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were proud of professing a religion, which was the religion of all those mighty empires that had been founded by their ancestors.

The attachment of the Moroscoes to the Mahometan religion accounted for.

THEY had often entertained the hopes of being rescued by means of the Turks, and other Mahometans, from the Spanish yoke, and could not resolve entirely to abandon a religion which they expected, sooner or later, to be at liberty to profess. Their hereditary hatred of the Spaniards, which had been nourished by an uninterrupted course of hostilities during several centuries, had been rivetted, since the conquest, by the severity with which they had been used; while their aversion to the catholic worship was heightened by the appearance which the use of images in that worship gave it of idolatry, against every species of which all Mahometans are actuated with the most irreconcilable aversion. When to these considerations we add how little qualified the Spanish ecclesiastics were to instruct them in the principles of Christianity, and that most of the Moroscoes lived detached from the Spaniards in towns and villages, and districts by themselves, seldom associating with any but those of their own persuasion, and speaking a language of which the ecclesiastics, as well as the people, were extremely ignorant; when all these circumstances are considered, it will

will not be so surprising, as at first sight it might appear, that so small a number of them should have been converted to the Christian faith.

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It must, at the same time, be acknowledged that their infidelity afforded just ground for uneasiness to the Spanish monarchs, who could hardly expect to gain the affections of a people differing so widely from themselves, and from their Spanish subjects, in matters regarded as the most important and essential. The most inveterate enemies of Spain had for many years been the Turks, and the Moors of Barbary; and it could scarcely be supposed, that, in the case of an invasion by these powers, the Morescoes would be averse to exchange their present masters, for others, whose religion, customs, and manners, were so nearly similar to their own.

Good policy, therefore, required that no pains should be spared, on the part of the kings of Spain, to accomplish the conversion of their Moresco subjects. Nor does it appear that these princes were at any time neglectful of an object which they justly deemed so highly deserving of their attention. They had instituted schools, as already mentioned, for teaching the Arabic tongue. They had often inculcated upon the clergy, to whom the instruction of the

the Morefcoes was intrusted, the necessity of greater diligence in their endeavours to reclaim them. The royal commands on this head had, on different occasions, been enforced by the Roman pontiffs; and, in order to engage men, properly qualified, to apply themselves to this important work, they had augmented the church livings in many of those parts of the kingdom where the Moors resided.

THESE were perhaps the only means which the religious prejudices of the people, and the maxims or genius of the Spanish government, would permit to be employed; and if the Morefcoes had, at the same time, been used with greater kindness, or even with greater lenity and forbearance, it is probable that, sooner or later, these means would have been attended with the desired success. But, besides that the faith which the Spanish princes had pledged to them when they submitted to their authority had been often violated, they had been from the beginning treated with every mark of jealousy and suspicion; they had been excluded from all the honours, and from every important office in the state; encouragement had been given to the most minute and malignant investigation of their private conduct; and after the power of the barons, who had long acted as their protectors, was reduced, they were

were exposed a defenceless prey to the avarice and cruelty of the inquisition \*.

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THE kings of Spain were too deeply tinctured with the bigotry of the Romish church, and their maxims of government too despotic, to allow them to perceive the absurdity of these measures, so extremely ill calculated to promote the purpose for which they were designed. Charles the Fifth, however, and Philip the Second, two princes noted for their political discernment, being aware of the prejudice which the kingdom would sustain, if the Morescoes, who formed so great a proportion of their subjects, were expelled, had given no ground to suspect that they would ever consent to their expulsion; nor does it appear that the clergy, who earnestly wished that this measure might be embraced, ever attempted to recommend it either to Charles or his son. But, soon after the accession of the present king, they conceived the hopes of being able to accomplish their desire; because both Philip and his minister, they thought, would be influenced more by religious than political considerations; and, in case they could be persuaded that the interest of religion was concerned in the expulsion, would be easily re-

\* Carta de Don Pedro de Valentia, MS. No. 1.



conciled to the political inconveniencies that might attend it.

THE motives which determined the ecclesiastics in their conduct on this occasion were not merely such as were suggested by religious zeal or bigotry. The obstinacy of the Morescoes in adhering to Mahometanism had been generally ascribed to the remissness or negligence of those who had been employed to instruct them \* ; and the clergy were sensible that much greater pains were requisite for this end than they were willing to bestow. Besides which, their revenues had been taxed for augmenting the Morescoes vicarages, and for building and endowing an additional number of churches for their instruction. They were, on both these accounts, inflamed against the Morescoes with a peculiar hatred ; and, in order that they might at once avoid the labour necessary for converting them, and the censure which they must incur in case of their declining it, they earnestly desired their expulsion ; and, in order to effectuate it, were perpetually inveighing against them as an incurable race of infidels, of whose conversion, without a miraculous in-

\* By a brief from the pope, Gregory III. an. 1576.

terposition of Divine Power, no hopes could justly be entertained.

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Of all the ecclesiastics, the person who discovered the most unrelenting hatred against this unhappy people was Don John de Ribera, patriarch of Antioch, and archbishop of Valentia, an aged prelate, who was held in high veneration by his countrymen for his piety and learning; and, in different histories of his life, published in Spain and Italy, is celebrated as one of the brightest ornaments that ever adorned the Christian church.

BUT there is nothing for which the historians have been so liberal in his praise as the flaming zeal which he displayed in his unwearied exertions for the expulsion of the Moriscoes, in which they suppose him to have been equally animated by a patriotic concern for the safety of Spain, and a pious solicitude for the preservation of the Catholic faith.

It has been questioned, however, whether his motives were in reality so pure as his admirers would have us to believe; for there is ground to suspect, that, after the Pope, at the request of Philip II. imposed a new tax of between three and four thousand dollars yearly on the reve-

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revenues of his archbishopric, for augmenting the salaries of the curates employed in instructing the Moreoscos, his zeal for their expulsion became more violent than ever. This tax, it is said, neither he, nor any of the clergy in his diocese, ever paid; and although the king, in order more easily to reconcile the Moreoscos to Christianity, had obtained from the Pope an edict of grace in their favour, containing a plenary pardon of all their past offences, on condition that, within the space of four years, they should make confession to certain commissioners, to be appointed by Ribera and the other bishops, yet this edict was not published, nor any commissioners appointed till after two years and a half, when Philip III. interposed his authority for that effect.

