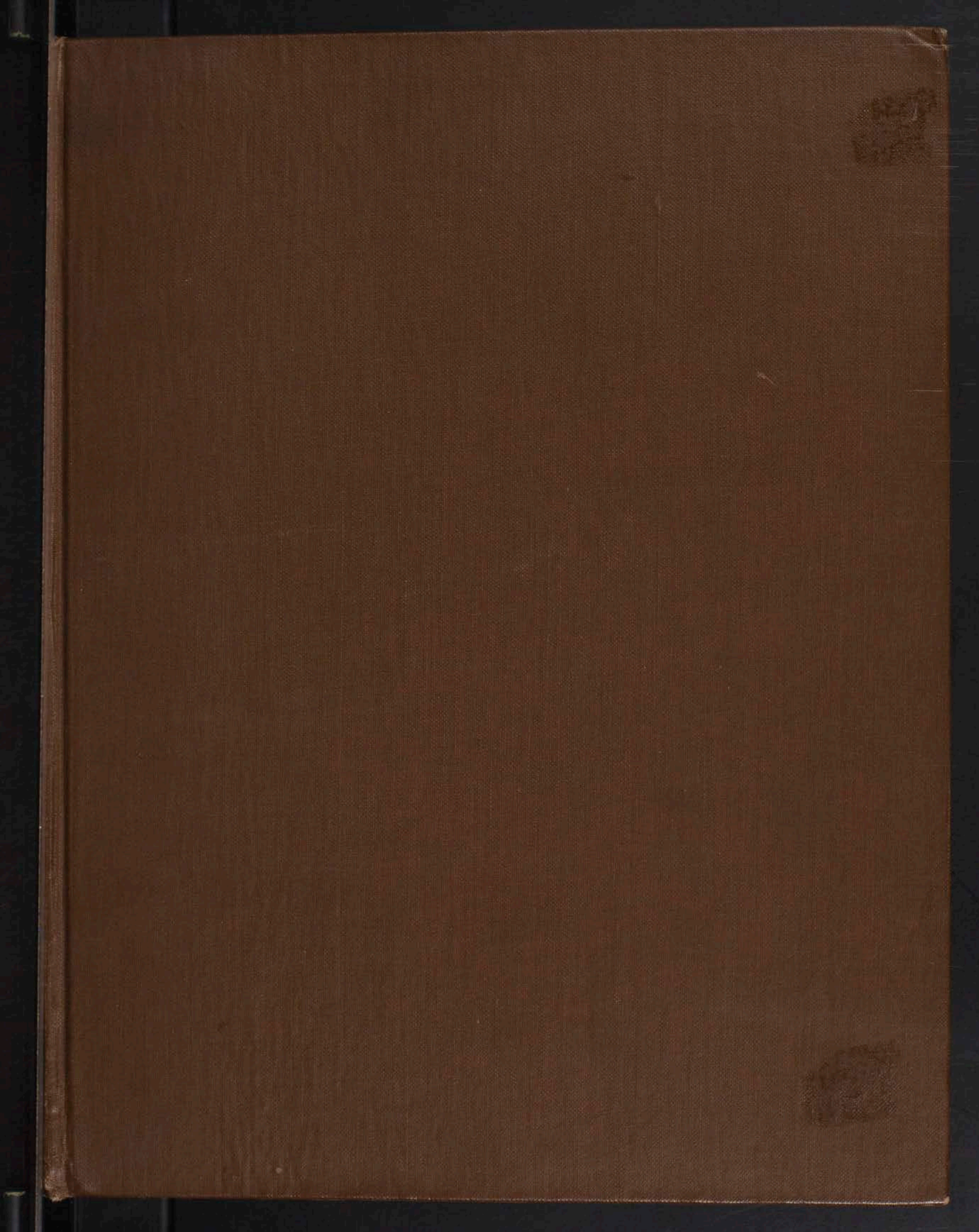
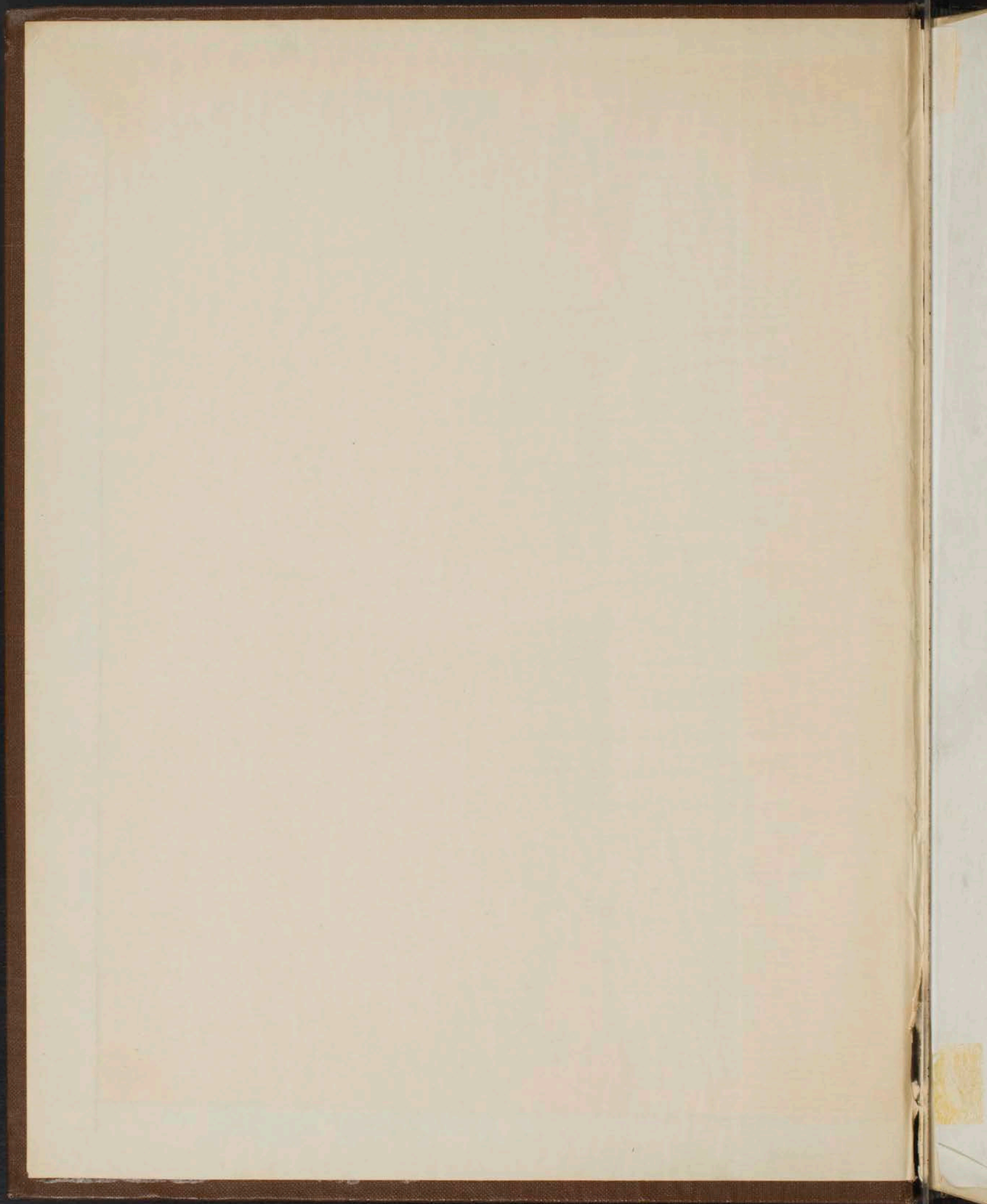






Inquisition in Mexico
Auto de Fe, 1590

1590

III

Trial of Luis de Carabajal,
Governor of the Province of
Nuevo Leon, for observing
the law of Moses.

(Translation of the transcript)
(249 typewritten pages)
(pages 1-249)

from Inquisition. Vol. 1487,
A.G.N., Mexico

Mexico, 1927

Inspection in Mexico
Cute de de, 1840

Trust of this de Cuchipol,
Governor of the Province of
Huamantla, for observing
the laws of Mexico.

(Translation of the transcript)
(249 typewritten pages)
(pp 1-249)

from Inspection. Vol. 144,
A.G.N., Mexico

Mexico, 1927

INQUISITION IN MEXICO.

Auto de Fe, 1590.

TRIAL OF LUIS DE CARABAJAL,
GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF
NUEVO LEON, FOR OBSERVING
THE LAW OF MOSES.

(Translation of the
transcript.)

From Inqn. Vol. 1487.
A.G.N., Mexico.

MEXICO.
1927.

National de Arqueología, México, 1935, transcribed
by Señor don Francisco Fernández del Castillo.

The transcript of the trial of Governor Luis
de Carabajal was **N O T E .** under the direction of
Miss A.M. White, with the kind permission of the Director
of the National Archives, Señor don Rafael López.

This is the translation of a transcript
from Vol.1487 of the Inquisition Records in the
Mexican National Archives.

Luis de Carabajal was the conqueror of Nuevo
Leon and the first Governor of the Province. In
1568 he was the Governor of the town of San Luis
de Tampico and was responsible for the arrest of the
men landed from the "Minion" at Panuco in October of
that year. For details of this incident see the
Narratives of Miles Phillips and Job Hortop in
Hakluyt's "Principal Navigations."

General Vicente Riva Palacio has told the story
of the sufferings of the famous Carabajal family in
"El Libro Rojo" and in "México a través de los Siglos"
(See Vol.II. p. 443-447). For the Votes of the In-
quisitors see "Libro Primero de Votos", an original
M.S. in my library.

Many writers have confused Governor Carabajal
with Luis de Carabajal, the younger, who was burned
alive in the auto de fe of 1596. For some account of
the trial of the younger Carabajal, see "Anales del Museo

Nacional de Arqueología" Mexico, 1925, transcribed
by Señor don Francisco Fernandez del Castillo.

The transcript of the trial of Governor Luis
de Carabajal was made for me under the direction of
Miss A.M.Blake, with the kind permission of the Director
of the National Archives, Señor don Rafael Lopez.

The translation was made by Mr.A.J.Baker of
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México

1589

Proceso.

Juán de Carrizosa. ^{don} Gobernador del nuevo Reyno
de León. Natural de la V. de Mogadorio, en el Reino y Reyno
de Portugal, cerca de Beja. En México. degen
de Cristianos nuevos de padres.

Información

Prisión

Moniciones. 1. 2. 3.

Confesión. Noay cristiano
ni María Tampoco.

Ausencia

A prueba.

Publicación. 1. 2. 3. 4.

Pide ciertas defensas.

Y Sospechosos en la ley de morison
en que le quisieron en señar y conuerten.

N. 6. A. 1. 2. 3.

A. 1. 2. 3.

Y el llo. Val de.

J. de Carrizosa

V. Otado apen en el Reyno. a. 1. 2. 3. 4.
de Beja. a. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10.

Enmado

Seg. J. L.

Inquisition. (11) Vol. 1487. General Archives.

-1-

Mexico.

1589.

Process against

Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, born in the town of Mogedorio, in the Kingdom and Frontier of Portugal near Benevente. A dweller in Mexico of the generation of Christians newly converted from the Jewish Faith.

Suspected of having leanings towards the Law of Moses to which certain persons wished to convert him.

Information.

Prison.

Admonitions 1, 2, 3.

Denies Christ and Mary His Mother.

Accusation.

Advocate
Licenciado Valdes.

Proof.

Publications 1,2,3,4.

He puts forward certain defences.

Definitive Sentence:

Condemned to penitence in a public Act of Faith with abjuration de vehementi and banishment from the Indies for six years.

File 1. L.

// Information under which this prisoner was ordered to be arrested.

Extracted (1) First witness. Ratified, Isabel de Andrada (2), widow, niece of the aforesaid prisoner. Evidence extracted from her trial. Further evidence produced subsequently.

Extracted. Second witness. Ratified. Fray Gaspar de Caravajal, Dominican priest. Brother of the last-named witness. Evidence extracted from his trial.

Extracted. Third witness. Ratified. Luis de Caravajal, youth, unmarried, brother of the aforesaid witness. Evidence extracted from his trial.

Extracted. Fourth witness. Ratified. Doña Francisca de Caravajal mother of the aforesaid witnesses and sister of the prisoner. Evidence extracted from her trial.

Extracted. Fifth witness. Ratified. Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres and niece of prisoner. Evidence extracted from her trial.

Extracted. Sixth witness. Ratified. Doña Mariana Nuñez, spinster, niece of the aforesaid prisoner. Evidence extracted from her trial.

(1) The word "sacada" in the margin opposite the names of the six witnesses means that the evidence was extracted from their respective trials.

(2) Modern spelling Andrade.

Against

Luis de Caravajal, Governor of
the Kingdom of Nuevo Leon.

Very Illustrious Gentlemen.

I, the Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal (1) of the Inquisition of Mexico and the States and Provinces of New Spain, with the proper legal formalities denounce Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the new Kingdom of Leon, confined in the Royal Prison on the ground that from the confessions made by Doña Isabel Rs. (2) de Caravajal, his niece, a prisoner of this Holy Office, she proves to be a Jewess who has kept the old Law of Moses and its rites and ceremonies, of which I will produce the proofs in due course. The said Governor Luis de Caravajal appears as guilty of concealing the offences of the said Doña Isabel Rs. his niece by failing to denounce her as was his duty knowing that she was addicted to Jewish practices and dogmas as laid down in the said Law of Moses: for which reason I ask that he be brought to the Jails of this Inquisition to be punished and also to give evidence against his said niece.

I therefore request your worships to declare and order his arrest protesting that the formal accusation will be made in due course and in the meantime invoking the justice of the Holy Office.

Doctor Lobo Guerrero. (rubric).

// Presentation.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday the thirteenth day of

(1) Sometimes given as Promotor-Fiscal.

(2) Rodriguez.

the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Sancto (Santos) Garcia in their audience of the afternoon appeared Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, to present the above petition and ask that what is therein contained be granted as being right and just.

And after the worshipful Inquisitors had seen the above they acknowledged it as presented and ^{ordered it to} be examined and justice done.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Here follows the Decision.

Warrant of
Arrest.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the fourteenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the petition presented by the aforesaid Fiscal and the deposition made by the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada during her process against the said Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, having been examined by the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia, they decided and ordered that the aforesaid Luis de Caravajal be arrested and brought a prisoner to the secret Jails of this Holy Office, in order that this cause be now proceeded with against him without concealment of names of witnesses and that in view of the fact that the Viceroy now holds him as a prisoner in the Royal Prison of this city the Fiscal of this Holy Office shall proceed // to inform His Excellency that as the person of the said Luis de Caravajal is required by the Inquisition it requests him to give orders for the said prisoner to be handed over with all secrecy on the understanding that when the case is terminated

if it should be necessary he will be returned.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Arrest.

On the said day Friday the fourteenth of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the aforesaid Fiscal having returned with the answer of the Viceroy to the effect that the said Luis de Caravajal would be handed over as had been requested I the undersigned Secretary by order of the worshipful Inquisitors together with Arias de Valdes Warden of the Jails of this Holy Office, proceeded to wait on His Excellency and having spoken to him he ordered Antonio de Castro his secretary to accompany me forthwith to the Royal Prison and there hand over the said Luis de Caravajal to the said Arias de Valdes, to the end that prisoner might be taken to the Holy Office and delivered to its people or guards for safe custody; and in compliance therewith the undersigned secretary presenting himself at the said Royal Prison at the said hour, which was seven o'clock at night, the said secretary Antonio de Castro handed over the said prisoner Luis de Caravajal to the said Warden Arias de Valdes as a prisoner, who acknowledged having received him and who immediately took him to the Inquisition and placed him in one of its secret cells, where he was inspected and searched no arms or anything else being found other than three reales which were received for account of the maintenance of prisoner by the said Arias de Valdes who acknowledges receipt of the same and subscribes his name hereto, all of the foregoing having taken place in my presence.

Arias de Valdes (rubric).

Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

First witness. Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada. In the City of Mexico on Thursday the sixteenth day of the month of March of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos

Extracted from her process Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered to be produced before them a woman who had been brought a prisoner

Against Luis de Caravajal Governor of Kingdom of Leon, her uncle. to the Jails of this Holy Office, and this being done she was sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth under penalty of which oath she promised to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all others that might be held with her until the conclusion of her cause, and stated that she was

Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada, born in the town of Benavente of Castile, widow of Gravuiel (Gabriel) de Herrera, a merchant, a former inhabitant of the city of Astorga where he died, deponent dwelling in this city in the house of Jorge de Almeyda, her brother-in-law, from which she was brought by the Warden of this Holy Office last Monday night and placed in one of the cells; that she was thirty years of age, the legitimate daughter (as she had declared in her genealogy) of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and Doña Francisca de Andrada his wife, and niece of Luis de Caravajal her mother's brother, Governor of the Kingdom of Nuevo Leon in this New Spain she being from what she had always heard of unblemished descent.

Age 30 years.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

History of case.

This witness had been arrested for matters relating to the Law of Moses; in the first audience she was non-committal

All that Doña Isabel relates here about her husband Gabriel de Herrera was retracted by her in audience of December 12, 1589, as well as all or the greater part of what she testified against Doña Guiomar and Francisca Nuñez and A^o. del Aguila her husband, all now defunct, only sustaining that in Seville the said Doña Guiomar had charged her to tell the Governor Luis de Caravajal that he should keep the Law of Moses. This retraction is given on sheet 156 of the process of the said Doña Isabel and was made after the present declaration had been drawn up and testified to.

but in a second one requested by her she began to admit having been taught the said Law and in all the subsequent audiences held with her in the course of her trial she confessed that she had been instructed in the said Mosaic Law, first in Spain in Astorga by Gabriel de Herrera her husband, who died in that city where they were living, and in Seville by Doña Guiomar wife of her uncle, her mother's brother, Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, and by Francisca Nuñez Viziosa, illegitimate sister of the said Doña Guiomar and wife of A^o. (1) del Aguila, Scrivener, all defunct, and afterwards in the Indies by the said Francisca Nuñez

Viziosa and A^o. del Aguila, her husband, the said Doña Guiomar charging her particularly that she in her turn should teach that Law to the said Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, on her arrival, and to Felipe Nuñez her relative; and that the principal matters she had been taught by the said persons, some more clearly and at greater length than others, were that she should believe and keep the Mosaic Law and await the Coming of the Messiah promised therein, because he had not yet come, nor was he Jesus Christ, and that she should deny the Mystery of the Holy Trinity and the Feasts of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of Our Lady the Virgin Mary His Mother and of the Blessed Sacrament, and the existence of the true body and blood in the consecrated Host; and that in observance of the said Mosaic Law Saturdays should be kept holy from sunset on the Friday

(1) Probably Antonio.

in the same way as Christians keep Sundays, and the Feast of the Pascual Lamb, which they called the Passover, celebrated with the eating of rye bread, bitter herbs and other ceremonies in remembrance of the benefit done to them by God when He passed the Children of Israel across the Red Sea, and certain fastings complied with, to wit, Mondays and Thursdays from sun to sun; and the Fast of Judith and Queen Esther which lasted three days. That they recited their prayers standing up with the arms extended towards the East and sang their Psalms of Praise and the canticles of Moses without saying at the end Gloria Patri, so as not to admit the personality of Jesus Christ, which psalms and canticles were in particular to be recited on Saturdays as being the day on which God specially wished to be praised and on which He had rested from the work of the Creation of the World and of the first man and that they ordered that from the legs and shoulders of mutton the glands should be removed, and that neither pork or fat should be eaten to which end // they remove the fat from their meat and eat nothing containing blood, such as blood sausages, or anything drowned or beheaded. And from the teaching of the said persons she confessed having believed in the Law of Moses and been in the hope of the coming of the promised Messiah and in this belief to have done all the things which she had been taught thinking thereby to be saved as being the Eternal Law given by God, for a certain length of time and in certain parts and places she named in New Spain, and among the persons whom she implicated in her confessions was the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, and against whom she said and deposed

the following:

Audience.
Folio 5.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday the sixteenth day of the month of March of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought to it, as she had requested the warden to seek an audience, and being present among other things

C.1.

She stated that being in Seville, when leaving for this country, dwelling in the house of Doña Guiomar, wife of the said Governor Luis de Carvajal, her uncle, the said Doña Guiomar who was now dead and whose surname she did not know, // called the witness to her with great secrecy and taking her into a room so that no living soul might hear them, told her that because the said Governor her husband was very fond of her, deponent, she should tell him that if he wished his affairs to go well he should keep the old Law of Moses and that if he did not nothing good could happen to him, because she, Doña Guiomar, did not dare to say it to him direct; that the said Doña Guiomar had made her swear repeatedly that she would communicate her words to the said Luis de Carvajal, which she had done in the manner the said Doña Guiomar had besought her to do, and that he had answered that all was evil and a lie and that whosoever had told her so was burning in Hell, he not knowing that it was Doña Guiomar who had sent the message, because at her request declarant had kept back her name.

Item, she said that the said Doña Guiomar had begged her to say the same to one Felipe Nuñez, a relative of hers who

at the time was with the said Governor in Seville preparing to accompany them out here, and she had given the message to the said Felipe Nuñez in this country, keeping back the name of the sender, as requested by Doña Guiomar, and telling him that he should keep the old Law of Moses and that there was only one true God, to which the said Felipe Nuñez replied // that there was no such thing and that as the humble servant of God he believed in Him and Our Lady in which belief he protested he would die, and what she had declared the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to have answered was also said in this country.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

Folio 22. In another audience in the City of Mexico, on Tuesday the eleventh day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought to it and this being done, among other things:

Folio 23. Asked what was the first occasion she had seen the said Doña Guiomar, wife of the said Luis de Caravajal, her uncle:

She replied that it was in Seville, in the house of the said Doña Guiomar, to which she and her father and her sisters and brothers had gone when they left Medina del Campo and were preparing to start for this country, her uncle Luis de Caravajal who had returned from the Indies for the said Doña Guiomar and the others she had mentioned being in Seville fitting out the ship in which all embarked except the said Doña Guiomar who had not wanted to come and who remained in Seville where later she died, which would be about five years ago as she

understood it.//

Asked if she had communicated to the said Doña Guiomar any of the matters relating to the Law of Moses which she had learned from the aforesaid Gabriel de Herrera her husband:

She replied that by that time she neither remembered nor understood them.

Asked how it was that, nothing having passed between her and the said Doña Guiomar on the subject, the latter had begged and persuaded her to enjoin the said Luis de Caravajal, the husband of the one and uncle of the other, to keep the Law of Moses:

C.2.

She replied that Doña Guiomar, knowing that her husband was very fond of declarant, his niece, endeavoured to persuade her to the Law of Moses, to the end that she in her turn might persuade her husband Luis de Caravajal.

Asked what were the particular matters of the Law of Moses that had been mentioned by the said Doña Guiomar when she was persuading her:

She replied that Doña Guiomar had told her to take heed that she was not deceiving herself and straying from the true path by living in this Evangelical Law which was all a mockery and enjoined her to return to God because there was only one true God; that she spoke to her earnestly on the subject three or four times during the months they were in Seville, she not remembering exactly how many, explaining to her also how according to the Mosaic Law // Saturdays should be observed as feast days and like the fasts kept from sun to sun, that nothing containing blood or suet fat such as blood sausages

should be eaten which was a mortal sin, and that all prayers should be addressed to God alone and not to Jesus Christ or His Mother, and that these were all the matters of faith that Doña Guiomar discussed with her.

Asked what were the prayers which the said Doña Guiomar said should be addressed to God alone:

She replied that Doña Guiomar had told her that only the Paternoster should be recited and no other prayers except the Penitential Psalms if she knew them, charging her not to recite the Creed, nor the Hail Mary, nor the Salve Regina because they were unavailing.

The declarant mentioned a number of other things which are not extracted because they do not bear on the case of the prisoner on trial.

Asked what things she had seen the said Doña Guiomar do of those taught by the said Law:

C.3.

She replied that when she was in her house she had seen her keep the Saturdays from the afternoon of the day before, Friday, until the setting of the sun on the Saturday, without sewing, being seated all day dressed in holiday garb and with fresh linen, although retaining her black dress which she soberly and decently wore for the death of her parents who had died there in Seville where they had come from Lisbon,, where she was born and of which country they were natives, as she understood; she did not fast because on account of the approaching departure of her said husband she was very busy making ready what was necessary which kept her hard at work.

// Asked if she had also seen her remove the suet fat

and blood from the flesh as she had taught the declarant:

She replied that they did not eat blood sausages nor anything containing blood, and that at night secretly they removed the suet fat from the flesh they were going to eat and threw it away where nobody could see it.

Asked in the presence of what persons was all this done and said by the said Doña Guiomar:

She replied that nobody saw or heard of it but she declarant, and after Doña Guiomar had disclosed the matter to her she made her swear a thousand times to maintain secrecy.

Asked how was it possible that a thing so remarkable and public as the keeping of Saturdays from sunset to sunset, dressing herself in clean linen and holiday clothing could be done by Doña Guiomar so secretly that neither the people of her household nor her husband had known of it:

She replied that she did not know except that being in mourning it was less noticeable.

Asked why the said Doña Guiomar should have commissioned her to persuade the said Luis de Caravajal her husband to keep the old Law of Moses, telling him that if he did not keep it no good would come to him, when it would have been much more easy to tell him so personally:

C.4.

She replied that Doña Guiomar had instructed her not to tell him until he had arrived here in the Indies as she said that she // did not dare to tell him herself because she feared he might kill her, and she charged declarant to tell him as if it had come from herself.

Asked how long ago it was since she had spoken of the

matter to the said Luis de Caravajal:

She replied that she did not remember.

Asked where she had told it to him:

She replied that she had told it to him in Panuco and that it must be more than three years ago, because it would be that long since they had left Panuco to come to this city.

Asked if she had spoken to him alone or in presence of other persons:

She replied she had gone to him alone one afternoon and had called him into a room saying to him that she was going to ask a very great favour, and being alone she made him swear not to disclose it to anyone, and ^{he} having sworn and promised she repeated to him what the said Doña Guiomar his wife had said whereupon the said Luis de Caravajal arose and covering his ears said to her that such things were obnoxious to the beliefs of all his lineage, and on her begging him to hear her he swore that if she did not return to God and Our Lady and swear not to sin again he would have to kill her, and this she promised to do; that the intention of declarant was only to comply with what the said Doña Guiomar had made her promise to do under oath, but that Don Luis had understood her to say that she believed in the said Law which was the reason he was so angry with her and refused to hear more.//

It was said to her that she ought to declare more particularly the things said by the said Luis de Caravajal her uncle and by his wife Doña Guiomar:

She replied that although she had not said more than what his wife had charged her to say the said Luis de Caravajal

did not understand that the message had come from his wife but thought that it came from herself, and that the principal points of the message were that if he did not keep the old Law of Moses he would not be successful and that there was only one true God on hearing which Don Luis became excited and threatened to kill her, saying that there were God the Father and God the Son and the Holy Spirit, he becoming so angry that he made her tremble with fear and she never came to explain to him who had sent the message, nor anything else of the matter.

Asked what was her reason in speaking with the said Luis de Caravajal at that time more than at any other:

C.5.

She replied it was because she only used to see him about once a year as he was occupied in the war against the Chichimecas and was plunged in difficulties and in disgrace with the Viceroy, who was the one that died here in Mexico, and who they said was going to have him arrested, and it appeared to her to be a good opportunity, as the said Doña Guiomar had impressed on her to await the occurrence of some misfortune to give her message.

Asked if between Seville and this country she had exchanged letters with the said Doña Guiomar:

She replied that she had never written to her nor had received any letters from her.

Asked if she had sent word to Doña Guiomar to tell her what had happened in the matter of her message to the said Luis de Caravajal:

She replied no, as she was dead and he was dressed in

the mourning of a widower when declarant had spoken with him.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 34.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twelfth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought before them.

And she being present said a number of things in the course of the audience regarding herself and the said Doña Guiomar and Francisca Nuñez Viziosa, among others:

Folio 35.

That she was well aware that she had been accused by Governor Caravajal and Felipe Nuñez and her brother Fray Gaspar, and that ^{if} in Panuco the last-named had seen her keep the Saturdays and fast during the Fast of the said Three Days it would have been better for him to have admonished and warned her and not accuse her because he was a preacher who should teach and that he should first have ascertained the reason she might have had for saying what she had said to the said Luis de Caravajal; but that she was glad to have come to this tribulation because God willing her soul might obtain some good thereby even as silver is purified in the fire. Here she said a number of things unconnected with this process.

C.5.

Asked if the said Fray Gaspar her brother knew what she had spoken about with the said Luis de Caravajal regarding the Law of Moses and if he believed that the subject had been suggested by the said Doña Guiomar or that it had been made on the initiative of declarant: //

She replied that the said Fray Gaspar well knew what she had said to the said Luis de Caravajal regarding the keeping of the Law of Moses etcetera but that neither he nor anyone else knew that what she had said to the said Luis de Caravajal had been instigated by the said Doña Guiomar, that declarant alone knew that, and thus he believed her to be more guilty than she really was.

Asked if she knew if any conversations had taken place on the subject between the said Luis de Caravajal her uncle and Fray Gaspar de Caravajal her brother:

She replied that she only knew that one Luis Pimentel, a relative of hers and a soldier, now dead, who was in Panuco with the said Governor had asked her what she had said to the Governor because when the latter was discussing the matter with the said Fray Gaspar in the church of Acuytlapan in Panuco the said Fray Gaspar had covered up his ears in order not to hear what had been said by declarant, from which she understood that Luis de Caravajal must have told the said Fray Gaspar.

Asked what was her reason for thinking that she had been accused before this Holy Office by the aforesaid Luis de Caravajal, Felipe Nuñez and Fray Gaspar her brother:

She replied that she understood they had accused her of certain things opposed to what is held and believed by the Holy Mother Church of Rome in connection with what they had learned of her keeping the Law of Moses whereby she had offended God.//

Asked if apart from that she thought that they had been moved by anger:

She replied that she believed that Felipe Nuñez and Fray

Gaspar her brother had been moved by zeal for God and her uncle Luis de Caravajal by anger because he had been on bad terms with her since they had spoken about the matter.

Asked if the said Luis de Caravajal or any other persons had observed her fast during the Jewish Fastdays and keep the Saturdays and recite the Psalms of David without the Gloria Patri :

She replied that when she fasted on the Fast of Three Days she did not think that the said Fray Gaspar her brother had seen her do so until the third day when he saw her at table pretending to eat but throwing away the mouthfulls of food. Also he had seen her keep the Saturdays and suspected that she was keeping the Law of Moses and that the said Governor also had the same suspicion and still retained it today; but that neither Felipe Nuñez or any other person except those two had seen or suspected anything, because she had lived in fear and circumspection.

Asked what was the reason why the said Luis de Caravajal had suspected her for so long a time:

She replied that he suspected her of keeping the Law of Moses on account of what she had told him // he not knowing that she had spoken on behalf of his wife, which was why he had said that no greater evil could befall him than what she had said on account of her being his niece.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 38.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the fourteenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine

the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought before them and she being present among other things

Stated that if the witnesses have her charged with anything else it would not be true, because one of them, to wit, the said Governor hated her mortally, and once about three months ago, he being in the Royal Prison, he sent his servants to the house of Jorge Almeyda where she was living and she sent him back word through Joan Salado his servant that he could not again enter where she and her sisters were, as seeing that he was the cause of the hardships they were enduring it would be too much if he were to be the cause of Jorge de Almeyda suspending the food with which he was supplying them. For this reason the Governor sent her a threatening message to the effect that when he left the prison he would pay her off; and that she had nothing further to say.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 73.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday // the twentieth day of the month of July of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered that the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada be brought before them which being done the accusation was presented against her among its chapters being one of the following tenor:

Chapter 21
of the ac-
cusation.
Folio 77.
C.7.

Item, that not content with having kept the Law of Moses herself with as much perfection as was possible she had com-

manicated with divers persons instructing and teaching them in it, its rites and ceremonies, confirming them principally in the hope of the Coming of the Promised Messiah, who had not yet come, and telling them that if they did not keep it nothing good would happen to them neither would they have riches in this world or glory in the next, citing as an illustration King David and his riches as the result of his obeying the will of God and His Law. And to move them still more she cited personal examples among her acquaintances, connections and relations whom she said kept the Law and from whom she and others had learned it.

Answer.
Folio 83.

And in answer to the said chapter under oath:

She said that it was in accordance with what she had confessed, and that what was mentioned in the chapter regarding King David and his wealth // she had said to the said Governor Luis de Carvajal her uncle as she had been asked to do by Doña Guiomar his wife, who had told declarant that she was unwilling to accompany him to this country because he did not keep the Law of Moses and begged her to advise her by letter how the said Governor had taken her message about the said Law, because if he received it favourably she would come out to join him. That to Felipe Nuñez declarant had not said more than what she had confessed because the said Doña Guiomar had not been so anxious about him, and deponent did not recall having told him about the common relatives as stated in the chapter and only to the said Governor her uncle had she divulged how Gabriel de Herrera her husband had instructed her in the Law of Moses.

Asked if the said Doña Guiomar and Luis de Caravajal her husband had lived in peace and harmony in spite of their keeping different Laws:

She replied that she did not know but thought that had he come to know of her belief he would have been like to kill his wife, with whom he had lived but a little while as he was always in this country and she was in Spain.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 85.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the first day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the // morning ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought before them.

And she being present was asked if she remembered aught else in this her matter and warned to declare the truth under penalty of the oath she had sworn.

She replied that she did not remember anything further other than that she did not wish that the just and innocent should pay for what had been done by the sinner which she said for the sake of Governor Luis de Caravajal her uncle as she had found him to be a good Christian and a Great Servant of God when she told him what she had declared and at all other times and in respect to him she had nothing to change or to say other than what she had already said. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratification before
virtuous
persons.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the twelfth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine

before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the morning, there being present the customary virtuous and religious persons, the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada, under oath, ratified solemnly and in accordance with the use and style of the Holy Office the evidence contained in her original process telling against the said Governor Luis de Carabajal her uncle and everything that // she had deposed against him in the above-mentioned audiences adding that she did not do so from hatred, all of which is set forth at greater length in the said ratification, the original of which in full is contained in the said process to which I refer and from which it is taken, and at the foot of which appear the following questions and answers:

Asked what the said Governor Luis de Carabajal her uncle meant when she told him that he should keep the Law of Moses and he answered that whoever had told her must be burning in Hell:

She replied that she thought he must have been referring to Gabriel de Herrera her husband.

Asked what was the reason that the said Doña Guiomar was mortally afraid to say to the said Luis de Carabajal her husband personally what she had sent word to him of by declarant:

She replied that Doña Guiomar considered him to be a good Christian and feared that were she to tell him he would kill her.

Asked if at any time the said Doña Guiomar had attempted to tell her husband and had been so frightened that she did not again attempt it:

She replied that she did not know or understand that Doña

Guiomar had so attempted but rather understood that she would not dare knowing that he was an enemy of the whole generation of Jews and a good Christian.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

Folio 154.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the twelfth day of the month of December of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Bonilla being in his audience of the morning ordered the said Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada to be brought before him, which being done she stated among other things the following:

Folio 157.

Item, that what she declared having said in Panuco to the Governor Luis de Carabajal her uncle as to his keeping the Law of Moses was more by order of her mother and father who had been asked to do so by the said Doña Guiomar, she declarant having found him (Luis de Carabajal) a good and Catholic Christian as she had declared and that truly no blame whatsoever could be attached to him except for having failed to denounce her as it was but just he should have done and that she had nothing further to say.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Second witness
Fray Gaspar de
Carabajal, Do-
minican Priest.

Extracted from
his process
against
Luis de Cara-
bajal, Governor,
his uncle.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the seventeenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered to be brought before them a friar, a prisoner in the Jails of this Holy Office, who being

sworn in due and lawful manner promised to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all others that might be held with him until the conclusion of his trial, and he said he was

Fray Gaspar de Caravajal a professed friar of the order of Santo Domingo, born in the town of Benavente, thirty-three years of age and a dweller in the Convent of Mexico, legitimate son (as is shown by his genealogy) of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, Portuguese, deceased, and his wife called in Castile Francisca Nuñez and in Mexico Doña Francisca de Caravajal, and nephew of Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the new Kingdom of Leon, brother of his said mother, against whom this evidence is extracted, and having declared his genealogy in due form he was questioned as follows:

Asked if he and his parents and grandparents and other ancestors were as far as he knew or had learned of the generation of Jews:

C.1. He replied that he understood his father was a New Christian // descendent from Jews, and although he had heard that his said mother was the daughter of an hidálgo he believed that she belonged to the same caste of New Christian Jews as he had heard that said in Spain.

