. I will give the following instance to confirm this truth; and as the thing was public, I need not scruple to mention it with the real names.— In the year 1706, F. Antonio Gallardo, Augustin friar, murdered Dona Isabella Mendez, and a child three weeks old sucking at her breast. The lady was but twenty four years of age, and had been married eight years to Don Francisco Mendez. The friar had been her spiritual guide all that while, and all the family had so great a respect and esteem for him, that he was the absolute master of the house. The lady was brought to bed, and Don Francisco being obliged to

go into the country for four days, desired the father to come and lie in his house, and take care of it in his absence. The father's room was always ready : so he went there the same day Don Francisco went into the country. At eight at night, both the father and the lady went to supper, and after he sent all the maids and servants into the hall to sup, the lady took the child to give him suck ; and the friar told her, in plain and short reasons, his love, and that without any reply or delay, she must comply with his request. The lady said to him, Father if you propose such a thing to try my faithfulness and virtue, you know my conscience these eight years past ; and if you have any ill design, I will call my family to prevent your further assurance. The friar then in a fury, taking a knife, killed the child, and wounded so deeply the mother, that she died two hours after : The friar made his escape ; but whether he went to his convent or not, we did not hear. I myself saw the lady dead, and went to her burial in the church of the old St. John.

6. If a *Beata* goes to confess, which they do every day, or at least every other day, then the Confessor, with a great deal of patience, hears her, (sure of his reward.) I cannot pass by without giving a plain description of the women called *Beatas*, i. e. *blessed women*. These are most commonly tradesmen's wives (generally speaking, ugly) and of a middle age : But this rule has some exceptions, for there are some *Beatas* young and handsome. They are dressed with modesty, and walk with a serious countenance. But since their designs in this outward modesty, were discovered they are less in number, and almost out of fashion, since King Philip came to the throne of Spain ; for the French liberty and freedom being introduced amongst the ladies, they have no occasion of stratagems to go abroad when they please : So, as the design of a *Beata* was to have an excuse, on pretence of confession, to go out, *sublata causa tollitur effectus*.

The Confessor, I said, of a *Beata*, was sure of his reward ; for she, watching the living and the dead, useth to gather money for masses, from several people, to satisfy her confessor for the trouble of hearing her impertinences every day. A *Beata* sometimes makes the confessor believe that many things were revealed to her by the Holy Spirit ; sometimes she pretends to work miracles ; and by such visions, fancies or dreams, the confessors fall into horrible crimes before God and the world.

The following instance, which was published by the Inquisitors, will be a testimony of this truth. I do give the real names of the persons in this account, because the thing was made public.

IN the city of Saragossa, near the college of St. Thomas of Villaneuva, lived Mary Guerrero, married to a taylor ; she was handsome, witty and ambitious : But as the rank of a taylor's wife could not make her shine among the quality, she undertook the life of a *Beata*, to be known by it in the city. The first step she was to make was to choose a confessor of good parts, and of a good reputation among the nobility ; so she pitched upon the reverend Father Fr. Michael Navarro, a Dominican Friar, who was D. D. and a man universally well beloved for his doctrine and good behavior. But, *quando Venus vigilat, Minerva dormit*. She began to confess to him, and in less than a year, by her feigned modesty, and hypocritical airs ; and by confessing no sins, but the religious exercises of her life ; the reverend Father began to publish in the city her sanctity to the highest pitch. Many ladies and gentlemen of the first rank, desirous to see the new saint, sent for her, but she did not appear, but by her maid, gave a denial to all. This was a new addition to the fame of her sanctity, and a new incitement to the ladies to see her. So some, going to visit Father Navarro, desired the favor of him

to go along with them, and introduce them to the blessed Guerrero : But the father (either bewitched by her, or in expectation of a bishoprick, for the making of a saint, or the better to conceal his private designs) answered, that he could not do such a thing; for, knowing her virtue, modesty, and aversion to any act of vanity, he should be very much in the wrong, to give her opportunities of cooling her fervent zeal and purity.

By that means rich and poor, old and young, men and women, began to resort to her neighbor's house, and the Dominican church, only to see the blessed Guerrero. She shewed a great displeasure at these popular demonstrations of respect, and resolved to keep close at home; and after a long consultation with the Father Navarro, they agreed that she should keep her room, and that he would go to confess her, and say mass in her room (for the Dominicans, and the four Mendicant orders, have a privilege for their friars to say Mass, or, as they say, to set an altar every where.) To begin this new way of living, the Father charged her husband to quit the house, and never appear before his wife; for his sight would be a great hindrance to his wife's sanctity and purity; and the poor sot, believing every thing, went away and took a lodging for himself and apprentice.

They continued this way of living, both she and the Father, a whole year; but the fatigue of going every day to say Mass and confess the *blessed*, being too great for the reverend, he asked leave from the reverend Father Buenacasa, then prior of the convent, to go and live with her as a spiritual guide. The prior, foreseeing some great advantage, gave him leave, and so he went for good and all to be her lodger and master of the house. When the father was in the house, he began by degrees to give permission to the people now and then to see the *blessed*, through the glass of a little window, desiring them not to make a noise, for fear of disturbing the *blessed* in her exercise

of devotion : She was in her own room always upon her knees, when some people were to see her through the glass, which was in the wall between her room, and that of the reverend. In a few months after, the archbishop went to see her, and conversed with her, and the father Navarro, who was in great friendship with, and much honored by his Grace. This example of the prelate put the nobility in mind to do the same. The viceroy not being permitted by his royal representation to go to her, sent his coach one night for her, and both the father and the *blessed* had the honor to sup in private with his Excellency : This being spread abroad, she was troubled every day with coaches, and presents from all sorts and conditions of people. Many sick went there in hopes to be healed by her sight ; and some that happened to go, when nature itself was upon the crisis, or by the exercise of walking, or by some other natural operation, finding themselves better, used to cry out, a miracle, a miracle ! She wanted nothing but to be carried on a pedestal upon the ignorant's shoulders : The fame of her sanctity was spread so far, that she was troubled every post-day with letters from people of quality in other provinces, so the reverend was obliged to take a secretary under him, and a porter to keep the door ; for they had removed to another house of better appearance, and more conveniency. Thus they continued for the space of two years, and all this while the reverend was writing the life of the *blessed* ; and many times he was pressed to print part of her life ; but the time of the discovery of their wickedness being come, they were taken by an order from the holy inquisition.

The discovery happened thus. Ann Moron, a surgeons wife, who lived next door to the *blessed*, had a child of ten months old, and, as a neighbor, she went to desire the reverend, to beg of the *blessed* to take the child and kiss him, thinking, that by such an kiss, her child would be happy forever. But

the reverend desiring her to go herself and make the request to the *blessed*, she did it accordingly. Mary Guerrero took the child and bid the mother leave him with her for a quarter of an hour. Ann Moron then thought that her child was already in heaven; but when in a quarter of an hour after, she came again for the child, the *blessed* told her, that her child was to die the night following, for so God had revealed to her in a short prayer she made for the child. The child really died the night following, but the surgeon, as a tender father, seeing some spots and marks in his child's body, opened it, and found in it the cause of its unfortunate death, which was a dose of poison. Upon this suspicion of the child's being poisoned, and the foretelling his death by the *blessed*, the father went to the inquisitors, and told the nature of the thing.

Don Pedro Guerrero the first inquisitor was then absent, so Don Francisco Torrejon, second inquisitor, went himself to examine the thing, and seeing the child dead, and all the circumstances against the *blessed*, he then ordered, that she and the reverend, and all their domestic servants, should be secured immediately, and sent to the holy inquisition. All things were done accordingly, and this sudden and unexpected accident made such a noise in town, that every body reasoned in his own way, but nobody dared to speak of the inquisitor. At the same time every thing in the house was seized upon, with the papers of the reverend, &c. Among the papers was found the life of the *blessed*, written by father Navarro's own hand. I said in the beginning, that he was bewitched, and so many people believed; for it seemed incredible that so learned a man, as he was in his own religion, should fall into so gross an ignorance, as to write such a piece, in the method it was found composed; for the manuscript contained about six hundred sheets, which by an order of the inquisitors, were sent to the *qualificators of the holy office* to be review-

ed by them, and to have their opinions thereupon. I shall speak of these qualificators, when I come to treat of the inquisitors and their practises. Now it is sufficient to say, that all the qualificators, being examiners of the crimes committed against the holy catholic faith, examined the sheets, and their opinion was, that the book entitled *the life of the blessed Mary Guerrero*, composed by the reverend father Fr. Michael Navarro, was scandalous, false, and against revealed doctrines in the scripture, and good manners, and that it deserved to be burnt in the common yard of the holy office, by the mean officer of it.

After this examination was made, the inquisitors summoned two priests out of every parish church, and two friars out of every convent, to come such a day to the hall of the holy tribunal to be present at the trial and examinations against Mary Guerrero, and Michael Navarro. It was my turn to go to that trial for the cathedral church of St. Salvator. We went the day appointed, all the summoned priests and friars, to the number of a hundred and fifty, besides the inquisitors, officers of the inquisition, and qualificators, these had the cross of the holy office before their breasts, which is set upon their habits in a very nice manner. The number of qualificators I reckoned that day in the hall were two hundred and twenty. When all the summoned were together, and the inquisitors under a canopy of black velvet (which is placed at the right corner of the altar, upon which was an image of the crucifix, and six yellow wax candles, without any other light) they made the signal to bring the prisoners to the bar, and immediately they came out of the prison, and kneeling down before the holy fathers, the secretary began to read the articles of the examinations and convictions of their crimes.

Indeed both the father and the blessed appeared that day very much like saints, if we will believe the Roman's proverb, that paleness and thin visage is a sign of sanctity. The examination, and the lecture

of their crimes was so long, that we were summoned three times more upon the same trial, in which, to the best of my memory, I heard the following articles.

That by the Blessed's confession to Michael Navarero, this in the beginning of her life says: 1st. That blessed creature knew no sin since she was born into the world. 2d. She has been several times visited by the angels in her closet; and Jesus Christ himself has come down thrice to give her new heavenly instructions. 3d. She was advised by the divine spouse to live separately from her husband. 4th. She was once favoured with a visit of the holy trinity, and then she saw Jesus at the left hand of the Father. 5th. The holy dove came afterwards and sat upon her head many times. 6th. This holy comforter has foretold her, that her body after death shall be always incorruptible, and that a great king, with the news of her death, shall come to honor her sepulchre with this motto. The soul of this warrior* is the glory of my kingdom. 7th. Jesus Christ in a Dominican's habit appeared to her at night, and in a celestial dream she was overshadowed by the spirit. 8th. She had taken out of purgatory seven times the soul of his companion's sister. (What folly!) 9th. The pope and the whole church shall rejoice in her death; nay, his holiness shall cannonize her, and put her in the Litany before the apostles, &c. After these things her private miracles were read, &c. and so many passages of her life that it would be too tedious to give an account of them. I only write these, to shew the stupidity of the reverend Navarero, who, if he had been in his perfect senses, could not have committed so gross an error. [This was the pious people's opinion.] The truth is, that the Blessed was not overshadowed by the spirit, but by her confessor; for she being at that time with child, and delivered in the inquisition, one article against the father was, that he had

* *Guerrero*, in Spanish signifies warrior.

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his bed near her bed, and that he was the father of the new child, or monster on earth.

Their sentences were not read in public, and what was their end we know not; only we heard, that the husband of the blessed had notice given to him by an officer of the holy office, that he was at liberty to marry to any other he had a fancy for; and by this true account, the public may easily know the extravagancies of the Romish confessors; who, blinded either by their own passions, or by the subtleties of the wicked beatas, do commit so great and heinous crimes, &c.

There is another sort of beatas, whom we call *endemoniadas*, i. e. *demoniacks*, and by these possessed the confessor gets a vast deal of masses. I will tell you, reader, the nature of the thing, and by it you will see the cheat of the confessor and the demoniack. I said before, that among the beatas there are two sorts, young, and of middle age, but all married; and that the young undertake the way of confessing every day, or three times a week, to get opportunity of going abroad, and be delivered a while from their husband's jealousies: But many husbands being jealous of the flies that come near their wives, they scarcely give them leave to go to confess. Observe further, that those women make their husbands believe, that out of spite, a witch has given them the evil spirit, and they make such unusual gestures, both with their faces and mouths, that it is enough to make the world laugh only at the sight of them. When they are in the fit of the evil spirit, they talk blasphemously against God and his saints, they beat husbands and servants; they put themselves in such a sweat, that when the evil spirit leaves them for a while (as they say) they cannot stand upon their feet for excessive fatigue. The poor deceived husbands, misled in mind and body, send for a physician; but this cure he has no remedy for such a distemper, ysic knows no manner of devil, and so,

their dealing being not with the spirit, but with the body, he sends the husband to the spiritual physician ; and by that means they are, out of a good design, procurers for their own wives ; for really they go to the spiritual father, begging his favour and assistance to come to exercise, i. e. to read the prayer of the church, and to turn out the evil spirit out of his wife's body. Then the father makes him understand, that the thing is very troublesome, and that if the devil is obstinate and positive, he cannot leave his wife in three or four nights ; and may be, in a month or two ; by which we must neglect other business of honor and profit. To this the deluded husband promises that his trouble shall be well recompensed, and puts a piece of gold in his hand, to make him easy ; so he pays before hand for his future dishonor. Then the father exorcist goes along with him, and as soon as the wife hears the voice of the exorcist, she flies into an unmeasurable fury, and cries out, do not let that man (meaning the exorcist) come to torment me (as if the devil did speak in her and for her.) But he takes the hysop with holy water, and sprinkles the room. Here the Demoniac throweth herself on the ground, teareth her clothes and hair, as if she was perfectly a mad woman. Then the priest tieth the blessed stole, i. e. a sort of scarf, they make use of among other ornaments to say mass, upon her neck, and begins the prayers : Sometimes the devil is very timorous and leaves the creature immediately easy ; sometimes he is obstinate, and will resist a long while before he obeys the exorcisms of the church ; but at last he retires himself into his own habitation, and frees the creature from his torments ; for, they say, that the devil or evil spirit, sometimes has his place in the head, sometimes in the stomach, sometimes in the liver, &c. After the woman is easy for a while, they eat and drink the best that can be found in the town.

A while after, when the husband is to mind his own business, the wife, on pretence that the evil spirit begins again to trouble her, goes into her chamber and desireth the father to hear her confession. They lock the door after them, and what they do for an hour or two, God only knoweth. These private confessions and exercises of devotion continue for several months together, and the husband, loth to go to bed with his wife, for fear of the evil spirit, goes to another chamber, and the father lieth in the same room with his wife on a field-bed, to be always ready, when the malignant spirit comes, to exorcise, and beat him with the holy *Stola*. So deeply ignorant are the people in that part of the world, or so great bigots, that on pretence of religious remedies to cure their wives of the devilish distemper, they contract a worse distemper on their heads and honors, which no physician, either spiritual, or corporal, can ever cure.

When in a month or two, the father and the demoniack have settled matters between themselves, for the time to come, he tells the husband, that the devil is in a great measure tamed, by the daily exorcisms of the holy mother the church, and that it is time for him to retire, and mind other business of his convent; and that, it being impossible for him to continue longer in his house, all he can do, is to serve him and her in his convent, if she goes there every day. The husband, with a great deal of thanks, pays the father for his trouble, who taking his leave goes to his community, and gives to the father prior two parts of the money (for the third part is allowed to him for his own pains.) The day following, in the morning, the Demoniac is worse than she was before: Then the husband, out of faith, and zeal of a good Christian, crieth out, the father is gone, and the devil is loose: The exorcisms of the church are not ready at hand, and the evil spirit thinks himself at liberty and begins to trouble the poor creature: Let us send her to the convent, and the bold, malignant
I pay dear there for this new attempt. So

the wife goes to the father, and the father takes her into a little room, next to the vestry, (a place to receive their acquaintance, only of the female sex) and there both in private, the father appeases the devil, and the woman goes quiet and easy to her house, where she continues in the same easiness till the next morning. Then the devil begins to trouble her again; and the husband says, O obstinate spirit! You make all this noise because the hour of being beaten with the holy stola, is near: I know that your spite and malice against the exorcisms of the church is great; but the power of them is greater than thine: Go, go to the father, and go through all the lashes of the stola. So the woman goes again to the father, and in this manner of life they continue for a long while.

There is of these Beatas in every convent church, not a few, for sometimes, one of those exorcists keeps six, and sometimes ten, by whom, and their husbands, he is very well paid for the trouble of confessing them every day, and for taming the devil, but the most pleasant thing among those demoniacks is, that they have different devils, that trouble them; for by a strict commandment of the father, they are forced to tell their names, so one is called Bezebub, another Lucifer, &c. And those devils are very jealous one of another. I saw several times, in the body of the church, a battle among three of those demoniacks, on pretence of being in the fit of the evil spirit, threatening and beating one another, and calling one another nicknames, till the father came with the hysop, holy water and the stola, to appease them, and bid them to be silent, and not make such a noise in the house of the Lord. And the whole matter was (as we knew afterwards) that the father Exorcist was more careful of one, than of the others; and jealousy (which is the worse devil) getting into their heads, they give it to their respective devils, who, with an infernal fury, fought one against another, out of pet and revenge for the sake of their lodging room.

In the city Huesca, where (as they believe) Pontius Pilate was professor of law in the University, and his chair, or part of it, is kept in the bishop's palace for a show, and a piece of antiquity, (and which I saw myself) I say, I saw, and conversed both with the father exorcist and the Beata Demoniack about the following instance.

The thing being not publicly divulged, but among a few persons, I will give an account of it under the names of father John and Dorothea : this Dorothea when 13 years old, was married, against her inclinations, to a tradesman 50 years old. The beauty of Dorothea, and the ugliness of her husband were very much, the one admired, and the other observed by all the inhabitants of the city. The bishop's secretary made the match, and read the ceremony of the church, for he was the only executor of her father's will and testament: She was known by the name of Young dancing eyes. Her husband was jealous of her, in the highest degree; she could not go out without him, and so she suffered this torment for the space of three years. She had an aversion, and a great antipathy against him. Her Confessor was a young, well shaped friar, and whether out of her own contrivance, or by the friar's advice, one day, unexpected by her husband, the devil was detected and manifested in her. What affliction this was to the old, amorous, jealous husband, is inexpressible. The poor man went himself to the Jesuit's college, next to his house, for an exorcist, but the jesuit could do nothing to appease that devil, to the great surprise of the poor husband and many others too, who believe, that a jesuit can command and overcome the devil himself, and that the devils are more afraid of a jesuit, than of their sovereign prince in hell.

The poor husband sent for many others, but the effect did not answer the purpose; till at last her own Confessor came to her, and after many exorcisms, and private prayers, she was (or the devil in her) pacified

for a while. This was a testimony of the father John's fervent zeal and virtue to the husband, so they settled how the case was to be managed for the future. Friar John was very well recompensed upon the bargain; and both the Demoniack and Friar John continued in daily battle with the evil spirit for two years together. The husband began to sleep quiet and easy, thinking that his wife, having the devil in her body, was not able to be unfaithful to him; for while the malignant torments the body, the woman begins to fast in public and eat in private with the Exorcist; and the exercises of such Demoniacks are all of prayers and devotions, so the deceived husband believes that it is better to have a Demoniack wife, than one free from the evil spirit.

The exorcisms of Friar John (being to appease not a spiritual, but a material devil) he and Dorothea were both discovered, and found in the fact, by a Friar of the same convent, who, by many presents from Friar John and Dorothea, did not reveal the thing to the Prior, but he told it to some of his friends, which were enemies to Friar John, from whom I heard the story. For my part, I did not believe it for a while, till at last, I knew, that the Friar John was removed into another convent, and that Dorothea left her house and husband, and went after him; though the husband endeavored to spread abroad, that the devil had stolen his wife. These are the effects of the practices of the Demoniacks and Exorcists.

Now I come to the persons of public authority, either in ecclesiastical, civil or military affairs, and to the ladies of the first quality or rank in the world. As to those, I must beg leave to tell the truth, as well as of the inferior people. But, because the Confessors of such persons are most commonly all Jesuits, it seems very appropos to give a description of those Fathers, their practices and lives, and to write of them, to the best of my knowledge and memory, what I know to be the matter of fact.

ALMOST in all the Roman Catholic countries, the Jesuit fathers are the teachers of the Latin tongue, and to this purpose, they have in every college (so they call their convents) four large rooms, which are called the four classes for the grammar.— There is one teacher in each of them. The city corporation, or politic body, paying the Rector of the Jesuits so much a year, and the young gentlemen are at no expence at all for learning the Latin tongue. The scholars lodge in towns, and they go every day, from eight in the morning till eleven, to the college; and when the clock strikes eleven, they go along with the four teachers to hear Mass: They go at two in the afternoon, till half after four, and so they do all the year long, except the holy days, and the vacations from the fifteenth of August, till the ninth of September. As the four teachers receive nothing for their trouble, because the payment of the city goes to the community, they have contrived how to be recompensed for their labor: There were in the college of Saragossa, when I learned Latin, very near six hundred scholars, noblemen, and tradesmen's sons, every one was to pay every Saturday a real plate for the rule (as they call it.) There is a custom, to have a public literal act once every day, to which are invited the young gentlemen's parents, but none of the common people. The Father Rector and all the community are present, and placed in their velvet chairs. To the splendid performance of this act, the four tea-

chers chuse twelve gentlemen, and each of them is to make, by heart, a Latin speech in the pulpit. They chuse besides the twelve, one Emperor, two Kings, and two Pretors, which are always the most noble of the young gentlemen: They wear crowns on their heads that day, which is the distinguishing character of their learning. The Emperor sits under a canopy, the Pretors on each side, and the Kings a step lower, and the twelve Senators in two lines next to the throne. This act lasts three hours; and after all is over, the teachers and the Father Rector invite the nobility and the Emperor, with the Pretors, Kings and Senators, to go to the common-hall of the college, to take a refreshment of the most nice sweetmeats and best liquor. The Fathers of the Emperor, Kings, Pretors and Senators, are to pay for all the charges and expences, which are fixed to be a hundred pistoles every month. And every time there are new Emperors or Kings, &c. by moderate computation, we were sure, that out of the remainder of the hundred pistoles a month, and a real of plate every week from each of the scholars, the four Father teachers had clear, to be divided among themselves every year, sixteen hundred pistoles.

We must own that the Jesuits are very fit, and the most proper persons for the education of youth, and that all these exercises and public acts (tho' for their interests) are great stimulations and incitements to learning in young gentlemen; for one of them will study night and day only to get the empty title of Emperor, &c. once in a month; and their parents are very glad to expend eight pistoles a year to encourage their sons; and besides that, they believe, that they are under a great obligation to the Jesuits college, and the Jesuits knowing their tempers, become, not only acquainted with them, but absolute masters of their houses: I must own likewise, that I never heard of any Jesuit Father, any thing against good manners or christian conversation; for really, they

behave themselves, as to outward appearance, with so great civility, modesty and policy, that no body has any thing to say against their deportment in the world, except self-interest, and ambition.

And really the Jesuits' order is the richest of all the orders in Christendom ; and because the reason of it is not well known, I will now tell the ways by which they gather together 'so great treasures every where. As they are universally teachers of the Latin tongue, and have this opportunity to know the youth, they pitch upon the most ingenious young men and upon the richest of all, though they be not very witty ; They spare neither time nor persuasions, nor presents, to persuade them to be of the society of Jesus (so they name their order): The poor and ingenious are very glad of it, and the noble and rich too, thinking to be great men upon the account of their quality : So their colleges are composed of witty and noble people. By the noble gentlemen, they get riches ; by the witty and ingenious, they support their learning, and breed up teachers and great men to govern the consciences of Princes, people of public authority, and ladies of the first rank.

They do not receive ladies in private, in their colleges, but always in the middle of the church or chapel ; they never set down to hear them. They do not receive charity for Masses, nor Beatas, nor Demoniacs in their church, (I never saw one there) their modesty and civil manners charm every one that speaks with them ; though I believe, all that is to carry on their private end and interests. They are indefatigable in the procuring the good of souls, and sending missionaries to catechise the children in the country ; and they have fit persons in every college for all sorts of exercises, either of devotion, of law, or policy, &c. They entertain nobody within the gate of the college, so nobody knows what they do among themselves. If it sometimes happens that one doth not answer their expectation, after he has taken

the habit, they turn him out ; for they have fourteen years trial : But as soon as they turn him out, they underhand procure a handsome settlement for him ; so that he who is expelled dares not say any thing against them, for fear of loosing his bread. And if, after he is out, he behaves himself well, and gets some riches, he is sure to die a Jesuit.

I heard of Don Pedro Segovia, who had been a Jesuit, but was turned out, but by the Jesuit's influence, he got a prebendary in the Cathedral church, and was an eminent preacher. He was afterwards constantly visited by them, and when he came to die, he asked again the habit, and being granted to him, he died a Jesuit, and by his death the Jesuits became heirs of twenty thousand pistoles in money and lands.

Their are confessors of kings and princes, of ministers of state, and generals, and of all the people of distinction and estates. So, it is no wonder if they are masters of the tenth part of the riches in every kingdom, and if God doth not put a stop to their covetousness, it is to be feared, that one way or other, they will become masters of all ; for they do not seek dignities, being prohibited, by the constitutions of their order, to be Bishops, and Popes ; it is only allowed to them to be Cardinals, to govern the Pope by that means, as well as to rule Emperors, Kings and Princes. At this present time all the Sovereigns of Europe have Jesuits for their Confessors.

Now it is high time to come to say something as to their practices in confessions ; and I will only speak of those I knew particularly well.

First, The reverend Father Navasques, professor of divinity in their college, was chosen Confessor of the countess of Fuentes, who was left a widow at twenty-four years of age. This lady, as well as other persons of quality, kept a coach and servant for the Father Confessor. He has always a Father companion to say Mass to the lady. She allows so much a year to the college, and so much to her Confessor and his

companion. All persons have an oratory or chapel in their houses, by dispensation from the Pope, for which they pay a great deal of money. Their way of living is thus, in the morning they send the coach and servant to the college, most commonly at eleven of the clock: The Father goes every day at that time, and the lords and ladies do not confess every day; they have Mass said at home, and after Mass, the reverend stays in the ladies' company till dinner-time: Then he goes to the college till six in the evening, and at six goes again to see the lady, or lord, till eleven. What are their discourses I do not know: This I know, that nothing is done in the family without the reverend's advice and approbation: So it was with the Countess' family, and when she died, the college got four thousand pistoles a year from her.

The reverend Father Muniessa, Confessor of the Dutchess of Villahermosa, in the same manner got at her death thirty thousand pistoles, and the reverend Father Aranda, Confessor to the countess of Aranda, got two thousand pistoles, yearly rent from her, all for the college. Now what means they make use of to bewitch the people and to suck their substance, every body may think, but nobody may guess at. An ingenious politician was asked, how the Jesuits could be rightly described and defined, and he gave this definition of them. *Amici frigid, and inimici calidi*, i. e. cold friends and warm enemies. And this is all I can write concerning their manners and practices.

Before I dismiss this subject, I cannot pass by one instance more, touching the practices of Confessors in general, and that is, that since I came to these northern countries, I have been told by gentlemen of good sense, and serious in their conversation, that many Priests and Friars were procurers (when they were in those parts of the world) and shewed them the way of falling into the common sin. It is no doubt they know all the lewd women by auricular confession, but I could not believe they would be so villainous and

base, as to make a show of their wickedness before strangers. This I must say in vindication of a great many of them (for what I write is only of the wicked ones) that they are many times engaged in intrigues unknown to themselves, and they are not to be blamed, but only the persons that, with false insinuations, make them believe a lie for a truth, and this under a pretence of devotion. To clear this I will tell a story, which was told me by a colonel in the English service, who lives at present in London.

He said to me, that an officer, a friend of his, was a prisoner in Spain: His lodgings were opposite to a Counsellor's house. The Counsellor was old and jealous, the lady young, handsome and confined, and the officer well shaped and very fair. The windows and balconies of the Counsellor were covered with narrow lattices, and the officer never saw any woman of that house: But the lady, who had several times seen him at his widow, could not long conceal her love, so she sent for her Father confessor, and spoke with him in the following manner: My reverend Father, you are my spiritual guide, and you must prevent the ruin of my soul, reputation and quietness of my life. Over the way, said she, lives an English officer, who is constantly at the window, making signs and demonstrations of love to me, and though I endeavor not to haunt my balcony, for fear of being found out by my spouse; my waiting maid tells me that he is always there.— You know my spouse's temper and jealousy, and if he observes the least thing in the world, I am undone forever. So, to put a timely stop to this, I beg you would be so kind as to go over and desire him to make no more signs; and that if he is a gentleman, as he seems to be, he will never do any thing to disquiet a gentlewoman. The credulous Confessor, believing every syllable, went over to the English officer, and told him the message, asking his pardon for the liberty he took; but that he could not help it, being, as he was the Lady's confessor.

The officer, who was of a very fiery temper, answered him in a resolute manner. Hear, Friar, said he to the confessor, go your way, and never come to me with such false stories, for I do not know what you say, nor I never saw any lady over the way. The poor Father, full of shame and fear, took his leave, and went to deliver the answer to the lady. What, said she, doth he deny the truth? I hope God will prove my innocency before you, and that before two days. The father did comfort her, and went to his convent. The lady seeing her designs frustrated this way, did contrive another to let the officer know her inclination: So one of her servants wrote a letter to her in the officer's name, with many lovely expressions, and desiring her to be in her garden, at eight in the dark evening, under a fig-tree next to the walls. And recommending to her servant the secret, sealed the letter directed to her. Two days after she sent for her confessor again; and told him, Now my reverend Father, God has put a letter, from the officer, into my hands, to convince him and you of the truth. Pray take the letter, and go to him, and if he denies, as he did before, shew him his own letter, and I hope he will not be so bold as to trouble me any more. He did it accordingly, and the English gentleman answered as the first time; and as he flew into a passion, the Father told him, Sir, see this letter, and answer me: which the officer reading, soon understood the meaning, and said, Now, my good father, I must own my folly, for I cannot deny my hand-writing, and to assure you, and the lady, that I shall be a quite different man for the future, pray tell her that I will obey her commands, and that I will never do any thing against her orders. The confessor, very glad of so unexpected good success, as he thought, gave the answer to the lady, adding to it, Now madam, you may be quiet, and without any fear, for he will obey you. Did not I tell you, said she, that he could not deny the fact of the letter? So the confessor went home, having a very

good opinion of the lady, and the English officer too, who did not fail to go to the rendezvous, &c.

Every serious, religious man will rather blame the wicked lady, than the Confessor : for the poor man, tho' he was a procurer and instrument of bringing that intrigue to an effect, really he was innocent all the while ; and how could he suspect any thing of wantonness in a lady so devoutly affected, and so watchful of the ruin of her soul, honor, and quietness of her life ? We must excuse them in such a case as this was, and say, That many and many Confessors, if they are procurers, they do it unknown to themselves, and out of pure zeal for the good of the souls, or to prevent many disturbances in a family : But as for those that, out of wickedness, busy themselves in so base and villainous exercises, I say, heaven and earth ought to rise in judgment against them. They do deserve to be punished in this world, that, by their example, the same exercise might be prevented in others.

I have given an account of some private Confessions of both sexes, and of the most secret practices of some of the Roman-Catholic priests, according to what I promised the public in my printed proposals. And from all that is written and said, I crave leave to draw some few inferences.

First, I say that the pope and councils are the original causes of the aforesaid misdoings and ill practices of the Romish priests : Marriage being forbidden to a priest, not by any commandment of God or divine scripture, but by a strict ordinance from the pope, an indisputable canon of the council. This was not practised by them for many centuries after the death of our Saviour ; and the priests were then more religious, and exemplary than they are now. I know the reasons their church has for it, which I will not contradict, to avoid all sort of controversy : But this I may say, that if the priests, Friars and Nuns were at lawful liberty to marry, they would be better christians, the people richer in honor and estates, the kingdom

better peopled, the king stronger, and the Romish religion more free from foreign attempts and calumnies.

They do make a vow of chastity, and they break it by living loose, lewd, and irregular lives. They do vow poverty, and their thirst for riches is unquenchable, and whatever they get is most commonly by unlawful means: They swear obedience, and they only obey their lusts, passions and inclination. How many sins are occasioned by binding themselves with these three vows in a monastical life? It is inexpressible, and all, or the greater number of sins committed by them, would be hindered, if the pope and council were to imitate the right foundations of the primitive church, and the Apostles of Jesus Christ our Saviour.

As to particular persons, among the priests and Friars, touching their corruptions and ill practices in auricular confession, I say, they do act against divine and human law in such practices, and are guilty of several sins especially Sacrilege and Robbery. It is true, the Moral Summs are defective in the instruction of confessors, as opinions, grounded in the erroneous principles of their church: But as to the settled rules for the guiding and advising the penitent, what he ought to do, to walk uprightly, they are not defective; so the confessors cannot plead *ignoramus* for so doing, and consequently the means they make use of in the tribunal of conscience, are all sinful, being only to deceive and cheat the poor, ignorant people.

Their practices, then, are against divine and human law, contrary to the holy scriptures, nay, to humanity itself: For, *Thou that teachest another, thou shalt not kill; nor commit adultery, nor steal, nor covet thy neighbor's goods, nor wife: Dost thou all those things? And to insist only on sacrilege and robbery. What can it be but robbery, and sacrilege, to sell absolution, or which is the same thing, to refuse it to the penitent, if he doth not give so much money for masses?*

This may be cleared by their own principles, and by the opinions of their casuistical authors, who agree in this, viz. That there are three sorts of sacrilege, or a sacrilege which may be committed three different ways. These are the expressions they make use of. *Sacrum in sacro* : *Sacrum ex sacro* : *Sacrum pro sacro*. That is, to take a sacred thing for a sacred thing, a sacred thing in a sacred place : And a sacred thing out of a sacred place. All these are robbery and sacrilege together, according to their opinions ; and I said that the confessors in their practises are guilty of all three ; for in their opinion, the holy tribunal of conscience is a sacred thing ; the absolution and consecrated church are sacred likewise. As for the money given for the relief of the souls in purgatory, Corella in his moral sum says, that that is a sacred thing too. Now it is certain among them, that no priest can receive money for absolution directly nor indirectly : Those then that take it, rob that money which is unlawfully taken from the penitent ; and it is a sacrilege too, because they take a sacred thing for a sacred thing ; viz. the sacred money for masses taken for absolution. They take that sacred thing in a sacred place, viz. in the sacred tribunal of conscience : And they take a sacred thing out of a sacred place, viz. the church.

Again : Though most commonly, *Quodcumque ligaveris super terram, erit ligatum & in cælis*, is understood by them literally, and the Pope usurps the power of absolving men without contrition, provided they have attrition, or only confession by mouth, as we shall see in the following chapter of the Pope's bull : Nevertheless the casuists when they come to treat of a perfect confession under the sacrament of penance, they unanimously say, that three things are absolutely necessary to a perfect confession, and to salvation too, viz. *Oris confessio, cordis contritio, and operis satisfactio*. Though at the same time they say, except in case of pontifical dispensation with fac-

ties, privileges, indulgencies, and pardon of all sins committed by a man: But though they except this case, I am sure, they do it out of obedience, and flattery, rather than their own belief. If they then believe, that without contrition of heart, the absolution is of no effect, why do they persuade the contrary to the penitent? Why do they take money for absolution? It is, then a cheat, robbery, and sacrilege.

Secondly, I say, that the confessors (generally speaking) are the occasion of the ruin of many families, of many thefts, debaucheries, murders, and divisions among several families, (for which they must answer before that dreadful tribunal of God, when, and where all the secret practices and wickedness, shall be disclosed;) add to this, that by auricular confession, they are acquainted with the tempers and inclinations of people, which contribute very much to heap up riches, and to make themselves commanding masters of all sorts of persons; for when a confessor is thoroughly acquainted with a man's temper, and natural inclinations; it is the most easy thing in the world to bring him to his own opinion, and to be master over him and his substance.

That the confessors, commonly speaking, are the occasion of all the aforesaid mischiefs, will appear by the following observations.

First. They get the best estates from the rich people, for the use and benefit of their communities, by which many and many private persons and whole families, are reduced and ruined. Observe now their practices as to the sick. If a nobleman of a good estate be very ill, the confessor must be by him night and day, and when he goes to sleep his companion supplies his place to direct, and exhort the sick to die as a good christian, and to advise him how to make his last will and testament. If the confessor is a downright honest man, he must betray his principles of honesty or disoblige his superior, and all the community, by getting nothing from the sick; so he char-

geth upon the the poor man's conscience to leave his convent thousands of masses, for the speedy delivery of his soul out of purgatory; and besides that, to settle a yearly mass forever upon the convent, and to leave a voluntary gift, that the fryars may remember him in their public and private prayers, as a benefactor of that community: And in these and other legacies, and charities, three parts of his estate goes to the church, or convents. But if the confessor have a large conscience, then without any christian consideration for the sick man's family and poor relations, he makes use of all the means an inhuman, covetous man can invent to get the whole estate for his convent.— And this the reason why they are so rich, and so many families so poor, reduced, and ruined.

From these we may infer thefts, murders, debaucheries, and divisions of families. I say, the confessors are the original cause of all these ill consequences; for when they take the best of estates for themselves, no wonder if private persons and whole families are left in such want, and necessity, that they abandon themselves to all sorts of sins, and hazards of losing both lives and honors, rather than to abate something of their pride.

I might prove this by several instances, which I do not question, are very well known by many curious people; and though some malicious persons are apt to suspect, that such instances are mere dreams, or forgeries of envious people, for my part I believe, that many confessors are the original cause of the aforesaid evils, as may be seen by the following matter of fact.

In the account of the Jesuits and their practices, I said, that the reverend Navasques was the confessor of the countess of Fuentes, who was left a widow at twenty-four years of age, and never married again: For the reverend's care is to advise them to live a single life. (Purity being the first step to heaven.) The lady countess had no children, and had an estate

of her own, of 4000 pistoles a year, besides her jewels and household goods, which, after her death, were valued at 15000 pistoles. All these things, and her personal estate, were left to the Jesuits college, though she had many near relations, among whom I knew two young gentlemen, second cousins of her ladyship, and two young ladies kept in the house as her cousins too. She had promised to give them a settlement suitable to their quality and merits; which promise the father confessor confirmed to them several times: But the lady died, and both the young ladies and the two gentlemen were left under the providence of God, for the countess had forgotten them in her last will; and the father confessor took no notice of them afterward. The two young ladies abandoned themselves to all manner of private pleasures at first, and at last to public wickedness. As to the young gentlemen, in a few months after the lady's death, one left the city and went to serve the king, as a cadet; the other following a licentious life, was ready to finish his days with shame and dishonor on a public scaffold, had not the goodness and compassion of the marquis of Camarassa, then vice-roy of Aragon, prevented it. Now, whether the father confessor shall be answerable before God, for all the sins committed by the young ladies, and one of the gentlemen, for want of what they expected from the countess, or not? God only knows: We may think and believe, that if the lady had provided for them according to their condition in the world, in all human probability, they had not committed such sins: Or if the college, or the reverend father had been more charitable, and compassionate to the condition they were left in, they had put a timely stop to their wickedness.

Thirdly. I say, that confessors and preachers are the occasion, that many thousands of young men and women chuse a single, retired life, in a monastery, or convent; and therefore are the cause of many fami-

lies being extinguished, and their own treasure exceedingly increased.

If a gentleman have two or three sons, and as many daughters, the confessor of the family adviseth the father to keep the eldest son at home, and send the rest, both sons and daughters, into a convent or monastery; praising the monastical life, and saying, that to be retired from the world, is the safest way to heaven.— There is a proverb which runs thus in English: *It is better to be alone, than in bad company.* And the confessors alter it thus: *It is better to be alone, than in good company.* Which they pretend to prove with so many sophistical arguments, nay, with a passage from the scripture; and this not only in private conversation, but publicly in the pulpit. I remember I heard my celebrated Mr. F. James Garcia preach a sermon upon the subject of a *retired life, and solitude*, which sermon and others preached by him in lent, in the cathedral church of St. Salvator, were printed afterwards. The book is in folio, and its title, *Quadragesima de gracia.* He was the first preacher I heard make use of the above proverb, and alter it in the aforesaid way; and to prove the sense of his alteration he said: *Remember the woman in the apocalypsis, that ran from heaven into the desert.* What! Was not that woman in heaven, in the company of the stars and planets, by which are represented all the heavenly spirits? Why then quits she that good company, and chooses to be alone in a desert place? Because (said he) that woman is the holy soul, and, for a soul that desireth to be holy, it is better to be alone than in good company. In the desert, in the convent, in the monastery, the soul is safe, free from sundry temptations of the world; and so it belongs to a christian soul, not only to run from bad company, but to quit the best company in the world and retire into the desert of a convent, or monastery, if that soul desireth to be holy and pure. This was his proof; and if he had not been my master, I would have been!

to make some reflections upon it: But the respect of a disciple, beloved by him, is enough to make me silent, and leave to the reader the satisfaction of reflecting in his own way, to which I heartily submit.

These, I say, are the advices the confessors give to the fathers of families, who, glad of lessening the expences of the house, and of seeing their children provided for, send them into the desert place of a convent, which is really in the middle of the world. Now observe, that it is twenty to one, that their heir dies before he marries and has children; so the estate and every thing else falls to the second, who is a professed fryar, or nun, and as they cannot use the expression of *meum*, or *tuum*, all goes that way to the community. And this is the reason, why many families are extinguished and their names quite out of memory; the convent so crowded, the kingdom so thin of people: And the fryars, nuns and monasteries so rich.

Fourthly: I say, that the confessors, priests, and especially fryars, make good this saying among the common people: *Fryle, o fraude es todo uno*: i. e. fryer or fraud is the same thing; for they not only defraud whole families, but make use of barbarous, inhuman means to get the estates of many rich persons.

The Marquis of Arino had one only daughter, and his second brother was an Augustian fryar, under whose care the marquis left his daughter when he died. She was fifteen years of age, rich and handsome. Her uncle and executer was at that time doctor and professor of divinity in the university, and prior of the convent, and could not personally take care of his niece and her family; so he desired one of her aunts to go and live with her, and sent another fryer to be like a steward and overseer of the house. The uncle was a good honest man and mighty religious. He minded more his office of a prior, his study and exercises of devotion; than the riches, pomp,

magnificence, and vanity of the world ; so, seeing that the discharge of his duty and that of an executor of his niece were inconsistent together, he did resolve to marry her. Which he did to the Baron Suelves, a young, handsome, healthy, rich gentleman; but he died seven months after his marriage, so the good uncle was again at the same trouble and care of his niece, who was left a widow but not with child. After the year of her mourning was expired, she was married to the great president of the council, who was afterwards great chancellor of the kingdom, but he died, leaving no children. The first and second husband left all their estates to her ; and she was reckoned to have eighty thousand pistoles in yearly rent and goods. A year after, Don Pedro Carillo brigadier-general, and general governor of the kingdom married her, but has no children by her. I left both the governor and the lady alive, when I quitted the country. Now I come to the point. It was specified in all the matches between the gentlemen and the lady, that if they had no issue by her, all her estate and goods should fall to the uncle as a second brother of her father ; and so *ex necessitate* the convent should be for ever the only enjoyer of it. It was found out, but too late, that the fryar steward, before she first married, had given her a dose to make her a barren women ; and though no body did believe that the uncle had any hand in it, (so great an opinion the world and the lady's husband had of him) every body did suspect at first the fryar steward, and so it was confirmed at last by his own confession ; for being at the point of death, he owned the fact publicly and his design in it.

Another instance. A lady of the first rank, of eighteen years of age, the only heiress of a considerable estate, was kept by her parents at a distance from all sorts of company, except only that of the Confessor of the family, who was a learned and devout man : but as these reverends have always a father

companion to assist them at home and abroad, many times the mischief is contrived and effected unknown to the confessor, by his wicked companion; so it happened in this instance. The fame of the wonderful beauty of this young lady was spread so far abroad, that the King and Queen being in the city for eight months together, and not seeing the celebrated beauty at their court, her majesty asked her father one day, whether he had any children? And when he answered, that he had only one daughter, he was desired by the Queen to bring her along with him to court, the next day, for she had a great desire to see her beauty so admired at home and abroad. The father could not refuse it, and so the next day the lady did appear at court, and was so much admired that a grandee (who had then command of the army, though not of his own passions) said, this is the first time I see the sun among the stars. The grandee began to covet that inestimable jewel, and his heart burning in the agreeable flame of her eyes, he went to see her father, but could not see the daughter. At last (all his endeavors being in vain, for he was married) he sent for the confessor's companion, whose interest and mediation he got by money and fair promises of raising him to an ecclesiastical dignity; So by that means he sent a letter to the lady, who read it, and in very few days he got her consent to disguise himself and come to see her along with the father companion; so one evening in the dark, putting on a fryar's habit, he went to her chamber, where he was always in company with the companion fryar, who by crafty persuasions made the lady understand, that if she did not consent to every thing that the grandee should desire, her life and reputation were lost, &c. In the same disguise they saw one another several times to the grandee's satisfaction and her grief and vexation.

