

right no Power, either human or divine, can take away, because it is divine itself." But what danger does the Cobler run who accuses the Blacksmith ? and it is rarely that persons of higher rank are indicted, unless sometimes a Physician or an Advocate.

But the Inquisitors hold another principle, from which and their consequent practice, many innocent persons must necessarily suffer. They say it is better that many Catholics and good Christians should perish, than that one heretic or Jew escape ; for the death of a good Catholic is nothing more than the securing his salvation, whereas great numbers may be perverted by the life of one heretic or Jew.

The consolation which the Inquisition gives to those who have suffered innocently is admirable. It ordains that no person shall say he was condemned without reason, or complain of the Judges, or of the holy institution ; but instead of complaining of being unjustly punished, he must rejoice that he has suffered for righteousness sake.

The great argument which the Inquisitors use to justify their practice, is, that as secrecy is observed in human crimes of leze-majesty, how much more reason is there for observing it in leze-majesty against God ! but the security of the state is interested in the life of the Prince. Now, the greatest crime that ever could be committed against God was that of Adam ; yet, notwithstanding God was the Judge as well as the offended party, and therefore needed no proof on which to condemn him, he heard what the culprit could say in his own defence, who, as if accusing his Judge pleaded, “ the Woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.” Upon this the Woman was confronted with the serpent, and the Supreme Judge having made this notable process in all due forms, pronounced sentence, and condemned Adam and all his posterity : but God did not deprive him of temporal life, because he had from all eternity resolved to people the world ; whereas the Inquisition, by their proceedings, assist in depopulating Portugal, for they condemn *those who are called Jews* to the



punishment of death, as relapsed ; and if any remain in the kingdom and profess the true faith, they go on multiplying the name of New Christians.

I say *those who are called Jews*, for in reality they are not so, because they want the distinguishing mark. None of those who have appeared at the Autos da Fe are acquainted with the written law, but have followed a few traditions and a few of their own inventions. They are not therefore to be accounted Jews ; but the Inquisition makes Hebrew extraction a great proof of the crime. I have heard that Paulo Affonso de Albuquerque (my school-fellow and friend, but as ignorant a man as it is possible to be) used to say after he became Promotor of the Holy Office, that if Old Christians were accused of Judaism, there might be some doubt entertained, but of the guilt of New Christians there could be no doubt at all ; and I say, it is by no means conformable to the principles of Christianity that the Promotor and Judges should sit down to pass sentence on the accused when possessed with so rash an idea.



Frey Domingos de S. Thomas, Deputy of the Holy Office, used to say of the Mint and the Inquisition, that there was one house in the Calzateria where they made money ; and another in the Rocio, where they made Jews. Fit indeed is the inscription over the gate of this memorable and dreadful tribunal at Bologna : *Hæc est Inquisitionis tremenda Domus*. This is the tremendous House of the Inquisition.

From all this it follows that the Inquisition multiplies Jews instead of extirpating them, and that it drives from Portugal the people best adapted to sustain its commerce.

One remedy would be, to put in execution the law of banishment without indulgence. When Don Luis de Souza was at Rome, his Holiness said to him, “ What do you wish to do with this poor unfortunate people ? If your King does not chuse to have them in his dominions, let him banish all who prevaricate, and by little and little they will be thus extinguished.



Another is, that the property of the accused should descend to his legal heirs, for of those who fly the kingdom more are driven by the fear of leaving their children beggars, than by the danger of their own deaths. John IV. intended to remedy this, and told the Inquisition who opposed him, that he wished to punish the guilty, not to destroy those houses of business which were the nerves of the State; but this useful resolution was repaid by the excommunication which the Holy Office rashly demanded of the Pope against the King, and which he as rashly granted.

Another evil resulting from this, is, that no foreign merchants will connect themselves with people whose property is every day liable to be seized by a Juiz do Fisco, from whom they can never expect to recover it.

But the first remedy should be to allow Liberty of conscience to the Jews. A contract should be made as in Rome, allowing the Jews to practise their own ritual, but obliging them to

hear a sermon every Sunday. If any one after being converted by these sermons should relapse, let him then be burnt; thus would there be only Jews and Christians in Portugal, the invidious distinction of New Christians would be abolished, and the disgrace removed which all Portuguese suffer on their travels, of being looked upon as Jews.

There should be a law that all who could prove their ancestors for four generations not to have apostatized, should be deemed Old Christians, and be made eligible to all offices; but these remedies would meet with unsurmountable opposition from the Inquisitors, Familiars, Friars and Priests, and indeed from the whole body of the people, who are equally ignorant and superstitious.