This witness Fray Gaspar de Caravajal was arrested on charges made against him by Doña Isabel Rodriguez, widow, his sister, and in reply to the first admonition he received

C.2. He stated that he well understood of what he had been admonished and that he was ready to declare all that he knew on might remember, going on to say that being in Panuco for the first time, which would be about four or five years ago, he

went to see his brothers and sisters who had arrived there from Castile a year or two before and there he received a letter from the said Governor Luis de Caravajal his uncle who at the time was in the neighbourhood of the village of Tamaxalpe, in which he told him in substance that he should reprehend a certain thing, without declaring it, in his sister Doña Isabel, widow, who is here a prisoner in this Holy Office; that when declarant received the letter he was seated at the table eating with his mother and sisters, and after he had read it he at once gave it to his brother Baltasar Rodriguez and to everybody and principally to his mother, as his uncle had directed, and his mother answered him that all she knew was that everything had gone badly with them since they had left Spain to come to such poverty, due to which he did not pay much attention to it although ^{he} privately questioned the said Dona Isabel his sister who // answered with some proverb beginning Fragile glass which he did not now recollect but which he thought spoke of acknowledgement of fault and promise of amendment; that leaving them he went to see his said uncle Luis de Cavavajal at a village farther on called Xilitla or Acatlan who being with him alone near the portal of the church said to him "Dost thou not remember telling me that Gabriel de Herrera, the husband of your sister Doña Isabel was an hidalgo?" to which declarant answered "I remember it very well as so I have always heard it said and as such I regarded him" whereupon the said Luis de Caravajal made the sign of the Cross and said to him that under secret of confession he was desirous of confiding a certain thing to him, but first wished to ask him

if he had reprehended her as he had written without disclosing the reason, and declarant answered that it was the truth that he had reprehended her in general terms, and crossing himself in his turn went on to tell Don Luis that he had better not say anything because if it was a secret it would become more public; for that reason Don Luis did not say anything explicit but merely remarked that it was a matter of appealing to God with hymns, scourgings and prayers to the end that He might apply the remedy; and it appeared to deponent that Don Luis wished to give him to understand that all of them, his father and mother and his widowed sister Doña Isabel and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez were implicated in the concealment of the fault at which he hinted, that as a laymen he was unwilling to take cognizance of it, but that declarant should write to Mexico when he might consider the time had come to impose the remedy; and both of them being in agreement declarant bade him good-bye and came to Mexico and although he had many scruples // as to whether it was obligatory upon him or not to divulge the matter to this Holy Office it seemed to him that it was not necessary as he had not been told anything definite, and so in Panuco he only said to his parents and brethren that he would take the minors Luis and Miguel.-----

Item, he said that a year or two later he returned to Panuco to attend the marriage of the said Doña Catalina and Doña Leonor his sisters with Antonio Diaz de Cazares and Jorge de Almeyda, his father having died here in Mexico where he had come on business of the King connected with the Chichimecas and private matters of his own, and declarant's two sisters

of the Old Testament , he not recollecting if it was Tobias or Judith, with so much accuracy that he was astonished wondering who could have taught her as much as she knew.

Item, he said that when he and his sisters Doña Isabel, and Doña Mariana and his brother Baltasar reached Mexico they went on the following morning to the house of the said Jorge de Almeyda and Antonio Diaz, who lived together, and declarant observed that his mother Doña Francisca de Caravajal and Jorge de Almeyda and Baltasar Rodriguez spoke together privately it appearing to him that they were talking about the marriage of the said Doña Mariana and he felt aggrieved that they should do so without asking his opinion which being observed by the said Jorge de Almeyda he approached him and taking him from one room to another told him confidentially that they were talking about deponent's father having died in the Judaic Law, on which declarant greatly perturbed and distressed rejoined that it would be his duty to denounce the fact, but that at this moment his brother the said Baltasar Rodriguez entered and over-hearing this remark said "I swear to God there is no such thing and that I have never said so" and with this the conversation ceased for the moment, declarant remaining in a fainting condition, and on the resumption of the conversation he told his mother that his father was burning in Hell which remark he made in reference to what the said Almeyda // had told him of his father dying in the Judaic Law, his mother merely replying "Son, this is not done except for your good and for your salvation". That nothing further was said and the following day

the said Jorge de Almeyda came to him and said, declarant not remembering if they were alone or whether Baltasar Rodriguez was present, that what he had stated about his father was false or was a lie, using one or the other of these words, all of which occurred in the house to which he had gone on his arrival from Panuco, as he had deposed, on hearing which declarant immediately and repeatedly asked pardon from his mother for having said that his father was in Hell and it seemed to him that she replied something to the effect that his father was a good man even though he was beggared, and with this the conversation terminated and declarant went to his monastery.

Item, he said that he had heard the said Luis de Caravajal his brother say, his father having recently died, that when the latter was at the point of death of the disease of the bowels of which he died, in the house of Diego Marq and Gonzalo Perez Fierro, he had ordered them to wash and clean his body saying to him "Son, wash my body that my corpse may not go unclean to the earth;" and deponent afterwards wondered if this may not have been one of the Judaic rites referred to in the edict although he dismissed his scruples as he was not sure that it had been ordered as a Judaic rite and did not know if his brother had washed the body or not because he had not been told; and with this, it being late, the audience terminated. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the seventeenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia

being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal to be brought before them and he being present and in continuation of the proceedings of this morning

C.4.

Stated that after his sister // Doña Isabel had been arrested he recalling what had been told him by the said Governor Luis de Caravajal went to speak to him in the Royal Prison where he was incarcerated by orders of the Viceroy, as his conscience reproached him for not divulging his suspicions to the Inquisition and yet on the other hand he did not know of anything definite to say, and so he asked his said uncle that he remember the history he had told him in the portal of that church, as he had deposed, and consider if it was not a matter that should be referred to the Holy Office to which he replied that he knew what his duty was and as a man of experience he disputed with declarant as to whether it was his obligation or not to disclose what was a secret and declarant insisted that it was to which the other replied that he knew what he ought

C.5.

to do or words to that effect and told him that he might go and speak with the said Doña Francisca de Caravajal his mother and tell her from him (the Governor) that what he had said in Panuco was very true; that in the conversation he declarant had with his said uncle in the prison the latter had remarked that they were all blind and that if he had brought deponent's parents with him from Spain it was because he understood that his father was preparing to change his home to a foreign country which he thought was France; that with this he bade him good-bye and deponent went to speak to the said Doña Francisca his mother and in the presence of his sisters Doña Leonor and Doña

Mariana he told her reproachfully that he did not like the significant words that his uncle the said Luis de Caravajal had said to him nor that women should know more than to tell their beads, it not being meet that they should know the Psalms by heart as the widowed Doña Isabel, now a prisoner, and a young girl like Doña Mariana knew them // although he believed that they followed the steps of our Lord Jesus Christ ~~who would~~ ~~live~~ in that house and that if perhaps it were not so let them beware, all of which he told them in connection with the imprisonment of the said Doña Isabel his sister, taking the precaution to send out of the room his other sister Anna, a child of nine or twelve years, to which his mother as one aggrieved responded "The path I follow is as good as yours or better" to which he being scandalized at this remark retorted "So your ladyship follows a better path than I do!" to which his mother made no reply and the subject dropped, and presently his mother fell to consoling him saying that the imprisonment of his sister although it was a matter of honour was the honour of the world and in the service of God Who alone would endure for ever while everything else would come to an end and that they could charge her as they had charged her daughter and she was ready for anything that might arise but that to provide for emergencies she begged him to keep a small sum of gold so that if anything did happen to her he could succour her orphaned daughters, to which request he replied that it would not be necessary and so she did not give him the money. That two or three days later he returned to the Royal Prison and in private spoke to his said uncle Luis de Caravajal and anxiously begged

him to weigh well whether the matter they had discussed was not one for the Holy Office, to which his uncle replied that it was not but was merely one of the difficulties and misfortunes which had fallen upon him, which was all that passed between them about this wretched business.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the eighteenth // day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered that the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal be brought before them which being done

He stated that he remembered that about three or four months ago there came to see him in his cell in the Convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico two of his brothers, Baltasar Rodriguez de Caravajal and Luis de Caravajal, and in speaking about certain matters of religion because on a number of occasions he had suspected them, especially the former, of lack of reverence for the saints of the Old Testament, his brother Baltasar submitted to him a passage of the Scriptures which runs ascendens christus in altum captivan duxit captivitatem, &c. which describes the mystery of the Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ and how by His ascent into Heaven the Holy Spirit came upon us, and in the course of the conversation the said Baltasar de Caravajal asked him whether it was a Psalm of David because in that psalm mention is made of anointment and deponent answered him yes but that the rites and ceremonies of the Old

Law had been changed, whereupon his brother had remarked that the Heavens and Earth had not changed and neither should the Law of God, and declarant regretted to see that his brother was wishful to deny that the celebration of the ceremonies and rites of the Old Law had been changed or ceased although he did not say so in so many words and declarant took no further notice of it than to say // quietly that it was a matter between him and his conscience. Declarant went on to say that he had just remembered that the verse quoted was another verse of David which commences ascendit deus in iubilo and that the date when his two brothers had called upon him must have been further back than he had said having been about the Ascension or Feast of Pentecost and further desired to say that although he had stated at a previous audience that his mother must have understood that what he had said about his father had come from Jorge de Almeyda he now wished to explain that he is not certain about it as his talk with the latter had taken place in the morning and what he had said to his mother about his father burning in hell was said at night.

Item, he said that the first time he went to Panuco to the house of his parents he found a Bible which they had there and it appearing evil to him he brought it to Mexico with the intention of altering it, and when he returned to Panuco the second time to be present at the marriage of his sisters he took it with him, and one day it disappeared, and he came to suspect that his sister Doña Isabel, widow, had taken it to read which grieved him although he was not very sure about it but merely thought that it was so; that what was certain

was that he gave to the said Doña Isabel a Dominican day-book and to Doña Mariana a Book of Hours and he was aware that they knew by heart a number of Psalms and on a number of occasions he had recited the Divine offices with Doña Mariana and when she was not there with Doña Isabel. That he did not remember anything else // as if he had he would repeat it as Christ was his witness.

Asked if his said brothers and sisters knew Latin from having studied it:

He replied that his sisters had not studied it for which reason he was surprised at their knowledge of it but that his brothers knew it as they had studied the language in Benevente and Medina del Campo.

Asked what his brother meant by the word anointed:

He replied that Christ signified anointed and that he supposed his brother meant to inquire whether that Psalm referred to Christ.

C.6.

It was pointed out to him that according to the tenor of his confession and the conversations he had with Luis de Caravajal his uncle and his mother, brothers and sisters, it would seem that he had suspected them of unsoundness in the matters of our Holy Catholic faith and Evangelical Law, which suspicion was well-founded, and he was asked to declare more with respect of the things they had generally and particularly believed:

He replied that his suspicions had been originally aroused regarding his father and mother and Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez de Caravajal, his doubts being strengthened

from the second time he had gone to Panuco and that since he had seen his sister Doña Isabel a prisoner and a little before he had also come to suspect his brother Luis de Caravajal and although his suspicions against the rest were weaker he could not help feeling that they might to some extent be entangled in the rites of the Law of Moses.

Asked how he came to have these different degrees of suspicion // in the case of brothers and sisters born and bred in the same household by the same parents:

He replied that his general suspicion had arisen from the remark his uncle Luis de Caravajal had let fall to the effect that they all were blind but that he considered that this blindness would be greater in the elders and that it was to them that his uncle referred because the little Anna was a child of nine or twelve years of age and the boy Miguel only a year older, and Doña Catalina wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres had always paid great attention to what declarant expounded to her of Our Lord Jesus Christ and was a mere child while Doña Leonor the wife of Jorge de Almeyda was a girl of fourteen who passed her time in play, and Doña Mariana was in agreement with him to be a nun provided that a nun's dowry could be found for her. That against Baltasar Rodriguez his suspicion was aroused in the manner he had declared and also because he had found him exceptionally versed in the Old Testament and less so in the New, and when declarant asked him why he did not read the New he gave him to understand that the matters of the New Testament were very well known. That his brother Luis de Caravajal on a certain occasion had cited to declarant the authority of Isaias;

and here as it was late the audience was brought to an end, and on his deposition being read over to him he approved it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday the twentieth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal to be brought before them as he had requested an audience and he being // present:

Stated that he had solicited the audience to say that he remembered that when in his cell in the monastery he had explained to his brothers the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal the mystery of the Ascencion of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the verse of David ascendit deus in jubilo and that the old Law of Moses had ceased, to further elucidate the matter he gave as an example the silversmith who when he sets to work to make something commences by making a rough model of common iron and afterwards produces the perfect work of fine metal, so Our Lord God had first made the synagogue with its shadows and material sacrifices and ceremonies and had afterwards fulfilled the prophecies of the Messiah with the Coming of Christ Our Redeemer and His Passion and Death, as described in the New Testament all of which he explained substantially as set forth above though perchance in different words; and when his brother the said Baltasar Rodriguez remarked to him that the Heavens and the Earth were good witnesses who could not fail deponent retorted that he was not there to discuss heresies, and from that moment

his suspicions that he might be tainted with the errors of the Law of Moses deepened.

Item, he said that it would be some four or five years ago that going with his father from the town of Panuco to Tamaxalpe to see his said uncle Luis de Caravajal who was Governor, being alone in a community of Indians he not remembering what day, the former asked him why they kept // the Sunday and not the Saturday to which he had replied that it was because Sunday was the day on which Our Lord Jesus Christ had risen from the dead, whose resurrection had produced so much good for us, and nothing else passed.

Item, he said that on the next day he heard his father say that for a long time he had been confused by seeing that some preachers explained the parables of the Old Testament in one way and some in another, to which he had replied that according to Saint Augustine good might be done by admitting the individual interpretation as long as it was not against the faith.

Item, he said that his father asked him if he did not remember for what reason the Pope allowed Jewish practices in Rome, and deponent had replied because the Church did not exercise pressure against anyone who was not baptized.

Item, he said that his father had also asked him why he had gone as a friar when he knew that he could not be one declarant understanding that he said so having in mind his race, and so he told him that the reason why they did not receive their people was from fear of their reverting to their old practices but that he declarant would never return to

them, on which his father remarked that everybody thought that about him, and a man coming in the conversation ceased.

Item, he said that he did not recollect exactly when they conversed about these matters but it seemed to him that it was when with reference to the Saturdays his father recited one of those verses esperet Israel indomino, &c. ipse redimet Israel ex omnibg iniquitatibz suis and that he did not recall anything else.

// And with this the audience adjourned and on his declarations being read over to him he approved them. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 16.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the twenty-second day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal to be brought before them and this being done

He was asked if it was true that he had been expelled from the College of San Esteban of Salamanca due to suspicions entertained regarding his descent:

He replied that he did not know more than what he had said.

Asked why he suspected evil when he observed in Panuco the extraordinary fastings of the said Doña Isabel his sister:

He replied that it was due to the reproof that Luis de Caravajal had asked him to give her.

C.7.

He was instructed to give a more satisfactory reply to the question because his uncle the said Luis de Caravajal had not

said anything in particular or in general, as he himself declared, to warrant his reproving the fasts kept by his sister.

He replied that he was suspicious of something evil.

Asked what kind of evil:

He replied, those relating to the Mosiac rites of which she was liable to be suspected as she belonged to the Jewish race.

Asked what fasts she kept at that time and in what manner:

He replied that he had been with the family on two occasions in Panuco and on the first he had not seen or suspected anything but on the second occasion, which was during Lent, they told him that his said sister fasted and he saw that sometimes she did not come to table to eat, and they further told him that for three or four days she had not eaten anything but bread and water - here he corrected himself and said, without eating anything, but this last he had merely heard and had not seen.

// Asked who had told it to him:

He replied that his brother Baltasar Rodriguez had done so, and nobody else as far as he could recollect, and that his brother had done so in admiration calling her a saint.

Asked how from seeing his sister fast during Lent and being told that she was a saint he had come to suspect her of practising the rites of the Law of Moses as he had declared:

He replied that he had fought with himself in order not to suspect anything and to banish the suspicions and sometimes he had succeeded in banishing them and he accused himself at confession for having entertained such suspicions and at other

times they had returned to him.

He was told to answer the question more clearly and fully because it was obvious that his suspicions had more foundation than he said:

He replied that by His Divine Majesty he did not remember any other foundation, as if he did he would declare it openly.

Asked to explain why he had warned his sister Doña Isabel that if she fasted on Jewish fast-days as mentioned in the Bible keeping that rite and ceremony she would be excommunicated:

He replied he did so in order that if there were anything in what he suspected she might not go straight to Hell.

Asked if his sister the said Doña Isabel fasted on all the fast-days of the Mosaic Law:

He replied that he suspected her of doing so because she belonged to that race.

Asked what he understood by the spirit of blasphemy which his sister said had come against the saints:

He replied that he understood they were human temptations which were apt on occasion to assail even those who served God.//

Asked if he understood that that spirit of blasphemy might arise from the suspicion that he entertained of his said sister:

He replied that when she first told him that, his suspicions were partly banished as he had experience that it was an ordinary thing for similar temptations to attack persons zealous in the service of God.

Asked if there were other persons present when what he had said happened in the house of Jorge de Almeyda:

He replied that when they spoke in secret there were present Jorge de Almeyda and Baltasar Rodriguez de Caravajal and declarant held it as without a doubt that his mother was there as well but no other person, and afterwards Jorge de Almeyda called him secretly into a room and said to him "Do not think we are treating here about matters of marriage; what we spoke about was to tell you that your father had died in the Judaic Law" (or had died a Jew, declarant not recollecting which of these two phrases was used).

Asked what other conversations had proceeded from that:

He replied none, because they became angry and he became perturbed, as he had deposed, and what had passed he had already described.

Asked what other persons were present when he told his mother that his father was burning in Hell:

He passed that it passed in the living room where he was lying down upon a pillow and although it seemed to him that some of his brothers or sisters were there he did not remember exactly who was present other than that he was positive that his mother was there as it was on her asking him "What is the matter with thee, son, that thou art so sad?" that he had answered with that remark.

Asked what his brothers and sisters understood from that conversation://

He replied that he did not know.

Asked if his mother had really understood that the said

Jorge de Almeyda had told him privately that his father had died a Jew, or had died in the Judaic Law, as he had declared:

He replied that he did not know although he presumed that she would have questioned Jorge de Almeyda and found out about it, and that he declarant had asked her pardon for his remark.

It was pointed out that in the first audience held with him he had said that when he told his mother that his father was in hell he presumed that she was aware of what the said Jorge de Almeyda had told him and that she had said to him "Son, these things do not happen except for your good and for your salvation," and he was instructed to enlarge more fully upon this point and the purpose and meaning of these words.

He replied that as the words of his mother quoted in the question were not to the point and did not make sense, it had appeared to him since that audience that his mother could not have been present at the secret conference spoken about between ^{and Baltazar de Caravajal,} Jorge de Almeyda, his brother-in-law and brother respectively.

Asked what passed at that conference relating to his good and salvation:

He replied, nothing: that her remark to him had no head or tail and he did not know what meaning to attach to it unless it were that they wanted to bring him over to the Law of the Jews which seemed an absurdity to him as they could not have failed to see that his life was entirely devoted to the service of // Jesus Christ.

It was said to him that the foregoing was neither intelligible nor reasonable, because in the audience held with him on

the eighteenth of the current month he had confessed and declared his suspicions against his father, mother and brothers and sisters, against some more than others, as entangled in the rites of the Law of Moses.

He replied that the reason he considered the thing absurd was because they knew him and would never have ventured to make such suggestions to him.

It was pointed out that his answer was not satisfactory as on the contrary it would appear that they did attempt to convert him, when the opportunity offered, he being for the most part in his monastery here, to judge from the fact that when he talked with his mother of his suspicions she told him distinctly that the path she followed was as good as his if not better.

He replied that he understood these arguments and according to them it must be so.

Asked what he deduced from the last conversations he had had with his father in Panuco:

He replied that he thought he inclined ^{to the evil} Law of Moses, as he had declared.

Asked what was the reason he expounded to his brothers Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal the cessation of the Old Law and its ceremonies quoting the verse ascendit deus in jubilo, &c.

He replied that he had done so with the object he had declared and in view of the suspicions he entertained.

Asked if when he recited the Hours with the aforesaid

Doña // Isabel and Doña Mariana, his sisters, he had harboured against them any suspicions of the nature he had mentioned as to their manner of prayer:

He replied no because they followed the ordinary Dominican ritual in their prayers.

Asked if they recited the whole of the Psalms or if they omitted anything at the beginning or at the end:

He replied that they recited the whole of the Psalms to the gloria patri et filio et spiritu santo.

Asked how, when the said Luis de Caravajal told him that his father when at the point of death had ordered his body to be washed, which ~~denunciation~~ he very well knew was a Jewish rite included in the General Edict, he had banished his scruples:

He replied that as his father had died of a bowel complaint and the body was soiled and he thought that all was well with him as he had died with the sacraments, it did not occur to him that the washing might have been done in accordance with the Judaic rites because if he had so known he called God the Almighty to witness he would have denounced it to the Holy Office.

Asked if according to those rites the body was washed before or after death and if with hot or cold water and if all the body or only part of it.

He replied that he did not know neither had the said Luis de Caravajal his brother told him.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Ratification
before virtuous
persons.
Folio 30.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-third day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the afternoon, there being present as virtuous and religious persons Fray Diego de Canizares and Fray Juan Ramirez, priests of the Order of San Francisco, who had been sworn in private, the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal ratified under oath in due form of law the evidence he had given in the course of his own trial against ^{among} other persons Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, his uncle, in the audiences which are mentioned in the above-written evidence, extracted from the original of the said trial from which I have taken it and where it is given at greater length, adding that he had not spoken from hatred or enmity but solely for the unburdening of his conscience. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience of
this wit-
ness.
Folio 47.

In the City of Mexico on the sixth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia being in his audience of the morning ordered to be brought before him the said Fray Gaspar de Caravajal who is now a prisoner in the Convent of Santo Domingo in this city.

Who being presented ratified in this audience in the presence of virtuous and religious in the solemn customary manner the evidence he had given against his father and brothers and sisters in the course of his own trial, and added the following to his evidence against the uncle the said Governor Luis de Caravajal:

Folio 48.

Item, that he further remembered that when he was in the portal of the church which he had mentioned in his confessions with his uncle the Governor Luis de Caravajal, who was lying near the villages of Tamapache and after there passed between them the conversations he had described at his trial the said Governor said to him, giving him his hand "They tell me that my mother died in that belief. If that be so then she is not my mother // nor I her son!" and nothing else passed. That he ratified and confirmed the foregoing before the said virtuous and religious persons who assisted at this ratification, which passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore vir-
tuous
persons.

Third witness.
Luis de Carava-
jal. Youth.
Unmarried.

Extracted from
his trial
against
Luis de Carava-
jal, Governor
of the Kingdom
of Leon, his
uncle.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the twelfth day of the month of May of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered to be brought before them a man a prisoner in the Jails of this Holy Office, who being sworn in due lawful form promised to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all the others that might be held

with him until the conclusion of his trial and who said he was

Luis de Caravajal, a youth, unmarried, born in the town of Benavente in Castile, twenty-two years of age, a student practicing in mines here and elsewhere, resident in Mexico in the house of his mother whence he was taken to the prison where he now is on Tuesday the ninth of this month, he being the son (as he declared in his genealogy) of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and Doña Francisca de Caravajal his wife.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios, Secretary.

History
of the
case.

This witness was arrested and imprisoned charged with practicing the Law of Moses which he denied in response to the admonitions made to him and the accusation lodged against him, saying he had neither done nor seen done nor had he said anything against the faith and that it was all a fabrication, but when the cause was received he sought an audience and in it and subsequent ones stated in regard to himself and certain accomplices the following://

Audience.
Folio 23.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the seventh day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered that the said Luis de Caravajal, a youth, unmarried, to be brought before them as the Warden had advised that he had requested an audience and this being done:

Kneeling and striking himself on the breast and kissing the earth and shedding tears he said that he had sinned and as a sinner implored mercy, and still weeping he repeated a number of times: "I have sinned. Mercy! Mercy!" Being ordered to rise and seat himself he said: that God had inspired him, although he well deserved to be condemned for his faults, to make the confession for which he had fought all these days with the Devil who would not allow him do so and had deceived him so that he might not say or declare the truth, which was that his father Francisco Rodriguez de Matos had told him here in Mexico six or eight months before his death that the Jewish Law of Moses was the only true means of salvation because it was the Law that God had given who had done so with His own Hand

and that if he desired to go on the road to Salvation which was the one on which he his father travelled he should follow his example, that he declarant frightened at that novel doctrine and being only a boy had answered simply that it appeared very hard because all the learned men of the world kept the Law of Our Lord Jesus Christ and he asked him if he could not keep both Laws and his father replied he could not and that he must keep the said Law of Moses which he had described, on which he out of fear and respect for his father told him he would do so, and that from then he had been in this error although with great remorse as his conscience cried aloud to him, and now doing what he ought to have done before he confessed everything and accused himself for having been silent, of which he well and truly repented.-----

Item, he said that his father having died in Mexico about ^{before,} a month/ago he went to Panuco where at that time were living ~~in the town~~ his mother Francisca Nuñez and his sister Doña Isabel de Caravajal, widow of Gabriel de Herrera, who died in Astorga, and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez and his sister Doña Catalina de la Cueva who was the wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, and his sister Doña Leonor de Andrada who was the wife of Jorge de Almeyda, and his unmarried sisters Doña Mariana de Caravajal and the child Anna, and his boy brother Miguel; and being there in Panuco (because his father had told him that what he had said about the keeping of the Law of Moses he could communicate to his mother the said Francisca Nuñez, to his widowed sister Doña Isabel and to his brother Don Baltasar Rodriguez as he had already discussed the matter with them)

declarant one day, secretly, all three being together repeated to them what his father had told him, namely that only in the Law of Moses would they be saved, and all three answered him that it was the truth and that they believed in the said Law because their father had taught them the same thing, and in this conversation all four were engaged for an hour reiterating their belief in the said Law of Moses in which they had to walk and by which they would be saved and attain Glory which God had promised to those who kept His Law, and talking of the Coming of the Messiah who should redeem the people of Israel trusting that they would be of those // chosen; and during the fifteen days he was in Panuco they met together several times to discuss those matters, at the end of which time he set out for the Kingdom of Leon with the Governor Luis de Caravajal his uncle who at that time was preparing his forces in the Huasteca. -----

And from there after going about alone for a year and a half in the said Kingdom of Leon and Mazapil he made his way through Zacatecas and Guadalajara to this City of Mexico where he found his said mother and brothers and sisters who had come from Panuco, of whom his mother and his widowed sister, his unmarried sisters and his grown-up brother and his little brother Miguel lived next door to the house of Graciam de Barzola where he went to lodge, while his brothers-in-law Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Almeyda, who had lived in the said Kingdom of Leon and had gone from Mexico to be married in Panuco, also lived in Mexico with their wives in a separate house; and thus

having come to Mexico and living in the said house next to that of Barzoli deponent and his mother and Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez would meet together to discuss the same matters of the Law of Moses, saying that they must keep it in expectation of the coming of the Messiah, that then they would have abundance of wealth, whereas now it was their period of captivity as the people of Israel were scattered, and that they as members as they considered themselves of the said people were also scattered but lived in hopes of better times, in which meetings and discussions he took part many times at their season, his sister Doña Mariana being in the school called the Colegio de Niñas.

// Taking the last-named away from school they all left town and went to live with the two said brothers-in-law and their two wives in Taxco at a mine on a property belonging to the said Jorge de Almeyda, in whose house they lodged, that is, declarant and his mother and Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez and little Miguel as the said Doña Mariana and little Ana had gone with Antonio Diaz de Cazeres and his wife to the mine and mill they had in Tenango about one league from there, and declarant went to and fro between the mines and Mexico to carry on a suit of the said Antonio Diaz. That there in Taxco when deponent and his mother and Doña Isabel and Baltasar Rodriguez wanted to have a meeting they met at night-time in a room of the house of the said Almeyda the conversation turning for the most part on their hopes of the Coming of the Messiah and the rejoicing and prosperity which his advent was to bring to them; in the said room where they met the said

boy little Miguel came to sleep, of whom there is no need to make mention, because as a boy he immediately fell asleep. Later deponent went to Guadalajara and to the Mixteca and Mexico spending almost all his time outdoors.

Item, he said that it would be about eight months ago that the said Jorge de Almeyda came back to live in Mexico, with all his household, taking a house near the Colegio de Niñas and providing a room for deponent and his mother and his sister Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez his brother and little Miguel and Anita, and there also they continued to be // involved in the misadventure of the keeping of the Law of Moses.

Item, he said that it would be about six months ago more or less that he and his said brother Baltasar Rodriguez went one afternoon to the Monastery of Santo Domingo of this city to see Fray Gaspar de Caravajal their brother and all three being in his cell declarant asked him if it was true that God had given from His Hand the Law of Moses and the said Fray Gaspar replied yes and on deponent asking "Then is not that the Law we should keep?" he rose from where he was seated saying angrily "No, those are rites of the Demon!" and gave an example of how the King might don a cloak of a new style and after wearing it give it to a page but not for that would it cease to be the cloak of the King, and that this was the case of the Law that God gave to Moses because although God had given it, with the Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ it had given place to His Evangelical Law, to which the said Baltasar Rodriguez, his brother, answered asking the friar if the cloak of the Heavens had changed and on his replying no the said Baltasar Rodriguez said that

the preachers say that the Word of God cannot be changed, to which remark Fray Gaspar responded with another example to the effect that just as a silversmith to make an article of gold or silver used different tools some finer than others and with the commonest he commenced and with the finest he finished, so neither more nor less God has done, because after giving the Mosaic Law, // with the Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the giving of the Evangelical Law he had made all things perfect: and when the friar said that he put down the Bible he had in his hands and took some Epistles of a Saint of his Order, deponent believed it was St. Vincent, and commenced to read from them saying Let us leave these discussions and read these Epistles which are very devout, and he read a treatise from them after which the bell rang for Complines and declarant and his brother took their leave. That in this conversation neither Baltasar Rodriguez nor deponent said more than what is set forth above and declarant and Fray Gaspar wept the latter saying "May God in his grace pardon us" declarant answering Amen.

Item, he said that before having this discussion, his conscience upbraided him about the unhappy business of the keeping and belief in the Law of Moses, and finding himself one afternoon in the said Monastery, he asked Fray Gaspar de Caravajal among other things if it were a sin to think inwardly matters against the law and faith of Jesus Christ and he responded that those things were temptations of the Devil and if a man resisted them he acquired merit, but that if such a man lost the helping hand of God he might do worse things

than the devil himself.

Item, he said that after that he went to Panuco and being there in a small shop his brother the said Baltasar Rodriguez came to advise him that his sister the said Doña Isabel, widow, had been made prisoner by this Holy Office and // they went together to the house of the said Almeyda where his mother was living and where they stayed for ten days, at the end of which time declarant went to Taxco to collect from Thomas de Fonseca some monies he owed to the said Almeyda, and on the way near Kalatlaco he heard that his said uncle had also been arrested: when he got back to Mexico he entered at night and met the said Baltasar Rodriguez and both agreed to escape to Campeche or to Havana whence one of them could return to ascertain what had happened; and after staying in this city in the house of a certain Manuel Gomez the time he had mentioned, they went to Veracruz where what he had declared in his confessions occurred; that the foregoing was the truth and that he had nothing further to say except to acknowledge the enormity of his sin which did not deserve pardon; this last he said with many tears and sighs and kneeling he begged that he might be treated with mercy in his punishment: and here as it was late the audience was adjourned; and on what he had declared being read over to him word for word he said that it was the truth and well taken down.-----

Audience.
Folio 30.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the ninth day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla // and Santos

Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he remembered that, it would be six years ago while he was living in Panuco with his father and mother and all his brothers and sisters in their own home, his uncle Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon, who had been staying with them, set out for the villages of Tamapache taking deponent with him, and one day while on the road to the village of Cuzcatlan in the said province of Panuco near the farm of Diego de Torres, the said Governor ordered all the soldiers who were with him to go on in front keeping declarant alone with him, and as they went along his uncle the Governor said these words to him: "Thou knowest that thy father is living in the Law of Moses?" and declarant answered weeping "It is a great evil" on which the said Luis de Caravajal rejoined "Then, beware, for I will not have the family mixed up in it, and I would have thee know that thy father endeavoured to deceive me and convert me to the tenets of the Law of Moses but remember that the Evangelical Law which Our Lord Jesus Christ gave to mankind is the only true Law and mark thee well the Pontiffs, Kings and learned men who believe in it ^{and} look to attain their salvation by its means!" and thus speaking they reached the said farm and nothing further was said on the subject and his uncle and the soldiers entered the farm // declarant turning back meeting on the road the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos his father and Fray Gaspar

de Caravajal his brother who at the time were there. Thence they went to Cuzeatlan to say good-bye to his uncle the said Governor who was going to make war on the villages of Tamapache after which his father went to the house he had in the town of Panuco and declarant and his brother returned to Mexico where declarant remained fifteen days lodging in the house of Doña Leonor Caballeros, widow of Obregon. At the end of this period declarant returned to the said town of Panuco to obtain supplies for the campaign of Tamapache to which place shortly afterwards came his said father, with whom he returned to Mexico taking with them the Indian slaves that his father had brought to sell, all of which took him a year, because at the end of six months his father fell ill and died, and after his death declarant went to his mother's house in the town of Panuco and being there related to his mother and Baltasar Rodriguez his brother and to Doña Isabel, widow, his sister, how his father had told him here in Mexico that he should keep the Law of Moses, and in the course of these conversations they told him how his father had taught the same thing to them and had also told the Governor Luis de Caravajal that he should keep the Law and had said the same thing to his sister Doña Isabel, and that the said Governor refused to do so but on the contrary reproached them all; and from then commenced the meetings which he had described in his last audience and where they spoke about the matters of the said Law of Moses in the manner he had deposed; and that he did not remember anything else and had nothing further to say; and on there being // read over to him the declarations he had made in this audience he

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said they were well taken down and the truth except that the said Doña Leonor Caballero is dead and her husband alive.-----

And then he said that he also remembered that when his father told him that he must keep and believe in the said Law of Moses he explained that it was the true Law as it had been given by God Himself and written with his finger upon the Tables He had given to Moses, descending from Heaven for the purpose, and that to keep it he must love one only God and must not worship images as that was prohibited in the Commandments of that Law and must not eat pork or any other parts of a pig because they should only eat the flesh of ruminant animals and not that of the animals which did not chew the cud such as the pig; neither should he eat fish that did not have scales; that he take heed that the fourteenth of March was the Passover which was kept in the Law of Moses in remembrance of the day when God brought the Children of Israel out of Egypt and passed them over the wilderness to the Promised Land, which Passover lasts for seven days during which they had to eat unleavened bread; that in the Passover they should take a small white lamb and cut its throat and with its blood anoint the portals of the door because this had been commanded by God to the Children of Israel when he took them from Egypt, and should take its body and roast it whole without breaking a bone and eat it standing as persons going on a journey, with their staffs in their hands and belts tightened at the waist; that they should eat until nothing remained // and should perchance there be anything left over they were to give it to a neighbour, and the manner in which the said lamb should be eaten was with

bitter herbs and unleavened bread; and this Paschal celebration, which they call the Passover, lasts seven days, of which the first and last are kept as feast-days; and that the lamb had to be killed and eaten on the evening of the first day.

Item, he said that his father had said and taught that Saturday had to be kept from the setting of the sun on Friday until Saturday in the night, no work being done in the meantime, and that they must dress in clean linen in exactly the same way in which the Christians keep Sundays, this being done in remembrance of the Creation of the World when God after the Creation ordained that all things rest on the seventh day during which He had to be praised with Psalms of Praise; and that on Saturdays no fires should be lighted or things be eaten other than those which had been cooked on the previous Friday.