But the court being gone, the young lady began to suspect some public proof of her intrigue, till then secret, and consulting the father companion upon it, he

did what he could to prevent it, but in vain. The misfortune was suspected, and owned by her to her parents. The father died of very grief in eight days time: And the mother went into the country with her daughter, till she was free from her disease, and afterward both ladies, mother and daughter, retired into a monastery, where I knew and conversed several times with them. The gentleman had made his will long before, by which the convent was to get the estate in case the lady should die without children; and as she had taken the habit of a nun, and professed the vows of religion, the prior was so ambitious, that he asked the estate, alledging, that she, being a professed nun, could not have children; to which the lady replied, that she was obliged to obey her father's will, by which she was mistress of the estate during her life; adding that it was better for the father prior not to insist on his demand, for she was ruined in her reputation by the wickedness of one of his fryars, and that she, if prest, would shew her own child, who was the only heir of her father's estate. But the prior, deaf to her threatnings, did carry on his pretension, and by an agreement (not to make the thing more public than it was, for very few knew the true story) the prior got the estate, obliging the convent to give the lady and her mother, during their lives, 400 pistoles every year, the whole estate being 5000 yearly rent.

I could give several more instances of this nature to convince that the confessors, priests and fryars, are the fundamental, original cause of almost all the misdoings and mischiefs that happen in the families: By the instances already given, every body may easily know the secret practices of some of the Romish priests, which are an abomination to the Lord, especially in the holy tribunal of confession. So I may conclude and dismiss this first chapter, saying, that the confession is the mint of fryars and priests, the

sins of the penitents the metals, the absolution the coin of money, and the confessors the keepers of it.

Now, the reader may draw from these accounts as many inferences as he pleses, till, God willing, I furnish him with new arguments, and instances, of their evil practices in the second part of this work.

PART II.

This is a true copy of the Pope's Bull out of Spanish, in the translation^o of which into English I am tied up to the letter, almost word for word, and this is to prevent (as to this point) all calumny and objection, which may be made against it, by some critic among the Roman Catholics.

MDCCLXVIII.

BULL of the holy crusade, granted by the holiness of our most holy father Clement, the XIth, to the kingdoms of Spain, and the isles to them pertaining, in favour to all them, that should help and serve the king Dn. Philip V. our lord, in the war and expences of it, which he doth make against the enemies of our catholic faith, with great indulgences and pardons, for the year one thousand, seven hundred and eighteen.

The prophet Joel, sorry for the damages, which the sons of Israel did endure by the invasion of the Chaldean armies (zealous for and desirous of their defence, after having recommended to them the observance of the law) calling the soldiers to the war, saith: That he saw, for the comfort of all, a mystical spring come out from God and his house, which did water and wash away the sins of that people. Chap. S. v. 18.

SEEING then, our most holy father Clement xith, (who at this day doth rule, and govern the holy apostolical see) for the zeal of the catholic king of the Spains, Dn. Philip the Vth, for the defence of our holy faith, and that for that purpose gathereth together, and maintaineth his armies against all the enemies of christianity, to help him in his holy enterprize, doth grant him this bull, by which his holiness openeth the springs of the blood of Christ, and the treasure of his inestimable merits; and with it encourageth all the christians to the assistance of this undertaking. For this purpose, and that they might enjoy this benefit, he orders to be published the following indulgencies, graces, and faculties, or privileges.

1. His holiness doth grant to all the true christians of the said kingdoms and dominions, dwellers, settled, and inhabitants in them, and to all comers to them, or should be found in them; who (moved with the zeal of promoting the holy catholic faith) should go, personally and upon their own expences, to the war in the army, and with the forces, which his majesty sendeth, for the time of one year to fight against the Turks, and other infidels, or to do any other service, as, to help personally in the same army, continuing in it the whole year: To all these his holiness doth grant a free and full indulgence, and pardon of all their sins (if they have a perfect contrition, or, if they confess them by mouth, and if they cannot, if they have a hearty desire of it) which hath been used to be granted to them that go to the conquest of the holy land, and in the year of jubilee: And declares, that all they, that should die before the end of the expedition, or in the way, as they are going to the army before the expedition, should likewise enjoy and obtain the said pardon and indulgence.

He granteth also the same to them, who (though they do not go personally) should send another upon their own expences in this manner, viz. If he that sends another is a cardinal, primate, patriarch, arch-

bishop, bishop, son of a king, prince, duke, marquis, or earl, then he must send as many as he can possibly send, till ten; and if he cannot send ten, he must send at least four soldiers. All other persons, of whatever condition soever they may be, must send one, in such a case, two or three, or four, may join and contribute, every one according to his abilities, and send one soldier.

2. *Item.* The chapters, * all churches, monasteries of fryars, and nuns, without excepting Mendicant orders, if ten, with the consent of the chapter or community, do join to send one soldier, they do enjoy the said indulgence; and not they only, but the person too, sent by them, if he be poor.

3. *Item.* The secular priests, who, with the consent of their diocesan and the fryars of their superiors, should preach the word of God in the said army or should perform any other ecclesiastical and pious office (which is declared to be lawful for them, without incurring irregularity) are empowered to serve their benefices, by meet and fit tenants, having not the cure of souls; for if they have, they cannot without his holiness' consent. And it is declared, that the soldiers employed in this war are not obliged to fast the days appointed and commanded by the church, and which they should be obliged to fast on, if they were not in the war.

4. *Item.* His holiness grants (not only to the soldiers, but to all them too, who, (though they should not go) should encourage this holy work with the charity undermentioned) all the indulgences, graces, and privileges in this bull contained, and this for a whole year, reckoning from the publishing of it in any place whatsoever, viz. that (yet, in time of apostolical, or ordinary *interdictum*, i. e. suspension of all ecclesiastical and divine service) they may hear mass either in the churches and monasteries, or in the private oratories marked and visited by the dioc-

san; and if they were priests, to say mass and other divine offices; or if they were not, to make others to celebrate mass before them, their familiar friends, and relations, to receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's supper and the other sacraments, except on Easter Sunday, provided, that they have not given occasion for the said interdictum, nor hindered the taking of it; Provided likewise, that every time they make use of such oratory, they should, according to their devotion, pray for union and concord among all Christian princes, the rooting out of heresies, and victory over the infidels.

5. *Item.* His holiness granteth, that in time of interdictum their corpse may be buried in sacred ground, with a moderate funeral pomp.

6. *Item.* He grants to all, that should take this Bull, that during the year, by the counsel of both spiritual and corporal physicians, they may eat flesh in Lent, and several other days in which it is prohibited: And likewise that they may freely eat eggs and things with milk; and that all these, who should eat no flesh, (keeping the form of the ecclesiastical fast) do fulfil the precept of fasting: And in this privilege of eating eggs, &c. are not comprised the * patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, nor other inferior Prelates, nor any person whatsoever of the regulars, nor of the secular priests (the days only of lent) notwithstanding from the mentioned persons, we except all those that are sixty years of age, and all the knights of the military orders, who freely may eat eggs, &c. and enjoy the said privilege.

7. *Item.* The above named, that should not go, nor send any soldier to this holy war, out of their own substance (if they should help to it, keeping a fast for devotion's sake, in some days, which are of no precept, and praying and imploring the help of God, for the victory against the infidels, and his grace, for the union among the Christian princes) as many times as they should do it, during the year, so many times it

is granted them, and graciously forgiven fifteen years, and fifteen *quarantains* of pardon, and all the penances imposed on them, and in whatever manner due; also that they be partakers of all the prayers, alms and pilgrimages of Jerusalem, and all the good works which should be done in the universal militant church, and in each of its members.

8. *Item.* To all those, who in the days of Lent and other days of the year, in which * *estations* are at Rome, should visit five churches, or five altars, and if there is not five churches, or five altars, five times should visit one church, or one altar, praying for the victory, and union above mentioned, his holiness granteth that they should enjoy and obtain the indulgences and pardons, which all those do enjoy and obtain, that personally visit the churches of the city of Rome, and without the walls of it, as well as if they did visit personally the said churches.

9. *Item.* To the intent, that the same persons with more purity, and cleanness of their consciences, might pray, his holiness grants; that they might chuse for their confessor any secular or regular priest licensed by the diocesan, to whom power is granted; to absolve them of all sins and censures whatsoever (though they be reserved to the apostolical see, and specified in the Bull of the Lord's supper, except of the crime heresy) and that they should enjoy free and full indulgence and pardon of them all. But of the sins not reserved to the apostolical see; they may be absolved *toties quoties*; i. e. as many times as they do confess them, and perform salutary penance: And if to be absolved, there be need of restitution; they might make it themselves, or by their heirs, if they have an impediment to make it themselves. Likewise the said confessor shall have power to communicate or change any vow whatsoever, though made with an oath, (excepting the vow of chastity, religion; and beyond seas) but this is, upon giving for charity what they should think fit, for the benefit of the holy crusade.

10. *Item.* That if, during the said year they should happen, by sudden death or by the absence of their confessor, to die without confessing their sins; if they die hearty penitents; and in the time appointed by the church, had confessed and have not been negligent nor careless in confidence of this grace, it is granted, that they should obtain the said free and full indulgence and pardon of all their sins; and their corpse might be buried in ecclesiastical burying place (if they did not die excommunicated) notwithstanding the interdictum.

11. Likewise his holiness hath granted by his particular brief, to all the faithful Christians, that take the bull twice a year, that they might once more, during their lives, and once more at the point of death (besides what is said above) be absolved of all the sins, crimes, excesses of what nature soever, censures, sentences of excommunication, though comprised in the Bull of the Lord's supper, and though the absolution of them be reserved to his holiness, (except the crime and offence of heresy) and that they might twice more enjoy all the graces, indulgences, faculties and pardons granted in this bull.

12. And his holiness gives power and authority to us Don Francis Anthony Ramirez de la Piscina, archdeacon of Alcarraz, prebendary and canon of the holy church of Toledo, primate of the Spains, of his Majesty's council, apostolic, general commissary of the holy crusada, and all other graces in all the kingdoms, and dominions of Spain, to suspend (during the year of the publishing of this bull) all the graces, indulgences, and faculties, granted to the said kingdoms, dominions, isles, provinces, to whatever churches, monasteries, hospitals, brotherhoods, pious places, and to particular persons, though the granting of them did contain words contrary to this suspension.

13. Likewise he gives us power to reinforce and make good again the same graces and faculties, and all others whatsoever; and he gives us and our depu-

ties power to suspend the interdictum in whatever place this bull should be preached ; and likewise to fix and determine the quantum of the contribution, the people is to give for this bull, according to the abilities and quality of persons.

14. And we the said apostolic general commissary of the holy erusada (in favour of this holy bull, by the apostolical authority granted to us, and that so holy a work do not cease nor be hindered by any other indulgence) do suspend, during the year, all the graces, indulgencies and faculties, of this or any other kind, granted by his holiness, or by other popes his predecessors, or by the holy apostolical see, or by his authority, to all the kingdoms of his majesty, to all churches, monasteries, hospitals and other pious places, universities, brotherhoods and secular persons; though the said graces and faculties be in favour of the building of St. Peter's church at Rome, or of any erusada, though all and every one of them should contain words contrary to this suspension : So that, during the year, no person shall obtain, or enjoy any other graces, indulgencies or faculties whatsoever, nor can be published, except only the privileges granted to the superiors of the mendicant orders, as to their friars.

15. And in favor of this bull, and by the said apostolical authority we declare, that all those that would take this bull, might obtain, and enjoy all the graces, faculties and indulgences, jubilees and pardons, which have been granted by our most holy father Paul the 5th, and Urbannus the 8th, and by other Popes of happy memory, and by the holy apostolical see, or by its authority, mentioned and comprised in the said suspension ; and which, by the apostolical commission, we reinforce and make good again ; and by the same authority do suspend the interdicum for eight days before and after the publishing this bull, in any place whatsoever (as it is contained in his holiness brijf :) And we command that every body, that would take bull, be obliged to keep by him the same

which is here printed, signed and sealed with our name and seal, and that otherwise they cannot obtain, nor enjoy the benefit of the said bull.

16. And, whereas you (Peter de Zuloaga) have given two reales de plata, which is the charity fixed by us, and have taken this bull, and your name is written in it, we do declare, that you have already obtained, and are granted the said indulgences, and that you may enjoy, and make use of them in the above mentioned form. Given at Madrid, the eighteenth day of March, one thousand, seven hundred and eighteen.

Form of absolution, which by virtue of this bull may be given to all those that take the bull once in their lives time, and once upon the point of death.

MISEREATUR tui Omnipotens Deus, &c. By the authority of God and his holy apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and our most holy father (N:) to you especially granted and to be committed, I absolve you from all censure of the greater, or lesser excommunication, suspension, interdictum, and from all other censures and pains, or punishments, which they have incurred and deserved, though the absolution of them be reserved to the apostolical see, (as by the same is granted to you). And I bring you again into the union and communion of the faithful christians: And also I absolve you from all the sins, crimes and excesses, which you have now here confessed; and from those which you would confess, if you did remember them, though they be so exceeding great, that the absolution of them be reserved to the apostolical see; and I do grant you free and full indulgence and pardon of all your sins now and whenever confessed, forgotten and out of your mind, and of all the pains and punishments, which you were obliged to endure for them in purgatory. In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the holy Ghost.—AMEN.

BRIEF, or sum of the estations and indulgences of Rome, which his holiness grants to all those that would take and fulfil the contents of this bull.

The first day In St. Sabine, free and full indulgence

Thursday in St. George the same

Friday in St. John and St. Paul the same

Saturday in St. Criffon the same

First Sunday in lent, in St. John, St. Paul the same

Monday in St. Peter ad Vincula the same

Tuesday in St. Anastasie the same

*** And this day every body takes a soul out of purgatory.**

Wednesday in St. Mary

the greater free and full indulgence

Thursday in St. Laurence Panispema the same

Friday in the saints apostles the same

Saturday in St. Peter the same

Second Sunday in lent in St. Mary of

Navicula, and St. Mary the greater the same

Monday in St. Clement the same

Tuesday in St. Balbine the same

Wednesday in St. Cicile the same

Thursday in St. Marytranstiber the same

Friday in St. Vidal the same

Saturday in St. Peter and St. Marcelin the same

*** And this day every body takes one soul out of purgatory.**

Third Sunday in lent in St. Laurence

extra Muros free and full indulgence

*** And this day every body takes one soul out of purgatory.**

Monday in St. Mark free and full indulgence.

Tuesday in St. Potenciane the same

Wednesday in St. Sixte the same

Thursday in St. Cosme, and St. Damian,
the image of our lady of Populi and Pacis
is shown the same

Friday in St. Laurence in Lucina the same

Saturday	in St. Susane and St. Mary of the angels	the same
Fourth Sunday	in lent in St. Crosse of Jerusalem	the same
* This day every body takes one soul out of purgatory.		
Monday	in the 4 crowned free and full indulgences.	
Tuesday	in St. Laurence in Damascus	the same
Wednesday	in St. Peter	the same
Thursday	in St. Silvastre and in St. Mary in the mountains	the same
Friday	if St. Eusebe	the same
Saturday	in St. Nicholas in prison	the same
Fifth Sunday	in lent in St. Peter	the same
Monday	in St. Crissogne	the same
Tuesday	in St. Quirce	the same
Wednesday	in St. Marcelle	the same
Thursday	in St. Appollinarius	the same
Friday	in St. Estephan	the same
* This day every body takes one soul out of purgatory.		
Saturday	in St. John ante Portam Latinam	free and full indulgence.
* And this day every one takes a soul out of purgatory.		
Sixth Sunday	in lent in St. John de Leteran	free and full indulgence.
Monday	in St. Praxedis	the same
Tuesday	in St. Priske	the same
Wednesday	in St. Mary the greater	the same
Thursday	in St. John de Leteran	the same
Friday	in St. Crosse of Jerusalem and in St. Mary of the angels	the same
Saturday	in St. John de Leteran	the same
Easter Sunday	in St. Mary the greater	the same
Monday	in St Peter	the same
Tuesday	in St. Paul	the same
Wednesday	in St. Laurence extra muros.	the same

* This day every body takes a soul out of purgatory.

Thursday in the saints apostles;

free and full indulgence,

Friday in St. Mary Rotunda.

the same

Saturday in St. John Deleteran,

the same

Sunday after easter in St. Pancracy.

the same

ESTATIONS AFTER EASTER.

In the greater Litanies : St. Mark's day; in

St. Peter.

the same

Ascension-day in St. Peter.

the same

Whitesunday in St. John de Lateran

the same

Monday in St. Peter

the same

Tuesday in St. Anastasie.

the same

Wednesday in St. Mary the greater,

the same

Thursday in St. Laurence, extra,

muros

the same

* This day every body takes a soul out of purgatory.

Friday in the saints apostles,

free and full indulgence,

Saturday in St. Peter.

the same

ESTATIONS IN ADVENT.

First Sunday in St. Mary the greater,

the same

And in the same church all the holy

days of our lady,

the same

Second Sunday in St. Crosse of Jerusalem

the same

The same day St. Mary of the angels.

the same

Third Sunday in St. Peter

the same

Wednesday of the four rogations, in St.

Mary the greater.

the same

Friday in the saints apostles

the same

Saturday in St. Peter.

the same

Fourth Sunday in the saints apostles.

the same

CHRISTMAS-NIGHT.

At the first mass in St. Mary the greater,

in the Manger's chapel

the same

At the second mass in St. Anastasie.

the same

CHRISTMAS-DAY

At the third mass in St. Mary the greater	the same
Monday in St. Mary Rotunda	the same
Tuesday in St. Mary the greater	the same
The innocent's day, in St. Paul	the same
The circumcision of Christ in St. Mary Trunstiber	the same
The Epiphany in St. Peter	the same
Dominica in Septuag. in St. Laurence extra muros	the same
* This day every body takes a soul out of purgatory. Dominica in Sexag. in St. Paul	

free and full indulgence

Dominica in Qunquag, in St. Peter the same
 And because every day of the year, there is estations
 at Rome, with great indulgences, therefore it is
 granted to all those that take this bull, the same
 indulgences and pardons every day which are grant-
 ed in Rome.

Don Francis Anthony Ramirez, de la Piscina. -

Explanation of this Bull, and remark upon it.

BULL OF CRUSADE.

A Pope's brief, granting the sign of the cross to those that take it. All that a foreigner can learn in the dictionaries, as to this word, is the above account, therefore I ought to tell you that are foreigners, that the word crusada was a grant of the cross, i. e. that when the king of Spain makes war against the Turks and Infidels, his coat of arms, and the motto of his colours is the cross, by which all the soldiers understand such a war is an holy war, and that the army of the King, having in its standard the sign of the cross, hath a great advantage over the enemy, for, as they do not believe, if they die in such a war, their souls go strait to heaven; and to confirm them in this opinion the pope grants them this bull, signed with the sign of the cross, so many indulgences as you have read in it.

Again crus, or cross, is the only distinguishing character of those that follow the colours of Jesus Christ, from whence crusada is derived, that is to say, a brief of the indulgences and privileges of the cross granted to all those that serye in the war for the defence of the christian faith against all its enemies whatsoever.

This bull is granted by the pope every year to the king of Spain, and all his subjects, by which the king increases his treasure, and the pope takes no small share of it. The excessive sums of money, which the bull brings in to the king and pope, every body may easily know by the account I am going to give of it.

It is an inviolable custom in Spain every year after christmas, to have this bull published in every city, town and borough, which is always done in the following manner.

The general commissary of the holy crusade most commonly resides at Madrid, from whence he sends to his deputies in every kingdom or province the printed bulls they want in their respective jurisdictions.— This bull being published at Madrid by the general commissary or his deputy, which is always done by a famous preacher, after the gospel is sung in the high mass, and in a sermon which he preaches upon this subject: After this is done at Madrid (I say) all the deputies of the holy crusada send from the capital city, where they reside, fryars with a petit commissary to every town and village, to preach and publish the bull. Every preacher has his own circuit and a certain number of towns and villages to publish it in, and making use of the privileges mentioned in the bull, he in his sermon persuades the people, that nobody can be saved that year without it, which they do and say every year again.

The petit commissary, for his trouble, has half a real of eight, i. e. Two and four pence a day; and the preacher, according to the extent of the circuit,

has twenty or thirty crowns for the whole journey, and both are well entertained in every place.

Every soul from seven years of age and upwards is obliged to take a bull, and pay two reals of plate, i. e. thirteen pence three farthings of this money; and one part out of three of the living persons take two or three, according to their families, and abilities. The regular priests are obliged to take three times every year the bull, for which they pay two reals of plate; In the beginning of lent another, which they call, bull of lacticious, i. e. bull to eat eggs, and things of milk, without which they cannot. And another in the holy week. For the bull of lacticious they pay four and nine pence, and the same for the bull of the holy week; the fryars and nuns do the same. Now if you consider the number of ecclesiastics, and nuns, and all the living souls from seven years of age and upwards, you may easily know what vast sums of money the king gets in his dominions by this yearly brief, of which the third part or better goes to Rome one way or other.

Add to this the bull of the dead. This is another sort of bull, for the Pope grants in it pardon of sins, and salvation to them who before they die, or after their death, their relations for them take this bull defunctorum. The custom of taking this bull is become a law, and a very rigorous law in their church, for nobody can be buried, either in the church, or in the church-yard without having this bull upon their breasts, which (as they say) is a token and signal that they were christians in their lives, and after death they are in the way of salvation.

So many poor people, either beggars, or strangers, or those that die in the hospitals could not be buried without the help of the well disposed people, who bestow their charities, for the use of taking bulls of the dead, that the poor destitute people might have the benefit of a consecrated burying place. The sum for this bull is two reals of plate, and whatever money is

gathered together in the whole year goes to the Pope, or (as they say) to the treasure of the church. Now I leave to every body's consideration, how many persons die a year, in so vast dominions as those of the king of Spain, by which, in this point, the Pope's benefit, or the treasure of the church, may be nearly known.

O stupid, blind, ignorant people! Of what use or benefit is this bull after death? Hear what St. John tells you, *Happy are they that die in the Lord*. It is certain that all those that die in the grace of the Lord, heartily penitent, and sorry for their sins, go immediately to enjoy the ravishing pleasures of eternal life; and those that die in sin, go to suffer forever in the dark place of torment. And this happens to our souls in the very instant of their separation from their bodies. Let every body make use of their natural reason, and read impartially the scripture, and he will find it to be so, or else he will believe it to be so. Then if it is so, they ought to consider, that when they take this bull (which is commonly a little before they carry the corpse into the church) the judgment of God, as to the soul, is over (for in a twinkling of an eye he may lay the charges and pass the sentence) at that time the soul is either in heaven, or hell. What then doth the bull signify to them? But of this I shall speak in another place. And now I come to the explanation of the bull, and remarks upon it.

This bull I am speaking of was granted five years ago to the faithful people of Spain, by the late pope, and which a gentleman of the army took accidentally from a master of a ship out of Biscay, whose name is Peter de Zoloaga, as it is signed by himself in the same bull, and may be seen at the publishers. I have said already that a bull is every year granted to the king of Spain, by the pope in being, who either for the sake of money, or for fear, doth not scruple at all to grant quite contrary bulls, to two kings at the same time reigning in Spain: Now I crave leave

to vindicate my present saying.

When the present king of Spain Philip the Vth. went there and was crowned, both the arms spiritual and temporal, representatives of the whole nation (as in these kingdoms, the house of lords and commons) gave him the oath of fidelity, acknowledging him for their lawful sovereign: And when this was done, pope Clement the XIth did confirm it, nay his holiness gave him the investiture of Naples, which is the sealing up all the titles and rights belonging to a lawful King, and after this he granted him the bull crusade, by which he acknowledged him king, and gave him help to defend himself and his dominions against all the enemies of christianity, and all enemies whatsoever. Every body knows that this pope was for the interests of the house of *Bourbon*, rather than the house of *Austria*; and so no wonder, if he did not lose any time in settling the crown and all the right upon Philip of Bourbon, rather than upon Charles the IIIrd, the present emperor of Germany.

This last, thinking that the right to the crown of Spain belonged to him, of which I will not talk, began the war against Philip, supported by the Hereticks (as the Spaniards call the English) and being proclaimed at Madrid, and at Saragosa, he applied to the pope to be confirmed king, and to get both the investiture of Naples and the bull of the holy crusade. As to the investiture of Naples I leave it to the history written upon the late war. But as to the bull, the pope granted it to him, giving him all the titles he gave to Philip. At the same time there were two kings, and two bulls, and one pope, and one people. The divines met together to examine this point, viz. Whether the same people, having given their oath of fidelity to Philip, and taken the bull granted to him, were obliged to acknowledge Charles as a King, and take the bull granted to him.

The divines for Philip were of opinion that the pope could not annul the oath, nor dispense with the

oath taken by the whole nation, and that the people were obliged in conscience not to take, any other bull, than that granted to Philip; and their reason was that the pope was forced by the Imperial army to do it; and that his holiness did it out of fear; and to prevent the ruin of the church, which then was threatened.

The divines for Charles did alledge the pope's infallibility, and that every christian is obliged in conscience to follow the last declaration of the pope, and blindly to obey it, without inquiring into the reasons that did move the pope to it. And the same dispute was about the presentation of bishops, for there was at the same time a bishoprick vacant, and Charles having presented one, and Philip another, the pope confirmed them both, and both of them were consecrated. From this it appears that the pope makes no scruple at all in granting two bulls to two kings at the same time, and to embroil with them the whole nation; which he did not out of fear, nor to prevent the ruin of the church, but of self interest, and to secure his revenue both ways, and on both sides.

But, reader, be not surprised at this; for this pope, I am speaking of, was so ambitious, and of so haughty a temper, that he did not care what means he made use of either to please his temper, or to quench the thirst of his ambition. I say, he was of so haughty a temper, that he never suffered his decrees to be contradicted or disputed, though they were against both human and divine laws; to clear this, I will give an account of an instance in a case which happened in his pontificate.

I was in Lisbon ten years ago, and a Spanish gentleman (whose surname was Gonzalez) came to lodge in the same house where I was for a while before; and as we, after supper, were talking of the pope's supremacy and power, he told me that he himself was a living witness of the pope's authority on oath. And asking him how? He gave the following account.

I was born in Granada (said he) of honest and rich, though not noble parents, who gave me the best education they could in that city. I was not twenty years of age, when my father and mother died, both within the space of six months. They left me all they had in the world, recommending to me in their testament to take care of my sister Dorothea and to provide for her. She was the only sister I had, and at that time in the eighteenth year of her age. From our youth we had tenderly loved one another; and upon her account, quitting my studies, I gave myself up to her company. This tender brotherly love produced in my heart at last another sort of love for her; and though I never shewed her my passion, I was a sufferer by it. I was ashamed within myself, to see that I could not master nor overcome this irregular inclination; and perceiving that the persisting in it would prove the ruin of my soul, and of my sister's too, I finally resolved to quit the country for a while, to see whether I could dissipate this passion, and banish out of my heart this burning and consuming fire of love; and after having settled my affairs, and put my sister under the care of an aunt, I took my leave of her, who being surprised at this unexpected news, she upon her knees begged me to tell the reason that had moved me to quit the country; and telling her, that I had no reason but only a mind and desire to travel two or three years, and that I begged of her not to marry any person in the world, until my return home, I left her and went to Rome. By letters of recommendation, by money, and my careful comportment, I got myself in a little time into the favor and house of cardinal A. I. Two years I spent in his service at my own expence, and his kindness to me was so exceeding great, that I was not only his companion, but his favorite and confident. All this while, I was so raving and in so deep a melancholy, that his eminence pressed upon me to tell him the reason. I told him that my distemper had no remedy: But he still

insisted the more to know my distemper. At last I told him the love I had for my sister, and that it being impossible she should be my wife, my distemper had no remedy. To this he said nothing, but the day following went to the sacred palace and meeting in the pope's antichamber cardinal P. I. he asked him whether the pope could dispense with the natural and divine impediment between brother and sister to be married, and as cardinal P. I. said, that the pope could not:—My protector began a loud and bitter dispute with him, alledging reasons by which the pope could do it. The pope, hearing the noise, came out of his chamber, and asked what was the matter? He was told it, and flying into an uncommon passion, said, the pope may do every thing, I do dispense with it; and left them with these words. The protector took testimony of the pope's declaration, and went to the datary, and drew a public instrument of the dispensation, and coming home gave it to me, and said, though I shall be deprived of your good services and company, I am very glad that I serve you in this to your heart's desire, and satisfaction. Take this dispensation, and go whenever you please to marry your sister. I left Rome, and came home, and after I had rested from the fatigue of so long a journey, I went to present the dispensation to the bishop and to get his license; But he told me, that he could not receive the dispensation, nor give such a license; I acquainted my protector with this, and immediately an excommunication was dispatched against the bishop for having disobeyed the pope, and commanding him to pay a thousand pistoles for the treasure of the church, and to marry me himself; so I was married by the bishop and at this present time I have five children by my wife and sister.

From these accounts, Christian reader, you may judge of that pope's temper and ambition, and you may likewise think of the rest as you may see it in the following discourse.

The title, head or direction of this bull is, to all the faithful christians, in the kingdoms and dominions of Spain, who should help, or serve in the war, which the King makes against Turks, Infidels, and all the enemies of the holy catholic faith; or to those that should contribute, and pray for the union among the christian princes, and for the victory over the enemies of christianity.

The Roman Catholics with the pope say and firmly believe (I speak of the generality) that no man can be saved out of their communion; and so they reckon enemies of their faith all those that are of a different opinion: And we may be sure that the Protestants, or Hereticks (as they call them) are their irrevocable enemies.

They pray publicly for the extirpating of the Heretics, Turks and Infidels in the mass; and they do really believe, they are bound in conscience to make use of all sorts of means, let them be ever so base, inhuman and barbarous, for the murdering of them. This is the doctrine of the church of Rome, which the priests and confessors do take care to sow in the Roman Catholics, and by their advice, the hatred, malice and aversion is raised to a great height against the Hereticks, as you shall know by the following instances.

First, in the last war between Charles the 3d. and Philip the 5th. the Protestants confederate with Charles did suffer very much by the country people. Those encouraged by the priests and confessors of Philip's part, thinking that if any christian could kill an heretick he should do God service, did murder in private many soldiers both English and Dutch. I saw, and I do speak now before God and the world, in a town called Ficentes de Ebro; several arms and legs out of the ground in the field, and inquiring the reason, why those corpse were buried in the field (a thing indeed not unusual there) I was answered, that those were the corpse of some English Hereties, murdered.

by the patrons, or land-lords, who had killed them to show their zeal for their religion, and an old maxim among them: *De los Enemigos los menos*: Let us have as few enemies as we can. Fourteen English private men were killed the night before in their beds, and buried in the field, and I myself reckoned all of them; and I suppose many others were murdered, whom I did not see, though I heard of it.

The murderers make no scruple of it, but out of bravery, and zeal for their religion, tell it to the father confessor, not as a sin, but as a famous action done by them in favor of their faith. So great is the hatred and aversion the catholics have against the protestants and all enemies of their religion. We could confirm the truth of this proposition with the cruelty of the late king of France, against the poor hugonotes, whom we call now refugees. This is well known to every body, therefore I leave Lewis and his counsellors, where they are in the other world, where it is to be feared they endure more torments than the banished refugees in this present one. So to conclude what I have to say upon the head or title of this bull, I may positively affirm that the pope's design in granting it, is, first, out of interest; secondly, to encourage the common people to make war, and to root up all the people that are not of his communion, or to increase this way, if he can, his revenues or the treasure of the church.

I come now to the beginning of the bull, where the pope or his subdelegate, deputy, or general commissary, doth ground the granting of it in that passage of the prophet Joel chapt. iii. v. 18. expressed in these words: *That he saw for the comfort of all, a mystical fountain come out from God in his house (or as it is in Spanish in the original bull) from God and from the Lord's house, which did water and wash the sins of that people.*

The reflections which may be made upon this text, I leave to our divines, whose learning I do equally co-

vet and respect: I only say that in the latin bible I have found the text thus: *Et fons e domo Jehocæ prodibit, qui irregabit vallem cedrorum Lectissimarum.*— And in our English translation: *And a fountain shall come forth of the house of the Lord, and shall water the valley of Shittem.* Now I leave the learned man to make his reflections, and I proceed to the application.

Seeing then our most holy father (so goes on) Clement the XIth, for the zeal of the catholic king, for the defence of our holy faith, to help him in this holy enterprize, doth grant him this bull, by which his holiness openeth the springs of the blood of Christ, and the treasure of his inestimable merits; and with it encourageth all the christians to the assistance of this undertaking.

I said before that the pope grants every year such a bull as this for the same purpose: So every year he openeth the springs of Christ's blood. O heaven! what is man that thou shouldst magnify him? Or rather what is this man that he should magnify himself, taking upon him the title of *most holy Father*, and that of *his Holiness*? A man (really a man) for it is certain that this man, and many others of his predecessors, had had several b.....s. This man (I say) to take upon himself the power of opening the springs of Christ, and this every year!! Who will not be surpris'd at his assurance, and at his highest provocation of the Lord and his Christ?

For my part, I really believe that he openeth the springs of the blood of Christ, and openeth afresh those wounds of our Redeemer, not only every year, but every day without ceasing: This I do believe, but not as they believe it; and if their doctrine be true among themselves, by course they must agree with me in this saying, that the pope doth crucify afresh our Saviour Christ without ceasing.

In the treatise of vices and sins, the Romish divines propose a question: *Utrum*, or whether a man

that takes upon himself one of God's attributes, be a blasphemous man, and whether such a man by his sins can kill God and Christ, or not? As to the first part of the question, they all do agree that such a man is a blasphemous man. As to the second part, some are of opinion that such an expression, of *killi*ng God, has no room in the question: But the greater part of scholastical and moral authors do admit the expression, and say such a man cannot kill God effectively, but that he doth it affectively; that is to say, that willingly taking upon himself an attribute of God, and acting against his laws, he doth affront and offend in the highest degree that Supreme law-giver; and by taking upon himself the office of a high priest, the power of forgiving sins, which only belong to our Saviour Jesus, he affectively offends, and openeth afresh his wounds and the springs of his blood: And if it was possible for us to see him face to face, whom no man living hath seen yet; as we see him through a glass now, we should find his high indignation against such a man: But he must appear before the dreadful tribunal of our God, and be judged by him according to his deeds: He shall have the same judgment with the antichrist, for though we cannot prove by the scripture that he is the antichrist, notwithstanding we may defy antichrist himself, whoever he be, and whenever he comes, to do worse and wicked things than the pope doth. O, what a fearful thing is it to fall into the hands of a living God!— Now I come to the articles of the bull, and first of all.

I. His holiness grants a free and full indulgence and pardon of all their sins to those who, upon their own expences, go to or serve personally in the war against the enemies of the Roman Catholic faith:— But this must be understood, if they continue in the army the whole year: So the next year they are obliged to take this bull, and to continue in the same service, if they will obtain the same indulgence and pardon, and so on all their life time, for if they quit

the service, they cannot enjoy this benefit, therefore for the sake of this imaginary pardon, they continue in it till they die, for otherwise there is no pardon of sins.

Let us observe another thing in this article. The same indulgence and pardon is granted to those that die in the army, or going to the army before the expedition, or before the end of the year: But this must be understood also, if they die with perfect contrition of their sins; or if they do confess them by mouth, or if they cannot, if they have a hearty desire to confess them. As to the first condition, *if they die with perfect contrition*, no Roman or protestant divine will deny that God will forgive such a man's sins and receive him into his everlasting favor, so to such a man, a free and full indulgence and pardon is of no use; for without it, he is sure to obtain God's mercy and forgiveness.

As to the second condition, *or if they do confess them by mouth, or have a hearty desire to do it*: If a man want a hearty repentance, or is not heartily penitent and contrite, what can this condition of confessing by mouth, or having a hearty desire for it, profit such a man's soul? It being certain that a man, by his open confession, may deceive the confessor and his own soul, but he cannot deceive God Almighty, who is the only searcher of our hearts: And if the catholics will say to this, that open confession is a sign of repentance, we may answer them, that among the protestants it is so, for being not obliged to do it, nor by the laws of God, nor by those of the church, when they do it, it is in all human probability, a sure sign of repentance: But among the Roman catholics, this is no argument of repentance, for very often their lips are near the Lord, but their hearts very far off.

How can we suppose that an habitual sinner that, to fulfil the precept of their church, confesses once a year; and after it, the very same day, falls again into the same course of life; how can we presume I say,

that the open confession of such a man is a sign of repentance? And if the Roman catholics reply to this, that the case of this first article is quite different being only for those that die in the war with true contrition and repentance, or open confession, or hearty desire of it: I say that in this case it is the same as in others. For whenever and wherever a man dies truly penitent and heartily sorry for his sin, such a man, without this Bull and its indulgences and pardons, is forgiven by God, who hath promised his holy spirit to all those that ask it; and on the other side, if a man dies without repentance, though he confesseth his sins, he cannot obtain pardon and forgiveness from God, and in such a case the pope's indulgences and pardons cannot free that man from the punishment his impenitent heart hath deserved.

Observe likewise, that to all these warriors against the enemies of the Romish faith, the pope grants the same indulgences which he grants to those, that go to the conquest of the holy land, in the year of jubilee. The Roman Catholics ought to consider that the greatest favor, we can expect from God Almighty, is only the pardon of our sins, for his grace and everlasting glory do follow after it. Then if the pope grants them free, full and general pardon of their sins in this bull, what need have they of the pardons and indulgences, granted to those that go to the conquest of the holy land, and in the year of jubilee?

But, because few are acquainted with the nature of such indulgences and graces granted in the year of jubilee, I must crave leave from the learned people, to say what I know in this matter. I will not trouble the public with the catalogue of the pope's bulls, but I cannot pass by one article contained in one of these bulls, which may be found in some libraries of curious gentlemen and learned divines of our church, and especially in the Earl of Sunderland's library, which is directed to the Roman Catholics of England in these words: *Falsi mei date mehi sorda vestra, et hoc suffi-*

cit vobis: My children give me your hearts, and this is sufficient. So by this, you may swear and curse, steal and murder, and commit most heinous crimes, if they keep their hearts for the pope; that is enough to be saved. Observe this doctrine, and I leave it to you, reader, whether such an opinion is according to God's will, nay, to natural reason, or not?

The article of the bull for the year of jubilee doth contain these words: *If any christian and professor of our Catholic faith, going to the holy land to the war against the Turks and Infidels, or in the year of jubilee to our city of Rome, should happen to die in the way, we declare that his soul goes straightway to heaven.*

The preachers of the holy crusade, in their circuits, are careful in specifying in their sermons, all these graces and indulgences, to encourage the people, either to go to the war, or to take more bulls than one. With this crowd of litanies and pardons, the pope blinds the common people, and increases his treasure.

In this same first article of our present bull, it is said, that the same graces and indulgences are granted to all these, who, though they do not go personally, should send another upon their own expences; and that if he be a Cardinal, Primate, Patriarch, Archbishop, Bishop, son of a King, Prince, Duke, Marquis, or Earl, he must send ten, or at least four soldiers, and the rest of the people one, or one between ten.

Observe now, that according to the rules of their morality, no man can merit by any involuntary action; because, as they say, he is compelled and forced to it. How can, then, this noble people merit, or obtain such graces and indulgences, when they do not act voluntarily: For if we mind the pope's expression, he compells and forceth them to send ten soldiers, or at least four: They have no liberty to the contrary, and consequently they cannot merit by it. I wish to

God, they would make use of another rule of their morality and of ours too; *Vim vi repellere licet*.

The second article of this bull.

The pope compriseth in this command of sending one soldier, chapters, parish churches, convents of fryars, and monasteries of nuns, without excepting the mendicant orders; But the pope in this doth favor the ecclesiastical persons more than the laity, for as to the laity, he says, that three or four may join together and send one soldier; And as to the ecclesiastical persons, he enlargeth this to ten persons, that if between them, ten do send one soldier, they all, and the person sent by them, obtain the said graces. I do believe there is a great injustice done to the laity: For these have families to maintain, and the ecclesiastics have not, and the greatest part of the riches are in their hands. This I can aver, that I read in the chronicles of the Franciscan order, written by Fr. Anthony Perez, of the same order, where, extolling and praising the providence of God upon the Franciscan fryars, he says, that the general of St. Francis's order doth rule and govern continually 600,000 fryars in Christendom, who having nothing to live upon, God takes care of them, and all are well clothed, and maintained. There are in the Roman-Catholic religion 70 different orders, governed by 70 regular generals, who after six years of command, are made either bishops or cardinals. I say this by the by, to let the public know the great number of priests and fryars, idle and needless people in that religion; for if in one order only there is 600,000 fryars, how many shall be found in 70 different orders; I am sure if the pope would command the 50th part of them to go to this holy war, the laity would be relieved, the king would have a great deal more powerful army, and his dominions would not be so much embroiled with divisions, nor so full of vice and debauchery, as they are now.

The third article.

It is lawful for the priests and fryars to go to this war to preach the word of God in it, or serve, or help in it, without incurring irregularity. They do preach, and encourage the soldiers to kill the enemies of their religion, and to make use of whatever means they can for it, for in so doing there is no sin, but a great service done to God.

Out of this war, if a priest strike another and there is mutilation, or if he encourage another to revenge or murder, he incurs irregularity, and he cannot perform any ecclesiastical, or divine service, till he is absolved by the pope, or his deputy: But in the war against the enemies of their religion, nay, out of the war, they advise them to murder them, as I have said before, and this without incurring irregularity. O blindness of heart! He endeth this article, by excusing the soldiers from fasting when they are in the army, but not when they are out of it; a strange thing, that a man should command more than God. Our Saviour Jesus Christ commands us to fast from sin, not from meat, but more of this in another article.

The fourth article.

In this article the pope compriseth all the people, and puts them upon double charges and expences, for besides the contribution for a soldier, every body must take the bull if he will obtain the said graces, and must give two reals of plate, i. e. thirteen pence half-penny. This is a bitter and hard thing for the people: but see how the pope sweetens it. I grant, besides the said graces, to all those who should take this bull and give the charity undermentioned, that even in the time of suspension of divine and ecclesiastical service, they may hear and say mass, and other devotions, &c. Charity must be voluntary to be acceptable to God: How then can he call it charity, when the people must pay for the bull, or some of their goods shall be sold? And not only this, but that their

corpse cannot be buried in sacred ground without it, as is expressed in the fifth article.

The sixth article.

The pope doth excuse all that take this bull not only from fasting, but he gives them license to eat flesh in lent by the consent of both physicians, spiritual and temporal. This is, if a man is sick, he must consult the physician, whether he may eat flesh or not; and if the physician gives his consent, he must ask his father confessor's consent too, to eat flesh in lent and other days of ecclesiastical prohibition. Only a stupid man will not find out of the trick of this granting, for in the first place, *necessitas caret lege*; necessity knows no law: If a man is sick he is excused by the law of God, nay, by the law of nature from hurtful things, nay, he is obliged in conscience to preserve his health by using all sorts of lawful means. This is a maxim received among the Romans, as well as among us. What occasion is there then of the pope's and both physicians' license to do such a thing? Or if there is so great power in the bull, why doth not the pope grant them license absolutely, without asking consent of both physicians? We may conclude that such people must be blindly superstitious or deeply ignorant.

But this great privilege must be understood only for the laity, not for the secular, nor regular priests, except the cardinals who are not mentioned here, the knights of the military order, and those that are 60 years of age and above. But the priests, and fryars (notwithstanding this express prohibition) if they have a mind, evade it on pretence of many light distempers, of the assiduity of their studies, or exercise of preaching the lent's sermons; and by these and other, as they think, weighty reasons, they get a license to eat flesh in lent. So we see, that they will preach to the people obedience to all the commandments of the pope, and they do disobey them; they preach so, because they have private ends and interests in so do-

ing; but they do not observe them themselves, because they are against their inclinations, and without any profit, and so advising the people to mind them, they do not mind them themselves.

The seventh and eighth articles.