IN defence of the archbishop's conduct in these instances, it may be alledged, that, from long experience, and many fruitless trials, he believed the infidelity of the Moreoscos to be incurable, and that he would not have thus ventured repeatedly to disobey the orders of his spiritual superior, had he not known that the sovereign pontiff, having the same opinion as himself of the vanity of all farther attempts for their conversion, did not seriously desire to have his orders carried into execution. But

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whatever were the motives of this prelate's conduct, and though it justly exposed him to the imputation of wishing rather to have the Morescoes expelled than converted, no person had greater influence on this occasion with the king and his ministers in recommending the measure that was afterwards embraced.

FROM the arguments which he employed in two memorials on the subject, presented to the king, the reader will be better able to judge of the motives by which both he and the court of Spain were determined. In his first memorial, dated in the year 1602, his principal design was to found their inclination, and to awaken in them a sense of the danger to which the kingdom was exposed.

Memorials  
to the king  
of Spain a-  
gainst the  
Morescoes.

"AFTER all the pains, he said, which had been bestowed in attempting to convert the Morescoes to Christianity, they were still as strongly as ever attached to the Mahometan superstition. In the kingdom of Valentia, the bishops, the rectors, and preachers, had in vain used their most strenuous endeavours to persuade them to avail themselves of the Pope's edict of grace, which had been lately published. In reasoning with their leading men, it had been observed, that as often as they were

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put to silence by the arguments employed to convince them, they changed colour, and were so inflamed with indignation, as evidently shewed how much they desired to be able to employ force in defence of their opinions. They corresponded with those of their own sect in the most distant part of the country, and sent their emissaries every where, to encourage the people to persevere in their infidelity. They all spoke with one mouth, and had the same answer to return to their instructors, that they were already Christians; that they had already confessed all the sins of which they were conscious, to their respective priests; and that, being occupied with their proper business, they had not leisure to attend to the conduct of others, and therefore knew not of any persons who practised the rites of the Mahometan religion. They had often been convicted of falsehood; but on these occasions they were either silent, or they repeated the same reply to the questions that were put to them. Since the publication of the edict of grace, they had celebrated the festivals of their religion with greater solemnity than before; and, with much effrontery, had caroused together, on receiving intelligence of the unsuccessful issue of the expedition of his majesty's forces against Algiers.

“FROM this conduct of the Morescoes, continued Ribera, which I have represented with my wonted impartial regard to truth, two important consequences follow, which require your majesty’s most serious attention.

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“THE first is, that the bishops, and other pastors of the church, are laid under the painful necessity of doing what many learned doctors of the church think unlawful, the administering of the sacrament of baptism to those who they knew will, sooner or later, become apostates from the faith; for there is a moral certainty that every Moresco child, whom we baptize, will, through the example and instruction of his Mahometan parents, become himself a Mahometan. And this we are taught to expect, not only by reason and experience, but by the spirit of God, who in speaking of the infidelity of Rehoboam, makes twice mention, in one chapter, that he was the son of Naama, a Gentile; which is equivalent to declaring that to be the child of a mother who is an infidel, and to be educated by her, is a certain means of making the child an infidel.

“IN baptizing the Moresco children, therefore, our consciences are greatly disturbed



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with the apprehension that we are guilty of violating the commandment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has prohibited the giving of holy things to dogs, and the casting of pearls before swine.

“NOR is this the only unhappy consequence arising from the incurable infidelity of the Moriscoes. But the kingdom of Spain is therefore exposed to the greatest risk of becoming an easy prey to the hostile designs of our enemies. This kingdom was ruined in former times by the intrigues of a single person, count Julian, at whose instigation it was invaded and subdued by the Saracens, when they had no friends within the kingdom to second their attempt. And from thence may be perceived how great occasion there is for the most disquieting apprehensions at this time, when there are established in the kingdom ninety thousand men fit to carry arms, and all of them actuated with the most irreconcilable aversion to the present government. The Turks and Moors are the most inveterate enemies of Spain, because she is the principal bulwark of Christendom; the French, from jealousy, or envy of her greatness; and the English, on account of her zeal for maintaining the purity of the Catholic faith.

faith. Is there not just ground to dread that these our foreign enemies, allured by the hopes of assistance from those whom we nourish in our bosom, shall unite their forces, and undertake the subversion of the monarchy? Especially when it is considered that, with the powerful assistance they would receive from the Morescoes, a small number of troops would be sufficient, and no extraordinary preparations or expence required.

“THE Morescoes, in Granada alone, had withstood the whole force which the late king could muster against them, although, besides his Spanish troops, he brought into Spain a numerous reinforcement of Germans and Italians. But, if all the Morescoes in the different parts of the kingdom were to take arms, which it is unquestionable they would do, if either the Turks, or French, or English, were to attempt an invasion, our condition would then be the most deplorable and desperate, and, like our ancestors, we must resolve either to yield our necks to the yoke of conquerors, or to take shelter, as they did, among the rocks and mountains of Asturia.

“As often as I have reflected on the imminent danger to which this mighty monarchy

stands exposed, I have thought it unaccountable, that, during the long reigns of two such wise and powerful monarchs, as the emperor and the late king, no sufficient security against it was provided. Nor can I account for their negligence in this respect, but on the supposition that God, who rules the hearts of kings, thought fit to reserve this important work, so worthy of your royal breast, on purpose to adorn the annals of your pious reign; as he reserved the deliverance of his chosen people for Moses, their entrance into the promised land for Joshua, the conquest of the Philistines for David, and the inflicting of vengeance on the Amalekites for Saul.

“EITHER this has been his intention, or he hath so long prevented the Spanish monarchs from perceiving the necessity of delivering Spain from so great a danger, that, by means of the Moreiscos, he may punish us for our sins. But, in my opinion, one of the greatest of these is the permitting of so great a number of inveterate enemies of the church and state for so many years to retain their power of doing mischief; nor is it reasonable to expect success in foreign enterprizes, till the kingdom shall be purged of its domestic foes.

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"IN the year 1588, when the great Armada was destroyed, I was emboldened by my zeal for the interest of religion and my country, to represent to your royal father, that after having long and carefully enquired why it had pleased God to permit so great a calamity to befall us, I was persuaded that he intended thereby to instruct the king, that, till he had extirpated heresy from his own dominions, he ought not to have suffered his attention to be diverted by any thing that passed in foreign states. And, in like manner, confiding in your majesty's clemency for forgiveness of the liberty which I take, I must declare that, after the most mature consideration, it appears to me, that no other account but this can be given of the late failure of your expedition against Algiers, in which there was nothing omitted which human prudence could suggest to insure success.