Item, he said, kneeling, that apart from what had been taught to him by his father he had while he was in Panuco bought for six pesos from Juan Rodriguez, a priest, the vicar of the place, a Bible in which he had read all about these matters and a great many others, because his father had told him that everything he had taught him of the said Law was also written in the Bible, in which declarant had also learned of another Paschal Feast which they called Las Cavañas which fell in the month of September and lasted eight days, and was celebrated by everyone leaving his house and dwelling for a week in the fields with the sole object of praising God for having given the // Promised Land to the Children of Israel, during which time they were permitted to take their customary food.----

Item, he said that in order to confirm him in the belief of the said Law of Moses and to satisfy some doubts he had expressed, his father had described how Jesus Christ (for so he called him) in fulfillment of the Law had had himself circumcised and on being asked by a young man what he should do to gain the Kingdom of Heaven had replied that he should keep the Commandments of the Law of Moses, and that for the moment he declarant did not remember anything further; and on his declarations of this audience being read over to him he approved them. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 34.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the ninth day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Luis de Caravajal, a young man, unmarried, to be brought before them, and he being present:-----

Stated in continuation of the confessions made by him in the morning that he now remembered that his father had taught him that in the said Law there was a Fast which they called the Great Day of Pardon because on that day particularly God passed judgment on the souls and was held on the tenth of September when they fasted all the day without eating anything until night time when they were permitted to eat flesh or whatever they desired.

And also he remembered that his father taught him that birds and animals should only be eaten after they had their heads cut off and the blood and suet and fat removed // for thus it

~~xxxx~~ it was ordered in the said Law of Moses which forbade the eating of any drowned thing because the blood remained therein, or blood sausage or anything else containing blood or fat.

Item, he said kneeling, that when his father taught him the said Mosaic Law he told him and persuaded him that in order to keep it he must abandon the belief in the Evangelical Law and deny the Coming of Christ and the divinity of Jesus and Our Lady, the validity of the Mass, and the presence of the body of Christ in the Consecrated Host, and confession to priests as their absolution was of no avail because only to God should sins be confessed seeing that He alone could pardon them; and that for the moment he did not recollect anything else that had been taught by his father or any other person.

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Item, he said that his father having died the said Baltasar Rodriguez his brother said to him one day when they were setting out from Panuco with his uncle the said Governor Luis de Caravajal and were at the distance of one league from the road to Tamaulipas, the two being alone, because the other people had gone on in front, that he was doubtful in his mind as to whether the consecrated Host really contained the body of Jesus Christ and was also doubtful about the other tenets of the Holy Catholic faith, the object or intention of his brother being to cause doubts in him also, and that the said Governor Caravajal had refused to listen and on declarant cautiously asking him what was to be done he had replied that he ought to denounce it to the Holy Office at which the conversation ceased and the said Baltasar Rodriguez returned to the said town of Panuco.

// Item, he said that in the Bible he had bought in Panuco he had read prophecies of all the prophets and was particularly struck by those of Esequiel and Isaiah, which he understood to refer to the Promised Messiah who had not yet come and was not Jesus Christ, and thus he had gone on believing and hoping and through this belief and hope he had thought to receive the wealth that Isaiah had promised in one of his prophecies saying nec oculos ui dit nec auris audiuit Deus absque te que preparabti et expectantibus Te, and reading in Ezequiel of the rebuilding of the Temple of Solomon he had understood and believed that it had ^{not} been rebuilt but that it would be rebuilt with the Coming of the Messiah who was expected by the declarant, and in like manner, he continued, from other chapters of the Prophets, to hope and look for the Advent of the Anointed of God whom he believed was not Our Lord Jesus Christ but a Messiah who had not yet come but who had to come.

Item, he said that reciting in a Dominican Day Book the Penitential Psalms as a man who by the teaching of his father did not believe in Jesus Christ he recited them without saying Gloria patri et filis et Spiritu Santo as he did not want to admit the person of the Son and this was done of his own accord without having been taught by anyone and due to the belief that he carried in his heart, and he blamed himself that when he went to church he did not worship the image of Jesus Christ nor those of Our Lady or the Saints, nor the consecrated Host in Mass, which he did not believe to contain the body of Jesus

Christ, although his conscience always reproached him in the matter of the Host; and when he confessed and received Communion he did so merely to conform and not in obedience to // and compliance with the commandment of the Holy Mother Church neither did he believe in the Mystery which it commanded to be believed; and this he said with many tears.-----

Item, he said that in observance of the said Law of Moses he had always kept the Saturdays whenever he could do so during the past five years, in the manner his father had taught him, he believing in it the same as he did in all the other matters which he had taught him; and on those Saturdays he dressed himself in a clean shirt and his best clothes, ceasing from work from Friday afternoon at the setting of the sun until Saturday night, reciting the Psalms of Praise and all the Canticles and the other prayers that appeared appropriate for praising and giving thanks to God, the which his knowledge of Latin enabled him to read, abstaining from labour in remembrance of the fact that God rested on that day from the labours of Creation and although he also kept the Sundays it was more in accordance with the letter than the spirit of the Law of the Church; and in the matter of food he ate whatever came in his way, and only once this being in Atlixco in the house of one Cristobal Ruiz, a labourer, did he reject a blood pudding that was put on the table the which he did as his father had urged him greatly not to eat them as God had said that the soul was contained in the blood.-----

Item, he said that as regards the season of the Passover

he remembered having kept it three times, the first, in the mines of San Gregorio in the Kingdom of Leon when he abstained from work on the first and seventh day and when as there was no unleavened bread he ate tortillas of maize as they contained no yeast; the second, which was two years ago, he kept in the town of Xalato on the road to the Taxco mines, also eating tortillas, and the third // and last, he kept herein Mexico during Lent of the present year of 'eighty-nine, celebrating it in company with his mother Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez de Caravajal, his widowed sister Doña Isabel being at the time, which was Holy Week, a prisoner in this Holy Office: that the first three days of the seven of this Passover the three of them gathered together to celebrate it in the house of Jorge de Almeyda his brother-in-law where in one of its rooms they lived, not with unleavened bread but with ordinary bread because they ate at the table of his said brother-in-law, and between them they recited the Psalms of Praise which declarant read to them and in particular the Canticle of Moses Cantemos Domine glorioso because it treated specially of the wanderings of the Children of Israel in the Wilderness and the Passage over the Red Sea in which Pharoah and his army were drowned, and in order that his mother might understand it he read this in the vernacular and she repeated it after him, but at the end of the said first three days declarant had occasion to set out from Mexico in spite of which on the road he continued to keep the said Passover his mother and brother remaining in Mexico.

And he further recollected that while his mother was living in Taxco he and his brother the said Baltasar Rodriguez who

were in Mexico lodging near the Convalescents Home kept the Passover eating instead of bread tortillas and reciting the Psalms of Praise and particularly the Cantemos Domine Glorioso as it was appropriate for those days, as he had declared; and that he did not recall anything else; and on there being read over to him the declarations made in this // audience he approved them. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 38.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the eleventh day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said unmarried youth Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And he being present was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to declare the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that it seemed to him that he had already declared everything and did not remember more.-----

Asked what further things he knew of the said Mosaic Law either taught by his father or by other persons:

He replied that nobody but his father had taught him anything but what the latter had taught him he had discussed with the other persons against whom he had already deposed.

C.4.

Item, he said that he further remembered that when his said father taught him the Law of Moses he told him that a certain Licenciado Morales a Portuguese doctor who had come Spain in his company in the ship of the said Governor Luis de Caravajal and at the time lived with his wife and household in Mexico

also kept the said Mosaic Law, as did his people and family, but his father did not mention the names of the persons or describe what they did, neither did declarant know, because being a youth he did not treat or communicate with the said doctor about this or any other matter although the latter was a friend of his father: that the said doctor had returned to Spain with all his household, which consisted of himself, his wife and a sister-in-law the widow of a man called Nuñez and two small children and three sisters; two of whom had been married to Portuguese gentlemen in Mexico while the third was a spinster, and a nephew called Antonio, a youth, declarant not knowing the names of the others nor where they were born, all he knew being that the said doctor was a Portuguese and that he had heard it said that he had come from Malaga to Seville, in which latter city deponent had seen him go alone to the house of the said Governor Luis de Carvajal when he was preparing to set out to Panuco, and later had seen him on board the Governor's vessel, and that eventually he had left Mexico with his household which declarant had enumerated returning to Spain in the fleet that sailed four years ago.

Asked what other persons his father had mentioned as believing in the Law of Moses or whom he himself suspected of keeping that Law:

He replied that he had not told him of any others.

Asked what was his reason for stating that the said Licenciado Morales and his people kept the Law of Moses:

He replied that it was only to give an example of a learned man who kept it.

Asked if he had seen the said Licenciado Morales and the

people of his house, hold, do or say anything related with the said Law, as he had declared:

He replied no and neither had he anything to do with him or any of his household.

Asked what other examples had been mentioned by his father of people alive or dead:

He replied that truly he did not remember.

Asked if his father ~~xxx~~ had told him who had instructed him in the said Mosaic Law:

He replied that his father had told him that Diego Rodriguez his elder brother, who lived in Portugal, declarant did not know in what place, had taught him the said Law of Moses and that from him // and none other he had learned it and that when he was a small boy he had seen his uncle the said Rodriguez in Banevente when he had come to see his father, and while he was in Panuco his father received letters from Nuño Alvarez de Ribera a Portuguese merchant residing in Seville, brother-in-law of the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, the brother of Doña Guiomar de Ribera his wife, advising him that the said Diego Rodriguez had died in Portugal on receiving which news his father had mourned for him with lamentations and tears.

Asked by whom the said Diego Rodriguez had been instructed in the said Law:

He replied that he did not know nor did he believe his father knew although he had never asked him.

Asked who had taught the Law of Moses to his mother the said Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal and to Doña Isabel,

widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez, his sister and brother respectively:

He replied that both they and he had been taught by his father Francisco Rodriguez de Matos.

Asked what other persons he knew, surmised or suspected had been taught:

He replied, none others.

Asked when, where and how often his father Francisco Rodriguez had taught his declarant's mother, sister and brother the said Law of Moses:

He replied that his father had told him that he had taught it to his declarant's mother, and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez in Castile, before coming to the Indies, and to his sister Doña Isabel in the // town of Tampico after he arrival from Spain, his father having so told him here in Mexico when he was instructing him in the doctrine which in due course he repeated to the others in Panuco, to which his father never returned, as he died in Mexico at the time and from the complaint already stated by declarant who never saw him after he left town on that occasion as he had been unable to return.

Asked if before or since that time he understood that his family had been instructed by other persons:

He replied in the negative.

Asked if his sister Doña Isabel had told him that she had been taught by other persons either alive or dead or had discussed with them matters of the said Law:

He replied that she had not told him anything of that.

Asked if when his said father had commenced to persuade him in regard to matters of the said Law of Moses he had told him that the said Francisca Nuñez his mother and his sister and brother Doña Isabel and Baltasar Rodriguez held and kept it:

He replied in the affirmative.

Asked why his father had not taught him before the time he had mentioned:

He replied that his father did not want to do it before then because he was only a boy.

Asked if before his father had taught him he had seen him in Spain, at sea, or here in the Indies, do or say anything in his house connected with the said Law of Moses, to which he had confessed or had entertained suspicions on the subject: //

He replied that he did not remember having seen anything.

Asked what length of time his father employed in teaching him the said Law of Moses:

He replied that he employed about a month to teach him the said Law and the matters connected with it and although at the beginning he demurred and doubted at the end of the said month he came to believe and keep it, as he had already stated.

Asked with what reasons and authorities his father had taught and persuaded him:

He replied that he had told him it was the Law in which the Prophets and ancient Kings had been saved and had been given by God himself and would endure for ever not ceasing with the coming of Christ, but that as his father did not know Latin

he did not cite any particular instances but spoke generally of the matter.

Asked what persons were present when he was being taught:

He replied no one, they were alone, and when anyone approached the subject was dropped.

Asked what his father meant when he said to him that they belonged to the Children of Israel the chosen of God who were now scattered but who had to come together:

He replied that he told him plainly that he and declarant and the others who kept the Law of Moses were of the people chosen by God and descendants of the Israelites, and that the whole of the Jewish people were descended from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

Asked if his father believed // that from his race and caste he was descended from them:

He replied that his father had believed that and had told him that he and his forefathers were of the race and caste of the Jews descendants through generations from the people of Israel and that his parents and grandparents (whose names he did not mention because he was a man of a reticent tongue, merely saying that they came from the town of Mogoddrio near Benavente on the Frontier of Portugal) had also kept the Law of Moses and had died in that belief; and he also told him that the said Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, his wife and declarant's mother was a daughter and descendent of the Children of Israel.

Asked if his father had told him this with the deliberate idea that the example of his forefathers might lead him the

more readily to accept their doctrine:

He replied that it appeared to him that his father had said the thing seriously.

Asked if his father had been bred and taught in the said Law:

He replied that on the contrary his father had told him that until his said brother Diego Rodriguez had taught him and told him that his parents and forefathers had kept that Law he did not know anything about it, that his brother when he came to Benavente had done so and further explained to him from what race and caste he was descended and since then he had kept that Law and would keep it to the end.

Asked what he understood his father to mean by saying that he would keep that Law to the end:

He replied that although his father had died with the sacraments // and had asked for them in a loud voice and it was possible that God inspired him when he was about to die to the end that he might be saved, he suspected that he may have received the Sacraments merely in order to conform to the usage of the Church, as when he was instructing declarant in the said Law of Moses he told him that although he might have to confess and receive the communion of the Church he should do so following not the spirit but the letter of the Law, as he had done by the teaching of his father.

Asked if in their talk during the illness and at the time of the death of his father the latter had said anything to confirm him in the said Law of Moses:

He replied that he did not remember that during his illness his father had said anything else, neither did he allude to what he had taught him because he was all the time weeping and lamenting at the idea of dying outside his home and away from his wife and children, whom at the hour of death he commended to the care of deponent on whom he bestowed his blessing and presently died.

Asked what persons were present at his death:

He replied Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Gonzalo Perez Fierro, in whose house he died, and Francisca Nuñez who at that time was the widow of Andres del Aguila who afterwards died in Atomilco, and Ana Muñoz, wife of Joan de Nava the tailor, who lived in Mexico and had come out in the same vessel from Spain, and the negro Luis who as deponent had declared had washed the body, his father having been buried in the Monastery of Santo Domingo.

Asked what suspicions or discussions he had or heard after the death of his father, as to whether he had lived and died in the Law of Moses:

He replied that with his mother and widowed sister Doña Isabel, and // his brother Baltasar Rodriguez he had conversed many times in regard to the death of his father and how he had lived and died in the Law of Moses, and soon after his death his brother Fray Gaspar de Caravajal had asked him if his father had died requesting the sacraments or if these had been given without being asked for, and if there had been a crucifix at the head of the bedstead, and these questions were asked with

so much insistence that apprehensions were aroused that perhaps the said Fray Gaspar knew or suspected that his father had kept the said Law of Moses, although he did not know positively, because his father had not declared himself to him, as he had done to Governor Luis de Caravajal, who had told him in Cuzcatlan what he had already stated, that his father had lived in the said Mosaic Law, a fact which deponent himself did not know until after his arrival in Mexico when his father had instructed him in it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 45.

In the City of Mexico on this said Friday the eleventh day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the youth Luis de Caravajal, unmarried, to be brought before them, which being done he was

Asked if there were in this country any persons whether related to him or not, whom he thought suspected his father and the others of his family of keeping the said Law of Moses:

He replied that he did not know of any other person because nobody else knew of it than those whom he had named.//

Asked what had been the object of the discussions he and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez had with their brother the said Fray Gaspar:

He replied that it had been to ascertain if the last-named being a preacher and a learned man could give them reasons whereby deponent and his brother might be converted to the Evangeli-

cal Law, or if the said Fray Gaspar could be convinced by the reasons that he and his brother gave him and be converted to the Law of Moses.

Asked what opinion they carried away when they said good-bye to the said Fray Gaspar:

He replied that although Fray Gaspar remained firm in his convictions and advanced powerful arguments in favour of the Evangelical Law in the hope of converting them, yet deponent and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez although they remained silent as if they were convinced only pretended to be so, in reality remaining in the belief of the Law of Moses in which they were before and this they admitted between themselves.

Asked when the said Fray Gaspar, as deponent had said, had argued with them of the cessation of the Law of Moses with the Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ giving the example of the new cloak which the King had put on and afterwards given to a servant, what his brother Baltasar Rodriguez had meant by asking if the cloak of Heaven had also been changed:

He replied that what the latter had meant was that as the cloak of Heaven had not been changed so the Law of Moses // had not been changed nor had ceased, although he did not express himself as clearly as he might have done. That although Fray Gaspar de Caravajal did not know that they held and believed in the Law of Moses, the principal intention with which he and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez went to speak to him was to see if they could convert him to that Law.

Asked to whom they had spoken of these discussions with Fray Gaspar, either before or after they had taken place:

He replied that they had related them in full to his said mother Francisca Nuñez and his widowed sister Doña Isabel who had asked him in what belief he had remained and he had replied to them that both he and Baltasar Rodriguez had endeavoured to induce Fray Gaspar to give up the Evangelical Law.

Asked if they had ever spoken about these matters to Fray Gaspar at the instigation of his mother and sister:

He replied no, because they had never recommended it although when he had told them what had passed at the interview between him and Baltasar Rodriguez and Fray Gaspar their mother and sister were grieved that the said Fray Gaspar should not be willing to embrace the Law of Moses.

Asked if they or his father Francisco Rodriguez had spoken in the same way with the said Fray Gaspar:

He replied that he had never heard of that nor did he believe they had done so.

Asked if the said Fray Gaspar had at any time known or suspected that the said Francisco Rodriguez his father had lived or died in the Law of Moses:

He replied that he did not know.

Asked if when he and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez had fled from Mexico, as he deponent said, they had conversed about the Law of Moses:

He replied they had not done so because they only spoke about the manner of their flight and where they would go.

Asked if at that time or before it they had spoken about the captivity which their father had said their race endured:

He replied that they all spoke about it and regarded them-

selves as captives and hoped for liberty at the Coming of the Messiah but fearing the Inquisition and that if discovered they would be punished in accordance with the Law.

Asked what they said when they learned that the said Doña Isabel their sister was a prisoner in this Holy Office:

He replied that they all wept for her tribulation and shame and prayed to God to liberate her and that his brothers-in-law Almeyda and Antonio Diaz shaved off their beards and Diego Marquez said that there might be something back of the matter which they did not know, and they quarrelled with their brothers-in-law because the latter said that their honour was lost due to the affair, and all their relations went about greatly afflicted not knowing the reason; and deponent and his mother and brother put the blame on the Governor Luis de Caravajal saying that he had denounced her by disclosing what Francisco Rodriguez, deponent's father, and Dona Isabel had told him, as deponent had declared, suspecting this because the said Governor had quarrelled a short time before // in the Court Prison of this city where he then was with Baltasar Rodriguez; and the said Fray Gaspar smote his breast and said that if she were guilty it was by the will of God who would not want her to lose her soul and it would be a meritorious act to save her.

Asked to whom had they communicated the ground of their suspicion against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal:

He replied that he and his brother and mother had spoken about it as if they were certain of it and knew what had happened, while to their brothers-in-law and connections they merely said that they suspected the said Governor of having made

some complaint against them and that among themselves they did not discuss any remedy because they could not think of one.

Asked what he and his mother and brother thought of doing in view of the fact that they had been denounced and were in danger of arrest:

He replied that they feared to be imprisoned and for that reason he and his brother wanted to fly and could only talk of escaping, but their mother was loth that they should go and urged them to stay and keep quiet when maybe nothing would be done to them.

Asked what they had said to Diego Marquez or anybody else in Veracruz regarding their flight:

He replied that they had told him that the said Governor Luis de Caravajal was a prisoner of the Inquisition and that they had escaped for fear of being arrested also but they did not tell him the reason nor give any details, and he answered that he was a bitter enemy of his but that he was not afraid of him.

Asked what the charges were that the said Governor Luis de Caravajal was going to make ^{against} them and which induced them to fly from the Inquisition://

He replied that what he and his brother feared was that they would be accused of being Jews and thus it was understood by the said Diego Marquez although they did not tell him that in so many words but merely told him in general terms that they were afraid the Governor was going to accuse them before the Inquisition and for that reason they had fled.

Asked what the said Governor Luis de Caravajal knew about him and his brother:

He replied that he himself did not fear the said Governor because he had already seen that he did not know anything about the matter, it being his brother Baltasar Rodriguez who was apprehensive due to those doubts about the faith which he had divulged to deponent.

Asked why they were more afraid of his uncle the said Governor Luis de Caravajal than his sister Doña Isabel:

He replied that he believed that she as his sister would not denounce them whereas his brother was on bad terms with his uncle.

Asked what prayers, fasts and penitences and other observances they had made to obtain the liberty of their sister Doña Isabel:

He replied that he and his mother and Baltasar Rodriguez recited psalms, which were the only prayers they knew, and that those prayers strengthened them in the observance of the Law of Moses and were addressed to God asking Him to free her as He was their only help, they reciting for the purpose the Psalm exaudiete Dominus in die tribulationis.

Asked what particular passages of the said Law of Moses he had seen performed or heard recited by the said Francisco Nuñez de Caravajal and his // sister Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez other than what he had already declared:

He replied he knew that they kept the Saturdays from Friday at sunset to Saturday night, dressing themselves in clean linen, although they had sewing cushions before them in order

to hide the fact that they were keeping the ^{said} Saturdays, and when deponent was with them he read out to them the Psalms of Praise and Canticles which he had already mentioned, his sister Doña Isabel who knew Latin also reading to them; that all their talk was of the keeping and observance of the said Law of Moses and the remembrance that God had rested that day from the works of Creation; that they specially kept the Fast of the Great Day of Pardon which fell on the tenth of September because it was the day they had been told by their father that God judged and pardoned sins; that ~~xxxx~~ the said Doña Isabel prepared the flesh which they ate removing the fat and suet, and they did not eat pork or drowned birds although when they were in Mexico in the house of the said Jorge de Almeyda these were put into the pot with the rest of the meat and they had to eat them as they were in the house of another; and that all four of them, his mother, his sister, his brother and himself, spoke about those matters and said that they were in accordance with the teaching of their father.

Asked regarding the accusation lodged against him and which he had almost entirely denied:

He replied that he had denied it because he had been prompted by the devil, of which he accused himself, but that he had now spoken the truth admitting that he was a descendent of Jews and had believed in the Law of Moses and had thought to be saved thereby.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric). //

Audience.
Folio 51.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the twelfth day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said youth Luis de Caravajal, unmarried, to be brought before them and on this being done he was

Asked what other persons he knew or suspected to keep the said Law of Moses and do the same things he had said and confessed:

He replied that truly he did not know of any.

Asked to say, when he and his mother Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, and his sister Doña Isabel and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez were together in Panuco, Mexico, and Taxco and spoke about the matters of the Law of Moses, as he had declared, such as the celebration of the Paschal Lamb, the keeping of the Saturdays and the fasting on the Great Day of September, what other persons were in the house:

He replied that in Panuco there were his other brothers and sisters, namely, Doña Catalina, wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, Doña Leon, now the wife of Jorge de Almeyda who at the time was unmarried, Doña Mariana, unmarried, and Anita and little Miguel, a girl and boy, and two negresses Catalina and Clara of whom Catalina was in Taxco with Felipe de Fonseca and Clara in Guaxutla with Juan de Urribarri now deceased, and some Indian servants who changed from time to time; and in Mexico when they stayed in the house near Graciam de Barzola there were himself, his mother and his sister Doña // Isabel and

Baltasar Rodriguez his brother and Anita and little Miguel because Doña Mariana was in the Colegio de las Niñas, and Doña Catalina and Doña Leonor lived apart in the houses of their respective husbands; that when they all, including the brothers-in-law and their wives, left the City of Mexico and went to live at the Taxco mines where they stayed in the house of the said Jorge de Almeyda, he and his wife in one room, and deponent and his mother and Doña Isabel and Baltasar Rodriguez and little Miguel in another, the said Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Doña Catalina his wife and Doña Mariana, spinster, and little Ana, dwelling one league from there in Tenango, and presently the said Antonio Diaz returned to Mexico with the same household he had had in Tenango, to wit, his wife and Doña Mariana and little Ana and afterwards the said Jorge de Almeyda returned to Mexico with the same household he had had in Taxco, and being in Mexico they took a house near the said College in which they were divided the same as they were in Taxco, and some days later his mother brought Doña Mariana to the room of this house where they were living because the other room was taken up by Jorge de Almeyda and his wife; that after the arrest of the said Doña Isabel, his sister, by the Holy Office they were grieved at his said brothers-in-law who called deponent and his mother confessed (heretics?) and said that they had lost honour // by reason of the accusation against her, and in consequence his mother left the house of Jorge de Almeyda and with her maiden daughter Doña Mariana and Anita and little Miguel and deponent and Baltasar Rodriguez his brother,

went to a house in the Portal (Arcades) de la Acequia near to the Plaza, and when they came from Paruco to Mexico deponent was in the said mines of San Gregorio in the Kingdom of Leon and heard that first came Antonio Diaz de Cazeres and Jorge de Almeyda with their wives and deponent's mother and Anita and lodged in a house near the Slaughterhouse, and a few days afterwards came the widow Doña Isabel, Baltasar Rodriguez and Fray Gaspar de Caravajal and Doña Mariana and little Miguel, of whom Doña Mariana was sent to the college and the others distributed between the houses he had mentioned.

Asked if the other people in the said houses had seen or knew of the meetings that he and Francisca Nuñez, his mother, Doña Isabel and Baltasar Rodriguez held to converse about the Law of Moses and do the things he had declared, or had any suspicion of them:

He replied no, because they kept the thing secret from everybody and stopped when any other person entered, although some persons did notice and say that they were keeping something from them, these being the three sisters Doña Catalina, Doña Leonor and Doña Mariana who when they chanced // to come into the room would notice that the others would stop talking and would show annoyance at being kept out of the conversation.

Asked if when they were keeping the Saturdays or celebrating the Paschal Lamb or the Fasts of the Great Day of Pardon such notable and public things were not observed by the rest of the people in the house:

He replied that not to arouse suspicion on Saturdays his mother and Doña Isabel, widow, would carry small sewing pillows

in their hands, and when they fasted they took care not to be noticeable.

Asked to whom his uncle Luis de Caravajal referred when he told him in Cuzcatlan, on their way to a certain farm, that the Pontiffs, Kings and Learned Men who held the Evangelical Law wanted to have their souls saved as much as they:

He replied that by they he understood Don Luis to mean his father and mother and Doña Isabel, widow, and Baltasar Rodriguez, although he did not refer to them by name.

Asked if he had been taught by his father as a precept of the Law of Moses that confession should be made to God and not to a priest as the absolution of the latter was worthless, and if not what were the grounds for so believing:

// He replied that his father had told him that confession to a priest was contrary to the Law of Moses and should be made to God only but had not given any reasons other than that as the Jews denied the principal, which was the Coming of Jesus Christ to the world, they ipso facto denied all the sacraments founded upon His Coming, Death and Passion, although deponent only remembered the sacraments of Confession and Communion which were the ones they discussed.

Asked what things of their ritual he had done when he gave up the belief in the Evangelical Law and denied the Coming of Jesus Christ Our Lord as his father had taught and persuaded him.

He replied that his father had not mentioned any particular rites as being necessary, nor had he deponent done anything

more than to believe in the said Law of Moses and keep it, doing what he had said and confessing and receiving communion in order to conform while inwardly disbelieving in such confession and communion, of which he accused himself.

Asked what he meant by saying that in his heart he never came to disbelieve absolutely in the consecrated host because his conscience was always troubling him:

He replied that he had had occasional doubts as to whether the path he was pursuing was good // seeing that nearly everybody in the world including the learned men kept the Evangelical Law, but that he had put them aside and continued in his belief of the Law of Moses, these doubts being as to whether the consecrated host was or was not Jesus Christ.

Asked why the Jews recited the Psalms of David to God alone, as he had declared:

He replied that the foundations of their belief in the Law of Moses was the denial of the personality of the Son of God and the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, and so his father had taught him although they did not openly and constantly proclaim such denials but merely bore them in mind inwardly.

Asked what other things apart from those he had confessed he had done or said, or seen done or heard said by his mother, brother and sister in observance of the prescriptions of the Old Testament in the matter of fasts, feasts and the Passover:

He replied that he did not remember anything on the subject except that when the four of them were together he had heard the remark that it was good to observe the Fast of the Three Days of Queen Esther although he did not fast nor did

he know that the others fasted.

Asked for what length of time he had held the belief and kept the observances of the said Law of Moses: //

He replied that he had done so from the time his father had taught him until the Day of the Transfiguration of Our Lord Jesus Christ which fell on the sixth day of this month of August when God enlightned him in everything and consequently it would be a matter of five years more or less that he had been a believer in the said Law of Moses; that on the Eve of the said Day of the Transfiguration he had commended himself to God for enlightenment and had read from the writings of Pope Leo and Saint Gregory in a breviary belonging to his cell companion, and considering that all the world kept the Evangelical Law he was enlightened and was converted to it with all his heart which it entered like a living flame and forthwith he abandoned his belief in the Law of Moses and determined to confess the truth, the which he did on the following Monday being unable to rest in the meantime, as it cut him to the heart that for five long years he should have kept the said Law of Moses and understood and believed that thereby he would be saved.

Asked if he knew and had seen that the Holy Mother Church held the contrary, to wit, that the said Law of Moses with its rites and ceremonies had ceased with the Coming, Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ:

He replied that he had seen and understood well what the question said, namely, that the teachings of our Holy

Mothers Church of Rome were entirely contrary to those of the Law of Moses which his father had taught him, but that nevertheless he had believed in the latter.

// Asked what he, his mother, brother and sister said when they saw our Holy Mother Church celebrate the Incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ and His Advent, Nativity, Circumcision, the Oblation in the Temple, the Purification of the Blessed Virgin His Mother, and Our Lady, His Passion, Resurrection and Ascent to Heaven, the Descent of the Holy Ghost, the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, and the Institution of the Very Holy Sacrament of the Altar:

He replied that they had never spoken of those subjects and merely kept in their minds their belief in the Law of Moses although they went to church to conform outwardly as he had said.

He went on to say that he had just recollected that his father had also told him that before the Coming of the Messiah which they awaited from day to day, Elias would come to prepare the road, and that this also was talked of in the conversations which took place between him, his mother, his sister and brother as he had described.

Asked who was this Messiah who had to come and when did they expect him:

He replied that he did not know who he was but merely that he was to be expected from day to day and that first Elias would come as his father had said although there was no time fixed.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore his
Curator.
Folio 58.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the fourteenth day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, to be brought before them, which being done he was duly sworn and ratified under oath, in the presence and with the assistance of Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes, his curator, he being under twenty-five years of age, as witness in the present trial the evidence set forth above that he had originally given at his own trial which passed before the undersigned Pedro de los Rios, Secretary.

Ratifica-
tion before
virtuous
persons.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-fourth day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the morning, there being present as required by the law certain virtuous and religious persons, the said Luis de Caravajal under oath ratified in the solemn form accustomed by the Holy Office as witness in the present trial the evidence set forth above and which he had originally given at his own trial, against certain persons and in particular against the said Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the said Kingdom of Leon, his uncle, as more largely appears in his said original process, from which I have taken it in summary and which passed before me, Pedro de los Rios, Secretary.

// Audience.
Folio 60.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday the seventh day of September of the year hundred hundred and eight-

nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, to be brought before them, which being done:

He was asked if, when the said Doña Francisca his mother, Doña Isabel his sister and Baltasar Rodriguez his brother had told him in Panuco that his father the said Francisco Rodriguez had taught them the Law of Moses and had spoken to the said Governor Luis de Caravajal on the subject as had also the said Doña Isabel but that the said Governor Luis de Caravajal had declined to listen, whether any other discussions had taken place on the subject:

He replied that all he heard was that his uncle had declined to hear or consider it.

Asked if this has passed in his presence:

He replied that he had never been present at such a conversation with the said Governor but that one day in Panuco he saw his uncle in a room in a great state of excitement; that on his entering it his uncle told him angrily to get out and that later he heard from the said Doña Isabel that the reason for his anger was that she had endeavoured to convert him to the Law of Moses: this being one of the subjects his mother and Doña Isabel spoke about.

Asked if his uncle the said Luis de Caravajal knew that they kept the Law of Moses:

He replied that he did not know more than that they had enjoined him to keep it but that it was obvious that he would understand they kept it.

Asked how he deponent knew that they had enjoined his uncle to keep the said Law of Moses:

He replied that all he knew about it was what he had declared in his confessions.

Asked if his said uncle the Governor was aware that the said Doña Francisca de Caravajal, his sister and declarant's mother, kept the Law of Moses:

He replied that he did not know that of his own knowledge but thought it was obvious that his uncle must be aware of the fact because when he had angrily ordered him to leave the room his mother and Baltasar Rodriguez his brother had entered to pacify him // for anything he might have been told by the said Doña Isabel who was with him; and she and his mother and brother had afterwards told him that the reason why his uncle was angry was because Doña Isabel had importuned him to embrace the Law of Moses whereat he had become very excited and cursed and wished to God he had not been born, deponent leaving immediately because they paid no attention to him and besides he was booted and spurred for a ride.

Asked if the said Governor Luis de Caravajal had seen them do anything connected with the matters of the said Law:

He replied that he did not know if he had seen anything, all he knew being that on that afternoon his uncle had gone out with the said Baltasar Rodriguez which was when the latter had mentioned his doubts as to the faith to which deponent had already referred in his confessions.

And with this the audience was closed and warned to search his memory and speak the whole truth he was ordered back to his

cell.

And on what he had deposed being read over to him he approved it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratification before his Curator.
Folio 63.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the ninth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Bonilla in his audience of the morning the said Luis de Caravajal as a minor less than twenty-five years of age, ratified in the presence of his Curator, Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes, in due form of law and under solemn oath the testimony he had given in the audience of the seventh of the present month the said testimony being extracted from the proceedings of his own trial which passed before me, Pedro de los Rios.

Ratification before virtuous persons.
Folio 64.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the ninth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Bonilla in his audience of the morning, there being present as is customary certain virtuous and religious persons, the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, under oath // and according to the use and style of the Holy Office ^{ratified} the extracts from his declarations in his own trial which he had repeated in the audience of the seventh of the present month as evidence against certain accomplices who are mentioned and particularly and by name against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, his uncle, and which is set forth more largely in his said trial from which I have taken these extracts and which passed before me Pedro de los Rios, Secretary.

Audience.

Folio 65.

To verify what was said by the Governor Luis de Caravajal in his process in answer to the publication as to these people not having been in Seville in the house of himself and Doña Guiomar his wife for more than four days.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the thirteenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, to be brought before them, which

being done he was asked where he and his parents had lived before they went to Seville.

He replied in Medina del Campo.

Asked when they had left Medina del Campo and reached Seville to start for this country with the said Governor Luis de Caravajal his uncle:

He replied that they had left Medina del Campo for Seville about the first of May more or less taking twenty days on the way and on arriving at their destination they had alighted at the inn of the Calzada de Carmona situated just before reaching the entrance to Seville but on the same day all of them, parents and children, had gone to lodge in the house of the said Luis de Caravajal their uncle who with his wife Doña Guiomar de Ribera was living at the hay and corn shop where also lived his mother-in-law Blanca Rodriguez recently widowed wife of Miguel Muñoz his father-in-law, and Nuño Alvarez // de Ribera and Doña Isabel, spinster, brother and sister of the said Doña Guiomar, and a certain Francisca Nuñez Viziosa, wife of Andres del Aguila and illegitimate sister of the said Doña Guiomar being the daughter of her father, and other people of Seville, the family consisting of deponent

and his parents and brothers and sisters, being the whole family with the exception of his brother Fray Gaspar who was in this country; and there in Seville they remained until the Sunday of the Holy Trinity on the afternoon of which day he and his family sailed from the Seville River for San Lucar where they stayed four days in the house of the Vicar awaiting the arrival of the said Governor who had been detained in Seville.

