ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis British Evangelical Missions to Spain in the Nineteenth Century

It was in Spain that the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation suffered a complete defeat. For more than two centuries, that country was sealed from further incursions of the Reformed Faith, owing to the vigilance of the Inquisition and the zeal of her monarchs in preserving her Catholic unity. The nineteenth century, however, unleashed forces which brought about revolutionary changes in Spain, and made possible that Protestant missionary enterprise, which came to be known as 'Spanish evangelization'. The introductory chapter of this thesis prepares the setting for this particular endeavour, and attempts to explain why certain circles of British evangelical Protestants exerted efforts for the 'evangelization' of Spain.

Protestantism came to Spain at this time in the wake of political liberalism, so that in the minds of many Spaniards, the two were but different sides of the same coin. The second chapter deals with the early attempts of a few British evangelical societies to enter Spain during liberal periods between 1808 and 1833. Most of these attempts took place actually outside Spanish soil, but one somewhat successful Wesleyan Methodist experiment in Gibraltar showed the feasibility of a Protestant mission to Spaniards, given the right conditions and opportunities. The lessons learned from all these early attempts encouraged British evangelical societies to enter Spain during the liberal 'period of regencies' from 1833 to 1843 (Chapter III). Significantly enough, this was also the first time that political liberalism and constitutional government became firmly established in Spain.

For various reasons, however, evangelical endeavours in that country soon came to an unhappy ending, with the expulsion of practically every Protestant worker. Nevertheless, hopes of resuming these labours were not abandoned. It was, in fact, during the period roughly covering the first decade of Isabella II's reign, that the idea of Spanish evangelization, as conceived by certain evangelical circles in Britain, came into full development. Chapter IV goes into the contemporary factors responsible for this development, and concludes with a brief discussion of the first Protestant missionary society for the specific purpose of converting the Spaniards.

So far, all Protestant efforts in Spain had been ephemeral, and their results uncertain. But by mid-century, advocates of Spanish evangelization had learned from mistakes of the past, and now had a clearer idea of how they might be able to pursue more successfully their objectives. The liberal biennium of 1854-1856 in Spain gave them fresh opportunities to resume their labours (Chapter V). With the Spanish Evangelization Society to coordinate much of the hitherto desultory pattern of Protestant work in that country, more successful results were obtained. Small circles of Spanish evangelicals were gathered, and a so-called 'Reformed Church of Spain' was established, following the ideal of an indigenous movement for religious reform, called the Segunda Reforma (the 'Second Reformation').

The collapse of the liberal biennium, however, inaugurated a new period of conservative reaction in Spain. As Spanish Protestantism was unfortunately closely connected with radical politics, the bitter hatred of Catholic traditionalists towards 'political', 'phil-

Use other side if necessary.

osophical', and 'religious' heterodoxy resulted in the persecution of Spanish Protestants in the early 1860's. Chapter VI discusses this persecution, and the tremendous effect it had in drawing to Spain the attention not only of British, but also of European Protestantism, as a whole. When Spanish Protestant leaders were exiled in 1863, evangelical groups in Britain and the continent assisted their labours abroad, in preparation for their eventual return to their own country. It was during this period, particularly from 1863 to 1868, that Reformed or Scottish Presbyterian influence came upon Spanish Protestantism. The 'Reformed Church of Spain', reconstituted in Gibraltar early in 1868, adopted as an expedient a quasi-presbyterian polity, and entered into a relationship of cooperation with the Spanish Evangelization Society. This was a development, which, for good or ill, was to have great significance for the course of Spanish Protestantism and of British evangelical missions to Spain in the next few decades.

The revolution of 1868 and the constitutional declaration of religious liberty the following year opened Spain to the free entry of Protestant missions (Chapter VII). Aside from those evangelical groups, which at one time or another had previously been engaged in missionary labours in Spain, no less than twenty various mission boards, societies, or 'committees of Spanish evangelization' entered that country at this time. The novelty of Protestantism and the superficial identification of it with the ideas of the revolution largely accounted for the enthusiastic response to it, on the part of many Spaniards. Although this quickly subsided, Protestantism was able to make significant advances from 1868 to 1874, especially during the first two years of this period (Chapter VIII). More importantly, Protestantism also became an 'accomplished fact' in Spain.

Unfortunately, by the last quarter of the century, Spanish Protestantism came to a period of stagnation, as discussed in Chapter IX. This was largely due to new government restrictions beginning 1876, and the two-pronged opposition by Catholics, on the one hand, and militant atheists, on the other. Moreover, for various reasons, Spanish evangelization had lost much of its original appeal among British Protestants. In Britain, the strongest advocates of this cause belonged to the generation at mid-century. By the 1880's, most of them had passed away, with hardly anyone to take their place. The societies or 'committees of Spanish evangelization' they founded or supported found the work in Spain far too expensive to maintain for the little results given in return. Moreover, the demands of missions to the heathen now gained the greater attention of British Protestants. Thus, British missionary groups working in Spain reluctantly had to adopt a policy of retrenchment or withdrawal during this period.

The Protestant enterprise in Spain did achieve some measure of success. But on the whole, it fell short of earlier expectations. It was hoped that Protestantism would somehow provide a third alternative for the Spanish people, between traditional Catholicism, on the one hand, and 'Infidelity', on the other. In this, Protestantism gained little success, partly because the Spaniards found it too cold as a religious alternative, and partly because it had not been able to shed off the stigma of its being an alien importation, of being <u>la cosa de los extranjeros</u> ('the affair of the foreigners'). All these are discussed in the last chapter.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, British Protestants, with a very few exceptions, had come to realize fully that if Protestantism were to advance in Spain, this had to be accomplished by Spanish converts themselves. Help from abroad was best limited solely to financial assistance. Thus ended the active role of British evangelical societies in Spanish evangelization. However, it remains as a tribute to them that the roots of present-day Spanish Protestantism can be traced to their efforts in the nineteenth century.

BRITISH EVANGELICAL MISSIONS TO SPAIN

IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

T. Valentino S. Sitoy, Jr.

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Edinburgh

1971

EX BIBL UNIV. EDINBURGEN

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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The collapse of the liberal biennium, however, inaugurated a new period of conservative reaction in Spain. As Spanish Protestantism was unfortunately closely connected with radical politics, the bitter hatred of Catholic traditionalists towards 'political', 'philosophical', and 'religious' heterodoxy resulted in the persecution of Spanish Protestants in the early 1860's. Chapter VI discusses this persecution, and the tremendous effect it had in drawing to Spain the attention not only of British, but also of European Protestantism, as a whole. When Spanish Protestant leaders were exiled in 1863, evangelical groups in Britain and the continent assisted their labours

abroad, in preparation for their eventual return to their own country. It was during this period, particularly from 1863 to 1868, that Reformed or Scottish Presbyterian influence came upon Spanish Protestantism. The 'Reformed Church of Spain', reconstituted in Gibraltar early in 1868, adopted as an expedient a quasi-presbyterian polity, and entered into a relationship of cooperation with the Spanish Evangelization Society. This was a development, which, for good or ill, was to have great significance for the course of Spanish Protestantism and of British evangelical missions to Spain in the next few decades.