"IT is the will of heaven, that your majesty should first provide for the safety and tranquillity of your own dominions; and, in order to accomplish this end, it is necessary that your domestic enemies, those apostates from the faith, who are equally enemies to the state and to our most holy religion, should be deprived of the power of disturbing your re-

pose. No object surely can be more deeply interesting; and therefore I trust I shall be pardoned for presuming, with due humility, to exhort your majesty to require your ministers, without delay, to apply themselves to the consideration of it, with all that serious attention which it so highly deserves, excluding from all the councils which shall be held for that purpose, all those persons whose private interest may hinder them from perceiving what is conducive to the public good\*."

THIS memorial was most graciously received by the king and the duke of Lerma, both of whom wrote letters of thanks to the patriarch for the wholesome counsel which it contained, and required him to give them his opinion with regard to the proper means of obviating that imminent danger, to which it appeared, from his memorial, the kingdom was exposed. In compliance with this request, and emboldened by the confidence reposed in him, Ribera soon after presented another memorial, of which the purport was, partly to persuade Philip that no other means could prove effectual but the utter extirpation of the Morescoes; and partly to

\* Vita de Ribera,

take off the force of such objections, as either religion or humanity might suggest, to deter him from having recourse to this expedient.

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IN sacred writ, he said, there was no precept so often repeated to the chosen people of God as that of rooting out from among them those infidel nations whom they found in possession of the promised land. A strict obedience to this precept was particularly inculcated on the kings and rulers of the people; and the first king, whom God himself had appointed to rule over them, incurred the divine displeasure, and was deprived of his kingdom, merely on account of his disobedience. The pernicious consequences of permitting the Moreos to remain in Castile and Arragon were the same as those which the children of Israel experienced from their communication with the idolatrous heathens; for the faithful in Spain were in equal danger from the infection of their example, and the extirpation of these infidels was therefore equally incumbent on the catholic king, as that of the heathens on the kings and captains of the Jews.

IN following the example of David, and other good kings of Israel, Philip would likewise imitate the conduct of some of the best



and greatest of his predecessors; by whom the Jews had, at different periods, been expelled from Spain, though their provocations had never been so great as those of the Morefcoes; for the Jews were not heretics and apostates as they were, and were never accused of holding correspondence with the enemies of the state.

His illustrious grandfather, Charles V. the wisest and greatest prince of the age in which he lived, had published an edict, requiring the Morefcoes either to submit to be baptized, or to depart from Spain; expecting that by submitting to be baptized they would become both Christians and friends. It now appeared how much he was mistaken in this expectation; but, from the tenor of his edict, it was manifest how much he thought it his duty, and how necessary he believed it for the safety and prosperity of his people, to extirpate infidels from his dominions,

THE pernicious effects of tolerating apostates from the faith, had been severely felt by the French monarchs, whose kingdom had thereby been reduced to the lowest ebb, and their Catholic subjects exposed, for almost half a century, to all the miseries of civil war; whereas, if they had acted conformably to the measures of the church,

church, and either put to death their heretical subjects, or expelled them from the kingdom, all those unhappy consequences might have been prevented, and the purity of the faith preserved.

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THE temporal as well as the spiritual interest of the king's Catholic and loyal subjects, required that the Morescoes should be expelled; because, if they were not, there was much ground to apprehend they would ere long become masters of all the riches in the kingdom. They were not only industrious, but frugal and parsimonious to excess. They could labour for much lower wages, and were satisfied with much smaller profits in trade than were requisite for the subsistence of the Spaniards; great numbers of whom were thus excluded both from trade and labour, and thereby reduced to indigence. The Spanish villages, all over Castile and Andalusia, had fallen into decay; while those of the Morescoes increased and flourished; and the Spanish farmers were unable to pay their rents, though they cultivated the most fertile parts of the country: while the Morescoes, who generally lived in the most barren parts, after paying the third part of their crops to the proprietors of their farms, were not only able to support themselves and their families, but annually to increase their stock.

IN consequence of this, their number had of late been greatly augmented; and there was ground to dread that, if some remedy were not speedily applied, the natives would in a few years be outnumbered and overpowered. But no remedy whatever, he believed, would be found effectual, while the Morescoes were permitted to continue within the kingdom. The king's humanity, he supposed, would revolt at the thoughts of putting so many hundred thousands to the sword, and therefore the only expedient which remained was to transport them into foreign parts.

He did not however think it adviseable to expel them all at once: for, as those of Valentia lived in a great measure detached from the Christians, in villages and districts by themselves, there was little danger from the infection of their example; besides that, the Moors of those parts practised various useful arts, which were unknown to the Christians, but were extremely necessary for the comfort and convenience of life. If all these Moors were to be at once expelled, those arts would be entirely lost, and a great part of the country would become waste and desolate. But although for these reasons it might be judged expedient to delay their expulsion, they ought, in the mean time, to be loaded with taxes for  
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the maintenance of an army, sufficient to prevent any prejudice that might arise from permitting them to remain; their numbers ought, as quickly as possible, to be diminished, by sending annually some thousands of their young men to the galleys and the mines, and Christians, acquainted with their arts, ought gradually to be substituted in their room.

BUT a different course, he thought, ought to be pursued with regard to the Morescoes in the other provinces, who were, on many accounts, much more formidable than those of Arragon and Valentia. They had every where intermixed with the Christians; their example was consequently more infectious; and the churches and altars were profaned by their hypocritical and mock compliances with the holy rites of the true religion. They spoke the Castilian language; their minds were more cultivated and improved; they were better acquainted with the state of Spain, and much more capable of giving dangerous intelligence to her enemies; besides which, great numbers of them, having served in the royal army, were thereby not only qualified to act as spies, but to afford assistance to the enemy, in the case of an invasion or attack, or to any foreign enemy, by whom the kingdom should be attacked.

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By these considerations he was induced to believe that the preservation of the kingdom, as well as the interest of religion, required that all the Morescoes in Spain, those of Arragon and Valentia excepted, should be instantly expelled. They were all to be considered as obstinate heretics, or as apostates from the faith, whom the king, if he thought fit, might justly punish with death; and there could be no room therefore to doubt of the lawfulness of transporting them to foreign countries, which was the mildest punishment that, consistently with the safety of his kingdom, he could inflict.