Asked for how many days they were in Seville in the house of the said Doña Guiomar de Ribera, wife of the said Luis de Carvajal their uncle:

He replied that they were exactly eight days in Seville during which they did not stay in any other house than the one above mentioned, and that with them from Medina del Campo came Gonzalo Lopez Fierro and his wife Doña Catalina de Leon first cousin of the said Governor Carvajal, who also stayed in the house of Doña Guiomar, leaving at the same time as deponent and his family to come to this country together with Doña Ginebra, widow, sister of the said Doña Catalina de Leon, and Jorge de Leon, brother; all of which was the truth by the oath he had sworn.

And with this he was ordered back to his cell. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Additional
evidence
of the said
third wit-
ness.

Audience.
Folio 66.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the twentieth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said youth Luis de Carvajal, bachelor, to be brought before them, which

being done the following additional evidence was produced, being the second and third chapters of the declarations of the third witness:

Witness
against
the Gov-
ernor
Luis de
Carava-
jal.
C.2.

Item, he said that a certain person, whom he named, a relation of the said Luis de Caravajal living in Portugal, went to live in France and this witness had heard it said that those who went from Portugal to live in France, Flanders or other remote places did so to fly from the Inquisition as they had been living in the Law of Moses, and witness was aware that another person closely related to the said Luis de Caravajal endeavoured to get to France where the other one was and take certain persons with him, whom he named, among whom was the said Luis de Caravajal and witness knew that another person a relation of all of them endeavoured to and did interrupt the said journey, which was the reason why they had come to the Indies.

C. 3.

he wished to modify
Item, he said that ~~his statement~~ to the effect that he had entertained suspicions of a leaning towards the Mosaic Law of the said Luis de Caravajal and certain connections of his, whom he named, ^{because} although one of them denied the existence and divinity of Jesus Christ, another on the contrary had confirmed them in the belief of the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, and witness had observed that the last-named person in connection with the same subject had asked the said Luis de Caravajal if he had any suspicion of a certain one of the said connections to which he replied crying that he was a good Christian and had nothing to say, and that this was the truth and not spoken from hatred. //

Answer to
the two
chapters.

And the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, replying to the two said chapters of the said production of evidence stated under oath the following:

To the second chapter of the said third witness:

He replied that his uncle the Governor Luis de Caravajal said to him one day in the Province of Panuco that if he deponent and his brother Baltasar Rodriguez were grateful they should kiss the ground he trod for having brought them to this country and prevented their father and mother from taking them to France where all had wished to go and live although he deponent had never known anything about it.

To the third chapter of the said third witness:

He said that he referred to the conversation that took place between him and his uncle the Governor Luis de Caravajal on the way from Cuzcatlan to the farm of Diego de Torres and that the foregoing was the truth. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 74.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the twenty-first day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, to be brought before them.

And being present he was asked if he remembered aught else in regard to the evidence that yesterday was shown to him and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

// He replied that he had not remembered anything else.

Asked what was the conversation he had had with his uncle

the Governor Luis de Caravajal on the road from Guzcatlan to the farm of Diego de Torres:

He replied that on the way, the two of them being alone, the other people and soldiers being in advance his uncle said to him: Thou knowest that thy father and thy mother are Jews who live in the Law of Moses ----- and deponent replied that it was a great evil but that he personally had had nothing to do with it to which his uncle responded that for that he loved him more, after which the conversation proceeded in the manner he had already declared.

Asked if the Governor had said how he came to know that:

He replied that his uncle had said that they, speaking generally and not mentioning names, had endeavoured to beguile him and bring him over to the Law of Moses, deponent not knowing who or where or when, but that one day when his father and the said Governor were going from Chalchitlan to Guzcatlan with a number of people and soldiers, deponent among them, he saw that the two were speaking privately, he not knowing of what matters because he did not hear them or pay attention, and afterwards when here in Mexico his father spoke to him of the matters of the Law of Moses, as deponent already had declared, he also told him that in the conversation on the road between Chalchitlan to Guzcatlan he had endeavoured to persuade the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to keep the Law of Moses but that he had been deaf to persuasion.

Asked why his father told him that: //

He replied that he did not remember anything else but that it was when he was being taught here in Mexico.

Asked if his mother had also endeavoured to persuade the said Governor Luis de Caravajal in regard to the said matters:

He replied that he did not know nor had he heard such a thing.

Asked if the said Governor Luis de Caravajal said the same of Baltasar Rodriguez and Doña Isabel, widow, brother and sister of deponent because they also kept the Law of Moses and he was suspicious of everybody according to what he had declared:

He replied that he did not mention them although the conversations he had described had already taken place in Panuco.

It was pointed out to him that in the audience held with him on the ninth of August of this year ^{he had stated that} his uncle the said Governor Luis de Caravajal had said to him "Thou knowest that thy father is living in the Law of Moses" and now in this audience although he had repeated his statement he added to it the words to the effect that his uncle had said that deponent's father and mother were Jews and lived in the Law of Moses and that they had endeavoured to beguile him into accepting the Mosaic Law: therefore he was warned to declare the truth and affirm it and on being given to understand the question

He replied that before God he did not then know if his uncle had meant his mother as well he having spoken in the plural saying that they lived in the Law of Moses and had endeavoured to beguile him into changing to that Law, but that by the use of the plural term he was beginning to think // that

his uncle had meant to include not only his father and mother but also his sister and brother although he had not said so in so many words.

Asked if before his father had begun to teach him in Mexico the said Law of Moses he understood that he and his mother were living under it: in the proceedings of his own trial.

He replied that he only understood and knew what the Governor had told him and for that reason he had answered that it was an evil thing but that he had never spoken to his father or mother of what the Governor had said to him on the road from Guzcatlan to the farm, and ended up by saying that the foregoing was the truth, and on his declarations being read over to him he approved them.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratification before his Curator. Folio 77. In the City of Mexico on the twenty-fourth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-

nine before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the morning the said youth Luis de Caravajal, bachelor, ratified under oath in due form of law the evidence he had given, taken from the proceedings of his own trial, in the audiences of the thirteenth of September last past and the twentieth and twenty-first of this present month of October, doing so in the presence and with the assistance of his curator and lawyer Licenciado Valdes on account of his being under twenty-five years of age. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

//
Ratification before virtuous persons.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-fifth day

of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning, there being present in the customary form certain virtuous and religious persons, the said Luis de Caravajal as witness ratified the evidence contained in the proceedings of his own trial, against certain persons among others the said Luis de Caravajal which evidence he had repeated in the audiences of the thirteenth of September last past and twentieth and twenty-first of the present month of October, the same being set forth at greater length in the original proceedings which passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Fourth witness.
Doña Francisca
de Caravajal,
widow of Francisco Rodriguez
de Matos.

Extract from her
trial

Against
Luis de Caravajal
her brother, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the twelfth day of the month of May of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered to appear before them a woman who had been brought a prisoner to the Jails of this Holy Office and who being sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all the others that might be held with her until the conclusion of her trial, stated that she was

Doña Francisca de Caravajal, born in the town of Benavente, in Castile, and widow of the late Francisco Rodriguez de Matos who was born in Balderas four leagues from Benavente, a merchant and farmer of tithes, who had also served for many years the Count of Benavente, her apparent age being fifty years

Age 50
Years.

or rather under and that the night of Tuesday the ninth of the present month she had been arrested in her house by a warder of this Holy Office and brought to its jails: on being asked her genealogy and race and descent she said they were considered as Christians created by God and did not know that they had any admixture of Jewish or Moorish blood.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

History of case. This witness Doña Francisca was arrested accused of following the Law of Moses and at first in answer to the admonitions that were made to her and the accusation lodged against her and the evidence of the witnesses she stated that she had not done or said or seen done or heard said by other persons anything against the being of the race of New Christian Faith and that the whole thing was a calumny but on being told by her re-publication of the evidence being made she admitted having been instructed in the said Law of Moses by a certain Licenciado Morales, a doctor, while in the Province of Panuco of this New Spain which doctrine she had kept and believed for a certain length of time.----- And in another audience held with her she deposed and testified against Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon, the following: //

Audience.
Folio 72.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the thirteenth day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Doña Francisca de Caravajal to be brought before them, which

being done she was asked if she remembered aught else in this her matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath she had sworn.

C.1.

She replied that she remembered that about four years ago more or less when living in the town of Panuco her brother the Governor Luis de Caravajal came to see her one day and stayed in her house, and on that day her daughter Doña Isabel so she understood said to the said Governor, they being alone in a room, that he should cease to be deceived by the Law of Christ and should turn to that of God by which deponent understood her daughter to mean that he should keep the Law of Moses although her daughter had not told him that in so many words whereupon the said Governor had lost him temper immediately rushing out of the room and entering another where deponent was sitting saying that she should drown or otherwise kill her daughter and on her asking him why he answered that she had said a very wicked thing to him to the effect that he was being deceived in the Law of Christ, on which deponent had said to appease him that her daughter had spoken so for his good, whereupon the said Governor had roared like a lion enraged pulling his hair and swearing that no greater evil could have come to him in the world than for her to have said that to him, and that same afternoon he went to his seat of government and nothing further occurred.

C.2.

And after the foregoing being here in Mexico and living in the houses of Diaz de Mendoza at San Pablo with her sons-in-law Antonio Diaz de Caceres and Jorge de Almeyda, the wife of Antonio Diaz having just had a child, the said Governor Luis

de Caravajal happened to be in Mexico and to be staying there but in a separate part of the house; and one night when all the rest were in bed she remained with her brother the Governor in his room until he should go to bed, they being alone, and he falling to say his prayers she asked him when he had done what he had prayed for and he answered "I have been saying my prayers for thy conversion because I understand thou art still on the stony path thou hast chosen" and she rejoined that he need not trouble himself because now there were no more of those stony paths, which she said to reassure him and avert discovery although inwardly she was saying to herself "I am praying for thy conversion" and in the course of the conversation the Governor told her "In faith, I believe that thy husband is burning in hell!" she not being sure whether he said her husband or her son-in-law Gabriel de Herrera although she thought the former because on that day in Panuco the said Doña Isabel had spoken to the Governor in the manner described in the preceding chapter to this when he left the room like a lion and deponent had endeavoured to pacify him and had finally left him alone with her husband, when the latter must have told the Governor that what his daughter had advocated was good and for his benefit, because afterwards her husband confided to deponent that he had said that to him but had found it impossible to induce him to believe, due to which her husband and herself were very much grieved that their daughter Doña Isabel should have said anything to him and they quarrelled and nothing more on the subject was said to the said Governor because there were a number of soldiers about and the said

Governor had left the house very angrily as she had declared, and that she did not remember anything further and had nothing else to say.

Asked what was the stony path to which the said Governor referred on the evening she was alone with him:

C.3.

She replied that she understood him to refer to her keeping of the Law of Moses due to what // had passed in Panuco when, as above described, she had told him that what her daughter Isabel had advocated was good and for his benefit because he was going about blind, and that from her soul she as his sister was sorry that he had no better faith as he was lost unless he came to believe in one only and Almighty God, all of which she said inspired by the Law of Moses although she did not remember if she used exactly these words.

Asked what was the reason of the said Governor her brother telling her here in Mexico that her husband or her son-in-law was burning in hell:

She replied that thinking it over she had come to the conclusion that his remark had not been made about her son-in-law but only about her husband and the reason for it would be what had passed in Panuco, and she then recollected that there in Panuco her daughter had told her that the said Governor asked who had taught her and on her replying that it was her poor husband Gabriel de Herrera he had retorted "Then thy poor husband is burning in hell" her daughter being the only one of them who had dared to speak to the Governor on the subject because neither she nor her husband would have ventured to do so.

Asked if the conversation that took place between the said

Dofia Isabel and the said Luis de Caravajal was of her own initiative or had been prompted by other persons:

C.4.

She replied that one day she had said to Dofia Isabel that she would only be too pleased to speak to the Governor on the subject but did not dare seeing him so obstinate in believing what he thought was Christian and her daughter had replied "Then leave it to me" and thus they spoke on the occasion she had mentioned she being a married and daring woman.

What follows does not relate to Governor Luis de Caravajal.

Asked if the said Francisco Rodriguez her husband had said anything to his children in connexion with the law of Moses:

// She replied that after she had taught it, in the manner she had stated, to the aforesaid Dofia Isabel, Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal, her children, the said Francisco Rodriguez her husband had told her in Tampico that what she had said and taught was the truth, confirming them in it, and although at first they were obstinate at last they approved of it and all three embraced it and her said husband told and taught them the same matters of the said Mosaic Law which she had told and taught them although not in so much detail as she who had been the first to teach them had done.

Asked to specify in what places she had discussed and kept with her children and husband the said matters of the Mosaic Law:

She replied that her husband had taught it to her and had commenced to teach it to their children in Tampico where they all began to keep it continuing to do so in Panuco, Mexico and Taxco, in the manner she had mentioned; that her

husband kept the Saturday from Friday evening on the occasions when he was at home because ordinarily he was away either going or coming, and on some Saturdays at her importunity he would put on a clean shirt and change his clothes, and on others he was unwilling to do so fearing to be noticed by the people of the town; and that she did not now remember anything else and had nothing further to say.--- That neither she nor her husband ate drowned birds but only those which had their heads cut off, nor would they eat blood puddings nor anything containing blood as such things were forbidden by the Law of Moses, the precepts of which he had taught her and which they both observed.

And with this the audience terminated, and on her declarations being read over to her she approved them. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios.

Ratification before virtuous persons.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the fourteenth day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the afternoon, there being present certain virtuous and religious persons as is accustomed by the Holy Office, the said Doña Francisca de Caravajal ratified under oath in due form of law as witness against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her brother, and other accomplices, the evidence against them which she had given at her own trial and which is set forth at greater length in the original proceedings from which I have taken it, the said trial having passed before me, Pedro de los Rios, Secretary.

Asked if the said Doña Isabel, widow, her daughter, had really been instructed in the said Law of Moses by her husband the said Gabriel de Herrera as she had told her uncle the said Governor:

She replied that she did not know it and believed she had told her uncle so in order to shield deponent her mother who was the one who had really taught her.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Fifth witness. In the City of Mexico on Monday the fourth day of the month of December of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisit-

Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres.

Extracted from her process of the year 1589 Against Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon.

ors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being

in their audience of the afternoon ordered to be

brought before them a woman who had been taken

a prisoner to the Jails of this Holy Office and

who being sworn in due lawful form to speak the

truth not only in this audience but in all the others that might be held with her until the conclusion of her cause stated her name was

Doña Catalina de Leon, that she was born in the town of Benevente in Castile, and was the wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres, a resident of this city where on the preceding Saturday she had been brought as a prisoner to the secret cells of this Holy Office; that she did not know her age but believed that she was twenty-four or twenty-five years of age, and that as to her genealogy she did not know what her descent was.

Age 24 years.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

History
of this
witness.

This Doña Catalina de Leon declared and said she was the legitimate daughter of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, deceased, and Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, sister of Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, her uncle. She was // arrested on the charge of practicing the Law of Moses, and denied the accusation when admonished at the first, second and third audiences which were held with her, ^{but} from the fourth audience in view of the accusation lodged against her and certain accomplices for keeping, observing and believing the said law she began to confess and admitted having learned from her elders that her father and mother were descendants of Jews: and among other things which in the course of her confessions she testified against her parents, brothers and sisters and other persons alive and dead of the said town of Benavente was the following against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle.

Descended
from Jews.

Audience.
Folio 25.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twentieth day of the month of December of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, to be brought before them, and in the course of her declarations at this audience she said // and deposed against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, the following:

This Doña
Isabel is
sister of
the wit-
ness and
niece of
the Gov-
ernor.

Item, she said that the said Doña Isabel being in Panuco she not recollecting when except that it was before the witness was married endeavoured to teach the said Law of Moses to Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon, her uncle,

At time
witness
made this
statement
she had
been mar-
ried four
years.

who had come to see them, but he refused to have anything to do with it, and this witness knew because in addition to the fact that she had so understood it from Doña Isabel she had entered the room where her sister and the Governor were alone in order to pass to another room whereupon he angrily turned her out but while she was there she observed how he reproached her sister calling her a traitress and asking who had taught her that pernicious stuff, and on Doña Isabel responding that it was her late lamented husband Gabriel de Herrera he retorted that her late lamented husband must be burning in hell for that, saying which he left the room in a fury, going into one in which if witness remembered aright was her mother // who afterwards learned of the discussion as did Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal, and she witness did not know if it was true that the said Gabriel de Herrera had taught that Law to her sister, rather it had seemed to her that it was not, because she had been taught by her father in Tampico, and she thought her sister must have said it merely to impress the said Governor because when the husband of the said Doña Isabel had died in Astorga she had wanted to become a nun and her father would not consent saying he would bring her to the Province of Panuco with the intention of reaching her the Law of Moses, as she had heard him say in Medina del Campo soon after he had brought the said Isabel as a widow from Astorga, witness not knowing for what reason her sister wanted to become a nun in Spain cutting off her hair for the purpose.

Passed before me, Pedro de

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore her
Curator.
Folio 37.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the twenty-ninth day of the month of December of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine before // the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia in their audience of the morning of the said Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, who being a minor had been provided with a curator, ratified under oath in due form of law with the assistance and in the presence of her said curator Licenciado Valdes, certain confessions she had made in her own trial which are set forth at greater length in the proceedings of the said trial and which passed before me.

Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore vir-
tuous per-
sons.
Folio 45.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the fifth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety before the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia in his audience of the afternoon, there being present certain virtuous and religious persons as is the use and wont of the Holy Office in such cases, the said Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, formally ratified under oath the evidence she had given // against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, at the audience of the twentieth of December last past declaring that she had not spoken from hatred or enmity but only to unburden her conscience and what she had said was the truth: the same evidence being extracted from the fuller record in the proceedings of her trial which passed before me

Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.
Folio 63.

In the City of Mexico on the eighth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia being in his audience of the morning ordered the said Doña Catalina de Leon, wife of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, to be brought before him and she being present

It was explained to her that in the audience held with her on the past twentieth of December among other things she had said that while she was in Panuco before she was married Doña Isabel, her sister, had attempted to explain and teach the Law of Moses to the Governor Luis de Carvajal who had refused to accept it, and it being convenient that she should describe more particularly the words which her sister had said // and what the said Governor had replied, she was enjoined to declare them:

She replied that truly she did not remember having heard other words than those she had declared in regard to the matter referred to in the said audience and which had been read over to her because she had only just entered the room where the Governor and Doña Isabel her sister were talking when the former turned her out with much fury and thus she was unable to hear any other thing, neither did she know more than that he was very angry at what the said Doña Isabel had told him and looked like a demon.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric)

Sixth Witness.
Doña Mariana
Núñez, maiden.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the fourth day of the month of December of the year fifteen hundred and

Evidence extracted from her trial
Against Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon.
eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered to be brought before them a woman who had been taken as a prisoner to the Jails of this Holy Office, and who being sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all others held with her until the conclusion of her cause stated that her name was

Age 17
years.

Doña Mariana Nuñez and that she was unmarried, born in the town of Benavente in Castile and dwelling in Mexico in the house of Antonio Diaz de Cazeres her brother-in-law from which the day before yesterday she had been brought a prisoner to the Jails of this Holy Office where she was now, her age being sixteen or seventeen years, she being the daughter (as declared in her genealogy) of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, deceased, and Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, his wife, her father from what she had heard being an hidalgo without admixture of Jewish or Moorish blood.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

This witness Doña Mariana Nuñez declared herself to be the legitimate daughter of the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, deceased, and Doña Francisca Nuñez // de Caravajal, sister of Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, her uncle. The said Doña Mariana was made prisoner charged with the offence and crime of heresy and apostasy for having kept the extinct Law of Moses, its rites and ceremonies which charge she denied in response to the three general admonitions made to her and the accusation lodged against her she

stating that she had not done nor had seen done or heard said anything of the kind, but after she had been provided with a curator and the cause had been submitted to proof she sought an audience and began to confess and did confess the said offences both as regards herself and other persons implicated in the keeping, belief and observance of the said Law and among other matters she testified against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, the following:

Audience.
Folio 21.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the seventeenth day of the month of January of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Doña Mariana Nuñez to be brought before them and she being present among the other matters declared by her in this audience she said the following:

// Folio 23.

Item, that being in the town of Panuco when her father Francisco Rodriguez de Matos was still alive, she did not know how long ago, on a certain day when her uncle the Governor Luis de Caravajal was staying with them on a visit to his sister the mother of deponent, she observed the said Doña Isabel enter a room in which was the said Governor whom she begged to embrace the Law of Moses one of the expressions she heard her say being "Then since you are so learned why do you continue on the erring road of the Law of Jesus Christ which is the same as the road to hell!" going on to say that she the speaker believed and would die in the Law of Moses, and deponent did not hear any other particulars merely observing that her uncle became greatly excited, pulling at his beard and

This Doña Isabel is the witness's sister and niece of the said Governor.

swearing to God that he would either kill her at once by running his sword through her or would have her burned in living flames and when with hard words he asked her from whom she had learned that wickedness^{and} she replied that it was her late lamented husband Gabriel de Herrera, he retorted that her late lamented husband for that same must be burning in hell, and at that point deponent left // the room but remained outside where as a child she started to play, and she noticed that her uncle remained very angry and changed against her said sister Doña Isabel whom she understood had told him that it was her husband who had taught her the said law of Moses when, in reality, it had been her father, and the next day the Governor left their house and never came back, the above being all she knew of the matter, which took place some five years ago more or less.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratification before her curator.
Folio 32.

In the City of Mexico on the thirtieth day of the month of January of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia being in his audience of the afternoon, the said Doña Mariana Nuñez who had been provided with a curator as she was under age, ratified on oath // in due legal form in the presence and with the assistance of her said curator Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes the confessions she had made in her own trial, which confessions are given at greater length in the original proceedings of her said trial which passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratification before virtuous persons.
Folio 33.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the fifth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety before the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia

in his audience of the afternoon, at which were present certain virtuous and religious persons, according to the use and wont of the Holy Office in these cases, the said Doña Mariana Nuñez spinster, ratified under oath in due form of law the evidence she had given against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal, her uncle, in the course of her own trial and had repeated at the said audience of seventeenth of January last past of this present year stating that she had not spoken // from hatred or enmity but only as it was the truth; the said evidence being set forth in full in the original proceedings of her trial which passed before me,

Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

First

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the seventeenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcias being in their audience of the afternoon ordered to be produced before them a man who was then a prisoner in the Mails of this Holy Office, having been transferred from the Royal Prison, and who having been sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth not only in this audience but in all others held with him until the conclusion of his trial,

Is sworn. Stated that he was named Luis de Caravajal, that he was born in the town of Mogodorio on the frontier of the Kingdom of Portugal near Zamora and Benavente and was Governor for his Majesty of the New Kingdom of Leon, being at present a prisoner by order of the Viceroy in the Royal Prison of this city from

which he had been brought to that of the Holy Office on the preceding Friday at night, his age being fifty years more or less, and he declared his genealogy in the following form:

Genealogy.

Parents.

Gaspar de Caravajal whose birthplace he did not know, only knowing that he had gone to reside at Mogodorio where he had lived on his income and lands and where he had married Catalina de Leon his wife and settled down // afterwards removing to Benevente where they died.

Paternal Grandparents

Gutierrez Vazquez de la Cueva, who, according to what he had heard from his father, came from the District of Sayago near Zamora, although he had not known them.

Maternal Grandparents.

Antonio de Leon, a native of Mogodorio, who afterwards lived and died in Benavente, and Francisca Nuñez his wife, also a native of Mogodorio, whom he did not know and who were dead.

Uncles and Aunts on his father's side.

Joan de Caravajal, man-at-arms in the service of Leon Melchor Vazquez, who was married and lived at Mirandela near Mogodorio. Isabel or Nuñez who he believed married Enrique Pimentel a native of Mirandela.

Uncles and Aunts on his mother's side.

Francisco Jorge de Andrada who went to Guinea as Factor and captain-general for the King of Portugal // and who afterwards became an Augustine friar in the Monastery of San Agustin in Mexico under the name of Fray Francisop de Andrada.

Jorge de Leon, a youth, unmarried, who died at the hands of the French while going from the Indies to Spain.

Duarte de Leon, contractor of the Guinea Isles for the King of Portugal, an inhabitant of Lisbon,

Alvaro de Leon, an inhabitant of Medina del Campo, where he died. All the above are dead.

Brothers and Sisters.

Antonio de Caravajal, who died a young man, unmarried, in this country, in or beyond Oaxaca.

Domingo de Caravajal, who died in Medina del Campo, and was a member of the Company of Jesus.

Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, known in Castile as Francisca Nuñez, widow of Francisco Rodriguez, a former servant of the Count of Venavente, who is living in this city, // and whose late husband was also called de Matos.

Wife and Children.

About twenty-two years ago he married in Seville Doña Guiomar de Ribera, born in Lisbon, daughter of Miguel Nuñez, who went to the island of Santo Domingo as factor for the traffic in negroes which had been established there by the King of Portugal, by royal warrant, and of Blanca Rodriguez his wife, both parents being natives of Lisbon, whence they went to live in Seville, all of whom are dead with the exception of the said Blanca Rodriguez who lives in Cal de Catalanes; that his wife had born him no children and he had none.

Asked of what caste and descent were his parents and paternal and maternal ancestors:

Hidalgos
and old
Chris-
tains.

He replied that he had always believed them to be hidalgos and old Christians although having passed from their authority at the age of ten years he had never again seen them, and that he had never heard that they bore any admixture of the Jewish or Moorish races nor of any other newly converted sect. //

Asked if he or any of them had been arrested or punished by the Holy Office of the Inquisition:

He replied that he had never heard of it.

Asked ----- he replied that he was a baptized Christian and thought that he had also been confirmed.

Asked ----- He replied that he had confessed and received Communion on the periods commanded by the Holy Mother Church and on many other occasions during the year.

Prayers.

He blessed himself and made the sign of the Cross and recited the Paternoster, Hail Mary, Creed and Salve Regina, the Ten Commandments of the Law of God and the General Confession, and also knew all the Christian doctrine although not in order because he was then ill at ease.

Asked to relate the story of his life:

He said that he had been born in the said town of Mogadorio where he was brought up, going to school until he was eight years when he went with his father to Sahagun to see the Abbot who was a relation and also to Salamanca to attend his father who was ill, and later when his father died at Benavente the aforesaid Duarte de Leon went there and took him to Lisbon whence three months later he went to the Cape Verde Island where he remained for thirteen years and where he came to be Treasurer and Accountant of the King of Portugal. //

At the end of that period he went to Lisbon and thence to Seville where he married the said Doña Guiomar de Ribera, his wife, with whom he lived married for two years and having lost money in a contract in wheat he came to New Spain by way of the islands with a ship loaded with wine which was sold by his agents in Veracruz, Mexico, and Zacatecas, and in this country he remained for ten years before returning to Spain occupying himself in Panuco in a cattle ranch which he purchased from Don Lope de Sosa in company with Captain Sebastian Rodriguez, the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez appointing him Captain and Pacifier of the Mazapil District, and having returned to Spain, which would be about ten years ago, his Majesty appointed him as Governor and Captain-General of the New Kingdom of Leon for his lifetime and that of the heir whom he might name, and there he had busied himself conquering and pacifying that Kingdom until recently when the Viceroy the Marquis de Va. Manrique had ordered him to be brought prisoner to the Royal Prison: that he had never gone to any foreign kingdoms nor had studied any profession and did not know more than to read and write.//

Asked if he knew or presumed the reason why he had been arrested and brought to the Jails of this Holy Office:

He replied that in thinking of it he had been greatly afflicted and had not found or remembered anything that he had done.

It was pointed out to him that the Holy Office of the Inquisition was not accustomed to arrest anyone unless ample information had been received that they had done or said anything that was or appeared to be against the Holy Catholic

First
admon-
ition.

faith and Evangelical Law preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, and in favour of the old Jewish Law of Moses and its rites and ceremonies, or of the sect of Mahomet or of that of Luther and his followers, and if he had been arrested he must believe that it was due to information of culpability of this kind that he had committed or seen committed by other persons present or absent or alive or dead; therefore out of reverence to God and his Blessed Mother Our Lady the Virgin Mary he was admonished to speak the truth and unburden his conscience by doing which there would be grounds to treat him with the mercy that this Holy Office was accustomed to grant to those who made good and true confessions, whereas if he did not rigid justice would be meted out to him.

// He replied that he had done nothing against the faith but had striven greatly in its service and what he knew of others he would not conceal for all the treasures of the world, going on to say that it would be five years ago more or less that being in the town of Panuco, where he had gone to see his sister Doña Francisca Muñoz de Caravala who was living there with her husband, children and household, one day when he was reciting the Office of Our Lady in the Book of Hours, Dona Isabel, daughter of his said sister, a widow, said to him among other words that there was no Christ, whereupon he gave her a great blow which knocked her down and felt like kicking or killing her, and on his saying to her furiously "Enemy of God, sayest thou so!" and demanding of her how a person of her lineage could speak against Christ Our Lord, she replied that so she had been taught by her husband, whose name he did not know

Against
Doña Isa-
bel, his
niece.

but who came from Astorga, whereupon he explained to her the Articles of the Faith and how God the Father and God the Son and God the Holy Ghost were three persons in one divine Essence and what she had to believe in obedience to the teachings of our Holy Mother the Roman Church, going on to tell her that even if he did not believe in // the Holy Catholic faith because it was preached by the said Church he would still do so for its Simplicity, Gentleness, Goodness and Truth, and that she should follow the example of Christian Princes and Kings and Popes and Cardinals and learned doctors and Councils inspired by the Holy Spirit who had been content to be saved thereby, and not let herself be led astray by the rascally doctrines of quondam tailors and shoemakers, he deponent never doing anything without thinking on that doctrine; that her father and brother had come in at the end of the quarrel but that he did not tell them the cause of it merely telling them to ask her about it, and in the course of the two or three days that he remained in their house she came to him and said that what she had told him she had been taught by her husband but that in view of what he, her uncle, had told her she would in the future do what he had counselled, to which promise all who were there could testify, to wit, Baltasar Rodriguez her brother and her sisters Doña Catalina and Doña Mariana, her father who was also there being now dead; that he had not divulged this until now // because he had been inland and because he had thought that it was not compulsory on him to do so as the matter had been so private and parental correction appeared to be sufficient:

Suspects
father
and
brothers.

that certain remarks on doctrine that he had made to them had been put in general terms without mention of what his niece Doña Isabel had told him, he merely saying that there were rascally devilish influences at work which were endeavouring to corrupt the New Jews, his object being that those whom the cap might fit should wear it, and at these conversations which were held at night and at which everybody was present, parents and children there and children, although he was not sure if his nephew Luis de Caravajal was there, they said that all he had said was very true and that Doña Isabel was a fool. And afterwards whenever he met his two nephews Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal he would tell them that they must believe what was held and taught by our Holy Mother Church of Rome, believing in the one true God, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and as they were brothers of the said Doña Isabel his niece // and whom he hated and had disinherited her in his will, he had taken the succession to the Government of the New Kingdom of Leon which had been conferred on him from the one and the Accountancy of the same from the other.

He went on to say that it was possible, and he had received information to that effect, that it was his nephew Luis de Caravajal who was guilty and not he, and he swore by God Almighty that at confession on the eve of this Paschal Resurrection he had confessed his failure to divulge to the Inquisition what he now said to the end that he might receive communion with a tranquil conscience and on his promising to make a statement to the Inquisition he had been absolved; that he had nothing further to say on the subject except that

the present charges against him had been concocted by his enemies, whose names he would declare whenever necessary.

And with the foregoing the audience was brought to an end, and warned to search well his memory and speak the truth he was ordered back to his cell, in which he was ordered to maintain silence and secrecy regarding his trial and not to call aloud, which he promised.

Silence
in the
prison.

And on there being read over to what he had deposed he approved it.

Asked what properties he had to the end that they might be conveniently assured during his imprisonment:

He replied that if they would order him to be furnished with paper he would write out the particulars of what he possessed, whereupon two sheets upon which I the undersigned Secretary have placed my rubric were given to him for the purpose.

Sheets
of paper.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the nineteenth day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them and this being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to declare the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

// He replied that well he knew that he was not guilty of anything and had done nothing against our Holy Catholic faith.

Second admonition.

It was said to him that he had already been admonished once to speak the truth and unburden his conscience and informed of the reason of his imprisonment and that in accordance with the practice of the Holy Office no one was arrested unless sufficient information was received that they had done or said or had seen done or heard said by other persons, present or absent, alive or dead, something which was or appeared to be opposed to the Holy Catholic faith and Evangelical Law preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome and in favour of the Law of Moses, its rites and ceremonies, or the Sect of Mahomet or that of Luther and his followers; and now by this second admonition he was admonished and advised out of reverence to God and His Blessed Mother to declare the truth and unburden his conscience with all fullness by doing which there would be grounds to treat him with the accustomed mercy of the Holy Office which had been offered to him, on the understanding that if he failed to do so rigid justice would be meted out to him.

He replied that he very well understood what had been said to him // and for that reason and also as he desired to unburden and cleanse his conscience he had thoroughly searched and exercised his memory, and that he could not remember any other thing than what he had already declared and could plainly see that his imprisonment had been caused by his enemies or by a mistake of identity because he had never done anything against the faith but had on the contrary fought and worked for it all his life, for which reason he asked them to investigate these matters with those with whom he had to do in this country and

especially in his province.

Francis-
co Rodri-
guez de
Matos.

To see if
he shared
errors of
daughter.

He further recollected that in Guzcatlan and Tamapche of the said province there were several apostate Indians whom through an interpreter he had instructed and taught in our Holy Catholic faith and as the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, father of the said Doña Isabel, was present he told them certain matters of the doctrine in confirmation of our faith and particularly certain things relating to the Popes, Princes and Councils in order that should by chance the said Francisco Rodriguez share the errors of his daughter he might see and abandon them.

// Asked what errors those were:

There is no
Christ.

He replied that one was to deny the divinity of Christ, the Second Person of the Most Holy Trinity, as the said Doña Isabel had done.

Asked what sect believes in this error and was it one mentioned in the admonitions he had received:

Error of
Mosaic
Law.

He replied that he did not know but believed it was specially that of the Lutheran sect and of what was known as the Law of Moses although in reality it should be the Mosaic Law.

Asked if this error was the one which the said Doña Isabel had told him had been taught to her by her husband:

He replied yes.

Asked if the said Doña Isabel had told him that she had been taught by her husband that there was no Christ according to the Law of Moses or that of Luther, as he had declared:

He replied that she had not told anything else but what he had said, neither did he question her, but he considered it

What was
taught to
Doña Isa-
bel by her
husband.
Deny the
personal-
ity of
Christ.

as certain that it was an error of the Law of Moses because
he knew that in that Law they denied the personality of Christ
our Redeemer, according to what he had heard in // sermons and
read in books of the Evangelical doctrine.

Asked what other matters the said Doña Isabel had said
had been taught to her by her husband:

He replied that she did not say anything else nor did he
permit her to do so because then he lost his temper and laid
hands upon her; that if she had said anything further he would
declare it the same as he had already declared so grave a mat-
ter against the Holy Catholic faith as the above, in disclosing
which he had placed the telling of the truth against his fair
fame and honour, the thing that he felt most bitterly in his
imprisonment being that these should be imperilled by the fault
of relations.

Asked what was the subject of the conversation with Doña
Isabel in connexion with which she had occasion to use the
words "There is no Christ":

He replied that he was seated in a chair in meditation
and that the moment he started to say his prayers she called
to him and without any preliminary conversation leading up
to it made use of the words in question, he imagining that
she did so because she bore // ill will to those prayers and
could not restrain herself at seeing him reciting them so de-
voutly in the service of God. And then he added that he was
uncertain whether she called him from his chair to tell it to
him or whether he had risen to put away the Book of Hours, but
that she would know.

Asked if directly the said Doña Isabel had used the words "There is no Christ" he had comprehended that they signified an attack of the gravest nature against the personality of Christ Our Lord and were an error of the Law of Moses:

Law of
Moses.

He replied that he at once became offended and angry and understood that it was an error of the Mosaic Law although he also suspected that perhaps it might also belong to the sect of Luther.

Asked how was it possible that he could immediately have deduced so much from one sole phrase:

He replied that as it was so long ago he did not know how to answer that question.