To the same, the pope grants fifteen years, and fifteen quarantains of pardon, and all the penances not yet performed by them, &c. Observe the ignorance of that people: The pope grants them fifteen years and fifteen quarantains of pardon by this bull, and they are so infatuated, that they take it every year; indeed they cannot desire more than the free and general pardon of sins; and if they obtain it by one bull, for 15 years and 15 quarantains, what need or occasion have they for a yearly bull: Perhaps some are so stupid as to think to heap up pardons during this life for the next world, or to leave them to their children and relations: But observe likewise, that to obtain this, they must fast for devotion's sake some days not prohibited by the church. They really believe, that keeping themselves within the rules of ecclesiastical fasting they merit a great deal: But God knows, for, as they say, the merit is grounded in the mortification of the body, and by this rule, I will convince them, that they cannot merit at all.

For let us know how they fast? And what, and how they eat? Now I will give a true account of their fasting in general; the rules which must be observed in a right fasting are these—In the morning it is allowed by all the casuistical authors, to drink whatever a body has a mind for, and eat an ounce of bread, which they call *parva materia*, a small matter. And as for the drink, they follow the pope's declaration concerning chocolate: Give me leave to acquaint you with the case.

When the chocolate begun to be introduced, the Jesuits' opinion was, that being a great nourishment, it could not be drunk without breaking fast: But the lovers of it proposing the case to the pope, he order-

ed to be brought to him all the ingredients of which the chocolate is made, which being accordingly done, the pope drank a cup, and decided the dispute, saying, *potus non frangit jejunium*: Liquid doth not break fasting, which declaration is a maxim put into all their *moral sums*: And by it every body may lawfully drink as many cups as he pleases, and eat an ounce of bread, as a small matter in the morning:— And by the same rule any body may drink a bottle of wine or two, without breaking his fasting; for liquid doth not break fasting.

At noon they may eat as much as they can of all sorts of things, except flesh: And at night, it is allowed not to sup, but to take something by way of collation: In this point of collation, the casuists do not agree together; for some say that nobody can lawfully eat but eight ounces of dry and cold things, as bread, walnuts, raisins, cold fried fishes, and the like: Other authors say, that the quantity of this collation must be measured with the constitution of the person who fasts; for if the person is of a strong constitution, tall, and of a good appetite, eight ounces are not enough, and twelve must be allowed to such a man, and so of the rest. This is the form of their fasting in general: Though some few religious and devout persons eat but one meal a day: Nay, some used to fast 24 hours without eating any thing; but this is once in a year, which they call a *fast with the bells*, that is, in the holy week; among other ceremonies, the Roman-catholics put the consecrated host or wafer in a rich *urna* or box, or Thursday, at twelve of the clock in the morning; and they take it out on Friday at the same time: These 24 hours every body is in mourning, nay, the altars are veiled, and the monument where they place the image of J. C. upon the cross, is all covered with black: The bells are not heard all this while; and, as I said, many used to fast with the bells; and they make use of this expression to signify that they fast 24 hours without eating any thing at all.

From these we may easily know whether their bodies are mortified with fasting or not? For how can a man of sense say, that he mortifies his body with fasting, when he drinks two or three cups of chocolate, with a small toast in the morning, eats as much as he can at dinner, and eight ounces at night: Add to this, that he may sit in company and eat a crust of bread, and drink as many bottles of wine as he will, this is not accounted collation, because liquid doth not break fasting. This is the form of their fasting, and the rules they must observe in it, and this is reckoned a meritorious work, and therefore doing this, they obtain the said indulgences and pardons of this bull.

Observe likewise, that the Roman-catholics of Spain are allowed to eat, in some days, prohibited by the church, and especially Saturdays, the following things: The head and pluck of a sheep, a chevelet of a fowl, and the like; nay, they may boil a leg of mutton, and drink the broth of it. This toleration of eating such things was granted by the pope to king Ferdinand, who being in a warm war against the Moors, the soldiers suffered very much in the days of fasting for want of fish, and other things eatable for such days; and for this reason the pope granted him and his army license to eat the above-mentioned things on Saturdays, and other days of fasting commanded by the church; and this was in the year 1479. But this toleration only to the army was introduced among the country people, especially in both Old and New Castilla, and this custom is become a law among them. But this is not so in other provinces of Spain, where the common people have not the liberty of eating such things; among the quality, only those that have a particular dispensation from the pope for them and their families.

There is an order of fryars, called *La orden de la victoria*, the order of the victory; whose first founder was St. Francis de Paula, and the fryars are pro-

hibited by the rules, statutes and constitution of the order, to eat flesh; nay, this prohibition stands in force during their lives, as it is among the Carthusians, who, though in great sickness, cannot eat any thing of flesh; but this must be understood within the convent's gate; for when they go abroad they may eat any thing without transgressing the statute of the order.

But the pleasantness of their practices will show the tricks of that religion. As to the Victorian fryars, I knew in Saragossa one father Conchillos, professor of divinity in his convent, learned in their way, but a pleasant companion: He was, by his daily exercise of the public lecture, confined in his convent every day in the afternoon; but as soon as the lecture was over, his thought and care was to divert himself with music, gaming, &c. One evening, having given me an invitation to his room, I went accordingly, and there was nothing wanting of all sorts of recreation, music, cards, comedy, and very good merry company: We went to supper, which was composed of nice, delicate, catable things, both of flesh and fish, and for the desert the best sweetmeats. But observing, at supper, that my good Conchillos used to take a leg of partridge and go to the window, and come again and take a wing of a fowl, and do the same; I asked him whether he had some beggar in the street to whom he threw the leg and wing? No, said he to me: What then do you go with them out of the window? What, said he, I cannot eat flesh within the walls, but the statute of my order doth not forbid me to eat it without the walls; and so, whenever we have a fancy for it, we may eat flesh, putting our heads out of the window. Thus they give a turn to the law, but a turn agreeable to them: And so they do in all their fastings and abstinences from flesh.

As to the Carthusians, and their abstinence and fasting, I could say a great deal, but am afraid I should swell this treatise beyond its designed bigness,

if I should amuse you with an account of all their ridiculous ways. This I cannot pass by, for it conduces very much to this clearing point of abstinence and fasting. The order of this constitution is, first, a continual abstinence from flesh; and this is observed so severely and strictly, that I knew a fryar, who, being dangerously ill, the physicians ordered to apply, upon his head, a young pigeon, opened alive at the breast; which being proposed by the prior to the whole community, they were of opinion that such a remedy was against the constitution, and therefore not fit to be used any way: That those poor fryars must die rather than touch any fleshy thing, though it be for the preserving their health.

Secondly. Perpetual silence and confinement is the next precept of St. Brune, their founder: That is, that the fryars cannot go abroad out of the convent, or garden walls, only the prior and procurator may go upon business of the community. The rest of the fryars' lives are thus: Each of them has an apartment with a room, bed-chamber, kitchen, cellar, closet to keep fruit in, a garden, with a well, and a place in it for firing. Next to the door of the apartment there is a wheel in the wall, which serves to put the victuals in at noon, and at night, and the fryar turns the wheel, and takes his dinner and supper, and in the morning he puts in the wheel the plates, by which the servant, that carries the victuals, knows they are in good health; and if he finds the victuals again, he acquaints the father prior with it, who strait goes to visit them. The prior hath a master-key of all the rooms, for the fryars are obliged to lock the door on the inside, and to keep the room always shut, except when they go to say mass in the morning, and to say the canonical hours in the day time; then, if they meet one another, they can say no other words but these: One says, Brother, we must die, and the other answers, We know it. Only on Thursday, between three and four in the afternoon, they meet together

for an hours time, and if it be fair weather, they go to walk in the garden of the convent, and if not, in the common hall, where they cannot talk of other things, but of the lives of such or such a saint; and when the hour is over, every one goes into his own chamber. So they observe fasting and silence continually, but except flesh, they eat the most exquisite and delicate things in the world; for commonly in one convent there are but twenty fryars, and there is not one convent of Carthusians, which hath not five, six, and many, twenty thousand pistoles of yearly rent.

Such is their fasting from flesh and conversation; but let us know their fasting from sins.

Dr. Peter Bernes, secular priest, belonging to the parish church of the blessed Mary Magdalene (as they do call her) being 32 years of age, and dangerously ill, made a vow to the glorious saint, that if he should recover from that sickness, he would retire into a Carthusian convent. He recovered, and accordingly, renouncing his benefice and the world, he took the Carthusian habit, in the convent of the Conception, three miles from Saragossa. For the space of three years he gave proofs of virtue and singular conformity with the statutes of the order. His strict life was so crowded with disciplines and mortifications, that the prior gave out, in the city, that he was a saint on earth. I went to see him with the father prior's consent, and indeed I thought there was something extraordinary in his countenance, and in his words; and I had taken him myself for a man ready to work miracles. Many people went to see him, and among the croud a young woman, acquainted with him before he took the habit, who unknown to the strict fryars, got into his chamber, and there she was kept by the pious father eighteen months. In that time the prior used to visit the chamber, but the Señora was kept in the bed-chamber, till at last the prior went one night to consult him upon some business, and

hearing a child cry, asked him what was the matter; and though my friend Bernes endeavored to conceal the case, the prior found it out, and she, owning the thing, was turned out with the child, and the father was confined for ever; and this was his virtue, fasting and abstinence from flesh, &c.

To those that either fast, in the abovesaid manner, or keep fasting for devotion's sake, his holiness grants (taking this bull of Crusade) all the said graces, pardons and indulgences; and really, if such graces were of some use or benefit, the people thus doing, want them very much; or may be, the pope knowing these practices, doth this out of pity and compassion for their souls, without thinking that this bull is a great encouragement and incitement to sin.

The ninth article.

This article contains, first, that to pray with more purity, every body taking this bull may chuse a confessor to his own fancy, who is empowered to absolve sins, except the crime of heresy, reserved to the pope or apostolical see. You must know, what they mean by the crime heresy: Salazar Irribarren and Corella, treating of the reserved sins, say, that the crime of heresy is, viz. If I am all alone in my room, and the door being locked up, talking by myself; I say, I do not believe in God, or in the pope of Rome, this is heresy. They distinguish two sorts of heresies; one interna, and another externa, that is public and secret. The public heresy, such as that I have now told you of, nobody can absolve but the pope himself. The second being only in thought, every body can absolve, being licensed by the bishop, by the benefit of this bull. So, whoever pronounces the pope is not infallible: the English or protestants may be saved: The Virgin Mary is not to be prayed to: The priest hath not power to bring down from heaven J. C. with five words: Such an one is a public heretic, and he must go to Rome, if he desireth to get absolution.

Secondly. This article contains, that by the benefit of this bull, every body may be free from restitu-

tion, during his own life; and that he may make it by his heirs after his death. O what an unnatural thing is this! What if I take away from my neighbor three hundred pounds, which is all he hath in the world to maintain his family, must I be free from this restitution, and leave it to my heir's will to make it after my death? Must I see my neighbor's family suffer by it; and can I be free before God of a thing that God, nature and humanity, require of me to do? Indeed this is a diabolical doctrine. Add to this what I have said of the bull of composition, that is, if you take so many bulls to compound the matter with your confessor, you will be free forever from making restitution: But really you shall not be free from the eternal punishment.

Likewise, by the power of this bull, any confessor may commute any vow, except those of chastity, religion and beyond seas: But this is upon a condition that they should give something for the Crusade. O God, what expression is this! To commute any vow, except those of chastity, &c. So, if I make a vow to kill a man, if I promise upon oath to rob my neighbor, the confessor may commute me these vows, for sixpence: But if I vow to keep chastity, I must go to Rome to the pope himself? What expression is this! I say again, how many millions have vowed chastity? If I say two millions, I shall not lie: And how many of these two millions observe it? If I say five hundred, I shall not lie: And for all this, we see no body go to Rome for absolution.

The Roman catholics will say, that by these words, *vow of chastity*, must be only understood abstaining from marriage; but I will leave it to any man of reason, whether the nature of chastity compriseth only that? Or let me ask the Roman catholics, whether a priest, who hath made a vow of chastity, that is, never to marry, if he commits the sins of the flesh, will be accounted chaste or not? They will, and must say, not. Then, if so many thousands of priests live lewd-

ly, breaking the vow of chastity, why do they not go to the pope for absolution? To this they never can answer me, therefore the pope, in this bull, doth blind them, and the priests do what they please, and only the common people are imposed upon, and suffer by it. God Almighty, by his infinite power, enlighten them all, that so the priests may be more sincere and the people less darkened.

The tenth article.

The pope grants the same indulgences to those that should die suddenly, if they die heartily sorry for their sins. Of this I have spoken already, and said, that if a man dies truly penitent he hath no occasion for the pope's pardon, for his true penitence hath more interest (if I may thus express myself) with God Almighty, than the pope with all his infallibility. So I proceed to the next, which is

The eleventh article.

In this article the pope grants, besides the said indulgences, to those that take this bull, that they may twice more in the same year, be absolved of all their sins, of what nature soever, once more during their lives, and once more at the point of death. This is a bold saying, and full of assurance. O poor, blind people! Where have you your eyes or understanding? Mind, I pray, for the light of your consciences, this impudent way of deceiving you, and go along with me. The pope has granted you, in the aforesaid articles, all you can wish for, and now again, he grants you a nonsensical privilege, viz. that you may twice at the point of death, be absolved of all your sins. Observe, passing by that a simple priest, who hath not been licenced by the ordinary to hear confessions, upon urgent necessity, i. e. upon the point of death, is allowed by all the casuistical authors, nay, by the councils, to absolve all sins whatsoever, if there be not present another licenced priest. Again, nobody can get such absolution, as is expressed in this bull; but at the point of his souls departing from the body, i. e. when

there is no hopes of recovery; and the confessors are so careful in this point, that sometimes, they begin to pronounce the absolution, when a man is alive, and he is dead before they finish the words.

Now pray tell me how can a man be twice in such a point? And if he got once as much, as he can not get the second time, what occasion hath he for the second full, free, and plenary indulgence, and absolution of all his sins? I must stop here, for if I was to tell freely my opinion upon this point, some will think I do it out of some private ends; which I never do upon delivering matters of fact.

The twelfth article.

Here the most holy father gives his power and authority to the general apostolical commissary of the crusade, and all other graces and faculties, to revoke and suspend all the graces and indulgences granted in this bull, by his holiness, during the year of publishing it; and not only to suspend them, upon any restriction or limitation, but absolutely, though this, or any other bull, or brief of indulgences, granted by this or other popes, did contain words contrary to it, viz. Suppose if Clement, or another pope, should say, I grant to such an one such faculties, and I anathematise all those that should attempt to suspend the said faculties. This last expression would be of no force at all, because this bull specifies the contrary.

So it is a thing very remarkable, that the pope dispossesseth himself, by this bull, of all his power and authority, and giveth it to the general apostolical commissary, insomuch that the apostolical commissary hath more power than the pope himself, during the year: And this power and authority is renewed and confirmed to him by his holiness. And not only he has this power over the pope, but over all the popes, and their briefs, in whatsoever time granted to any place, or person whatsoever. For it is in the apostolical commissary's power to suspend all graces and privileges whatsoever, granted since the first pope

began to grant indulgences, which things are all inconsistent with the independency and supremacy of the holy father, nay, according to the principles and sentiments of their own authors, but we see, they are consistent with their blindness and ignorance.

The thirteenth article.

This article sheweth us plainly the reason, why the pope acts thus in the granting of his power to the general apostolical commissary of the crusade, for he grants him authority to revoke and suspend all the indulgences here granted by himself and other popes, but he grants him the same authority to call again the very same indulgences, and to make them good again. And next to this power (observe this) he grants him and his deputies power to fix and settle the price or charity, the people ought to give for the bull. This is the whole matter, and we may use the English saying, *No cure, no pay*, quite reverse, *No pay, no cure*, no indulgence nor pardon of sins. The treasure of the church (being a spiritual gift) cannot be sold for money, without Simony. And if the Romans say that the pope has that power derived from Christ, or given gratis to him, let them mind the words: *Quod gratis accepistes, gratis date*. If the pope payeth nothing for having such power, if he has it gratis, why does he sell it to the faithful? Can a private man, or his deputy put a price on a spiritual thing? O blindness of heart!

The fourteenth article.

In this article the general apostolical commissary makes use of his power and authority, he says, *In favor of this holy bull, we do suspend, during the year, all the graces, indulgences, and faculties of this, or any other kind, &c. Though they be in favor of the building at St. Peter's church at Rome. Except only from this suspension the privileges granted to the superiors of the Mendicant orders. He excepts only from this suspension the privileges of the four Mendicant orders, because, the fryars of those orders, being Men-*

dieants or beggars, they can be no great hindrance of this project. I ask my countrymen this question: If Dn. Francis Anthony Ramirez has such a power, to do and undo, in despite of the pope, whatever he pleases for a whole year; and this power is renewed to him every year, by a fresh bull: Of what use is the pope in Spain? And if he has resigned his authority to Don Ramirez; why do they send every year to Rome for privileges, dispensations, faculties, bulls, &c. and throw their money away? If Ramirez has power to stop, and make void any concession by the pope, what need have they for so great trouble and expence? Is not this a great stupidity, and infatuity? Observe the next article.

The fifteenth article.

All those prohibitions and suspensions, aforementioned, are only to oblige the people to take the bull; for the general apostolical commissary says: *We declare that all those that take this bull, do obtain and enjoy all the graces, and faculties, &c. which have been granted by the popes Paul the 5th, and Urbanus the 8th. &c.* So if a poor man takes no bull, though he be heartily penitent, there is no pardon for him. I say, there is no pardon for him from the pope and his commissary, but there is surely pardon for him from God; and he is in a better way, than all the bigots that take the bull, thinking to be free by it from all their sins.

Observe also the last words of this article: *We command that every body that takes this bull, be obliged to keep by him the same, which is here printed, signed and sealed with our name and seal; and that otherwise they cannot obtain, nor enjoy the benefit of the said bull.* This is a cheat, robbery and roguery; for the design of the general apostolical commissary is, to oblige them to take another bull. The custom is, that when they take every year a new bull, they ought to show the old one, or else they must take two that year.—

Now let us suppose that all the contents of the bull:

are as efficacious as the bigots do believe them to be. A man takes the bull, pays for it, and performs and fulfilleth the contents of it. Is not this enough to enjoy all the graces, &c? What is the meaning then of commanding to keep the same bull by them, but a cheat, robbery and roguery? I do not desire better proof of this, than what the commissary affords me in his following words, by which he contradicts himself. He says, and *whereas you* (speaking with Peter de Zuloaga, who was the man that took the bull which was left at the publisher's shop) *have given two reals of plate, and have taken this bull, and your name is written in it, we declare that you have already obtained and are granted the said indulgences, &c. And that you may enjoy and make use of them, &c.*

If he has already obtained all, of what use may it be to keep the bull by him? How can the commissary make these expressions agree together? 1st *If he doth not keep the bull by him, he cannot enjoy the benefit of the bull.* 2d. *As soon as he takes it, he has already obtained all the graces, &c. and enjoys the benefit of the bull.* These are two quite contrary things. Then the design in the first, is robbery and roguery, and in the second, cheat, fraud and deceit.

Reflect again: *Whereas you have taken the bull, and paid for it, you have already obtained all the indulgences and pardon of sins.* By this declaration, infallible to the Romans, let a man come from committing murder, adultery, sacrilege, &c. if he takes and payeth for the bull, his sins are already pardoned. Is not this a scandalous presumption? If a man is in a state of sin, and has no repentance in his heart, how can such a man be pardoned at so cheap a rate as two reals of plate? If this was sure and certain, the whole world would embrace their religion, for they then would be sure of their salvation. Again, if they believe this bull to be true, how can they doubt of their going to heaven immediately after death? For a man whose sins are pardoned, goes straightway to heaven;

so if the sins of all men and women (for every body takes the bull) are pardoned by it, and consequently go to heaven, why do they set up a purgatory? Or why are they afraid of hell?

Let us say, that we may suspect, that this bull sends more people into hell, than it can save from it; for it is the greatest encouragement to sin in the world. A man says, I may satisfy my lusts and passions, I may commit all wickedness, and yet I am sure to be pardoned of all, by the taking of this bull for two reals of plate. By the same rule, their consciences cannot be under any remorse nor trouble, for if a man commits a great sin, he goes to confess, he gets absolution, he has by him this bull, or permission to sin, and his conscience is at perfect ease, inso-much that after he gets absolution, he may go and commit new sins, and go again for absolution.

If we press with these reflections and arguments the Roman catholic priests, especially those of good sense, they will answer that they do not believe any such thing; for if a man, (say they) doth not repent truly of his sins, he is not pardoned by God, though he be absolved by the confessor. Well, if it be so, why does the pope, by his general apostolical commissary, say, *Whereas you have taken and paid for this bull, you have already obtained pardon for your sins, &c.* We must come then to say, that the cheat, fraud and deceit is in the pope, and that Don Ramirez is the pope's instrument to impose so grossly upon the poor Spaniards. Let the Romans call him *holy and most holy Father*, the truth is, that he, affronting God and our Savior in so high a degree, is in this particular a devilish and most hellish Father.

The form of absolution followeth after the articles, in which you may make as many remarks as you please. For my part I am full of confusion to remember the ignorance I was in, when I was of that communion. The confessor grants free and full indulgence and pardon of all sins, and of all the pains and

punishments which the penitent was obliged to endure for them in purgatory. By virtue of this absolution then, we may say, no soul goes to purgatory, especially out of the dominions of the king of Spain, for as I said, in the beginning of the explanation of the bull, every living soul, from seven years of age and upwards, is obliged to take the bull, and consequently, if every soul obtains the grant of being pardoned of all the pains which they were to endure and suffer in purgatory, all go to heaven. Why do the priests ask masses, and say them for the relief of the souls in purgatory?

Let us from these proceed to the sum of the *estations* and indulgences granted to the city of Rome, which the pope grants likewise to all those that take the bull and fulfil the contents of it.

Estations, in this place, signify the going from one church to another in remembrance of Christ's being, or remaining so long on mount Calvary, so long in the garden, so long on the cross, so long in the sepulcher.

We call also *estations*, or to walk the *estations*, to go from the first cross to the mount Calvary, &c. This is a new thing to many of this kingdom, therefore, a plain account of that custom among the Romans will not be amiss in this place.

There is, in every city, town and village, a mount Calvary out of the gates, in remembrance of the Calvary where our Saviour was crucified. There are fourteen crosses placed at a distance one from another. The first cross is out of the gates, and from the first to the second, the Romans reckon so many steps or paces, more or less from the second to the third, and so on from one to another of the remaining, till they come to the twelfth cross, which is in the middle of two crosses, which represent two crosses where the two malefactors were crucified on each side of Christ. They walk these twelve *estations* in remembrance of all the steps and paces our Saviour walked from the

gates of the city of Jerusalem to mount Calvary, where he was crucified. In the first estation, you will see the image of Jesus, with the cross on his shoulders, in the second, falling down, &c. In the last cross, our last estation of the three crosses, Jesus is represented crucified between two malefactors.

Every Friday in the year, the devout people walk the estations, and kneel down before every cross, and say so many *pater nosters*, &c. and a prayer for the meditation of what did happen to our Jesus at that distance. When the weather hinders the people from going to the great Calvary, they have another in every church, and in the cloisters of the convents, and monasteries, and they walk the estations there. And especially in lent, there is such a crowd of people every Friday in the afternoon, that there is scarcely room enough in the high-way for all to kneel down.

On good Friday in the evening is the great procession, at which almost all the people assist with lanterns in their hands. The people, both men and women, old and young, go to church in the afternoon: The parish minister drest in a surplice, and a sacerdotal cloak on, and a square black cap on his head, and the rest of the clergy in their surplices, and the reverend father preacher in his habit. This last begins a short exhortation to the people, recommending to them devotion, humility, and meditation of our Saviour's sufferings; after he has done, the prior of the fraternity of the blood of Christ ordereth the procession in this manner: First of all, at the head of it, a man in a surplice carrieth the cross of the parish, and two boys on each side with two high lanterns, immediately after begins the first estation of our Saviour, painted in a standard, which one of the fraternity carrieth, and the brethren of that estation follow him in two lines: And the twelve estations, ordered in the same manner, follow one another. At the estations, there is a man representing J. C. in a Tunica, or a Nazarine's gown, with a

crown of thorns on his head, that carrieth on his shoulders a long, heavy cross, and another man representing Simon of Cirene, behind helps the Nazarine to carry the cross. After him the preacher, clergy, and parish minister, and after them all the people, without keeping any form or order. Thus the procession goes out of the church, singing a proper song of the passion of Jesus; and when they come to the first cross of the estations of Calvary, the proeession stops there, and the preacher makes an exhortation, and tells what our Saviour did suffer till that first step, and making the same exhortations in each of the eleven crosses; when they come at the twelfth, the preacher, on the foot of the cross, which is placed between the two crosses of the malefactors, begins the sermon of the passion and sufferings of Christ, and when he has done, the procession comes back again to the church, and there the preacher dismisses the people with an act of contrition, which the people repeat after him.

These are the estations of the holy Calvary: But besides these, the estations of the holy sepulchre;—that is, to visit seven churches, or seven times one church, on holy Thursday, when Jesus is in the monument:—But of these things I shall treat in another place.

Now, by these foregoing indulgences, and full pardon of sins, the pope does not grant to all those that take the bull, and fulfil the contents of it (which are only to pay for it) any body may easily know a list of the days in which any one, that visits the churches, mentioned in it, enjoys at Rome all the aforesaid faculties, pardon of sins, and indulgences, and as you may observe, at the end of the *summario*, that every day of the year there are, at Rome, many indulgences and pardons granted in some church or other, to all those that go to visit them. So, by the grant of the pope, in the bull of Crusade, the same indulgences and pardons are given, and in the same day (that is

every day of the year) to all those that take the bull. From this any body may draw the same consequence as before, that a man cannot be afraid, in the Romish church, to go to hell; he may commit every day all villainies in the world, and yet every day, having the bull, is sure of getting free and full pardon of his sins, and this without the trouble of going to confess: For if they will take the pains to read the contents of the bull, with a serious mind, they will find the truth of what I say—That without the trouble of confessing sins, any body obtains full pardon of all the crimes he has committed.

For the general apostolical Commissary, (who has the pope's power and authority) says, that he that takes the bull, payeth for it, and writes his name in it, *ipso facto*, i. e. already obtains all the indulgences and pardon of sins, &c. mentioned in the bull; and he does not say, *If he confess, or, if he be a hearty penitent*, but already, without any limitation, or reservation, *already he enjoys all, and may make use of all the graces, &c.* So, by these expressions, it appears that a man, taking the bull, paying for it, and writing his name in it, may commit murder and robbery, &c. and yet obtain every day free and full pardon of his sins, without the trouble of confessing them to a priest, who, if covetous, will ask money for absolution, or money for masses, for the relief of the souls in purgatory.

This I must own of my country people, that they are kept in so great ignorance by the priests, that I might dare to say, that not one of a thousand that takes the bull, reads it, but blindly submits to what the minister of the parish tells him, without further inquiry. This is a surprising thing to all the protestants, and it is now to me, but I can give no other reasons for their ignorance in point of religion, as for the generality, but their bigotry, and blind faith in what the preachers and priests tell them; and, next to this, that it is not allowed to them to read the scripture, nor books of controversy about religion.

I come now to the days in which every body takes a soul out of purgatory. Observe those marked with a star, and besides them, there is in every convent and parish church, at least, one privileged altar, i. e. any body that says five times *Pater Noster*, &c. and five times *Ave Maria*, with *Gloria Patria*, &c. takes a soul out of purgatory, and this at any time and in any day of the year, not only in Spain, by the virtue of the bull, but in France, Germany, Italy, and in all the Roman-catholic countries where they have no bull of Crusade. From this, I say, that if there is a purgatory, it must be an empty place, or that it is impossible to find there any soul at all, and that the Roman-catholics take every year more souls out of it, than can go into it:—Which I shall endeavor to prove by evident arguments, grounded on their principles and belief.

For, first of all, there is in the bull nine days in the year in which every living person takes a soul out of purgatory, and by this undeniable truth among themselves, it appears, that every living person, man, woman or child, from seven years of age and upwards, takes every year nine souls out of purgatory.

Secondly. Every body knows the Roman-catholics' opinion, that no body can be saved out of their communion; and by this infallible (as they believe) principle, they do not allow any place in purgatory to the souls of protestants, and other people of other professions; and so only Roman-catholic souls are the proprietors of that place of torment.

Thirdly. It is undeniable, by the Romans, that ever since that place of purgatory was built up by the popes and councils, the Roman-catholics have enjoyed the granting of a privileged altar in every church, that, by their prayers, the souls of their parents or friends may be relieved and delivered out of that place.

Fourthly. That to this granting, the popes have been so generous, that they have granted, in such days, special privileges to some churches, for all those

that should visit them, to take souls out of purgatory.

Fifthly. That all the prayers said before such altars for such a soul in purgatory, if the soul is out of it, when the person says the prayers, those prayers go to the treasure of the church; and by this opinion, undeniable by them, the treasure of the church is well stocked with prayers, and when the pope has a mind to grant, at once, a million of prayers, he may take a million of souls out of purgatory.

These five principles and observations are uncontestible by any of the Roman-catholics. Now let us compute the number of Roman-catholics that are alive, and the number of the dead every year. I say, compute, that is, suppose a certain number of the living and of the dead every year. And I begin with the kingdom of Spain, and its dominions, as the only partakers of the privileges granted in the bull of Crusade.

First. Let us suppose, that in the whole dominions of Spain, there are about six millions of living persons; I speak of the Roman-catholics: And that three millions of those catholics die every year; and that all their souls go to purgatory; for though the supposition is disadvantageous to my purpose, I will allow them more than they can expect. In the first place, by reasonable computation, half of the living persons do not die every year: But I suppose this, to make my argument so much the stronger. Secondly. In their opinion, very many of the souls of those that die go to Heaven, and some to hell, which is contrary to the bull. By this computation the three millions of people that remain alive, by the bull, take out of purgatory, seven and twenty millions of souls that very year. For there are nine days, in the bull fixed, on which every living person takes one soul out of purgatory; if then, only three millions of people die annually, how can the three remaining alive take out twenty-seven millions, it being impossible that there should be more than three millions in purgato-

ry that year. And besides this plain demonstration, and besides the nine days appointed in the bull, according to their belief, and every day in the year, and, *toties quoties*, they pray at a privileged altar, they take out of purgatory that soul for which they pray, or if that soul is not in purgatory, any other which they have a mind for, or else the prayer goes to the treasure of the church : and so, by this addition, we may say that if, out of three millions of living persons, only half a million of people pray every day, this half million take out of purgatory, yearly, one hundred and eighty-two millions and a half of souls. If they scruple this number, let them fix any other living persons, and then multiply nine times more the number of souls delivered out of purgatory every year, by virtue of the nine days mentioned in the bull ; or by the privileged altars, multiply one to 365 souls delivered out of the flames every year, by every living person, as I shall demonstrate more plainly hereafter.

As for France, Germany, Italy, Portugal, and other Roman-catholic countries, as I said before, they have their privileged altars to take a soul out of purgatory, *toties quoties*, a Roman says so many *Pater Nosters* and *Ave Marius* before them. And so use the same multiplication to convince them, that there cannot be so many souls in purgatory as they deliver out of it every year, or that purgatory of course, must be an empty place, &c.

If they answer to this strong reason, that we must suppose for certain, that the souls of many millions of people, for many years past, are in purgatory, and that there is stock enough taken out of it every year, if there were ten times more living persons than there are now in the Roman-catholic countries : I say, that the supposition has no room at all, and that it is impossible ; for let us begin at the time when purgatory was first found out by the pope, and let us suppose, *gratis*, that there is such a place, which we deny.

The first year, that that imaginary place was settled among the Romans, the very same year the privileged altars were in fashion: The people that were left alive that year, took out all the souls of the persons dead the same year, and more too, for as the new privilege was granted then, every body was more charitable in taking the souls of his relations and friends out of sufferings at so cheap a rate as five *Pater Nosters*, &c. The next year the same, and so on, year by year, till this present time, so that it is impossible to believe that there are a greater number of souls than of persons dead.

I say again, that by these principles, sure among the Romans the Catholics only of Spain, and all the dominions belonging to it, are enough to deliver out of purgatory all the souls of all the catholics dead from the beginning of the world in Christendom;—if what they believe were certain, it should be certain too, that since the bull is granted to the catholic kings and their dominions, which is since the reign of King Ferdinand, the catholic, only the Spaniards have delivered out of purgatory more souls than persons have died since the universal flood; for every living person, from that time till this present day, has taken out of purgatory, every year, 365 souls by the privileged altars, and 9 more by virtue of the bull: Now I leave to the curious reader to make use of the rule of multiplication, and he will find clear demonstrations of my saying. I do not talk now of those innumerable souls that are freed from this place every day of the year by the Masses, leaving this for another place.

Indeed I have searched among the sophistries of the Roman-catholics, to see whether I could find some reason or answer to this, and I protest, I could not find any, for as I am sure, they will endeavor to cloud this work with groundless subterfuges and sophistries, I was willing to prevent all sorts of objections, which may be made by them; only one answer, which I

may believe they will give me, comes now into my head, and it is this, that as the Romans cannot answer any thing contrary to my demonstration, it is to be feared that they will say, that I reason and argue as an ignorant, because I do not know that the souls in purgatory are fruitful beings, that one produces a great many little ones every year, I say, it is to be feared, that being pressed, they must come at last to such nonsensical, fantastical, dreaming reasons to answer to this urgent argument. So we may safely conclude, and with a christian confidence say, that if there is such a place as purgatory, it must be an empty place, or that it is impossible to find there any souls, or that [the Roman-catholics take every year more souls out of it, than can go into it; all which, being against the evidence of natural reason, and computation made, it is a dream, fiction, or to say the truth, roguery, robbery and a cheat of the pope and priests. As for the pope (if the report in the public news be true) I must beg leave to except for a while this present pope, who in his behavior makes himself the *exception of the rule*. I say, for a *while*, for by several instances (as I shall speak to in the second part) many popes have had a good beginning, and a very bad end. God enlighten him with his holy spirit, that he may bring in all papist countries to our reformation. And I pray God Almighty, from the bottom of my heart, to give to all the Romans such a light as his infinite goodness has been pleased to grant me, and that all my country people, and all those that call themselves Roman-catholics, would make the same use of that light which I have endeavored to make use of myself, to know the corruptions of their church, and to renounce them with as firm and hearty resolution, as I have done myself; and I pray God, who must be my judge, to continue in me the same light, and his grace, that I may live and die in the religion I have embraced, and to give me the desired comfort of my heart, which is to see many

of my beloved country people come and enjoy the quietness of mind and conscience which I enjoy, as to this point of religion and way of salvation; and I wish I could prevail with them to read the bull, which, they believe, is the *sancto sanctorum*, the passport to heaven, and I am sure they would find the contrary, and see that it is only a dream, a dose of opium to lull them asleep, and keep them always ignorant: That Almighty God may grant to them and me too all these things, is my constant prayer to Him.

PART III.

A practical account of their Masses, privileged Altars, Transubstantiation and Purgatory.

I comprise all the four heads in one chapter, because there is a near relation between them all, though I shall speak of them separately, and as distinct articles.

ARTICLE I.

Of their Masses.

THE Mass for priests and fryars is better, and has greater power and virtue than the loadstone, for this only draws iron, but that allures and gets to them silver, gold, precious stones, and all sorts of fruits of the earth; therefore it is proper to give a description of every thing the priests make use of to render the mass the most magnificent and respectful thing in the world, in the eyes of the people.

The priest every morning, after he has examined his conscience, and confessed his sins (which they call reconciliation) goes to the vestry and washes his hands, afterwards, he kneels down before an image of a crucifix, which is placed on the draws, where the ornaments are kept, and says several prayers and psalms, written in a book, called *preparaterium*. When the priest has done, he gets up, and goes to dress him-

self, all the ornaments being ready upon the draws, which are like the table of an altar; then he takes the *Ambito*, which is like an holland handkerchief, and kissing the middle of it, puts it round about his neck, and says a short prayer. After he takes the *Alva*, which is a long surplice with narrow sleeves, laced round about with fine lace, and says another prayer while he puts it on. The clerk is always behind to help him. Then he takes the *Cingulum*, i. e. the *girdle*, and says a prayer; after he takes the *Stola*, which is a long list of silk, with a cross in the middle, and two crosses at the ends of it, and says another prayer while he puts it on his neck, and crosses it before his breast, and ties it with the ends of the *girdle*. After he takes the *Manipulum*, i. e. a short list of the same silk, with as many crosses in it, and ties it on the left arm, saying a prayer. Then he takes the *Casulla*, i. e. a sort of a dress made of three yards of silk stuff, a yard wide behind, and something narrower before, with an hole in the middle to put his head through it. After he is thus dressed, he goes to the corner of the table, and taking the *chalice*, cleans it with a little holland towel, with which the *chalice's* mouth is covered, after he puts a large host on the *patena*, i. e. a small silver plate gilt, which serves to cover the *chalice*, and puts on the host a neat piece of fine holland laced all over. Then he covers all with a piece of silk, three quarters of a yard in square. After he examines the *corporals*, i. e. two pieces of fine, well starched holland, with lace round about; the first is three quarters of a yard square, and the second half a yard, and folding them both, puts them in a flat cover, which he puts on the *chalice*, and taking a squared cap, if he is a secular priest, puts it on his head, and having the *chalice* in his hands, makes a great bow to the crucifix, says a prayer, and goes out of the vestry to the altar, where he designs to say mass. This is, as to the private mass. Now before I proceed to the great mass,

which is always sung, it is fit to talk of the riches of their ornaments.

As in the Romish church are several festivals, viz. those of our Saviour Christ, christmas, circumcision, epiphany, easter, ascension, pentecostes, and transfiguration: Those of the holy cross; those of the blessed virgin Mary; those of the angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, &c. So there are several sorts of ornaments and of divers colours, white for all the festivals of Jesus Christ, except pentecostes, in which the ornaments are red; white also, for the festivals of the virgin Mary, confessors, and virgins; red for martyrs; violet colour for advent and lent; and black for the masses of the dead.

The same rule is observed in the fronts of the altar's table, or *ara altaris*, which are always adorned with hangings of the color of the day's festivals. In every parish church and convent there are many ornaments of each of the said colours, all of the richest silks, with silver, gold and embroidery. There are many long cloaks or *palia* of all sorts of colours, several dozens of *alvas*, or surplices of the finest holland, with the finest laces round about them, *chalices* of silver, the inside of the cup gilt, many of gold, and many of gold set with diamonds and precious stones. There is one in the cathedral of St. Salvator, in the city of Saragossa, which weighs five pounds of gold, set all over with diamonds, and is valued at 15000 crowns, & this is not accounted an extraordinary one.

A posset of silver gilt all over, to keep the holy water and hysop, with a silver handle, to be used in holy days at church, is an indispensable thing almost in every church; as also two big candlesticks four feet high, for the two *accolits* or *assistants* to the great mass. In several churches there are two *ciriales*, i. e. big candlesticks five feet high all of silver, which weigh 200 pounds in some churches, and another bigger than these for the blessed candle on candlemas day. Six other middle silver candlesticks, which

serve on the *ara* or altar's table, silver (and in many churches,) gold bottles and plate to keep the water and wine that is used in the mass, a small silver bell for the same use, an incensary, and stand for the missal, or mass-book, and another stand of silver two feet high, for the deacon and subdeacon to read on it the epistle and gospel.

There is also in the great altar the *custodia*, i. e. a figure of the sun and beams made of gold, and many of them set with precious stones to keep in the center of it the great consecrated host, in the middle of two crystals: The foot of the *custodia* is made of the same metal; it is kept in a gilt tabernacle, and shewn to the people upon several occasions, as I will mention in another place.

Besides this rich *custodia*, there is a large silver or gold cup kept in the same, or another tabernacle on another altar, which is to keep the small consecrated wafers for the communicants. Before these tabernacles a silver lamp is burning night and day. The altars are adorned on several festivals with the silver bodies of several saints, some as large as a man, some half bodies with crowns or mitres set with precious stones.

I could name several churches and convents, where I saw many rarities and abundance of rich ornaments, but this being a thing generally known by the private accounts of many travellers, I shall only give a description of the rarities and riches of the church of the lady del Pilar, and that of St. Salvator, in the city of Saragossa; because I never met with any book which did mention them, and the reason (as I believe) is, because foreigners do not travel much in Spain, for want of good conveniencies on the roads, and for the dismal journey in which they cannot see an house, some times in twenty miles, and sometimes in thirty.

In the cathedral church of St. Salvator there is forty-five prebendaries, besides the dean, archdeacon,

chanter, and sixty-six beneficiates, six priests and a master, and twelve boys for the music, and sixty clerks and under clerks, and sextons. The church contains thirty chapels, large and small, and the great altar thirty feet high and ten broad, all of marble stone, with many bodies of saints of the same, and in the middle of it the transfiguration of our Saviour in the mount Tabor, with the apostles all represented in marble figures. The front of the altar's table is made of solid silver, the frame gilt and adorned with precious stones. In the treasure of the church they keep sixteen bodies of saints of pure silver, among which, that of St. Peter Argues, (who was a prebendary in the same church, and was murdered by the Sarracens) is adorned with rich stones of a great value. Besides these they keep twelve half silver bodies of other saints, and many relics set with gold and diamonds. Forty-eight silver candlesticks for the altar's table, two large ones, and the third for the blessed candle, three hundred pound weight each: thirty six small silver candlesticks; and six made of solid gold for the great festivals. Four posenets of silver, two of solid gold, with the handles of hysops, of the same. Two large crosses, one of silver, the other of gold, ten feet high, to carry before the processions. Ten thousand ounces of silver in plate, part of gilt, to adorn the two corners of the altar on great festivals, and when the archbishop officiates, and says the great mass. Thirty-three silver lamps, of which the smallest is an hundred and fifty pounds weight, and the largest, which is before the great altar, gilt all over, is six hundred and thirty pounds weight. Abundance of rich ornaments for priests, of Inexpressible value. Eighty four chalices, twenty of pure gold, and sixty-four of silver, gilt on the inside of the cup; and the rich chalice which only the archbishop makes use of in his pontifical dress.

All these things are but trifles in comparison with the great *custodia* they make use of to carry the great

host through the streets on the festival of *Corpus Christi*: This was a present made to the cathedral by the archbishop of Sevil, who had been prebendary of that church before. The circumference of the sun and beams is as big as the wheel of a coach: at the end of each beam there is a star. The center of the sun, where the great host is placed between two crystals, set with large diamonds; the beams are all of solid gold set with several precious stones, and in the middle of each star, a rich emerald set in gold. The crystal with the great host is fixed in the mouth of the rich chalice on a pedestal of silver, all gilt over, which is three feet high. The whole *custodia* is five hundred pound weight: And this is placed on a gilt base which is carried by twelve priests, as I shall tell you in another article. Several goldsmiths have endeavored to value this piece, but no body could set a certain sum upon it. One said that a million of pistoles was too little. And how the archbishop could gather together so many precious stones, every body was surprised at, till we heard that a brother of his grace died in Peru, and left him great sums of money, and a vast quantity of diamonds and precious stones.

I come now to speak of the treasure and rarities of the *Lady del Pilar*. In the church of this lady is the same number of prebendaries and beneficiates, musicians, clerks and sextons, as in the cathedral church of St. Salvator, and as to the ornaments and silver plate they are very much the same, except only that of the great *custodia*, which is not so rich.—But as to the chapel of the blessed Virgin, there is without comparison more in it than in the cathedral. I shall treat of the image in another chapter. Now as to her riches, I will give you an account as far as I remember, for it is impossible for every thing to be kept in the memory of man.

In the little chapel, where the image is on a pillar, are four angels as large and tall as a man, with a big candlestick, each of which is made wholly of silver,

gilt. The front of two altars is solid silver, with gilt frames, set with rich stones. Before the image there is a lamp (as they call it) a spider of crystal, in which twelve wax candles burn night and day: The several parts of the spider are set with gold and diamonds, which was a present made to the Virgin by Don *John* of Austria, who also left her in his last will his own heart, which accordingly was brought to her, and is kept in a gold box set with large diamonds, and which hangs before the image. There is a thick grate round about the little chapel of solid silver: Next to this is another chapel to say mass in before the image; and the altar-piece of it is all made of silver from the top to the altar's table, which is of jasper stone, and the front of silver, with the frame gilt, set with precious stones. The rich crown of the Virgin is twenty-five pounds weight, set all over with large diamonds. Besides this rich one, she has six pounds more of pure gold, set with rich diamonds and emeralds, the smallest of which is worth half a million.