THEIR children, under seven years of age, might be detained, in order to be educated in the Christian faith; and the king might, without any scruple of conscience, compel any number of those who were grown up, to serve on board his gallies, or in the mines of America; while, for the benefit of his exchequer, he might sell the rest for slaves to his Christian subjects in Spain and Italy. It could not be unjust to punish men in this manner, who by their crimes had forfeited their lives; and if it was just to punish them either with slavery or death, the simply expelling them from Spain, and transporting them to other countries, where their own religion was professed, could

could not be considered in any other light than as an act of clemency and mercy on the part of the king.

It might be difficult, he acknowledged, to effectuate their expulsion, without endangering the internal peace of the kingdom; but God, he trusted, would enlighten the minds of the king's ministers, and enable them to discern the most proper means of carrying so laudable a design into execution; for, as the counsel he had offered was equally dictated by his regard to the spiritual and to the temporal interest of the kingdom, he could not doubt that it was acceptable to God; and when he reflected on his great age, his natural temper and disposition, and the habits which he had long indulged of a retired and sequestered life, he could hardly suppose that the zeal and resolution with which he felt himself inspired in his address to the king, on the present occasion, could proceed from any other cause but the secret and all-powerful influence of the spirit of God upon his mind\*.

THE reasoning in this memorial was admirably fitted to make impression on the superstitious and timid temper of the king; nor was

\* Vita de R.bera, p. 388. Por Escríva.



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The effect  
of the rea-  
soning of  
Ribera on  
the mind  
of the king.

its efficacy lessened by the patriarch's vain pretension to divine illumination. But although both Philip's religious scruples, and his apprehensions of impending danger, were easily excited, his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, rendered him extremely averse to a measure so replete with cruelty, as that which Ribera had exhorted him to adopt. He could not therefore resolve to comply with the counsel that was given him, and his irresolution was increased by a memorial which was soon afterwards presented to him by the barons of Valentia.

THEY had received intelligence from some of their friends at court of the patriarch's two memorials. They knew that he had advised the king to permit their vassals to remain for some time longer, which they ascribed to his dread of their resentment; but they believed that the expulsion of the other Morescoes would be quickly followed by that of those of Valentia, and for this reason they were equally alarmed as if he had counselled the whole to be expelled.

IN order to deter the king from listening to his proposal, they unanimously remonstrated against the expulsion, as a measure that would be attended with the most pernicious consequences;

quences: for the Morefcoes were not only a frugal, temperate, and induftrious race of men, but they were the moft skilful farmers, and the moft ingenuous manufacturers in Spain. There were feveral manufactures, equally neceffary for internal confumption and foreign trade, with which they alone were acquainted; and without their fkill and labour, it was an unqueftionable fact, that a great part of the kingdom would lie wafte, and innumerable families of the higheft rank, who entirely depended on the rents of their lands, be reduced to indigence.

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ftrance of  
the barons  
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the Moref-  
coes.

It had been affirmed that they were all Mahometans, but no fufficient evidence had been produced to prove the truth of this affirmation. They had all been regularly initiated, by baptifm, into the Chriftian church; they all profefled themfelves to be Chriftians; and although many of them, perhaps, were not able to give a fatisfactory account of the doctrines of the Chriftian faith, yet the fame thing might be faid of innumerable other Chriftians of the lower rank, befides the Morefcoes.

BUT if many of them were in reality ignorant or unbelieving, this could not juftly be imputed to them, fo much as to thofe to whom  
their

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their instruction had been committed. Sufficient pains to instruct them; and proper methods of dealing with them, had seldom been employed. They had, at first, been dragged into the church by force and violence, and had afterwards been treated with inhumanity; as if bitter invectives, corporal punishments, and the confiscation of their effects, were the proper means of enlightening their understandings with the knowledge of the truth. In order to engage them to listen to instruction, it was necessary that their instructors should study to conciliate their affections. This end could be obtained only by gentleness and forbearance: and if the king would be pleased to take effectual care to prevent them from being treated more like brutes than men, and still more, if, as a reward for their relinquishing the Mahometan superstition, he would grant them access to the same immunities and privileges that were enjoyed by his other subjects, there would be no ground to despair of their conversion.

THEY had been accused of holding a treasonable correspondence with the enemies of the state; but ought a vague and general assertion to be held as a sufficient evidence of their guilt? was not this crime of such a nature, that it must necessarily be confined to a few?

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ought the guilt of a few to be imputed to so great a number? ought even the few who had been guilty, to be condemned without a hearing, without a trial, and without the smallest evidence?

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THIS imputation had been often cast upon the Morescoes, by speculative and sequestered men, who had no access to know the truth of their assertion, but were prompted by their zeal and prejudices to believe it. It had always been disregarded by the wisest of the king's predecessors; and justice, they hoped, would determine the king to imitate so laudable an example, till some proof or evidence was adduced. This remonstrance, which the barons presented in a cortes or parliament held in the year 1604, was not altogether without effect. In compliance with the intention of it, Philip resolved to delay the expulsion of the Morescoes for some years longer, and, in the mean time to make a further trial, whether it was possible to effectuate their conversion to the faith; and for this purpose he procured a brief from the pope, imposing a tax on the ecclesiastical revenues, a part of which he was authorised to employ in building and endowing a Moresco college; and in order to induce men of abilities to accept of curacies among the Morescoes, he was impowered from the

Its effects.

Paul V.

same fund, to augment the salaries of the curates.

BUT no greater regard it would seem was paid to this than to the other brief above mentioned. The college was not endowed, and the church livings remained the same as before: from whence there was but too much ground for the suspicion which was entertained, that the king had neither been able to interest the pope nor the Spanish ecclesiastics in the execution of his plan.

THE latter laboured assiduously to convince both the pope and the king, that every thing already had been done for the conversion of the Morefcoes, that was in the power of man to perform. The archbishop of Valentia presented a third memorial to the king, containing, as he pretended, a full reply to what had been asserted by the barons, but consisting principally, either of invectives against the Morefcoes, or of denunciations of divine judgments, which must ere long overtake the kingdom, if they were not speedily expelled\*.

\* Some prodigies are recorded by Ribera in his memorial, and by other writers, as clear and certain indications of the will of heaven on the present occasion; such as, that the church bell of Villila rung of itself for several days, &c. But it does not appear, whether arguments of this kind were despised or regarded by the king.