And on the question being pressed he explained that as

Francis-
his niece
Rodri-
guez not
a good
Catholic.

the said Doña Isabel was a daughter of the said Francisco Rodriguez who has or had a brother in France he suspected that the said Francisco Rodriguez might not be a good Catholic and that perhaps she // had been misled by her father.

It was explained to him that he must give a satisfactory answer to the question because it was not conceivable that in one instant he should deduce so serious a thing against his niece from a single phrase, half in Latin half in Spanish, (1) which might have been taken to mean that there was no crucifix there, or something of the kind, about which he might have demanded an explanation without so much scandal:

He recited
Vespers end-
ing each
Psalm with
the Gloria
Patri.

He replied that his recollection was that he was reciting the Vespers, each Psalm of which ends with the gloria patri et filio et spiritu santo and that she had broken in after one of the glorias saying "There is no Christ"^{and so} he presumed that

(1) She had used the Latin name, Christus.

To per-
suade him
to her
opinion.

she disagreed with his invocation of the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity and suspected that she must be unsound in the matters of our Holy Catholic faith and desired to persuade him to her opinion.

He was informed that his explanation was no more satisfactory than his original answer because it was inconceivable that his niece, a woman in an inferior position to his own, could expect with a single word to convert him and bring him over to her opinion in a matter so serious.// Neither was it conceivable that for a single word he should have been so greatly scandalized as to break out into such a fury of indignation as he had displayed, giving her a blow that knocked her down and threatening as he had admitted to kick her or kill her.

He replied that it might very well be that she might have made use of other words or expressions which owing to his excitement and anger and the fact that the matter took place some five years ago he did not remember.

Asked how he had come to suspect the said Francisco Rodriguez her father of having taught her that Law on so slight a foundation as the fact that he had a brother in France:

He replied that the thing seemed to him suspicious because the brother of Francisco Rodriguez, named Diego Rodriguez, who had been living in Portugal, he not knowing in what town, had gone to France, and deponent had heard that the Portuguese who went to live in France or Flanders or other remote parts were flying from the Inquisition in order to live in the Law of Moses, and consequently when in Madrid where he had gone from

He sus-
pected her
father of
living in
Mosaic Law.

this country he received a letter from the said Francisco // Rodriguez his brother-in-law, from Medina del Campo where he was living, in which he told him that being poor he was thinking of going with his wife and family to live in France with his said brother Diego Rodriguez who was there if the position which he had offered to him in this country was not a good one, he deponent went to Medina del Campo to prevent the said Francisco Rodriguez taking his wife, the sister of deponent, to France and finding that he lived amongst such wicked people he worked to bring them all to this country as he had done; and so having an instinctive suspicion against the said Francisco Rodriguez he was the moreready to doubt the good faith of his niece when she made that remark.

Asked what estimate he had formed of the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and what he had seen or heard regarding his descent:

He replied that ^{up till then} he had always regarded him as an honourable man and a good Christian. That with respect of his family he had heard it said on the first occasion he had gone to Spain by persons there that he had a // brother who was a suspicious person as he had gone to live in France where later he (Francisco) had wanted to go, as he deponent had explained before; and that with respect of his lineage he knew nothing nor was he acquainted with the said Diego Rodriguez.

It was pointed out to him that it appeared from his confessions that he suspected the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and his children and that it was but just that he should declare what his suspicions were and the reason for them and

Suspi-
cious
person.

of what things, generally and particularly, he suspected them:

Francisco Rodriguez He replied that he had entertained suspicions of Francisco Rodriguez on account of the emigration to France of his brother Diego Rodriguez, and of the daughter of the former Doña Isabel owing to the remark she had made to him and for The other children. no other reason; and that as regards the other children he merely suspected that they might by chance have acquired some taint of unsound doctrine from their father or from their sister the said Doña Isabel, his suspicions being in the direction of the Mosaic Law in view of the going to France of the said Diego Rodriguez and the fact that // in Portugal the Lutheran sect had not spread.

Asked for what reason he confirmed in the matters of our Holy Catholic faith the said Francisco Rodriguez, his wife and children with the authority of the Popes, Christian Princes and General Councils:

He replied that he did so on account of the suspicion he had already mentioned with the idea that if perchance any of them had been taught the evil doctrine they might be induced to abandon it and join the Holy Catholic faith as God who knew his zeal understood and knew.

Asked for what reason he had told them at the same time that there were rascally Jewish elements about that desired to see their pernicious doctrine prevail:

He replied that his remark arose from the said suspicion and because in the matter of erroneous doctrines there are always malicious and ignorant people without understanding or consideration to adopt them.

Asked for what reason he took up the matter with the said Francisco Rodriguez, his wife and children figuratively as he said without telling them outright: what the said Doña Isabel had said to him:

// He replied that he did not know anything definite against them but was merely suspicious owing to what the said Doña Isabel had said to him that perhaps some of them knew of her views, especially her father who presented himself at once and must have learned what had passed; and then he added that he must have known about it because his daughter would have told him what had happened when he became angry with her.

Asked what was his reason for preaching and confirming them in the belief of the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost in preference to other matters:

Confirmed them in the Mystery of the Holy Trinity. He replied that he had told them a number of other very good things as well but because of the error of the said Isabel in the matter of that Holy Mystery she denying the person of Christ he had laid stress on that Mystery.

He was directed to give the names of all the people who were present at the conversations which had taken place on the night of the day wherein had happened what he had said regarding his niece.

Doña Francisca de Caravajal, Francisco Rodriguez her husband. // Baltasar Rodriguez, Doña Isabel, Doña Catalina, Doña Mariana, Doña Leonor, and Luis de Caravajal.

He replied that the father Francisco Rodriguez and the mother Doña Francisca de Caravajal sister of deponent, were present, and also he thought // Baltasar Rodriguez and the said Doña Isabel and the two children, and that Doña Catalina and Doña Mariana

were in the kitchen preparing supper, but that he did not remember whether Luis de Caravajal another son was there; that the two children just mentioned were children of the said Francisco Rodriguez, the elder being called Doña Leonor; that before he left the house which he did on the following day he did not fail to expound to them all certain doctrines of our Holy Catholic faith and especially the Mystery of the Very Holy Trinity, which he did for the reasons above given, and on the day after he left being in Temapache he said to his nephew Luis de Caravajal "I trust thou art not touched with this evil belief of thy sister," he not remembering if he mentioned her name, whereupon his nephew burst into tears without saying anything more than that he was a good Christian and had nothing to do with it.

Luis de
Caravajal

Asked what was the reason why afterwards whenever he met the said Luis de Caravajal and Baltasar Rodriguez, his nephews, he would impress on them that whatever was held by the Holy Mother Church of Rome they must believe // especially in the one true God, the Father, Son and Holy Ghost:

He replied that he wished for their salvation and was afraid that they might have acquired something of the error of their sister.

Asked if this error of the said Doña Isabel was known to all, parents and children who were present when he had expounded to them the doctrines of our faith:

Specially
suspected
Francisco
Rodriguez

He replied that he did not know if any of them had learned of it although he suspected that the father as he had entered the

room might know what had occurred and that if he had known for certain he would not have spoken figuratively.

Asked why then did they all answer as he deponent had said that he was right and that it was the truth and that the said Doña Isabel was mad:

The reason.

He replied that that answer was made by Francisco Rodriguez only; when he came into the room during the quarrel between deponent and Doña Isabel over the mad remark she had made which had put deponent into a fury, the exact words used by the father being that she was a fool.//

Asked what he meant and to which sister he referred when he had told the said Luis de Caravajal his nephew to take heed lest some after-taste of his sister's error should attach to him:

He replied that what he said referred to Doña Isabel.

It was pointed out that he had just said that he had not mentioned which sister:

He replied that truly he did not remember if he had mentioned which sister it was because he had a poor memory.

Asked why he had surmised that he might have been made a prisoner in mistake for his nephew the said Luis de Caravajal:

Luis de Caravajal. He replied that he had done so because he was guiltless whereas his nephew and namesake being the brother of the said Doña Isabel and brought up together was open to suspicion; further that there had been differences between him and his nephew.

Asked if he knew of any particular reason why his nephew Luis de Caravajal should be made a prisoner:

He replied that he had no other reason than the one he had already given and could say nothing further.

// And with this as it was late the audience was suspended and on his declarations being read over to him he approved them.

And warned to search his memory well and speak the whole truth he was ordered back to his cell. Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Thursday the twenty-seventh day of the month of April of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And he being present was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

To which he replied that he did not remember anything else and that he had always lived with the care due to the Catholic name.

Asked from what part had started the ship in which he had come out to the said Province of Panuco and if it had been registered by him: //

He replied that it had been despatched by the Tribunal of Commerce of Seville but belonged to him and carried a list of the people on board and left San Lucar de Barrameda in June he thought of the year 'five hundred and eighty conveyed by the

fleet of the captain-general Francisco de Luxan in which there came as Viceroy of this country the (1) de Coruña and that he knew nothing about the registration because the vessel did not carry any merchants but passengers and wines for their provision and supplies, and in it he reached the port of Tampico and the Province of Panuco --- and the passengers landed with the permission he had received from his Majesty for one hundred settlers.

Asked what persons on board the said ship were relations or intimates of his:

Persons brought by the prisoner in his ship from Spain.

He replied that there came out Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and his wife Doña Francisca de Caravajal sister of deponent, and Baltasar Rodriguez, Luis de Caravajal, Miguel, a boy, Doña Isabel, a widow, Doña Catalina then a girl but now married to Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, Doña Mariana, unmarried, Doña Leonor, now the wife of Jorge de Almeyda, and Ana, a child, children of the said // Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and his wife; Gonzalo Perez Fierro and his wife Doña Catalina de Leon first cousin of deponent being the daughter of Isabel de Leon the sister of his mother, whom the previous day he had forgotten to mention and who he understood live in this city, having with them an illegitimate son of the former; Doña Ginebra, widow, sister of the said Doña Catalina de Leon; Jorge de Leon, a youth, bachelor, brother of the said Doña Catalina, who lives in the Kingdom of Leon as accountant; Diego Marquez, unmarried, also her brother whom deponent believed resides in Mexico and has with him the said widow; Luis Pimentel, first cousin of deponent, who died in the Kingdom of Leon; Felipe

(1) A word is here left blank in the text.

Nuñez who is now captain of the said kingdom; Juan Salado who was in the service of deponent and was he believed now in Mexico; Don Diego Enriquez son of the Viceroy of Mexico Don Martin Enriquez, and two of his servants the names of whom he did not recall; Pedro Sanchez, pilot, who had returned to Spain; Juan de Saucedo Espinosa, carpenter, born in Guadalupe, and his wife and children whose names deponent did not know, all of whom were living in this City of Mexico; // a certain Vardales and his wife and children, who live in Mexico; Imigo a carpenter who was living in the aforesaid Kingdom; Bravo, a carpenter, who was also living in the said Kingdom; Juan de Nava, a tailor, who lives in Mexico with his wife and sister; Juan Izquierdo, a blacksmith, and his wife, now living in the aforesaid Kingdom; Gaspar Delgado who is now in the said Kingdom and is a bachelor; a certain Aguila, now dead, a scrivener born in Ciudad Rodrigo, and his wife also dead, whose surname was Viziosa and who was born in Ciudad Rodrigo and brought up for many years in the house of her father-in-law in Seville where she was married to her said husband Aguila, deponent now recollecting that her full surname was Nuñez Viziosa and that she had died in Atotonilco, an Indian village; Francisco Rodriguez, a labourer from Galicia and Maria Rodriguez his wife, a Portuguese, who are now living on a farm fifteen leagues from here on the road to Zacatecas, and Antonio Rodriguez, his brother; a doctor called Licenciado Morales who at one time resided in this city from which he returned to Spain and who had come out with his wife and brothers and sisters whose names deponent did not // remember; another old man, married, whom deponent

did not recollect; Luzero, a mason, now living in this city; Ballesteros, a blacksmith; Agustin Rodriguez, unmarried, who was in this city some eight or nine years ago; Domingo Martinez de Zearreta who is living in this city and his son Don Pedro who resides in the aforesaid Kingdom of Leon and a cousin, a priest, who had left here for Peru; and Francisco Lopez, a bachelor, who was in Mexico, deponent winding up by saying that he did not remember the names of any other persons who had come out on the said vessel, and that the full name of the woman who had died in Atotonilco and who was the wife of a man called Aguila was Francisca Nuñez Viziosa.

Asked if all these people came under certificate and that they were not among those prohibited to come to the Indies:

He replied no because the King gave warrant that they pass without certificate.

And with this the audience adjourned, and being warned he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

// In the City of Mexico on Friday the twenty-first day of the month of July of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them and on that being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied no, because by the goodness of God he had done

nothing against the Holy Catholic faith.

Third admonition.

It was pointed out to him that he had already been twice admonished to declare the truth and unburden his conscience being advised of the reason of his imprisonment and of the existence of sufficient information of his having committed an offence against the Holy Catholic faith and Evangelical law preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, either personally or in connivance with other persons, present or absent, living or dead, in connexion with the rites and ceremonies of the Mosaic Law, or the false doctrine of Mahomet or of Luther and his followers; and now by this third and peremptory admonition he was warned out of reverence to God to confess // the whole and plain truth in order that there might be grounds for treating him with the accustomed mercy of the Holy Office which had been offered to him, on the understanding that should he fail to do so rigid justice would be meted out to him.

He replied that he had very well understood and had searched his conscience and found that he had nothing further to say because, truly, if he had found it he would have said so at the first audience and not waited to be pressed to do so.

And with this, after being again enjoined to search well his memory and speak the truth, he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the twenty-fourth day of the month of July of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados // Bonilla and Santos

Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And he being present was asked if he remembered aught else of this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that truly if he had had anything to remember he would have remembered it and said it.

It was explained to him that he should know that the Fiscal of this Holy Office had asked permission to lodge an accusation against him for the offences for which he had been arrested and that before the permission was granted it would be well that he should confess the truth; therefore out of reverence to God he was admonished to do so.

He replied that truly if he had committed any offence against our Holy Catholic faith, or had seen it committed, he would have told and manifested it like the Christian Catholic he was; // and forthwith Doctor Lobos Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, appeared and presented a written accusation of the following tenor against the prisoner, signed with his name, swearing in due form that it was not done through malice but as a matter of justice.

Here follows the Accusation.

Very Illustrious Gentleman,

I, Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of the Inquisition of Mexico and the States and Provinces of New Spain, in proper legal form, the customary formalities being understood, criminally accuse Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, born in the town of Mogodorio on the Frontier of the

Kingdom of Portugal, of the race and generation of New Christians descendants of Jews, a prisoner in the secret cells and who is here present, on the following charges:

1. That the aforesaid being a baptized and confirmed Christian and as such enjoying the graces, prerogatives and exemptions which only such Christians should enjoy has in despite of the promises made for him in the Sacrament of Baptism, held and believed doctrines contrary to those preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church and its Evangelical Law.
2. That in spite of the fact that as a descendant of Jews he was liable to suspicion in the matter of the keeping of the Law, he has treated and communicated with heretical Jews apostates from our Holy Catholic faith, dogmatists and teachers of the Old Law of Moses and keepers of its rites and ceremonies, esteeming their friendship so highly that he has been unwilling to denounce them and has kept silence and shielded them, to the great risk of the peace of his conscience and the harm of the community.
3. That the above applies very particularly to Doña Isabel Rodriguez de Andrada, his niece, a prisoner, who was begged by a certain person closely related to the said Luis de Caravajal to dogmatize, teach and persuade him when he was in Panuco into the belief of the Law of Moses as the true, good // and eternal Law which promised to those who kept it abundant wealth and possessions in this world and glory in the next, giving as examples the case of King David who was prosperous because he had been observant of the said Law and ^{that of others} / who had incurred disasters

and misfortunes for failure to do so.

4. That while the aforesaid was reading from a Book of Hours and repeating at the end of each Psalm Gloria patri et filis the said Doña Isabel said to him with insistence that there was no Christus or Christ thus denying the Second Person of the Holy Trinity Jesus Christ our Redeemer, whom she claimed was not the true Messiah promised in the Law and whom she awaited.

5. That although the said Doña Isabel taught and dogmatized so openly and fully about the said Law of Moses the understanding of the said Luis de Caravajal was so dull that he endeavoured to make out that she had not said more than that there was no Christ and that with that sole phrase he had come to believe that she was a follower of the Law of Moses and had striven to teach her and confirm her in the mysteries of our Faith especially those of the Very Holy Trinity, it not being reasonable to believe that he could have comprehended her purpose and intention unless there had been at the time or previously other words and other arguments; from which can be clearly perceived the reticences and deceits which he has practiced in his confessions and his unwillingness to disclose the whole truth, what little he has said being divulged with the idea that by so doing he would redeem his own character and get free.

6. That suspecting his brother-in-law Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, a Portuguese, and his sister Francisca Nuñez wife of the last-named, and their children, his nephews and nieces, of keeping the Law of Moses, and hearing that his said brother-in-

law was preparing to take his wife and all his children to France where his brother Diego Rodriguez had already gone he prisoner arranged to bring them and did bring them with him to the Indies, fearing that in a foreign kingdom they might have more freedom to become Jews and practice the rites of that sect; and filled with that suspicion and seeing that they were going about blind had endeavoured to instruct them in the mysteries of our faith.

7. // That on a certain person, to whom he had recounted, though in a roundabout manner and without giving details, what had passed with the said Doña Isabel and the suspicions which he entertained with regard to the rest of the family, to wit, his brother-in-law, his sister, nephews and nieces, pointing out to him that it was his duty to denounce them to the Holy Office he failed to do so arguing that it was not his duty; an example of contumacy and obstinacy which does not admit of explanation or excuse.

8. That in view of all the foregoing the said Luis de Caravajal stands convicted of being the aider and abetter of his said niece Doña Isabel whom he knew had turned to the false doctrines of the Jewish religion, and of his brother-in-law, sister and nephews and nieces whom he suspected of keeping the Law of Moses, by keeping silence as to their derelictions and offences when it was his duty to denounce them to this Holy Office as outcast and excommunicated members of the Church, to the end that they

might receive proper punishment and that their false doctrines and beliefs should not be disseminated among the Catholics.

9. That he has committed other offences with which I shall charge him in due course, and that although admonished and advised under oath to speak the truth he has not done so and has perjured himself:

Therefore, affirming my accusation I ask your worships to state that what I have declared is the truth and that my contentions are well proved and that the said Luis de Caravajal stands convicted of being an aider, abetter and harbourer of Jewish apostates from our Holy Faith and upholders and keepers of the Mosaic law, an accomplice equally guilty with them of the said offences and liable to the sentence of the greater excommunication for the crime of concealment; // and as such I ask you to condemn him to the greatest and severest penalties contained in the laws and institutes of the Holy Office now in force ordering them to be executed in his person and properties to the end that his fate may be a punishment to himself and a warning to others.

And in the event that my contentions are deemed to be insufficiently proved I ask that he be put to the question by torture and that the same be continued and persevered in until he confesses the whole truth, for all of which I invoke the justice of the Holy Office swearing that this accusation is made in proper lawful form.

Doctor Lobo Guerrero. (rubric).

Oath.

And the said accusation having been presented and read

the said Luis de Caravajal was sworn in due lawful form under penalty of which he promised to speak the truth fully and freely and in response to the separate chapters of the said accusation he made the following replies:

First
chapter

To the first chapter of the said accusation on it being being re-read to him:

He said that it was the truth that he was a baptized and confirmed Christian, as he had stated, but that he denied the rest of the contents of the chapter because God Almighty // knew that he had not done or said or believed or held any thing contrary to the faith but had kept and believed in the Holy Catholic faith as taught and preached by our Holy Mother the Church of Rome.

C.2.

To the second chapter:

He replied that he denied having done or heard of any such thing, neither was he aware that he was of the Jewish race, he having little knowledge of his descent because since he was a boy he had lived outside of the house of his parents who in his childhood had taught him the doctrine of the Holy Catholic faith.

C.3.

To the third chapter:

He replied that it was not so because his quarrel with his niece the said Dona Isabel had happened in the manner he had declared and he had thought of consulting a lawyer as to whether it was his duty to denounce her and would have done so if he had been allowed time and that by God Almighty // what was contained in the chapter was not true but had been concocted against him.

C.4.

To the fourth chapter:

He replied that nothing passed but what he had said as God was his Witness and his Judge.

C.5.

To the fifth chapter:

He replied that nothing else passed but what he had stated in his confessions, which were the truth, and that he denied the rest, and that when he was transferred from the Court Prison to that of this Holy Office he had thought to mention it and thus he communicated it in confession and that it might be known he authorized his confessor to repeat it.

C.6.

To the sixth chapter:

He replied that as regards the French journey he referred to his confessions and that of the rest he knew nothing.

C.7.

To the seventh chapter:

He replied that with the exception of the aforesaid confessor he did not remember having spoken about the matter with anyone except Fray Gaspar of the Order of Santo Domingo his nephew, to whom he said in the Court Prison that it seemed to him that he ought to indoctrinate his sister Doña Isabel as he entertained misgivings that she was not a good Christian without saying any other thing or speaking more plainly, and also he remembered having spoken a word to one Jorge de Leon, his cousin, being in the Government House of the Kingdom of Leon, indicating some suspicion of the said Doña Isabel not being a good Christian.

Fray
Gaspar.

Jorge de
Leon.

Asked with other persons he had spoken of his suspicions against his niece the said Doña Isabel:

He replied with no others.

Asked if he had spoken with the said Fray Gaspar and Jorge de Leon of his suspicion in other parts and places than those he had mentioned:

He replied that he did not remember.

// Asked if he had communicated to any other persons the suspicions which he admitted having entertained respecting the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and Francisca Nuñez his wife, deponent's sister, and of the rest of their sons and daughters:

He replied no, neither did he recollect what he had said.

Asked how many times he had communicated the suspicions he held of the said Doña Isabel to the said Fray Gaspar and Jorge de Leon:

He replied that he did not remember having done so at any other times than those he had declared.

Asked what they understood from his remarks about his suspicions:

He replied that he did not know what they understood from them but what he had wished to give them to understand was that he had misgivings that the said Doña Isabel was a bad Christian, without saying exactly in what way.

Asked what his object was in acquainting them with that suspicion:

He replied that he had said so to the friar to the end that with fastings and sacrifices he might win her back to God although he had not named her and that // the conversation with Jorge de Leon took place on a certain occasion when they came to complain to him, he not remembering well the details of the

talk.

Asked how the fasts and sacrifices required by so serious a case could be made if he did not mention names:

He replied that he had nothing further to say than what he had already said because that was his recollection.

Asked, in effect, if the said Fray Gaspar and Jorge de Leon understood what he wanted to convey:

He replied that he did not know more than what he had said.

C.8.

To the eighth chapter of the said accusation:

He replied that no such thing occurred and that in his zeal to report the remark his niece had made he had consulted his confessor about it with the idea of himself communicating it to the Holy Office as soon as he should have been liberated from the prison in which he then was and as he had done as soon as he was brought here, notwithstanding the fact that she, when he had reprehended and corrected her in the fraternal (?) manner he had described, recognized that she had spoken ill.

C.9.

// To the ninth chapter and conclusion of the accusations:

He replied that he denied it because he had never done such a thing nor could it be judicially proved against him except by bad faith and deceit on the part of those who made the charges against him, and thus the Fiscal was accusing him of what he had not done or believed or imagined; and that this was the truth and for it he would die and pass through a thousand torments.

And with this being admonished to consider well and search his memory again and speak the truth he was ordered

back to his cell.

And on his declarations in this audience being read over to him he approved them and said that although he were there ten years he had nothing more to declare nor to remember because he had already spoken the truth and did not know anything else nor was there anything further.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the thirty-first day of the month of July of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Carvajal to be brought to it which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he had not remembered anything further because he had already spoken the truth, whereupon the worshipful Inquisitors ordered that the accusation which in the last audience had been lodged against him should be formally transmitted to him for reply under the advice of an advocate, and on there being named to him the lawyers who in this Holy Office are assigned to assist and defend prisoners, who are Doctor Vique and Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes, he stated that he appointed as his advocate Doctor Vique but the latter being impeded from acceptance by illness the accused named Licenciado Valdes.

Transmission of the Accusation.

Appoints Licenciado Valdes as his advocate.

And with this the said lawyer was notified to attend the

next audience, and having been cautioned the prisoner was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience
with the
advocate.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the second day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And this being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he had not remembered anything else.

It was explained to him that owing to the illness of Doctor Vique whom he had selected as his advocate they had sent for Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes, there present, whom he had chosen in his place, with whom he was at liberty to consult and communicate whatever he desired and considered convenient for the unburdening of his conscience and the fulfillment of justice, for which purpose there would be read over to him any part of the proceedings he might wish and was conducent; and the said Licenciado Valdes accepted the said advocacy and being lawfully sworn he promised to assist the said Luis de Caravajal in his cause well and faithfully alleging therein his just and due defences // with all care and diligence, according to God, his conscience and knowledge, and remedying any injustice his client might prove to be undergoing and in all matters maintaining secrecy in regard to what he might see or hear.

Oath of
advocate.

Status of
case com-
municated
to him.

And forthwith the status of the case was explained to him and confessions of prisoner taken at the different audiences read over to him, on which he advised and admonished his client to speak the truth because a complete confession was the best and principal defence that could be put forward, and after lawyer and client had consulted at length in the matter of the said defence, Luis de Caravajal on the advice and with the approval of his said advocate, stated in reply to the said accusation

That in his confessions he had related the whole truth of what had passed as far as he remembered and did not know of anything else he could add; that on the publication of the evidence of the witnesses he would say and allege everything that was necessary in justice and in his own defence, and that in the meantime denying whatever was prejudicial to him he concluded for proof.

// And forthwith appeared the Fiscal of this Holy Office Doctor Lobo Guerrero, who said that affirming his accusation and accepting the confessions of the prisoner in so far as they told against him and no farther he concluded for proof.

Proof.

Thereupon the worshipful Inquisitors pronounced the summary proceedings to be concluded and summoned each and all of the parties to produce their proofs in the form salvo jure impertinentium et non admitem dorum and the said parties were duly notified.

Act of
Fiscal

The said Fiscal thereupon made a reproduction of the evidence of the witnesses in the summary proceedings, asking that any doubtful points be examined and that all be ratified in the

plenary trial and that any other steps that might be necessary to ascertain the truth should be made; and with this publication of the evidence of witnesses was made.

And after being cautioned the prisoner was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore vir-
tuous per-
sons.

// In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-third day of the month of August of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning, there being present as virtuous and religious persons the priests Fray Andres de la Concepcion and Fray Domingo de Gazaga, monks in the Monastery of Santo Domingo of this city, who swore in due form to keep secret whatever they might see, hear or understand, the said Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the Kingdom of Leon, a prisoner, was ordered to be brought to it, which being done he was sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth.

Asked if he remembered what in this Holy Office he had declared and deposed in the audiences held with him not only about himself but also about other persons, he replied in the affirmative reiterating that he had never done or said anything against the faith and going on to say that he remembered very well the quarrel he had confessed to have had with his niece Doña Isabel when in Panuco she had told him there was no Christ and he had given her a blow which knocked her down, the discourse he had had with her and her family that same night when he had explained to them some of the doctrines of

our Holy Catholic faith, the suspicions which he had entertained of her and of her father Francisco Rodriguez de Matos who as he had declared // had planned to remove his wife Francisca de Caravajal, deponent's sister, and his while family from Spain to France where he had a brother, Diego Rodriguez, living, the question he had addressed to his nephew Luis de Caravajal as to whether he had not acquired some touch of the errors of his sister Doña Isabel, the conversations he had had in the Court Prison of this city with Fray Gaspar de Caravajal, his nephew, based on the said suspicions; and being ordered by the worshipful Inquisitors to give the substance of the said matters he did so referring to his said confessions, which he said were true and complete.

It was explained to him that the Fiscal of this Holy Office had put him forward as a witness in the criminal trials the said Fiscal was pursuing against the said persons, against whom individually and collectively he had deposed and testified, for which reason he had been ordered to be brought to this audience where there would be read to him what he had declared; that he therefore be attentive in order to be able to say that it was the truth and to ratify and affirm the same he being at full liberty to take away or amend whatever he thought fit speaking the truth in all things without keeping back or falsifying anything // on the understanding that whatever he now said and ratified would be used as evidence against the aforesaid parties and that now was the time to add, remove or alter anything; and thereupon there was read to him word for word

from the original proceedings of his trial what he had declared in the audiences of the seventeenth, nineteenth and twenty-seventh of April and twenty-fourth of July of this present year before the said worshipful Inquisitors and in the presence of the undersigned Secretary and having said that he had heard and understood

Amends
his state-
ment re-
garding
Baltasar
Rodriguez.

He stated that he wished to change the following: that where he had said that Baltasar Rodriguez, his nephew, was in Panuco and was ^{he thought} present at the conversations he had described as having taken place that night when he preached to them and confirmed them in the belief of the Mystery of the Very Holy Trinity etcetera, he now declared that he was positive that he was not there, and that neither was the said Doña Isabel, because after deponent had quarrelled with her and admonished her in the manner he had declared when she had said that there was no Christ, she had never dared to appear before him and on the morning of the following day he had left the house.

// And with this alteration he said that all that had been read to him from his declarations at the said audiences had been well taken down and was the truth and that he affirmed and ratified it and that were it necessary would repeat it as a witness against the persons he had named, to wit

Against

Doña Isabel, widow, his niece,

Luis de Caravajal, youth, unmarried, his nephew.

Fray Gaspar de Caravajal, Dominican, also his nephew.

Doña Francisca Nuñez de Caravajal, his sister, widow of the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos,

in the presence of the said virtuous and religious persons, adding that he had not spoken from hatred or enmity but only because it was the truth.---- And with this he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

// In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the twelfth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them and this being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that all he desired to add was that the suspicions he had declared in his confessions did not extend to his nephew Fray Gaspar de Caravajal because with him he had spoken and conversed more than with the others and had never noticed anything against him but had always regarded him as a very Catholic Christian.

It was said to him that he should know that the Fiscal of this Holy Office was preparing to ask for publication of the evidence received against him in this cause and that before the said publication was made and what the witnesses had said against him examined it would be very well // that he speak and confess the whole truth; therefore he was admonished to do so to the end that he might be granted the mercy he had sought and which had been offered to him.

He replied that they might do whatever they pleased because before God had had spoken the truth and did not know any other thing.

And forthwith appeared the Fiscal of this Holy Office. Doctor Lobo Guerrero to ask that publication of the evidence received this trial might be made in accordance with the law and usage of the Holy Office.

The worshipful Inquisitors thereupon ordered it to be done, the names and surnames of the witnesses and certain other circumstances being suppressed as is customary to the end that they might not become known.

Here follows the Publication.

// Publication of the evidence of certain witnesses who deposed against Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon.

First
witness
Doña
Isabel.

A witness sworn and ratified in due time and form testified in March of the year 1589 that she knew that a certain woman (herself) a relation of Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, kept the Law of Moses, denying the Advent of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Mystery of the Holy Trinity and performing the rites and ceremonies of that Law which she had been taught by another person (Da Guiomar) whom she also named and who was also a close connection of the said Luis de Caravajal; that when witness was in Seville she observed that the second person with much secrecy and without any living soul knowing of it called the first person into a room of a certain house, which she named, where she enjoined her as a person who was liked by the said Luis de Caravajal to tell him that if he wanted his^{af-}

fairs to prosper he must keep the Law of Moses and that if he did not do so nothing good would happen to him, making her take many oaths to tell him; and on her repeating the above advice to the said Luis de Caravajal he answered that all was evil and a lie and that whosoever had so told her must be burning in hell.//

Item, she said that before what she had described above took place the second named woman (Doña Guiomar) in the course of three or four discussions they had in Seville where witness was staying at the time had persuaded the first named woman (witness) to keep the Law of Moses telling her that she was in error in living in the Evangelical Law which was all a mockery and that she should return to the true faith which was the Jewish because there was only one true God, going on to instruct her that certain Fasts should be observed and the Saturdays kept as feasts, from sunset to sunset, that neither fat nor blood sausages should be eaten, which was a mortal sin, and that prayers should be addressed to God only and not to Jesus Christ nor to His Mother, such prayers being the Pater-noster only and the Penitential Psalms, but not the Creed nor the Hail Mary nor the Salve Regina as these last were of no avail//

C.3.

Item, she said that when she witness was in Seville she saw that the second named woman (Doña Guiomar) in observance of the Law of Moses kept the Saturdays from the setting of the sun of the Friday, sitting all day without sewing dressed in holiday raiment and with clean linen, but in such

a manner as to avoid observation, and not fasting as she was very busy and hard worked at the time, and witness saw that she did not eat blood sausage or anything containing blood and that at night secretly she removed the fat from the flesh she was preparing for table and throw it away where nobody could see it, everything being done in such a secret fashion as not to be perceptible to anyone but witness to whom she disclosed it making her swear a thousand times to keep it secret.

C.4.

Item, she said that the second named woman (Doña Guilomar) who had taught and persuaded the other woman (witness) to accept the Law of Moses had charged her to persuade the said Luis de Caravajal but not to do so until after he had reached the Indies, explaining that she herself did not dare to speak to him on the subject for fear that he might kill her, for which reason she begged her when she did tell him to do so as if it came from herself, and in consequence the other woman said nothing to the said Luis de Caravajal until she had been about three years in Panuco when for the purpose she called him apart into a room telling him that she wanted to ask a great favour and making him swear that he would not reveal it, and the said Luis de Caravajal having so sworn and promised she proceeded to tell him that he should keep the Law of Moses as if he did not do so his affairs would not prosper, as there was only one true God; that the said Luis de Caravajal became furious and threatened to kill her saying that there was God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost and making opprobrious remarks about her descent, ending up by swearing that if she did not return to

God and to Our Lady and promise not to sin again he would himself throttle her, at which she trembled because she saw that he believed that the message she had given came from herself, and so she hastened to promise that she would return to God and Our Lady.

C.5. Item, she said that the first named woman (herself) had put off speaking to the said Luis de Caravajal until that time and place owing to his being much occupied in the war against the Chichimecas and much worried with hardships and misfortunes, the more so that the second-named woman (Doña Guiomar) had enjoined her to choose a moment of misfortune and failure.

C.6. Item, she said that when she was in Panuco another close relation of Luis de Caravajal, whom she named (Fray Gaspar) had seen how the first-named woman (herself) kept the Saturdays // also a certain fast of three days, and was aware of what she had told the said Luis de Caravajal regarding the keeping of the Law of Moses and was to the present day suspicious of her and unfriendly.

C.7. Item, that when the first-named woman (witness) told the said Luis de Caravajal in Panuco that he should keep the Law of Moses as if he failed to do so his affairs would not prosper and he would not attain either riches in this world or glory in the next, citing the example of King David who had died full of wealth and honours having been a perfect man made by the will of God and His Law, she had done so at the prompting of the near relation of the said Luis de Caravajal in Seville (Doña Guiomar) who had further begged her to advise her by letter how he received the advice because if he received it favourably she would come to the Indies, and

in Seville witness had heard her say that she was unwilling to come out with him because he did not keep the Mosaic Law; that she witness had always found him to be a good Christian and a zealous servant of God as was proved when the aforesaid suggestions were made to him in Panuco, and what she had said was the truth and not spoken out of hatred.

Second
witness
Fray
Gaspar.

Another witness sworn and ratified in due time and form testifying in April of the said year said that Francisco Rodríguez de Mates, deceased, who had been the husband of Doña Francisca de Caravajal, full sister of Luis de // Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, was as far as he knew a New Christian that is one of Jewish descent, and that to the best of his knowledge the said Doña Francisca and the said Luis de Caravajal, her brother, were of the same race of Christians of Jewish descent, he having heard and understood this in Spain, although he had also seen statements that they were of gentle birth.

C.1.

C.2.

Item, he said that it must have been some four or five years ago that the said Luis de Caravajal being in Panuco wrote a letter to a certain near person (witness) in which in general terms he asked him to reprehend another person closely related to them both, whom he named, (Doña Isabel) and witness saw how the first-named person communicated the contents of the letter to six other persons, also near relations, whom he named, one of whom a very close relation of the said Luis de Caravajal, on being asked by witness what the said person was to be reprehended for replied that he did not know.

C.3.