The roses of diamonds and other precious stones she has to adorn her mantle are innumerable; for tho' she is drest every day in the color of the church's festival, and never uses twice the same mantle, which is of the best stuff imbroidered with gold, she has new roses of precious stones every day for three years together, she has three hundred and sixty-five necklaces of pearls and diamonds, and six chains of gold set with diamonds, which are put on her mantle on the great festivals of Christ.

In the room of her treasure are innumerable heads, arms, legs, eyes and hands made of gold and silver, presented to her by the people, which have been cured (as they believe) by miracle through the Virgin's divine power and intercessions. In this second chapel are one hundred and ninety-five silver lamps in three lines one over the other: the lamps of the lowest rank are bigger than those of the second, and these are bigger than those of the third. The five lamps being the image are about five hundred pound weight

each, the sixty of the same line four hundred pound weight, and those of the third line, one hundred pounds weight. Those of the second line are two hundred pound weight. There is the image of the Virgin in the treasure, made in the shape of a woman five feet high, all of pure silver, set with precious stones, and a crown of gold set with diamonds, and this image is to be carried in a public procession the days appointed. I will speak of the miraculous image in the following chapter.

I remember that when the Rt. Hon. Lord Stanhope, then General of the English forces, was in Saragosa, after the battle, he went to see the treasure of the lady of Pilar, which was shown to him, and I heard him say these words: *If all the kings of Europe should gather together all their treasures and precious stones, they could not buy half of the riches of this treasury.* And by this expression of so wise and experienced a man, every body may judge of their value.

After this short account of the ornaments to be used at mass, and the incomparable treasures of the Romish church, I proceed to a description of the great or high masses, their ceremonies, and of all the motions and gestures the priests make in the celebration of a mass.

Besides the priest, there must be a deacon, subdeacon, two *acoliti*, i. e. two to carry the large candlesticks before the priest, and one to carry the incensary. The incenser helps the priest when he dresses himself in the vestry, and the two *acoliti* help the deacon and subdeacon. When all three are dressed, the incenser and the two *acoliti* in their surplices, and large collars round about their necks, made of the same stuff as that of the priest's *casulla*, and deacon and subdeacon's *almaticas*, i. e. a sort of *casulla*, with open sleeves, I say, the incenser puts fire in the incensary, and the *acoliti* takes the candlesticks with the wax candles lighted, and the subdeacon takes the chalice & corporals, and so making a bow to the cru-

office in the vestry, they go out into the church to the great altar. There are commonly three steps to go up to the altar, and the priest and five assistants kneel down at the first step, then leaving the incense and acoliti to stay there, the priest, deacon and subdeacon go up to the altar's table and all kneel down there again. The subdeacon leaves the chalice on a little table next to the altar's table at the right hand, and then they turn back again to the highest step, and kneeling down again, the priest, deacon and subdeacon get up, leaving the incenser and acoliti on their knees, and begin the mass by a psalm, and after it the priest says the general confession of sins, to which the deacon and subdeacon answer: *Mesereator tui*, &c. Then they say the general confession themselves, and after it, the priest absolves them, and saying another psalm, they go up again to the altar's table, which the priest kisses, and he and the two assistants kneel down, and rise again. Then the incenser brings the incensary and incense, and the priest puts in three spoons full of it, and taking the incensary from the deacon's hands, he incenses three times the tabernacle of the *Eucharistia*, and goes twice to each side of it, he kneels down then, and the deacon takes up the hem of the priest's casulla, and so goes from the middle of the altar to the right corner, incensing the table and returning from the corner to the middle, then kneels down and gets up, and goes to the left corner, and from the left goes again to the right corner, and giving the incensary to the deacon, he incenses three times the priest, and gives the incensary to the incenser, and this incenses twice the deacon. The assistants always follow the priest, making the same motions that he does.

The incenser has the *missal* or mass-book ready on the altar's table at the right corner, and so the priest begins the psalm of the mass: All this while the musicians are singing the beginning of the mass *kyrie eleijon*; and when they have finished, the priest sings these three words: *Gloria in excelsis deo*.

And the musicians sing the rest. While they are singing, the priest, deacon and subdeacon, making a bow to the tabernacle, go to sit on three rich chairs at the right hand of the *ara* or altar's table; and as soon as the music has ended the *gloria*, they go to the middle of the table, kneel down, and get up, and the priest kissing the table turns to the people, opening his arms, and says, in Latin, *The Lord be with you*, to which and all other expressions the music and the people answer; then turns again his face to the altar, kneels down, gets up, and the assistants doing the same, the priest goes to the right corner, and says the collect for the day, and two or sometimes five or six prayers in commemoration of the saints; and last of all, a prayer for the pope, king and bishop of the diocess, against hereties, infidels and enemies of their religion, or the holy catholic faith.

Then the subdeacon, taking the book of the epistles, and gospels, goes down to the lowest step, and sings the epistle, which ended, he goes up to the priest, kisses his hand, leaves the book of the gospels on the little table, takes the *missal* or mass-book, and carries it to the left corner. Then the priest goes to the middle, kneels down, kisses the altar, says a prayer, and goes to say the gospel, while the music is singing a psalm, which they call *Tractus gradualis*. The gospel ended, the priest goes again to the middle, kneels down, rises and kisses the table, and turns half to the altar and half to the people, and the deacon, giving him the incense-box, he puts in three spoons full of it, and blesses the incense: The incenser takes it from the deacon, who taking the book of the gospel, kneels down before the priest and asks his blessing: The priest gives the blessing and the deacon kisses his hand, and then he goes to the left corner and sings the gospel, viz. the left corner, as to the people of the church, but as to the altar, it is the right. While the deacon sings the gospel, the priest goes to the opposite corner and there stands till the

gospel is ended: Then the deacon carrieth to him the book open, and the priest kissing it, goes to the middle of the table and kneeling, rising, kissing the table, the assistants, doing the same, he turns his face to the people, openeth his arms, and says again, *The Lord be with you.* Then he turns again before the altar, and says, *Let us pray.* The music begins the *offertory*, when there is no creed to be sung, for there is no creed in all their festivals.

While the musicians sing the *offertory*, the deacon prepares the chalice, that is, he puts the wine in it, and after him, the subdeacon pours in three drops of water and cleaning nicely the mouth of the cup, the deacon gives it to the priest, who takes it in his hands, and offering it to the eternal, sets it on the clean *corporales*, and covers it with a small piece of fine holland: Then he says a prayer, and putting incense in the incensary, as before, kneels, and then rising, incenses the table, as is said, which done, the subdeacon pours water on the priest's fore-fingers, which he washes and wipes with a clean towel, and after returns to the middle of the table, and after some prayers, he begins to sing the preface, which ended, he says some other prayers. Before the consecration, he joins his two hands, and puts them before his face, shuts his eyes, and examines his conscience for two or three minutes; then opening his eyes and arms, says a prayer, and begins the consecration. At this time every body is silent, to hear the words, and when the priest comes to pronounce them, he says with a loud voice, in Latin, *Hoc est enim corpus meum.* Then he leaves the consecrated Host on the *ara*, kneels down, and getting up, takes again the host with his two thumbs and two foremost fingers, and lifts it up, as high as he can, that every body may see it, and leaving it again on the same *ara*, kneels down, and then rising up, takes the chalice, and after he has consecrated the wine, leaves it on the *ara*, and making the same motions and bows, he lifts

it up as he did the host, and placing it on the ara, covers it, and with the same gestures, he says a prayer in remembrance of all the saints, all parents, relations, friends, and of all the souls in purgatory, but especially of that soul for whom the sacrifice of that mass is offered to God by Jesus Christ himself. I say, by Jesus Christ himself, for as Chrysostom and Amb. * say, the priest, not only representing Christ, but in the act of celebrating and consecrating is the very same Christ himself. Thus it is in the catechism published by decree of the council of Trent. †

Between this and the sumption, or the taking of the host, and drinking of the cup, the priest says some prayers, and sings *Our Father*, in latin, kneeling down several times. When he comes to the communion, he breaks the host by the middle, leaves one part on the table, and breaks off the other half, a little piece, and puts it into the cup; this done, he eats the two half hosts, and drinks the wine, and for fear any small fragments should remain in the cup, the deacon puts in more wine, and the priest drinks it up, and going to the corner with the chalice, the subdeacon pours water upon the priest's two thumbs and foremost fingers, and being well washed, goes to the middle of the table, and drinks up the water. Then the deacon takes the cup and wipes it, and putting on every thing, as when they came to the altar, gives it to the subdeacon, who leaves it on the little table near the altar. After this is done, the priest, kneel-

* Hom. 2. in 2d Timoth. and Hom. de prod. Jude: Amb. lib. 4 de sacram. C. 4.

† Sed unus etiam, atque idem Sacerdos est Christus Dominus:— Nam Ministri qui Sacrificium faciunt, non suam sed Christi personam accipiunt, cum ejus Corpus and Sanguinem conficiunt, id quod and ipsius Consecrationis Verbis ostenditur, Sacerdos inquit: Hoc est Corpus meum, personam videlicet Christi Domini gerens, panis and vidi Substantiam in veram ejus Corporis and Sanguinis Substantiam convertit.

ing and getting up, turning to the people and opening his arms, says, *The Lord be with you*, and two or more prayers; and last of all, the gospel of St. John, with which he ends the mass; so in the same order they went out of the vestry, they return into it again, saying a prayer for the souls in purgatory. After the priest is undrest, the incenser and acoliti kneel down before him, and kiss his right hand: Then they undress themselves, and the priest goes to the humiliatory to give God thanks for all his benefits.

The same ceremonies, motions and gestures the priest makes in a private mass, but not so many in a mass for the dead. They have proper masses for the holy Trinity, for Christ, the Virgin Mary, Angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and for the dead, the ornaments for this last are always black. This is a true description of the ceremonies of the mass: Now let us give an account of the means the priests make use of for the promoting of this sacrifice, and increasing their profit.

The custom, or rule for public masses, which are always sung, is this; the person that goes to the clerk and asks a mass to be sung, carries at least six wax candles, which burn on the altar's table, while the mass lasts, and a good offering for the priest, and besides that, must give the charity, which is a crown, and the same for a mass sung for the dead; but if a person have a mind to have a mass sung, such or such a day forever, he must give, or settle upon the chapter or community, a pistole every year, and these are called settled masses, and there are of these masses in every parish, church and convent, more than the priests and fryars can say in a year; for ever since the comedy of the mass began to be acted on the stage of the church, the bigots of it successively have settled masses every year; the priests and fryars then cannot discharge their consciences, while they keep the people ignorant of the truth of the matter.

Thus they blind the people: Suppose to be in a convent one hundred fryars and priests, and that in that convent are two hundred private and public masses settled every day, the charity of one hundred is a manifest fraud and robbery, for they receive it, and cannot say the masses. And nevertheless they accept every day new foundations and settlements of masses; for if the people ask the dean, or prior, whether there is a vacancy for a mass, they will never answer no; and this way they increase the yearly rents continually.

This is to be understood of the chapter, or community, and I must say that the chapters, and parish churches are not so hard upon the people, as the convents of fryars are, though they are not so rich, as the communities: The reason is, because a parish priest has, during his life, his tithes and book-money. But a prior of a convent commands that community only three years, therefore, while the office lasts, they endeavor to make money of every thing. I knew several priors very rich after their priorship, and how did they get riches, but by blinding and cheating the people, exacting money for masses which never were said, nor sung, nor ever will be?

As to the private priests and fryars, and their cheating ways, there is so much to be said on them that I cannot, in so small a book as this is, give a full account of all; so I shall only tell the most usual methods they have to heap up riches by gathering thousands of masses every year.

Observe first of all, that if a priest is a parish minister, or vicar, he has every day of the year certain families, for whose souls, or for the souls of their ancestors, he is to celebrate and offer the sacrifice of the mass. And if he is a fryar, he has but one mass every week left to him, for six days he is obliged to say mass for the community: So, by this certain rule, a parish minister cannot in conscience receive any money for masses, when he knows he cannot say

more masses, than those settled for every day of the year; and by the same rule, a fryar cannot in conscience receive more money than for fifty-two masses every year, and consequently those that receive more are deceivers of the poor ignorant people, robbers of their money, and commit sacrilege in so doing.

And that they take more, than they in justice can, shall appear in several instances. First, I never saw either secular or regular priest refuse the charity for a mass, when a christian soul asked them to say it;— and I knew hundreds of priests mighty officious in asking masses from all sorts of people. Secondly, in all families whatsoever, if any one is dangerously sick, there are continually fryars and priests waiting till the person dies, and troubling the chief of the family with petitions for masses for the soul of the deceased; and if he is rich, the custom is, to distribute among all the convents, and parishes one thousand, or more masses to be said the day of the burial: When the marquis of St. Martin died, his lady distributed a hundred thousand masses, for which she paid the very same day five thousand pounds sterling, besides one thousand masses, which she settled upon all the convents and parish churches, to be said every year forever, which amounts to a thousand pistoles a year forever.

Thirdly, The fryars, most commonly, are rich, and have nothing of their own; (as they say) some are assisted by their parents, but these are very few: They give two thirds of whatever they get to the community; and in some strict orders the fryars ought to give all to the convent; nevertheless, they are never without money in their pockets, for all sorts of diversions; and it is a general observation, that a fryar at cards is a resolute man; for as he does not work to get money, or is sure of getting more if he lose, he does not care to put all on one card; therefore gentlemen do not venture to play with them, so they are obliged to play with one another.

I saw several Fryars who had nothing in the world but the allowance of their community, and the charity of 52 Masses a year, venture on the card 50 pistoles: Another loose 200 pistoles in half an hour's time, and the next day have money enough to play. And this is a thing so well known, that many of our officers that have been in Spain, can certify the truth of it, as eye-witnesses.

Now, as to the method they have to pick up money for so many Masses, they do not tell it; but as I never was bound not to discover it, and the discovery of it, I hope will be very useful to the Roman-Catholics, though disadvantageous to Priests, and Fryars, I think myself obliged in conscience, to reveal this never revealed secret, for it is for the public good, not only of Protestants, who by this shall know thoroughly, the cheats of the *Romish* Priests, but of the Roman-catholics too, who bestow their money for nothing to a people that make use of it to ruin their souls and bodies.

The thing is this, that the Fryars are said to have a privilege from the Pope (I never saw such a privilege myself, though I did all my endeavors to search and find it out) of a *centenaria missa*, i. e. a brief, where the Pope grants them the privilege of saying one mass for a hundred; which privilege is divulged among priests and fryars, who keep it in secret among themselves: so that, as they say, one mass is equivalent to a hundred masses. I did not question when I was in that communion, that the Pope could do that and more, but I was suspicious of the truth of such a grant. Now observe that by this brief, every fryar, having for himself 52 masses free every year, and one mass being as good as a hundred, he may get the charity of 5200 masses, and the least charity for every mass being two reals of plate: i. e. fourteen-pence of our money, he may get near 300 pound a year,

The secular priests, by this brief of *centenaria missa*, have more masses, than the private fryars; for

though they have 365 settled masses to say in a year, they have, and may get the charity of 90 masses every day, which comes to three millions, six thousand, one hundred, and thirty-five masses every year. In the convents that have 120 fryars, and some 200, the prior, having 6 masses every week from each of his fryars, by the same rule, the prior may have millions of millions of masses.

Hear now, how they do amuse the credulous people. If a gentleman or gentlewoman, or any other person goes to church, and desires one mass to be said for such or such a soul, and to be present at it, there is always a fryar ready, from six in the morning, till one to say mass. He takes the charity for it, and he goes to say it; which he says for that soul, as I say now: For till such time, as he gets the charity of a hundred masses, which is above 5 pounds sterling, he will not say his own mass, or the mass for him. And so the rest of the fryars do, and many priests too:—The person that has given the charity and has heard the mass, goes home fully satisfied that the mass has been said for him, or to his intention.

As to the communities: If somebody dieth, and the executors of the testament go to a father prior, and beg of him to say a 1000 masses, he gives them a receipt, whereby the masses are said already; for he makes them believe, that he has more masses said already by his fryars to his own intentions, and that out of the number, he applies 1000 for the soul of the dead person; so the executors upon his word, take the receipt of the masses which they want to shew to the Vicar-General, who is to visit the testament, and see every spiritual thing ordered in it, accomplished accordingly.

This custom of asking money for masses, is not only among the fryars, but among the *beatas*, nuns, and whores too, for a *beata*, with an affected air of sanctity goes up and down to visit the sick, and asks beforehand many masses from the heads of families, alled-

ging that by her prayers and so many masses, the sick may be recovered, and restored to his former health; but those, if they get money for masses, they give it to their spiritual confessors, who say them as the *beata* ordereth. And according to their custom and belief, there is no harm at all in so doing. The evil is in the nuns, who get every where abundance of masses, on pretence they have priests and friars of their relations, who want the charity of masses. And what do they with the money? Every nun, having a *Devote*, or gallant to serve her, desireth him to say so many masses for her, and to give her a receipt; he promises to do it, but he never doth say the masses, though he giveth a receipt: So the nun keeps the money, the friar is paid by her in an unlawful way, the people are cheated, and the souls in purgatory (if there was such a place) shall remain there forever, for want of relief.

But the worst of all is, that a public, scandalous woman will gather together a number of masses, on pretence that she has a cousin in such a convent, who wants masses, i. e. the charity for them. And what use do they make of them? This is an abomination to the Lord. They have many friars who visit them unlawfully, and pay for it in masses; so the woman keeps the money in payment of her own and their sins, gets a receipt from the friars, and these never say the masses; for how can we believe that such men can offer the holy sacrifice (as they call the mass) for such an use? And if they do it, which is, in all human probability, impossible, who would not be surpris'd at these proceedings? Every body indeed.

There is another custom in the church of Rome, which brings a great deal of profit to the priests and friars, viz. the great masses of brotherhoods, or fraternities. In every parish church, and especially in every convent of friars and nuns, there is a number of these fraternities, i. e. corporations of tradesmen: and every corporation has a saint for their advocate or patron: viz. the corporation of shoe-makers, has

an advocate St. Chrispin and Chrispinia ; the butchers St. Bartholomew, &c. and so of the rest. There is a prior of the corporation, who celebrates the day of their advocate with a solemn mass, music, candles, and after all, an entertainment for the members of the fraternity, and all the friars of the community. To this the corporation gives eight dozen of white wax candles to illuminate the altar of their patron, when the solemn mass is sung, and whatever remains of the candles goes to the convent. The prior payeth to the community 20 crowns for the solemn mass, and 10 crowns to the musicians. The day following the corporation gives 3 dozen yellow candles, and celebrates an anniversary, and have many masses sung for the relief of their brethren's souls in purgatory ; for every mass they pay a crown : And besides all these, the corporation has a mass settled every Friday, which is to be sung for the relief of the brethren's souls, for which and candles, the convent receiveth 6 crowns every Friday. There is not one church nor convent without two or three of these corporations every week ; for there are saints enough in the church for it, and by these advocates of the friars, rather than of the members of the corporation, every body may form a right judgment of the riches the priests and friars get by these means.

One thing I cannot pass by, though it has no relation with the main subject of the mass ; and this is, that after the solemn mass is finished, the prior of the corporation, with his brethren, and the prior of the convent, with his friars, go all together to the refectory or common-hall, to dinner, there they make rare demonstrations of joy, in honor of the advocate of that corporation. The prior of the convent makes a short speech before dinner, recommending to them to eat and drink heartily, for after they have paid all the honor, and reverence to their advocate that is due, they ought to eat and drink and be merry ; so they k till they are happy, though not drunk.

I heard a pleasant story, reported in town, from a faithful person, who assured me he saw, himself, a fryar, come out of the refectory, at 8 at night, and as he came out of the convent's gate, the moon shining that night, and the shadow of the house being in the middle of the street, the merry fryar thinking that the light of the moon, in the other half part of the street, was water, he took off his shoes and stockings, and so walk till he reached the shadow; and being asked by my friend, the meaning of such extravagant folly, the fryar cried out, *A miracle, A miracle!* The gentleman thought that the fryar was mad: but he cried the more, *A miracle, A miracle. Where is the miracle?* (the people that came to the windows asked him;) *I came this minute through this river* (said he) *and I did not wet the soles of my feet;* and then he desired the neighbors to come and be witnesses of the miracle.— In such a condition the honor of the advocate of that day did put the reverend fryars; and this and the like effects such festivals occasion, both in the members of the convents and corporation.

Now I come to the means and persuasions, the fryars make use of for the extolling, and praising this inestimable sacrifice of the mass, and the great ignorance of the people in believing them. First of all, as the people know the debaucheries and lewd lives of many fryars and priests, sometimes they are loth to desire a sinful fryar to say mass for them, thinking that his mass cannot be so acceptable to God Almighty as that which is said by a priest of good morals: So far the people are illuminated by nature; but to this priests and fryars make them believe, that though a priest be the greatest sinner in the world, the sacrifice is of the same efficacy with God, since it is the sacrifice made by Christ on the Cross for all sinners; and that it was so declared by the pope, and the council of Trent.

Put it together with what the same council declares, that the priest doth not only represent Christ when

he offereth the sacrifice, but that he is the very person of Christ at that time, and that therefore David calls them Christs by these words; *Nolite tangere Christos meos*. O execrable thing! If the priest is the very Christ in the celebration of the mass, how can he at the same time be a sinner? It being certain that Christ knew no sin: and if that Christ-Priest, offering the sacrifice, is in any actual moral sin, how can the sacrifice of the mass, which is (as to them) the same sacrifice Christ did offer to his external Father on the cross, be efficacious to the expiation of the sins of all people? For, in the first place, that sacrifice offered by a Priest-Christ, in an actual mortal sin cannot be an expiation of the sin, by which the priest is spiritually dead. Secondly, if the Christ-Priest is spiritually dead by that mortal sin, how can such a priest offer a lively spiritual sacrifice? We must conclude then, that the priests, by such blasphemous expressions, not holy deceive the people, but rob them of their money, and commit a high crime, but that the sacrifice he offers is really of no effect, or efficacy to the relief of the souls in the pretended purgatory.

From what has been said it appears, that the priests and friars make use of whatever means they can to cheat the people, to gratify their passions, and increase their treasure. For what cheat, fraud and roguery can be greater than this of the *centenaria missa* with which they suck up the money of poor and rich, without performing what they promise?

If the popes privilege for that *hundred mass* was really true, natural reason shews, it was against the public good, and therefore ought not to be made use of: for by it, fryars and priests will never quench their thirst of money and ambition, till they draw to them the riches of Christendom, and by these means, they will wrong the supposed souls in purgatory, and ruin their own too. Decency in the sacerdotal ornaments is agreeable to God our Lord, but vanity and faneness is an abomination before him. Of what

use can all the riches of their churches and ornaments be? To make the sacrifice of the mass more efficacious, it cannot be for; the efficacy of it proceeds from Christ himself, who made use of different ornaments, than those the priests make use of. Nor is it to satisfy their own ambition; for they could get more by saying them; it is only to make Mistress Mass the more admired, and gain the whole people to be her followers and courtiers.

O that the Roman laity would consider the weight of these christian observations, and if they will not believe them because they are mine, I heartily beg of them all, to make pious and serious reflections upon themselves, to examine the designs of the priests and friars, to mind their lives and conversations, to observe their works, to cast up accounts every year, and see how much of their substance goes to the clergy and church for masses: Sure I am, they will find out the ill and ambitious designs of their spiritual guides: They will experience their lives not at all (most commonly) answerable to their characters, and sacerdotal functions; and more, their own substances and estates diminished every year: Many of their families corrupted by the wantonness, their understandings blinded by the craft, their souls in the way to hell by the wicked doctrines, and their bodies under suffering by the needless impositions of priests and friars.

They will find also, that the pomp and brightness of a solemn mass, is only vanity to amuse the eyes, and a cheat to rob the purse. That the *centenaria missa* never known to them before, is a trick and invention of priests and friars to delude and deceive them, and by that means impoverish and weaken them, and make themselves masters of all.

They will come at last to consider and believe, that the Roman-catholic congregations, ruled and governed by priests and friars, do sin against the Lord: i. e. The spiritual heads do commit abomination before

the Lord, and that they cannot prosper here, nor hereafter, if they do not leave off their wicked ways. Pray read the fifth chapter, the seventeenth verse, and the following, of Judith; and you shall find the case and the truth of my last proposition. *While (says he) these people sinned not before their God, they prospered, because the God that hateth iniquity was with them. But when they departed from the way, that he appointed them, they were destroyed.* This was spoken of the Jews, but we may understand it of all nations, and especially of the Romans, who are very much of a piece with the Jews of old, or no better. We see the priests departed from the way, that he appointed them. What can they expect but destruction, if they do not leave off their wickedness, and turn unto the Lord? And the worst is, that the innocent laity will suffer with them, for God punishes, as we see in the Old Testament, a whole nation for the sins of their rulers. And it is to be feared the same will happen to the Roman church, for the sins of their priests. May God enlighten them.—Amen.

ARTICLE II.

Of the privileged altar.

A PRIVILEGED altar, is the altar to which (or to some image on it) the pope has granted a privilege of such a nature, that whosoever says before it, or before the image, so many *pater nosters*, &c. and so many *ave Maria's*, with *gloria patri*, &c. obtains remission of his sins, or releiveth a soul out of purgatory: Or whoever ordereth a mass to be said on the *ara* of such an altar, and before the image, has the privilege (as they believe) to take out of purgatory that soul for which the sacrifice of the mass is offered.

The Cardinals, Patriarchs, Primates, Archbishops and Bishops, can grant to any image forty days of full and free indulgence, and 15 *quarantains* of pardon,

for those that visit the said image, and say such a prayer before it as they have appointed at the granting of such graces: So not only the images of the altars in the church, but several images in the corners of the streets, and on the highway, have those graces granted to them by the Bishop of the diocess: Nay, the beads or rosary of the Virgin Mary, of some considerable persons, have the same grants: And what is yet more surprising, the picture of St. Anthony's pig, which is placed at the saint's feet, has the granting of fifteen quarantains of pardon of sins for those that visit and pray before him. What the people do on St. Martin's day, I shall tell in another chapter.

I will not dispute now, whether the popes and bishops have authority to grant such privileges; but I only say, that I do not believe such a dream: For the pope has usurped the supremacy and infallibility, and his ambition being so great, he never will dispossess himself of a thing by which he makes himself more supreme, infallible, and rich; by keeping all those graces in his own hands, he would oblige all the bigots to seek after him and pay him for them, and have him in more veneration than otherwise he would be in.

These privileges are a great furtherance to carry on the ecclesiastical interests, and to bring the people to offer their prayers and money, and to be blinded and deceived by those papal inventions. But because I have already treated of these privileges, I proceed to the third article.

ARTICLE III.

Of Transubstantiation, or the Eucharist.

I SHALL say nothing, touching the scholastical opinions of the Romish church about the sacrament of the Eucharist, or the real presence of Jesus Christ in it; for these are well known by our learned and well instructed laity: So I will confine myself wholly to their practices in the administration of this sacrament, and the worship paid to it by the priests and lai-

ty; and what strange notions the preachers put in the people's heads about it.

First, as to the administration of this sacrament, actual or habitual intention being necessary in a priest, to the validity and efficacy of the sacrament, open confession and repentance of his sins: He goes to consecrate the bread and wine, and, (as they say, believe, and make the people believe) with five words they oblige Jesus Christ to descend from heaven to the host with his body, soul and divinity, and that so he remains there as high and almighty as he is in heaven; which they endeavor to confirm with pretended miracles; saying, that many priests of pure lives have seen a little boy, instead of a wafer, in the consecrated host, &c.

In winter, twice every month, and in summer, every week, the priest is to consecrate one great host, and a quantity of small ones: Which they do in the following manner. After the priest has consecrated the great and small, besides the host which he is to receive himself the priests of the parish, or friars of the convent, come in two lines, with wax candles lighted in their hands, and kneel down before the altar, and begin to sing an hymn and anthem to the sacrament of the altar (so it is called by them); then the priest openeth the tabernacle where the old great host is kept between two crystals, and takes out of the tabernacle the *custodia*, and a cup of small consecrated wafers, and puts them on the table of the altar; then he takes the great old host, eats it, and so he does the small ones; then he puts the new, great, consecrated host between the two crystals of the *custodia*, and the new small ones into the communion cup; because the small ones serve the common people. Then he incenses the great host on his knees, and having a white, neat towel round his neck, with the ends of it he takes the *custodia*, and turns to the people and makes the figure of a cross before the people, and turning to the
 ", puts the *custodia*, and the cup of the small wa-
 in the tabernacle. and locketh the door, and the
 ts go away.

The reason why the great host, and the small ones are renewed twice a month in winter, and every week in summer (as they say) is (mind this reason, for the same is against them) because in summer, by the excessive heat, the host may be corrupted and putrified, and produce worms, which many times has happened to the great host, as I myself have seen. So to prevent this, they consecrate every week in summer-time, but in winter, which is a more favorable time to preserve the host from corruption, only once in a fortnight. If Christ is then in the host with the body, soul and divinity, and David says, that the *holy One*, i. e. (Christ who is God blessed forevermore) *Never shall see corruption*, How comes it, that that host, that holy one, that Christ, is sometimes, corrupted and putrified? The substance of bread being only subject to corruption, being vanished, and the body of Jesus Christ substituted in its place, this body by a just inference is corrupted; which is against the scripture and against the divinity of Jesus Christ.

Again, I ask, whether the worms, engendered in that host, come out of the real body of Christ, or out of the material substance of the host? If out of the body of Christ: every body may infer from this the consequences his own fancy suggests. And if they say that the worms are engendered in the material substance of the bread; then the substance of the bread remains after the consecration, and not as they say, the real substance of the body of Christ.

Again, It is a rule given by all the Casuists, that that host must be eaten by the priest. I do ask the priest that eats the host with the worms, whether he believeth that host and worms to be the real body of Christ or not? If he says, no: why doth he eat it to the prejudice of his own health? And if he believeth it to be the real body of Christ, I do ask again, whether the worms are Christ, with body, soul, and divinity, or not? If they are not, I give the said instance: And if they answer in the affirmative; then I say, that

a priest did not eat the host and worms, (as I saw myself) on pretence of the loathing of his stomach, and after the mass was ended, he carried the host, (two priests accompanying him with two candles) and threw it into a place, which they call *Piscina*, a place where they throw the dirty water after they wash their hands, which runs out of the church into the street. What can we say now? If the worms and corrupted host is the real body of Christ, see what a value they have for him, when they throw it away like dirty water; and if that host comes out of the running *piscina* into the street, the first dog, or pig passing by (which is very common in Spain) may eat it. And if they are not, besides the said instance of eating it to the prejudice of their health, we may add this: namely, Why do the priests and two more carry the host in form of procession and with so great veneration, with lights and psalms, as if it was the real body of Christ?

Now, as to the way of administering the sacrament to the people, they do it in the following manner, which is also against their fantastical transubstantiation. I said that the priest or friar consecrates small hosts once a week, to give them to the people when they go to receive. The priest in his surplice and I with the *stola* on, goes to the altar, says the prayer of the sacrament, opens the tabernacle, and taking out of it the cup, opens it, and turning to the communicants, takes one of the wafers with his thumb, and the foremost finger of his right hand, lifts it up, and says: *See the lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world*, which he repeats three times; and after goes straightway to the communicants, and puts a wafer into each of their mouths. When all have received, he puts the cup again into the tabernacle, and goes to the vestry. This is when the people receive before or after mass, but when they do receive at mass, the priest consecrates for himself a great host, and after has eaten it, he takes the cup out of the tabernacle

and gives the small wafers, consecrated before by another priest, to the communicants, and putting again the cup into the tabernacle, or *sacrarium* (as they call it) drinks the consecrated wine himself.

I will not spend my time in proving, that the denying of the chalice to the laity is a manifest error, and that it is only to extol and raise the ecclesiastical dignity to the highest pitch: But I come to their ridiculous, nonsepsical practices in several accidental cases, viz. First, I myself gave the sacrament to a lady, who had on that day a new suit of clothes; but she did not open her mouth wide enough to let the wafer on her tongue, and by my carelessness it fell upon one of her sleeves, and from thence to the ground; I ordered her not to quit the place, till I had done; so after the communion was over, I went to her again, and cutting a piece of the sleeve, where the wafer had touched, and scratching the ground, I took both the piece and dust, and carried them to the *piscina*, but I was suspended *ab officio* and *beneficio* for eight days, as a punishment for my distraction, or for not minding well my business. By this rule and custom of throwing into the *piscina*, among the dirty water, every thing that the host had touched, they ought to throw the fingers of the priest, or at least the tongues of men and women, into the same place, and thus, their tricks and superstitious ceremonies, never would be discovered nor spread abroad. How inconsistent this custom is with right sense and reason, every body may see.

Secondly. In the Dominicans' convent it happened, that a lady who had a lap-dog, which she always used to carry along with her, went to receive the sacrament with the dog under her arm, and the dog looking up and beginning to bark when the fryar went to put the wafer in the lady's mouth, he let the wafer fall, which happened to drop into the dog's mouth.—Both the fryar and the lady were in a deep amazement and confusion, and knew not what to do; so they

sent for the reverend father prior, who resolved this nice point upon the spot, and ordered to call two fryars and the clerk, and to bring the cross, and two candlesticks with candles lighted, and to carry the dog in form of procession into the vestry, and keep the poor little creature there with illuminations, as if he was the host itself, till the digestion of the wafer was over, and then to kill the dog and throw it into the piscina. Another friar said, it was better to open the dog immediately, and take out the fragments of the host; and a third was of opinion, that the dog should be burnt on the spot. The lady who loved dearly her Cupid (this was the dog's name) entreated the father prior to save the dog's life, if possible, and that she would give any thing to make amends for it. Then the prior and fryars retired to consult what to do in this case, and it was resolved, that the dog should be called for the future, *El perillo del sacramento*, i. e. The sacrament's dog. 2. That if the dog should happen to die, the lady was to give him a burying in consecrated ground. 3. That the lady should take care not to let the dog play with other dogs. 4. That she was to give a silver dog, which was to be placed upon the tabernacle where the hosts are kept. And, 5. That she should give twenty pistoles to the convent. Every article was performed accordingly, and the dog was kept with a great deal of care and veneration. The case was printed, and so came to the ears of the inquisitors, and Don Pedro Guerrero first inquisitor, thinking the thing very scandalous, sent for the poor dog, and kept him in the inquisition to the great grief of lady: What became of the dog nobody can tell. This case is worthy to be reflected on by serious, learned men, who may draw consequences to convince the Romans of the follies, covetousness, and superstitions of the priests.

This I aver, that after this case was published, it was disputed on in all the moral academies; but as I can't tell all the sentiments and resolutions of them,

I will confine myself to those of the academy of the holy trinity, wherein I was present, when the case was proposed by the president, in the following terms:

Most reverend and learned brethren—the case of the dog (blasphemously called the sacrament's dog) deserves your application and searching, which ought to be carried on with a wise, christian and solid way of arguing, both in this case, or any other like it.—For my part; I am surprised when I think of the irregular, unchristian method, the priors and fryars took in the case, and both the case and their resolution call for our mature consideration. Thanks be to God, that our people give full obedience to our mother the church, and that they enquire no further into the matter, after some of our teachers have advised them; otherwise the honor and reputation of our brethren would be quite ruined. For my part (*salva fide*) I think, that upon the same case, the priest ought to let the thing drop there, and to take no further notice, rather than to give occasion to some critics to scandalize, and to laugh at the whole clergy. Besides, that it is to abate the incomparable value of the *Eucharistia*, and to make it ridiculous before good, sensible men. Thus the president spoke; and fifteen members of the academy were of his opinion. One of the members said, that being certain that the dog had eaten the real body and blood of Jesus Christ, the priest, after the communion was over, was obliged to call the lady in private, and give a vomit to the dog, and to cast into the *piscina*, what he should throw up. Another said, that the sacrament being a spiritual nourishment to the soul, he was obliged to ask a question, and it was, whether the sensitive soul of the dog was nourished by the sacrament or not? All agreed in the affirmative, upon which the questionist formed the following argument. The soul nourished by the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, who is eternal life, is immortal; but the sensitive soul of the dog was nourished by Christ, ac-

ording to your opinions: *Ergo*, the soul of the dog is immortal; then, if immortal, where is the soul to go after death; to heaven, to hell, or to go to purgatory? We must answer, to neither of these places: So we disown that the dog did eat the body of Christ; and there is more in the sacrament, than we can comprehend; and (*salva fide*, and in the way in argument) I say, that the dog ate what we see in the host, and not what we believe: Thus the member ended his discourse.

After all these disputes, the case was thus resolved: that the priest should ask the inquisitors' advice, who being the judges in matters of faith, may safely determine what is to be done in such a case, and the like.

3dly. I have said already in another place, that the Rev. father fryar James Garcia was reputed among the learned, the only man for divinity in this present age; and that he was my master, and by his repeated kindness to me, I may say, that I was his well beloved disciple. I was to defend a public thesis of divinity in the university, and he was to be president, or moderator. The thesis contained the following Treatises. *De Essentia and Attributis Dei: De Visione beatifica; De Gratia Justificante and auxiliante: De Providentia; De Actu Libero: De Trinitate: and de Sacramentis in genere.* All which I had learned from him. The shortest treatise, of all he taught publicly in the university, was the Eucharistia. The proofs of his opinion were short, and the objections against them very succinet and dark. I must confess, that I was full of confusion, and uneasy, for fear that some doctor of divinity would make an argument against our opinion touching the sacrament of Eucharistia. And I endeavored to ask my master to instruct me, and furnish me with answers suitable to the most difficult objections that could be proposed; but though he desired me to be easy about it, and that, upon necessity, he would answer for me; I replied with the

following objection: God never will punish any man for not believing what is against the evidence of our senses, but the real presence in Eucharistia is so:—*Ergo (salva fide)* God will not punish any man for not believing the real presence of Christ there. To this he told me, that none of the doctors would propose such an argument to me, and he advised me not to make such an objection in public, but to keep it in my heart. But father (said I) I ask your answer; my answer is (said he) *aliud Lingua doceo, aliud Corde credo*, i. e. I teach one thing, and I believe another. By these instances, I have given now, every body may easily know the corruptions of the Romish church, and the nonsensical opinions of their priests and fryars, as also, that the learned do not believe in their hearts, that there is such a monster as *transubstantiation*, though for some worldly ends, they do not discover their true sentiments about it.

Now I proceed to the worship, and adoration, both the clergy and laity pay to the holy host or sacrament.

I shall not say any thing of what the people do, when the priests in a procession under a canopy carried the sacrament to the sick, for this custom and the pomp of it, and the idolatrous worship and adoration offered to it, is well known by our travellers and officers of the army.

Philip the IV, king of Spain, as he was a hunting, met in the way a crowd of people following a priest, and asking the reason, he was told, that the priest carried the consecrated water in his bosom to a sick person; the priest walked, and the king leaving his horse, desired the priest to mount and ride on it, and holding the stirrup, bareheaded, he followed the priest all the way to the house, and gave him the horse for a present. From the king to the shepherd, all people pay the same adoration to the holy host, which shall be better known by the pomp and magnificence they carry the great host with, in the solemn festival of corpus Christi, or of Christ's body. I shall

describe only the general procession made on that day in Saragossa, of which I was an eye-witness.

Though the festival of corpus Christi be a moveable feast, it always falls on a Thursday. That day is made the great general procession of corpus Christi, and the Sunday following, every congregation, through the streets of the parish, and every convent of friars and nuns through the cloisters of the convent go with great pomp to the private procession of Christ's body. As to the general great one, the festival is ordered in the following manner.

The Dean of the cathedral church of St. Salvator, sends an officer to summon all the communities of friars, all the clergy of the parish churches, the Viceroy, governor and magistrates, the judges of the civil and criminal council, with the lord chancellor of the kingdom and all the fraternities, brotherhoods, or corporations of the city, to meet together on the Thursday following, in the metropolitan cathedral church of St. Salvator, with all the standards, trumpets, giants,* both of the greater or lesser size in their respective habits of office or dignity; and all the clergy of the parish churches, and fryars of convents, to bring along with them in a procession, with due reverence, all the silver bodies of saints on a base or pedestal, which are in their churches and convents:—*Item*, orders are published in every street, that the inhabitants, or house-keepers are to clean the streets, which the sacrament is to go through, and cover the ground with greens, and flowers, and to put the best hangings in the fronts of the balconies, and windows: All which is done accordingly; or else he that does not obey and perform such orders, is to pay 20 pistoles without any excuse whatsoever.

* Three big giant men, and three giant women; and six little ones, drest in men and women's clothes, made of thin wood, and carried by a man hid under the clothes. The big ones are 15 feet high, which are kept in the hall of the city, for the magnificence and splendor of that day.

At three in the afternoon, the vice-roy goes in state with the governor, judges, magistrates, and officers, to meet the archbishop in his palace, and to accompany his grace to church, where all the communities of fryars, clergy and corporations, are waiting for them. The dean and chapter receive them at the great porch, and after the archbishop has made a prayer before the great altar, the music begins to sing, *Pange lingua gloriosa*, while the archbishop takes out of the tabernacle the host upon the rich chalice, and placeth it on the great *custodia*, on the altar's table. Then the quire begins the evening songs, in which the archbishop in his pontifical habit officiateth, and when all is over, his grace giveth the blessing to the people with the sacrament in his hands. Then the archbishop, with the help of the dean, archdeacon, and chanter, placeth the *custodia* on a gilt pedestal, which is adorned with flowers and the jewels of several ladies of quality, and which is carried on the shoulders of 12 priests, drest in the same ornaments they say mass in. This being done, the procession begins to go out of the church in the following order.

First of all the bagpipe, and the great and small giants, dancing all along the streets. 2. The big silver cross of the cathedral, carried by a clerk-priest, and two young assistants, with silver candlesticks and lighted candles. 3. From the cross to the piper, a man with a high hook goes and comes back again while the procession lasts. The hook is called St. Paul's hook, because it belongs to St. Paul's church. That hook is very sharp, and they make use of it in that procession, to cut down the signs of taverns and shops, for fear that the holy *custodia* should be spoiled. 4. The standard and sign of the youngest corporation, and all the members of it, with a wax candle in their hands, forming two lines, whom all the corporations follow one after another in the same order. There are thirty cor-

porations, and the smallest is composed of thirty members. 5. The boys and girls of the blue hospital with their master, mistress, and the chaplain in his *alva*, *stola*, and long sacerdotal cloak. 6. The youngest religion (the order of St. Francis, is called St. Francis' religion, and so are all orders, which they reckon 70, and which we may really, in the phrase of a satirical gentleman, call 70 religions without religion) with their reverend and two fryars more at the end of each order, drest in the ornaments they use at the altar: and so all the orders go one after another in the same manner. There are 20 convents of fryars, and on this solemn festival, every one being obliged to go to the procession, we reckon there may be about 2000 present on this occasion; and 16 convents of nuns, the number of them by regular computation is 1500. 7. The clergy of the youngest parish, with the parish cross before, and the minister of it behind them in sacred ornaments. And so the clergy of the other parishes follow one another in the same order, every fryar and priest having a white-wax candle lighted in his hand.

The number of secular priests, constantly residing in Saragosa is 1200 in that one town: So by the said account, we find all the ecclesiastical persons to amount to 4700, when the whole of the inhabitants come to 15000 families.

8. The clergy of the cathedrals, of St. Salvator, and the lady of Pilar, with all their sacerdotal ornaments, as also the musicians of both cathedrals which go before the *custodia* or sacrament, singing all the way. Then the 12 priests more, that carry the canopy, under which the sacrament goes, and under the end of it the dean, and two prebends, as deacon and sub-deacon. The arch-bishop in his pontifical habit goes at the sub-deacon's right hand, the vice-roy at the arch-bishop's, and the deacon and sub-deacon one at the right, and the other at the left, all under the canopy. Six priests, with incense and incensaries on

both sides of the *custodia*, go incensing the sacrament without intermission : for while one kneels down before the great host, and incenses it three times, the other puts incense in his incensary, and goes to relieve the other, and thus they do, from the coming out of the church, till they return back again to it.

9. The great chancellor, presidents, and councils, follow after, and after all, the nobility, men and women, with lighted candles. This procession lasts four hours from the time it goes out, till it comes into the church again. All the bells of the convents, and parishes ring all this time ; and if there were not so many idolatrous ceremonies in that procession, it would be a great pleasure to see the streets so richly adorned with the best hangings, and the variety of persons in the procession.