RIBERA was powerfully seconded by several other ecclesiastics; and particularly by Bleda, a Dominican friar; distinguished for his acquaintance with the learning of his time, and equally noted for his activity, his zeal, and bigotry; who composed several bitter invectives against the Morefcoes, and dividing his time between Rome and Madrid, employed all his eloquence to persuade the pontiff and the king of the necessity of their expulsion.

BUT the archbishop's most powerful associate, was Don Bernardo de Roias y Sandoval, brother to the duke of Lerma, who was the cardinal archbishop of Toledo, inquisitor-general and chancellor of Spain. This prelate approved and seconded every part of Ribera's memorials; except where he advised the king to retain such of the Morefco children as were under seven years of age, and to suffer the Morefcoes in Valentia to remain till their place could be supplied by Christians; for it was more adviseable, this cardinal maintained, to put them all, men, women, and children, to the sword, than to have the Spanish blood contaminated, as it would be, if either of these exceptions were admitted by a mixture of the polluted blood of infidels.

THE duke of Lerma, who from the beginning of his administration had studied, with



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great assiduity and solicitude, to ingratiate himself with the court of Rome and the Spanish ecclesiastics, readily espoused his brother's sentiments; and, as the duke was at this time in unrivalled and full possession of the royal favour, nothing now was wanting to fix the resolution of the king \*.

Expulsion  
of the Mo-  
rescos.

It was accordingly resolved, that all the Moreos in Spain, those in Valentia as well as those in the other provinces, should be expelled. The cardinal archbishop went himself to Rome, with the design, it is believed, to persuade the sovereign pontiff to grant his sanction to the expulsion by some public deed: but, if this was the intention of his journey, it did not produce the desired effect. The pontiff, probably, chose that the odium which must attend a measure so barbarous and so unprecedented, should rather fall on the court of Spain than on the holy see; and, therefore, we do not read of any other papal bull or brief published on the present occasion, but one addressed to the bishops of Valentia, commanding them to assemble together, in order to consider whether any method of converting the Moreos could be devised. This bull was dated in the year 1606, a few months before the cardinal-primate set out for Rome, but

\* Fonseca Traycion de Morecos, p. 196.

was not published till after his return, in 1608. It was published in the month of April of that year; and, in compliance with it, the bishops soon after met together, and spent several months deliberating on the subject. But, as if the design of their meeting had been to condemn the Morescoes, and not to consider of the means of converting them, they at length pronounced the following sentence: "That the Morescoes of the kingdom of Valentia were all apostates from the Christian faith, and were, besides, so obstinate and inflexible in their infidelity, that, whatever means should be employed, no hopes could justly be entertained of their conversion."

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THIS sentence having been transmitted to the court, contributed to confirm the king in the resolution which he had formed. It was agreed, however, that the expulsion should be deferred till a more convenient season; and that, in the mean time, the strictest secrecy should be observed. It was judged necessary to keep the design secret, lest the Morescoes should either of themselves, or instigated by the barons, have recourse to arms; and, as no court was ever more distinguished for maintaining the most inviolable secrecy in its counsels than that of Spain, it would seem that no suspicion was entertained, either by the Morescoes or barons, of the king's determination

Bleda,  
p. 503

in a matter wherein they were so deeply interested, till every necessary preparation was made for carrying it into execution.

THE court having determined to begin with the expulsion of the Valentian Morescoes, orders were secretly given to the naval commanders in Spain, Portugal, and Italy, to receive a certain number of troops on board their ships, and to rendezvous in August, 1609, at Alicant, Denia, and other sea-ports in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Valentia. About the same time, Don Augustin Mexia, an old experienced officer, governor of Antwerp, was sent to the city of Valentia to concert with the viceroy, the marquis of Cararena, and others, concerning the measures necessary to be taken within the kingdom to prevent a tumult or insurrection. The pretext employed for assembling the fleet was an expedition against the Moors in Barbary. But the barons, observing that frequent conferences were held, by night and by day, at the viceroy's, with regard to the subject of which they were kept entirely in the dark, and being informed that the archbishop (who assisted at these conferences), as if he expected to be besieged, had conveyed into his palace an extraordinary quantity of provisions, besides some troops and arms, they soon came to suspect what was the real purpose of the naval armament;

ment; and having, conformably to a privilege which belonged to them by the constitution of Valentia, summoned one of those assemblies of their own number, termed the Military Arms, they sent deputies to the viceroy, requesting him to acquaint them with the design of the present preparations. To this enquiry, the viceroy, without pretending ignorance of the king's intention, replied, that, whatever it was, the barons might rest assured that no resolution could be formed, either by the king, who had ever regarded them as his most faithful vassals, or by the duke of Lerma, their countryman, whose estates were intermingled with theirs, which in the issue would not be found conducive to the true interest of Valentia.

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By this answer the barons were confirmed in their suspicions; and, as they could not but suppose that the viceroy would have chosen, had it been in his power, to dispel their apprehensions, they could no longer doubt that the object of all the preparations which had been made was the expulsion of their vassals. They instantly convened again, and drew up a remonstrance to be presented to the king: of which the purport was, that Valentia would be entirely ruined if the Morescoes, by whom most of the work in that kingdom was carried on, were expelled.

AT the desire of the viceroy, who dreaded that this step might give an alarm to the Moreiscoes, the justiza, or chief justice in criminal matters, having attempted in vain to divert them from their purpose, was so violently agitated with grief and rage, that he dropt down dead in the assembly. This accident prevented them from coming to an immediate decision; but next morning they had another meeting, in which they appointed deputies to carry their remonstrance to the king,

Remonstrance of the barons of Valentia against the expulsion of the Moors.

IT was expressed in the strongest terms, dictated by a deep conviction of the melancholy truth which it contained; but the deputies, though received by the king and his minister with much distinction and respect, were told, that the king's resolution, having been formed after the most mature deliberation, was unalterable; that the barons had been too late in presenting their petition; and that the edict of expulsion was already published.

A STRONG body of Castilian troops had actually entered Valentia about the time of the arrival of the deputies at Madrid; and the Moreiscoes were now acquainted with their fate.

IN the edict of expulsion, which was published with the usual formalities, by the viceroy,

roy, in the beginning of September, 1609, they were all commanded, men, women, and children, under the penalty of death, to be ready within three days to repair to the sea-ports appointed for their embarkation, and there to go on board of ships prepared for carrying them into foreign parts.

IT was ordained under the same penalty, that they should all remain in the places where they were, at the time of publishing the edict, till the commissaries appointed to conduct them to the sea-coast should arrive; that if any of them should, before the arrival of the commissaries, presume to change the place of their abode, they might be carried by any person before a judge; and, in case they should make resistance, might instantly be put to death.