Item, he said that later the person who had received the letter from Luis de Caravajal (witness) went to see

him in a village beyond Panuco and witness saw that the said Luis de Caravajal asked him if he had reprehended the said certain person and if she had owned her fault, to which the said person answered that he had reprehended her but that she had not told him anything, whereupon Luis de Caravajal had remarked that it was a matter in which it was necessary to appeal to God by means of fastings, scourgings and prayers so that He might send the remedy direct from His Hand, it seeming to witness that he was under the impression that not only she but also the rest of the family // whom he named, were involved in the affair, and was of opinion that he witness should write to Mexico to still another person requesting him when he thought the time opportune to apply the proper remedy.

C.4.

Item, he said that the aforesaid person (himself) recollecting what had passed with the said Luis de Caravajal in Panuco and being apprehensive and conscience-stricken as to whether it might not be his duty to advise the Inquisition in Mexico asked the said Luis de Caravajal to consider well if it were not a matter for the Holy Office to which he replied that he knew ^{his duty} going on like a man learned in the law to debate the question of whether or not it was obligatory to reveal a private matter and ending up by repeating that he knew his duty or words to that effect.

C.5.

Item, he said that he saw that the said Luis de Caravajal charged the aforesaid person (witness) to go on his behalf to speak to another person very closely related to him, whom witness named ^(witness's mother) and impress on her that what he had told her in Panuco was the absolute truth, and in a further conversation

in response to some remark of the first-named person the said Luis de Caravajal responded that all were blind and that if he had brought certain near relations of his, whom he named, to the Indies it was because he understood that one of them was planning to go abroad with his whole family to live in some foreign land which witness understood was France, and the said first-named person went // and said to the second-named person, others of the family, whom he named, being present, that the significant words used by the said Luis de Caravajal did not seem good to him and that if there were any among them to whom they applied let them take heed; two or three days later the witness saw that the first-named person again spoke to the said Luis de Caravajal and begged him earnestly to weigh well whether the matter was not one for the Holy Office to which the said Don Luis replied no, that it was merely a piece of rash stupidity on the part of those people.

C.6.

Item, he said that from what the said Luis de Caravajal had written to a certain person (witness) when he charged him to reprehend a certain other person, ^(Doña Isabel) and from a remark that Don Luis had made to the effect that she and her relations were all blind, witness suspected them of being followers of the Mosaic Law, some in a greater degree and some in a lesser, especially since he had seen one of them, whom he named, a prisoner of the Holy Office.

(Doña Isabel)

C.7.

Item, he said that he particularly suspected the person / whom the said Luis de Caravajal had written to charge a certain person (witness) to reprehend, as he had seen her in

Panuco keep extraordinary fasts and heard it said there that she had gone three or four days without eating a mouthful, his informant being a certain person, whom he named, and he thought that such fastings might be like those of Judith of the old Mosaic Law as the said person was of the Jewish race; and that the foregoing was the truth and not spoken from hatred.

Third
witness.
Luis de
Carava-
jal, his
nephew.

C.1.

Another witness sworn and ratified in due time and form, testifying in August of the said year, said that he had seen how a certain person, whom he named, ^(his father) a relation of the said Luis de Caravajal, in Mexico some five years ago, taught another person, whom he named (himself) also a relation of the said Don Luis, that the Jewish Law of Moses was the Law in which he would be saved because it was a Law given by God from His own Hand and that if he wished to go on the road of salvation that he travelled he should follow his example, and witness knew that the second-named had accepted that teaching and had continued in that error and that about eight months later he went to Panuco where at the time were living other relations of his and the said Luis de Caravajal, whom he named, and because the person who had taught him in Mexico the Law of Moses had also told him that he could communicate it to some of them, whom he named, because they were believers, he had on his arrival spoken to them privately on the subject and they had all responded that it was true and that they were followers of the Law of Moses because a certain person above-mentioned had also taught them, and for an hour they talked of the Mosaic Law in which they had to live and by which they would be saved and // attain glory because God had so promised

to those who kept it and that God would send the Messiah to gather together the Children of Israel when they would be among those thus gathered; and these discussions continued during the fortnight that witness remained in Panuco; that returning to Mexico they met in a certain house, which he named, and talked of their constancy in the keeping of the Law of Moses and how they were awaiting the coming of the Messiah with whose coming they would have much property whereas now they were in captivity and all the Children of Israel were scattered, and they as members of the said people were also scattered; and on many occasions they spoke of these hopes and had the same conversations, which witness saw were afterwards continued by the same persons in the Taxco mines where from Mexico they had gone to live and where they agreed to meet in a certain house, which he named, the conversation as before turning on their hopes of the coming of the Messiah and the wealth which with his coming would fall to them; and the said persons having returned to Mexico to a certain house, which he named, it would be about eight months ago, witness observed that they still persisted in the unhappy matter of their observance of the Mosaic Law; and before anything of // the foregoing had happened, witness being in Panuco it would be six years ago with the aforesaid family who kept the Law of Moses saw how the said Luis de Caravajal who was also there one day on a journey spoke apart with one of them, whom he named, and who had not then been taught the Law of Moses, and told him that a certain near relative of his (this being the one who later taught him that doctrine) was living in that Law,

and witness perceived how the person with whom the said Luis de Caravajal was speaking answered him weeping that it was a great evil whereupon the said Luis de Caravajal said to him that for that remark he cared for him more than the rest of the family, whom he named, because he knew that his near relative of whom he had spoken as living in the Law of Moses had also desired to deceive and persuade him, going on to explain to him that the Evangelical Law given by Our Lord Jesus Christ was the true Law and asking him to mark well the Pontiffs, Kings and learned men who had believed in it as a means of salvation; without else being said on the subject the conversation ceased.

C.2. Item, he said that the aforesaid near relations of the said Luis de Caravajal met, as he had declared, and conversed about the keeping of the said Law of Moses from the teaching of another person also a near relation of the said Luis de Caravajal, who according to what the last-named had told // witness had endeavoured to bring him over to the Mosaic Law as had also another member of the family, the said Don Luis rejecting the suggestions and reproving them all.

C.3. Item, he said that being in Pamuco he had seen how one of the said persons thus taught had, when walking with the said Luis de Caravajal at a certain place, which he named, laid before him a certain doubt he had experienced as to whether the consecrated host contained the body of Our Lord Jesus Christ as also other doubts relating to the Holy Catholic faith, this being done with the object and intention of instilling doubt in the mind of the said Luis de Caravajal, who

had declined to listen and on the said person asking him what he should do had recommended him to submit the case to the Holy Office; adding that the person in question had died in Mexico five years ago more or less.

C.4.

Item, he said that he had heard the aforesaid person (his father) who had taught him the Law of Moses cite another person (Licenciado Morales) who with his family and household had also come out from Spain in the ship of the said Luis de Caravajal, as being also a follower of the Mosaic Law; and that he witness when in Seville had seen the second named person frequent the house of Luis de Caravajal before he embarked for Panuco. //

C.5.

Item, he said that the aforesaid person who had taught him the Law of Moses (his father) had told him openly that the Jewish race were the Chosen People of God and descendants of the Israelites being descended from Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, that he and his forefathers were of the caste and race of the Jews and direct descendants of the Children of Israel and had always kept the Mosaic Law and died in its belief, that he and his parents (witness's grandparents) had been born and had lived in the town of Mogodorio on the Frontier of Portugal near Benavente, and that the said Francisca de Caravajal, the full sister of the said Luis de Caravajal, was also of the Jewish race and a descendant of the Children of Israel.

C.6.

Item, he said that one day, it would be about five years ago more or less, when he was in Panuco he saw the said Luis de Caravajal very angry and afterwards heard from a member of his family (Doña Isabel) who as he had already deposed had been

instructed in the Law of Moses had told him that the cause of his anger was her having recommended him to keep the Law of Moses, and witness perceived that she and other members of her family discussed the matter later; that witness took it for granted that from the injunction to turn to // the Law of Moses the said Luis de Caravajal would have understood that the person making the request must hold that belief, and witness further believed from the things he had described that the said Luis de Caravajal would have believed the same of certain other members of that family because when he fell into a passion in Panuco they had gone into the room where the other person was endeavouring to convert him and had striven to pacify him saying that she had spoken for his good; that all of those arguments the said Luis de Caravajal had rejected outright and had left the house shortly after, witness not knowing whether he had seen any of the said family perform any of the rites of the said law; and that the foregoing was the truth and was not spoken from hatred.

// Oath.

And the said reproduction of the evidence having been made the said Luis de Caravajal was sworn in due form of law under penalty of which he promised to speak the truth and replying to the different chapters of the evidence of the different witnesses responded as follows:

C.1. To the first chapter of the evidence of the witness first in order in the publication:

He replied that the words the above witness claimed had passed were never said, as nothing had been said but the

phrase "There is no Christ" which he had answered as he had already stated in his confessions, that being the truth as God was his witness.

C.2. To the second chapter of the evidence of the said first witness:

He replied that he had never heard of such a thing and if they had conversed about it among themselves he did not know it and that his sister with her husband and children and household had come from // Medina del Campo to Seville on a short stay and had lodged in the house of his mother-in-law Blanca Rodriguez, the widow of Miguel Muñoz, where they stayed for three or four days with the said Blanca Rodriguez and Doña Guiomar, wife of deponent, Doña Isabel a sister of the said Doña Guiomar, Francisca Muñoz who afterwards married Andres del Aguila, both dying in this country, and Maria Rodriguez and her husband Francisco Rodriguez who were living in this country in a clearing just this side of Tula, and at the end of the said three or four days they embarked for this country from the Seville River.

C.3. To the third chapter of the evidence of the said first witness:

He replied that he had neither seen nor heard anything of the kind and that if he had so known in Seville none of them would have come out here, but that it could not have happened because they were only there those four days and everybody was so busy preparing for the voyage that there was no time for any such thing to have been got up. //

Asked who were the people and what were the places of the

said town of Seville the witness referred to:

He replied that he did not suspect anyone unless it were his niece on account of her telling him there was no Christ and that if the witness referred to the house of deponent's mother-in-law in Seville he was mistaken for the reasons above set forth.

C.4.

To the fourth chapter of the evidence of the first witness:

He replied that he had never threatened to throttle her nor had the discussions mentioned in the chapter or anything else passed but that phrase "There is no Christ" which had angered him and had caused him to give her a blow which knocked her down, and curse her, as he had declared, but neither she nor any of the others had enjoined him to keep the Law of Moses or had exhorted him in the manner described by the witness.

C.5.

To the fifth chapter of the evidence of the said first witness:

He replied that at the time mentioned in the chapter he had had no bad luck as on the contrary everything was prosperous with him.

C.6.

// To the sixth chapter of the evidence of the said first witness:

He replied that he knew nothing about it, as he had never told anyone what the said Doña Isabel had said to him, and he could hardly have repeated to anybody what was set forth in the chapter because nobody had said anything of the kind to him.

C. 7.

To the seventh chapter of the evidence of the said first witness:

He replied that the near relation mentioned must be his wife, but that the statement was false and malicious because he regarded her as a good Catholic, and that the remark about King David and his riches he had never heard till then, nothing having occurred beyond what he had confessed.

Second witness.

To the first chapter of the evidence of the second witness:

He replied that the statement was not true because deponent regarded himself as being of the generation of the Old Christians, and that of the descent of Francisco Rodriguez Matos, his brother-in-law, husband of Doña Francisca de Caravajal, his sister, he knew nothing.

C.2.

To the second chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that he did not remember the letter mentioned by the witness.

//C.3.

To the third chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that it was probably true but that he did not remember it.

C.4.

To the fourth chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that the relation referred to would be his nephew Fray Gaspar de Caravajal to whom he had communicated the matter in the Court Prison of this city not giving names but saying in general terms that he suspected a certain person to be a bad Christian, as he had declared in response to Chapter VII of the accusation which he asked to have re-read to him and to which he referred.

C.5.

To the fifth chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that it was true that while in the said Court Prison he sent by Fray Gaspar to his sister Doña Francisca de Caravajal who was then living in Mexico, on learning that his niece the said Doña Isabel was a prisoner, which made him apprehensive lest her offence should have been shared by the others, some such message as that described by the witness, bidding them all remember that what he had said to them in Panuco in certain // discourses touching the Holy Catholic faith which he had made in Panuco the same night as the said Doña Isabel had said that there was no Christ, which he had mentioned in his confessions.

C.6.

To the sixth chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that he had also entertained the suspicion harboured by the witness as to Doña Isabel Rodriguez and her parents Francisco Rodriguez de Matos and Doña Francisca de Caravajal, his sister, owing to what the father and daughter had told him.

C.7.

To the seventh chapter of the evidence of the said second witness:

He replied that he knew nothing about it other than that they had told him that his niece the said Doña Isabel fasted greatly and was a great saint.

Third witness.

To the first chapter of the evidence of the third witness:

He replied, on its being read over to him for his better understanding, that it seemed to him that the person mentioned

by the witness as having had a talk with him when on the road in Panuco would be his young nephew Luis de Caravajal whom on a certain occasion while going to Tamapache^{or} Cuzcatlan // he had interrogated as to whether he did not have some touch of the error of his sister, who had said to him "There is no Christ", and on the said Luis de Caravajal answering him tearfully in the negative deponent had preached and expounded the doctrines of the Holy Catholic faith in the manner described by witness, being induced to do so by the tears of his nephew; but that it was not true, as the witness said, that anybody had endeavoured to convert him to the Law of Moses.

It was pointed out to him that as he must see the version of the conversation given by the witness was entirely different to that given by him, and the person referred to as having taught the said Law of Moses to certain near relations of his was not Doña Isabel, as the deponent explained, but a certain other near relation whose intervention it was unreasonable to suppose he could have forgotten; wherefore he was warned to tell the truth:

He replied that he knew of no such thing // because in the whole course of his life nobody had taught him or attempted to teach him the said Law, and that nothing else but what he had confessed had occurred.

C.2.

To the second chapter of the evidence of the said third witness:

He replied that nothing else but what he had confessed had taken place.

C.3. To the third chapter of the evidence of the said third witness:

He replied that he did not remember that the person in question expressed to him any doubts regarding the consecrated host as declared in this chapter.

C.4. To the fourth chapter of the evidence of the said third witness:

He replied that it might have been so but that he did not know who the person could be who had come out with his family in deponent's ship and was a follower of the Mosaic Law.

C.5. To the fifth chapter of the evidence of the said third witness:

He replied that it did not state the truth in saying that he was descended from the people of Israel, and therefore he denied it.

C.6. To the sixth chapter and conclusion of the evidence of the said third witness being the end of the said publication:

// He replied that in regard to the above nothing more passed than what he had said and confessed and he called on God to witness that what he had said was the truth and was devoid of bad faith or malice, and that he had done nothing and seen nothing done against our Holy Catholic faith.

He was instructed to again consider and search his memory as regards the evidence of the witnesses which had been shown to him because as he must see matters had been deposed respecting which he could not reasonably pretend ignorance or forgetfulness as to place and time and persons and other circumstances or failure to understand their real meaning.

He said that it would be to bear false witness should he alter what he had already declared, which was the truth and all he knew on the subject.

And after being cautioned he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the eighteenth day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them as he had asked the Warden to request a hearing, and he being presented

Stated that it was true that he had sought a hearing the same being in order to ask that paper might be furnished him upon which to write some notes for the better information of his lawyer.

Transmis-
sion of
the publi-
cation.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered that the reproduction of the evidence be transmitted to him to the end that he might consult with his lawyer and answer it with the counsel and concurrence of the latter.

Paper.

They further gave him at his request five sheets of paper on which the undersigned secretary has traced his rubric or flourish, and with this after being cautioned prisoner was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience to verify what was said about Felipe Nuñez in the ratification by Doña Isabel, niece of Governor, of the declarations she made at her trial.

In the City of Mexico on Friday the twenty-second day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful

Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them, and being present he was

Asked when and where he had first known the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos his brother-in-law and his children:

He replied that it would be about thirty-five or forty years ago that he met the said Francisco Rodriguez de Mato first in Balderos and later in Benavente where he came to marry his sister Doña Francisca de Caravajal; here he corrected himself saying that they were married in Caravallas a village near Mogodorio, from which place they had gone to live in Benavente, in which town deponent left them, they being a young couple without children, he going to Cabo Verde and these Indies whence he returned to Spain embarking in San Juan de Ulua in the year fifteen hundred and seventy-eight in the fleet of which Don Diego Maldonado was captain-general, returning here in the year 'eighty in the fleet in which came out the Conde de Coruña; that when he arrived in Spain as aforesaid he found his brother-in-law // Francisco Rodriguez de Matos living with his wife and childred and household in Medina del Campo, where deponent went to see them, whence he went to Mogodorio passing through Astorga where he saw and met Doña Isabel their daughter who was living there married to a man called Gabriel whose surname he did not remember but who kept a linen-draper's shop, he not remembering in what part of the city, where he stayed with them a day; thence he went to Mogodorio afterwards returning to Seville; and that from the time he had landed in the last-named city he had carried with him in his service a certain

Felipe Nuñez, whom he had employed in Madrid on his business a matter of ten months and had brought out to this country from Seville when he returned.

Asked if when he was in Astorga he had spoken of bringing Doña Isabel to the Indies:

He replied no, neither at that time had his brother-in-law decided to come to this country but that in the interval between deponent's visit to Astorga and his return to this country the said Doña Isabel became a widow and went back to live with her parents in Seville and eventually embarked with them deponent not knowing how long her husband had been dead when she came to Seville; and at this point he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience
with his
advocate.

In the City of Mexico on Saturday the twenty-third day of the month of September of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And being present he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to declare the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he did not remember anything.

It was explained to him that his advocate Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes was present and that he was at liberty to discuss with him whatever he wished and deemed advisable for the unburdening of his conscience and the ends of justice, for which purpose there would be read over to him the evidence which had

been given in the last audience and any other part of the proceedings he might wish to see and was conducent.

To whom he communicates his case. And forthwith the status of the case was explained to the said advocate to whom was read over the confessions of the said Luis de Caravajal as made at the different audiences held with him from the first to the last in the course of this process together with the summary of the evidence and prisoner's replies thereto; and after // the said Luis de Caravajal had conversed and consulted with his said advocate he produced the five sheets of paper which had been given to him and upon which he had written certain notes which he said he wished to submit to his lawyer for incorporation in his defence should the latter think it advisable and lawful, which notes the said lawyer took away with him for consideration, having previously advised him to make a full confession of the truth.

And hands memorandum. Which his advocate takes away.

With this the audience ended and after the prisoner had been cautioned he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Further audience with his advocate. In the City of Mexico on Friday the sixth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered that the said Luis de Caravajal be brought before them, which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

// He replied that he had nothing further to say than what he had already confessed and declared in this process.

It was explained to him that his advocate Licenciado de

Advocate
submits
statement
of defence.

Valdes was present and that he was free to consult and discuss his defence with him, on which the said Licenciado Valdes returned the five sheets of paper containing the notes which he had received at the last audience from the hands of prisoner and in accordance with which he had drawn up a statement of defence which having been communicated to and examined by the

Prisoner
presents
statement
of defence.

said Luis de Caravajal he signed ~~xxxxxxx~~ together with his said advocate with whose sanction and opinion he presented it stating that it was his defence and that he asked for justice.

Here the Statement of Defence.

// Very Illustrious Gentlemen.

I, Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the Province of Panuco, in answer to the accusation which has been lodged against me by Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, in which he asks that I be punished as an aider and abetter and concealer of Jews who follow the Law of Moses, as is more largely stated in the said accusation, ask that I be acquitted of the said charge and set free for the following reasons.

In the first place, that I have never aided and abetted or concealed persons who were living in the said Law, the contrary being shown by the statements of the witnesses who have deposed against me, they testifying that I punished with great severity the words "There is no Christ" which were said to me and that I displayed great anger and grief thereat, and that a certain relation of mine (his wife) did not dare to tell me anything of the said Law fearing that I would kill her, from which it can be clearly deduced that I was not only not an aider and abetter of such persons but ^{was} a stern punisher

of them, and that it is not to be believed or presumed that the person who assumed the task of saying to me what she said she did (his niece) would have ventured to do so as she could not have been // less apprehensive than the other of being killed.

Further, that it cannot be said that I have concealed such persons because there are no witnesses to say that I have seen anyone converted to Judaism or living in that Law, as on the contrary the testimony of the witnesses shows that far from tolerating any such manifestation I punished it with all the rigour that a good Catholic should.

Further, that no credit should be given to what the said witnesses have testified against me, because nothing of what they testify is supported by the evidence of an independent witness, and because the said witnesses are my mortal enemies, the enmity of my niece Isabel Rodriguez as is shown by her evidence in this trial being occasioned by my quarrelling with her and beating her when she told me there was no Christ, and that of Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal arising from the fact that I wrote to them telling them they were traitors at the same time writing to their brothers-in-law warning them to beware of them, at which the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal took great umbrage and promised themselves at the first opportunity to do me all the evil and harm they could, as they have done.

Further, that if any culpability // can be alleged against me it would be for a sin of commission only, to wit, my failure to denounce to the Holy Office the remark made to me by a

certain relation, in explanation of which I would say that as is public and notorious I was occupied in military duties far from this city, and that I honestly believed I had sufficiently complied with my duty by personally reprehending and punishing the said person and expounding to her the true doctrine, for which I thought myself worthy rather of praise than of blame from God and his people; and in the event of the foregoing not being considered to be a sufficient excuse I throw myself upon the mercy of the Holy Office calling God and His Blessed Mother to witness that for many years with the sweat of my brow and the shedding of my blood I have been a defender and propagator of our Holy Catholic faith.

Witnesses
Jorge de
Almeyda,
Antonio
Diaz de
Cazeres.
Diego Mar-
ques, Gon-
zalo Perez
Fierro.

I therefore beg and implore your worships to acquit me of the said accusation of which I deny everything that tells against me, and conclude definitively asking that the statements of Jorge de Almeyda, Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, Diego Marques de Andrada and Gonzalo Perez Fierro be taken and that they be questioned as to the cause of the said enmity and as to anything else general or particular which they may know and which bears on my case and confessions.

Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes (rubric).

Luis de Caravajal. (rubric).

// And the above statement of defence having been presented to and examined by the worshipful Inquisitors, they ordered that it be included in the proceedings against the said Luis de Caravajal and transmitted to Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office for rejoinder, and the prisoner having

been again warned to search well his memory and speak the whole truth was ordered back to his cell.

Notifica-
tion to
Fiscal.

And forthwith I the present Secretary notified the said statement to the said Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, who stated that he heard it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric)

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the ninth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

And this being done he was told that the Warden had stated that he sought an audience and that he might say whatever he saw fit under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

Dofia Isa-
bel Rodri-
guez de
Andrada.

He replied that it was true that he had sought an audience the same being to confess that having searched his memory he remembered that when he had said that the said Isabel Rodriguez, widow, his niece, had said to him in Panuco There was no Christ she had added that there were no Marys either, so that what she said was "There is no Christ or Marys either" having first told him to have a care for his soul, and that what he had said in his confessions passed after that.

Item, he stated that he had also remembered that one day on a road which he believed was the one to Tamapache, the said // Baltasar Rodriguez, his nephew, spoke to him of a doubt he entertained in connection with the Blessed Sacrament and the consecrated Host, deponent not remembering particularly what it

was nor the exact words that passed other than that he had recommended his nephew to go to the Holy Office and submit his doubts to it, after which he had heard nothing further on the subject; that having given the above advice he did not think that it was necessary to notify the Holy Office and if by failing to do so he had gone contrary to the rules of the Holy Catholic faith he threw himself upon the mercy of the Holy Office; and that confirmation of what he had stated above of the enmity of his sister and nephews could be given by Domingo Martinez de Cearreta and the ecclesiastic Diego Ramirez Camerano if they were examined on the subject.

And with this after being cautioned in the customary manner he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-fifth day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

Which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he had not remembered anything else.

It was explained to him that he should know that further proof had come up against him of which the Fiscal of this Holy Office was preparing to ask the reproduction and that before it was granted it would be well for him to speak the full

truth; therefore he was admonished to do so.

He replied that he had nothing more to say.

And forthwith appeared Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, to ask for the reproduction of certain additional evidence against prisoner and that it be made in conformity with the law and style of this Holy Office.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered it to be done, the names // and surnames of the witnesses and certain other particulars being suppressed to the end that they might not become known, and it was done in the following form and manner:

Here follows the Publication.

Second reproduction of evidence of witnesses against the Governor Luis de Caravajal.

Additional
evidence of
third wit-
ness Luis de
Caravajal
his nephew.

The witness third in order in the first publication add-

ing to the statements made in October of the said year said

that he had also heard the said Governor Luis de Caravajal

make the remark, he being in the Province of Panuco at the

time, that if certain near relations (Francisco Rodriguez and

family) of his had any gratitude they would kiss the ground he

trod on for having brought them out to the Indies, thereby

preventing certain other relations of his (Diego Rodriguez and

family) taking them to France where they all wanted to go.

C.7.

C.8.

Item, he said that in addition to what he had described

as passing in the Province of Panuco, he had noticed how the

said Governor Luis de Caravajal said to a certain person, whom

he named (witness) that he had better take care because certain

persons had been endeavouring to persuade him (the Governor)

to keep the Law of Moses; that the Governor had spoken in general

terms without mentioning names, and all witness knew was that one day he saw the said Governor walking apart with a certain near relation (witness's father) who had taught the Mosaic Law on the road from Chalchitlan to Cuzcatlan, earnestly engaged in conversation, and afterwards heard that // the said person had been endeavouring to persuade the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to keep the Mosaic Law but that the latter would not allow himself be persuaded and although the said Governor Luis de Caravajal did not tell witness the names of the persons who had endeavoured to persuade him to adopt the Law of Moses, only saying generally that they were Jews and lived in the Mosaic Law and had tried to deceive him, he understood that he meant the aforesaid person who had taught the Law of Moses and his family; witness ending up by saying that the foregoing was the truth and not spoken from hatred.

Oath.

And after the foregoing publication was made the said Governor Luis de Caravajal was duly sworn to speak the truth and responding

Additional evidence of the third witness.

To the additional evidence of the witness third in order in the first publication:

C.1.

He replied that with regard to the going to France he knew nothing nor had anything more passed than what he had stated in his confessions.

C.2.

To the second chapter of the said additional evidence

He replied that the words he had declared had only been used by his niece the said Doña Isabel who, as he had testified, would probably have said more if he had allowed her, and that

no other person whatsoever had spoken to him of the Law of Moses either on the road or elsewhere except to say that it was evil; and that the foregoing was the truth.

Transmis-
sion of
publica-
tion.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered that the said publication be formally transmitted to him to the end that he might answer it with the advice of his advocate.

And being cautioned as usual he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

//Audience
with the
advocate.

In the City of Mexico on the twenty-seventh day of the month of October of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Governor Luis de Carvajal to be brought before them.

Which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that nothing else had passed but what he had confessed.

It was explained to him that Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes was present and that he could treat and communicate with him whatever he desired and was convenient for the unburdening of his conscience and the ends of justice, for which purpose the second publication of evidence made in the last audience would be read over to him including his answers thereto at the audience and confession which took place subsequent to the definitive conclusion, and any other parts of the proceedings which he might desire and were relevant.

Case communicated to advocate.

And after the aforesaid had been read and after he had conversed and consulted with his said advocate, with the sanction and concurrence of the latter the said Governor Luis de Caravajal

// Stated that he referred to the confessions and declarations he had made in regard to this matter and to his statement of defence which refute what was said against him by the third witness in the additional evidence of the second publication, and that for his further defence and to the end that he might be used with the greatest mercy for any culpability which might result against him he begged that account should be taken of his merits and services as set forth in the different memorials which have been drawn up some of which were in possession of Fray Gaspar de Caravajal, his nephew, and others in the office of the Secretary of the Royal Audience, Osorio, including the conquest of the Kingdom of Leon and the pacification of that province, for which purpose he requested that orders might be given for the said memorials and any others to be brought to this Holy Office; with which and a renewed request for mercy he concluded definitively.----- And with this after being cautioned as usual he was ordered back to his cell.

Ratification.

. The worshipful Inquisitors thereupon ordered that the aforesaid conclusion be transmitted to Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, who being notified stated that he heard it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Voting.

In the City of Mexico on the eighth day of the month of

November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine there assembled in the Audience Chamber of this Holy Office in the afternoon for the consultation and examination of processes the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia, the former likewise acting as Ordinary of this Diocese of Mexico, and the following who acted as Counsellors, Doctor Pedro Farfan and Doctor Saavedra Valderrama, Judges of the Royal Audience of Mexico, and Doctor Santiago del Riego, Alcalde of the same city; who having examined at previous conferences the present process against Luis de Caravajal, a native of the town of Mogodorio in the Kingdom and Frontier of Portugal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon in these Provinces, and now a prisoner in the Jails of this Holy Office whither he had been brought from the Court Prison of this city where he had been confined, and having further deliberated at the present consultation, now gave their decision and vote as follows:

The two worshipful Inquisitors were of the same vote and opinion that in a public Act of Faith the said Luis de Caravajal should be declared to have incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication which would be read out thereat, he holding a wax candle in his hand in the manner of a penitent, and should abjure de vehementi, being banished from the Indies for six years: while the Counsellors were of opinion that he should abjure de levi in the Audience Chamber and should be banished from the City of Mexico and a radius of five leagues round the same and from his seat of Government of

Am M. S. Lora p. m. de Votos

Pase En la ciudad de Mexico, ocho dias
del mes de Novy, de M. de quinientos y ochenta,
y nueve años, estando en la sala de Audiencia deste R.
o oficio por la causa de Enconsultas, Oídades pro ca. f. f.
de los señores licen. doct. Bonilla y Sancho y
y el dicho S. y n. g. licen. doct. Boni. Con la vez
de y mesmo de ordinario del R. d. de Mexico,
por consultores los señores doct. Pedro de San Juan, doctor
Saavedra Valdeerrama, oidores de la R. Audiencia
de Mexico, y doctor Santiago del Rio, allende
della, con Sultores deste R. d. o. oficio, auientose
Visto En o tras quatro consultas antes
desta, los Procesos, Contra
y doña Isabel Rodriguez de Arzobispo,
Viuda de Juan de Herrera,
y doña Francisca Muñoz de Carauajal Viuda
de Francisco Rodriguez de Matos
Luis de Carauajal moco Soltero Su Hijo
y Fray Gaspar de Carauajal Sacerd. dominico Su Hijo
y Luis de Carauajal Surtido Gobern. del
nuevo Reyno de Leon,
que todos fueren presos En esta ciudad de
Mexico, y tratado y confiendo en esta
consulta, Sobre la determinacion dellos, Lo
Votaron En la forma siguiente

X 1^{ta} trial

151
doña ysabel R^a ~ En quanto al proceso de la dicha doña ysabel
de andrada, R^a de andrada, Todos conformes fueron de Voto
Y Parecer que a su dicha se apueste a questión de
Tormento Sobre las diminuciones que de la prouancia
Y su confesion e Resultar e igual se le de algarac
Y arbitrio de los R^{os} Ing^{os}, y con lo que del resultare
Se vuelua a ver esta causa.

doña fr. n^{ca} ~ En quanto al proceso de la dicha doña fr. n^{ca}
de carauajal, fueron de Voto y Parecer que sea
de carauajal puesta a questión de Tormento Sobre las diminucio
nes que de la prouancia Y su confesion e Resultar
e igual se le de algarac y arbitrio de los R^{os}
Ing^{os} Y con lo que del resultare
Se vuelua a ver esta causa.

Luis de carauajal ~ En quanto al proceso del dicho Luis de carauajal
Sal moco soltero, fueron de Voto y Parecer
que el dicho sea admitido a Recon
ciliacion en forma en auto p^u de la fee
con confiscacion de bienes y abito y carcel por
T^{po} de quatro años, Los quales se cumpla
en el monasterio, o parte y lugar que
por los R^{os} Ing^{os} se fuere Señalado
Para que alli Siua Y Sea instruido
Y confirmado en las cosas de nuestra
Santa fee cat^olica.

Fra Gaspar
de carauajal

Pas
de

En quanto al proceso del dicho fra Gaspar de
Carauajal, fueron del voto y parecer que en la
Sala de esta audiencia, oiga su sentenaa en presencia
de algunos Religiosos Graues de su orden. declarandola
auer incurrido en Sentenaa de excom de la qual sea ab
suelto, y oiga una misa rez en la cap^{da} deste
o ff^{te} en forma de peni^{te}. Y sea rene bendido ya ducor
tido de la grauedad de su culpa, y Suspendo de sus
Ordenees por lo de ser meros que sequen con de de
el dia de la pron de la Sa. en lo qual se tenga por cal
y reduir. Su conuento de S^{ta} dom de mex^{ca} y en ellos
este Suspendo del voto activo y pasiuo y tenga
el mas baxo. El tmo lugar en con y re fut. y ab^{on}
Jure del cui

El Gov. Luis
de carauajal

Pas
de

En q^{to} al proceso del dicho Gov^{er} don Luis de Carauajal
los ss. m^{os} conformas fueron del voto y parecer que en
aucto su de la fe sea declarado auer incurrido en
sua de excom^{on} Mayn, en lo qual se sea leida su sua
estando con una uela de cera en lo m^o en forma de
peni^{te}. y absu de sedem^{te} y de ad^o de lo q^{to} n^o da
por de e ab^{on}. Y los ss. consultos Juan
de garcer que en la sala de la au^o absu de leu. y sea
del excom de mex^{ca} cinco leguas y de su Govern
de de Re^j de Leon por quatro a^{os}

El Licen
do

El Vir^{rey} don Juan de
Garcia de Leon
El Maayr
El Alcaide
El Regente

Pas en con
de de los Re^{yes}

the Kingdom of Leon for four years.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Audience.

In the City of Mexico on the seventeenth day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon ordered the said Governor Luis de Carvajal to be brought before them.

Which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter.

He replied no.

It was said to him that he should know that further evidence had been received against him of which the Fiscal of this Holy Office was prepared to ask for publication, and that before permission was granted it would be well that he should speak the whole truth, wherefore he was ordered to do so.

He replied that he did not know what else he could say as he had already done so in his confessions, whereupon appeared Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, to ask for publication of additional evidence in this case in accordance with the use and wont of this Holy Office.//

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered it to be done, the names and surnames of witnesses and certain other particulars being suppressed to the end that they might not become known.

Here follows the third Publication.

Third publication of evidence of witnesses deposing against Governor Luis de Carvajal.

Fourth
witness
Doña Fran-
cisca his
sister.

Another witness sworn and ratified in due time and form and who testified in November of '89 stated that it would be some four years ago more or less that the said Luis de Caravajal came to the town of Panuco and witness understood that a certain person, whom she named (Doña Isabel) a near relative of his said to him in a certain house, which witness specified, that he should beware as he was being deceived by following the Law of Christ and should turn to that of God, by which witness understood the speaker to mean that he should keep the Mosaic Law, at which remark the said Luis de Caravajal became furious and roared like a lion leaving the room in which the words had been said and crying that the person who had said that he was being deceived in the Law of Christ ought to be put to death, whereupon another near relation of his (his brother-in-law) endeavoured to pacify him telling him that the suggestion had been made for his good, to which the said Luis de Caravajal rejoined, furiously, pulling his beard, that no greater evil could have come upon him than for a relation of his to say

So witness states in her testimony. to him what had been said; and witness was aware that both of the aforesaid near relations of Luis de Caravajal who had so spoken to him kept the Law of Moses and were of the recently converted generation of Jews, as was the said Luis de Caravajal.

C. 2. // Item, she said that afterwards when the said Luis de Caravajal was in a certain house in Mexico, which she specified, witness saw how a certain near relation of his, whom she named, (herself) asked him what prayers he was saying, he having just finished his prayers, and on his remarking that he was praying

for her conversion because he understood that she was still on the stony path, she answered that he need not grieve because she was no longer on that stony path, but that she had said that merely to reassure him because inwardly, as she afterwards explained, she was praying for his conversion to the Mosaic Law; and that in the course of the conversation the said Luis de Caravajal said that he believed a certain near relation of hers (her husband) was burning in hell, which remark witness thought he made recalling a certain occasion in Panuco when the person he described as burning in hell had entered during the quarrel between Don Luis and his niece and had endeavoured to pacify him saying that what the latter had told him was true and was said for his good, to all of which the said Luis de Caravajal turned a deaf ear.

C.3.