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PREFACE

In the popular mind, it would seem quite incongruous to speak, in any but the most negative terms, of Protestantism in connection with Spain. The history of that country, in particular, its identification with the Inquisition, the repressive religious policy of Philip II both in the Peninsula and in the Netherlands, its subsequent determination to maintain its national Catholic unity, has impressed the almost indelible notion that Spain can never for a moment be other than Catholic. Passion for Catholicism has long been accepted as virtually second nature to the Spaniards, at heart a truly religious people. The inroads of militant secularism and atheism, which had issued in ugly attacks upon the Church in Spain in both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, can only be regarded as basically alien to the Spanish spirit.

Except in certain circles, it is not a well-known fact that there exists today a small Protestant community in Spain. But to say, that this community traces its direct origin to British evangelical labours in the nineteenth century, almost inevitably evokes an initial reaction of surprise. This present study is an attempt to bring to greater light those efforts by British evangelical societies from 1808 to around 1902. The choice for both these dates, especially the last, has been quite arbitrary. It could very well have been 1805, and 1898 or 1900. But the year 1808, apart from its significance for Spain's political history, marks the occasion, when the first consignments of Spanish Testaments and religious tracts were sent from London to Gibraltar, for circulation in Spain. It may thus be taken as the starting point for the missionary efforts subsequently exerted in that country. The year 1902 witnessed the accession of Alfonso XIII, the

last reigning monarch of Spain, and seems to be a more appropriate counterpart for the first date chosen.

By this time also, Spain, which had now lost the last of her colonies with the exception of a few small territories in Africa, had already embarked on the particular political course she was to take in the twentieth century. This course, in so far as it affected her policies towards non-Catholic religious minorities within the nation, had long been determined, and given time to work out more or less satisfactorily to the various parties involved. As far as British missionary effort in Spain was concerned, the beginning of the twentieth century also marked the passing of an era. With one or two exceptions, which were then no longer very significant, the societies which had exerted the greatest efforts for Spanish evangelization had withdrawn from Spain, or were in the process of dissolution. Great Britain herself, by this time, had practically lost to the United States her pre-eminent role in Protestant missions in the nineteenth century.

The possibility of a doctoral research on this chosen subject first occurred to me, in connection with my study on the early beginnings of Protestantism in the Philippines. It would appear that two Spanish Protestants came to Manila in 1889, under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Their purpose was not only to set up a Bible depot in the Philippine capital, but, with the help of Filipino freemasons, also to start clandestine proselytizing activities. One of the two Bible agents was a particularly interesting individual. A former Dominican missionary to the Philippines, he reportedly embraced evangelical views in 1872, and served as a Protestant pastor from that date till 1888, first in Madrid, and then in Seville. It occurred to me then that there must have been more or less flour-

ishing Protestant congregations in Spain, with which these two Bible agents were connected. The result of that initial curiousity is the present work.

In this connection, I wish to state that this thesis, in its entirety, is the product of my original and independent research. The sole responsibility for all statements and conclusions herein rests upon me, and on no other individual.

T. V. S.

New College,
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September, 1971.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABCFM	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
ABMU	American Baptist Missionary Union
ABS	American Bible Society
BFBS	British and Foreign Bible Society
EBS	Edinburgh Bible Society
F.O.	Foreign Office
NBSS	National Bible Society of Scotland
n.s.	new series
RTS	Religious Tract Society
TBS	Trinitarian Bible Society
UPC	United Presbyterian Church of Scotland
WMMS	Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

That British evangelical Protestants in the nineteenth century would for a time direct a portion of their energy towards what they called the 'evangelization' of Spain was perhaps one of the least expected missionary developments at the time. Certainly, it is a subject which scarcely has been explored to this day.[1] This missionary venture is intriguing, when it is considered that Spain then was the main bulwark of traditional Catholicism in Europe. It was not without reason that since the close of the fifteenth century, her monarchs had been known by the unique, papal-given title of los Reyes Catolicos, the Catholic Kings. Moreover, it was in Spain that the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation suffered a complete defeat, an extermination to the very roots, under the intolerant religious policy of Philip II.[2] This was despite the fact that the movement, closely linked with the Erasmian dissent among the intelligentsia,[3]

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[1] To date, only three volumes on contemporary Spanish Protestantism deserve mention, namely, C. Araujo Garcia and Kenneth G. Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain (London, 1933); Claudio Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España (Mexico, 1942); and John D. Hughey, Jr., Religious Freedom in Spain: its Ebb and Flow (Nashville, 1955). None of these, however, contain more than brief references to the specific subject of British evangelical missionary efforts in Spain in the nineteenth century.

[2] The classic English volume on the Reformation in Spain is Thomas M'Crie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1829). See also Henry Charles Lea, A History of the Inquisition in Spain (4 vols.; New York, 1906-1907). For a recent treatment of religious heterodoxy in Spain in the sixteenth century, see J. H. Elliott, Imperial Spain 1469-1716 (London, 1963), pp. 204f.

[3] See ibid., p. 207. Cf. A. Ramos Oliveira, Politics, Economics

was supported by members of learned circles and the nobility, including individuals in the court of Charles I.

Spanish Religious Unity

In the light of Spain's historical experience, it was perhaps not surprising that she should be the greatest champion of Roman Catholicism, at the very time when that system was being assailed elsewhere. During the centuries of struggle against Islam and the slow process of unification of the various Christian kingdoms in the peninsula, a sort of national consciousness, along with the elements of what was later to be a distinctive Spanish character, gradually took shape. The significant thing about this development was that it evolved within a specifically religious matrix.[4] For the inherently religious Spaniards, long attachment to the Christian faith and its forms of worship became in time an impassioned prejudice, a symbol of national existence. The cause of Christianity became identified with that of Spain herself.[5] Thus, when that Christianity was threatened by heterodox movements, the Spaniards rose with zeal to defend it. By the latter half of the fifteenth century, religion and patriotism in the Spanish mind had become one and the same thing, or, as one author put it, 'religion and nation confused their boundaries.'[6] Cath-

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and Men of Modern Spain, 1808-1946, tr. by Teener Hall (London, 1946), p. 12.

[4] For the stages of development of what Elena de la Souchere calls the Spanish 'psychosis of intolerance,' see her An Explanation of Spain, tr. from the French by Eleanor Ross Levieux (New York, 1965), pp. 84-90.

[5] See 'St Hilaire on the Reformation in Spain,' British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. VII (1858), p. 648.

[6] Americo Castro, The Structure of Spanish History, tr. by Edmund L. King (Princeton, 1954), p. 522.

olic unity was raised as an ideal; it became the life-blood of the nation. Anything that threatened it simply could not be tolerated. As someone has pointed out, for the Spaniard, 'religious heterodoxy became an insult to one's country.'[7] It was also not long before it came to be considered 'a collective disgrace for a single Spaniard to fall into heresy.'[8]

By the time of Philip II, the principle of religious intolerance had become an integral part of Spain's national policy.[9] What is to be remembered at this point is that the material expression of that policy, the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition, was in fact an instrument of the state, and not of the hierarchy nor the papacy, although subsequently Rome sought to gain control over it.[10] The Spanish monarchs, however, were jealous of their power and control over the national Church, and one modern author perhaps was not exaggerating when he said that 'the Popes suffered more personal danger from Charles V and Philip II than from Henry of England or the German Protestants.'[11] True to the original intention which brought it into being, the Spanish Inquisition for the entire duration of its existence, on the whole, served as an effective instrument in suppressing religious dissent and in preserving the Catholic unity of Spain. It zealously sought out the lapse among the Moriscos and Marranos, and beginning 1525 meticulously pursued the 'Lutheran heretics,' and

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[7] Souchere, An Explanation of Spain, p. 90.

