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ART. II.—VALLADOLID AND SPAIN IN 1559 AND 1892.

I. 1559, MAY 21; OCTOBER 8.

VALLADOLID became the royal residence in the fifteenth century, in the reign of Juan II., King of Leon and Castile. It at once grew into a place of great importance, and its population increased till it reached 50,000. Enrique IV. and Isabel held their court there, and it was the favourite residence of Charles V., who thought that its bracing air was good for his constitution. During his reign and that of his immediate predecessors the town—it was not yet a city—was enriched with churches, convents, colleges and other edifices. Here Philip II. was born, who bestowed upon his native place the title of city. Its most flourishing period was the earlier part of the reign of Philip II., before the latter had conceived the idea of transferring the court to Madrid. We will suppose ourselves to be in Valladolid in the last year before the transference was effected, on Trinity Sunday, May 21, and on Sunday, October 8, 1559.

On Trinity Sunday, at sunrise, the great bell of the Dominican Convent began to toll, in preparation for a great Act of Faith. At 6 a.m. a procession was formed at the doors of the Holy Office. First were ranged a company of Dominican friars, two and two, preceded by the banner of the order, representing St. Dominic holding a sword in one hand and an olive branch in the other, symbols of justice and mercy. After the friars there was held a lofty crucifix. Then, each accompanied by two familiars of the Holy Office, came sixteen penitents of the Inquisition, dressed, men and women, in black: these were to suffer penalties, but not to lose their lives. Then, each accompanied by two friars, came fourteen adjudged impenitent, in the *sambenito* and tall caps, those that were to be strangled before burning being without devils depicted on their dresses, those that were to be consigned alive to the flames bedizened with devils and tongues of fire: penitents and impenitents were alike barefooted, and each carried a taper in his or her hand. Then followed a man bearing a coffin on his head, and by his side a tall woman's figure in pasteboard. Last came the civil magistrates, high ecclesiastics, and the officials of the Holy Office with the banner of the Inquisition, followed by a vast crowd.

Having passed through the town, the procession filed into the Great Square. Here, along one side, had been erected a platform, in the centre of which stood an altar with twelve candles burning on it, in the midst of which the crucifix was deposited. On one side of the altar the Inquisitors took their

seats; the other side was reserved for the royal family, and there sat the Regent Juana, sister of Philip II., and Don Carlos, his son, attended by the chief nobles of Spain. The accused were placed on a raised stand in front of the platform, and the space behind them was filled by an enormous multitude.

The proceedings began by a sermon preached by Melchior Cano, Bishop of the Canaries, who felt it the more necessary to show his abhorrence of Protestantism that he was himself looked on askance by the Jesuits. The sermon being ended, the accused for the first time heard what they were charged with, and what was supposed to be proved against them. To the sixteen who were to be "reconciled," that is, not burnt, various penalties were assigned, as imprisonment, whipping, walking barefoot, reciting prayers, wearing the *sambenito*. The fourteen were condemned to the flames for heresy, together with the bones contained in the coffin, which were those of a lady well known in Valladolid.

By the time that the sentences were all given, it was two o'clock. Then two processions were formed: one, consisting of the "reconciled," returned to the Holy Office; the other, formed of those that were condemned to death (technically called "relaxed"), were carried on the backs of asses to the Quemadero, or Burning Place, in the Campo Grande, just outside the town. Of the spectators a few withdrew, the rest hurried to the Campo Grande. In the Quemadero there had been fixed fifteen stakes surrounded by faggots, and there were officially present the civil magistrates, to whom the ecclesiastics had handed their prisoners, with the prayer that they might be treated tenderly, and, if they were put to death, that it might not be by effusion of blood.

The first to approach his stake was Augustin Cazalla. He had been a pupil of Archbishop Carranza, a Canon of Salamanca, and preacher to the Emperor Charles V. In the last capacity he had distinguished himself in his controversies with the German and Flemish Protestants. But while refuting Protestantism he became convinced that it was right. He returned at the end of ten years to Valladolid, and, living in the house of his mother, Leonora de Vibero, organized the Protestants of Valladolid with the help of Dominic de Roxas. Seized by the Inquisition and tortured, his courage gave way, and he expressed sorrow for what he had done; but by that weakness he earned only death by strangling in place of fire. His body was burnt to ashes. Next to him stood his brother Francisco, who refused to purchase the easier death by a false confession. He was burnt alive. Another victim was a goldsmith named Garcia. His wife had watched him to a Protestant meeting and denounced him, and for her service she

received a public annuity. A fourth was a lawyer, Herrezuelo. He and his wife had been carried together to the prisons of the Inquisition. On meeting again at the *Auto-da-fé*, he saw that she had not on the *sanbenito*, and knew thereby that she had recanted. Passing her with disdain, he went on to his fiery doom. But his wife would not be comforted. Again she declared herself Protestant, and a few years later was burnt.