IT was enacted, that all their effects should belong to the lords whose vassals they were, except such as they could carry along with them; and, that in case they should conceal or destroy any part of their effects, they should be punished with death.

FOR the preservation of the sugar-works, grataries of rice, drains or aqueducts, and, in order that the Christian inhabitants might be instructed

instructed in the works and manufactures which had hitherto been carried on by the Morefcoes, it was declared that six families, to be named by the barons, out of every hundred, might remain.

It was ordained, that all children under four years of age might remain, provided their parents or guardians should consent; that children under six or seven, one of whose parents was an old Christian, might remain, and the mothers with them, though they were Morefcoes; but if the fathers were Morefcoes, and the mothers Christians, that the fathers should be expelled, while the children might remain with their mothers; that all such of the Morefcoes might remain, who, for any considerable time, had demeaned themselves as Christians, who could produce certificates from the parish-priests of their having received the sacrament, by permission of their respective bishops, or who had not for two years attended any of the Morefco religious meetings.

THEY were all permitted to depart into any country, not subject to the crown of Spain, provided they should leave the kingdom within the time specified; and an assurance was given them, that no violence or injury should be offered them, by those who should  
be

be employed in transporting them to Barbary, or any other country they should make choice of \*.

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THE several concessions contained in this edict were considered by the ecclesiastics and the court of Spain as proofs of extraordinary clemency on the part of the king; but they could not be regarded in the same light by the Morescoes. They were equally overwhelmed with astonishment, and with anguish and distress. They were surrounded with enemies on every hand. The king, they perceived, though they had been taught to believe his distinguishing character to be gentleness and mercy, was their irreconcilable and mortal enemy; and their hearts sunk within them, when they reflected on the misery which they were doomed to undergo. They were not only disquieted with so near a prospect of the loss of their most valuable possessions, joined to that of perpetual banishment from their native country; but they violently dreaded that they were all to be butchered as soon as they were put on board the ships appointed for transporting them to foreign parts †. They had never had any friends to whom they could look for assistance, except their patrons the

\* Fonseca, lib. iv. cap. 3. † Fonseca, lib. iv. cap. 8.

barons,



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barons, whose interest was inseparably linked with theirs; but the barons, they knew, were unable to afford them protection on the present occasion, and all the good offices which they had interposed in their behalf had been without avail. They had little reason, therefore to expect that any thing which they themselves could do to avert the impending storm would prove effectual. That nothing, however in their power might be omitted, their leading men, having met together privately in the city of Valentia, drew up a petition, and sent a deputation of their number to present it to the viceroy; in which, after solemnly asserting their innocence of the crimes imputed to them in the edict, they offered, in case the king would be persuaded to recall it, to maintain a certain number of gallies for the protection of the coast against the corsairs; to build several new forts, and to support the garrisons not only of these, but of such as were already built; to redeem all the Christians of Valentia who should ever be taken captives by the Moors; and, besides, to furnish the king with a considerable sum of money\*. But the viceroy, though he was himself extremely averse to the expulsion, without taking

\* MSS. of Cottington's letters in lord Hardwick's possession. Mad. 8th Oct. 1609.

time to deliberate on their proposals, immediately replied, that there was now no room left for any petition or remonstrance; that the king was unalterably determined to put his edict into execution, and they must instantly prepare themselves, however reluctant, to submit\*.

WHEN this answer was reported by the delegates to the assembly in Valentia, their minds were variously agitated with grief, despair, and indignation. It was proposed by some of them that they should instantly have recourse to arms; for it was better, they maintained, to die fighting like men for their property and lives, than tamely to suffer themselves to be stript of their possessions, and afterwards, perhaps, to be butchered like sheep, by an implacable and cruel enemy, to whom they had never given any just occasion of offence: besides, that it might not be impossible for them to defend themselves in the mountainous parts of the country, till some foreign power, friendly to them, and hostile to the Spaniards, should come to their relief. But this proposal was rejected as desperate and impracticable, by a great majority of the assembly, who represented, that as they were not provided either with arms or military stores, had no practice

\* Fonseca, lib. iv. cap. 7.

in war, and had been utterly unaccustomed to military discipline, it was impossible they could hold out for many weeks against so potent an enemy. The Spanish regular forces, under the most experienced officers, were already distributed all over the country, and were every where prepared to attack them on the first appearance of opposition or resistance. No time would be allowed them to put themselves into a posture of defence. They would instantly be either cut to pieces, or reduced to slavery, and an opportunity would be thus afforded to the Spaniards of gratifying at once, still more than by their expulsion, their avarice and their cruelty. It could not be supposed that the king would have incurred the expence, which his preparations for exporting them must have cost him, had he intended to destroy them on their passage, since he could have done it more easily without incurring so great an expence; besides that so useless and so wanton a piece of treachery would cover his name with indelible disgrace. They might with confidence therefore expect to be safely conveyed to Barbary, and this was surely preferable either to death or to slavery in Spain. But while, for these reasons, all thoughts of resistance ought to be laid aside, they ought not to accept of either of the two offers that were made to them in the edict of expulsion.

Neither

NEITHER their children under age, nor the six families out of every hundred who were permitted to remain, ought to be left behind. The Spaniards intended, by these concessions, to serve themselves, and not the Morescoes, and the latter should, for that reason, unanimously resolve to reject them with disdain.

THIS resolution was warmly embraced by the whole assembly; and not by them only, but by all the other Morescoes in the kingdom of Valentia, except those, who, inhabiting certain mountainous parts of the country which they deemed impregnable, formed the desperate resolution of maintaining their possessions by force of arms. Before the meeting at Valentia, great numbers of those who lived in towns, and in the more fertile parts of the country, had earnestly solicited the barons to procure them to be named among the families who were to be permitted to remain; but no sooner were they made acquainted with the determination of their leaders, than, with one heart, and one voice, they declared that no consideration should now induce them to stay behind their kinsmen and companions.

The Morescoes resolve to defend themselves.