[8] Castro, The Structure of Spanish History, p. 528.

[9] Lea, A History of the Inquisition in Spain, vol. I, pp. 52f.

[10] Salvador de Madariaga, Spain (London, 1942), p. 28.

[11] E. Allison Peers, Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies (London, 1929), p. 123.

subsequently, the rationalists and the Spanish Jansenists of the centuries that followed.[12]

To Spanish traditionalists in the nineteenth century, therefore, the Inquisition was the preserver of Spain's most valued possession -- her religious unity. Many defenders of this unity tenaciously clung to the idea that it was responsible for Spain's 'Golden Century,' and attributed her subsequent decline to the diminished attention given to this same unity.[13] One of Spain's greatest modern literary critics reflected this view in this, his oft-quoted passage: 'Spain, evangelizer of half the globe; Spain, hammer of heretics, light of Trent, sword of Rome; and cradle of Saint Ignatius . . .; this is our greatness and our unity; we have no other.'[14]

The Protestant world, however, in general considered the Spanish Inquisition as synonymous with the basest human tyranny and oppression, and in the nineteenth century pointed to this institution as the primary cause of Spain's economic stagnation and intellectual decline.[15] Time and again Protestants also expressed the view that

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[12] See Juan Antonio Llorente, The History of the Inquisition of Spain, from the Time of its Establishment to the Reign of Ferdinand VII (abridged and trans.; London, 1826), pp. 554-55. For more details on sixteenth-century Spanish Protestantism, see Adolfo de Castro, Los protestantes españoles y su persecucion por Felipe II (Cadiz, 1851).

[13] For a typical Spanish Protestant view of the same question, however, see Antonio Carrasco, 'Report on the State of Religion in Spain,' in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873: History, Essays, Orations and Other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (New York, 1873), ed. by Philip Schaff and S. Irenaeus Prime (London, 1874), p. 114.

[14] Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles (8 vols., new ed.; Buenos Aires, 1945), vol. VII, p. 558.

[15] Lea's conclusion, which appeared to confirm the view long held by Protestant leaders, was that 'the Inquisition paralyzed both the intellectual and the economic development of Spain.' See his A History of the Inquisition of Spain, vol. IV, pp. 528-31.

Spain's rejection of the Reformation had brought down upon her that divine judgment, which similarly caused the decline in power or prestige of other Catholic countries, like Portugal and Italy.[16] Indeed, to zealous Protestants, Spain, in a negative sense, was the veritable sword of Rome. As one writer put it, it was 'the land of the auto da fe: the paradise of the inquisitor.'[17] Protestant prejudice, not surprisingly, regarded Spain as the land of idolatrous worship, superstition, and moral decadence.[18] Hence, the often-heard remark: 'Can any good thing come out of Spain?'[19] Such was the evangelical Protestant prejudice in Britain against Spain -- which could have been matched only perhaps by similar feelings held by Spanish Catholics towards los herejes ingleses, the English heretics -- that as late as 1876, it could still be affirmed that 'the name of Spain is indissolubly associated with the Inquisition, a word of horror which even yet causes Protestant ears to tingle.'[20]

If this was then how evangelical Protestants in Britain saw Spain, one cannot help but ask why some of them ever turned part of their missionary attention to this latter country.

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[16] In contrast, this same view held that it was their positive response to the Reformation, which led to the advance of such Protestant nations, as Great Britain, Germany, Holland and the United States. See, for example, British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. XVIII (1869), pp. 144f.

[17] The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. V (1855), p. 250.

[18] Some of the erroneous concepts about Spain entertained by the general public in Great Britain are discussed in the anonymous travel diary, Will My Readers Go to Spain? or, Day after Day for Two Months in the Peninsula (Brighton, 1854), passim.

[19] See, for example, The Bulwark; or, Reformation Journal, no. XIII, 3rd series (1889), p. 10.

[20] United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XX (1876), p. 527.

'Spanish Evangelization'

The fact is that by the end of the Napoleonic era, some British evangelical societies had already begun small but continuing efforts to disseminate Scriptures and Protestant literature in Spain. By the 1820's, the idea of regular missions in Spain was being entertained among certain British evangelical circles. Before long, a missionary enterprise was launched from Britain, which soon came to be known as 'Spanish evangelization.'

This term, as used by those who advocated it, at first apparently simply meant the attempt to stimulate among Spaniards of liberal views a desire for religious reform in their own country, or, as one evangelical missionary report phrased it, 'to promote pure Christianity among the Spaniards.'[21] When it appeared that a movement for just that purpose, initiated by a handful of Spaniards, was indeed taking place in Spain, the term took on the added connotation of helping this movement to achieve its purpose. Before long, however, and especially after Protestant missions were established in Spain, the term became simply the introduction into that country of evangelical Christianity, as this had developed in Protestant lands. It should be said, however, that the earlier connotations of the term were not entirely forgotten, and were sometimes meant when the term was used.

However 'Spanish evangelization' was used or understood, one thing was certain. It was founded on the evangelical Protestant view that Christianity in Spain had strayed away from the true understanding of the Gospel, and had degenerated, under the influence of Rome, into a superstitious and idolatrous worship. Therefore, it was the duty

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[21] The Missionary Register (1838), p. 529.

of Protestants to introduce 'pure Christianity' into that country.

The idea of Spanish evangelization, as it developed in Britain in the late 1840's, apparently began with former Protestant chaplains in Gibraltar and some Bible agents who had worked in Spain. On their return home, they quite naturally endeavoured to arouse among their fellow Protestants an interest in the Iberian peninsula. Before long, their cause was taken up by several individuals of evangelical piety, not only clergymen, but also bankers, merchants, writers, publishers, advocates and other middle-class professionals, and even Members of Parliament.[22] Their numbers also had a full complement of pious ladies, mostly engaged in social work or connected with charitable institutions,[23] who wished to extend the scope of their labours at home to Spain. From the names of those who advocated Spanish evangelization, as these appeared in various religious journals especially after 1855, one could say that they represented a general cross-section of British evangelical Protestantism. Their chief leaders were mostly from the upper middle-classes. It seems, however, judging from the various individual amounts given in the list of contributions to their fund campaigns,[24] that support for the cause also came from ordinary church members, perhaps prosperous tradesmen and

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[22] Among several Members of Parliament who were most enthusiastic in promoting Spanish evangelization, the names of Lord Shaftesbury, Sir (later Lord) Arthur F. Kinnaird, and Sir Robert Peel (the fourth baronet) especially stand out. See Mrs Robert Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain; being the Story of its Rise and Progress from the year 1852 (Edinburgh, 1871), passim.