Liberty of Conscience should be granted to all foreign Jews. From this however the German Jews should be excepted, for they are descended from the execrable rabble who escaped from the destruction of Jerusalem, and



are moreover great usurers. Many enterprising merchants would settle in this country if they could enjoy the free exercise of their religion, exempt from the power of the Holy Office : thus would Portugal receive an increase of useful citizens whose speculative industry might restore her commerce.

Whatever has been said of the destructive effects produced by the Inquisition in Portugal, will equally apply to the colonies. The harmless Indians, a poor peaceable persecuted race, are hunted there with the same merciless severity, and the same depopulation follows.

But to all these projected plans of reform the education of our King presents the greatest obstacle. From his preceptor, the present Inquisitor General, he has learnt the savage spirit of bigotry, and there is no festival which the King frequents with such delight as the execution of a miserable Jew. Such were the sentiments that ruined Sebastian, and with him ruined Portugal. He too had been taught that it was his

duty to propagate Christianity by fire and sword; inflamed with this belief he invaded Africa, and perished with the flower of his kingdom in the mad crusade ; for the blood wasted on that day his Jesuit tutor must be answerable at the throne of God.

I well know that for saying these things I shall be deemed irreligious, *porque "stultorum numerus est infinitus,"* because the number of fools is infinite. Be that as it may, in saying these things I am discharging my duty, and you know that my opinions are orthodox.

Our inferiority of forces would be remedied by forming alliances with such powers as are able and willing to assist us, and by the embodying a militia. Our deficiency in money requires more consideration.

Is it better that the State be poor or the people ? The alternative is not inevitable. The high orders should not be exempt from the payment of taxes : is it not at once absurd and op-



pressive that those ranks who can best afford to pay, are privileged to pay nothing, and that those people who with difficulty can support themselves should likewise be obliged to support the State? It were well too that luxury should be restrained, and to restrain luxury Example will be of more avail than positive laws. When Peter the Great was in France, the Marquis de Nele appeared before him every day in a new dress; "surely," said the Czar to him, "your tailor must be a very bad one that he can never fit you!"

John IV. uniformly aimed at making luxury unfashionable. Seeing the Ambassador to London in an English hat one day, he inquired how much it cost; and hearing two pounds English money, he replied, "take care of it, for I can purchase four hats in Portugal for that sum." He never suffered his hair to grow, to avoid the expence of having it dressed; this of course became the fashion. My uncle, the Conde Villa Flor, did not cut off his, and this singularity was remarked to his Majesty, and

construed into a symptom of disaffection.—  
 “Nay, nay,” answered John, “his hair ought to be privileged, for it grew amid battles; he was a soldier before I was a King.”

One day when my Father was walking with his Majesty, a Negro asked charity of them: the King gave him two testoons, and inquired how many pounds of meat that money would purchase. The Negro told him he did not know, for the butcher cut it by the eye; and the King had the butcher punished for not selling legally by weight. A Juiz de Fora presented him a memorial one day, which he put in his breeches pocket without reading it; the Minister observed, that his Majesty would probably forget the memorial when he changed his breeches. “Never fear that,” said the King, “for the Devil take me if I have another pair in the world!”

A law\* is very much wanted to restrict the

---

\* This law has since been enacted, and except the Royal Family and foreign Ministers, no person is allowed to drive more than two beasts.



number of mules in a carriage to a pair; for envy or emulation tempt people to vie with each other in the number they drive; their mode of living in other respects must be answerable to the appearance of their equipage, thus do they live beyond their means of support, and continually involve themselves in debt.

Religious luxury too is an evil which requires to be checked by sumptuary laws. Vast sums are annually expended, by the emulation of different Brotherhoods, in ornamenting their churches. Processions too, and bull-fights, and Romerias, customs that can be productive of no good, and which afford opportunities for infinite evil, ought to be suppressed.

Such is the number of Saints-day, and other holidays, that our peasantry and people are allowed to labour only a third part of the year. Indeed, in their mode of worship the Protestant countries have considerably the advantage. Their church service is celebrated twice on the sabbath-day, and the Minister expounds the

scriptures to his congregation in a sermon, with running into violent hyperboles, or wrestling the texts to support some favourite dogma. This service, which lasts nearly two hours, is heard with reverent attention, whereas we think one half-hour's mass very tedious ! On their holy festivals they examine their own hearts and take the sacrament devoutly, after their heretical manner, which we submit to only to satisfy the forms of the church, and for fear of excommunication. God sanctified the Sabbath, and made it a day of rest, because on that seventh day he rested from his labour, after having made this admirable universe with one " fiat." He made it for rest, not for indolence, as we abuse it ; but that we should praise his works, and by our unfeigned love and devotion deserve, as far as it is possible to deserve, his infinite mercy.