The riches of that procession are incredible to a foreigner ; but matters of fact (the truth of which may be enquired into) must be received by all serious people. I have spoken already of the rich *custodia*, which the Archbishop of Sevil gave to the cathedral, and of the rich chalice set in diamonds. Now besides these two things, we reckon 33 silver Crosses belonging to convents, and parish churches, ten feet high, and about the thickness of a pole of a coach ; thirty-three small crosses which the priests and friars, who officiate that day, carry in their hands ; these crosses though small, are richer than the big one ; because in the middle of the cross there is a relick, which is a piece of wood (as they say) of the cross, on which our Saviour was crucified, and which they call *holy wood*. This relick is set in precious stones, and many of them set in diamonds. Thirty-three sacerdotal cloaks to officiate in, made of Tussy d'or, edged with pearls, emeralds, rubies, and other rich stones. Sixty-six silver candlesticks, four feet high. A large gold posenet, and a gold handle for the hysop, six incensaries, four of them silver, and two of gold ; four silver incense boxes, and two gold ones. Three hundred and

eighty silver bodies of saints on their rich guilt pedestals, of which two hundred are whole bodies, and the rest half, but many are guilt, and several wear mitres on their heads, embroidered with precious stones.

The image of St. *Michael* with the devil under his feet, and the image with wings, are of solid silver gilt all over.

With this magnificence they carry the sacrament through the principal streets of the city, and all the people that are in the balconies and lattice windows throw roses and other flowers upon the canopy of the sacrament as it goes by. When the procession is over, and the sacrament placed in the tabernacle, there is a stage before the altar to act a sacramental or divine comedy, which lasts about an hour, and this custom is practised also on Christmast eve. By these, every body may know their bigotries, superstitions and idolatries.

Now I come to say something of the strange notions the priests and friars, confessors, and preachers put in the people's heads, concerning the host. First, they preach and charge the people to adore the sacrament, but never to touch the consecrated host or wafer, this being a crime against the Catholic faith; and that all such as dare to touch it, must be burned in the inquisition. Secondly, to believe that the real flesh and blood of Jesus Christ is in the Eucharist; and that, though they cannot see it, they ought to submit their understanding to the catholic faith. Thirdly, that if any body could lawfully touch the host, or wafer, and prick it with a pin, blood would come out immediately, which they pretend to prove with many miracles, as that of the *corporales* of Daroca, which, as it comes a *propos*, I cannot pass by without giving an account of it.

Daroca is an ancient city of the kingdom of Aragon, which bordereth on Castilla. It is famous among the Spaniards for its situation and strength, being that is in the neighboring mountain

to it. For the floods coming with impetuosity against the walls, and putting the city in great danger, the inhabitants dug three hundred yards from one end of the mount to the other, and made a subterranean passage, and the floods going that way, the city is ever since free from danger. But it is yet more famous for what they call *corporales*. The story is this:— When the Moors invaded Spain, a curate near Daroca took all imaginable care to save the consecrated wafers, that were in the tabernacle, and not to see them profaned by the infidels, and open enemies of their faith. There were but five small hosts in all, which he put with the fine holland on which the priest puts the great host when he says mass: and this piece of holland is called *corporales*. The Moors were at that time near, and no body could make an escape, and the priest ready to loose his own life, rather than to see the host profaned, tied the *corporales* with the five wafers in it, on a blind mule, and whipped the beast out of town, said, speed you well, for I am sure that the sacrament on your back will guide you to some place free from the enemies of our religion. The mule journeyed on, and the next day arrived at Daroca, and some people observed the *corporales* tied with the holy stola to the mule's belly, were surprised at so rare and unexpected a thing, and called a priest of the great parish church, he came to the mule, and examining the thing, found the five wafers converted into blood, and stamped on the holland cloth; which spots of blood (or painting) of the bigness of a tenpenny piece, are preserved till this present time. Then the priest cried out, *a miracle*, the clergy in great devotion and procession came with candles and a canopy, and taking the mule under it, went to the great church; and when the minister of the parish had taken the stola and *corporales* from off the mule, he went to place the *corporales* on the *ara altaris*, or the altar's table, but the mule not

pleased with it, left the company, and went up to the steeple or belfry: then the parish minister (though not so wise as the mule) followed the mule up stairs, and seeing the beast mark a place there with its mouth, he soon understood that the mule being blind, could neither go up, nor mark that place without being inspired from above; and having persuaded the people of the same, all agreed that there should be a little chapel built to keep the holy corporales. When this resolution was approved by the clergy and laity, the mule died on the steeple. At the same time the curate having made his escape, and by divine inspiration followed the mule's steps, came to Daroca, and telling the whole cause of his putting the sacrament on the mule to save it from profanation, both clergy and laity began to cry out, *a miracle from Heaven*: and immediately further agreed, that the mule should be embalmed and kept before the holy corporales in the steeple, *ad perpetuam Rei Memoriam*: *Item*, to make a mule of the best stone could be found, in honor of the mule, and that for the future his name should be the *holy mule*. All things being done accordingly, and the city never having been mastered by the Moors (as the inhabitants say) they instituted a solemn festival, to which ever since the neighbors, even fourteen leagues distant, come every year.— Those that go up to the steeple to see the holy miracle of the wafers converted into blood, and the holy mule, must pay four reals of plate. The people of Daroca call it sometimes, *the holy mystery*, another time *the holy miracle*; *the sacrament of the mule* by some ignorants: *the holy sacrament on a mule* by the wise, &c. I myself took a journey to see this wonder of Daroca, and paying the fees, went up to have a full view of every thing: and really I saw a mule of stone, and a coffin wherein the embalmed mule was kept (as the clerk told me) but he did not open it, for the key is kept always at the Bishop's palace: I saw

likewise the linnen with five red spots in a little box of gilt silver, two candles always burning before it, and a glass lamp before the mule's coffin. At that time I believed every part of the story. All sorts of people believe as an infallible truth, that every body's sight is preserved during life, in the same degree of strength and clearness it is in at the time they see these bloody spots, which is proved by many instances of old women, who by that means have excellent eyes to the last. *Item,* They give out that no blind person ever came before the corporales, without his sight being restored to him; which I firmly believe; for no blind person ever was up in the steeple. I cannot swear this, but I have very good reason to affirm it; for in the first place, there is a small book printed, called "Directions for the faithful people," teaching them how to prepare themselves before they go up to see the holy mystery of the corporales of Daroca. One of the advices to the blind is, that they must confess and receive the sacrament, and have the soul as clean as crystal, and to endeavor to go up to the steeple from the altar's table without any guide; and that if some cannot go as far as the chapel of the belfry, it is a sign that that man is not well prepared. The distance between the altar and the steeple's door is about forty yards, and there are nine strong pillars in the body of the church; so the poor blind people before they can reach the belfry's door, commonly break their noses, some their heads, &c. And some more cautious and careful, and happy in finding out the door, when they are in the middle of the stairs, find a snare or stock, and break their legs; for I remember very well, when I went up myself, I saw a sort of a window in the middle of one of the steps, and asking the use of it, the clerk told me, it was to let down through it the rope of the great beel. Then I enquired no farther; but now, being sure, that there was but that small window shut up in the whole pair of

winding stairs, I conclude, that it could not be there for the said use, and in all probability that window was the snare to catch the poor blind people in. Therefore the clerk being not sure of the miracle, by this prevents the discovery of the want of virtue in the holy corporales, to cure all diseases, and at the same time gives out a miracle, and the miracle is, that the blind man has broke his leg, and that it is a just punishment, for daring to go up either unprepared or with little faith; so no blind man has recovered sight by the virtue of the corporales.

By means of this same direction, no sick person dares to go up; but if they recover, it must be a miracle of the holy mystery. And if a mule happen to be sick the master of it goes and makes the beast give three turns around the steeple, thinking that its brother mule hath power to cure it. Many will be apt to suspect the truth of this story; nay some will think it a mere forgery; but I appeal to several officers of the army that went through Daroca, to be witnesses for me. It may be they were not told all the circumstances of it, because the people there have strange notions of an Heretic; but the mule and corporales being the most remarkable thing in the city, I am sure many did hear of it, though nobody of the Heretics could see the holy mystery, being a thing forbidden by their church.

With this, and the like pretended miracles, priests and friars, confessors and preachers, make the people believe the real presence of Christ's body in the Host, and the ineffable virtue of this sacrament to cure all bodily distempers: Nay, what is more than all these, they persuade, and make the people believe, that if a man or a woman has the consecrated wafer by them, they cannot die suddenly; nay, nor be killed by violent hands: So great is the power of the Host (they say) that if you shew it to the enraged sea, the storm immediately ceaseth; if you carry it with you, you

cannot die, especially a sudden death. And really they may venture to give out this doctrine as an infallible point; for they are sure no body will dare touch the host, and much less to carry it with him, it being so high a crime, that if any body was found out with the consecrated wafer on his body, the sentence is already past by the inquisitors, that such a person is to be burnt alive.

A parish priest carrying the consecrated host to a sick person, out of the town, was killed by a flash of lightning, which accident being clearly against this pretended infallible power of the host, the people took the liberty to talk about it; but the clergy ordered a funeral sermon, to which the nobility and common people were invited by the common cryer. Every body expected a funeral sermon; but the preacher, taking for his text *Judicium sibi manducat*, proved, that the priest, killed by a flash of lightning, was certainly damned, and that his sudden death, while he had the consecrated host in his hands, was the reward of his wickedness; and that his death was to be looked upon as a miracle of the holy host, rather than an instance against the infinite power of it; for, said he, we have carefully searched and examined every thing, and have found that he was not a priest, and therefore had no authority to touch the host, nor administer the sacrament of the eucharist. And with this the murmur of the people ceased, and every body afterwards thought, that the sudden death of the priest was a manifest miracle wrought by the host, and a visible punishment from heaven for his sacrilegious crimes.

The truth is, that the priest was ordained by the bishop of Tarazona, in Aragon. The thing happened in the city Calatayud, in the same kingdom; his name was Mossen Pedro Aguilar, he was buried in the church, called *the sepulchre of our Lord*. The rever-

nd father Fombuena was the preacher, and I was
 e of the hearers, and one that believed the thing as
 e preacher told us, till after a while, some members
 the academy having examined the ease, and found
 at he was really a priest, proposed it to the assem-
 y, that every body might give his opinion about it,
 he president said that such a case was not to be
 ought into question, but the doctrine of the church
 ouching eucharistia to be believed without any scru-
 es.

Again, That the host has no virtue nor power to
 alm the raging sea, I know myself by experience;
 nd as the relation of the thing may prove effectual to
 nvince other Roman Catholics of their erroneous
 elief, as well as the passage itself did me, it seems
 in this place to give an account of it, and I pray
 od Almighty, that it may please him to give all the
 oman Catholics the same conviction, some way or
 her, his infinite goodness was pleased to give me,
 at they may take as firm a resolution as I have ta-
 en, to espouse the safest way to salvation; for if we
 ke our measures concerning the truths of religion
 om the rules of holy scriptures, and the platform of
 e primitive churches; nay, if the religion of Jesus
 hrist, as it is delivered in the New-Testament, be
 e true religion (as I am certain it is) and the best
 nd safest way to salvation; then certainly the pro-
 stant religion is the purest, that is, at this day, in
 e world; the most orthodox in faith, and the freest
 a the one hand, from idolatry and superstition, and
 a the other, from whimsical novelties and enthusi-
 ms of any now extant; and not only a safe way to
 lvation, but the safest of any I know, in the world.
 ow I come to my story.

After I left my country, making use of several
 ratageims and disguises, I went to France, dressed
 officer's clothes, and so I was known by some at
 oris, under the name of the Spanish officer. My
 sign was to come to England, but the treaty of

Utrecht not being concluded, I could not attempt to come from Calais to Dover, without a pass. I was perfectly a stranger in Paris, and without any acquaintance, only one French priest, who had studied in Spain, and could speak Spanish perfectly well, which was a great satisfaction to me, for at that time I could not speak French. The priest (to whom I made some presents) was interpreter of the Spanish letters to the king's confessor, father le Telier, to whom he introduced me; I spoke to him in Latin, and told him, I had got a great fortune by the death of an uncle in London, and that I should be very much obliged to his reverence, if by his influence I could obtain a pass. The priest had told him that I was a Captain, which the father believed; and my brother having been a Captain, (though at that time he was dead) it was an easy thing to pass for him: The first visit was favorable to me, for the father confessor promised to get me a pass, and bid me call for it two or three days after, which I did; but I found the reverend very inquisitive, asking me several questions in divinity: I answered to all, that I had studied only a little latin: He then told me, there was no possibility of obtaining a pass for England, and that if I had committed any irregular thing in the army, he would give me a letter for the king of Spain, to obtain my pardon, and make my peace with him again. I confess this speech made me very uneasy, and I began to suspect some danger; so I thanked him for his kind offer to me, and told him I had committed nothing against my king or country, which I would convince him of, by refusing his favor, and by returning back into Spain, that very week: So I took my leave of him, and the day following I left Paris, and went back to St. Sebastian, where I kept my lodgings, till I got the opportunity of a ship for Lisbon. The merchants of Saragossa trade to St. Sebastian, where I was afraid of being known, and discovered by some of them, and for this reason, I kept close in my room,

giving out that I was not well. How to get a ship was the only difficulty; but I was freed from this, by sending for the father rector of the Jesuits, on pretence that I was very ill, and was willing to confess my sins: Accordingly he came to me that very day, and I began my confession, in which I only told him, that as I was an officer in the army, and had killed another officer for which the king had ordered me to be taken up, so that my life being in danger, and my conscience in trouble on account of the murder, I put both life and soul into his hands. He asked me all the usual questions; but I confessing no other sin, the father thought I was good christian, and something great in the world; so he bade me be easy, and mind nothing but keep myself in a readiness for my voyage, and that he would send a Captain of a ship to me that very night, who should take me along with him into the ship, and sail out the next morning: And so all was performed accordingly, and I went that night to embark. What directions the father rector gave the Captain, I knew not; this I know, that I was treated as if I were the son of a grandee, and served by the Captain himself. This was the first time of my life being at sea, and I was very sick the two first days; the third day a great storm began, which put me in fear of losing my life. But then calling to my memory, that the divine power was said to be in a consecrated host to calm the raging sea, and knowing that a priest had power to consecrate at any time, and every where upon urgent necessity, I went into the Captain's cabin, and took one of the white wafers he made use of for sealing letters, and being alone. I made this promise before God Almighty, from the bottom of my heart, that if he would graciously condescend to remove my scruples at once, by manifesting the real presence of his body in the host and its infinite power, by calming the raging tempest at the sight of the one I was now going to

consecrate, then I would return back again into my church and country, and live and die in the Romish communion; but if the effect did not answer to the doctrine preached of the host, then I would live and die in the church that knoweth no such errors, nor obeyeth the pope. After this promise, I said my prayers of preparation to consecrate; and after I had consecrated one wafer (which I was sure in my conscience was duly consecrated, for the want of ornaments and a decent place, is no hindrance to the validity of the priest's consecration) I went up, and hiding the wafer from the Captain and crew of the ship, I shewed it to the sea, and trembling all over, stood in that condition for half an hour: But the storm at that time increased so violently, that we lost the mast of the ship, and the Captain desired me to go down. I was willing to wait a little longer for the efficacy of the host, but finding none at all, I went down, and kneeling, I began to pray to God, and thinking I was obliged to eat the consecrated host for reverence sake, I did eat it, but without any faith of the efficacy and power of it. Then I vowed before God, never to believe any doctrine of the Romish church, but those that were taught by Jesus Christ and his apostles, and to live and die in that only. After this vow, though the storm did continue for a day and night, my heart was calmed, all my fears vanished, and, though with manifest danger of our lives, we got into Vigo's harbor, and safe from storm.

I left the ship there, and by land I went to Portugal, having an inward joy and easiness in my heart; but having stopped at Porto-Porto, to take a little rest, I fell sick of an intermitting fever, which brought me to the very point of death, three times, in three months and nine days. The minister of the parish being told by my landlord, the condition I was in, past hopes of recovery, came to visit me, and desired me to confess and receive as a good Christian ought to do; but I thanking him for his good advice, told

him, that I was not so sick, as he believed, and that I would stand for him if I had any occasion, and really I never believed that I was to die of that distemper, and by this thought, I was freed from priests and confessors.

When I was out of danger, and well recovered, I went to Lisbon, where I had the opportunity of talking with some English merchants, who explained to me some points of the protestant religion, and my heart was in such a disposition, that their words affected me more than all the sermons and moral sums of the Romish church had ever done before.

I knew a captain in the Spanish army Don Alonso, Corsega by name, who was killed at the siege of Lerida, in whose bosom was found (in a little purse) the consecrated wafer, for which his body was burnt to ashes. It is very likely that the poor man thinking to escape from death by that means, he took it out of his mouth when he went to receive, and kept it as an amulet against the martial instruments, which paid no respect to its fancied divinity.

Now by these instances I have given you already, it appears that the practices of the Romish priests in the administration of the Eucharist, either to healthy or sick people, are only observed for interest's sake, as the worship and adoration given to the consecrated wafer tends only to the increase of their treasure. And lastly the doctrine of transubstantiation and real presence of Christ, which they endeavor to make the people believe by supposed miracles, is only to cheat and blind the poor laity, and raise in them a great reverence and admiration of their persons and office.

O Lord God, who receiveth into thy favor those that fear thee, and do work righteousness, suffer not so many thousands of innocent people to be led in the way of error, but enlighten them with thy spirit, put the light of the gospel upon the candlestick, that all those who are in darkness may by that means come the safe way of salvation, and live and die in the

profession of thy truth, and the parity of that perfect religion taught by thine only son, our Saviour Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

ARTICLE IV.

Of Purgatory.

I cannot give a real account of Purgatory, but I will tell all I know of the practices and doctrines of the Romish Priests and Friars, in relation to that imaginary place, which indeed must be of a vast extent and almost infinite capacity, if, as the priests give out, there are as many apartments in it, as conditions and ranks of people in the world among Roman Catholics.

The intenseness of the fire in Purgatory is calculated by them, which they say is eight degrees, and that of hell only four degrees. But there is a great difference between these two fires; in this, viz. That of Purgatory (though more intense, active, consuming and devouring) is but for a time, of which the souls may be freed by the suffrages of masses; but that of hell is forever. In both places they say, the souls are tormented, and deprived of the glorious sight of God, but the souls in purgatory (though they endure a great deal more than those in hell) have certain hopes of seeing God sometime or other, and that hope is enough to make them to be called *the blessed souls*.

Pope Adrian the third confessed, that there was no mention of purgatory in scripture, or in the writings of the holy Fathers; but notwithstanding this, the council of Trent has settled the doctrine of purgatory without alledging any one passage of the holy scripture, and gave so much liberty to priests and friars by it, that they build in that fiery palace, apartments for kings, princes, grandees, noblemen, merchants and tradesmen, for ladies of quality, for gentlemen and tradesmen's wives and for poor common people. These are the eight apartments, which answer to the eight degrees of *intensus ignis*.

tense fire; and they make the people believe, that the poor people only endure the least degree; the second being greater, is for gentlewomen and tradesmen's wives, and so on to the eighth degree, which being the greatest of all, is reserved for kings. By this wicked doctrine they get gradually masses from all sorts and conditions of people, in proportion to their greatness. But as the poor cannot give so many masses as the great, the lowest chamber of purgatory is always crowded with the reduced souls of those unfortunately fortunate people, for they say to them, that the providence of God has ordered every thing to the ease of his creatures, and that foreseeing that the poor people could not afford the same number of masses that the rich could, his infinite goodness had placed them in a place of less sufferings in purgatory.

But it is a remarkable thing, that many poor, silly tradesmen's wives, desirous of honor in the next world, ask the friars, whether the souls of their fathers, mothers, or sisters, can be removed from the second apartment (reckoning from the lowest) to the third, thinking by it, that though the third degree of fire is greater than the second, yet the soul would be better pleased in the company of ladies of quality; but the worst is, that the friar makes such women believe, that he may do it very easily, if they give the same price for a mass, the ladies of quality give. I knew a shoemaker's wife, very ignorant, proud, and full of punctilios of honor, who went to a Franciscan friar, and told him, that she desired to know, whether her own father's soul was in purgatory or not, and in what apartment. The friar asked her how many masses she could spare for it, she said two; and the friar answered, your father's soul is among the beggars.— Upon hearing this, the poor woman began to cry, and desired the friar to put him, if possible in the fourth apartment, and she would pay him for it; and the *Quantum* being settled, the friar promised to place there the next day; so the poor woman ever since

gives out that her father was a rich merchant, for it was revealed to her, that his soul is among the merchants in Purgatory.

Now what can we say, but that the Pope is the chief Governor of that vast place, and priests and friars the quarter-masters that billet the souls according to their own fancies, and have the power, and give for money the King's apartments to the soul of a shoemaker, and that of a lady of quality to her washer-woman.

But mind reader, how chaste the friars are in procuring a separate place for ladies in purgatory; they suit this doctrine to the temper of a people whom they believe to be extremely jealous, and really not without ground of them, and so no soul of a woman can be placed among men. Many serious people are well pleased with this Christian caution; but those that are given to pleasure, do not like it at all; and I knew a pleasant young collegian, who went to a friar and told him: Father, I own I love the fair sex; and I believe that my soul will always retain that inclination, I am told that no man's soul can be in company with ladies, and it is a dismal thing for me to think, that I must go there (but as for hell, I am in no danger of it, thanks to the pope) where I shall never see any more women, which will prove the greatest of torments to my soul; so I have resolved to agree with your Reverence before hand, upon this point. I have a bill of ten pistoles upon Peter la Vinna Banquer, and if you can assure me, either to send me straight to heaven, when I die, or to the ladie's apartment in purgatory, you shall have the bill; and if you cannot, I must submit to the will of God, like a good Christian. The friar seeing the bill which he thought ready money, told him that he could do either of the two, and that he himself might choose which of the two places he pleased. But father (said the collegian) the case is, that I love Donna Teresa Spinola, but she does not love me, and I do not believe I can expect any favor from her in this world, so I would

ow whether she is to go before me to purgatory, or t. O! that is very certain (said the friar.) I choose en (said the collegian) the lady's apartment, and re is the bill, if you give me a certificate under ur hand, that the thing shall be so: but the friar re- sing to give him any authentic certificate, the colle- un laughed at him, and made satirical verses upon m, which were printed, and which I myself read. knew the friar too, who being mocked publicly, is obliged to remove from his convent to another in e country.

Notwithstanding all these railleries, of which the quisitors cannot take notice, being not against the tholic faith; priests and friars do daily endeavor to prove, that purgatory is a real existent place, d that by masses, the souls detained in it are daily livered out of it. And this they prove by many relations made to devout, pious people; and by many paritions.

They not only preach of them publicly, but books e printed of such revelations and apparitions. I member many of them, but I shall not trouble the ader with them; only I will tell some of the most markable ones of my time.

In the latter end of King Charles the second's ign, a nun of Guadalajara wrote a letter to his ma- sty, acquainting him, that it was revealed to her, by an angel, that the soul his father, Philip the IV., was ill in Purgatory (all alone in the royal apartments) and likewise in the lowest chamber, the said king hilip's shoemaker, and that upon saying so many asses, both should be delivered out of it, and should to enjoy the ravishing pleasures of an eternal life. he nun was reputed a saint upon earth, and the sim- e king gave orders to his confessor to say, or order many masses to be said, for that purpose; after hich the said nun wrote again to his majesty, con- ratulating and wishing him joy for the arrival of his ther to heaven; but that the shoemaker, who was

seven degrees lower than Philip in purgatory, was then seven degrees higher than his majesty in heaven, because of his better life on earth, who never had committed any sin with women, as Philip had done all his life time, but that all was forgiven to him on the account of the masses.

Again, they give out in the pulpit, that the pope has an absolute power to make the mass efficacious to deliver the soul, for which it is said, out of that place; and that his holiness can take at once all the souls out of it; as Pius the Vth. did (as they report) who, when he was Cardinal, was mighty devout, and a great procurer of the relief of souls, and who had promised them with a solemn oath, that, if by their prayers in purgatory he should be chosen pope, then he would empty purgatory of all the souls at once. At last by the intercession of the souls with God Almighty, he was elected pope, and immediately he delivered all the souls out of that place; but that Jesus Christ was so angry with the new pope, that he appeared to him, and bade him not to do any such thing again, for it was prejudicial to the whole clergy and friarship. That pope delivered all the souls out of purgatory, by opening the treasure of the church, in which were kept millions of masses, which the popes make use of for the augmenting the riches of the holy see: But he took care not to do it again; for though, *quodcunque solveritis in Terra, erit, solutum and in Cælis*, there is not specified the same power in purgatory, therefore ever since, the popes take no authority, nor liberty to sweep purgatory at once, for it would prove their ruin, and reduce the clergy to poverty.

When some ignorant people pay for a mass, and are willing to know whether the soul, for which the mass is said, is, after the mass, delivered out of purgatory; the friar makes them believe, that the soul will appear in the figure of a mouse within the tabernacle of the altar, if it is not out of it, and then it is a sign

that the soul wants more masses ; and if the mouse does not appear, the soul is in heaven. So when the mass is over, he goes to the tabernacle backwards, where is a little door with a crystal, and lets the people look through it : But, O pitiful thing ! They see a mouse which the friars keep, (perhaps for this purpose) and so the poor sets give more money for more masses, till they see the mouse no more. They have a revelation ready at hand, to say, that such a devout person was told by an angel, that the soul for which the mass is said, was to appear in the figure of a mouse in the *Sacrario*, or tabernacle.

Many other priests and friars do positively affirm, and we see many instances of it forged by them in printed books, that when they consecrate the host, the little boy Jesus doth appear to them in the host, and that is a sign that the soul is out of purgatory. There is a fine picture of St. Anthony de Paula, with the host in his hand, and the little Jesus is in the host, because that divine boy frequently appeared to him when he said mass, as the history of his life gives an account. But at the same time, they say, that no layman can see the boy Jesus, because it is not permitted to any man but to priests to see so heavenly a sight : And by that means they give out what sort of stories they please, without any fear of ever being found out in a lie.

As to the second day of November, which is the day of the souls of purgatory, in which every priest and friar sayeth three masses for the delivery of so many souls out of the pains of it (they generally say) that from three of the clock of the first day of November (all saint's day) till three in afternoon, the next day, all the souls are out of purgatory, and entirely free from the pains of it ; (those four and twenty hours being granted by his holiness for a refreshment to them) and that all that while they are in the air diverting themselves, and expecting the relief of
 ty masses, to get by them the desired end, viz

The celestial habitations. On these twenty-four hours, they ring the bells of all the churches and convents, which (as they say) is a great suffrage and help to the souls, and on that day only, priests and friars get more money than they get in two months time beside; for every family, and private persons too, give yellow wax candles to the church, and money for masses and responsa, i. e. a prayer for the dead, and all these twenty four hours the churches are crowded with people, and the priests and friars continually singing prayers for the dead, and this they call the priests and friars fair-day. Which they solemnize with the continual ringing of the bells, though they give out, that it is a suffrage for the souls of purgatory.

And on the same pretence, there is a man in every parish that goes in the dark of the evening through all the streets with a bell, praying for the souls, and asking charity for them in every house, always ringing the bell as a suffrage. The duke of Osuna made a witty repartee to pope Innocent the XIth, on this subject. The duke was ambassador for the king of Spain at Rome, and he had a large bell on the top of his house, to gather his domestics when he was going out. Many cardinals lived by his palace, and complained to the pope, that the ambassador's bell disturbed them; (for the duke used to order to ring the bell when he knew the cardinals were at home) and the pope spoke immediately to the duke, and asked his Excellency the reason of keeping so big a bell? To which the duke answered, that he was a very good christian, and a good friend to the souls of purgatory, to whom the ringing of the bell was a suffrage. The pope took in good part this raillery, and desired him to make use of some other signal to call his servants; for that of the bell was very noisy, and a great disturbance to the cardinals, his neighbours; and that if he was so good a friend to the souls of purgatory, he would do them more service by selling the bell, and giving the money for masses.

To tell the truth the duke did not care for the souls, but all his design was to vex the cardinals: So the next day he ordered to bring down the bell, and to put in the same place a cannon, or a great piece of ordnance, and to give twelve shots every morning and twelve at midnight, which was the time the cardinals were at home. So they made a second complaint to the pope; upon this, he spoke to the duke again, and he answered to his holiness, that the bell was to be sold, and the money to be delivered to the priests for masses; but that he had ordered the cannon as a suffrage for the souls of the poor soldiers that had died in the defence of the holy see. The pope was very much affronted by this answer, and as he was caressing a little lap-dog he had in his arms, got up, and said,—Duke, I take more care of the souls of the poor soldiers than you of your own soul; at which, the duke taking out of the pope's arms the lap dog, and throwing him through the window, said, and I take care to shew the pope how he ought to speak with the king of Spain, to whom more respect is due. Then the pope (knowing the resoluteness of the duke, and that his holiness could get nothing by an angry method, chose to let the thing drop there, rather than to make more noise: So the duke kept his cannon piece, and the cardinals were obliged to remove their families into a more quiet place.

A Mendicant friar one day asked some charity from the same duke, for the souls of purgatory, and said, my lord, if you put a pistole in this plate, you shall take out of purgatory that soul for which you design it. The duke gave the pistole, and asked the friar, whether the soul of his brother was already out of it? And when the friar said, yea; the duke took again his pistole, and told the friar, Now you cannot put his soul into purgatory again. And it is to be wished that every one was like that duke, and had the same resolution to speak the truth to the pope himself and all his quarter-masters.

I have told in the first article of this chapter, that every Friday is appointed to say masses for the souls in purgatory, which did belong to corporations of fraternities, and what great profit priests, and especially friars get by it: Now by this infallible custom and practice, we may say, that purgatory contains as many corporations of souls, as there are corporations of tradesmen here below, which fraternities are more profitable to all sorts of communities of friars, than the living members of them upon earth. But some of these people, either out of pleasantry, or out of curiosity, ask sometimes in what part of the world, or of the air, is that place of purgatory? To which the friars answer, that it is between the center of the earth and this earthly superficies; which they pretend to prove, and make them believe by revelations, and especially by a story from a Jesuit father, who in his travels saw the earth open by an earthquake, and in the deep a great many people of a flaming red color, from which nonsensical account they conclude, to blind the poor people, that those were the souls of purgatory red as the very flame of fire. But observe, that no priest or friar would dare tell such frivolous stories to people of good sense, but to the ignorant, of which there are great numbers in these parts of the world.

When they preach a sermon of the souls, they make use of brimstone, and burn it in the pulpit, saying, that such flames are like those of the fire in purgatory. They make use of many pictures of the souls that are in the middle of devouring fire, lifting up their hands to heaven, as if they were crying for help and assistance. They prove their propositions with revelations and apparitions, for they cannot find in the scripture any passage to ground their audacious thoughts on, and such sermons are to the people of sense better diversion than a comedy; for besides the wretchedness of style and method, they tell so many sottish stories, that they have enough to last for a long while.

I went to hear an old friar, who had the name of an excellent preacher, upon the subject of the souls in purgatory, and he took his text out of the twenty-first chapter of the Apoc. 27th verse. *And there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh abomination*; by which he settled the belief of a purgatory, proving by some romantic authority, that such a passage ought to be understood of purgatory, and his chief authority was, because a famous interpreter, or expositor, renders the text thus: There shall not enter into it (meaning heaven) any thing which is not proved by the fire, as silver is purified by it. When he had proved this text, he came to divide it, which he did in these three heads: *First*, that the souls suffer in purgatory three sorts of torments, of which the first was fire, and that greater than the fire of hell. *Secondly*, to be deprived of the face of God: *And Thirdly*, which was the greatest of all torments, to see their relations and friends here on earth diverting themselves, and taking so little care to relieve them out of those terrible pains. The preacher spoke very little of the ~~two first~~ points, but he insisted upon the third a long hour, taxing the people of ingratitude and inhumanity; and that if it was possible for any of the living to experience, only for a moment, that devouring flame of purgatory, certainly he would come again, and sell whatever he had in the world, and give it for masses: And what pity it is (said he) to know that there are the souls of many of my hearers relations' there, and none of them endeavor to relieve them out of that place: He went on and said: I have a catalogue of the souls, which, by revelation and apparition, we are sure are in purgatory; for in the first place, the soul of such a one (naming the soul of a rich merchant's father) appeared the other night to a godly person, in the figure of a pig, and the devout person, knowing that the door of his chamber was locked up, began to sprinkle the pig with holy water, and conjuring him, bad him speak

and tell him what he wanted? And the pig said, I am the soul of such an one, and I have been in purgatory these ten years for want of help. When I left the world, I forgot to tell my confessor where I left 1000 pistoles, which I had reserved for masses; My son found them out, and he is such an unnatural child, that he doth not remember my pitiful condition; and now by the permission of heaven I come to you, and command you to discover this case to the first preacher you meet; that he may publish it, and tell my son, that if he doth not give that money for masses for my relief, I shall be forever in purgatory, and his soul shall certainly go to hell.

The credulous merchant, terrified with this story, believing every tittle of it, got up before all the people and went into the vestry, and when the friar had finished, he begged of him to go along with him to his house, where he should receive the money, which he did accordingly, for fear of a second thought; and the merchant gave freely the 1000 pistoles, for fear that his father's soul should be kept in purgatory, and he himself go to hell.

And besides these cheats and tricks, they make use of themselves to exact money, they have their sollicitors and agents, that go from one house to another, telling stories of apparitions and revelations, and these are they which we call Beatas and Devotas; for as their modesty in apparel, their hypoeritical air, and daily exercises of confessing and receiving is well known in the world, the common people have so good an opinion of them, that they believe, as an article of faith, whatever stories they toll, without further inquiry into the matter: So those cunning disguised devils (or worse) instructed by the friar their confessor, go and spread abroad many of these apparitions, by which they get a great deal of money for masses, which they give to the father confessor.

Nay, of late, the old nuns, those that, to their grief, the world despises, have undertaken the trade of pub-

lishing revelations and apparitions of souls in purgatory, and give out that such a soul is, and shall be in it, until the father, mother, or sister, go to such a friar and give him so many masses, which he is to say himself and no other. And the case is, that by agreement between the old skeleton, and the covetous father, he is to give her one third of all the masses that he receives by her means and application. So you see the nature of this place of purgatory, the apartments in it, the degrees of the fire of it, the means the priests and the friars make use of to keep in repair that profitable palace; and above all, the stupidity, sottishness and blindness of the people to believe such dreams as matters of fact. What now can the Roman Catholics say for themselves? I am very much afraid that they will say that I am a deceiver and imposter. The Jews said of our Saviour (John vii. v. 12) some, that he was a good man; others said, nay but he deceiveth the people, when he was telling the truth. So I shall not be surprised at any calumny nor injury dispersed by them; for I am sure in my conscience, before God and the word, that I write the truth. And let no body mind the method in this account, for now I look upon the practices and cheats of the priests and friars in this point of purgatory, as the most ridiculous, nonsensical, and roguish of all their tricks; so how can a man that has been among them, and now is in the right way, write moderately, and without ridiculing them?

I must dismiss this article with my address to the Papist priests of England and Ireland. Some of them (immediately after my book was published and read by them) did command their parishioners in their respective mass-houses (as I was told by a faithful friend) not to read my book, *sub pena excommunicationis*. Others made frivolous remarks on some of my observations and matters of fact; nay, a zealous Protestant having lent one of my books to a Roman Catholic lady, she gave it to her Priest, and desired

his opinion about it. The priest read it over, and corrected only five passages with his hand in the same book, of which I shall speak in my second part. Above all, this article of purgatory is the hardest thing to them; but they ought to consider, that I speak only of my country people, and if they complain, I must crave their leave to say, that by that, they make us believe that the Spanish contagion has reached to them, and want the same remedy with the Spaniards; namely, a narrow, searching into the matter &c.

PART IV.

Of the Inquisitors and their Practices.

IN the time of King Ferdinand the fifth, and Queen Isabella, the mixture of Jews, Moors, and Christians was so great, the relapses of the new converts so frequent, and the corruptions in matters of religion so bare-faced in all sorts and conditions of people, that the Cardinal of Spain, thought the introducing the Inquisition could be the only way of stopping the course of wickedness and vice; so, as the sole remedy to cure the irreligious practices of those times, the Inquisition was established in the year 1471, in the court, and many other dominions of Spain.

The Cardinal's design in giving birth to this tribunal, was only to suppress Heresies, and chastise many horrible crimes committed against religion, viz. Blasphemy, Sodomy, Polygamy, Sorcery, Sacrilege, and many others, which are also punished in these kingdoms by the prerogative court, but not by making use of so barbarous means as the Inquisition doth. The design of the Cardinal was not blamable, being in itself good, and approved by all the serious and de-

vout people of that time ; but the performance of it was not so, as will appear by and by.

I can only speak of the inquisition of Saragossa, for as I am treating of matters of fact, I may tell with confidence what I know of it, as an eye-witness of several things done there. This tribunal is composed of three Inquisitors, who are absolute judges ; for, from their judgment there is no appeal, not even to the Pope himself, nor to a general council ; as doth appear from what happened in the time of King Philip the second, when the Inquisitors having censured the Cardinal of Toleda, the Pope sent for the process and sentence, but the Inquisitors did not obey him, and though the council of Trent discharged the Cardinal, notwithstanding, they insisted on the performance and execution of their sentence.

The first Inquisitor is a divine, the second, a casuist, and the third a civilian ; the first and second are always Priests, and promoted from Prebends to the high dignity of being holy Inquisitors. The third sometimes is not a Priest, though he is dressed in a clerical habit. The three Inquisitors of my time were, first, Don Pedro Guerrero. Second, Don Francisco Torrejon. Third, Don Antonio Aliaga. This tribunal hath a high sheriff, and God knows how many constables and under officers, besides the officers that belong to the house, and that live in it ; they have likewise an executioner ; or we may say, there are as many executioners, as officers and judges, &c. besides these, there are many Qualificators and Familiares, of which I will give an account by themselves.

The Inquisitors have a despotic power to command every living soul ; and no excuse is to be given, nor contradiction to be made, to their orders ; nay, the people have not liberty to speak, nor complain in their fortunes, and therefore there is a proverb which

Con la Inquisition Chiton : Do not meddle with inquisition ; or, as to the Inquisition, say nothing.

—This will be better understood by the following account of the method they make use of for the taking up and arresting the people; which is thus:—

When the Inquisitors receive an information against any body, which is always in private, and with such secrecy that none can know who the informer is (for all the informations are given in at night) they send their officers to the house of the accused, most commonly at midnight, and in a coach—they knock at the door, (and then all the family are in bed) and when some body asks from the windows who is there; the officers say, *the holy Inquisition*. At this word, he that answered, without any delay, or noise, or even the liberty of giving timely notice to the master of the house, comes down to open the door. I say, without the liberty of giving timely notice; for when the inquisitors send the officers, they are sure, by the spies, that the person is within, and if they do not find the accused, they take up the whole family, and carry them to the inquisition: so the answerer is with good reason afraid of making any delay in opening the street door. Then they go up stairs and arrest the accused without telling a word, or hearing a word from any of the family, and with great silence, putting him into the coach, they drive to the holy prison. If the neighbors by chance hear the noise of the coach, they dare not go to the window, for it is well known, that no other coach but that of the inquisition is abroad at that time of the night; nay, they are so much afraid, that they dare not even to ask the next morning their neighbors any thing about it, for those that talk of any thing that the inquisition does, are liable to undergo the same punishment, and this, may be, the night following. So if the accused be the daughter, son, or father, &c. and some friends or relations go in the morning to see the family, and ask the occasion of their tears and grief, they answer that their daughter was stolen away the night before, or the son, or father or mother (whoever the prisoner

be) did not come home the night before, and that they suspect he was murdered, &c. This answer they give, because they cannot tell the truth, without exposing themselves to the same misfortune; and not only this, but they cannot go to the Inquisition to inquire for the prisoner, for they would be confined for that alone. So all the comfort the family can have in such a case, is to imagine that the prisoner is in China, or in the remotest part of the world, or in hell, wherein *Nullus or do sed sempiternus horror inhabitat*. This is the reason why no body knows the persons that are in the inquisition till the sentence is published and executed, except those priests and friars summoned to hear the trial.

The qualificators and familiares which are in the city and country, upon necessity, have full power to secure any person suspected with the same secrecy, and commit him to the nearest commissary of the holy office of the inquisition and he is to take care to send him safely to the prison; which is all done by night, and without any fear that the people should deliver the prisoner, nay, or even talk of it.

Qualificators,

Are those, who by order from the inquisitors, examine the crimes committed by the prisoners against the catholic faith, and give their opinions or censures about it: They are obliged to secrecy, as well as other people; but as the number of them is great, the inquisitors must commonly make use of ten or twelve of the most learned that are in the city, in difficult cases: but this is only a formality, for their opinions and censures are not regarded, the inquisitors themselves being the absolute decisive judges. The distinguishing mark of a qualificator is the cross of the holy office, which is a medal of pure gold as big as a thirp, with a cross in the middle, half white, and half , which they wear before their breast; but in 3 functions or processions, the priests and friars

wear another bigger cross of embroidery on their cloak or habits. To be qualifiator is a great honor to his whole family and relations, for this is a public testimony of the old christianity, and pure blood (as they call it) of the family.

No nobleman covets the honor of being a Qualifiator, for they are all ambitious of the cross of St. James, of Alcantara, of Calatravia, of Malta, and the golden fleece, which are the five orders of the nobility; so the honor of a qualifiator is for those people, who though their families being not well known, are desirous to boast of their antiquity and christianism, though to obtain such honor, they pay a great sum of money: For, in the first place, he that desireth to be a qualifiator, is to appear before the holy tribunal, to make a public profession of the Catholic faith, and to acknowledge the holy tribunal for the supreme of all others, and the inquisitors for his own judges. This is the first step: After, he is to lay down on the table the certificate of his baptism, and the names of his parents for four generations; the towns and places of their former habitations; and two hundred pistoles for the expences in taking informations.

This done, he goes home till the inquisitors send for him, and if they do not send for him in six months time he loseth the money, and all hopes of getting the cross of Qualifiator; and this happens very often for the reasons I shall give by and by.

The inquisitors send their commissaries into all the places of the new proponant ancestors, where they may get some account of their lives and conversations, and of the purity of their blood, and that they never were mixt with Jewish families, nor heretics, and that they were old Christians. These examinations are performed in the most rigorous and severe manner that can be; for if some of the informers and witnesses are in a falsity, they are put into the inquisition; so every body gives the report concerning the family in question, with great caution, to the

his knowledge and memory. When the commissaries have taken the necessary informations with witnesses of a good name, they examine the parish-book, and take a copy of the ancestors' names, the year and day of their marriages, and the year, day and place of their burials. The commissaries then return to the inquisitors with all the examinations, witnesses, proofs and convictions of the purity and ancient Christianity of the proponent's families, for four generations; and being again examined by the three inquisitors, if they find them real and faithful, then they send the same commissaries to enquire into the character, life, and conversation of the *postulant*, or demanding person, but in this point the commissaries pass by many personal failings, so when the report is given to the holy inquisitors, they send for the *postulant*, and examine him concerning the matters of faith, the holy scriptures, the knowledge of the ancient fathers of the church, moral cases, all which is but mere formality. for the generality of the holy fathers themselves do not take much pains in the study of those things, and therefore the *postulant* is not afraid of their nice questions, nor very solicitous how to resolve them.

When the examination is over, they order the secretary to draw the patent of the grant of the holy cross to such an one in regard to his families' old purity of blood and christianity, and to his personal parts and religious conversation, certifying in the patent, that for four generations past, none of his father's or mother's relations were at all suspected in points concerning the holy Catholic Roman faith, or mixt with Jewish, or Heretical blood.

The day following, the *postulant* appears before the assembly of Qualificators in the hall of the Inquisition, and the first Inquisitor celebrates the mass assisted by the two Qualificators, as deacon and subdeacon. One of the oldest brethren preacheth a sermon on t occasion, and when the mass is over, they make

a sort of procession in the same hall, and after it, the inquisitor gives the book of the gospel to the postulant, and makes him swear the usual oaths; which done, the Postulant, on his knees, receiveth the cross, or medal, from the hands of the Inquisitor, who, with a black ribbon, puts it on the Postulant's neck, and begins to sing *te deum*, and the collect of thanks, which is the end of the ceremonies. Then all the assistant Qualificators congratulate the new brother, and all go up to the Inquisitor's apartment to drink chocolate, and after that, every one to his own dwelling place.