The coffin contained the bones of Leonora de Vibero, mother of the Cazallas (Spanish wives did not at this time bear their husband's names). She had died with all the rites of the Roman Church, but a Protestant under torture had confessed that she had allowed Protestant meetings to be held in her house. Thereupon her memory was declared infamous, her goods confiscated, her bones dug up, and the coffin containing them was burnt, together with a figure representing her clothed in the *sanbenito* and tall cap. Nor was this all: her house was razed to the ground and the site sown with salt, and on it was erected a pillar of white stone, six feet high, declaring Leonora's crime and inscribed with the names of the King and the Pope, which was only destroyed by the French in 1809. Could not that site be obtained for a church by the Reformed Spanish Church of 1892?

On October 8, 1559, a similar scene was enacted at Valladolid, but on a grander scale. Philip II. was himself present, with his sister, Juana, his son, Don Carlos, the Prince of Parma, and most of the grandees of Spain. No fewer than 200,000 people gathered in Valladolid for the spectacle. At the *Auto-da-fé* of Trinity Sunday the Inquisitor had (for the first time) exacted an oath from the Regent and the Prince that they would defend the Inquisition, and reveal anything that came to their knowledge which might be for its harm. Juana had taken the oath as a matter of course, and Don Carlos with a frowning brow and hatred for Inquisitors in his heart. On the present occasion, Philip II., in reply to the Inquisitor-General's adjuration, "Domine adjuva nos," gladly took the oath, showing his willingness to do so by drawing his sword and raising it in the air as he pronounced the words. At this *Auto-da-fé* thirteen men and women were "relaxed," that is, committed to the flames, and sixteen "reconciled," that is, condemned to perpetual imprisonment or other penalties. One of those condemned to death was Carlos di Seso, a Veronese, who had married a Castilian wife. As he passed by the royal balcony to receive his sentence, he turned to Philip and said: "Is it thus that you allow your innocent subjects to be persecuted?" "If my own son were such as thou," returned Philip, "I would fetch the wood to burn him." And he ordered him to be gagged. Dominic de Roxas was also taken gagged to the stake.

It was he that had first engaged Augustin Cazalla in the work of reform. Another gagged in like manner was Juan Sanchez, who was seized in the Netherlands and sent thence to Spain. The gag was a split piece of wood, which, besides silencing, had the additional advantage of giving pain to the sufferer.

When the sentences had all been given, Philip II. proceeded in state to the Campo Grande and there witnessed the thirteen martyrs perish at the stake, his guards helping the friars to heap up the faggots.

Let it be understood that the sole fault of the sufferers in 1559 was their holding Protestant opinions and occasionally meeting secretly together for the consolation of common prayer. Is it to be wondered at that while in 1559 there were a thousand Protestants in Valladolid and a thousand in Seville, in 1560 there was not one in either city? All of them had been burnt, or strangled, or exiled, or imprisoned, or driven into conformity. Not till 1868 did anyone dare to separate himself from the Roman Church and call himself a Protestant or Reformer.

II. 1892, NOVEMBER 25 ; DECEMBER 15.

Valladolid and Spain of the nineteenth century are very different from the Valladolid and Spain of the sixteenth. The city of Valladolid itself is totally changed. The former residence of the kings of Spain is sunk into a provincial town, with less than half of the inhabitants that it once had, and, worse than this, it has lost its distinctive Spanish character—so many of its ancient buildings have been destroyed—and has the appearance of a second-rate French city. The very next year after the *Auto-da-fés* had been held, Philip II. sounded the note for its ruin by transferring the Court to Madrid, an error which his son vainly attempted to retrieve in 1601. From 1560 Valladolid has been slowly perishing. But there were times when ruin fell upon it as a strong man armed. Its first blow was the great fire of 1561, which lasted for three days. On that occasion much that was characteristic of the old city perished, and, among other things, the buildings that marked the spot where the spectacle of the *Auto-da-fés* had been held. In their place was erected by Philip II. the present Plaza Mayor, surrounded by arcades supported on granite pillars brought from the quarries of Villacastin. We cannot therefore now fix the exact site where each event of the *Auto-da-fé* took place. We cannot say, Here stood the pulpit from which Melchior Cano preached, or There was the spot where the Regent Juana and Don Carlos sat on Trinity Sunday, May 21st, or where Philip II. drew his sword to show his zeal in the