[23] Thus, mention might be made of Miss Jane Whately, daughter of the Archbishop of Dublin; and Mrs William Pennefather, who was instrumental in the founding of the Mildmay Institution for deaconesses and later also of the Y.W.C.A. For more names, see Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society (1862).

[24] See, for example, subscription lists in ibid.

artisans.

Factors Leading to the Rise of Spanish Evangelization

In studying the conditions in Great Britain at the time, one can point to several related factors, which cradled or later gave impetus to the idea of Spanish evangelization. The most fundamental of these was naturally the Evangelical Awakening, led by John Wesley in the late eighteenth century, which continued into the first half of the next, followed by periods of 'revival' in the late 1850's and the early 1870's.[25] This evangelical movement not only produced a particular type of religious beliefs and piety, but also fostered a distinctive moral and social outlook,[26] as well as a great wave of enthusiasm for Christian missions. Perhaps more than anything else, it was responsible for Great Britain's pre-eminence as a mission-sending country in the nineteenth century.[27] By 1849 out of the thirty-seven Protestant missionary societies for the conversion of the heathen, a total of fifteen, including the largest of these societies, were from Great Britain. In comparison, only seven were from the United States, and the other fifteen, from various countries on the European continent. Great Britain also gave the largest single contribution to Prot-

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[25] For more details, see J. Edwin Orr, The Second Evangelical Awakening in Britain (London, 1949), pp. 59f.

[26] A recent publication which deals on this subject is Kathleen Heasman, Evangelicals in Action: An Appraisal of their Social Work in the Victorian Era (London, 1962).

[27] Kenneth Scott Latourette, in attempting to find a reason for Great Britain's pre-eminence in this respect, said: 'Protestantism there enrolled more adherents than in any one land on the Continent. It displayed abounding vitality and through migrations and missions spread to more of the world than did even Lutheranism.' See his Christianity in a Revolutionary Age (5 vols., New York, 1958-63), vol. II, p. 8.

estant foreign missions. By mid-century, it was about £350,000 out of the total average annual subscription of £500,000.[28]

As a corollary to the first, a second factor might also be mentioned as being responsible for the idea of Spanish evangelization, namely, the rise of so-called 'continental missions' in Europe. It can be argued that the same impulse, which sent missions for the conversion of the Jews and of other non-Christians in far-away lands, also animated a similar movement, which turned its attention to nominally Christian Europe. This latter was also the natural fruit of the sympathies awakened in Britain for Christians on the continent, who suffered from the adverse effects of the Napoleonic Wars and of militant atheism, which was especially active since the French Revolution. In the period of post-war reconstruction following 1815, there emerged among British Christians a growing desire for closer contacts with their continental brethren. This was for the purpose of sharing with the latter that enlightened approach to the Christian faith, which the former thought they were privileged to possess.[29] Prosperity not long afterwards, combined with improved means of transportation, resulted in the increase of these contacts in later years.[30]

What is significant about all this is that British evangelical societies, like the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Scottish Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home, soon encouraged the formation on the continent of societies with similar objectives.

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[28] 'Statistics of Protestant Missions to the Heathen,' The Edinburgh Christian Magazine, vol. I (1849), pp. 7-8.

[29] See R. M. Waddams, in C. R. Dodwell (ed.), The English Church and the Continent (London, 1959), p. 96.

[30] Ibid., pp. 96-97. See also W. T. Ker, in British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. XXVI (1877), pp. 682f.

From a close study of the British religious journals of the period, it appears that the idea of continental missions began to reach full development by the late 1840's.[31] Because most of these missions were in nominally Catholic lands, the idea received a tremendous boost from the upsurge of anti-Catholic feelings in Britain, following the papal reestablishment of the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales in 1850.[32]

Later chapters will show more clearly the close connection between Spanish evangelization and continental missions. Although more permanent results were not obtained until much later, Spain was, in fact, one of the first nominally Catholic countries on the continent, towards which British Protestants turned their attention. For the moment, however, it may suffice to say that it was from the matrix formed by the evangelical fervour in Britain at the time, with the resulting enthusiasm for 'foreign' and 'continental' missions, that the idea of Spanish evangelization was born.

Motives for Spanish Evangelization

The motives that lay at the very base of Spanish evangelization were varied and complex. This was especially because British evangelical Protestants in the nineteenth century often held ambivalent attitudes towards Spain and her people. One finds, for example,

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[31] See, for example, William H. Rule, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. I (1847), pp. 92f. Cf. 'The Religious Condition of the Inhabitants of Europe,' The Herald of the Churches; or, Monthly Record of Ecclesiastical and Missionary Intelligence, no. 1 (1846), p. 40.

[32] Passages reflecting this development may be found, for example, in the 11th and 13th Annual Reports of the Foreign Aid Society (1851), p. 7; (1853), p. 5. (This evangelical society, based in London, was established to promote Protestant objectives among nominal Christians on the continent.)

a mixture of respect and admiration for Spain's past glorious achievements, along with a condescending and despising attitude towards her apparent incapacity for real progress in the present. While there was an earnest, somewhat paternalistic, attempt to sympathize with Spain's struggle to reform her social institutions, this, however, came with a strong abhorrence of her religious system. One later Protestant missionary to Spain did not hesitate to characterize Spanish Catholicism as simply 'paganism baptized.'[33] Moreover, if there was despair at the apparent enslavement of the Spaniards to what British evangelical Protestants considered a superstitious and idolatrous worship, yet there was also hope that with their help, Spaniards might yet redeem themselves from this thralldom and revive those same qualities which once made them a great people.[34]

In making a study of this nature, one runs the risk of oversimplifying the issues, or of failing to see the true significance of one in relation to another. But from the mass of evangelical literature of the period, it is somewhat possible to distinguish at least five important motives for Spanish evangelization,[35] expressed at one time or another by advocates of this cause. Some of these motives, of which a number were also shared by continental European and American Protestants,[36] were general and broad enough as to be applicable to

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[33] William Moore, 'Spain and Ireland: Resemblances and Contrasts,' British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. XXIX (1880), p. 471.

[34] A typical expression of this hope appears in Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), pp. 18-20. See also The Bulwark, vol. V (1855-56), p. 4.

[35] These provide an interesting comparison with those general motives for Christian missions, discussed by Max Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History (London, 1965), pp. 41f.

[36] See, for example, The Missionary Register (1828), p. 437. See also J. A. Jameson, 'Responsibility of American Merchants for the Conversion of the World to Christ' (New York, 1855).

continental missions, or even to the whole idea of Christian missions, in general. A few, however, were expressed specifically in relation to Spain, and thus, incidentally provide an important insight into the views and attitudes, which British evangelical Protestants at the time held as regards the Spanish people.