The new Qualificator dineth with the Inquisitors that day, and after dinner the Secretary brings in a bill of all the fees and expences, of the informations; which he must clear before he leaves the Inquisition. Most commonly the whole comes to four hundred pistoles, including the two hundred he gave in the beginning; but sometimes it comes to a thousand pistoles, to those whose ancestors' families were out of the kingdom, for then the commissaries expend a great deal more: and if it happen they find the least spot of Jewdaism, or Heresy, in some relation of the family, the commissaries do not proceed any further in the examinations, but come back again to the inquisition immediately, and then the postulant is never sent for by the inquisitors, who keep the two hundred postoles for pious uses.

Familiars,

Are always lay-men, but of good sense and education. These wear the same cross, and for the granting of it, the inquisitors make the same informations and proofs as they make for qualificators. The honor and privileges are the same; for they are not subject but to the tribunal of the inquisition. Their businesses are not the same; for they are only employed in gathering together, and inquiring after all books against the catholic faith, and to watch the actions of

suspected people. They take a turn sometimes into the country, but then they do not wear their cross openly till occasion requires it. They insinuate themselves into all companies, and they will even speak against the Inquisition, and against religion, to try whether the people are of that sentiment; in short, they are spies of the Inquisitors. They do not pay so much as the qualificators, for the honor of the cross, but they are obliged to take a turn now and then in the country, at their own expence. They are not so many in number as the Qualificators, for in a trial of the Inquisition, where all ought to be present, I once reckoned 160, and twice as many qualificators. I saw the list of them both; i. e. of the whole kingdom of Arragon, wherein are qualificators, of the secular priests, 243, and of the regular, 406, familiares 208.

The royal castle, formerly the palace of the king of Arragon, called Aljazeera, was given to the Inquisitors to hold their tribunal there, and prison too.—It is a musket shot distant from the city on the river side. But after the battle of Almanza, when the duke of Orleans came as Generalissimo of the Spanish and French army, he thought that place necessary to put a strong garrison in; so he made the marquis de Torcy governor of the fort of Aljazeera, and turned out the Inquisitors; who being obliged, by force, to quit their apartments, took a large house near the Carmelites convent: but two months after, finding that the place was not safe enough to keep the prisoners in, they removed to the palace of the earl of Tucens, in the great street called Coso, out of which they were turned by Monsieur de Legal, as I shall tell by and by.

A form of their public trial.

If a trial is to be made publicly in the hall of the holy office, the Inquisitors summon two priests out of every parish church, and two regular priests out of every convent? All the qualificators and familiares that are in the city: the sheriff, and all the under of-

ficers: The Secretary, and three inquisitors: All the aforesaid meet at the common hall on the day appointed for the trial, at ten in the morning. The hall is hung in black, without any windows, or light, but what comes in through the door. At the front there is an image of our Saviour on the cross, under a black velvet canopy, and six candlesticks with six thick yellow wax candles on the altar's table: On one side there is a pulpit, with another candle, where the secretary reads the crimes; three chairs for the three inquisitors, and round about the hall, seats and chairs for the summoned priests, friars, familiares, and other officers.

When the inquisitors are come in, an under officer crieth out, Silence, silence, silence; the holy fathers are coming, and from that very time, till all is over, no body speaks nor spits, and the thought of the place puts every body under respect, fear and attention. The holy fathers, with their hats on their heads, and serious countenances, go, and kneeling down before the altar, the first inquisitor begins to give out, *Veni Creator Spiritus, Mentis tuorum visita, &c.* And the congregation sing the rest, and the collect being said by him also, every body sits down. The secretary then goes up to the pulpit, and the holy father rings a small silver bell, which is the signal for bringing in the criminal. What is done afterwards will be known by the following trials and instances, at which I was present, being one of the youngest priests of the cathedral, and therefore obliged to go to those dismal tragedies; in which, the first thing, after the criminal comes in, and kneels down before the inquisitors, who receives a severe, bitter correction from the first inquisitor, who measures it according to the nature of the crimes committed by the criminal; of all which, to the best of my memory, I will give an account in the first trial.

Trial I.

Of the Reverend father, Joseph Silvestrian friar; and the mother Mary of Jer

the monastery of Epila, of Franciscan nuns. Father Joseph was a tall lusty man, 40 years of age, and had been 12 years professor of philosophy and divinity in the great convent of St. Francis.* Sor Mary was 32 years old, mighty witty, and of an agreeable countenance. These two criminals were drest in brown gowns, painted all over with flames of fire, representing hell, a thick rope tied about their necks, and yellow wax candles in their hands. Both, in this dull appearance, came and prostrated themselves at the inquisitors feet, and the first holy father began to correct them in the following words :

Unworthy creatures, how can our Catholic Roman faith be preserved pure, if those who, by their office and ministry, ought to recommend its observance in the most earnest manner, are not only the first, but the greatest transgressors of it? Thou that teachest another not to steal, not to commit fornication, dost thou steal, and commit sacrilege, which is worse than fornication? In these things we could shew you pity and compassion; but as to the transgressions of the express commandments of our church, and the respect due to us the judges of the holy tribunal, we cannot; therefore your sentence is pronounced by these holy fathers of pity and compassion, lord inquisitors, as you shall hear now, and afterwards undergo.

Sor Mary was in a flood of tears, but father Joseph, who was a learned man, with great boldness and assurance, said, what, do you call yourselves holy fathers of pity and compassion? I say unto you, that you are three devils on earth, fathers of all manner of mischief barbarity and lewdness. No inquisitors were ever treated at such a rate before, and we were thinking that fryar Joseph was to suffer fire, for this high affront to them. But Don Pedro Guerrero, first judge, though a severe, haughty, passionate man, order-

* Sor is a title given to the nuns, which answers to Sister, as come from the Latin Sorore.

ed only a gag, or bit of a bridle to be put in his mouth, but fryar Joseph flying into a fury, said, I despise all your torments, for my crimes are not against you, but against God, who is the only judge of my conscience, and you do yet worse things, &c.

The inquisitors ordered to carry him to prison, while the crimes and sentence were reading. So he was carried in, and the nun with great humility heard the accusation and sentence.

The secretary, by order, began to read, 1st. That fryar Joseph was made father confessor and Sor Mary mother abbess. That in the beginning they shewed a great example of humility and virtue to the nuns; but afterwards, all this zeal of theirs appeared to be mere hypocrisy, and a cover for their wicked actions; for as she had a grate in the wall of fryar Joseph's room, they both did eat in private, and fast in public: that the said fryar Joseph was found in bed with Sor Mary by such a nun, and that she was found with child, and took a remedy to prevent the public proof of it. That both fryar Joseph and Sor Mary had robbed the treasure of the convent, and that one day they were contriving how to go away into another country, and that they had spoken in an irreverent manner of the pope and inquisitors.

This was the whole accusation against them, which friar Joseph and Sor Mary had denied before, saying, it was only hatred and malice of the informers against them, and desired the witnesses to be produced before them; but this being against the custom of the holy office, the holy fathers had pronounced the sentence; viz. That fryar Joseph should be deprived of all the honors of his order, and of active and passive voice, and be removed to a country convent, and be whipped three times a week, for the space of six weeks. That Sor Mary should be deprived of her abbacy, and removed into another monastery: this punishment being only for their audacious and unres

pectful manner of talking against the pope and inquisitors.

Indeed, by this sentence we did believe, that the crimes they were charged with, were only an invention of the malicious nuns; but poor fryar Joseph suffered for his indiscretion, for though the next day the inquisitors gave out that he escaped out of prison, we really believed he had been strangled in the inquisition.

This was the first trial I was present at, and the second was that of Mary Guerrero and fryar Michael Navarro, of which I have given an account in the chapter of Auricular confession. After these two trials, the inquisitors were turned out by Monsieur de Legal, and for eight months we had no inquisition. How this thing happened, is worthy of observation, therefore I shall give a particular account of it, that I may not deprive the public of so pleasant a story.

In 1706, after the battle of Almanza, the Spanish army being divided in two bodies, one through the kingdom of Valencia, to the frontiers of Catalonia, commanded by the duke of Berwick, the other composed of the French auxiliary troops, 14,000 in number, went to the conquest of Arragon, whose inhabitants had declared themselves for king Charles III. The body of French troops was commanded by his highness the duke of Orleans, who was the generalissimo of the whole army. Before he came near the city, the magistrates went to meet him, and offered the keys of the city, but he refused them, saying, he was to enter it through a breach; and so he did, treating the people as rebels to their lawful king: And when he had ordered all the civil and military affairs of the city, he went down to the frontiers of Catalonia, leaving his lieutenant-general, Monsieur de Jofreville, governor of the town. But this governor being a mild tempered man, was loth to follow the orders left with him to the contribution money: So he was called to the army, and the lieutenant-general, Monsieur de Legal,

came in his place. The city was to pay 1,000 crowns a month, for the duke's table, and every house a pistole, which by computation made the sum of 18,000 pistoles a month, which were paid eight months together; besides this, the convents were to pay a donative, or gift, proportionable to their rents. The college of Jesuits were charged 2,000 pistoles; the Dominicans 1,000, Augustins 1,000, Carmelites 1,000, &c. Monsieur de Legal sent first to the Jesuits, who refused to pay, saying, it was against the ecclesiastical immunity: But Legal, not acquainted with those sort of excuses, sent four companies of grenadiers to quarter in their college at discretion: The Father sent immediately an express to the King's Father Confessor, who was a Jesuit, with complaints about the case: But the grenadiers did make more expedition in their plundering, and mischief, than the Courier did in his journey. So the Fathers seeing the damage all their goods had already received, and fearing some violence upon their treasure, went to pay Monsieur Legal the 2000 pistoles as a Donative.

Next to this he sent to the Dominicans. The Friars of this order are all Familiares of the holy office, and depending upon it, they did excuse themselves in a civil manner, saying, they had no money, and if Monsieur de Legal, had a mind to insist upon the demand of the 1000 pistoles they could not pay them, without sending to him the silver bodies of the saints. The Friars thought by this to frighten Monsieur de Legal, and if he was so resolute, as to accept the offer, to send the saints in a procession, and raise the people, crying out *Heresy, Heresy*. De Legal answered to the Friars, that he was obliged to obey the Duke's orders, and so he would receive the silver saints: So the Friars all in a solemn procession, and with lighted candles in their hands, carried the saints to the Governor Legal: And as soon as he heard of this public devotion of the Friars, he ordered immediately four companies of grenadiers to line the streets

on both sides, before his house, and to keep their faces in one hand, and a lighted candle in the other, to receive the saints with the same devotion and veneration. And though the Friars endeavoured to raise the people, no body was so bold as to expose themselves to the army, there being left 8 regiments to keep the mob under fear and subjection. Legal received the saints, and sent them to the mint, promising to the Father Prior to give him what remained above the 1000 pistoles. The Friars being disappointed in their project of raising the people, went to the Inquisitors to desire them to release immediately their saints out of the mint, by excommunicating Monsieur de Legal, which the Inquisitors did upon the spot; and the excommunication being drawn and signed, they gave strict orders to their secretary to go and read it before Monsieur de Legal, which he did accordingly: And Monsieur the Governor, far from flying into a passion, with a mild countenance took the paper from the secretary, and said; pray, tell your masters, the Inquisitors, that I will answer them tomorrow morning. The Secretary went away fully satisfied with Legal's civil behaviour. The same minute, as if he was inspired by the holy spirit, without reflecting upon any consequence, he called his own Secretary, he bid him draw a copy of the excommunication, putting out the name of Legal, and inserting in its place, *the holy Inquisitors*. The next morning he gave orders for four regiments to be ready, and sent them along with his Secretary to the Inquisition, with command to read the excommunication to the Inquisitors themselves, and if they made the least noise, to turn them out, open all the prisons and quarter two regiments there. He was not afraid of the people, for the Duke took away all the arms from every individual person. And on pain of death, commanded that nobody should keep but a short sword; and besides, four regiments were under arms, to prevent all sorts of tumults and disturbance: So his Se-

cretary went and performed the Governor's orders.— The Inquisitors were never more surprised than to see themselves excommunicated by a man that had no authority for it, and resenting it, they began to cry out, *War against the Heretic de Legal*; this is a public insult against our Catholic faith. To which the Secretary answered, *Holy Inquisitors*, the King wants this house to quarter his troops in, so walk out immediately: And as they continued in their exclamations, he took the Inquisitors, with a strong guard, and carried them to a private house destined for them; but when they saw the laws of military discipline, they begged leave to take their goods along with them, which was immediately granted; and the next day they set out for Madrid, to complain to the King; who gave them this slight answer, I am very sorry for it, but I cannot help it; my crown is in danger, and my grandfather defends it, and this is done by his troops; if it had been done by my troops, I should apply a speedy remedy: But you must have patience till things take another turn. So the Inquisitors were obliged to have patience for eight months.

The Secretary of Monsieur de Legal, according to his orders, opened the doors of all the prisons, and then the wickednesses of the Inquisitors were detected. for four hundred prisoners got liberty that day, and among them sixty young women were found very well drest, who were, in all human appearance, the number of the three Inquisitors, *Seraglio*, as some of them did own afterwards. But this discovery, so dangerous to the holy tribunal, was in some measure prevented by the Archbishop, who went to desire Monsieur de Legal to send those women to his palace, and that his Grace would take care of them; and that in the mean time, he ordered an ecclesiastical censure to be published against those that should defame, by groundless reports, the holy office of the Inquisition. The Governor answered to his Grace, he would give him all the assistance for it he could;

but as to the young women it was not in his power, the officers having hurried them away; and indeed it was not: for as it is not to be supposed that the Inquisitors, having the absolute power to confine in their *Scruglio* whomsoever they had a fancy for, would choose ordinary girls, but the best and handsomest of the city: So the French officers were all so glad of getting such fine mistresses, that they immediately took them away, knowing very well they would follow them to the end of the world, for fear of being confined again. In my travels in France afterwards, I met with one of those women at Rotohfort, in the same inn I went to lodge in that night, who had been brought there by the son of the master of the inn, formerly Lieutenant in the French service in Spain, who had married her for her extraordinary beauty and good parts. She was the daughter of Counsellor Ballabriga, and I knew her before she was taken up by the Inquisitors' orders; but we thought she was stolen by some officer; for this was given out by her Father, who died of grief and vexation, without the comfort of opening his trouble, nay, even to his Confessor; so great is the fear of the Inquisitors there.

I was very glad to meet one of my country-women in my travels, and as she did not remember me, and especially in my then disguise, I was then taken for nothing but an officer. I resolved to stay there the next day, to have the satisfaction of conversing with her, and have a plain account of what we could not know in Saragosa, for fear of incurring the ecclesiastical censure, published by the Archbishop. Now my conversation with her being *a propos*, and necessary to discover the rognery of the Inquisitors, it seems proper to divert the reader with it.

Mr. Fauleant, my country-woman's husband, was then at Paris, upon some pretensions, and though her father and mother-in-law were continually at home, did not mistrust me, I being a countryman of daughter-in-law, who freely came to my room

at any time, and as I was desiring her not to expose herself to any uneasiness on my account; she answered me, Captain, we are now in France, not in Saragosa, and we enjoy here all manner of freedom without going beyond the limits of sobriety; so you may be easy in that point, for my father and mother-in-law have ordered me to be obliging to you, nay, and to beg the favour of you to take your repose here this week, if your business permit it, and to be pleased to accept this their small entertainment on free-cost, as a token of their esteem to me, and my country gentleman. If it had not been for my continual fear of being discovered, I would have accepted the proposition; so I thanked her, and begged her to return my hearty acknowledgment to the gentleman and lady of the house, and that I was very sorry, that my pressing business, at Paris, would prevent and hinder me to enjoy so agreeable company: But if my business was soon despatched at Paris, then, at my return, I would make a halt there, may-be for a fortnight. Mrs. Faulcaut was very much concerned at my haste to go away: But she did make me promise to come back again that way: So amidst these compliments, from one to another, supper came in, and we went to it, the old man and woman, their daughter and I; none but Mrs. Faulcaut could speak Spanish, so she was my interpreter, for I could not speak French. After-supper, the landlord and landlady left us alone, and I began to beg of her the favor to tell me the accident of her prison, of her sufferings in the Inquisition, and of every thing relating to the holy office, and fear not (said I) for we are in France, and not in Saragosa; here is no Inquisition, so you may safely open your heart to a countryman of yours. I will, with all my heart, said she, and to satisfy your curiosity, I shall begin with the occasion of my imprisonment, which was as follows:

I went one day with my mother to visit the Countess of Attarass, and I met there Don Francisco Ter-

rejon, her Confessor, and second Inquisitor of the holy office: After we had drunk chocolate, he asked me my age, and my Confessor's name, and so many intricate questions about religion, that I could not answer him: His serious countenance did frighten me, and as he perceived my fear, he desired the Countess to tell me, that he was not so severe as I took him to be; after which he caressed me in the most obliging manner in the world; he gave me his hand, which I kissed with great respect and modesty, and when he went away, he told me, my dear child, I shall remember you till the next time. I did not mind the sense of the words; for I was unexperienced in matters of gallantry, being only fifteen years old at that time. Indeed he did remember me, for the very night following, when we were in bed, hearing a hard knocking at the door, the maid that lay in the same room where my bed was, went to the window and asking who is there? I heard say, The holy Inquisition. I could not forbear crying out: Father, father, I am ruined for ever. My dear father got up, and inquiring what the matter was, I answered him, with tears, the Inquisition; and he, for fear that the maid should not open the door as quick as such a case required, went himself, as another Abraham, to open the door, and to offer his dear daughter to the fire of the Inquisitors, and as I did not cease to cry out, as if I was a mad girl, my dear father, all in tears, did put in my mouth a bit of a bridle, to shew his obedience to the holy office, and his zeal for the Catholic faith, for he thought I had committed some crime against religion; so the officers giving me but time to put on my petticoat and a mantle, took me down into the coach, and without giving me the satisfaction of embracing my dear father and mother, they carried me into the inquisition: I did expect to die that very night; but when they carried me into a noble room, well furnished, and an excellent bed in it, I was to surprised. The officers left me there, and im-

mediately a maid came in with a salver of sweetmeats and cinnamon-water, desiring me to take some refreshment before I went to bed : I told her I could not ; but that I should be obliged to her, if she could tell me whether I was to die that night or not ? Die (said she) you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want nothing in the world but the liberty of going out ; and now pray mind nothing, but to go to bed, and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house, and as I am chosen to be your waiting-maid, I hope you will be very kind to me. I was going to ask her some questions, but she told me, madam, I have not leave to tell you any thing else till to-morrow, only that no body shall come to disturb you ; and now I am going about some business, and I will come back presently, for my bed is in the closet near your bed : So she left me there for a quarter of an hour. The great amazement I was in, took away all my senses, or the free exercise of them, for I had not liberty to think of my parents, nor of grief, nor of the danger that was so near me : So in this suspension of thought, the waiting-maid came and locked the chamber door after her, and told me, madam, let us go to bed, and only tell me at what time in the morning you will have the chocolate ready ? I asked her name, and she told me it was Mary. Mary, for God's sake (said I) tell me whether I come to die or not ? I have told you, madam, that you come, she said, to live as one of the happiest creatures in the world. And as I observed her reservedness, I did not ask her any more questions : So recommending myself to God Almighty, and to our lady of Pilar, and preparing myself to die, I went to bed, but could not sleep one minute. I was up with the day, but Mary slept till six of the clock : Then she got up, and wondering to see me up, she said to me, pray madam, will you drink chocolate now ? Do what you please (said I,) then she left me half an hour alone, and she came back with a silver plate with two cups

of chocolate and some biscuits on it. I drank one cup, and desired her to drink the other, which she did.— Well, Mary, said I, can you give me any account of the reason of my being here? Not yet, madam, said she, but only have patience for a little while. With this answer she left me, and an hour after came again with two baskets, with a fine holland shift, a holland under petticoat, with fine lace round it: Two silk petticoats and a little Spanish waistcoat, with a gold fringe all over it: With combs and ribbons, and every thing suitable to a lady of higher quality than I: But my greatest surprise was to see a gold snuff-box with the picture of Don Francisco Torrejon in it. Then I soon understood the meaning of my confinement. So I considered with myself, that to refuse the present would be the occasion of my immediate death, and to accept of it was to give him, even on the first day, too great encouragement against my honor. But I found, as I thought then a medium in the case; so I said, Mary, pray give my service to Don Francisco Torrejon, and tell him, that as I could not bring my clothes with me last night, honesty permits me to accept of these clothes which are necessary to keep me decent; but since I take no snuff, I beg his Lordship to excuse me, if I do not accept this box. Mary went to him with this answer, and came again with a picture nicely set in gold, with four diamonds at the four corners of it, and told me, that his Lordship was mistaken, and that he desired me to accept that picture, which would be a great favor to him; and while I was thinking with myself what to do, Mary said to me, pray, madam, take my poor advice, accept the picture, and every thing that he sends to you; for consider, that if you do not consent and comply with every thing he has a mind for, you will soon be put to death, and no body will defend you; but if you are obliging and kind to him, he is a very complaisant and agreeable gentleman, and will be a charming lover, and you will be here like a Queen,

and he will give you another apartment, with a fine garden, and many young ladies shall come to visit you : So I advise you to send a civil answer to him, and desire a visit from him ; or else you will soon begin to repent yourself. O dear God, said I, must I abandon my honor without any remedy ! If I oppose his desire, he by force will obtain it ; so, full of confusion, I bid Mary to give him what answer she thought fit : She was very glad of my humble submission, and went to give Don Francisco my answer. She came back a few minutes after, all overjoyed, to tell me that his Lordship would honor me with his company at supper, and that he could not come sooner on account of some business that called him abroad ; but in the mean time desired me to mind nothing, but how to divert myself, and to give to Mary my measure for a suit of clothes, and order her to bring me every thing I could wish for ; Mary added to this, madam, I may call you now my mistress, and must tell you, that I have been in the holy office these fourteen years, and I know the customs of it very well, but because silence is imposed upon me under pain of death, I cannot tell you any thing but what concerns your person ; so, in the first place, do not oppose the holy Father's will and pleasure : *Secondly*, if you see some young ladies here, never ask them the occasion of their being here, nor any thing of their business, neither will they ask you any thing of this nature, and take care not to tell them any thing of your being here ; you may come and divert yourself with them at such hours as are appointed ; you shall have music, and all sorts of recreations ; three days hence you shall dine with them, they are all ladies of quality, young and merry, and this is the best of lives, you will not long for going abroad, you will be so well diverted at home ; and when your time is expired, then the holy Fathers will send you out of this court and marry you to some nobleman. N-----
the name of Don Francisco, nor your

If you see here some young ladies of your acquaintance in the city, they never will take notice of your formerly knowing each other, though they will talk with you of indifferent matters, so take care not to speak any thing of your family.

All these things together made me astonished, or rather stupified, and the whole seemed to me a piece of enchantment; so that I could not imagine what to think of it. With this lesson she left me, and told me she was going to order my dinner, and every time she went out, she locked the door after her. There were but two high windows in my chamber, and I could see nothing through them, but examining the room all over, I found a closet with all sorts of historical and profane books, and every thing necessary for writing. So I spent my time till the dinner came in, reading some diverting amorous stories, which was a great satisfaction to me. When Mary came with the things for the table, I told her that I was inclined to sleep, and that I would rather sleep than go to dinner, so she asked me whether she should awaken me or not, and at what time? Two hours hence (said I,) so I lay down and fell asleep, which was a great refreshment to me. At the time fixed she wakened me, and I went to dinner, at which was every thing that could satisfy the most nice appetite. After dinner she left me alone, and told me, if I wanted any thing I might ring the bell and call: So I went to the closet again, and spent three hours in reading.— I think really I was under some enchantment, for I was in a perfect suspension of thought, so as to remember neither father nor mother, for this run least in my mind, and what was at that time most in it. I do not know. Mary came and told me, that Don Francisco was come home, and that she thought he would come to see me very soon, and begged of me to prepare myself to receive him with all manner of kindness. At seven in the evening Don Francisco came, in his night-gown and night-cap, not with the

gravity of an inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer. He saluted me with great respect and civility, and told me he had designed to keep me company at supper, but could not that night, having some business of consequence to finish in his closet; and that his coming to see me was only out of the respect he had for my family, and to tell me at the same time, that some of my lovers had procured my ruin forever, accusing me in matters of religion; that the informations were taken, and the sentence pronounced against me, to be burnt alive, in a dry pan, with a gradual fire; but that he, out of pity and love to my family, had stopped the execution of it. Each of these words was a mortal stroke on my heart, and knowing not what I was doing, I threw myself at his feet, and said, Seignior, have you stopped the execution forever? That only belongs to you to stop it, or not, (said he) and with this he wished me a good night. As soon as he went away, I fell a crying, but Mary came and asked me what obliged me to cry so bitterly? Ah! Good Mary, said I, pray tell me what is the meaning of the dry pan, and gradual fire? For I am in expectation of nothing but death, and that by it. O, pray never fear, you will see another day the pan and gradual fire; but they are made for those that oppose the holy fathers' will, not for you, who are so ready to obey them. But, pray, was Don Francisco very civil and obliging? I do not know (said I) for his discourse has put me out of my wits; that I know that he saluted me with respect and civility, but he has left me abruptly; well (said Mary) you do not know him, he is the most obliging man in the world, if people are civil with him, and if not, he is as unmerciful as Nero, and so for your own preservation, take care to oblige him in all respects; now, pray go to supper, and be easy. I was so much troubled in mind with the thoughts of the dry pan and gradual fire, that I could neither eat nor sleep that night. Early in the morning Mary

told me, that nobody was yet up in the house, and that she would shew me the dry pan and gradual fire, on condition, that I should keep it secret for her sake, and my own too; which I having promised her, she took me along with her, and shewed me a dark room with a thick iron door, and within it an oven, and a large brass pan upon it, with a cover of the same, and a lock to it, the oven was burning at that time, and I asked Mary for what use that pan was there? And she, without giving me any answer, took me by the hand, out of that place, and carried me into a large room, where she shewed me a thick wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards, and opening a little window, in the centre of it, desired me to look with a candle on the inside of it, and I saw all the circumference of the wheel set with sharp rasors. After that, she shewed me a pit, full of serpents and toads. Then she said to me, now, my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things. The dry pan and gradual fire are for hereticks, and those that oppose the holy father's will and pleasure, for they are put all naked and alive into the pan, and the cover of it being locked up, the executioner begins to put in the oven a small fire, and by degrees he augmenteth it till the body is burnt into ashes. The second is designed for those that speak against the pope, and the holy fathers; and they are put within the wheel, and the door being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till the person is dead. And the third is for those that contemn the images, and refuse to give the due respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons, for they are thrown into the pit, and there they become the food of serpents and toads.

Then Mary said to me, that another day she would shew me torments for public sinners, and transgressors of the five commandments of our holy mother the church; so I, in a deep amazement, desired Mary to shew me no more places, for the very thoughts of those three, which I had seen, were enough to ter-

rify me to the heart.—So we went to my room, and she charged me again to be very obedient to all the commands Don Francisco should give me, or to be assured, if I did not, that I was to undergo the torment of the dry pan. Indeed I conceived such an horror for the gradual fire, that I was not mistress of my senses, nay, nor of my thoughts: So I told Mary that I would follow her advice, and grant Don Francisco every thing he would desire of me. If you are in that disposition (said she) leave off all fears and apprehensions, and expect nothing but pleasure and satisfaction, and all manner of recreation, and you shall begin to experience some of these things this very day. Now let me dress you, for you must go to wish a good morrow to Don Francisco; and to breakfast with him. I thought really this was a great honor to me, and some comfort to my troubled mind; so I made all the haste I could, and Mary conveyed me through a gallery into Don Francisco's apartment. He was still in bed, and desired me to sit down by him, and ordered Mary to bring the chocolate two hours after, and with this she left me alone with Don Francisco, who immediately, ardently declaring his inclinations, I had not the liberty to make any excuse, so by extinguishing the fire of his passion, I was free from the gradual fire and dry pan, which was all that then troubled my mind. When Mary came with the chocolate, I was much ashamed to be seen with him in bed, but she coming to the bed side where I was, and kneeling down, paid me homage as if I was a queen; and served me first with a cup of chocolate, still on her knees, and bade me to give another cup to Don Francisco myself, which he received mighty graciously, and having drunk up the chocolate, she went out; we discoursed for a while of various things, but I never spoke a word but when he desired me to answer him: So at ten of the clock, Mary came again, and dressing me, she desired me to go along with her, and leaving Don Francisco in bed, she carried me in-

to another chamber very delightful, and better furnished than the first; for the windows of it were lower, and I had the pleasure of seeing the river and gardens on the other side out of it. Then Mary told me, madam, the young ladies of this house will come before dinner to welcome you, and make themselves happy in the honor of your company, and will take you to dine with them. Pray remember the advices I have given you already, and do not make yourself unhappy by asking useless questions. She had not finished these words, when I saw entering my apartment, (which consisted of a large anti-chamber and a bed-chamber with two large closets) a troop of young beautiful ladies, finely drest, who all, one after another, came to embrace me, and to wish me joy. My senses were in a perfect suspension, and I could not speak a word, nor answer their kind compliments: But one of them seeing me so silent, said to me, madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to be in our company, and feel the pleasures of our amusements and recreations, you will quit your pensive thoughts: Now we beg of you the honor to come and dine with us to day, and henceforth three days in a week. I thanked them, and we went to dinner. That day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, and were served with delicate fruits and sweet meats. The room was very long, with two tables on each side, another at the front of it, and I reckoned in it that day 52 young ladies, the oldest of them not exceeding 24 years of age; Six maids served the whole number of us, but my Mary waited on me alone at dinner: After dinner we went up stairs into a long gallery, all round about with lattice-windows; where, some of us playing on instruments of music, others playing at cards, and others walking about, we spent three hours together. At last, Mary came up, ringing a small bell, which was the signal to retire into our rooms, as they told me; but Mary to the whole company, ladies, to day is a day of

recreation, so you may go into what room you please, until eight o'clock, and then you are to go into your own chambers: So they all desired leave to go with me to my apartment, to spend the time there, and I was very glad that they preferred my chamber to another; so all going down together, we found in my anti-chamber a table, with all sorts of sweet-meats upon it, iced cinnamon water, and almonds milk, and the like, every one ate and drank, but no body spoke a word, touching the sumptuousness of the table, nor mentioned any thing concerning the inquisition of the holy fathers. So we spent our time in merry, indifferent conversation, till eight o'clock. Then every one retired to their own room, and Mary told me, that Don Francisco did wait for me, so we went to his apartment, and supper being ready, we both alone sat at table, attended by my maid only. After supper Mary went away, and we to bed, and next morning she served us with chocolate, which we drank in bed, and then slept till ten o'clock. Then we got up, and my waiting maid carried me into my chamber, where I found ready, two suits of clothes, of a rich brocade, and every thing else, suitable to a lady of the first rank. I put on one, and when I was quite dressed, the young ladies came to wish me a good morrow, all dressed in different clothes, and better than the day before, and we spent the second and third days in the same recreation; Don Francisco continued also with me in the same manner. But the third morning, after drinking chocolate in bed, as the custom was for Don Francisco and me, Mary told me, that a lady was waiting for me in the other room, and desired me to get up, with an haughty look, and Don Francisco saying nothing, I then got up and left him in bed. I thought that it was to give me some new comfort and diversion; but I was very much mistaken, for Mary conveyed me into a young lady's room not eight feet long, which was a perfect prison, and there, before the lady, told me, Madam, this is your room, and this young lady

your bedfellow and comrad, and left me there with this unkind command. O Heaven's! thought I, what is this that has happened to me? I fancied myself out of grief, and I perceived now the beginning of my vexation. What is this, dear lady? (said I) is this an enchanted palace, or an hell upon earth? I have lost father and mother, and what is worse, I have lost my honor, and my soul forever. My new companion, seeing me like a mad woman, took me by the hands, and said to me, dear sister (for this is the name I will give you henceforth) leave off your crying, leave off your grief and vexation; for you can do nothing by such extravagant complaints, but heap coals of fire upon your head, or rather under your body. Your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece: You suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you; but we are not allowed to show our grief, for fear of greater evils: Pray take good courage, and hope in God; for he will find some way or other to deliver us out of this hellish place; but above all things, take care not to shew any uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument of our torments, or comfort, and have patience till we go to bed, and then without any fear, I will tell you more of the matter. We do not dine with the other ladies to day, and may be we shall have an opportunity of talking before night, which I hope will be of some comfort to you. I was in a most desperate condition, but my new sister Leonora (this was her name) prevailed so much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before Mary came again, to bring our dinner, which was very different from that I had three days before. After dinner, another maid came to take away the platter and knife, for we had but one for us both, so locked up the door.

Now, my sister, said she, we need not fear being disturbed all this night: So I may safely instruct you, if you will promise me, upon the hopes of salvation, not to reveal the secret, while you are in this place, & things I shall tell you. I threw myself down

at her feet, and promised secrecy. Then she began to say: My dear sister, you think it a hard case that has happened to you, I assure you all the ladies in this house have already gone through the same, and in time you shall know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose that Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant she has shown to you some horrible places, though not all, and that at the only thought of them, you were so much troubled in your mind, that you have chosen the same way we did to get some ease in our heart. By what has happened to us we know that Don Francisco has been your *Nero*; for the three colours of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy Fathers: The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Guerrero, and the green to Aliaga. For they use to give the three first days these colours to those ladies that they bring for their use. We are strictly commanded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry three days, when a young lady comes here; as we did with you, and you must do with others: But after it we live like prisoners, without seeing any living soul but the six maids, and Mary, who is the house-keeper.— We dine all of us, in the hall, three days a week, and three days in our rooms. When any of the holy fathers have a mind for one of his slaves, Mary comes for her at nine of the clock, and conveyeth her to his apartment: But, as they have so many, the turn comes, may-be once in a month, except for those who have the honor to give them more satisfaction than ordinary, those are sent for often. Some nights Mary leaves the door of our rooms open, and that is a sign that some of the fathers have a mind to come that night, but he comes in so silent that we do not know whether he is our own patron or not. If one of us happen to be with child, she is removed to a better chamber, and she sees no person but the maid till she is delivered. The child is sent away, and we do not know

where it is gone. Mary does not suffer quarrels between us, for if one happens to be troublesome she is bitterly chastised for it: So we are always under a continual fear. I have been in this house these six years, and I was not fourteen years of age, when the officers took me from my father's house, and I have been brought to bed but once. We are at present fifty-two young ladies, and we lose every year six or eight, but we do not know where they are sent; but at the same time we get new ones, and sometimes I have seen here seventy-three ladies. All our continual torment is to think, and with great reason, that when the holy fathers are tired of one, they put her to death; for they never will run the hazard of being discovered in these misdemeanors: So, though we cannot oppose their commands, and therefore we commit these enormities, yet we still fervently pray God and his blessed Mother to forgive us them, since it is against our wills we do them, and to preserve us from death in this house. So, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, and put your trust in God, who will be our only defender and deliverer.

This discourse of Leonora did ease me in some measure, and I found every thing as she had told me: And so we lived together eighteen months, in which time we lost eleven ladies, and we got nineteen new ones. I knew all their stories, which I cannot tell you to-night, but if you will be so kind as to stay here this week, you will not think your time lost, when you come to know them all. I did promise her to stay that week, with a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction; but though it was very late, and the people of the house were retired, I begged her to make an end of the story concerning herself, which she did in the following manner: After the eighteen months, one night, Mary came and ordered us to follow her, and going down stairs, she bade us go into a coach, and this we thought the last day of our lives. We went out of the house, but where, we did not

know, and were put in another house, which was worse than the first, where we were confined several months, without seeing any of the Inquisitors, or Mary, or any of our companions: And in the same manner we were removed from that house to another, where we continued till we were miraculously delivered by the French officers. Mr. Faulcaut, happily for me, did open the door of my room, and as soon as he saw me, he began to shew me much civility, and took me and Leonora along with him, to his lodgings, and after he heard my whole story, and fearing that things would turn to our disadvantage, he ordered the next day, to send us to his father. We were drest in men's clothes, to go the more safely, and so we came to this house, where I was kept for two years, as the daughter of the old man, till Mr. Faulcaut's regiment being broke, he came home, and two months after married me. Leonora was married to another officer, and they live in Orleans, which being in your way to Paris, I do not question but you will pay her a visit. Now my husband is at court, soliciting a new commission, and he will be very glad of your acquaintance, if he has not left Paris before you go to it.— Thus ended our first entertainment the first night.

I stayed there afterwards twelve days, in which she told me the stories of all the young ladies, which Leonora did repeat to me, without any alteration, as to the substantial points of them: But these diverting accounts, containing some particular circumstances, touching the horrible procedure of that tribunal. but more especially, being full of amorous intrigues, I think fit not to insert them here, but to give them in a separate book, to the public, if desired; for as I have many other things to say, touching the corruptions of the Romish Priests, these accounts may be inserted there, to shew the ill practices and corruptions of the Inquisitors. So I proceed to speak of the new quarters of the French troops, in the inquisition, and of the restoration of the holy fathers into it, and afterwards I will go on with the instances of the public trials.

When the Marquis de Taurcey was chosen Governor of the fort of Aljaferia, where formerly the holy office was kept, he put a strong garrison into it, the holy fathers were obliged to remove and take away their prisoners, but they did wall all the doors of their secret prisons, where they used to keep the hellish engines, so we could not then know any thing of their barbarity in the punishing of innocents ; and I think, that as they did consider themselves as unsettled, and being in hopes to recover again the former place, they did not move their inhuman instruments of torment, so there were none found in the last house, when they were turned out : Nay, among so great a number of prisoners, delivered out of it, we could converse with none of them : For as soon as they got out, for fear of a new order from the King, or Pope, they made their escape out of the country, and they were very much in the right of it, for the inquisition is a place to be very much feared, and not to be tried a second time, if one can help it.

At last, after eight months reprieve, the same inquisitors came again with more power than before, for Don Pedro Guerrero, first inquisitor, was chosen by Pope, at King Philip's request, ecclesiastical judge for priests, friars and nuns, to examine and punish crimes of disaffection to his Majesty : So, for a while, he was Pope, King, and Tyrant. The first thing he did was to give the public an account of the crimes, for which all the prisoners, that had been delivered, were confined in the inquisition, to vindicate this way the honor of the three Inquisitors, commanding, at the same time, all sorts of persons to discover, and secure any of the said prisoners, under pain of death. This proclamation was a thing never before heard of, and we may say, that *satisfactio non petita, generat suspicionem* : For really, by this, they did declare themselves guilty of what was charged on them, in relation to the Scraglio, in the opinion of serious, sensible people. But every body was terrified by the said

proclamation, and none dared to say any thing about it.

The unmerciful Guerrero, like a roaring lion, began to devour all sorts of people, shewing, by this, his great affection to the King, and fervent zeal for the Pope; for, under pretence of their being disaffected to his Majesty, he confined, and that publicly, near three hundred friars, and one hundred and fifty priests, and a great number of the laity. Next to this, he made himself master of their estates, which were sold publicly, being bought by the good loyal subjects. He did suspend, *ab officio and beneficio*, many secular Priests, and banished them out of the dominions of Spain; whipt others publicly, banished and whipt Friars, and took the liberty insolently to go into the monastery of the Nuns of St. Lucia, and whipt six of them, for being affected to Charles the III. and he imprisoned Dona Catherina Cavoro, only for being the head of the imperial faction. But observe, that this whipping of the Nuns, is only giving them a discipline; i. e. so many strokes with a rod on the shoulders; but Guerrero was so impudent and barefaced a Nero, that commanding the poor nuns to turn their habits backwards, and discover their shoulders, he himself was the executioner of this unparalleled punishment.

As to the laity that were put into the Inquisition, and whose estates were seized, we did not hear any thing of them, but I am sure they did end their miserable lives in that horrid place. Many of them left a great family behind them, who all were reduced to beggary; for when the heads of them were confined, all the families must suffer with them: And this is the reason, why more than two thousand families left the city, and every thing they had, rather than undergo the miseries of that time, and the cruel persecution of Guerrero: So we may believe, that having so great authority as he had, he soon could recruit his Seraglio.

Though Guerrero was so busy in the affairs of the King, he did not forget the other business concerning

the Catholic faith; so, to make the people sensible of his indefatigable zeal, he begun again to summon priests and friars to new trials, of which I am going to speak:

The trial of a Friar of St. Jerome, organist of the convent in Saragosa.

ALL the summoned persons being together in the hall, the prisoner and a young boy were brought out, and after the first Inquisitor had finished his bitter correction, the secretary read the examinations and sentence, as follows:

Whereas informations were made, and by evidences proved, that Fr. Joseph Peralta has committed the crime of Sodomy, with the present John Romeo, his disciple, which the said Romeo himself owned upon interrogatories of the holy inquisitors: They having an unfeigned regard for the order of St. Jerome, do declare and condemn the said Fr. Joseph Peralta to a year's confinement in his own convent, but that he may assist at the divine service, and celebrate Mass. *Item.* for an example to other like sinners, the holy Fathers declare that the said John is to be whipt through the public streets of the town, and receive at every corner, as it is a custom, five lashes; and that he shall wear a *Coreza*, i. e. a sort of a mitre on his head, feathered all over, as a mark of his crime. Which sentence is to be executed on Friday next, without any appeal.

After the secretary had done, Don Pedro Guerrero did ask Fr. Joseph, whether he had any thing to say against the sentence or not? And he answering, no, the prisoners were carried back to their prisons, and the company was dismissed. Observe the equity of the inquisitors in this case: The boy was but fourteen years of age, under the power of Fr. Joseph, and he was charged with the penalty and punishment, Fr. Joseph did deserve. The poor boy was whipt according to sentence, and died the next day.

The trial of Father Pueyo, Confessor of the Nuns at St. Monica.

THIS criminal had been but six days in the inquisition, before he was brought to hear his sentence, and every thing being performed as before, the Secretary read :

Whereas Father Pueyo has committed fornication with five spiritual daughters (so the Nuns, which confess to the same Confessor continually, are called) which is, besides fornication, sacrilege, and transgression of our commands, and he himself having owned the fact, we therefore declare, that he shall keep his cell for three weeks, and loose his employment, &c.

The inquisitor ask'd him whether he had any thing to say against it : And father Pueyo said, holy father, I remember that when I was chosen father confessor of the nuns of our mother St. Monica, you had a great value for five young ladies of the Monastery, and you sent for me, and begged of me to take care of them ; so I have done, as a faithful servant, and may say unto you *Domine quinque talenta tradidisti me, ecce alia quinque super lucratus sum.* The inquisitors could not forbear laughing at this application of the scripture ; and Don Pedro Guerrero was so well pleased with this answer, that he told him, *you said well : Therefore, Peccata tua remittuntur tibi, nunc vade in pace, and noli amplius peccare.* This was a pleasant trial, and Pueyo was excused from the performance of his penance by this impious jest.

The trial and sentence of the Licentiate Lizondo.

THE secretary read the examinations, evidences and convictions, and the said Lizondo (who was a licentiate, or Master of Arts) himself did own the fact, which was as follows :

The said Lizondo, though an ingenious man, and fit for the sacerdotal function, would not be ordained, giving out that he thought himself unworthy of so

high dignity, as to have every day the Saviour of the world in his hands, after the consecration. And by this feigned humility he began to insinuate himself into the people's opinion, and pass for a religious, godly man, among them. He studied physic, and practised it only with the poor, in the beginning; but being called afterwards, by the rich, and especially by the Nuns, at last he was found out in his wickedness; for he used to give something to make the young ladies sleep, and this way he obtained his lascivious desires. But one of the evidences swore that he had done these things by the help of magic, and that he had used only an incantation, with which he made every body fall asleep: But this he absolutely denied, as an imposition and falsity. We did expect a severe sentence, but it was only that the licentiate was to discover to the inquisitors, on a day appointed by them, the receipt for making the people sleep; and that the punishment to be inflicted on him, was to be referred to the discretion of the holy fathers. We saw him afterwards every day walking in the streets; and this was all his punishment. We must surely believe that such crimes are reckoned but a trifle among them, for very seldom they show any great displeasure or severity to those that are found guilty of them.

Of the order of the Inquisitors to arrest an Horse, and to bring him to the holy office.