THIS declaration was a matter of deep concern to the barons, who had, in some measure,

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been reconciled to the expulsion by the promise which had been given for six families out of every hundred to remain, and now dreaded the utter ruin of their estates, if the Moreoscoes should persevere in their present resolution. Of all the barons the duke of Gandia was likely to prove the greatest sufferer, as his estate chiefly consisted of those manufactures with which the Moreoscoes alone were acquainted. By employing all his influence with them, and making them the most advantageous offers, he at length obtained their consent, on condition that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion. The duke solicited the viceroy to grant them this indulgence, till the Christians should be instructed in the manufactures, which would not require more than two or three years at most; but was told by the viceroy, that, agreeably to his orders from the king, it could not be granted for a single day \*. This answer being communicated to the Moreoscoes, there was not one person of more than a hundred and fifty thousand who could be persuaded to remain.

\* The viceroy received a letter of thanks from Philip on this occasion, beginning thus : Yo os agradeceo mucho lo que respondistes, y el parecer que days, que no por una hora si consienta que es muy conforme a lo que de vuestra mucha Chrrstianidad, se podia esperar, &c. Fonseca, lib. iv. cap. 8.

NOR were they less inflexible in refusing to leave their children behind them that were under six years of age. They were well aware, as they said to the ecclesiastics who applied to them on this head, of the great inconveniences and dangers to which so many thousand children, with their mothers and nurses, none of whom had ever been at sea, must be exposed from being crowded together on board the ships and galleys; but they were unalterably determined to carry them along with them to whatever part of the world they themselves should go, and chose rather to see them perish before their eyes than to leave them in the hands of a people by whom their parents had been treated with so much cruelty\*.

THE army having been distributed\* into the several stations, where they might most effectually prevent any disturbance or insurrection, and the ships of war and transports, fully

\* The ecclesiastics, however, and some religious women of rank, detained a considerable number of the children, partly by stealth, and partly by compulsion; believing that, in doing so, they performed a meritorious service in the sight of God, and saved the souls of the children from perdition. Fonseca, p. 233. Dio principio a este santo latrocinio, Donna Isabel de Felsco Virreyna de aquel Reyno, la qual dio orden que le travesen a casa algunar Morisquillas, aunque fuesse hurtandolas asus curadores, como se hizo, &c.

equipped for their intended voyage, the viceroy, without any farther delay, began to carry the royal edict into execution, by sending commissioners, with a sufficient body of troops, to collect the Morescoes in different quarters together, and to conduct them to the coast. The vassals of the duke of Gandia, amounting to more than twenty thousand men, were the first who embarked, and, after a prosperous voyage, they were safely landed at Oran, a Spanish fortress on the coast of Barbary.

AT Oran they were well received by the count of Aguilar, the governor of the fort, and, on his application to the viceroy of Tremezen, which stands at the distance of two day's journey from Oran, leave was granted them to come to take up their residence in the former of these places. In their journey thither they were deeply affected, and few of them could restrain their tears, when they compared the desert barren plains, through which they passed, with the fertile and delightful regions of Valentia. It afforded them, however, no small consolation in their distress to reflect that, as the dread which they had entertained of being murdered by the way had proved groundless, they had now found a prince of their own religion, disposed to grant them

them his protection. Upon their arrival at Tremezen, they were suffered to retain all their wealth which they had brought along with them, and admitted to all the same liberties and privileges as the natives of the place.

AN account of the treatment which they received having been carried to Spain, by ten persons who were suffered to return for that purpose, it contributed, in some measure, to reconcile the other Morefcoes in Valentia to their fate; and, as the winter season was fast approaching, when they must encounter greater difficulties in their passage, they even discovered a degree of impatience to be permitted to embark\*.

No time was unnecessarily lost on the part of the viceroy. The Morefcoes, conducted by his commissaries and the royal troops, and many of them accompanied, from compassion and humanity, by the barons whose vassals they had been, were every where in motion, and hastening in crowds, with their wives and children, to the coast. The ships which had been provided for transporting them, having been found extremely inadequate to the purpose, many more were collected from the sea-

\* Fonseca.



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ports in Spain, Majorca, and Italy. Of these many were hired by the Morescoes themselves; who desired, as soon as possible, to emancipate themselves from the power of the Spaniards; while the greater number went on board the ships provided by the king. And in a few weeks about a hundred and twenty thousand men, women, and children, had embarked.

MANY of these were persons of substance and condition; some of them, on account of their early profession of Christianity, had been raised to the rank of nobility, by the emperor Charles V. And the elegance and beauty of the young Moresco women is highly celebrated by a contemporary Spanish historian, whose bigotry often prompts him to exult in their distress.

Humanity  
of the barons of Valentia.

WIDELY different from the sentiments of this bigoted ecclesiastic were those of the Valentia barons; who gave their vassals, on this melancholy occasion, every proof of generous compassion and humanity. By the royal edict they were entitled to all the property belonging to their vassals, except what they were able to carry about their persons: but the barons, despising this right which the edict bestowed on them, allowed the Morescoes to dispose of whatever

whatever part of their effects could be sold for money, and likewise permitted them to convey their most valuable furniture and manufactures on mules and in carriages to the ships. Many of them accompanied their vassals in person to the shore, and some of them, having embarked along with them, saw them safely landed on the coast of Africa\*.

BUT this kind attention of the barons served only for a little time to mitigate their distress. Their exile from their native country, which justly excited in them the most bitter regret, and gave them so much ground for anxiety with regard to their future fortune, was soon succeeded by still greater calamities. Great numbers were shipwrecked on their passage, and never reached the African coast; while

Hard fate  
of the Mo-  
rescoes.

\* Of the barons who thus distinguished themselves by their tenderness and humanity on this occasion, and who remained at the sea-ports during the whole time of the embarkation, employing all their interest to protect the Morescoes from injury, and to procure them the best accommodation possible aboard the ships, Fonseca has recorded the names of the following, adding that there were many others whom he has not named: the duke of Gandia, whose great estate was almost entirely ruined; the marquis of Albada, the count of Alaguas, the count of Bunol, the count of Anna, the count of Sinarcas, the count of Conçentayna, and the duke of Maqueda, who went over in the first embarkation to the port of Oran.

many others were barbarously murdered at sea, by the crews of the ships which they had freighted: this latter calamity befel only those who had chosen to transport themselves in private ships; and instances are recorded of such inhuman cruelty exercised against this harmless, persecuted, and defenceless people, by the owners and crews of these ships, as equals any thing of the same kind of which we read in history. The men butchered in the presence of their wives and children; the women and children afterwards thrown alive into the sea; of the women, some, on account of their beauty, preserved alive for a few days to satiate the lust of the inhuman murderers of their husbands and brothers, and then either slaughtered or committed to the waves: such were some of the horrid deeds of which these barbarians were convicted upon their trial, to which they were brought, in consequence of quarrelling with each other about the division of their prey; and such, if we may credit a contemporary historian, was the unhappy fate of a great number of the Moreoscoes\*.