Basic of all these motives was the strong conviction that Reformed Christianity needed to defeat and supplant 'Popery,' for the former was vastly superior in every respect to the latter. Since the latter had its chief stronghold in Spain, it would receive a death-blow, if it were defeated in that country.[37] It was argued -- not only by zealous Protestants, but apparently also even by a few 'free-thinkers'[38] -- that while the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation advanced human knowledge and liberty, 'Popery' continued to encourage superstition, ignorance, and tyranny.[39] Frequent comparisons were made between the 'progress' of Protestant Great Britain, Holland, the United States, and Prussia and the apparent backwardness of Catholic lands, notably Spain and Portugal. As one evangelical writer proudly affirmed in 1853: 'In wealth, in enterprise, in national liberty, in literature, in commerce, in all the elements of political and moral power, Protestants are to Papal nations as the sun and moon in the

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[37] Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 19.

[38] Thus, one free-thinking French journalist, M. Guyot, wrote in the Siecle in 1900: 'We must uncatholicise France, that is our bounden duty; if we do not, we will promptly sink to the level of Spain. . . . Is there for civilised nations no other religion than the Roman Catholic? Modern history shows us the decline of Roman Catholic nations, and the rise of Protestant peoples. If we compare their relative situation, we are bound to conclude: France has everything to lose in remaining Catholic; she has everything to gain in becoming Protestant.' As quoted by The Bulwark, no. CLIII, 4th series (1900), p. 198.

[39] See, for example, J. A. Wylie, in Occasional Record of the National Bible Society of Scotland, no. 18 (1870), pp. 256-57.

heavens are to the fixed stars.'[40] As another writer also later put it: 'Where Roman Catholicism is strong, ignorance is dense and crime rampant.'[41] An evangelical minister in England made it his self-appointed task to purportedly demonstrate the 'weaknesses' of the Catholic moral system, in comparison with those of Protestantism, Eastern Orthodoxy, and even some non-Christian religions.[42]

Spain was often used, quite unjustifiably, as an example of the 'decadence' and 'backwardness' of the 'Romish' system. As one Protestant missionary to that country years later categorically affirmed: 'Popery has to answer for the ills from which Spain has suffered and is suffering.'[43] It would be tedious to narrate all that evangelical Protestants thought and said of Catholicism, especially as it was practised in Spain. But enough perhaps has been noted on this subject, to indicate the trend of thought which helped lead to the idea of Spanish evangelization.

A second and equally strong motive for Spanish evangelization arose from the other conviction that because of their faithfulness to the Reformation, the British were God's favoured people.[44]

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[40] The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. III (1853), p. 251.

[41] The Bulwark, no. XVIII, 3rd series (1890), p. 1. Various statistics were also compiled, with the view of showing that Catholic countries had a considerably higher percentage of illiteracy, or that there was a higher rate of criminality among Roman Catholics. See, for example, The Bulwark, no. XXIII, 3rd series (1890), p. 11; no. XXV (1890), p. 1; no. XXIX (1890), p. 1.

[42] M. Hobart Seymour, The Moral Results of the Romish System: Evenings with the Romanists (London, 1854). The first part of this volume was reprinted that same year, as an open letter to Lord Palmerston.

[43] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 190. A similar view was also expressed in The Edinburgh Christian Magazine, vol. IV (1852), pp. 74-82.

[44] Occasionally, this concept was widened to include the entire

Those who held this view believed that they, as such a people, had a manifest destiny for world leadership, and that they had been ordained by God to be the instrument for giving the nations the blessings of a truly Christian civilization. The development of this concept, understandably enough, accompanied the rise of the British Empire, so that by the 1850's, it had apparently matured as a peculiar religious interpretation of history. As a Free Church writer in Scotland said in 1853:

> We look upon Britain as chosen of God to shew what Christianity can make a nation. Our country is at this hour the living monument of the truth of the Bible. . . . Alone among the nations of the world our country maintains a public testimony for the cause of God . . . The surrounding nations wear the mark of the beast upon their brow, and his fetter upon their arm! Britain stands erect, and never bows her head but in worship of the Eternal King. But she must not worship alone; she must teach the nations of the earth to worship with her. This is her high mission, to give that book, which is open in her own hand . . .[45]

In this and similar passages,[46] there clearly emerges a high sense of duty and responsibility for Christian missions, intermingled with the idea of Great Britain's privileged position among the nations.

Anglo-Saxon world, with especial reference to the United States. See, for example, the Reformed Presbyterian Magazine (1869), p. 253.

For an apparently typical American expression of the same concept, see the letter of the 'Princeton Society of Inquiry on Missions and the State of Religion' to the 'Edinburgh Association of Theological Students in Aid of the Diffusion of Christian Knowledge,' in The Missionary Register (1828), p. 437.

[45] The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. III (1853), p. 187.

[46] See, especially, British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. IV (1853), pp. 289-90. See also Josiah Conder's address before the 1832 annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, as quoted in The Missionary Register (1832), p. 289. See also Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), pp. 289-90. Cf. Anon, 'What is Now England's Duty? Is It Not, Pre-Eminently, to Attempt to Evangelise the World?' (London, 1848). Cf. also John Stoughton, 'British Influence and Responsibility: A Sermon, Preached in the Poultry Chapel, London, to the Directors and Friends of British Missions (May 6th, 1850),' (London, 1850).

It is hard to escape the conclusion that those who adhered to this view considered their country to be in a similar position as the Israelites of old looked upon their nation. It was a powerful motivation for missions, held even by evangelical Protestants of high position as the Earl of Shaftesbury.[47] Certainly, it appealed to those who contemplated with great satisfaction the growing imperial might of Great Britain.

For those who advocated Spanish evangelization, this religious view of Britain's role in history took on an additional significance. Much was made of the fact that by the nineteenth century, the relative positions of England and Spain three hundred years earlier had been exactly reversed. Then Spain was mistress over more than two hundred million people, while England then ruled only over four. Now British power ruled the seas, and the British standard floated over the most distant ramparts of the world,[48] over an empire, which, as one English evangelical leader observed, 'even old Rome in her palmiest days never possessed.'[49] The inference was that Great Britain's rise to power was God's reward for her faithfulness, and because of her present position, it was therefore now her duty to rekindle in Spain the light of the Reformation, which the latter had ex-

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[47] As his recent biographer put it, 'the vision of a nation forged by Evangelical faith into an instrument for God's use was one which peculiarly attracted Ashley,' i.e., Lord Shaftesbury. See G. F. A. Best, Shaftesbury (London, 1964), p. 53.

[48] Occasional Record of the National Bible Society of Scotland, no. 18 (1870), p. 256.

[49] P. Carteret Hill, in 'Protestant Commemoration in 1888 of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and of the Accession of the Protestant Dynasty in 1688. Reports of Sermons and Public Meetings, held under the Auspices of the Hastings and St Leonard's Auxiliaries of the Protestant Reformation Society' (Hastings, 1888), p. 13.

tinguished.[50] Hence, the determination of advocates of Spanish evangelization to assist the indigenous movement for religious reform, initiated by a handful of Spaniards, which by the 1850's had come to be known as the Segunda Reforma, the 'Second Reformation.'[51]

A third motive for Spanish evangelization was a humanitarian one. It sprang from what appeared to be a condescending, but nevertheless genuine compassion for the Spanish people. Most of the references to Spain in British religious journals of the period described that country as 'benighted', 'poor', and 'unhappy'; and the phrase 'poor, needy Spain'[52] was a constant refrain in the writings of the leading advocates of Spanish evangelization. In their view, Spain had suffered already enough from the pernicious influences of 'Popery.' To this suffering, however, rationalism and 'infidelity' now threatened to add their evil.[53] Hence, it was hoped that Re-

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[50] Protestant writers time and again put forward the view that if it were not for Philip II and the Inquisition, the Protestant Reformation would undoubtedly have won in Spain. As one said: 'In no country in Europe did the cause of the Reformation gather around it disciples more illustrious for rank or learning, or, in the first place, give greater promise of success than in Spain.' See British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. II (1853), p. 920.