THE case well deserves my trouble in giving a full account of it; so I will explain it from the beginning to the end. The Rector of the university of Saragosa has his own officers to arrest the scholars, and punish them if they commit any crime. Among their officers there was one called Guadalaxara, who was mighty officious and troublesome to the collegians or students; for upon the least thing in the world he arrested them. The scholars did not love him at all, and contrived how they should punish him, or to play some comical tricks upon him. At last, some of the

strongest agreed to be at the bottom of the steeple of the university in the evening, and six of them in the belfry, who were to let down a lusty young scholar, tied with a strong rope, at the hearing this word, *War*. So the scholars that were in the yard, and at the bottom of the steeple, picked a quarrel purposely to bring Guadalaxara there, and when he was already among them, arresting one, they cried out, *War*. At which sign the six in the steeple let down the tied scholar, who taking in his arms Guadalaxara, and being pulled up by the six, he carried him up almost 20 feet high, and let him fall down. The poor man was crying out, *O Jesus! the Devil has taken me up*. The students that were at the bottom had instruments of music, and put off their cloaks to receive him in, and as he cried out, *the Devil, the Devil*, the musicians answered him with the instruments, repeating the same words he pronounced himself, and with this, gathering together great numbers of scholars, they took him in the middle, continuing always the music and songs, to prevent, by this, the people's taking notice of it, and every body believed that it was only a mere scholastical diversion: So, with this melody and rejoicings, they carried the troublesome Guadalaxara out of the gates of the city into the field, called the *Burnt Place*, because formerly the heretics were burnt in that field. There was a dead horse, and opening his belly, they tied the poor officer by the hands and legs, and placed him within the horse's belly, which they sewed, leaving the head of Guadalaxara out, under the tale of the horse, and so they went back into the city. How dismal that night was to the poor man, any body may imagine; but yet it was very sweet to him, in comparison to what he suffered in the morning; for the dogs going to eat of the dead horse's flesh, he, for fear they should eat off his head, continually cried out, *ho! ho! perros, i. e. dogs*, and that day he found that not only the scholars, but even the very dogs, were afraid of him, for dogs did not dare to

approach the dead horse. The laborers of the city, who were a most ignorant sort of people, but very pleasant in their rustic expressions, going out to the field, by break of the day, saw the dogs near the horse, and heard the voice, ho! ho! *perros*. They looked up and down, and seeing nobody, drew near the horse, and hearing the same voice, frightened out of their senses, went into the city again, and gave out that a dead horse was speaking in the *burnt field*; and as they affirmed and swore the thing to be true, crowds of people went to see and hear the wonder, or, as many others said, the miracle of a dead horse speaking. A public-notary was among the mob, but no one dared to go near the horse: The notary went to the inquisitors to make affidavit of this case, and added, that no one having courage enough to approach the horse, it was proper to send some of the friars, with holy water and stola, to exorcise the horse, and find out the cause of his speaking. But the inquisitors, who think to command beasts as well as reasonable creatures, sent six of their officers, with strict orders, to carry the horse to the holy office. The officers having an opinion that the devil must submit to them, went, and approaching the horse, they saw the head under the tail, and the poor man crying out, help, take me out of this putrified grave; for God's sake, good people, make haste, for I am not the devil, nor ghost, nor apparition, but the real body and soul of Guadaluaxara, the constable of the university; and I do renounce, in this place, the office of arresting scholars forever; and I do forgive them this wrong done to me, and thanks be to God, and to the virgin of Pilar, who has preserved my body from being converted into a dead horse, that I am alive still.

These plain demonstrations of the nature of the thing did not convince, in the least, the officers of the inquisition, who are always very strict in the performance of the orders given them; so they took the dead horse and carried it to the inquisition. Never

were more people seen in the streets and windows, than on that day, besides the great crowd that followed the corps, which I saw myself; the inquisitors having notice before-hand, went to the hall to receive the informations from the horse, and after they had asked him many questions, the poor man pushed up the tail with his nose, to speak, to see, and to be seen, still answering them; the wise holy fathers trusting not to his information, gave order to the officers to carry the speaking horse to the torture, which being done accordingly, as they begun to turn the ropes through the horse's belly, at the third turning of them the skin of the belly broke, and the real body of Guadalaxara appeared in all his dimensions, and by the horse's torture, he saved his life. The poor man died 3 weeks after, and he forgave the scholars who contrived this mischief, and an elegy was made on his death.

Thesis defended by F. James Garcia, in the hall of the Inquisition.

THE case of the Rev. Father F. James Garcia, made a great noise in Spain, which was thus:

This same James Garcia, is the learned man, of whom I have spoke several times in my book. His Father, though a shoo-maker by trade, was very honest and well beloved, and as God had bestowed on him riches enough, and having but one child, he gave him the best education he could in the college of Jesuits, where, in the study of grammar, he signalized himself for his vivacity, and uncommon wit. After going to the university, he went through philosophy and divinity to the admiration of his masters; he entered St. Augustin's order, and after his noviciate was ended, desired to obtain the degree of master of arts, he defended public thesis of philosophy, and after, other thesis of divinity, without any moderator to answer for him in case of necessity. The thesis and some propositions were quite new to the learned people: For among other propositions, one was,

Innocentium esse verum pontificem, non est de fide, i. e. It is not an article of faith that Innocent is the true Pope. And next to this proposition, this other: *Non credere quod non video, non est contra fidem.* It is not against the Catholic faith not to believe what I do not see.

Upon account of these two propositions, he was summoned by the inquisitors, and ordered to defend the said propositions separately in the hall of the inquisition, and answer for six days together to all the arguments of the learned Qualificators; which he did, and kept his ground, that instead of being punished for it, he was honored with the cross of Qualificator, after the examinations were made of the purity of his blood.

Sentence given against Lawrence Castro, goldsmith of Saragosa.

LAWRENCE CASTRO, was the most famous and wealthy goldsmith in the city, and as he went one day to carry a piece of plate to Don Pedro Guerrero, before he paid him, he had him to go and see the horse along one of his domestic servants, which he did, and seeing nothing but doors of iron, and hearing nothing but lamentations of the people within; having returned to the inquisitor's apartment, Don Pedro asked him, Lawrence, how do you like this place? To which Lawrence said, I do not like it at all, for it seems to me the very hell upon earth. This innocent, but true answer, was the only occasion of his misfortune; for he was immediately sent into one of the hellish prisons, and at the same time many officers went to his house to seize upon every thing, and that day he appeared at the bar, and his sentence was read; he was condemned to be whipped through the public streets, to be marked on his shoulders with a burning iron, and to be sent forever to the galleys: but the good, honest, unfortunate man died that very day; all his being only to say, that the holy office did seem
earth.

At the same time, a lady of good fortune was whipped, because she said in company, I do not know whether the Pope is a man, or a woman, and I hear wonderful things of him every day, and I imagine he must be an animal very rare. For these words she lost honor, fortune and life, for she died six days after the execution of her sentence: And thus the holy fathers punish trifling things, and leave unpunished horrible crimes.

The following instance will be a demonstration of this truth, and show how the inquisitors favor the ecclesiastics more than the laity, and the reason why they are more severe upon one than the other.

In the diocess of Murcia was a parish priest in a village in the mountains. The people of it were almost all of them shepherds, and were obliged to be always abroad with their flocks, so the priest being the commander of the shepherdesses, begun to preach every Friday in the afternoon, all the congregation being composed of the women of the town. His constant subject was, the indispensable duty of paying the tithes to him, and this not only of the fruits of the earth, but of the seventh of their sacraments too, which is matrimony, and he had such great eloquence to persuade them to secrecy, as to their husbands, and a ready submission to him, that he begun to reap the fruit of his doctrine in a few days, and by this wicked example, he brought into the list of the tithes all the married women of the town, and he received from them the tenth for six years together: but his infernal doctrine and practice was discovered by a young woman who was to be married, of whom the priest asked the tithe before hand; but she telling it to her sweet-heart, he went to discover the case to the next commissary of the inquisition, who having examined the matter, and found it true, he took the priest and sent him to the inquisition; he was found guilty of so abominable a sin, and he himself confessed it, and what was the punishment inflicted on him?—

Only to confine him in a friar's cell for six months.— The priest being confined, made a virtue of necessity, and so composed a small book, entitled, *The true Penitent*, which was universally approved by all sorts of people for solid doctrine and morality. He dedicated the work to the holy inquisitors, who, for a reward of his pains, gave him another parish a great deal better than the first: But hardened wretch! There he fell again to the same trade of receiving the tithes; upon which the people of the parish complained to the governor, who acquainted the king with the case, and his majesty ordered the Inquisitors to apply a speedy remedy to it; so the holy fathers sent him to the Pope's galleys for five years time.

I must own, it is quite against my inclination to give this and the like accounts, for it will seem very much out of the way of a clergyman; but if the reader will make reflections on them, and consider that my design is only to shew how unjustly the Inquisitors act in this and other cases, he will certainly excuse me; for they really deserve to be ridiculed more than argued against, reasoning being of no force with them, but a discovery of their infamous actions and laws, may be will produce, if not in them, in some people at least a good effect.

The Roman Catholics believe there is a purgatory, and that the souls suffer more pains in it than in hell. But I think the inquisition is the only purgatory on earth, and the holy fathers are the judges and executioners in it. The reader may form a dreadful idea of the barbarity of that tribunal, by what I have already said, but I am sure it never will come up to what it is in reality, for it passeth all understanding, not as the *peace of God*, but as the war of the devil.

So that we may easily know by this, and the afore-said account, that they leave off the observance of the first precepts of the holy office, and chastise only those that speak either against the pope, clergy, or the holy inquisition.

The only reason of settling that tribunal in Spain, was to examine and chastise sinners, or those that publicly contemned the faith. But now a man may blaspheme, and commit the most heinous crimes, if he says nothing against the three mentioned articles, is free from the hellish tribunal.

Let us except from this rule the rich Jews, for the poor are in no fear of being confined there, they are the rich alone that suffer in that place, not for the crime of Jewdaism, (though this is the color and pretence) but the crime of having riches. Francisco Alfaro, a Jew, and a very rich one, was kept in the inquisition of Seville four years, and after he had lost all he had in the world, was discharged out of it with a small correction: this was to encourage him to trade again, and get more riches, which he did in four years time. Then he was put again in the holy office, with the loss of his goods and money. And after three years imprisonment he was discharged, and ordered to wear, for six months, the mark of *San-Benito*, i. e. a picture of a man in the middle of the fire of hell, which he was to wear before his breast publicly. But Alfaro a few days after, left the city of Seville, and seeing a pig without the gate, he hung the *San Benito* on the pig's neck, and made his escape. I saw this Jew in Lisbon, and he told me the story himself, adding, now I am a poor Jew, I tell every body so, and though the inquisition is more severe here than in Spain, nobody takes notice of me. I am sure they would confine me forever, if I had as much riches as I had in Seville. Really the holy office is more cruel and inhuman in Portugal than in Spain, for I never saw any publicly burnt in my own country, and I saw in Lisbon seven at once, four young women and three men; two young women were burnt alive and an old man, and the others were strangled first. But being obliged to dismiss this chapter, and leave out many curious histories, I promise to relate them in the second part of this work. Now let me entreat all

true protestants to join with me in my hearty prayer to God Almighty, thus :

O eternal God, who dost rule the hearts of Kings, and orderest every thing to the glory of the true religion, pour thy holy spirit upon the heart of Lewis the first, that he may see the barbarous, unchristian practices of the inquisitors, and with a firm resolution abolish all laws contrary to those given us by thy only son, our Savior, Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

PART V.

Of their prayers, adoration of images and relics.

ARTICLE I.

Of their Prayers.

THE prayers sung or said, in the church, are seven canonical hours, or the *seven services*, viz. *Tertia, Sexta, Nona, Vesperæ, Matutina and Completæ*. — *Prima* is composed of the general confession, three psalms, and many other prayers, with the *Martyrologio Sanctorum*, i. e. with a commemoration of all the saints of that day. *Tertia*, is a prayer or service of three psalms, anthem, and the collect of the day &c. *Sexta* and *Nona* are the same. *Vesperæ*, or evening songs, contain five anthems, five psalms, an hymn, *Magnificat*, or my soul doth magnify, &c. with an anthem, collect of the day, and commemorations of some saints. *Matutina*, or matins, is the longest service of the seven, for it contains, 1st. The psalm, *O come let us sing*. 2d An hymn. 3d. Three anthems, three psalms, and three lessons of the old testament. 4th. Three anthems, three psalms, and three lessons of the day, i. e. of the life of the saint of that day, or of the mystery of it. 5th. Three anthems, three psalms, three lessons, of which the first beginneth with the gospel of the day, and two or three lines of it, and the rest is an

homily, or exposition of the gospel. 6th. *Te Deum*. 7th. Five anthems, five psalms, an hymn, anthem of the day, the psalm, *Blessed be the Lords of Israel, &c.* The collect of the day, and some commemorations.— *Completa*, or *complices*, is the last service, which contains the general confession, an anthem, three or four psalms, and, *Lord now lettest thou, &c.* and some other adherent prayers for the Virgin, the holy Cross, saints, &c. All these seven services are said, or sung in Latin, every day in cathedral churches, but not in all the parish churches.

In the cathedral churches on the festivals of the first class, or the greatest festivals, as those of Christ and the Virgin Mary, all the seven canonical hours are sung. *Prima*, at six in the morning, and a mass after it. *Tertia*, at ten, the great mass after, and after the mass, *Sexta* and *Nona*. At two, or three in the afternoon, the *evening song*, at seven, *complices*, and half an hour after midnight the *matins*. In the festivals of the second class, as those of the apostles, and some saints placed in that class by the Popes, *Tertia*, evening songs and matins are all that are sung, and likewise every day, though not with organ, nor music.

In the parish churches the Priests sing only *Tertia*, and *evening songs* on Sundays and festivals of the first class; except where there are some foundations, on settlements for singing *evening songs* on other private days. But the great mass is always sung in every parish church, besides the masses for the dead, which are settled to be sung.

In the convents of the friars, they observe the method of the cathedral, except some days of the week granted to them by the prior, as recreation days, and then they say the service, and go to divert themselves all the day after. As to the nuns, I have given an account in the first chapter of their lives and conversation.

The priests and friars that do not say, or sing the service with the community, are obliged in conse-

to say those seven cononical hours every day, and if they do not, they commit a mortal sin and ought to confess it among the sins of *omission*. Besides these seven services, they have, not by precept, but by devotion, the service, or small office of the Virgin Mary, the seven penitential psalms, and other prayers of saints, which are by long custom become services of precept, for they never will dare to omit them, either for devotion's sake, or for fear that the laity would tax them with coldness and negligence in matters of exemplary devotion.

As to the public prayers of the laity, they all are contained in the beads or rosary of the Virgin Mary, and to give them some small comfort, there is a fixed time in the evening in every church for the rosary.—The sexton rings the bell, and when the parishioners, both men and women, are gathered together, the Minister of the parish, or any other priest, comes out of the vestry, in his surplice, and goes to the altar of the Virgin Mary, and lighting two or more candles on the altar's table, he kneels down before the altar, makes the sign of the cross, and begins the rosary with a prayer to the Virgin; and after he has said half of the *Ave Maria*, &c. the people say the other half, which he repeats ten times, the people doing the same. Then he says *Gloria Patra*, &c. and the people answer, *As it was in the beginning*, &c. Then, in the same manner, the priest says half of *Our Father*, and ten times half *Ave Maria*, and so he and the people do, till they have said them fifty times. This done, the priest says another prayer to the Virgin, and begins her Litany, and after every one of her titles, or encomiums, the people answer, *Ora pro nobis*, pray for us. The Litany ended, the priest and people visit five altars, saying, before each of them, one *Pater Noster*, and one *Ave Maria*, with *Gloria Patra*: and lastly, the priest, kneeling down before the great altar, says an act of contrition, and both with *Lighten our darkness, we beseech thee*, &c.

All the prayers of the rosary are in the vulgar tongue, except *Gloria Patra* and *Ora pro nobis*, i. e. *Glory be to thee*, &c. and *Pray for us*.

After the rosary, in some churches, there is *Oratio mentalis*, i. e. a prayer of meditation, and for this purpose the priest of the rosary, or some other of devout life and conversation, readeth a chapter in some devout book, as *Thomas de Kempis*, or *Francis de Sales*, or *Father Eusebio*, of the difference between temporal and eternal things, and when he has ended the chapter, every one on their knees, begin to meditate on the contents of the chapter, with great devotion and silence. They continue in that prayer half an hour or more, and after it, the priests say a prayer of thanksgiving to God Almighty, for the benefits received from him by all there present, &c.

I must own, that I did always like this exercise of Christian devotion. For in the books, the good priests make use of for that purpose, there is no superstitious doctrine, except touching the mystery of the Lord's supper, and even in this, the style is so ambiguous, that both protestants and Romans, may use and understand it each in their own way. As for the rest of the meditation, it is only a sort of humiliation before God Almighty, contemplating his attributes, and our unworthiness, and asking his grace and holy spirit to better our lives, and to serve him with a pure and contrite heart. So if all their prayers, worship and ceremonies, were as free from idolatry and superstition, as this of mediation is, I confess the church of Rome would have no corruptions at all.

I said *public prayers of the laity*; for when they assist at the divine service, or hear mass, they only hear what the Priest says in *Latin*, and answer Amen. Generally speaking, they do not understand *Latin*, especially in towns of 300 houses, and villages, there can scarcely be found one *Latinist*, except the curate, and even he very often doth not understand perfectly well what he reads in *Latin*: By this universal ignorance we

they say, that they do not know what they pray for ; nay, if a priest was so wicked in heart, as to curse the people in church, and damn them all in *Latin*, the poor idiots must answer *Amen*, knowing not what the priest says. I do not blame the common people in this point, but I blame the pope and priests that forbid them to read the scripture, and by this prohibition they cannot know what St. Paul says about praying in the vulgar tongue: So pope and priests, and those that plead ignorance, must answer for the people before the dreadful tribunal of God.

Besides this public prayer of the rosary, they have private prayers at home, as the *crea*, the *Lord's prayer*, a *prayer to the Virgin*, the *aet of contrition*, and other prayers to saints, angels, and for souls in Purgatory. But this prayer of the rosary is not only said in church, but it is sung in the streets, and the custom was introduced by the *Dominican friars*, who, in some parts of Spain, are called *The Fathers of the holy-rosary*. Sundays and holy days, after evening songs, the prior of the Dominicans, with all his friars and corporation, or fraternity of the holy rosary, begins the *Virgin's evening songs*, all the while ringing the bells, which is to call for the procession, and when the evening songs are over, the clerk of the convent, dressed in his *Alva* or surplice, taking the standard where the picture of the *Virgin Mary* is drawn with a frame of roses, and two novices in surplices, with candlesticks, walking on each side of the standard, the procession beginneth. First, all the brethren of the corporation go out of church, each with a wax candle in his hand ; the standard followeth after, and all the Friars, in two lines, follow the standard. In this order the procession goes through the streets all singing *Ave Maria*, and the laity answering as before.— They stop in some public street, where a friar, upon a table, preacheth a sermon of the excellency and power of the rosary, and gathering together the people, they go back again into the church, where the

rosary being over, another friar preacheth upon the same subject another sermon, exhorting the people to practice this devotion of the rosary, and they have carried so far this extravagant folly, that if a man is found dead, and has not the beads or rosary of the Virgin in his pocket, that man is not reckoned a Christian, and he is not to be buried in consecrated ground till some body knoweth him, and certifieth that such a man was a Christian, and passeth his word for him. So every body takes care to have always the beads or rosary in his pocket, as the characteristic of a Christian. But this devotion of the rosary is made so common among bigots, that they are always with the beads in their hands, and at night round about their necks. There is nothing more usual in Spain and Portugal, than to see people in the markets, and in the shops, praying with their beads, and selling and buying at the same time; nay, the procurers in the great Piazza are praying with their beads, and at the same time contriving and agreeing with a man for wicked intrigues. So all sorts of persons having it as a law to say the rosary every day, some say it walking, others in company (keeping silent for a while) but the rest talking or laughing: So great is their attention and devotion in this indispensable prayer of the holy rosary.

But this is not the worst of their practices; for if a man, or priest, neglects one day to say the rosary, he doth not commit a mortal sin; though this is a great fault among them: But the divine service, or seven canonical hours, every priest, friar, and Nun, is obliged to say every day, or else they commit a mortal sin, by the statutes of the church and Popes. This service, which is to be said in private, and with Christian devotion, is as much profaned among ecclesiastics and nuns, as the rosary among the laity: for I have seen many ecclesiastics (and I have done it myself several times) play at cards, and have the breviary on the table, to say the divine service at the

same time. Others walking in company, and others doing still worse things than these, have the breviary in their hands, and reading the service, when they at the same time are in *occusione proxima peccati*; and, notwithstanding, they believe they have performed exactly that part of the ecclesiastical duty.

Next to this abomination, is that practised between a nun, and her Devoto, or gallant: I said, that the professed Nuns are obliged in conscience to say the divine service in *Latin*, every day, which requires more than an hour and a quarter to be said distinctly: But as they, and their Devotoes, spend all their time, while absent one from another, in writing letters of love to one-another, they have no time to say the divine service, if it happens, that they did not assist that day at the public service. Then when they are at the grate in lascivious conversation, if some other company happens to come to the same grate, and interrupt them in their wicked practices, the nun fetcheth two breviaries, one for herself, and one for her gallant, and alternatively they say the seven canonical hours, while the other company is there; and though they are saying, *We praise thee, O Lord. &c.* when the company goes away, they leave immediately, for a while, the breviary, and come again to their amorous expressions, and obscene actions, which ended, they go on with the divine service.

I know that modesty obligeth me to be more cautious in this account, and if it was not for this reason, I could detect the most horrible things of friars and nuns that ever were seen or heard in the world; but leaving this unpleasant subject, I come to say something of the profit the priests and friars get by their irreligious prayers, and by what means they recommend them to the laity.

The profits priests and friars get by their prayers, are not so great as that they get by absolution and Masses: For it is by an accident, if sometimes they

are desired to pray for money. There is a custom, that if one in a family is sick, the head of the family sends immediately to some devout, religious friar or nun to pray for the sick, so, by this custom, not all priests and friars are employed, but only those that are known to live a regular life. But because the people are very much mistaken in this, I crave leave to explain the nature of those whom the people believe religious friars, or in Spanish, *Gazmonnos*. In every convent there are eight or ten of these *Gazmonnos*, or devout men, who, at the examination for confessors and preachers, were found quite incapable of the performance of the great duties, and so were not approved by the examiners of the convent. And though they scarcely understand *Latin*, they are permitted to say *Mass*, that by that means the convent might not be at any expence with them. These poor idiots, being not able to get any thing by selling absolutions, nor by preaching, undertake the life of a *Gazmonnos*, and live a mighty retired life, keeping themselves in their cells, or chambers, and not conversing with the rest of the community: So their brethren *Gazmonnos* visit them, and among themselves there is nothing spared for their diversion, and the carrying on their private designs.

When they go out of the convent, it must be with one of the same *farandula*, or trade: Their faces look pale; their eyes are fixed on the ground, their discourse all of heavenly things, their visits in public, and their meat and drink but very little before the world, though in great abundance between themselves, or, as they say, *Inted privatos parietes*. By this mortifying appearance, the people believe them to be godly men, and in such a case as sickness, they rather send to one of these to pray for the sick, than to other friars of less public fame. But those hypocrites, after the apprenticeship of this trade is over, are very expert in it, for if any body sends for one of them, either without money, or some substantial present.

they say that they cannot go, for they have so many sick persons to visit and pray for, that it is impossible for them to spare any time. But if money or a present is sent to him, he is ready to go and pray every where.

So these ignorant, hypocritical friars are always followed by the ignorant people, who furnish them with money and presents for the sake of their prayers, and they live more comfortably than many rich people, and have 100 pistoles in their pockets, oftener than many of the laity who have good estates.

Some people will be apt to blame me for giving so bad a character of those devout men in appearance, when I cannot be a judge of their hearts: But I do answer, that I do not judge thus of all of them, but only of those that I knew to be great hypocrites and sinners; for I saw seven of them taken up by the Inquisitors, and I was at their public trial, as I have given an account in the former chapter: So, by those seven we may give a near guess of the others, and say, that their outward mortifying appearance is only a cloak of their private designs.

There are some nuns likewise, who follow the same trade as I have given one instance in the chapter of the inquisition: And though the ignorant people see every day some of those *Guzmonnos*, taken up by the inquisitors, they are so blinded, that they always look for one of them to pray. These hypocrites do persuade the heads of families, that they are obliged in conscience to mind their own business, rather than to pray, and that the providence of God has ordered every thing for the best for his creatures, and that he (foreseeing that the heads of families would have no time to spare for prayers) has chosen such religious men to pray for them, so they are well recompensed for their prayers, and God only knoweth whether they pray or not. Most commonly, when they are wanted, they are at the club, with their *thren*, *Guzmonnos*, eating and drinking, afterwards

painting their faces with some yellow drug, to make themselves look pale and mortified. O good God! How great is thy patience in tolerating such wicked men?

Besides these monastical persons, there are many blind people who can repeat some prayers to saints by heart, and get money for them. They walk the streets day and night, and they carry a lanthorn by night, not to see with, but to be seen by others. The people call them, and give a penny for saying the prayer of such a saint, and this way they make their lives very merry and easy.

As to the means the priests and friars make use of, and the doctrines they preach to recommend this exercise of praying to the people, I can give but one instance of them as matter of fact, for I was the author of it. Being desired to preach upon the subject of prayer, by the mother abbess of the nuns of St. Clara, who had told me in private, that many of her Nuns did neglect their prayers, and were most commonly at the grate with their Devotees, and the good mother, out of pure zeal, told me, that such nuns were the Devils of the monastery; so to oblige her, I went to preach, and took my text out of the gospel of St. Matthew. Chap. xvii. v. 21. *Howbeit this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting*, but in our vulgar, the text is thus, *Howbeit this kind of Devils, &c.* And after I had explained the text, confining myself wholly to the learned Silveira's commentaries, I did endeavor to prove, that the persons devoted to God by a public profession of monastical life, were bound in conscience to pray without ceasing, as St. Paul tells us, and that if they neglected this indispen- sible duty, they were worse than devils: And after this proposition, I did point out the way and method to tame such devils, which was by prayer and fasting. And lastly, the great obligation laid upon us by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, to make use of this exercise of prayer, which I did recommend as a *med*

tain the highest degree of glory in Heaven, and to exceed even angels, prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and all the saints of the heavenly court.

I do not intend to give a copy of the sermon, but I cannot pass by the proof I gave to confirm my proposition, to shew by it, the trifling method of preaching, most generally used among the Roman-catholic preachers.

The historiographers and chronologers of St. Augustine's order, say, (said I) that the great Father Augustine is actually in heaven, before the throne of the Holy Trinity, as a reward for the unparalleled zeal and devotion he had on earth, for that holy mystery, and because he spent all his free time on earth in praying, which makes him now in heaven greater than all sorts of saints. They say more, viz. that in the heaven of the holy trinity, there are only the Father, the Son, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and, the last of all, St. Augustine. Thus Father Garcia, in his Santoral, printed in Saragoza, in 1707, *vide* sermon on St. Augustine.

To this, I knew would be objected the 11th verse of the xi chap. of St. Matthew, *Among them that are born of women, there hath not risen a greater than John the Baptist.* To which I did answer, that there was no rule without an exception, and that St. Augustine was excepted from it: And this I proved by a maxim received among divines, viz. *Infimum supremi excedit supremum infimi*, the least of a superior order exceeds the greatest of an inferior. There are three Heavens, as St. Paul says, and, as other expositors, three orders. They place in the first heaven, the three divine persons, the Virgin Mary, St. Joseph, and St. Augustine; in the second, the spiritual intelligences; and in the third, St. John Baptist, at the head of all the celestial army of saints. Then, if St. Augustine is the last in the highest heaven, though John is the first in the lowest, we must conclude, by the aforementioned maxim, that the great Father

Augustine exceeds in glory all the saints of the heavenly Court, as a due reward for his fervent zeal in praying, while he was here below among men.

With this instance, I did recommend the exercise of prayer to the nuns, assuring them of the same reward in heaven, if they did imitate so glorious a saint: Nay, I did corroborate this with the historical account of St. Augustine's heart, in the city of *Pavia*, which is kept separate from the body which is in that town also, in a crystal box. The chronologers say, that every year, on Trinity Sunday, the heart is continually moving within the box, as if it was alive, and that this is a testimony of the great devotion of that Saint, for the Trinity, and a proof that he is before that holy mystery, praising continually the blessed *Trias*, and so his heart, by its continual motion on that day, shews the great reward of his soul in heaven.

The more I remember this, and the like nonsensical proofs and methods of preaching, the more I thank God for his goodness, in bringing me out of that communion into another, where, by application, I learn how to make use of the scripture, to the spiritual good of souls, and not to amusements, which are prejudicial to our salvation.

Thus I have given you an account of the public and private prayers of priests, friars, nuns, and laity; of the profits they have by it, and of the methods they take to recommend this exercise of praying, to all sorts and conditions of people. Sure I am, that after a mature consideration of their way of praying, and of that we make use of in our reformed congregations, every body may easily know the great difference between them both; and that the form and practice of prayers among Protestants, are more agreeable to God, than those of the Romish priests and friars can be.

ARTICLE II.

Of the Adoration of Images.

THE adoration of images was commanded by several general councils, and many popes, whose commands and decrees are obeyed as articles of our Christian faith, and every one that breaketh them, or, in his outward practice, doth not conform to them, is punished by the inquisitors as an heretic; therefore it is not to be wondered at, if people, educated in such a belief, without any knowledge of the sin of such idolatrous practices, do adore the images of the Saints with the same, and sometimes more devotion of heart, than they do God Almighty in spirit.

I begin, therefore, this article with myself, and my own forgetfulness of God. When I was in the college of Jesuits, to learn grammar, the teachers were so careful in recommending to their scholars devotion to the Virgin Mary of Pilar, of Saragosa, that this doctrine, by long custom, was so deeply impress'd in our hearts, that every body, after the school was over, used to go to visit the blessed image, this being a rule and a law for us all, which was observed with so great strictness, that if any student, by accident, missed that exercise of devotion, he was the next day severely whipped for it. For my part, I can aver, that during the three years I went to the college, I never was punished for want of devotion to the Virgin. In the beginning of our exercises, we were bidden to write the following words, *Dirige in calamum Virgo Maria, meum*; Govern my pen, O Virgin Mary! And this was my constant practice in the beginning of all my scholastical and moral writings, for the space of ten years, in which, I do protest before my eternal Judge, I do not remember whether I did invoke God, or call on his sacred name or not. This I remember, that in all my distempers and sudden afflictions, my daily exclamation was, *O Virgin del Pilar! Help me,*

O Virgin! &c. so great was my devotion to her, and so great my forgetfulness of our God and Savior Jesus Christ. And indeed a man that does not inquire into the matter, hath more reason, according to the doctrine taught in those places, to trust in the Virgin Mary, than in Jesus Christ: For these are common expressions in their sermons: *That neither God, nor Jesus Christ can do any thing in Heaven, but what is approved by the blessed Mary, that she is the door of glory, and that nobody can enter into it, but by her influence, &c.* And the preachers give out these propositions as principles of our faith, insomuch, that if any body dares to believe the contrary, he is reputed an Heretic, and punished as such.

But because this article requireth a full examination, and an account to be given of the smallest circumstances belonging to it, I shall keep the class and order of Saints, and of the adoration they are worshipped with, by most people in the Roman-catholic countries. And first of all, the image of Jesus Christ is adored as if the very image of wood was the very Christ of flesh and bones. To clear this, I will give an instance or two of what I saw myself.

In the cathedral church of St. Salvator, there was an old image of Jesus Christ, crucified, behind the choir, in a small unminded chapel; nobody took notice of that crucifix, except a devout prebend, or canon of the church, who did use every day to kneel down before that image, and pray heartily to it. The Prebend (though a religious man in the outward appearance) was ambitious in his heart of advancement in the church; so, one day, as he was on his knees before the old image, he was begging that, by its power and influence, he might be made a Bishop, and after a Cardinal, and lastly, Pope; to which earnest request the image gave him this answer, *Et tu que me res a qui, que hazes pormi? i. e. And thou seest me here, what do you do for me?* These very words are written, at this present day, in gilt letters upon

the crown of thorns of the crucifix: To which the Prebend answered, *Domine peccavi, and matum coram te feci, i. e. Lord I have sinned, and done evil before thee.* To this humble request, the image said, *Thou shalt be a Bishop,* and accordingly he was made a Bishop soon after. These words, spoken by the crucifix of the cathedral church, made such a noise, that crowds of well disposed, credulous people used to come every day to offer their gifts to the miraculous image of our Saviour, and the image, which was not minded at all before, after it spoke, was, and has been ever since, so much revered, that the offerings of the first six years were reckoned worth near a million of crowns. The history of the miracle reports, that the thing did happen in the year 1562, and that the chapter did intend to build a chapel in one corner of the church, to put the crucifix in with more veneration and decency; but the image spoke again to the Prebend, and said, *My pleasure is to continue where I am till the end of the world:* So the crucifix is kept in the same chapel, but richly adorned, and nobody ever since dare touch any thing belonging to the image, for fear of disobliging the crucifix. It has an old wig on its head, the very sight of which is enough to make every one laugh; its face looks so black and disfigured, that nobody can guess whether it is the face of a man or a woman, but every body believes that it is a crucifix, by the other circumstances of the Cross, and crown of thorns.

This image is so much adored, and believed to have such a power of working miracles, that if they ever carry it out in a procession, it must be on an urgent necessity: For example, if there is want of rain in such a degree that the harvest is almost lost, then, by the common consent of the Archbishop and chapter, a day is fixed to take the crucifix out of its chapel in a public procession, at which all the priests and friars are to assist without any excuse, and the devout people too, with marks of repentance, and public penan-

ces. Likewise the Archbishop, Viceroy, and magistrates, ought to assist in robes of mourning; so when the day comes, which is most commonly very cloudy, and disposed to rain, all the communities meet together in the cathedral church: And in the year 1706, I saw, upon such an occasion as this, 600 disciplinants, whose blood ran from their shoulders to the ground, many others with long heavy crosses, others with a heavy bar of iron, or chains of the same, hanging at their necks; with such dismal objects in the middle of the procession, 12 priests drest in black ornaments, taking the crucifix on their shoulders, and with great veneration carry it through the streets, the eunuchs singing the Litany.

I said, that this image is never carried out but when there is great want of rain, and when there is sure appearance of plenteous rain; so they never are disappointed in having a miracle published after such a procession: Nay, sometimes it begins to rain before the crucifix is out of his place, and then the people are almost certain of the power of the image: So that year the chapter is sure to receive double tithes: For every body vows and promises two out of ten to the church for the recovery of the harvest.

But what is more than this, is, that in the last wars between King Philip and King Charles, as the people were divided into two factions, they did give out by a revelation of an ignorant, silly *Beata*, that the crucifix was a *Batifero*, i. e. affectionate to King Philip, and at the same time there was another revelation, that his mother, the Virgin of Pilar, was an *Imperialist*, i. e. for King Charles; and the minds of the people were so much prejudiced with their opinions, that the partizans of Philip did go to the crucifix, and those of King Charles to the Virgin of Pilar. Songs were made upon this subject: one said, *When Charles the Third mounts on his horse, the Virgin of Pilar holds the stirrup.* The other said, *When Philip comes to our land, the Crucifix of St. Salvador guides him*

by his hand. By these two factions, both the Virgin and her son's image began to lose the presents of one of the parties, and the chapter, having made a bitter complaint to the inquisitors, these did put a stop to their sacrilegious practices; so high is the people's opinion of the image of the crucifix, and so blind their faith, that all the world would not be able to persuade them that that image did not speak to the canon, or prebendary, and that it cannot work miracles at any time. Therefore our custom was, after school, to go first to visit the crucifix, touch its feet with our hands, and kiss it, and from thence go to visit the image of the Virgin of Pilar, of which I am going to speak as the next image to that of Jesus Christ, though, in truth, the first as to the people's devotion.

And because the story, or the history of the image, is not well known, at least, I never saw any foreign book treat of it, it seems proper to give a full account of it here, to satisfy the curiosity of many that love to read and hear new things, and this I think is worth every body's observation.

The book, call'd *The History of our Lady of Pilar, and her Miracles*, contains, to the best of my memory the following account: The Apostle St. James came, with seven new converts, to preach the gospel in Saragosa (a city famous for antiquity, and for its founder, Cæsar Augustus; but more famous for the heavenly image of our Lady) and as they were sleeping on the river Ebro's side, a celestial music awakened them at midnight, and they saw an army of Angels, melodiously singing, come down from heaven, with an image on a pillar, which they placed on the ground, forty yards distant from the river, and the commanding Angel spoke to St. James, and said, This image of our Queen shall be the defence of this city, where you come to plant the Christian religion; take therefore good courage, for, by her help and assistance, you shall not leave this city without reduc-

ing all the inhabitants in it to your Master's religion ; and as she is to protect you, you also must signalize yourself in building a decent chapel for her. The angels leaving the image on the earth, with the same melody and songs, went up to heaven, and St. James, with his seven converts, on their knees, began to pray, and thank God for this inestimable treasure sent to them ; and the next day they began to build a chapel with their own hands. I have already given an account of the chapel, and the riches of it, now I ought to say something of the idolatrous adoration given to that image, by all the Roman Catholics of that kingdom, and of all that go to visit her.

This image has her own chaplain, besides the chapter of the prebends and other priests, as I have told before. The Virgin chaplain has more privilege and power than any King, Archbishop, or any ecclesiastical person, excepting the Pope ; for his business is only to dress the image every morning, which he doth in private, and without any help : I say in private, that is drawing the four curtains of the Virgin's canopy, that nobody may see the image naked. Nobody has liberty, but this chaplain, to approach so near the image, for as the author of the book says, *An Archbishop (who had so great assurance as to attempt to say mass on the altar table of the Virgin) died upon the spot, before he began mass.* I saw King Philip and King Charles, when they went to visit the image, stand at a distance from it. With these cautions it is very easy to give out, that no body can know of what matter the image is made, that being a thing referred to the Angels only : so all the favor the Christians can obtain from the Virgin, is only to kiss her pillar, for it is contrived, that by having broke the wall backwards, a piece of pillar, as big as two crown pieces is shewn, which is set out in gold round about, and there Kings, and other people, kneel down to adore and kiss that part of the stone. The stones and lime that were taken, when the wall was

are kept for relics, and it is a singular favor, if any can get some small stone, by paying a great sum of money.

There is always so great a crowd of people, that many times they cannot kiss the pillar; but touch it with one of their fingers, and kiss afterwards the part of the finger that touched the pillar. The large chapel of the lamp is always, night and day, crowded with people; for, as they say, that chapel was never empty of Christians, since St. James built it; so the people of the city, that work all day, go out at night to visit the image, and this blind devotion is not only among pious people, but among the most profligate and debauched too, insomuch that a lewd woman will not go to bed without visiting the image; for they certainly believe, that no body can be saved, if they do not pay this tribute of devotion to the sacred image.

And to prove this erroneous belief; the chaplain, who dresses the image (as he is reckoned to be a heavenly man) may easily give out what stories he pleases, and make the people believe any revelation from the Virgin to him, as many of them are written in the book of the Virgin of Pilar, viz. Dr. Augustine Ramirez, chaplain to the image, in 1542, as he was dressing it, it talked with him for half a quarter of an hour, and said: My faithful and well beloved Augustine, I am very angry with the inhabitants of this my city for their ingratitude. Now, I tell you as my own chaplain, that it is my will, and I command you, to publish it, and say the following words; which is my speech to all the people of Saragosa:— Ungrateful people, remember that after my son died for the redemption of the world, but more especially for you the inhabitants of this my chosen city, I was pleased, two years after I went up to Heaven, in body and soul, to pitch upon this select city for my dwelling place; therefore I commanded the angels to make an image perfectly like my body, and another of my Jesus, on my arms, and to set them both on a pil-

lar, whose matter nobody can know, and when both were finished, I ordered them to be carried in a procession, round about the heavens, by the principal angels, the heavenly host following, and after them the Trinity, who took me in the middle, and when this procession was over in Heaven, I sent them down with illuminations and music to awake my beloved James, who was asleep on the river side, commanding him by my ambassador Gabriel, to build with his own hands, a chapel for my image, which I did accordingly and ever since I have been the defence of this city against the Caracen army, when by my mighty power, I killed in one night, at the breach, 50,000 of them, putting the rest to a precipitate flight.

After this visible miracle (for many saw me in the air fighting) I have delivered them from the oppression of the Moors, and preserved the faith and religion unpolluted for many years, in this my city. How many times have I succored them with rain in time of need? How many sick have I healed? How much riches are they masters of; by my unshaken affection to them all? And what is the recompense they give me for all these benefits? Nothing but ingratitude: I have been ashamed these fifteen years, to speak before the eternal Father, who made me Queen of this city: many and many times I am at court, with the three persons, to give my consent for pardoning several sinners, and when the father asketh me about my city, I am so bashful that I cannot lift up my eyes to him. He knoweth very well their ingratitude, and blameth me for suffering so long their covetousness: and this very morning, being called to the council of the Trinity for passing the divine decree, under our hands and seal for the Bishoprick of Saragosa, the Holy Spirit has affronted me, saying I was not worthy to be of the private council of heaven, because I did not know how to govern and punish the criminals of my chosen city, and I have vowed not to go again to the heavenly court until I get satisfaction from my

offenders. So I thunder out this sentence, against the inhabitants of Saragosa, that I have resolved to take away my image from them, and resign my government to Lucifer, if they do not come, for the space of fifteen days, every day with gifts, tears, and penances, to make due submission to my image, for the faults committed by them these fifteen years. And if they come with prodigal hands, and true hearts, to appease my wrath, which I am pleased with, they shall see the rain-bow for a signal, that I receive them again into my favor. But, if not, they may be sure that the Prince of Darkness shall come to rule and reign over them; and further, I do declare, that they shall have no appeal, from this my sentence, to the tribunal of the Father; for this is my will and pleasure.

These are the words of the revelation (I mean) this is the substance of it; for, perhaps, I leave out many words and add many others, to give sense to the English; but as to the substance I am not mistaken, as may be found in the Virgin's book, published by authority and leave of the inquisitors, in 1688 in Saragosa, by Peter Dormer. I had the book, which, for my extraordinary devotion to the Virgin, I used to read every day, and I may give a full account of it better than of the Bible, having read it six or eight times every year. But I do not design to give a translation of it now, nor to be tedious upon one subject; therefore I only say, that after this revelation published, all the inhabitants of the city were under such a concern, that the magistrates by the Archbishop's order, published an ordinance for all sorts of people to fast three days every week, and not to let the cattle go out those days, and to make the cattle fast as well as the reasonable creatures; and as for the infants, not to suckle them but once a day. All sorts of work were forbidden for fifteen days time, in which the people went to confess and make public penances, and offer whatever money and rich jewels they had, to the Virgin.

Observe now, that this publishing of the revelation was in the month of May, and it is a customary thing for that country to see almost every day the rainbow at that time: so there was by all probability, certain hopes that the rainbow would not fail to shew its many colored faces to the inhabitants of Saragosa, as did happen the eleventh day, but it was too late for them, for they had bestowed all their treasures on the image of the Virgin. Then the rejoicings began, and the people were almost mad for joy, reckoning themselves the most happy, blessed people in the universe. Then they vowed solemnly to build her the largest and most capacious church in the world; but their want of money hindered the beginning of it for ten years. Then the magistrates (thinking that the wealth of the city was sufficient to begin the temple) bestowed 50,000 pistoles for the laying of the foundation of it. A subscription was made among the private persons, which amounted to 150,000 pistoles; and Don Francisco Ibanez de la Riva de Herrera, then Archbishop of Saragosa, and afterwards of Toledo, and general inquisitor, commanded all the people, ecclesiastical and secular, to go on Sundays, and holy days in the afternoon, and carry materials for the work of the week following. I went myself many holy days and Sundays, and I saw his Grace, and all his family, with baskets, carrying stones from the river to the open foundations, and, by his example, gentlemen and ladies, old and young, priests, and friars, were excited to do the same, till the first stone of the foundation was laid by his Grace, drest in his pontifical; and after that, giving his blessing to the building, he recommended the building of it to the people's care. They are at work ever since every day, and in fourteen years since the foundation of the temple, there is yet but the third part built up, by five hundred workmen constantly at it, and I believe that if ever it is finished, it will be twice larger than St. Paul's church.

in London. So great and blind is the bigotry and devotion of that people for the Virgin of Pilar.