NOR was the fate of the greater part of those who reached the coast of Barbary less deplorable. They had no sooner landed on this

\* Fonseca.

barren inhospitable shore, than they were attacked by the Bedouin Arabs, a wild banditti who live in tents, and support themselves by hunting and by plunder. The Morescoes, unarmed, and incumbered with their wives and children, were often robbed by those barbarians, who came upon them in numerous bodies, amounting sometimes to five or six thousand men; and as often as the Morescoes attempted, with stones and slings, their only arms, to make resistance, put great numbers of them to the sword. Still greater numbers perished of fatigue and hunger, joined to the inclemencies of the weather, from which they had no means of shelter, during their tedious journey through the African deserts, to Mostagan, Algiers, and other places, where they hoped to be permitted to take up their residence. Few of them ever arrived at these places. Of six thousand, who set out together from Conastal, a town in the neighbourhood of Oran, with an intention of going to Algiers, a single person only, of the name of Pedralvi, survived the disasters to which they were exposed; and of the whole hundred and forty thousand, who were at this time transported to Africa, there is ground to believe, from the concurring testimony of persons who had access to know the truth, that more than a hundred thousand men,

men, women, and children, suffered death in its most hideous forms, within a few months after their expulsion from Valentia \*.

COMPARED to the dreadful fate to which this unhappy people were doomed by the Spaniards, it would have been an act of mercy on the part of the king, had he either commanded them to be put to the sword, or committed to the flames; as their misery would, in this case, have been of short continuance. The knowledge of what had befallen them ought, at least to have deterred him from exposing the rest of his Morefco subjects to the like calamities.

BUT the sentiments of humanity in the ecclesiastics and court of Spain were overpowered by those of the most illiberal superstition. They considered that inexpressible misery, which they themselves had brought on the Morefcoes, as a signal of divine judgment against that unhappy people, which served to justify the cruelty which they had exercised, and to prove that what they had done was acceptable in the sight of God. Far from feeling remorse or sorrow for what had happened, they rather triumphed and exulted in it, and were confirm-

\* Fonseca, Gonzalez, Davila, p. 146.

ed in their resolution of expelling all the Morescoes in Spain without exception, and without thinking it incumbent on them to make provision for their reception in any of those countries to which they were about to be conveyed.

BUT before they proceeded to the expulsion of the Morescoes in Castile and other provinces, it was judged necessary to reduce to obedience all such of the Morescoes in Valentia, above mentioned, as had retired to the mountainous parts of that kingdom, with the resolution of standing on their defence. Their number, including men, women, and children, amounted nearly to thirty thousand. Having collected together a considerable quantity of provisions of all kinds, they had begun, while the viceroy was employed in transporting their countrymen, to fortify themselves as well as they were able, and to block up the narrow passes, by which the Spaniards must approach. But, besides being utterly destitute of military skill, they were extremely ill furnished both with arms and ammunition; and the folly of their attempt quickly appeared in the feebleness of every effort which they made to repel the attacks of the enemy. The viceroy having sent against them the flower of the regular forces,

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under the command of Don Agustín Mescia, who had acquired considerable military experience and renown in the wars of Flanders, a great part of them were compelled to surrender, through the want of water, from which Mescia had found means to cut them off; and soon after, the rest were beaten from their intrenchments, and put to flight.

In the pursuit no mercy was shewn, either to the aged or to the women and children, though rolling in the dust, and imploring mercy, by the savage conquerors. Upwards of three thousand perished \*. The number of those who had surrendered was two and twenty thousand, who were all soon after transported to Africa, except the children under seven years of age, whom the soldiers were permitted to sell for slaves. The king decreed, that, after a certain number of years, they should be set at liberty; but as many of them were sent

\* Fonseca, p. 310.—From the style of this author in this and many other passages, there is little ground for doubt, that with pleasure he would have acted the same bloody part which he describes.

Fueron Siguiendo la vittoria, los neustros, matando sin excecion, quantos alconçavan, viejos, moços, grandes, pequennos, hombres. y mugeres, por mas que arrodillados ellos, y ellas con los braços a bieritos les pedian misericordia, no mereciendola los que siempre usaron mal della—Fonseca, 310.



to foreign countries, there is ground to suspect that the decree was not attended with the desired effect \*.

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ANOTHER order of the king, which he published at this time, proved more effectual. Besides the Morescoes who were killed or taken prisoners, a considerable number, distrustful of the Spanish faith, or prompted by an unconquerable attachment to their native country, had dispersed themselves among the woods and

\* The viceroy and the archbishop of Valentia differed widely in their opinion with regard to the proper method of disposing of the children. The former represented to the king, that all of them, who were under fifteen years of age, might be safely permitted to remain in the hands of the Christians, to whom they had been sold by the soldiers, as there would be no Mahometans in the kingdom by whom they could be perverted from embracing the principles of the Christian faith. Besides, that as most of their parents and other relations had perished in the late insurrection, it would be less cruel to put them all to the sword, than to land so great a number of helpless young persons on the coast of Barbary. The archbishop, on the other hand, declared that, after a certain age, no Moresco could possibly be converted; and that, if the Moresco children, at fifteen, at twelve, at ten, or even seven years of age were suffered to remain, the whole kingdom of Valentia would again be peopled with Mahometans before the end of the second, or at most of the third generation. The king, desirous to gratify both the viceroy and the archbishop, but leaning more to the side of the latter, gave his permission as above-mentioned, for retaining only such of the children as were under seven years of age.

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rocks, where they hoped to elude the notice of the Spaniards. Philip put a price upon the heads of those unhappy men, and the soldiers were sent out to hunt for them, as for beasts of prey. Hardly any of them were able to escape. Some of them chose rather to die of cold and hunger, than surrender themselves to the Spaniards: and at length their leader, who with his wife and children had concealed themselves in the most inaccessible parts of the mountains, was taken and carried alive to Valentia, where, after suffering much mockery and insult for having allowed himself to be elected king of the insurgents, he was, by a solemn sentence, condemned and put to death\*.

\* In the appendix (B) the reader will find other interesting circumstances relative to the condition of the Moriscoes in Spain, their expulsion, and subsequent fate, collected from sir Francis Cottington's Letters from Spain, 1609 and 1610.

END OF VOLUME I.