Item, she said that the stony path of which the said Luis de Caravajal had spoken with his said relation (herself) was the keeping of the Law of Moses due to what had passed in Panuco when his other // near relation had told him that what had been told him was true and said for his good because he was going about blind and she was grieved in her soul to see him so blind as he should believe in one sole God, witness understanding that the meaning was the Law of Moses although she did not recollect the exact words.

C.4.

Item, she said that on a certain day in Mexico one of the aforesaid near relations of Luis de Caravajal (herself) had said to the other near relation with whom he had had the quarrel in Panuco, that she would rejoice to speak to him on the subject of his conversion but did not dare to do so because

he was so fixed in his opinions as a Christian, whereupon the other had told her to leave the matter to her as she had courage enough to take it up with him, which she did; witness ending by saying that the foregoing was the truth and not spoken out of malice.

Oath.

And the said reproduction of evidence having been made the said Luis de Caravajal was sworn in due form of law under penalty of which he promised to speak the truth, and answering:

Fourth witness.

To the first chapter of the evidence of the witness fourth in order in the first and second publications:

He said that nothing beyond what he had declared in his confessions had transpired between his niece and himself, and that hearing the quarrel his brother-in-law Francisco Rodriguez had entered the room saying that his daughter was a fool, deponent suspecting although he did not know it for certain that what his said niece had said to him had been instigated by her father who endeavoured to cover up the indiscretion of his daughter by saying that she was a fool; that nobody had ever told him deponent that what had been said to him was for his good and that he did not believe the allegation that he was of Jewish descent because his parents had lived and died as Catholic Christians and he considered the story as a calumny of the witnesses who were his enemies.

C.2.

To the second chapter of the evidence of the said fourth witness:

He replied that truly he did not recollect any such conversation as the witness described as passing in Mexico.

C.3. To the third chapter of the evidence of the said fourth witness: //

He replied that God was his witness that he did not remember any such thing taking place.

C.4. To the fourth chapter of the evidence of the said fourth witness:

He replied that he did not know more than what he had confessed and that what he had just declared was the truth.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered that the said publication should be transmitted to him for answer under the advice of his advocate.

And with this after being cautioned as usual he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience with the advocate. In the City of Mexico on the eighteenth day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Carvajal to be brought before them, which being done // he was told that he was at liberty to converse and consult with his advocate Licenciado Valdes who was there present, having been summoned for the purpose, on whatever matter he might deem advisable for the unburdening of his conscience and for the ends of justice, in connection with the third publication which had been made at the last audience and whatever else he might wish and was relevant would be read to him.

Additional
evidence
communi-
cated.

And forthwith the status of the case and of his confessions was explained and the additional evidence of the fourth witness as to which he had been examined at the last audience read over together with his answers thereto, after which the said Luis de Caravajal having conversed and conferred with his said advocate respecting his defence, with the sanction and concurrence of the latter

Stated that he referred to the confession he had made in the course of this trial and that if any other words than those he had confessed had been said to him, as witness declared he did not remember them and must have failed to heed them in the excitement and anger he experienced when his niece the said Doña Isabel had made that remark to him // but that although his memory was poor there was no corroboration of the testimony of any of these witnesses for which reason he considered that his version should be accepted, and consequently denied this additional evidence, and again concluded; and being cautioned as usual he was ordered back to his cell.

Notifi-
cation.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered the said conclusion to be transmitted to the Fiscal of this Holy Office Doctor Lobo Guerrero, who being notified stated that he heard it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on the twenty-first day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia

being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them.

Which being done he was told that the Warden had stated that he had sought an audience and was at liberty to say whatever he desired speaking the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

// He said that he had sought the audience to say that searching his memory as to this matter he had last night remembered that on the day when as he had confessed his niece Doña Isabel had used the phrase "There is no Christ or Marys either", as he was leaving the room, angry and excited, he met Doña Francisca de Caravajal, his sister, who said words to appease and quiet him, which words truly he did not remember other than that they were similar to those mentioned by the last witness and set forth in the publication, from which he deduced that his niece told him what he had declared and confessed at the instigation of his said sister and he thought that she would have said more than she did if he had not given her a blow, and scolded her and left her, from which he had come to believe that all of them, father, mother and daughter, as well as, to the degree he had explained, the other people were believers in the Law of Moses and were attempting to pervert him to the same Law; that his memory was so poor that he had not remembered previously what he had now declared; and he invoked the merciful Heart of Our Lord Jesus Christ as an additional reason for treating him with clemency and had nothing further to say; and on what he had declared being read

over to him he approved it and was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Voting re-
affirmed.

In the City of Mexico on Wednesday the twenty-second day of the month of November of the year fifteen hundred and eighty-nine there being assembled in the Audience Chamber of this Holy Office for the consultation and examination of processes the worshipful Inquisitors Bonilla and Santos Garcia, the former having also the character of Ordinary, assisted in a consultative capacity by Doctor Pedro Farfan and Doctor Saavedra Valderrama, Judges of the Royal Audience of Mexico, and Doctor Santiago del Riego, Alcalde, Counsellors of this Holy Office, a further consultation took place in the matter of the process against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to consider the evidence presented subsequently to the first voting, and on a fresh voting being taken all the members of the Court voted as they had done before.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Ratifica-
tion be-
fore vir-
tuous per-
sons.

In the City of Mexico on Monday the fifth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitor Licenciado Santos Garcia being in his audience of the afternoon, there being present as virtuous and religious persons Maestro Fray Juan Ramirez and Fray Domingo de Gazaga, conventual priests in the Monastery of Santo Domingo of this city, who had been sworn in secret, ordered to be brought from his prison the said Governor Luis de Caravajal which being done he was sworn in due lawful form under penalty of which oath he promised to speak the truth.

Asked if he remembered what in this Holy Office he had declared against certain persons and who they were he replied yes, against his niece Doña Isabel, widow, daughter of Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, who made the statement to him that there was no Christ nor Marys either, and against her parents, brothers and sisters on the suspicion that they might all be in a greater or lesser degree tainted with the malignant error of the Mosaic Law, and he went on to repeat in substance a great part of what in that connection he had declared in his confessions.

// It was explained to him that he should know that the Fiscal of this Holy Office had again presented him as witness against the said persons and each and every one of them, for which reason he had been ordered to be brought to this audience; wherefore he was enjoined to be attentive while there would be read over to him what he had declared to the end that he might see if it was well taken down and was the truth and might ratify and affirm it, he being at liberty to add, take away or amend whatever he might think advisable on the understanding that for what he now said and ratified he would be responsible; and on there being read over to him from his original process what he had deposed and confessed in the audiences of the seventeenth and twenty-seventh of April of the past year of fifteen hundred and eighty-nine, and the twenty-fourth of July, the twenty-third of August, the twelfth of September, the ninth of October, and the seventeenth and twenty-first of November of the said year, and having heard and understood it he said that it was the truth and that he ratified

and affirmed it and if necessary would repeat it as witness against the said persons who in whatsoever manner resulted guilty of what was stated in his confessions and particularly and by name against:

- (Extracted) Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, deceased.
- (Extracted) // Baltasar Rodriguez de Caravajal, absent.
- (Extracted) Doña Catalina, wife of Antonio Diaz de Caceres.
- (Extracted) Doña Leonor, wife of Jorge de Almeyda.
- (Extracted) Doña Mariana, spinster, all children of the said
- (Extracted) Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, dead,

and against each one of them in the presence of the said virtuous and religious persons, and that he had not spoken from hatred or enmity, but because it was the truth.

Further testimony against Doña Isabel Rodriquez de Andrada, his niece. He went on to say that apart from what he had confessed he remembered that when the said Doña Isabel, his niece, uttered the phrase "There is no Christ nor Marys either" she prepared him first by telling him that he should be careful for his soul because he was straying away from the true path, after saying which she told him that there was no Christ nor Marys, and that the foregoing was the truth, and after being cautioned as usual he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Audience.

In the City of Mexico on the eighth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitor Santos Garcia being in his audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before him.

Which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and warned to speak the truth under penalty of the oath he had sworn.

He replied that he did not remember anything else.

It was explained to him that he should know that further proof had been presented against him of which the Fiscal of this Holy Office was prepared to ask publication and that before this was granted it would be very well for him that he speak the whole truth as he had been admonished to do; wherefore out of reverence to God he was enjoined to do so.

He replied that truly nothing else had transpired and that he protested that if he could remember more than he had already declared he would be only too ready to declare it, because although his memory was poor his will and intention was always to speak the truth.//

And forthwith appeared Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, to ask for the fourth publication of evidence in this case against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal the same to be done in accordance with the law and usage of this Holy Office.

The worshipful Inquisitor ordered that it be done, the names and surnames of the witnesses and certain other particulars being suppressed to the end that they might not become public.

Here follows the fourth Publication.

Fourth publication of evidence of witnesses deposing against the said Governor Luis de Caravajal.

Additional
evidence
of the se-
cond wit-
ness.

C.8.

The second witness (Fray Gaspar) supplementing the evidence he had given in the month of February in the year '90 stated that when what he had said had happened with the said Governor in the village before reaching Panuco which he believed was Called Xilitla or Acatlan, he had seen how raising his hands he had said to a certain person (witness) in the course of that conversation that he believed his mother had died in that belief and that if it were so she was not his mother nor was he her son; and that the foregoing was the truth and not spoken out of hatred.

First (1)
witness.

Doña Cata-
lina, his
niece.

Another witness sworn and ratified in due time and form who testified in December of the year '89 stated that in Panuco she had seen a certain person, whom she named, (Doña Isabel) endeavour to teach the Mosaic Law to the said Governor Luis de Caravajal who fell into a great rage and called her a traitress and asked her who had shown her that evil doctrine and on her answering that a certain other person, defunct, whom she named // (her husband) the said Luis de Caravajal had said that whosoever had so taught her must be burning in the flames of hell and had rushed out of the room without heeding what the first-named person had told him; and that this was the truth and not spoken from hatred.

Sixth
witness.
Doña
Mariana.

Another witness sworn and ratified in due time and form and who testified in January of the year '90 said that being in the town of Panuco, not knowing when, she had seen how a certain person, whom she named (Doña Isabel) being in a room of a certain house, which she specified, endeavoured to teach the said Governor Luis de Caravajal the Mosaic Law asking him
(1) Should be fifth.

how it came about that a person as wise as he should have strayed into a false path that led to hell by following the erroneous law of Jesus Christ instead of keeping and believing the true Law which was that of Moses; that the witness had not heard anything else said but had seen how he fell into a fury and pulled his beard saying that he would kill her forthwith or have her burnt at the stake and asking her from whom she had learned that evil doctrine and on her replying from a certain person, defunct, whom she named (her husband) the said Luis de Caravajal remarked that for that teaching he must be burning in hell // and he remained very angry and resentful against the first-named person; that the foregoing happened about five years ago more or less and what she had testified was the truth and not spoken from hatred.

Cath.

And the said publication having been made the said Governor Luis de Caravajal was sworn in due lawful form to speak the truth and to answer the evidence of the different witnesses in the said publication clearly and openly, and responding:

Additional evidence of second witness. To the eighth chapter of the additional evidence of the second witness second in order in the first publication:

He replied that the version of the conversation given by the witness he denied and that he had never said that his mother had died in such and such a belief.

Of fifth witness.

To the additional evidence of the fifth witness in this publication:

// He replied that what the witness testified was his best defence because far from saying that he had learnt an ear to the doctrine a certain woman had endeavoured to teach him this witness had admitted that he had called her a traitress and had left the room in a fury.

of sixth
witness.

To the additional evidence of the sixth witness in this publication:

He replied that he re-affirmed what he had confessed, to wit, that the said Doña Isabel, his niece, had begun by warning him to look after his soul which was being lost and had gone on to say that there was no Christ nor Marys either, his version of the matter being substantially the same as that of the witnesses, that in his anger and excitement he had threatened to kill her and had not heard anything more than what he had declared, which was the truth.

Trans-
mitted.

The worshipful Inquisitor ordered that the said publication should be formally transmitted to him for reply under the sanction of his advocate, and with this after being cautioned he was ordered back to his cell.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

//Audience
with his
advocate.

In the City of Mexico on the eighth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon, ordered the said Governor Luis de Carvajal to be brought before them:

Which being done he was asked if he remembered aught else in this his matter and replied no.

The case
is com-
municated.

He was told (there being present Licenciado Gaspar de Valdes, his advocate, who for the purpose had been summoned and who had entered the Audience Chamber) that he was at liberty to communicate and confer with him in whatever matter he might wish to unburden his conscience and promote the ends of justice, and that for the purpose there would be read over to him the fourth and latest publication of additional evidence which had just been taken and whatever other matters in this cause he might wish to see and was relevant.

And forthwith there was related the status of the case and the said fourth publication was read, both what it had said and what he had answered, and having conferred and consulted with his said advocate respecting his reply thereto, with the sanction and concurrence of the latter the said Luis de Caravajal

Stated that he referred to the confessions which in the course of his trial he had made, that the additional evidence given by the fifth and sixth witnesses and set forth in the new publication he had already answered, what he had said in his reply being what had happened although it might very possibly be that some further words may as they testify have been addressed to him but that if that were so in the excitement of the quarrel he had not heeded or remembered them, his memory being poor at the best of times and the time that had elapsed since the occurrence being great, and that with the foregoing explanation added to what he had already alleged in his defence he concluded definitively.

Notifi-
cation.

The worshipful Inquisitors ordered that the said conclusion

should be transmitted to Doctor Lobo Guerrero, Fiscal of this Holy Office, who on being notified stated that he ~~xxx~~ heard it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

/ Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the thirteenth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them as the Warden had said that he had requested a hearing, which being done

He stated that it was true that he had requested a hearing the same being to say that having searched his memory thoroughly he had remembered that when his niece the said Doña Isabel had said to him the words he had described, on leaving the room excited and angry to look for his travelling dress in order to get away from there he met at the door of the room where he and the said Doña Isabel had quarrelled Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, her father, who was about to enter having undoubtedly been drawn there by the noise of the quarrel, and who finding his daughter lying upon the floor from the blow she had received from deponent, and hearing the latter complain of the remarks she had made to him, turned to him and said "And how about thy mother?" by which remark deponent understood him to mean that his mother had fallen into the same error as the said Doña Isabel and retorted that his mother was a good Christian // and that whoever said anything to the contrary lied.

Francisco
Rodriguez
de Matos,
deceased.

That as far as his sister Doña Francisca de Caravajal, wife of the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos, was concerned she had not said anything more than a few words to pacify him, as he had afterwards related to Fray Gaspar de Caravajal, his nephew, in Cuzcatlan, and that as regards the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos he believed that his remarks had the same object as those of his daughter, which was the reason why that night he deponent had admonished them in the manner he had declared, on which occasion the said Francisco Rodriguez de Matos had remarked that his daughter was mad.

That he had nothing further to say than to beg that they would look upon his case with merciful eyes because he had not acted with malice or bad faith.

And with this he was ordered back to his cell and on what he had declared in this audience being read over to him he approved it.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Voting.

In the City of Mexico on Tuesday the thirteenth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety in the Audience Chamber of this Holy Office, in the afternoon, there assembled for the consultation and examination of processes the worshipful Inquisitors Bonilla and Santos Garcia, the former acting with the additional functions of Ordinary, and the Counsellors of this Holy Office, Doctor Pedro Farfan and Doctor Saavedra Valderrama, Judges of the Royal Audience Chancellery of this City, and Doctor Santiago del Riego, Alcalde of the same City, and who having examined the additional

evidence presented in the process of the Governor Luis de Caravajal since the taking of the last vote, proceeded to take a fresh vote, the said worshipful Inquisitors voting as they previously done, and the said worthy Counsellors likewise.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Here follows the Sentence.

// Luis de Caravajal, born in the town of Mogodorio in the Kingdom and Frontier of Portugal, a newly converted Christian of Jewish descent, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon.

We the Inquisitors against Heresy, Depravity and Apostasy in the City of Mexico and the States and Provinces of New Spain under Apostolic and Secular Authority, having examined the criminal process which is now pending before us, between on the one part the Fiscal of this Holy Office, as Prosecutor, and on the other, the accused prisoner, the said Luis de Caravajal who is here present, and who at the instance of the said Fiscal was arrested and is in the Jail of the Holy Office as the result of certain information laid before us, and Considering: that in the first audience held with him under oath and in subsequent audiences he declared his genealogy and descent respecting which he did not know more than that he had always believed his parents and forefathers to be Old Christians and descendants of hidalgos without admixture of Jewish or Moorish blood or that of any newly converted sect, stating that as far as he knew none of them had been imprisoned or otherwise chastened by the Holy Office of the Inquisition al-

though he had left home when he was a child of ten and had never gone back, and that he was a baptized Christian and had confessed and received communion at the periods ordered by the Holy Mother Church and at many other times, and was used to make the Sign of the Cross and to bless himself and to recite the Paternoster, Hail Mary, Creed and Salve Regina and the Commandments of the Law of God and the General Confession; that narrating the events of his life he stated that he was born and brought up in the said town of Mogodorio in the home of his parents going to // school until he was eight years of age, when he had gone with his father to Sahagun and Salamanca; that his father having died an uncle had taken him to Lisbon whence he had been sent to Cape Verde where he lived for the space of thirteen years having been Treasurer and Accountant of the King of Portugal; that having returned to Lisbon he had from there gone to Seville where he had married and had lived for two years, but having lost money in a wheat contract he had come out to this New Spain where he had remained devoting his attention to a cattle ranch which he had purchased in the Province of Panuco and to the functions of Captain and Pacifier of that province on being appointed as such until ten years later he had returned to Spain when the King our Sovereign Lord had appointed him as Governor and Captain-General of the New Kingdom of Leon, and he having come out again had conquered and pacified it; that he had never gone to any foreign kingdoms nor had studied for any profession merely knowing how to read and write; that being questioned as to the reason for his arrest

he replied that he did not know neither could he think of anything he had done although he was greatly afflicted in thinking of it; that being at the first admonition advised that the Holy Office of the Inquisition of which he was a prisoner was not accustomed to arrest any person unless sufficient information had been received that such person had done or said, or had seen done or heard said by other persons, present, absent or dead, something which was or might appear to be opposed to the Holy Catholic faith and Evangelical Law as preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, and in favour of the dead Law of Moses, its rites or ceremonies, or that of Mahomet, or that of Luther and his followers, wherefore out of reverence to God he was enjoined to confess the truth and unburden his conscience by doing which there would be ground for granting him the mercy // which it was the custom of the Holy Office to extend to those who made good and true confessions whereas if he failed to do so strict and rigid justice would be meted out to him ^{to which} he replied that he had done nothing against the faith but rather had laboured greatly in its service, and that had he known of anything contrary to Holy Church done by others he would not conceal it for all the treasures of the world; going on to declare that about five years ago, more or less, when he was in a certain place in this New Spain, reciting from the Book of Hours the office of Our Lady, a certain person closely related to him (his niece), told him among other words that there was no Christ, on hearing which he had reprehended and struck her with great excitement and anger lamenting that in his family

there should be anyone capable of making such a remark against Christ Our Lord whereupon she had excused herself on the ground that she had been so taught by another person, whom she named (her husband), and he prisoner had taken the first opportunity to instruct her in the articles of the Faith and the Mystery of the Holy Trinity, God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Ghost, Three Persons in One Divine Essence, as preached and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, pointing out that even if a person did not believe in that doctrine as a matter of faith its truth, clarity, gentleness and goodness should be sufficient for it to be preferred to the knavish tenets of other sects, the more so taking into account the number of Kings, Popes, Cardinals, Learned Men and Councils who were governed by the Holy Spirit and who received it in the expectation of being saved thereby, all of which he expounded to her and certain other persons (her family) in the course of the next few days, speaking generally and without mentioning the matter which had impelled him to do so; that he had not denounced the matter because he had had to go into the interior // and besides it had appeared to him that as the subject had passed so privately the chastisement and reprehension he had imposed were sufficient although as a matter of fact he had disclosed it at confession in order to be able to receive the communion with a clear conscience and the confessor had absolved him on condition that he denounced the matter in the proper quarter; that if he had not been made a prisoner as the result of the above he did not know of any other reason and could only think that it resulted

from a false accusation presented by his enemies or from a case of mistaken identity, the charge being really directed against another person bearing the same name as he; and on being admonished for the second time for the same reasons as the first, and examined more particularly in regard to his confession, he declared that he had expounded to the said person and the others whom he had named the matters of the faith and Mystery of the Blessed Trinity and had supported his arguments by the example of the Popes, Councils and Christian Princes lest perchance those other persons were touched with the error of the one who had dared to say to him that there was no Christ denying as it seemed to him the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity, an error which as far as he knew might be part and parcel of the doctrine of all the different sects enumerated in the said admonitions and which undoubtedly formed part of the Law of Moses which denied the personality of Jesus Christ Our Redeemer, as he had heard in sermons and read in books of the evangelical doctrine; that if he had known anything else he would have divulged it in the same manner as he had the foregoing, in which matter he had laid aside consideration for the honour of his family in favour of the unburdening of his // conscience and the salvation of his soul; that he was convinced that the person who had told him there was no Christ in the endeavour to move him from his beliefs in which she did not partake, did so irked to see him so constant and careful in the saying of his prayers and the service of God, but that he had instantly taken alarm and lost his temper recognizing the statement as an error of the Law of Moses and

for all he knew of the sect of Luther besides; that on being asked how in a single moment and from a single word or phrase he had deduced so much, he replied that he did not know, and on being asked to explain further, because it was incredible that in an instant he could conceive so serious a suspicion against so close a relation from a single phrase, half in Latin and half in Spanish (1) which was possibly open to a different and less scandalous interpretation he explained that as ~~xxxxxxx~~ he was reciting the Vespers each Psalm of which concludes with the words Gloria patri et filio et spiritu santo when the person in question interrupted him with the remark that there was no Christ he thought that she must have been impelled to do so by hearing him invoke the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity and suspected that she was unsound on that vital point of the Holy Catholic doctrine and was endeavouring to persuade him to her opinion, and on his being warned that his reply was unsatisfactory // because it was not credible that a person in her subordinate position to himself could have expected to convert him with a single word or phrase, and that he should have understood so much from so little and been so scandalized as to burst into a storm of indignation and said and done what he had unless the said person had made more than the one remark in her efforts to convince him, he had answered that it might well have been that the said person had said things leading up to that end but that at the moment did not recollect any as it had happened five years ago.

(1) She had used the Latin name Christus for Christ.

Item, he said that besides the suspicion aroused in his mind from the said phrase against the aforesaid person he had also suspected that another relation of his (his brother-in-law) was not very sound in the matters of the Catholic faith because at a certain period he had talked about going to France with his family to live with a brother who had gone there from Portugal, he prisoner understanding that those who from Portugal had gone to live in France, Flanders or other remote countries had done so to escape from the Inquisition and to live in the Mosaic Law, for which reason in order not to see his relatives carried to France among such bad people he had brought them out with him to this New Spain notwithstanding the fact that while they were still in Spain he had heard things about them that caused him to consider some among them as suspicious persons in matters of the Mosaic Law; that here in this country he had taught and indoctrinated them in the matters of the Holy Catholic faith in a general way, as he had described, without disclosing to them the fact that he was suspicious of them by reason of the remark that had been made to him that there was no Christ but // laying special stress on the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity, being desirous to save them; that on his being admonished for the third time in the same manner as on the first and second occasions and warned that before the accusation was lodged against him it would be well for him to confess the truth, he had answered that as a Christian Catholic he had already done so and had nothing further to declare about himself or others in regard to any offence committed

against the Holy Catholic faith; that the said Fiscal had accused him criminally on the ground that he, being a baptized Christian and as such enjoying the graces, privileges and exemptions which such Christians only enjoy, but open to suspicion on account of being a new convert of Jewish descent of still keeping the Mosaic Law, had associated with and encouraged apostate and heretic Jews and other persons whom he suspected of keeping the Law of Moses, instead of as was his duty denouncing them; that being aware that those people had planned to go from Spain to France so that with more freedom they might live in the Law of Moses he availing himself of his position as Governor had brought them to this New Spain; that in spite of the fact that he himself had made the remark that those people were all blind and that one of them had endeavoured to convert him to that Law, claiming that thereby he would obtain abundant prosperity in this world and glory in the next, citing to him as an example the case of King David who had lived and died full of wealth and honours as the result of his observance of the Mosaic Law, and enjoining him to deny // the Mystery of the Most Holy Trinity and the personality of Jesus Christ Our Redeemer, he had for many years and up to that moment favoured, concealed and harboured them, instead of denouncing them to the Holy Office as was his obligation, but on the contrary in spite of the fact that one of them had been imprisoned by this Holy Office he had persisted in his attempt to hide their backslidings saying that their errors were not matters for the Inquisition, thereby aiding and abetting them; that after he had been

made prisoner and on his being questioned as to the said offence he had in his confessions minimised its importance saying that only one person had spoken to him on the subject and that the one remark she had made was that there was no Christ and that from that single phrase he had deduced that she had a leaning towards the Law of Moses and had expounded to her the doctrines of the Catholic faith; that it might be taken for granted that so serious a suspicion could not be grounded on a detailed word or phrase casually dropped but must be based on more extended conversation than he cared to admit; and that in everything he had concealed the truth and perjured himself to the great harm of his conscience and contempt of this Holy Tribunal; wherefore we are asked to declare the accusation to be well and truly proven and the said Luis de Caravajal to be an aider and abettor and a harbourer and concealer of Jewish apostates from the Holy Catholic faith teachers of the said Law of Moses and an accomplice of the same, and to have // incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication with all its consequences; and to condemn him to the greatest and severest penalties established by common law and the institutes of this Holy Office the same to be executed upon his person and goods as a punishment to himself a warning to others; that on the foregoing being read and notified to the accused he responded under oath that God was his witness that he had never said, done, held or believed anything against the faith nor had he ever heard that he was of Jewish descent, although he knew little of his descent owing to

the fact that he had never lived in the house of his parents since the days of his childhood, and that as to the allegation that he had concealed what it was his obligation to divulge nothing but what he had already confessed had happened; that on leaving the Court Prison in which he had been a prisoner he had intended to come and make a declaration as he had done in the first audience, respecting the remark which had been made to him and from which had arisen his suspicions; that in due form of law the aforesaid accusation was transmitted to him and an advocate assigned to him with whom he had consulted and with whose sanction and concurrence he had presented his defence and the parties were summoned to present their proofs, and at the request of the Fiscal the witnesses in the summary enquiry ratified their evidence as to the said offence; that in his answer to the evidence of the prosecution the accused said that he referred to his confessions adding that he had just recollected that when the aforesaid relation of his made the // statement that there was no Christ she had also said that neither were there any Marys, prefacing her remark by enjoining him to take heed for his soul, and later when he was a prisoner in this Holy Office he had sent a message to certain other near relatives, whom he named, telling them that they take care and remember the admonitions that he had given them respecting the matters of the Holy Catholic faith, as he suspected that some or all of them might have been touched by the same error, and on the publication of the evidence of the witnesses being transmitted to him he conferred

with his advocate about his defence and with his sanction and concurrence stated that in his confessions to which he again referred he had declared the whole truth and that if any other words had passed as the witnesses claimed he had not marked or remembered them owing to the state of anger and excitement into which he had been thrown, but that in view of the fact that none of the witnesses were able to produce evidence to support their statements owing to each of them having been alone with him at the time he asked that his version of the case might be accepted; ending up by requesting the Tribunal to take into consideration his merits and services in the conquest and government of the New Kingdom of Leon in regard to which he had drawn up memorials which if necessary he would present;

Now, therefore, the proceedings being completed and considered and debated by us with the co-operation of learned and upright persons:

Christo Nomine Invocato

We declare, in view of the facts and evidence of the case, the said Luis de Caravajal to have incurred the sentence of the greater excommunication as an aider and abetter and concealer, for which if we chose to apply the full rigour of the law we might justly condemn him to greater and severer penalties but being desirous for good and sufficient reasons to treat him with clemency, we hereby condemn him as follows: That on the day on which pronouncement of this our sentence may be made he be taken to hear the same, standing in the manner of a penitent, uncloaked, and with a wax candle in his hands

while it shall be read to him, and that for the strong suspicion which attaches to him from the said process he be made to abjure publicly de vehementi the heretical errors of which he was accused therein and all and every other species of heresy which abjuration being made we order him to be absolved and we do absolve him from the said excommunication; and we further condemn him to exile from the Indies of his Majesty for the time and space of six years precisely, being deported in the first fleet which may leave this New Spain for the Kingdom of Castile or as we may otherwise direct, all of which he shall keep and comply with under penalty of being declared an incorrigible sinner; and this our definitive and considered sentence we give and pronounce by means of these presents.

Licenciado Bonilla. (rubric).

Licenciado Santos Garcia. (rubric).

Pronouncement.

// The above sentence having been given and pronounced by the worshipful Inquisitors who thereto subscribed their names the said Licenciado Bonilla likewise acting as Ordinary ~~xxxxxx~~ in the Secret Chamber of this Holy Office a public act of faith was held within the Cathedral Church of the City of Mexico upon a high wooden platform, the day being that of St. Matthew, Saturday the twenty-fourth of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety, whereat the said Governor Luis de Carvajal heard the sentence read out in the manner prescribed therein, the witnesses being Don Diego de Ibarra, Don Francisco de Velasco, Don Rodrigo de Vivero and Don Rodrigo del Rio de

Losa, Companions of the Order of Santiago, and Don Hernan Gutierrez Altamirano, Don Juan Altamirano and many other ecclesiastical and secular persons.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

And the said act having terminated the said Luis de Caravajal in fulfillment of the said sentence abjured publicly de vehementi the offences and errors of which he had been accused in his process and of which he was strongly suspected and generally all other kinds of heresy, in the following form and manner:

Here follows the abjuration "de vehementi".

Abjuration de vehementi

I, Luis de Caravajal, born in the town of Mogodorio in the Kingdom and Frontier of Portugal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, here present, of my free and spontaneous will abjure and detest renounce and abandon all and every species of heresy especially that of which I am accused, and confess out of my own mouth with a pure and true heart the Holy Catholic faith as held and preached and followed and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, and in which I desire to live and die; and I swear by the Lord God and the Saints, the Four Evangelists, and the Sign of the Cross that I owe and will render obedience to the Successor of the glorious Saint Peter, Prince of the Apostles and Vicar of Our Lord Jesus Christ, our very Holy Father Sixtus V who today rules and governs the Church, and to his successors in their turn, and that I will always remain within the pale of the Holy Church and will support the Cathol-

ic faith and prosecute all those who may be opposed thereto, presenting myself for the purpose of denouncing them, and engaging never to harbour or guide or visit or accompany them or give or send them presents or favour them; and if at any time I fail to keep these promises I agree to be treated as an incorrigible offender and cursed and excommunicated; and I ask the Secretary here present for a certified copy of this my confession begging all present to bear testimony to what I say, and I sign with my name, the witnesses being the persons hereinbefore mentioned; and the said abjuration having been made the accused was absolved in due form from the greater excommunication.

Luis de Caravajal. (rubric).

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

// Audience.

In the City of Mexico on Sunday the twenty-fifth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the morning in the Chamber of this Holy Office ordered the said Governor Luis de Caravajal to be brought before them:

Which being done he was asked if he understood the abjuration de vehementi which yesterday he had made in the Act of Faith:

He replied yes.

It was said to him that for his better knowledge and understanding it would be read over to him again in order

that he might be warned and heed what he had abjured, and the said abjuration having been read to him word for word he said that he understood it very well, whereupon he was warned to keep and comply with what he had thus abjured because should he fail to do so or fall into any heresy he would incur the penalties accruing to an incorrigible offender and would without mercy be handed over // to the justice of the Secular Arm; and he promised to keep and comply with the terms of his sentence under the penalty therein declared.

Oath.

And forthwith the oath of the said Luis de Caravajal was taken under penalty of which he promised to speak the truth.

Questioned with regard to the secrecy of the prison:

Secrets
of the
prison
house.

He replied that during the time he had been a prisoner in the secret Jails of this Holy Office he had neither learned nor understood that in them anything had been done or said which it was his duty to denounce whether as regards the administration or the officials in charge thereof, who as far as he knew had never brought or carried messages, the Warden having treated him well and fulfilled the duties of his office.

Secrecy.

He was ordered by the oath he had sworn and under penalty of the greater excommunication and other severe punishment to keep and maintain secret everything that in his cause and process had happened and everything else he might have seen or learnt in any manner in the Jails of this Holy Office during the time of his imprisonment, and not to reveal or disclose in any manner whatsoever direct or indirect, in writing or by word

of mouth, and this he promised to do.

Passed before me, Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Returned to the Court Prison from which he had been brought to that of the Holy Inquisition.

// In the City of Mexico on Monday the twenty-sixth day of the month of February of the year fifteen hundred and ninety the worshipful Inquisitors Licenciados Bonilla and Santos Garcia being in their audience of the afternoon decided, in view of the fact that the said Luis de Caravajal had been transferred to the Jails of this Holy Office from the Court Prison of this city by order and commands of the Marquis de V^a. Manrique who at that time was Viceroy of New Spain on the understanding that when the Holy Office had terminated its case against him he should be returned to the said prison to stand trial for other offences, that the prisoner should forthwith be taken and delivered to the said Court Prison, in compliance with which Arias de Valdes, Warden of this Holy Office, took the said Luis de Caravajal to the said Court Prison and delivered him into the custody of Juan de Budia its Warden before Pedro Carrillo, Scrivener of the Law Courts, in whose book due note was taken of such delivery which was effected in the presence of the undersigned secretary,

Pedro de los Rios. (rubric).

Very Illustrious Sir.

I, Luis de Caravajal, Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon for the King our Sovereign Lord, a prisoner in the Jails of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, accused by the Fiscal of the charges contained in his indictment and the others brought up in the course of my trial, hereby state, with all due respect, that the said charges are not sustainable against me because they either refer to some other person of the same name or if directed against me are entirely devoid of truth, for which reason I ask to be acquitted and set at liberty, basing my application on the following grounds:

First, because I am a good Catholic Christian baptized and confirmed, the son of Christian parents by whom I was taught and instructed in the matters of our Holy Catholic Faith and Evangelical Law which were impressed on my soul from childhood and which I have retained till the present day, doing everything which as a Christian it was my duty to do, upholding and confessing with all strength and constancy the Catholic doctrine held and taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, for which as its zealous defender I have fought and struggled on many and divers occasions as is shown from the records of my trial and as I will explain and prove more fully in due course, and in which I will live and die, detesting and hating everything opposed to it.

Further, because my said parents, who were not only as I have stated Christians but Old Christians, in which faith they lived and died, as was known to all who were acquainted with

them, brought up their children as such Christians teaching them the Evangelical doctrines of the Holy Church, these children being myself and my brothers Antonio de Caravajal and Domingo de Caravajal of whom the last-named was less than a year old when my father died and was brought up entirely by my mother who gave him the groundwork of a pious education and eventually placed him in the Monastery of the Holy Name of Jesus in Medina del Campo in which he remained, leading a studious and upright and exemplary life until he died at a very early age as the result of his austerities, departing this life about the year 'sixty-two or 'sixty-three, to which can bear testimony the monks of that order (1) who are now in this City in the Monastery of the Company of the Holy name of Jesus and who came from Medina and knew and were acquainted with him, namely, Diego Marquez and Jorge de Leon and his brothers, while Antonio de Caravajal when a child left the house of his mother but always lived in the Evangelical law and Catholic faith until he died in this New Spain, confessing and receiving the Holy Sacraments as a Catholic Christian, the which no one can with truth deny and which I will presently prove; and my sister Francisca de Caravajal, who is living in this city and is the widow of Francisco Rodrifuez, and who when a child of two or three years was taken from the house of my father to the house of one of her aunts, eight leagues from the town in which my father lived, where she was brought up until she reached marriageable age when she married the said Francisco Rodriguez, without having met her parents during all the time she lived apart or even knowing her father, whom I saw when he died asked

for the Holy Sacraments and was confessed and received communion and extreme unction and was buried in the church of the Holy Sepulchre of Benavente having with much devotion reiterated his belief in the Catholic faith at the hour of his death, there being no one in this New Spain or elsewhere who can truthfully say the contrary, and I am certain (and so if I remember rightly Fray Gaspar testifies) that my mother and her mother before her lived and died as Catholic Christians, receiving the Holy Sacraments, having been of the class of Old Christians, as one of the witnesses states and as ample and authentic documentary evidence shows, and if the said Doña Francisca and her sons and daughters are Jews and have strayed from our Holy Evangelical Law as is asserted in some of the statements of witnesses which have been read to me, she and they must have learned it from her husband or some other persons not being her parents, and it appears to me it cannot be long ago since they learned it because although Fray Gaspar was brought up in her house until his education was sufficiently advanced he never observed it, to judge from his statement and narrative which have been read to me, while his brother Luis in his testimony says in so many words that it was only recently that he was taught that obsolete and obnoxious doctrine, and if the said Doña Francisca and her children or anyone else have said anything else it is contrary to the truth and put forward to exculpate themselves from so serious and shameful a charge or to discredit me out of hatred, which hatred is sufficiently obvious from their evidence

which shows the lengths to which they will go to attack my character and honour.