[51] This was part of that general reform movement, which was also reflected in the desire to form an independent Iglesia Hispana, in the anglican fashion, as was indeed attempted in 1799 (see Hans Juretschke, Vida, obra, y pensamiento de Alberto Lista (Madrid, 1951), p. 34); in 1802 (see Vicente Blasco Ibanez, Historia de la revolucion española (3 vols., Barcelona, 1891), p. 31); and in 1841-1842 (see Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 289f.). Moreover, it seems to have followed the same 'evangelical' lines, as in the thought of the Spanish priest, D. Miguel Juan Antonio Solano, who died in the prison of the Inquisition in 1805 (see Llorente, The History of the Inquisition of Spain, pp. 560-63).

[52] See, for example, James Thomson, 'Spain, its Position and Evangelization . . .' (London, 1853), p. 1.

[53] The Herald of the Churches; or, Monthly Record of Ecclesiastical and Missionary Intelligence, no. 1 (1846), p. 40. Cf. The Missionary Register (1839), p. 40.

formed Christianity, (the 'true liberalism,' as one British religious journal years later put it),[54] might be offered to the Spaniards as a third alternative between 'Popery' and 'infidelity'. Only Protestantism, it was thought, could save Spain. For while irreligious influences were continually gaining entry into the country and taking hold over the minds of the young, the Spanish clergy were 'neither able, willing, nor fit to restore Doctrinal Christianity from its ruins.'[55] Hence, to the 'poor, unhappy' Spaniards, British evangelical Protestants must share the reformed, scriptural Christian faith they possessed.[56]

A fourth motive arose from the idea that Great Britain had a debt to pay to the European continent for giving her the Reformed Faith. This idea more appropriately applied to justify 'evangelical' continental missions in such Protestant lands, as Germany and Switzerland.[57] However, it was also made to apply to Spain. British advocates of Spanish evangelization, like their American counterparts,[58] were not short of arguments (though sometimes strained and rather far-

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54 The Bulwark, no. XXIII, 3rd series (1889), p. 9, quoting the English Churchman (Sept. 26, 1889).

55 The Missionary Register (1839), p. 540.

56 Cf. R. S. Candlish's address at the inaugural meeting of the Spanish Evangelization Society in 1855, in Peddie, Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 238.

57 Thus, a Scottish Free Church leader, commenting on the seaport ministry to visiting sailors from the continent, expressed the hope that British evangelical Protestants might thus be able to 'repay the debt we owe to the Continent.' See Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. III, n.s. (1858), p. 119.

58 American Congregationalists, for example, affirmed that the labours of their missionaries in Spain (after 1871) were 'the best compensation America can make for the early benefits it received from Spain.' See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), p. 352.
A similar statement is also found in The Missionary Review of the World, vol. VII, n.s. (1894), p. 397.

fetched) to show what great a debt they owed to Spain. As one staunch defender of this idea suggested, British Christians might be under more obligation to Spain than they had ever imagined. Labouriously arguing from biblical and other sources, the same writer stated that 'probably the first rays of civilization to this country came through Spain, and by Spaniards; and, probably, also Spaniards brought first to this country the glorious message of the gospel of Christ.'[59] For such a great debt, therefore, how could British evangelical Protestants remain indifferent, when Spain, it was claimed, needed their prayers and their assistance?

Finally, a fifth motive grew out of the contemplation of what Spain might possibly yet become, in the event of her conversion. As suggested by one evangelical writer (in what was later echoed by many others, including Spanish converts themselves), the conversion of Spain would be of 'the highest importance to the interests of Protestantism and the truth.'[60] Not only would this strike the 'death-blow of Rome, from which she would rise no more;'[61] it would also provide the means for reaching Spain's former and present colonies in Central and South America, North Africa, and the Pacific. Freed from the bondage of 'Popery', Spain might yet be recrowned with her former glory, her missionaries going over to foreign lands, but this time under the banner of the Evangelical Faith.[62] Protestantism would then hold the key to the rest of the Spanish-speaking world, and through this means bring nearer the conversion of the entire world to script-

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[59] Thomson, 'Spain, its Position and Evangelization . . .,' p. 1.

[60] See, esp., Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 18.

[61] Ibid. [62] Ibid.

ural Christianity.

This is not the place to discuss the validity of these motives for Spanish evangelization, or of the reasons used to justify them. In certain cases, the arguments, admittedly enough, are open to question. Some appear to be founded on simple prejudice, and others, on an imperfect understanding either of the true conditions in Spain at the time, or of the character of the Spanish people. It should be said, however, that the views reflected in these motives were held with honest conviction. Moreover, they were sufficient to sustain the efforts, despite great adversities, of those evangelical Protestants in Britain, who launched a missionary enterprise in Spain at the time.

Spanish Conditions in the Nineteenth Century

In view of the past history of Spain and, in particular, her traditional hostility to Protestantism, it naturally arises as a question whether Spanish evangelization was a viable enterprise in the nineteenth century. Yet, when one looks at Spanish conditions then, it appears that there indeed was some possibility of success for this Protestant endeavour.

Under the influence of Enlightenment ideas, Spain had slowly been changing over the years, despite the most determined opposition of traditionalists. It seems that already in the seventeenth century, the later Hapsburgs on the Spanish throne had begun to relax the rigorous religious policy of Philip II. When the Bourbons came in the next century, they brought with them an enlightened despotism, which tended to place emphasis on an absolute monarchy rather than on religious unity.[63] In fact, the very need for the Concordat of 1754

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[63] For more details, see Madariaga, Spain, pp. 46f.

reflected the regalist policy of the Bourbons, as well as their somewhat diminished regard for the religious unity of their realm, so highly esteemed by their early predecessors. Charles III, in particular, sought to bring Spain more in line with the ideas of the age. But because the stimulus was essentially foreign and not inherently Spanish, his reforms were not whole-heartedly accepted. In the end, these amounted to no more than half-measures of no lasting effect, although what was perhaps more important was the process of change that these set in motion.

Nevertheless, it is quite true that already in the second half of the eighteenth century, freedom of conscience, along with other Enlightenment ideas, was beginning to take root in Spain.[64] One sees this, for example, in the policies of 'enlightened' prime ministers, like Aranda and Urquijo.[65] Decades later, Protestants especially remembered Urquijo for drafting the royal order in 1797, allowing non-Catholic foreign artisans or manufacturers (unless they were Jews) to establish themselves in Spain, without fear of being molested for their religious opinions, as long as they respected national customs.[66] It was also Urquijo, who, on application of the British, gave them permission to buy a piece of ground in Madrid for

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[64] See Jean Sarrailh, La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII, tr. by Antonio Alatorre (2nd ed., Mexico, 1957), p. 710. For the various ways in which Enlightenment ideas found their way into Spain, see, especially, Robert Jones Shafer, The Economic Societies in the Spanish World (1763-1821) (Syracuse, 1958), pp. 17-19.