By these and the like revelations, given out every day by the Virgin's chaplain, the people are so much infatuated, that they certainly believe there is no salvation for any soul without the consent of the Virgin of Pilar; so they never fail to visit her image every day, and pay her due homage, for fear that if she is angry again, Lucifer should come to reign over them. And this is done by the Virgin's crafty chaplain, to increase her treasure and his own too. As to him, I may aver, that the late chaplain, Don Pedro Valenzuela was but five years in the Virgin's service; yearly rent is 1000 pistoles, and when he died, he left in his testament, 20,000 pistoles to the Virgin, and 10,000 to his relations; now how he got 30,000 pistoles clear in six years, every body may imagine.

As to the miracles wrought by this image, I could begin to give an account, but never make an end; and this subject requiring a whole book to itself, I will not trouble the reader with it, hoping in God that if he is pleased to spare my life some years, I shall print a book of their miracles and revelations, that the world may, by it, know the inconsistent grounds and reasons of the Romish communion.

Now, coming again to the adoration of images, I cannot pass by one or two instances more of the image of Jesus Christ, adored by the Roman Catholics.

The first is that of the crucifix in the monument, both on Thursday and Friday of the holy week. The Roman Catholics have a custom on holy Thursday, to put the consecrated host in the monument, till Friday morning, at eleven of the clock, as I have already said, treating of the estation of the holy Calvary.

Now I will confine myself wholly to the adoration paid to the crucifix, and all the material instruments of our Saviour's passion, by priests, friars, and magistrates. In every parish church and convent of friars and nuns, the priests form a monument, which is of the

breadth of the great altar's front, consisting of ten or twelve steps, that go gradually up to the Ara, or altar's table, on which lies a box, gilt, and adorned with jewels, wherein they keep, for twenty four hours, the great host, which the priest, that officiates, has consecrated on Thursday, between eleven and twelve. In this monument, you may see as many wax-candles as parishioners belonging to that church, and which burn twenty four hours continually. At the bottom of the monument there is a crucifix laid down on a black velvet pillow; and two silver dishes on each side. At three of the clock, in the afternoon, there is a sermon preached by the Lent preachers, whose constant text is, *Mandatum novum do vobis, ut diligatis invicem, Sicut dilexi vos.* Expressing in it, the excessive love of our Saviour towards us. After it the prelate washes the feet of twelve poor people, and all this while the people that go from one church to another, to visit the monuments, kneel down before the crucifix, kiss its feet, and put a piece of money into one of the dishes. The next day, in the morning, there is another sermon, of the passion of our Saviour, wherein the preacher recommends the adoration of the cross according to the solemn ceremony of the church. That day, i. e. Good Friday, there is no Mass in the Romish church, for the Host, which was consecrated the day before, is received by the minister, or prelate, that officiates, and when the passion is sung, then they begin the adoration of the crucifix, which is at the bottom of the monument; which is performed in the following manner: First of all the priest that officiates, or the bishop, when he is present, pulling off his shoes, goes, and kneels down three times before the crucifix, kisses its feet, and in the same manner comes back again to his own place. All the priests do the same, but without putting any thing into the dish, this being only a tribute to be paid by the magistrates and laity. This being done by all the magistrates, the priest bids them to come at four

in the afternoon, to the descent of Jesus Christ, from the cross, and this is another idolatrous ceremony and adoration.

The same crucifix that was at the bottom of the monument, is put on the great altar's table, veiled or covered with two curtains, and when the people are gathered together in the church, the chapter, or community comes out of the vestry, and kneeling down before the altar, begins in a doleful manner, to sing the psalm, *Miserere*, and when they come to the verse, *Tibi soli peccavi*, &c. they draw the curtains, and shew the image of Christ crucified to the people. Then the preacher goes up to the pulpit, to preach of the pains and afflictions of the Virgin Mary (whose image shedding tears is placed before the image of her son.) I once preached upon this occasion in the convent of St. Augustine, in the city of Huesca, and my text was, *Animam meam pertransivit gladius*. After the preacher has exaggerated the unparalleled pains of the Virgin Mary, seeing her son suffer death in so ignominious a manner, he orders *Satellites* (so they call those that stand with the nails, hammer and other instruments used in their crucifixion) to go up to the cross, and take the crown of thorns off the crucifix's head, and then he preaches on that action, representing to the people his sufferings as movingly as possible. After the *Satellites* have taken the nails out of the hands and feet, they bring down the body of Jesus, and lay him in the coffin, and when the sermon is over the procession begins all in black, which is called the burying of Christ. In that procession, which is always in the dark of the evening, there are vast numbers of disciplinants that go along with it, whipping themselves, and shedding their blood, till the body of Jesus is put into the sepulchre. Then every body goes to adore the sepulchre, and after the adoration of it, begins the procession of the estation: the holy Calvary, of which I have spoken already in second chapter of this book.

I will not deprive the public of another superstitious ceremony of the Romish priests, which is very diverting, and by which their ignorance will be more exposed to the world : and this is practised on the Sunday before easter, which is called *Dominica Palmarum*, in which the church commemorates the triumphant entry of Jesus Christ in Jerusalem, sitting on an ass, the people spreading their clothes and branches of olive trees on the ground : So, in imitation of this triumph, they do the same in some churches and convents.

The circumstance of one being representative of Jesus, on an ass, I never saw practised in Saragosa, and I was quite unacquainted with it, till I went to Alvalate, a town that belongs to the archbishop in temporalibus and spiritualibus, whither I was obliged to retire with his Grace in his precipitate flight from King Charles' army, for fear of being taken prisoner of state. We were there at the Franciscan convent on that Sunday, and the Archbishop being invited to the ceremony of the religious triumph, I went with him to see it, which was performed in the following manner.

All the friars being in the body of the church, the guardian placing his grace at the right hand, the procession began, every friar having a branch of olive-trees in his hand, which was blessed by the Rev. Father Guardian ; so the cross going before the procession went out of the church to a large yard before it : But, O God ! What did we see at the door of the church, but a fat Friar, dressed as a Nazareen, on a clever ass, two Friars holding the stirrups, and another pulling the ass by the bridle. The representative of Jesus Christ took place before the Archbishop. The ass was an he one, though not so fat as the Friar, but the ceremony of throwing branches and clothes before him, being quite strange to him, he began to start and caper, and at last threw down the heavy load of the Friar.—The ass ran away, leaving

the reverend on the ground, with one arm broken. This unusual ceremony was so pleasant to us all, that his Grace, notwithstanding his deep melancholy, laughed heartily at it. The ass was brought back, and another friar, making the representative, put an end to this ass-like ceremony.

But the ignorance and superstition begins now; when the ceremony was over, a novice took the ass by the bridle, and began to walk in the cloister, and every friar made a reverence, passing by, and the people kneeling down before him, one said, O happy ass, others (especially the old women) cried out, *O burro de Christo, i. e. O ass of Christ!* But his Grace displeas'd at so great a superstition, spoke to the guardian, and desired him not to suffer his friars to give such an example to the ignorant people, as to adore the ass. The guardian was a pleasant man, and seeing the archbishop so melancholy, only to make him laugh, told his Grace that it was impossible for him to obey his Grace, without removing all his Friars to another convent, and bring a new community. Why so, said his Grace? Because (replied the guardian) all my Friars are he asses. And you the guardian of them (answered his grace.)

Thus priests and friars, excite the people, not only to adore the image of Jesus Christ, but irrational creatures too; nay, the very insensible (though vegetable, as they say) things. They give out, that the nails of the feet of Christ's image of Calatrae grow every week, and the Clerk of the chapel keeps a box full of them, to give the pairings to the people, as a great relic, which they kiss and adore as if they were little gods, and I kept myself, when I was young, a piece of those nails set in gold, hanging night and day on my neck. So great is the stupidity of the people, and so great the ignorance of the priests and friars, or rather their craftiness, and covetbussness, for cannot believe they credit themselves the stories which they give out.

There is another image of the Virgin Mary, called *la Aurora*, i. e. the morning day break, in the convent of Franciscan Friars, called Jesus of the bridge, because it is near the wooden bridge of the city. This image was in great veneration some years ago, and the lay-brethren of that convent were very much respected by all the people of that city, because they had given out that there was always one lay-brother in that convent so godly that he was in high esteem and favor with the virgin *de la Aurora*, but unhappily for that image, for the convent, and for the lay-brethren of it; for one of them, who was clerk of the chapel of the virgin, gave out in the city, that on her festival day, which was the Tuesday after Easter, the image was to dance with him after evening songs were over. This uncommon miracle excited the curiosity of almost all the inhabitants of the city to meet there at the fixed day; but the crafty friars knowing that the 20th part of the people could not see it, upon second thoughts, spread in the city that the miracle was to be continued for eight days, or, as they say, all the days of the Octava of the virgin. So the first and second days were appointed for the noblemen and ladies, and the rest for tradesmen and common people.

When the day was come, and the evening songs were over, the image of the Virgin was in the middle of the altar of her chapel, in a gilt small chapel, richly drest, and all the altar round about full of wax-candles: before the altar a scaffold was set up for the music, and for the lay-brother, so when the church was full of people, the father guardian made the signal to the brother to begin to dance, *las folias*, i. e. the follies, with Castannetes, or cracking of the fingers. The fryar danced a long time without being accompanied by the image: the people began to say that the lay-brother was a cheat, which being heard by him, he fell down upon his knees, and began to cry bitterly, and say to the image in an innocent style

young Madona, do not make me pass for a cheat; you know very well what you promised me one night, when I was combing the wig that my cousin gave you: hear, do you remember? You say nothing? Then, by this holy cross, you shall pay for it. Now I will ask you to be as good as your word, twice more, and if you will expose me to be laughed at by the people here present, by my faith, I will swear that you are the cheat, and every body will believe me, and none for the future will care for you. O what joy was it to the fryar, and the people, to see the image make a reference to the brother! Now (said he) you are an honest woman, come let us dance the *follas*, and let every one here present know that you perform whatever you promise. The image really began to turn round about, for the space of three minutes. A reverend silence was kept in the church, all were surpris'd to see so wonderful a miracle, and no body dared to say a word, but the good brother, who (when the image ceased from her motions) turning to the people, said, Now you see the great esteem this image hath for me, and because I love the inhabitants of Saragosa, as my own life, I will ask a favor of my image for them; which, if she refuse, I have done with her, there are the keys of her treasure, and let her hire another servant, for I am sure nobody can be so faithful as I have been to her. Ay, she will think on it before she loseth me! Now the favor that I beg of you, for my fellow citizens of Saragosa, (turning to the image) is, that you will take the name of every one that comes, and offers you the charity of one mass only (for I would not have them pay too dear for this favor) and enter it in the book of eternal life. My old country friends, do not think this to be a small favor, for with it you may give a fig for the Devil, and laugh at him. Now let me see what answer she gives me. Will you grant them this favor? Then the image lifted up, and bowed down its head; at which signal, the people cried out, *Viva, viva la virgin de la Aurora*. Let the Virgin of the

morning live: Or long live the Virgin of Aurora. This miracle was immediately divulged through the whole city, and for the six following days the church was crowded with people from morning till the dance of Follies was ended. But the Inquisitors finding the thing something odd, they sent the secretary to the convent at midnight, with orders to take up the lay brother and search the image; which being done accordingly, he found an instrument to move the image with, which came down under the altars table, where another lay-brother turned the instrument. So the cheat was found out, but too late, for in the six days the image harlaquin danced, the friars got four thousand pieces of eight for masses, as the father guardian of the convent owned to the inquisitors, and all that was inflicted on the two lay-brothers, for this crime was to send them into another convent in the country. The convent lost a great deal by this discovery, for the people never went near it since, & the community that was formerly composed of an hundred friars, is now reduced to thirty in all. This dance of the Spanish follies, or the follies of that dance (for one made many fools with it) happened in 1705, of which I was an eye-witness, for I went twice to see the wonder of wonders, as the friars called it.

The adoration of St. Mames in the Parish church of St. Mary Magdalene, is another instance of the priests' superstitions covetousness. The priests of the parish with the minister, Doctor Parras, seeing that their church was not haunted as many others, for want of a new miraculous saint, pretended they found out in a rock the corpse of St. Mames, who was a shepherd, and so making a guilt box, they put this saint, drest like a shepherd, into it, with a pastoral hook, and many lamps and sheep made of silver. The box was placed on the altar's table under the feet of the crucifix, and they exhorted every one to worship and adore him, celebrating his singular virtues with an Octava, or eight days of festival, and eight pane-

gyric sermons. This invention was in 1709, and I was the first year the seventh preacher in his Octava. The novelty of a new saint brought all the people of the city, and many of the country to adore him. Music, illuminations, ringing of bells, the public processions, were in the most solemn and magnificent manner observed, and performed during eight days, in which, many miracles were published as tokens of St. Mames' power, and the affection he had for the people. I was, as well as the other preachers, very much embarrassed, having no history, nor public account of the new saint's life; but at last we found a new way to satisfy the priests of the parish, and to extol the virtues of their saints; for we eight preachers, among ourselves, agreed to take for our text, every one of us, the Athenians motto: *Ignoto Deo*, and to alter it for the division of the heads, thus: *Ignoto Pastori*, and to imitate St. Paul, who persuaded the Athenians that the unknown God by them was the very God; and persuaded the people that the unknown Shepherd of St. Mames, whom we began to adore, was the very shepherd, who was to take care of his chosen flock in Saragosa. So, upon this foundation, every one endeavored to publish the encomiums of the new saint, which were all fictions out of our heads. These sermons were very much praised by Doctor Parras, minister of the parish, and by all his priests, and being printed afterwards by the heirs of Pedro Dormer, every body bought them, in order to be acquainted by them with the unknown shepherd, St. Mames. All the while I was there, after I observed all sorts and conditions of people going to worship and adore the corner of the box of the saint, and when I left Saragosa, the church and chapel was very much improved by the miracles wrought daily by St. Mames.

But the bigotry of priests and friars is so great, that they are not satisfied with adoring and worshipping images of saints, and their relics, but they make the very beasts to worship them also; this will appear daily custom they have on St. Martin's day. I wish, and the people believe, what is written

in the life St. Antonio Abbot, viz. that he was an advocate for the cattle with God, and therefore, in the church of St. Martin, in Saragosa, his image is in the middle of the great altar, with a pig at his feet. For the history says, that he cured many pigs. In memory then, and veneration of this saint (whom we may call the saint of the beasts) the magistrates of the city assist at the great mass, and the sermon preached on his festival day, and every body recommends his beasts to him, and puts them under his care and protection, and they have not only this faith, but they give a public testimony of it; for that day, in the morning, and in the afternoon, every one, from the Archbishop to the carrier, sends his horses, mules, asses, and pigs, to make three turns round about the church of St. Martin. The coachmen and servants endeavor to dress the beasts with the best mantles, collars of small bells, and the necks and tails full of such ribbons as they can get; so when they have finished the third turn, they stop before the church door, and make a sort of a bow, and the clerk of the church, who is a priest, gives them the blessing, and a bit of blessed bread. Every beast is to pay to his advocate half a real of plate, which is very much every year, and not only the beasts or the cattle of the city pay that tribute, but all, or almost all the cattle of the country, except the sheep, for twenty sheep pay only the sum aforesaid. There are four priests belonging to that church; which are called, *Commisarios de Bestias de St. Antonio Abad*, Commissaries of St. Anthony's beasts; and after his festival, they take their circuits through the whole kingdom; they do not preach, but in every town they go through all the inhabitants of it, bring their cattle and sheep into a large field, and the priest of the circuit gives them St. Antonio's blessing, and receives the tribute; afterwards he blesseth the waters, grass, earth, and the very straw the people keep to feed their cattle: So if a mule or horse is sick, they pray to St. Antonio, and many go to the priest and desire him to say a mass for

it may, by the help of it, recover its health. The four ignorant priests tell such stories of St. Antonio and his pig to the country people and idiots, that many poor silly women, thinking themselves unworthy to approach near, or pray to the glorious saint himself, pray before the pig, make their requests to it, and generously give it ribbons and trinkets, that by its intercession, their beasts and themselves may be preserved from all evil and mischief in all times of their tribulation, in the hour of death, and in the day of judgment. These are their practices, their corruptions, and their abominations, before the Lord.

But because this article of images, and that of relics, contribute very much to the discovery of the idolatries, and of the bigotries and superstitions of all those of that communion, I shall not leave this subject, without giving an account of some remarkable images which are worshipped and adored by them all.

They have innumerable images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, the angels and saints in the streets, in small chapels built within the thickness of the walls, and most commonly in the corners of the streets, which the people adore, kneel down before, and make prayers and supplications to. They say, that many of those images have spoke to some devout persons, as that of St. Philip Nery did to a certain ambitious priest, who, walking through the street where the image was, was talking within himself, and saying, Now I am a priest, next year I hope to be a dean, after bishop, then Cardinal, and after all Summus Pontifex, to which soliloquy, the image of St. Philip answered: And after all those honors, comes death, and after death, Hell and damnation for ever. The priest, being surprised at this answer, so much apropos, and looking up and down, he saw the mouth of the image open, by which he concluded that the image had given him the answer, and so, taking a firm resolution to leave all the thoughts of this deceitful world, with his money he purchased the house where the image was, and built a decent chapel in honor of St Phil-

ip, which now, by the gifts of pious people, is so much enlarged, that we reckon St. Philip's church and parish to be the third in the city for riches, the number of beneficiate Priests being 46, besides the Rector.

In St. Philip's church there is a miraculous crucifix, called *Elsa nta Christo delas peridas*: The holy Christ of child-bed women; which is very much frequented by all people, but chiefly by the ladies, who go there to be churched, and leave the purification offering mentioned in the ceremonial law of Moses. And as there is this image, which is an advocate of women delivered of child, there are also two images, who are advocates of barren women, one of the Virgin in the convent of Recolet Friars of St. Augustine, and another of St. Antonio del Paula; The first is called the barren women; the second, the intercessor of the barren ladies. This second image is in the convent of Victorian Friars, and is kept in a gilt box in a chapel within the cloister, and the door is always locked up, and the key kept by the father corrector, i. e. the superior of the convent.

These two images, or rather the stewards of them work undeniable miracles every year, for no barren woman goes to pray and adore these images, without coming home with child, for they are so sure by faith, or action, that they give out, and make the poor husbands believe, that they find themselves very much altered &c. So if the victorian friars publish one or two miracles, one week, the Recolets do publish three or four the week following, and so they make good the physicians saying, that there is no such thing as barrenness, where there are such images, and that *exitus acta probat*, &c. For no woman, who goes to make three turns round the box of St. Antonio de Paula, or adore the girdle of the Virgin, is barren afterwards. But the victorians get more profit by it than the recolets; for all the ladies that are, or pretend to be barren, go to St. Antonio, & the common people to the recolets. The truth is, that the victorian^{ne ate}

well drest, & most commonly, handsome fellows, merrry, & fit for company, polite, & great gamesters, which are good qualifications to please intriguing women.

Another instance of their ignorant practices is, their adolatrourous adoration of the Virgin Mary in bed, on her ascension-day, the fifteenth of August. All the ladies of the parish join all their jewels and ribbons, on the fourteenth of that month, and go to church in the afternoon, where the parish minister, with his clergy, or the Prior of the convent, with his friars, are waiting for them; then the ladies, to take a refreshment (or, as they call it, The collation of the Virgin) go all together to the vestry, or to a private room for visits, and all are very merry for an hour or two:— Then the superior chooses one of the richest ladies for waiting lady to the blessed Mary, and six assistants under her, which must be unmarried young ladies, and this honorable employment is for one year. The waiting-lady and her assistants are to dress the Virgin, and order the bed with great nicety, and assist every day morning and evening, during the eight days of the festival at church, and pay for a splendid dinner the eight days for the clergy, or community, and they are obliged to serve at the table, as an act of humility. So when every thing is settled between them and the superior, they go into the church, and every thing being ready, they set up the bed, which is made very neat and with curtains of the best brocade; the image of the Virgin, in a clean fine shift, is laid down on the bed by the waiting lady and her assistants, and covered with a quilt, which is very richly laced round about. The bed is under a canopy, and twenty-four large, thick wax candles are burning round it. When all is in order, the evening songs begin, and after them every priest or friar, and the people after them, draw near the bed, kneel down, say *Ave*, and kiss one of the Virgin's hands with great devotion. The next day is the great festival, which is celebrated with music, High-Mass, a sermon, evening prayer, and a general procession through the streets.

After which the same religious ceremony, of praying and kissing her hand, is devoutly repeated by the clergy and laity; and these public demonstrations of zeal and devotion (except the procession) are continued every day during the *Octava*.

Another practice like this, of paying worship and adoration to the Virgin Mother, and her child Jesus in a manger, is observed on Christmas, and eight days after: But especially the nuns do signalize themselves on this festival, and that on which Jesus was lost and found again in the temple; for they hide the child in some secret place under the altar's table, and after evening songs they run up and down through the garden, cloisters and church, to see whether they can find the innocent child, and the nun that finds him out, is excused, for that year, from all the painful-offices of the convent, but she is to give, for 3 days together, a good dinner to all the nuns and father confessor; and that year she may go to the grate at any time, without any leave or fear, for she doth not assist at the public service of prayers: In short, she has liberty of conscience that year, for finding the lost child, and she is often lost too at the end of the year, by following a licentious sort of life.

These are, in some measure, voluntary devotions and adorations, but there are many others by precept of the church, and ordinances of several popes, who have granted proper services to several images, with which priests and friars do serve and adore them, or else they commit a mortal sin, as well as if they neglected the divine and ecclesiastical service, and the due observance of the ten commandments of the law of God. I will give a few instances of these adorations by precept, and with them I shall conclude

There are, in the church of Rome, proper services granted by the popes for the invention or finding out of the cross, and for the exaltation of it, and every priest, friar and nun, is obliged, in conscience, to say these services in honor of the cross; and after the great Mass they adore the cross; and this is prop

adoration, for they say in the hymn, Let us come and adore the holy Cross, &c. and the people do the same after them. They carry the cross on the 3d of May, and on the great Litany-days, in a solemn procession, to some high place out of the town, and after the officiating priest has lifted up the cross towards the south, north, west, and east, blessing the four parts of the world, and singing the Litany, the procession comes back to the church. These festivals are celebrated with more devotion and veneration, as to the outward appearance, than pomp and magnificence, except in the churches dedicated to the holy cross, where this being the titular festival, is constantly performed with all manner of ceremonies, as the days of the first class.

Again, there is another superstitious (though profitable to the clergy) ceremony in their church, which they call the adoration of the peace of God, for which purpose they keep in every church two flat pieces of silver, like a smoothing-iron, with an handle whercon are engraved the figure of the cross, and the images of the Apostles Peter and Paul; so in the great mass, when the priest comes to break the consecrated host, and puts the small part within the chalice, and says, *Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum*: That is, *The peace of the Lord be always with you*, and this he says, making the sign of the cross on the chalice, then the deacon gives him the silver piece, which he kisseth, and the deacon doing the same, gives it to the subdeacon, and so it goes round to the incenser, and one of the acoliti, i. e. those that carry the two candlesticks.—The other acolitus, who hath the second piece, comes to join both pieces together, and having a silken towel on his neck, he goes to give the piece to the magistrates all on their knees, and to the rest of the people and every body gives the peace offering in money which is for the priest that officiates. But the greatest offering to the cross of money and eatable things is on the Sunday next before Easter. That day priests and friars bless the palms, or olive branches, and make of them small crosses, which, as they make

the people believe, are the best relics against lightnings and thunders : So the people, willing to have so great a safeguard, together with the blessed branch of olivetree, go to church, and (especially the children) carry another branch furnished with sweet-meats, tied up with all sorts of ribbons, and some pieces of silver too ; and when they receive the blessed branch and the cross from the hand of the priest (after the benediction is over) they leave the rich branch ; so in some parish churches the minister gets by it, eatable things, ribbons, money, and wood for firing for a whole year ; and the people think themselves very happy and safe for that year with the small blessed cross : But for all that, many and many are killed every summer by flashes of lightning.

There are proper services granted to the Virgin Mary, under the following names : The Virgin of the rose of St. Dominick, of the girdle of St. Augustine, or the rope of St. Francis, and of the scapulary of Mount Carmel. All these distinguishing signs of the Virgin Mary, are celebrated by the church and fraternities of devout people, and adored by all christians, being all images & relics to be worshipped by the command of the Pope : Now by what has been said, where can we find expressions fit to explain the wickedness of the Romish Priests, the ignorance of the people, committed to their charge, and the idolatrous, nonsensical, ridiculous ceremonies, with which they serve, not God, but saints, giving them more tribute of adoration than to the Almighty ? I must own, that the poor people who are easily persuaded of every thing, are not to be blamed, but only the covetous, barbarous clergy ; for these (though many of them are very blind) are not to be supposed ignorant of what sins they do commit, and advise the people to commit : So, acting against the dictates of their own consciences, they, I believe, must answer for their ill guided flock, before the tribunal of the living God.

THE INQUISITION OF GOA,

FROM DR. BUCHANAN'S RESEARCHES IN ASIA.

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*Goa; Convent of the Augustinians,
Jan. 23, 1808.*

On my arrival at Goa, I was received into the house of Captain Schuyler, the British Resident. The British force here is commanded by Col. Adams, of His Majesty's 78th Regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal.* Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the Vice-Roy of Goa, the Count de Cabral. I intimated to His Excellency my wish to sail up the river to Old Goa,† (where the Inquisition is,) to which he politely acceded. Major Pereira, of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had letters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and to introduce me to the Archbishop of Goa, the Primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to Col. Adams, and to the British Resident, my purpose of inquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me, that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty; since every thing relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the Lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings; and that, if the Priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my inquiries on any subject.

"On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of Priests; whose dominion had existed for nearly three centuries; whose province it was to prose-

*The forts in the harbor of Goa were then occupied by British troops (two King's regiments, and two regiments of Native infantry) to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.

†There is Old and New Goa. The old city is about eight miles up the river. The Vice-Roy and the chief Portuguese inhabitants reside at New-Goa, which is at the mouth of the river, within the forts of the harbor. The old city, where the Inquisition and the Churches are is now almost entirely deserted by the secular Portuguese, and is inhabited by the Priests alone. The unhealthiness of the place, and the ascendancy of the Priests, are the causes assigned for abandoning the ancient city.

cute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy; & from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.*

“It happened that Lieutenant Kempthorne, Commander of His Majesty’s brig *Diana*, a distant connexion of my own, was at this time in the harbor. On his learning that I meant to visit Old Goa, he offered to accompany me; as did Captain Stirling, of His Majesty’s 84th regiment, which is now stationed at the forts.

“We proceeded up the river in the British Resident’s barge, accompanied by Major Pareira, who was well qualified, by a thirty years’ residence, to give information concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred Churches and Chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand Priests.

“On our arrival at the city, † it was past twelve o’clock: all the Churches were shut, and we were told that they would not be opened again till two o’clock. I mentioned to Major Pareira, that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days; and that I should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain a reception in any of the Churches or Convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep any where; I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer, in that place, to clear out a room in a building which had long been uninhabited, and which was then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance; and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from

*I was informed that the Vice-Roy of Goa has no authority over the Inquisition, and that he himself is liable to its censure. Were the British Government, for instance, to prefer a complaint against the Inquisition to the Portuguese Government at Goa, it could obtain no redress. By the very constitution of the Inquisition, there is no power in India which can invade its jurisdiction, or even put a question to it on any subject.

†We entered the city by the palace gate, over which is the statue of *Vasco de Gama*, who first opened India to the view of Europe. I had seen at *Calicut*, a few weeks before, the ruins of the SAMORIN’S Palace, in which *Vasco de Gama* was first received. The Samorin was the first native Prince against whom the Europeans made war. The empire of the Samorin has passed away: and now imperial Britain exercises dominion. May imperial Britain be prepared to give a good account of her stewardship, when it shall be said unto her, “Thou art no longer steward.”

this inhospitable place. In the mean time we sat down in the room I have just mentioned, to take some refreshment, while Major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval, I communicated to Lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket 'Dellon's Account of the Inquisition at Goa ;'† and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell of the Cathedral began to toll; the same which Dellon observes always tolls, before day-light, on the morning of the Auto da Fe. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the Inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made inquiries for me: and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or Holy Office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion; and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown, without the possibility of rescue.

"At two o'clock we went out to view the Churches, which were now open for the afternoon service; for there are regular daily masses; and the bells began to assail the ear in every quarter.

"The magnificence of the churches of Goa far exceeded any idea I had formed from the previous description. Goa is properly a city of Churches; and the wealth of provinces seems to have been expended in their erection. The ancient specimens of architecture at this place far excel any thing that has been attempted in modern times in any other part of the East, both in grandeur and in taste. The Chapel of the Palace is built after the plan of St. Peter's at Rome, and is said to be an accurate model of that paragon of architecture. The church of St. Dominic, the founder of the Inquisition, is decorated with paintings of Italian masters. St. Francis Xavier lies enshrined in a monument of exquisite art, and his coffin is enchased with silver and precious stones. The Cathedral of Goa is worthy of one of the principal cities of Europe; and the Church and Convent of the Augustini-

†Monsieur Dellon, a physician, was imprisoned in a dungeon of the Inquisition at Goa for two years, and witnessed an Auto da Fe, when heretics were burned; at which time he walked barefoot. At his release he wrote the history of his confinement. His description general very accurate.

ans (in which I now reside) is a noble pile of building, situated on an eminence, and has a magnificent appearance from afar.

“ But what a contrast to all this grandeur of the Churches is the worship offered in them! I have been present at the Chapels every day since I arrived; and I seldom see a single worshipper, but the ecclesiastics. Two rows of native Priests, kneeling in order before the altar, clothed in coarse black garments, of sickly appearance and vacant countenances, perform here, from day to day, their laborious masses, seemingly unconscious of any other duty or obligation of life.

“ The day was now far spent, and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a Priest, high in office, and one of the most learned men in the place. We accordingly walked to the Convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Josephus a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage, and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented the aspect of one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian Jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of their order, reposing in tranquil obscurity, in different parts of the East. After half an hours conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and inquired concerning some learned men of his own Church, whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him, during my stay at Old Goa. I was highly gratified by this unexpected invitation; but Lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the Inquisitor. For judge of our surprise, when we discovered that my learned host was one of the Inquisitors of the Holy office, the second member of that August tribunal in rank, but the first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the College adjoining the Convent, next to the rooms of the Inquisitor himself; and here I have been four days at the very fountain-head of information, in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the Inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he considers

my inquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

“Next day after my arrival, I was introduced by my learned conductor to the Archbishop of Goa. We found him reading the Latin Letters of St Francis Xavier. On my adverting to the long duration of the city of Goa, while other cities of Europeans in India had suffered from war or revolution the Archbishop observed that the preservation of Goa was ‘owing to the prayers of St. Francis Xavier.’ The Inquisitor looked at me to see what I thought of this sentiment. I acknowledged that Xavier was considered by the learned among the English to have been a great man. What he wrote himself bespeaks him a man of learning, of original genius, and great fortitude of mind; but what others have written for him and of him has tarnished his fame, by making him the inventor of fables. The Archbishop signified his assent. He afterwards conducted me into his private Chapel, which is decorated with images of silver, and then into the Archiepiscopal Library, which possesses a valuable collection of books. As I passed through our Convent, in returning from the Archbishop’s, I observed among the paintings in the cloisters a portrait of the famous Alexis de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa, who held the Synod of Diamper near Cochin in 1599, and burned the books of the Syrian Christians. From the inscription underneath I learned that he was the founder of the magnificent Church and Convent in which I am now residing.”

“On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief Inquisitor, at his house in the country. The second inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable company of priests, and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief Inquisitor I saw a register containing the present establishment of the Inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On my asking the chief Inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the Inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the Inquisitors themselves, but from certain Priests, whom I visited at their respective convents; particularly from a Father in the Franciscan Convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an Auto da Fe.”

“ Goa, Augustinian Convent, 26th Jan. 1808.

“ On Sunday, after Divine service, which I attended, we looked over together the prayers and portions of Scripture for the day, which led to a discussion concerning some of the doctrines of Christianity. We then read the third chapter of St. John’s Gospel, in the Latin Vulgate. I asked the Inquisitor whether he believed in the influence of the Spirit there spoken of. He distinctly admitted it; conjointly however he thought in some obscure sense, with water. I observed that water was merely an emblem of the purifying effects of the Spirit, and could be but an emblem. We next adverted to the expression of St. John in his first Epistle; ‘This is he that came by water and blood: even Jesus Christ; not by water only but by water and blood:’—blood to atone for sin, and water to purify the heart; justification and sanctification; both of which were expressed at the same moment on the Cross. The Inquisitor was pleased with the subject. I referred to the evangelical doctrines of Augustin (we were now in the Augustinian convent) plainly asserted by that Father in a thousand places, and he acknowledged their truth. I then asked him in what important doctrine he differed from the protestant Church? He confessed that he never had a theological discussion with a Protestant before. By an easy transition we passed to the importance of the Bible itself, to illuminate the priests and people. I noticed to him that after looking through the colleges and schools, there appeared to me to be a total eclipse of Scriptural light. He acknowledged that religion and learning were truly in a degraded state. I had visited the theological schools, and at every place I expressed my surprise to the tutors, in presence of the pupils at the absence of the Bible, and almost total want of reference to it. They pleaded the custom of the place, and the scarcity of copies of the book itself. Some of the younger priests came to me afterwards, desiring to know by what means they might procure copies. This inquiry for Bibles was like a ray of hope beaming on the walls of the Inquisition.

“ I pass an hour sometimes in the spacious library of the Augustinian convent. There are many rare volumes, but they are chiefly theological, and almost all of the sixteenth century. There are few classics; and I have not yet seen one copy of the original Scriptures in Hebrew or Greek.”

“Goa, Augustinian Convent, 27th Jan. 1808.

“On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the Inquisitor coming into my apartment clothed in black robes from head to foot; for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the Tribunal of the Holy Office. ‘I presume, Father, your august office does not occupy much of your time.’ ‘Yes,’ answered he, ‘much. I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.’

“I had thought, for some days, of putting Dellon’s book into the Inquisitor’s hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation I took the pen in my hand to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him, while I was writing, I took up Dellon’s book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French Language, which he understood well.—‘Relation de l’Inquisition de Goa,’ pronounced he, with a slow, articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, and then ran over the table of contents at the beginning, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed in the broad Italian accent, ‘Mendacium, Mendacium.’ I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. ‘Other books,’ said he, and he looked with an inquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

“It was on this night that a circumstance happened which caused my first alarm at Goa. My servants slept every night at my chamber door, in the long gallery which is common to all the apartments, and not far distant from the servants of the convent. About midnight I was waked by loud shrieks and expressions of terror, from some person in the gallery. In the first moment of surprise I concluded it must be the

Alguazils of the holy office, seizing my servants to carry them to the Inquisition. But, on going out, I saw my own servants standing at the door, and the person who had caused the alarm (a boy of about fourteen) at a little distance, surrounded by some of the Priests, who had come out of their cells on hearing the noise. The boy said he had seen a spectre, and it was a considerable time before the agitations of his body and voice subsided. Next morning at breakfast the Inquisitor apologized for the disturbance, and said the boy's alarm proceeded from a 'phantasma inimi,' a phantasm of the imagination.

"After breakfast we resumed the subject of the Inquisition. The Inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the mode of trial, and of the Auto da Fe were, in general, just; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the Inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the Holy Church; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The Inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called "Religious Ceremonies;" together with plates of the system of torture and burnings at the Auto da Fe. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the Inquisition itself had been totally suppressed; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration to shew that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.*"

*The following were the passages in Mr. Dellon's narrative, to which I wished particularly to draw the attention of the Inquisitor. Mr. D. had been thrown into the Inquisition at Goa and confined in a dungeon, ten feet square, where he remained upwards of two years, without seeing any person, but the gaoler who brought him his victuals, except when he was brought to his trial, expecting daily to be brought to the stake. His alleged crime was, charging the Inquisition with cruelty, in a conversation he had with a Priest at *Daman*, another part of India.

"During the months of November and December, I heard every morning, the shrieks of the unfortunate victims, who were undergoing the *Question*. I remembered to have heard, before I was cast into prison, that the Auto da Fe was generally celebrated on the first Sunday in Advent, because on that day is read in the Churches that part

of the Gospel in which mention is made of the **LAST JUDGMENT**; and the Inquisitors pretend by this ceremony to exhibit a lively emblem of that awful event. I was likewise convinced that there were a great number of prisoners, besides myself; the profound silence, which reigned within the walls of the building, having enabled me to count the number of doors which were opened at the hours of meals. However, the first and second Sundays of Advent passed by, without my hearing of any thing, and I prepared to undergo another year of melancholy captivity, when I was aroused from my despair on the 11th of January, by the noise of the guards removing the bars from the doors of my prison. The *Alcaide* presented me with a habit, which he ordered me to put on, and make myself ready to attend him, when he should come again. Thus saying, he left a lighted lamp in my dungeon. The guards returned, about two o'clock in the morning, and led me out into a long gallery, where I found a number of the companions of my fate, drawn up in a rank against a wall: I placed myself among the rest, and several more soon joined the melancholy band. The profound silence and stillness caused them to resemble statues more than the animated bodies of human creatures. The women, who were clothed in a similar manner, were placed in a neighboring gallery, where we could not see them; but I remarked that a number of persons stood by themselves at some distance, attended by others who wore long black dresses, and who walked backwards and forwards occasionally. I did not then know who these were: but I was afterwards informed that the former were the victims who were condemned to be burned, and the others were their confessors.

“After we were all ranged against the wall of this gallery, we received each a large wax taper. They then brought us a number of dresses made of yellow cloth, with the cross of St. Andrew painted before and behind. This is called the *San Benito*. The relaxed heretics wear another species of robe, called the *Samarra*, the ground of which is grey. The portrait of the sufferer is painted upon it, placed upon burning torches with flames and demons all round. Caps were then produced called *Carrochas*; made of pasteboard, pointed like sugar loaves, all covered over with devils and flames of fire.

“The great bell of the Cathedral began to ring a little before sunrise, which served as a signal to warn the people of Goa to come and behold the august ceremony of the *Auto da Fe*; and then they made us proceed from the gallery one by one. I remarked as we passed into the great hall, that the Inquisitor was sitting at the door with his secretary by him, and that he delivered every prisoner into the hands of a particular person, who is to be his guard to the place of burning. These persons are called *Parrains*, or *Godfathers*. My Godfather was the commander of a ship. I went forth with him, and as soon as we were in the street, I saw that the procession was commenced by the Dominican Friars, who have this honor, because St. Dominic founded the Inquisition. These are followed by the prisoners who walk one after the other, each having his Godfather by his side, and a lighted taper in his hand. The least guilty go foremost; and as I did not
 s for one of them, there were many who took precedence of me.

“I had already discovered, from written or printed documents, that the Inquisition at Goa was suppressed by Royal Edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1779. The Franciscan Father before mentioned witnessed the annual Auto da Fe, from 1770, to 1775. “It was the humanity and tender mercy of a good King,” said the old Father, “which abolished the Inquisition.” But immediately on his death, the power of the Priests acquired the ascendant, under the Queen Dowager, and the Tribunal was re-established, after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in ope-

The women were mixed promiscuously with the men. We all walked barefoot, and the sharp stones of the streets of Goa wounded my tender feet, and caused the blood to stream: for they made us march through the chief streets of the city; and we were regarded every where by an innumerable crowd of people, who had assembled from all parts of India to behold this spectacle; for the Inquisition takes pains to announce it long before, in the most remote parishes. At length we arrived at the Church of St. Francis, which was, for this time, destined for the celebration of the Act of Faith. On one side of the Altar, was the Grand Inquisitor and his Counsellors, and on the other, the Vice-Roy of Goa and his Court. All the prisoners are seated to hear a Sermon. I observed that those prisoners who wore the *horrible Carrochas* came in last in the procession. One of the Augustin Monks ascended the pulpit, and preached for a quarter of an hour: The sermon being concluded, two readers went up to the pulpit, one after the other, and read the sentences of the prisoners. My joy was extreme, when I heard that my sentence was not to be burnt, but to be a galley slave for five years. After the sentences were read, they summoned forth those miserable victims who were destined to be immolated by the Holy Inquisition. The images of the heretics who had died in prison were brought up at the same time, their bones being contained in small chests, covered with flames and demons. An officer of the secular tribunal now came forward, and seized these unhappy people, after they had each received a *slight blow upon the breast*, from the Alcaide, to intimate that they were abandoned. They were then led away to the bank of the river, where the Vice-Roy and his Court were assembled, and where the faggots had been prepared the preceding day. As soon as they arrive at this place, the condemned persons are asked in what religion they choose to die; and the moment they have replied to this question, the executioner seizes them, and binds them to a stake in the midst of the faggots. The day after the execution, the portraits of the dead are carried to the Church of Dominicans. The heads only are represented, (which are generally very accurately drawn; for the Inquisition keeps excellent limners for the purpose,) surrounded by flames and demons; and underneath is the name and crime of the person who had been burned.”

Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa, Chap. xxiv.

ration ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following, "That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal than were before necessary;" and, "That the Auto da Fe should not be held publicly as before; but that the sentences of the Tribunal should be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition."

"In this particular, the constitution of the new Inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for, as the old Father expressed it, 'Nunc sigillum non revelat Inquisitio.' Formerly the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison, had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year walking in the procession of the Auto da Fe; or if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning for years whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new code of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the Inquisition, and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings, in the presence of British dominion and civilization. I asked the Father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer; that every thing transacted there was declared to be 'sacrum et secretum.' But this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the dungeons; that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added that, of all the persons he had known, who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him what might be called, 'the mark of the Inquisition;' that is to say, who did not shew in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanor, or his terror of the Priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

"The chief argument of the Inquisitor to prove the melioration of the Inquisition was the superior *humanity* of the Inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers; but what availed humanity in an Inquisitor? he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the Tribunal, which are notorious enough; and a *relapsed Heretic* must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the inquisitor be humane or not. But if,

said I, you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, 'shew me the inquisition.' He said it was not permitted to any person to see the inquisition. I observed that mine might be considered as a peculiar case; that the character of the inquisition, and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question; that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish something more on that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings; at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or at least his admission of its truth. I added that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that in all our discussions we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said, he would take me with him to the inquisition the next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

"Next morning after breakfast my host went to dress for the Holy Office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time for the purpose of shewing me the inquisition. The buildings are about a quarter of a mile distant from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our *Manjeels*.* On our arrival at the place, the inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the inquisition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

"He led me first to the Great Hall of the inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars, and attendants of the Holy Office they bowed very low to the inquisitor,

*The *Manjeel* is a kind of Palankeen common at Goa. It is merely a sea cot suspended from a bamboo, which is borne on the heads of four men. Sometimes a footman runs before, having a staff in his hand, to which are attached little bells or rings, which he jingles as he runs, keeping time with the motion of the bearers.

and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshalled for the procession of the Auto da Fe. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time, with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walked by my side, in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow-creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow-sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, "Would not the holy church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?" The inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. "Now, Father," said I, "lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the captives." "No," said he, "that cannot be." I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor, from the beginning, to shew me only a certain part of the inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my enquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily, resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly, that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the inquisition, was to show me the prisons and captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. "Lead me down," said I, "to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British Government, to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Shew me the chamber of Torture; and declare what modes of execution or of punishment, are now practised within the walls of the inquisition, in lieu of

the public Auto da Fe. If, after all that has passed, Father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing, that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the inquisition in India." To these observations the inquisitor made no reply; but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. "My good Father" said I, "I am about to take my leave of you, and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the inquisition, after having seen the interior,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favorable sentiment of your kindness and candor. You cannot, you say, shew me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased then merely to answer this question; for I shall believe your word: How many prisoners are there now below, in the cells of the inquisition?" The inquisitor replied, "That is a question which I cannot answer. On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

"From the inquisition I went to the place of burning in the *Campo Santo Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the Auto da Fe. It is close to the palace, that the Vice-Roy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought on the difference between the pure and benign doctrine, which was first preached to India in the Apostolic age, and that bloody code, which after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name! And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation, which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition, with their racks and flames, to visit these lands, before the heralds of the Gospel of Peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The Inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning:

for I was to receive from the chief Inquisitor a letter which he said he would give me, before I left the place, for the British Resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

"When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the door-keepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the Inquisitor. I entered the Great Hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty Crucifix. I sat down on a form, and wrote some notes; and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the inquisitor. As I walked up the Hall, I saw a poor woman sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress.— This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the Inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second Inquisitor came out in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion; when I informed him I had come back for the letter from the chief Inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman, I pointed to her, and said with some emphasis, "Behold, Father, another victim of the holy Inquisition!" He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed, and I took my last leave of *Josephus a Doloribus*, without uttering a word."

Note.—The Inquisition of Goa, was abolished in the month of October, 1812.