Further, because the allegation that I was taught the said dead Law of Moses by Isabel Rodriguez, daughter of the said Doña Francisca and the said Francisco Rodriguez, and the other allegations contained in the same chapter, are false and untrue, because neither the said Isabel Rodriguez nor any other person ever taught or said such things to me, and I knew nothing about them until I saw them set forth in the accusation, the only words used by the said Isabel Rodriguez being the remark which I have declared and which caused me to suspect her of being desirous to convert me, the matter occurring one afternoon in Panuco when as I was seated at the door of a room of the house of the said Francisco Rodriguez reciting the office of vespers of Our Lady, speaking in a rather loud voice and at the end of each Psalm saying Gloria patri et filio et spiritu sancto and Domino Christi ora pro nobis, for that or for some other reason which I do not know but which she must, she called to me and having finished praying I arose to lay the book down in its place and saw her standing at the door of her room looking at me and listening, there being so far as I could see no other person in that room, and then she said "There is no Christ" whereupon without waiting for another word I gave her a blow which knocked her down, and it now seems to me, racking my memory to recall all the details of a matter which happened so long ago, that she prefaced that remark by asking me why I did not take care of my soul to which I replied that I did so,

and that after she had made the aforesaid remark and I had knocked her down on the floor and threatened to kick her I asked her who had taught her that // and she answered that it was her husband who had done so, the whole thing passing so rapidly that she did not have time to say anything more to me even if she had meant to do so, as forthwith I proceeded to warn her that she must believe in the Mystery of the Holy Trinity and in all the other things I have mentioned in my confessions, and if she or the other witness declare in their testimony that other remarks were exchanged, either they are not telling the truth or other remarks were made which in my excitement and anger I did not grasp or recollect, or she had meant to say more but in her fear and anxiety to lull my suspicions did not do so and now after this lapse of time imagines that she had said more, because they themselves admit that I immediately started to expound to them the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity and other matters of our Holy Faith, and it is not reasonable to suppose that a person like myself, who has kept and spread the doctrines of our Holy Church and converted the heathen for so many years would have listened patiently while a young and stupid and purblind woman was advocating a heretical Law and denying and mocking the foundations of our belief.

And it may very well be that when the said Isabel Rodriguez decided to tell me what she did she may before doing so have spoken with some person of what she was going to say to me and have been counselled to tell me what the witness said

she had told me, and had begun her exposition by the remark in which she denied the divinity of Christ but had been unable to proceed owing to the sudden manner in which I turned on her, and that now after a number of years she may have confounded what she actually said // with what she had meant to say; but her statements are not to be relied on as is proved by the fact that she says that being in Seville where she stayed for the space of two months a certain near relation of mine (Doña Guiomar) had enjoined her to endeavour after they should have arrived in New Spain to win me over to the Law of Moses, advising her of the result, as if it were favourable she would herself come out to this country, and that during the said two months she was in Seville she had seen how the last-named person kept the said Law eating such and such things and on Saturdays dressing herself up and sitting idle in the best room, all of which is false and untrue because neither the said Isabel Rodriguez nor her mother nor her brothers and sisters were ever in Seville except for three or four days when they came from Medina del Campo to embark for the Indies when they were so busily engaged in preparing the things necessary for the voyage and in getting together the people that there was scarcely time to sit down to eat, the more so that her father was at that time sick unto death with gravel and she and her family and the women of my household were much occupied in caring for him, and that it was not possible for my aforesaid relation to have kept the Saturdays by sitting in idleness in the house of my mother-in-law because on that day the latter

and the other women worked harder than on any other day of the week making the bread and cleaning up the place and washing the clothes to the end that everything might be clean for the following day, Sunday, all of which can be confirmed by Maria Rodriguez, the wife of Fidel Rodriguez, who lives five leagues from Tula on the Zacatecas road and who was serving and helping in the house of my mother-in-law at the time; while the fact that she and her family were not in Seville more than three or four days is known to Jorge de Leon, Diego Marquez and his sisters, Francisco Perez and her aforesaid family; in spite of which, and despite the fact that she and my aforesaid near relation had never met before, she now, instigated probably by the Devil and taking advantage of the fact that my said relation is dead, asserts that the latter confided to her at a moment's acquaintance a secret so portentous, the story being the more unbelievable in view of the fact that her mother and sisters are to all appearance devout Christians.

Further, that leaving Panuco forthwith I sent straight to the conquest of the Tamapache tribe and of the other renegades and heathens of that sierra where a strong force of soldiers whom I had collected for the purpose awaited me, which conquest I effected to the great service of God and the King, as presently I shall manifest, and if it had been delayed and left for some other time it would have been impossible to have carried it out; and for a long time I was perplexed and worried not knowing where my duty lay because, on the one hand, when the aforesaid woman had made the remark in question, denying the personality of Jesus Christ Our Lord and I had

ment of some mines I received notice that the said Isabel Rodriguez had been arrested by the Holy Office, the same having been done when I was locked up in a cell without being allowed to speak to anyone, whereupon what I have just referred to as having passed with the said Isabel Rodriguez returned to my recollection and I understood that she must have been persevering in her wicked course of infidelity, and about that time her brother Fray Gaspar came to see me and in connection with the arrest of his sister I had the conversation with him which I have described in my confession.

Further, because the dispute which the Fiscal states in his indictment that I had with a certain person regarding the matter that happened with the said Isabel Rodriguez, was not a dispute but a discussion which I had with the said Fray Gaspar and was not to conceal anything but to ascertain, using for the purpose general terms and figurative expressions, what my duty in the matter was, and in the course of the discussion Fray Gaspar said that if he knew anything against his parents he would divulge and denounce it (these words I declared in my confession although they were not taken down) whereupon I proceeded to communicate to him what I knew of the matter of his sister to the end that he might denounce it to the Holy Office, confiding the matter to him as I was unable to attend to it personally being locked up in a cell, but on my doing so he said that I should say nothing, putting his hand out before him as if to turn me from my purpose, and this I believe he will not deny if he recollects it; and in regard to the remark which he attributes to me in his statement, to the effect that

they were all blind, meaning thereby his father, mother and
 and sisters,
 brothers, although I do not recollect having made it if I did
 it would have originated from the suspicion to which I have
 referred and from my perceiving that his father had not pun-
 ished his daughter on that occasion as the matter deserved,
 and not because I // knew anything positively, and I may also
 have had in mind that ^{he as the} closest relative and the best beloved
 of all, supposing that the said suspicion was true, would be
 better able than I to ascertain the truth and apply the remedy
 because they would have more confidence in him than in me; but
 even if I did make the remark, which as I say I do not recol-
 lect, it would not have applied to the youth Luis de Caravajal,
 son of the said Francisco Rodriguez, as the testimony of the
 said youth clearly shows that at that time he had not been
 taught that false doctrine, and if I had positively asserted
 that he had been it would have been a mortal sin which I would
 never have knowingly committed; and in reference to the second
 testimony of the said Luis de Caravajal, surely nobody can be-
 lieve that I would say to a boy, as he then was, that a certain
 person was endeavouring to deceive me in the matter, or that
 I should have told him in so many words that his sister was
 touched with the aforesaid heresy, when to his brother Fray
 Gaspar, who was older and whom I held in higher esteem, I only
 communicated the matter in general terms and figurative lan-
 guage, from which it can be clearly deduced that my conversa-
 tion with the said Luis de Caravajal did not pass as he had
 described and that his memory has failed him on the point, the

which is not to be wondered at seeing that the same took place five or six years ago, as I know from experience that even when injurious remarks made by one man about another, in the presence of a number of persons, are testified to by the latter at the time, some diminish and others exaggerate their import; and this applies both to him and to the said Isabel Rodriguez whose testimony as I have said before is further discredited by her affirming that she had been in Seville for the space of two months when in reality she was not there more than four days, from which can be plainly seen her malice, bad faith and falsehood; and as the testimony of Luis de Caravajal against me is equally untrue, as I never made to him the remarks which he has said, I ask that the testimony of both as far as I am concerned be rejected.

Further, because what the Fiscal says about my being so dull of comprehension as to endeavour to make out that from a single remark of the said Isabel Rodriguez I had immediately comprehended that she and her family were all tainted with the Mosaic Law it appears to me that any person of average intelligence would have deduced what I deduced from her remark, which attacked one of the keystones of the edifice of the doctrine taught by the Holy Mother Church of Rome, to wit, belief in the Divine Personality of Jesus Christ our Redeemer, the denial of which is one of the cardinal errors of the Jews, especially in view of the antecedent circumstances such as the desire // of her father to emigrate to France with his family and the inadequate chastisement he had given to her on the

occasion of her making that remark, and directly I was brought to these Jails from the Royal Prison and received the first and second admonitions my first words were to divulge the remark which the said Isabel Rodriguez had made to me and which was or appeared to be offensive to our holy Catholic Faith, as I would have done spontaneously if I had been free on the matter being called to my recollection by hearing of her arrest, and it stands to reason that if I divulged at the first opportunity the most serious thing she said, namely, her denial of the divinity of Christ, which is the basis of the Law of Moses, I would certainly have divulged any other remarks of lesser import if she had made them, which I do not believe she did, especially as I set forth all my suspicions, and when after the said Isabel Rodriguez was arrested I was questioned about the rest of her family I answered fully and freely even though I surmised that the object of the questions was their arrest; and if, as appears from the testimony of the witnesses, as the result of my disclosures about the said Isabel Rodriguez and the said Francisco Rodriguez the remaining members of her family were arrested and imprisoned as offenders against the holy Catholic Faith, I claim that what I did was a service to the Church and ask that I be rewarded for the same, and that it be set forth in the proceedings.

Further, because, in the matter of the testimony of a certain witness (Wray Gaspar) to the effect that a certain other person (Baltasar Rodriguez) had confided to me certain doubts which he entertained about the Blessed Sacrament, I do not

remember any such consultation, and if such did take place the very testimony of the witness shows that I advised the enquirer to submit his doubts to the Holy Office, which would relieve me of the obligation of doing so, and it stands to reason that a person who gave such advice when he was at liberty would not be likely to deny having done so when he was a prisoner in the Jails of the said Holy Office, the more so when it can be deduced from the evidence that the said enquirer is himself in prison; but it is quite possible that I may have expounded to the said enquirer the Mystery of the Blessed Sacrament and how the consecrated host contains the true body and blood of Christ our Redeemer, because I have been accustomed to explain these things in the different places I have visited for the benefit of simple folks, without remembering exactly where or to whom, although as the witness declares that I made no answer // the presumption is that either I did not understand him or that no such question was put to me, but however that may be there is no evidence to show that I desired or desire to conceal anything, but that on the contrary I am in everyting a zealous defender of the matters of our holy Catholic Faith.

Further, because on the last time I went to confession, which was when I was confined in the Royal Prison and would be about Easter, recalling the remark which the said Isabel Rodriguez had made to me and desiring to make a true confession in order to receive the Blessed Sacrament with a clear conscience for the salvation of my soul, I recounted the matter to the confessor telling him that about four or five years before I had heard a certain person make a certain heretical remark, that

the same had been made in private and that with the same privacy I had reproved that person even to the extent of laying hands on her and had explained to her certain matters of our holy Catholic Faith, not carrying the matter farther because she had promised amendment for the future, and asking him to tell me whether I had committed a sin by failing to denounce the matter, expressing my contrition for such failure in case it were a sin, and more words to the same effect which I do not now recollect, and on his asking me what was the subject of the said remark I told him that it was against the articles of our holy Faith or one of them, whereupon he told me that my first step should be to denounce it to the Holy Office, and without saying anything else he absolved me, and I remained with the intention of so doing as soon as I should be set free of the Royal Prison which I was reliably assured would be in the course of a few days, instead of which I was brought prisoner to this Jail; and the Secrecy of the Confessional being as great as it is, according to what I have always heard and have read in the book of Navarro, and in order to prove from so sacred a quarter that the words which passed between the said Isabel Rodriguez and myself were those I have said and not those which certain witnesses claim to have heard, I beg and request your worship to send for the said confessor, whose name I believe is Fray Alonso, a small man, of the Order of Santo Domingo: if I am mistaken in his name Fray Gaspar knows him, to the end that he may disclose what I confessed, for which I give my full authorization; // and it appears to me that the said

(Isabel Rodriguez) or whoever the witness may have been, her mother or one of her sisters) knowing my near relation aforesaid (his wife, Doña Guiomar) was dead, took her name as that of the person who had charged her to endeavour to convert me to the Law of Moses, the said Isabel Rodriguez and her mother and brothers and sisters being without a doubt aware of her death at that time as they learned of it a year before I did as I was away two years in the interior on a campaign where I heard it and gave orders for the customary mourning honours, and their father was present at the memorial service which was held before the affair of Tamapache, and they knew I was wearing mourning for her because a month before I came in from the campaign and ~~xxxxxxx~~ went to Panuco and the remark about the Law of Moses was made they sent me condolences for her death, all of which is well known, and if I am not mistaken her father sent me the mourning before I arrived in Panuco which, as I have said, was before that happening, as she will doubtless recollect, as also that the first day I was in Panuco was a Sunday when I went to mass being already in mourning and did not sleep there but returned to the camp where my soldiers lay; all of which goes to show that she took the name of my defunct relation to shield another person by making a false and scandalous allegations against her.

Further, because even if I had recollected the matter I would have had the greatest difficulty in denouncing it without interfering with the service of God and the King because immediately after the affair I set out for the interior where

I was incessantly engaged in the discharge of my duties and always two hundred leagues or more from the capital in a hostile country which it was impossible to traverse without a strong force of soldiers and overcoming great difficulties and in the whole of which there was not a single Commissary of the Holy Office to whom I might have disclosed the matter had I recollected it, which I did not owing to the poor memory to which I have already referred, and as to which the vicar the padre Martin Ortiz and the parish priest the padre Diego Ramirez Camorano can testify, as they as well as others were continually complaining of me in that respect.

Further, because it is impossible to sustain the charge which the Fiscal makes against me of being an aider and abetter or accomplice of unbelievers as far from tolerating any such backsliding, I immediately with the greatest energy and zeal contradicted what was said to me and chastised the speaker proceeding to expound to her and her family the Catholic doctrine in the manner I have already described, the very witnesses in their testimony showing that I merit praise and honour rather than blame, and that I am accused unreasonably; nor can it be claimed that I have rendered myself liable to excommunication by consorting with heretics because from the time of that happening I have never had anything to do with the said Isabel Rodriguez nor with any other person whom I knew was a Jew or a heretic or excommunicated, and as soon as I could I

left that house and have never set foot in it since and have never since treated its inmates in any other way but as enemies, and when I was in the Royal Prison I never consented to receive anything from them or from anybody in their house, and when on a certain occasion Luis de Caravajal and Baltasar Rodriguez took me a certain amount of money and provisions and preserves to spend or consume while in prison, I turned them out and refused to accept anything and only refrained from personal violence against them from the fact that I was a prisoner.// which caused them to lose their temper, especially Baltasar Rodriguez, witnesses of the affair being P^o. Espinosa, trader, particulars of whom can be obtained from Juan de Salinas, Bartolome de Vargas, harness-maker, and the nephew of the Alcalde de Corte, Tejada, who were prisoners there that day, and although I had nobody to give me my food except the Warden I refused to receive it from that house or to allow my clothes to be washed there preferring to have it done in the house of. Doña Maria de Castañeda de Valades, and I sent to say to them by one Domingo Martinez de Cierrata and by the padre Alonso Valiente that I would prefer them to pay me the two or three thousand pesos worth of wine they owed me, which exasperated them and their father and mother against me, as can be proved by the said Domingo Martinez to whom they complained of me saying that I would not receive anything at their hands and that I had brought them out from Spain to their.....(1)

Further, because the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de

(1) Word missing: possibly "prejudice"

Caravajal and their mother and brothers and sisters are my mortal and declared enemies, both on account of the foregoing and because I wrote to Jorge de Almeyda and Antonio Diaz brothers-in-law of the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal to beware of them because they were both traitors and bad people who would make away with anything they might entrust to them as they had done in my case, adding a number of other things, and as they learned of my letters or were shown them they conceived a hatred against me and everything connected with me which they have carried to such a degree that they have done me all the harm they could and have avowed it publicly to all my friends and as these two brothers are greatly beloved by their sisters and mother the latter hate me in the same manner both on account of the foregoing and because I laid hands on the said Isabel Rodriguez on the day when she made the aforesaid remark to me and also probably because I contradicted her version of the words she used on that occasion, for which reason not content with having robbed me they have been speaking of me to everybody, as can testify the said Antonio Diaz and Jorge de Almeyda and Felipe Nuñez and Gaspar Delgado and Juan Salado and Domingo Martinez and Diego Ramirez Camorano and Martin Ortiz, and in like manner Diego Marquez and Gonzalo Ruiz are my mortal enemies on account of two criminal suits which I brought against each of them for offences which they committed in the territory I was governing, for which and other causes they have not spoken to me for more than five years and say that they will have their revenge, to which enmity the said Antonio Diaz and Jorge de

Almeyda can testify and also the said Gaspar Delgado and Felipe Nuñez and the said Diego Ramirez Camorano; for which reason the evidence of all these people is biased and in law inadmissible against me, as I will further prove in due course, and I challenge it and request that it be ruled to be null and void as far as I am concerned for the above reason, affirming that I do not ask this out of malice and that I am prepared to produce a large number of witnesses to prove the aforesaid enmity and many other things in my favour; and I further request that the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal and Gonzalo Perez and Diego Marquez be summoned and cross-examined in regard to everything set forth in this chapter and the margin of the same, and the enmity of the said Isabel Rodriguez, and how I refused to take the money and provisions thus brought to the prison and how I turned them out of there and how I refused to receive any food from their house or to allow my clothes to be washed there; further reasons of the great hatred they bear me being my having removed from office (3 words illegible) and having sent to tell them that unless they paid what they owed me I would bring suit against them.....// Rodriguez and the succession to the government from the said Luis de Caravajal for what they had done against me and the aforesaid suspicions being the main cause of the hatreds and enmities and thirst for vengeance which they and their mother and sisters have against me; that they depose in regard to all these points.

Further, because the evidence of the witnesses who declare against me is in no case corroborated and in law is inadmissible against me, and notwithstanding what they say is against

themselves because the enemy oftentimes under the appearance of good does evil and with a truth backs up a falsehood, and as they are themselves inculpated they do their best to inculpate others, it no doubt appearing to them that the offences of others might serve to distract attention from their own and that the greater the number of culprits the lesser the individual responsibility, and it is not unreasonable to believe that they may even go so far in their enmity as to impute to others offences in which they themselves are involved because to their depraved and debased minds and mental blindness such offences do not imply dishonour as they do to others in whose breast burns brightly the flame of the Catholic faith, whereas if they were able to see the true light they would not commit such offences, for which reason although what they testify may be accepted in so far as it tells against themselves it should be rejected in so far as it tells against others, as those who deny the most essential points of our holy Catholic faith are not worthy of credit, and least of all testifying against me who as they themselves admit expounded the Christian doctrines to them and with so much religious zeal and holy anger reprehended the said Isabel Rodriguez saying that I would rather have died or have been born a charcoal burner than have a relation capable of committing such an offence; and I further request that the said Isabel Rodriguez and her mother, or whoever the other woman witness may be, be made to testify as to the above, which if they tell the truth they cannot deny, in spite of the enmity they bear me, as neither in their house

nor anywhere else did I state that anyone had ever said anything to me against our holy Catholic faith, it being logical to assume that if I had heard anyone else make such statements I should have complained about them in the same way I had complained about her.

Further, because if it were true that they had learnt from Francisco Rodriguez anything contrary to our holy Catholic faith at the time of the quarrel between me and the said Isabel Rodriguez or at any other time, either his wife or some of his children would have said so to the witnesses or other persons who were there, and if I had learned of the thing beforehand from him or any of his family I should not have fallen into such a state of excitement as I did when the said Isabel told me what she did, it surprising and astounding me that a near relation of mine could have been found to express such heretical opinions against our holy Catholic faith and // Christ our Redeemer; and after that time it is not reasonable to suppose that any of them would have dared to say anything of the kind to me as they had seen the transport of anger into which I was thrown by the aforesaid remark, which impelled me to leave the house the first thing on the following day, not doing so on the day itself because as it was late the horses were not ready, and they took advantage of the delay to endeavour to pacify me by asserting their belief in everything I had expounded to them of the Mystery of the Blessed Trinity

and other matters of the Catholic doctrine, and if I had not gone from there with my mind in such a state of confusion, doubtful whether they leant towards the good or the evil, and had known for certain what has now come to light from their own testimony, failing this Holy Office I would myself have burnt them at the stake had I been able, but as nothing more passed than what I have declared I remained uncertain, all of which I have confessed to this Holy Office much before the third admonition; and if the near relation of mine to whom these witnesses refer is dead, as would appear, what reason would I have for denying that I had heard or learned something of what they say they told me as even were it true, which it is not, it could not harm me because if the very grave statement made to me did not effect me or cause me to waver an iota from the true faith which I profess and which is that taught and preached by the Church our Holy Mother, still less would the other slighter matters of which they talk; all I say on the subject being capable of confirmation by the priest to whom I related the matter under seal of confession, with the sole object of unburdening my mind and receiving the Blessed Sacrament with a clear conscience; and should it be that I have neglected any rule of the Holy Office I ask its merciful consideration, being confident that I have never done anything to deserve the excommunication of which the Fiscal talks.

Further, because as is set forth in the first chapter I am a Catholic Christian, god-fearing and zealous of the things of our holy Faith and Evangelical Law and a faithful

observer of the same and a keeper of the commandments of Holy Church, whose precepts I have never broken to my knowledge except when impossibility or imperious necessity has been my excuse, having carried my observance of her holy rules to such a degree that oftentimes and sometimes for a whole Lent I have travelled at the head of my soldiers through a hostile country where there was nothing to eat but tortillas and corn and meat and have always refrained from eating such meat during that holy period and have never failed to abstain on the appointed days, even though others of the company would eat flesh being impelled to do so by hunger, in spite of which excuse I would reprehend them severely, and other things coming under the // same category such as milk, eggs and cheese I never ate on these days without a dispensation and bulls of the Crusaders and others which I hold of the different Indulgences, as can be seen from my papers which, as I have already declared, are in the hands of Fray Gaspar together with letters from the brotherhood of the Order of Santo Domingo and San Francisco, and I have performed all the outward and inward exercises of the Catholic prayers which no difficulties of the road or dangers of the campaign have been sufficient to hinder, exhorting and encouraging my companions with the care which my character of a Christian gentleman and my position as a commander called for, and such is the estimation in which I am held by all who know me none of whom can say the contrary, as can testify the vicar Martin Ortiz and Diego Ramirez Camorano the parish priest of Mazapil who was here a few days ago, and Pedro In-

fante, a priest who lives in this city, and Domingo Martinez de Ciarreta and Don Pedro his son and the captain Felipe Nuñez and Juan Salado and a certain Luis, otherwise known as Pedro de Cartoni Alonso who lives hard-by and who served under me two years, and all the captains who brought me a prisoner and their soldiers, and a number of other people whom I will name if necessary; and besides the yearly confession at the specified period prescribed by Holy Church I confessed and received the communion on the principal feast-days of the year or whenever the opportunity arose, and in order that all may be more clearly seen I beg this Tribunal to examine a sealed will and testament which I made about five or six years ago when I was about to set out on an expedition of much danger, which is in the possession of Jorge de Leon and which contains my last wishes and the Christian protestations I also desired to put on record.

Further, because besides having always lived as such Catholic Christian, in the manner set forth above, I have for the last twenty years and more been engaged in the service of God and the King, undertaking every task that might offer without counting the cost or the risk, devoting my person and estate to the work as a good Christian and a faithful vassal, as can be seen from the following considerations:

That when about twenty-two years ago I came to this country of New Spain for the first time I did so as vice-admiral of the fleet that by order of His Majesty was got together at island of La Palma destined to this New Spain by royal warrant,

serving without salary, and coming by way of Jamaica, complying with His Majesty's orders I entered the port there with the launches of the vessels and half of the men, the captain-general remaining on board, and compelled three piratical vessels which lay at anchor there trafficking in skins to surrender to the Governor of the island, without taking anything for myself.

That soon after I arrived at this new Spain, I being the Alcalde-in-Ordinary of Tampico, there came to the port of the said town one hundred Englishmen who had escaped with John Hawkins (1) and against the opinion of all the inhabitants, who were apprehensive and wanted to fly, I gathered together a party and at the head of twenty men went out and compelled them to surrender, taking eighty-eight, the others having died, and sent them as prisoners to the Viceroy Don Martin Enriquez, many of them being subsequently arrested by this Holy Office as heretics and condemned as your worship is aware, and // a few days later there was a rising of the Indians of the District and Province of Xalpa, a tributary tribe, who burned the principal pueblo of Xalpa, inhabited by Mexicans, and the monastery and entered into the pueblos of Gelitla and Chapuluacan and drove out the inhabitants and tore down the churches, to remedy which the Viceroy sent Don Francisco de Puga, his lieutenant, with twenty-four soldiers at great cost and expense to His Majesty, but as he was unsuccessful the campaign was turned over to me with no more

(1) From San Juan de Ulua. They were unarmed.

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tan ten soldiers, at the head of whom, after ten months continuous fighting and at great personal risk, I vanquished the Indians and forced them to surrender and imposed peace, and won them back to obedience to His Majesty and to the Christian faith which they had abandoned; and I rebuilt the pueblo of Xalpa erecting a masonry fort, one of the best in New Spain, and within a church and monastery, at my own expense and without cost to His Majesty, the building being worth twenty thousand pesos and assuring for many years the tranquility and safety of all that part of the country, and I also restored the said pueblos of Gelitla Chapuluacan and Acicastla and Mestitlan which were almost depopulated and stationed ~~where~~ friars and soldiers, ~~henceforth~~ and although on various occasions before the Indians were completely pacified they gave cause for being captured and distributed as serfs between my soldiers and myself, I never consented to do so, subordinating my own interest to those of God and the King, and today the holy sacraments are administered throughout the whole province; and never have I received any recompense for this business of the pacification, one of my assistants being Juan de Portes, Scrivener, who is now in His Majesty's service and can testify to the same; and the affair of the English ships is set forth in the official despatch drawn up in this Royal Audience and attested with the evidence of more than twenty witnesses, the last year that Don Diego Maldonado came as Captain-General, the original being in the office of Osorio, Secretary of the Audience, and which despatch I beg

may be added to the proceedings of my case, as a proof of what I have said above and of my many other services.

That when I returned to this New Spain with the position of Governor of the New Kingdom of Leon, I brought by orders of His Majesty more than a hundred settlers, married and single, at my own cost, in a ship of my own which was lost in the port of Tampico after anchoring there, it having cost me to bring them out more than two thousand pesos; and when I arrived the Chichimeca Indians had made raidson the said town, where my government begins, and killed in two of those excursions more than four hundred Spaniards besides fifty more before my arrival, their depredations extending over not only the neighbourhood of Tampico but the whole Province of Panuco, where they had depopulated many peaceful pueblos and torn down the churches and profaned the ornaments and terrorized the country to such a degree that the roads could not be travelled with any safety and the settlers were commencing to emigrate, and although the Viceroy and the Audience had on divers occasions sent captains and soldiers, and had built presidios (forts) all at great cost to His Majesty, nothing favourable was attained until I at great risk to my person and estate and without cost to His Majesty set out in search of the Indians and found them and fought a number of battles with them, killing many and capturing more, on whom justice was wrought; by this punishment the country was pacified and made safe and for nine years not a single man was killed which before had been a daily happening, and the few Indians that re-⁽¹⁾//main say that they

(1) An ominous remark.

will not kill anybody because I had ordered them not to do so, consequently if they capture anyone they hold him for ransom and do not kill him, and the garrisons which were being kept up at the expense of His Majesty became no longer necessary; for all this I received no reward but on the contrary was put to great expense and effort, as is shown by a report^{containing the testimony} of a hundred witnesses which was made in connection with a process that was brought against me by His Majesty's Fiscal and from which I appealed, the report having been drawn up by Pedro Moran, Relator, and this process which is in the said office of the said Secretary Osorio I ask may be ordered to be brought here as proof of what I have said together with duplicate copies closed and sealed of a report which are among the papers I left in the hands of Fray Gaspar, which report was made ex-officio at my request in the Audience of Guadalajara and relates to the services rendered by me to His Majesty. I beg that one of these copies may be opened as the contents prove what I have said above and also a number of other services worthy of the reward title and honour which up till now have never have never been given to me; and in possession of Antonio Diaz de Caceres there should be an official report which must have come from Guadalajara to him which contains the same information as is set forth in the sealed packets aforesaid.

That afterwards, complying with the orders of His Majesty to me, I penetrated farther into the interior to the North, in hostile country, pacifying the aborgines whom I found in that region which before I pacified it contained more than ten or

twelve thousand persons scattered over a distance of more than sixty leagues, carrying out my task in such a manner that that road can now be traversed at will without the Indians molesting any person who gives the name of "Caravajal" as a pass-word, and on a journey they supply him with fruits without charge, and in all their native settlements I have set up crosses which they reverence and hold in great esteem as is known by our priests there and is set forth in the report referred to in the preceding chapter.

That at the end of the said sixty leagues I discovered personally many mines of silver and established inhabitants in the district of Leon and the town of La Cueva where I put mills from which silver is extracted, and in that neighbourhood I pacified more than four thousand Indians, erecting at my own expense the church of the town of La Cueva, in which the vicar administers the holy sacraments and I bound myself to pay him from my own estate two thousand pesos which was due to him by the inhabitants for his emoluments because the said inhabitants were unable to pay him and the money must be paid; and there under my administration were discovered the provinces known as New Mexico, the same being done under my commission by Antonio de Espejo, all of which is to be found in the said reports made in Guadalajara, one copy of which I beg may be opened in order to prove what I state. Then, as the Indians of the pueblos of Tamapache, Tanpasquin, Tamotela, San Miguel and the others in that sierra, although Christians, were in open rebellion against the service of His Majesty and apos-

tatised from our holy Catholic Faith and Evangelical // Law and had returned to their old rites and ceremonies and worship of idols and devastated many pueblos of Christian vassals of His Majesty, burning the churches and crosses and profaning the ornaments and looting the cattle estates and killing some Spaniards and committing many other depredations, whereby the provinces and sierras of Mestitlan and Panuco were in great risk of being lost and depopulated, and as the Viceroy during the period of ten years the said rebellion had lasted had been unable to remedy it, in spite of the fact that they had sent numerous expeditions of captains and soldiers to punish the Indians and restore peace, the last one being headed by the Alcalde de Corte Orozco, on which expeditions more than fifty thousand pesos of the Royal Exchequer had been expended, six thousand pesos having been spent in one year in the establishment of forts in that region, the only result being the killing of many soldiers; until I was by mandate of His Majesty given command, when, by the favour of God and without any charge to the Royal Exchequer and with no more than forty soldiers I made my way up to the rebellious pueblos at great risk of my life and the lives of those who accompanied me and at great cost to my estate, and by force of arms in some cases and by dint of arguments and warnings in others I compelled them to surrender, thereby winning back more than three thousand persons to obedience to His Majesty and acknowledgment of the true God and observance of our Holy Evangelical Law, punishing the guilty and burning their idol^atrous

temples which contained more than two thousand idols, and personally rebuilding the churches and crosses where today the holy sacraments are administered and the evangelical doctrines expounded by the priestly ministers whom I installed, more than three hundred boys and girls who had been born in the said period of two years having received baptism in three days at the hands of Pedro Infante the parish priest of Tlalchitan who at that time accompanied me and who is now to be found in this city, and as the result of my efforts the said provinces and districts which were threatened with depopulation were restored to peace and tranquility, and garrisons of soldiers have been suppressed and the six thousand pesos yearly which they were costing the Royal Exchequer saved, and these conditions of peace and tranquility endured during the whole term of my governorship, from which I was removed by the representatives of the King without cause given by me and without order from His Majesty and his Council from whom I hold my commission direct, my removal being due to private intrigues, as is public and notorious, and my deposition and imprisonment have been sufficient to cause some of the Indians of that frontier to again break the peace, as they understand that I am dead, as is there said, and will not again return, and it being the fear of me personally that has kept them within bounds they publicly avow that I being dead they fear no one else, and if I were to be restored to my said government my presence alone would be sufficient to pacify them, as is shown by a letter received by Leonel de Cervantes from the parish priest of his villages and of the Indians of

his encomienda, and by the testimony of Pedro de Portes and Pedro // Infante and Diego Ramirez Camorano and of the friars of San Agustin Fray Hernando de Bayllo and Fray Francisco de Peralta and Fray Luis de Guzman and Fray Ambrosio Motesinos and Fray Alonso de la Fuente, and of the said Pedro Moran, Relator, who made the report to which reference is made in these chapters and in which all this is set forth, and it is also in the official reports which as I have mentioned were drawn up in the Audience of Guadalajara and are in possession of Fray Gaspar and in the other one which must have been sent to Antonio Diaz de Cazeres, which I beg to be sent for to the end that it may be seen and proved that I had spent more than thirty thousand pesos of my own and of my friends without having received any compensation or reward.

And, lastly, that I peopled a town in the mines of Coahuila which I discovered and named it El Amaden and in it I established the caxa real (royal coffers) and extracted silver on which the royal dues amounted to more than two thousand pesos per annum, and now that by my orders mills have been established for the treatment of the ore a much greater quantity of silver will be obtained whereby His Majesty should benefit to the extent of more than fifty thousand pesos annually, the more so if I were there to assure and watch over the royal interests; and in the vicinity of these mines there are many plantations and the neighbouring Indians I have pacified and brought to obedience to His Majesty, and at my own cost I have erected a church in which the holy sacraments are administered, and purchased its ornaments, to which can testify the said

Diego Ramirez Camorano, Felipe Nuñez, Juan Salado, Gaspar Delgado and many others, it being public and notorious.

And consequently, in view of all the foregoing and that I have never committed any act of infidelity or anything approaching one, in spite of what the Fiscal states in his accusation, and neother will there be found in me bad faith, nor maliciousness I having lived all my life in the manner and occupations I have described, I ask that I be acquitted of the aforesaid charges and exonerated from all imputations and set at liberty and my fame and honour restored in so far as they may have been diminished by my imprisonment, and the declarations made that I am a Catholic Christian; and if any measure of culpability can be held to attach to me for negligence or oversight, from the testimony of the witnesses against me and principally that of the said Isabel Rodriguez, I ask that against it may be set the zeal and constancy I have displayed for so many years in the service of God and the King

Wherefore I beg your worship, in pronouncing me innocent of all that has been charged against me and acquitting me and declaring me to be a Christian Catholic, will not allow me to be taken back to the said Court Prison but will order that when I am released from this prison I may return to my government, not permitting my long and faithful services and zeal for the faith to have for sole reward arrest and a journey // in fetters and confinement first in the Royal Prison and afterwards in the secret Jails of the Holy Office where I have spent so many days for an offence of which I am guiltless.

And, finally, in spite of the hatred which as I have shown is entertained against me by the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal and their mother and sisters and Francisco Perez and Diego Marquez and his sisters, and without prejudice to the exceptions which the law grants in my favour, I ask that the said Baltasar Rodriguez and Luis de Caravajal and their mother and sisters and the other witnesses who have testified against me be asked to say that my version of what the said Isabel Rodriguez said to me is the truth and that her version, as set forth in the third, fourth, sixth, ninth, tenth and eleventh articles, is false, and to the end that this interrogatory to be made to the said witnesses may be drawn up in a manner suitable to my interests I ask that I may be supplied with paper.

T H E E N D.