[65] Llorente, The History of the Inquisition of Spain, pp. 550-53.

[66] See Novisima recopilacion de las leyes de España (Madrid, 1805), lib. VIII, tit. 23, ley 8, n.4. See also William H. Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, with collateral notices of events favouring religious liberty and of the decline of Romish power in that country, from the beginning of this century, to the year 1842 (London, 1844), p. 40.

use as a Protestant cemetery,[67] although the latter neglected to make actual use of this privilege for more than half a century.

The nineteenth century, particularly since the French invasion in 1808,[68] set in motion a revolutionary process in Spain, affecting every aspect of her national life. As the Spanish historian Salvador de Madariaga has put it, the fall of the ancien regime in Spain 'meant a revolution in her outlook, in her understanding of collective life, in her political philosophy.'[69] The significance of this revolutionary process for this present study lies in the fact that it ultimately provided Protestantism with an opportunity for gaining entry into that country, as later chapters will show.

It might suffice to say for the moment that Protestantism in the nineteenth century came to Spain in the wake of liberal, anticlerical (and, in some cases, heterodox) ideas, hostile to the traditional Spanish order. At the beginning of the century, these ideas were represented particularly by the small group of enlightened Spaniards,[70] some of whom, having deeply imbibed French influences, were known as afrancesados, the 'Frenchified ones'.[71] It was not surprising, therefore, that the ecclesiastics among the latter were generally influenced

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[67] Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), p. 276.

[68] For a good discussion of the background and consequences of this event, see Raymond Carr, Spain 1808-1939 (Oxford, 1966), pp. 60f. Cf. Rafael Altamira, A History of Spain, tr. by Muna Lee (New York, 1949), pp. 509f. Cf. also F. Soldevila, Historia de Espana (1952-59), vol. VI, pp. 86f., 133f.

[69] Spain, p. 53.

[70] For more details, see 'Liberalismo,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana (70 vols., Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona, 1926-32), vol. XXX, pp. 430f.

[71] For a further discussion of the term afrancesado, see Hans Juretscheke, Los afrancesados en la guerra de independencia (Madrid, 1962), pp. 99f., and esp. pp. 117-21.

by Jansenist ideas. These Spanish Jansenists[72] attempted to reform the Spanish Church naturally after the Gallican manner.[73] On the other hand, the more radical among the enlightened Spaniards generally gravitated towards Freemasonry,[74] the bitterest enemy of the Church. In the struggle between Church and State at the time,[75] the most vicious attacks upon the former, especially beginning 1835, were hurled by freemasons who had risen to ministerial positions in the machinery of the State. Without going into all the details, it might said that the net result of all this was a liberalization process in Spain, which tended to erode the Church's power and undermine the age-old principle of religious unity.

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[72] Spanish traditionalists applied the title 'Jansenist' indiscriminately to those who defended any of Jansen's five propositions, those who did not obey papal bulls to the letter, and those who dissented from the constitution Unigenitus. What is certain, however, is that Spanish Jansenism, as a coherent party, first appeared in 1781, largely due to the efforts of a French ecclesiastic, Clement de Bizon, who journeyed to Spain in 1768 to organize kindred spirits among the Spanish clergy. He received support from the archbishops of Burgos and Zaragoza, eight bishops, the generals of the Orders of Mercy and of the Carmelites, the prime minister, several high-ranking government officials, and many others of no mean clerical, political, or social standing. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that Jansenism was a powerful force among the enlightened Spanish clergy at the turn of the century. Jansenist deputies (as Torrero, Villanueva, Espiga, etc.) also played a leading role in the liberal Cadiz Cortes of 1810. For more details, see Emile Appolis, Les jansenistes espagnols (Bordeaux, 1966), pp. 48f.

[73] Apparently, they also supported the attempts in 1799, 1802, and 1841-42 to establish a Spanish Church independent of Rome.

[74] Spanish Freemasonry dates back to as early as the sixteenth century. In the 1700's, its most outstanding figure was none less than the prime minister, Aranda. In the first quarter of the next century, it gained many adherents not only from intellectuals and university students, but also from business and banking circles, and the military. For more details, see 'La masoneria en España,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XXXIII, pp. 741-46.

[75] For a detailed discussion of this subject, see E. Allison Peers, The Church in Spain, 1737-1937 (London, 1838), pp. 2f. See also Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos espanoles, vol. VII, passim.

A quick review of the political situation in Spain in the nineteenth century shows that this liberalization suffered serious setbacks under reactionary regimes now and then, but on the whole, it was a gradually advancing process. The first attempt at establishing a constitutional government in 1810 ended with the restoration of Ferdinand VII in 1814. Although a brief constitutional interregnum took place in 1820-1823, it was not until after Ferdinand's death in 1833 that constitutionalism was firmly established in Spain.

The period 1814-1820 may be considered the formative years of the first modern political parties in Spain, with their characteristic tendency to split into two factions, the exaltado (extremist) and the moderado (moderate).[76] Already in the Cadiz Cortes of 1810, this tendency had begun to manifest itself in the division between what a recent author calls the innovadores (innovators) and the renovadores (renovators).[77] By 1820, when a military revolt established a three-year constitutional regime, the liberal party (strongly influenced by freemasonry) was represented by the so-called doceañistas, the partisans of the Constitution of 1812. On the other side were the realistas, the regalists, who defended the prerogatives of the king. The moderates among the former simply advocated a constitutional monarchy, but the radicals among them tended towards republicanism.[78] The realistas, on the other hand, also divided into two factions, the

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[76] For more details, see 'Los partidos politicos en Espana,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XLII, pp. 411f.

[77] Jose Manuel Cuenca, D. Pedro de Inguanzo y Rivero (1764-1836), Ultimo Primado del Antiguo Regimen (Pamplona, 1965), pp. 113f.

[78] Republicanism gained adherents in Spain after the French Revolution, but it suffered an eclipse after an abortive revolt in 1794. See Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, p. 31.

moderates, who supported Ferdinand's enlightened despotism; and the conservative extremists, called apostolicos, who, with the backing of the overwhelming majority of the clergy, represented the interests of the Church.

The end of the constitutional regime, following the French intervention in 1823, saw the flight or banishment of the liberal exaltados. But within Spain, there now grew a widening rift among the regalists, as the apostolicos began to realize that Ferdinand's despotism was not at all in the best interests of the Church. By the second half of the 1820's, the apostolicos, joined by the exponents of regional semi-autonomy in Valencia, Catalonia, Aragon and the Basque provinces, increasingly pinned their hopes on Ferdinand's brother, Don Carlos. It was now apparent that Don Carlos was at once devoutly religious and politically sympathetic to the regionalist cause, as Ferdinand was not. Thus came about the Carlist party, with the absolutists of 1814 and 1823 at its nucleus. In Spanish history, militant faith and politics had always proved a dangerous combination, for when put together the former supplied the latter with a fanatical zeal with hardly any fixed limits. Unfortunately for Spain, both these ingredients were ominously present in the crisis of 1833, brought about by Ferdinand's death.