Pictures of miracles should not be hung up in churches till the fact has been very well examined. The frequency of these, and their unimportance, tend to render the very foundation of our religion suspected, and they lead the



ignorant into heavy and superstitious expences. People now make offerings to Mary the most pure, and to the Saints, and they believe that these mediators will intercede for them with an earnestness proportioned to the value of the offering. But the sacrifice which God requires of a man is an humble and contrite heart, and he who gives alms to the poor, and relieves the necessities of his neighbour, he offers the best offering to procure the favour of the Saints, and of Mary the most pure.

Our silk manufactories ought to be restored. When I was in London, I saw a Portugeze Jew there, who had carried on one of these manufactories in the country, till driven away by the Inquisition : the King offered him a safe conduct and protection if he would return and re-establish it, but he was too wise. “*Credat Judæus Apella.*” Perhaps our want of materials may be alleged against this measure ; but this want must be imputed to our own indolence. Our climate is as good as that of Piedmont or Valencia ; the wines we produce prove this,

and of course therefore the mulberry-tree would flourish here. But look at England and Holland, they manufacture silk as well as is done at Lyons, and even fetch the raw materials from China. For their woollen cloths too they are obliged to import Spanish wool to mix with their own: such is the laborious industry of some, and such the ruinous indolence of others.

On this account I was always of opinion that his Majesty ought not to have revoked the prohibition upon foreign cloths in favour of England: but the principal merchant in the woollen line was brother to Don John Methuem, the then Ambassador in Lisbon: and he wrote to his brother, desiring him to state to the Minister, that the wines of Portugal, particularly those produced on the Quintas\* of the Nobles and Fidalgos, would have a great and secure sale in England, if his Majesty would revoke the prohibition upon foreign cloth, so that English

---

\* Country Estates.





cloth might be admitted ; for the Portugueze wines pay a third less duty than the French.

But it was necessary to keep me silent, for I had always opposed such a measure ; and as the English are accustomed to negotiate with money, a mode which saves a great many arguments, he offered me a considerable sum, through Manoel Marquez, to remain silent. I rejected this offer as I ought. I wrote him word, however, that as his Majesty seemed inclined to take off the prohibition, he had chosen me to negotiate, for at this time French wines could not enter England, and the great desire the English had to export their cloth, made me hope for more advantageous terms when the Parliament met. The treaty, however, was made soon afterwards, peace was established between England and France, and I had no doubt that the English would observe their agreement with them instead of with us ; for the French wines now paid one half less duty than the Portugueze, instead of one third more, and of course if the English preferred drinking French wines, they

might, now they were cheapest, without affording us cause of complaint, as the pretext for the treaty with us was that our wines were one third cheaper: considering this, the vicinity of France, and the goodness, delicacy, and variety of the French wines, it seemed evident to me that our market was spoiled.

I do not say that his Majesty ought to have opposed this treaty; but it appears to me that he had only stipulated to allow the free entry of English cloth, not that he should give up his own manufactories, and still less that his subjects should be obliged to wear English cloth. The English would have no cause to complain if his Majesty should order his troops to wear the cloth of the country, particularly if that cloth should be found better on trial than the manufacture of England. I myself once appeared at Paris and London, dressed in Portuguese cloth, and it was every where thought very good; but this treaty prevented the improvement of our manufactures, and the ruin of the most enterprising directors of them by



the Inquisition, destroyed them. Even now, however, if his Majesty would wear the produce of the country, his example would produce a great and beneficial effect. In the year 1701, a cheap cloth manufactured in London, of which the complete suit cost only forty shillings, was made fashionable by William III.

I must confess when the Dutch desired that the prohibition upon foreign cloth might be revoked in their favour as well as in that of the English, I supported their request, though the plea of opening a market for our wines existed not in their case. I supported them because the free importation of cloths from Holland would lower the English price, and only the same quantity of money go out of Portugal; for though the market would be better stocked, the consumption would still be the same.

You may perhaps say that if we diminish the sale of English goods, they will on their part diminish that of Portuguese wines. Be it so :