The fact that Ferdinand left no male heir set off a crisis of succession, which was to lead into the so-called 'Carlist Wars.'[79] As will be discussed more fully later, Ferdinand's widow, Maria Cristina, who reigned as Queen Regent for her daughter Isabella, was forced to ally herself with the moderate liberals. Thus, this turn of events brought the liberals to power, and firmly established constitutional

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[79] For the history of the Carlist Wars, see Roman Oyarzun, Historia del carlismo (3rd ed., Madrid, 1965); and Edgar Holt, The Carlist Wars in Spain (London, 1967).

government in Spain.

By this time, however, the two liberal factions had begun to drift so far apart, that in time they became separate parties. The monarchical constitutionalists retained the name Moderados, while the radicals came to be known as Progresistas. The period 1833-1843 was one in which the two alternated in power. But immediately after that, there followed a quarter of a century, which, with the exception of a brief Progresista interlude in 1854-1856, was a virtual Moderado hegemony.

This period of twenty-five years, which coincided with the reign of Isabella II, witnessed a proliferation of political parties and factions. Up to 1854, the Moderados had no less than four different factions.[80] In that year, a coalition of certain right-wing Progresistas and left-wing Moderados came into being. This Union Liberal party, as it was so called, was especially distinguished for the comparative stability it brought, when it was in power from 1858 to 1863. Out of the Progresistas also emerged the Republican party, true heir of the exaltado liberal tradition of 1820. They, too, however, soon divided into Democratas,[81] on the one hand, and Socialistas, on the other. From the traditionalists' side, there also arose a new party of Neo-Catolicos, who sought to find a solid base in Catholic doctrine for social and political institutions. Thus, during the reign of Isabella, a whole spectrum of Spanish political parties unfolded itself, from the Republicans, at one extreme, to the Carlists, at the

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[80] For details, see Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XLII, p. 412.

[81] See Antonio Eiras Roel, El partido democrata español (1849-1868) (Madrid, 1961).

other.

A coalition of Progresistas, Democratas, and Unionistas brought about the liberal revolution of 1868 and the fall of Isabella. As will be seen more clearly later, this event had an immense significance for Protestant endeavours in Spain. After a brief constitutional monarchy under Amadeo I, of the house of Savoy, there followed the short-lived First Spanish Republic of 1874-1875. Unfortunately for Spain, this entire revolutionary period was to bring more confusion and strife. The Carlist party was revived, and another military struggle (the 'third Carlist war') ensued. As if to complicate the situation further, the Republicans themselves soon divided into two warring factions, those who advocated a unitarian republic, and those who insisted on a cantonalist federation.[82]

The failure of the Republic led to the restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in 1875 under Alfonso XII, Isabella's son. Happily, with this restoration began a period of comparative stability in Spanish politics. This was largely due to the dominant personality and efficiency of Canovas del Castillo, the champion of the restored monarchy. At one extreme, there still stood the traditionalist parties (Carlists and Neo-Catholics), and at the other, the Republicans and Socialists. But until Primo de Rivera's dictatorship of 1923, the reins of power remained in the hands of the 'dynastic' parties, loyal to the Alfonsino line. To be sure, they themselves divided into three parties, namely, the Liberal-Conservatives, under Canovas; the Liberals or Fusionists (incorporating various liberal groups, under Sagasta; and the ultra-liberals of the Dynastic Left party, under Serrano.

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[82] See C. A. M. Hennessey, The Federal Republic in Spain (Oxford, 1962).

Suffice it to say that more divisions (and some coalitions) took place among the various parties, but this is beyond the scope of this present study.[83]

What was important for those British evangelical Protestants interested in Spain was the gradual acceptance of the principle of religious toleration by liberal Spanish statesmen, of various parties, who came to power. As will be shown more clearly in succeeding chapters, more and more opportunities opened to Protestantism as the century advanced. To be sure, Protestantism had little or no direct connection with Spanish liberal movements. But from the start, British Protestants who aimed at introducing evangelical ideas into Spain recognized the potential assistance that might be rendered to their cause by liberal Spaniards.[84] While it is also true that not all 'enlightened' Spaniards were Protestantism's best friends, yet there was a sufficient number among them, in every decade especially since the 1830's, who encouraged the Protestant cause, by their vigorous defence of the principle of religious freedom. Thus was made possible the missionary endeavour, which went by the name of 'Spanish evangelization.'

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[83] For more details, see Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XLII, p. 412.

[84] As a Protestant missionary to Spain said in 1880, Spanish liberal statesmen were, on the whole, 'always hostile to Romanism and favourable to Protestantism,' because they associated the former with a 'tyrannical government and a retrograde policy.' See British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. XXIX (1880), p. 469.

Chapter II

EARLY PROTESTANT ATTEMPTS IN SPAIN
(1808-1833)

It is interesting to note how in the course of human history, movements or processes, large or small, sometimes start from events, which at the time of their occurrence may seem of little significance. This was certainly the case with Spanish evangelization. The occasion which first drew the attention of evangelical Protestants in Great Britain to the possibility of a missionary venture in Spain was a curious incident during the Napoleonic Wars. Towards the end of 1805, it was learned that of the thirty thousand prisoners of war confined in military prisons in England, among them were some 1,700 Spaniards.[1] All the prisoners, mostly French and Dutch, seemed sorely in need of spiritual ministrations. But it was the Spaniards, who caught the especial attention of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society.[2] In view of Spain having been for so long closed to Protestantism, the mere presence of the Spanish prisoners provided a challenge that could not be ignored.

Immediately, the two societies saw in this a great oppor-

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[1] 3rd BFBS Report (1807), p. 139. Cf. George Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-1854 (2 vols., London, 1859), vol. II, p. 2. See also Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society: being a Compendium of its Reports, and Extracts from the Appendices (London, 1820), pp. 73, 81.

[2] From the start, there had always been a close relationship between these two evangelical societies. For details of the role of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society in the formation of the British and Foreign Bible Society, see William Jones, The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society: Containing a Record of its Origin, Proceedings, and Results, 1799-1849 (London, 1850), pp. 46-52.

tunity to further their own objectives, and the possibility of extending their operations in the near future into Spain. Almost simultaneously, the respective Committees of the Bible and Tract societies voted to print Spanish Scriptures and tracts,[3] a decision which was to launch the foreign work of both societies.

If there was anything that was most often remembered years later about this experiment,[4] it was the fact that the eagerness of the Spanish prisoners to read the Scriptures in their own language exceeded all expectations. The English army captain, who was prison agent for the British and Foreign Bible Society, could hardly contain his enthusiasm, when he reported to the Committee that

> it is impossible to give you an adequate description of the anxiety that was manifested by the poor Spaniards to get possession of a Testament; many sought copies with tears and earnest entreaties; and, although I had nearly enough for them all, yet it was with difficulty that they were pacified, until they received from my hand the word of eternal life. Since which I have witnessed the most pleasing sight that ever my eyes beheld -- nearly a thousand poor Spanish prisoners, sitting round the prison walls -- doing what? -- reading the word of God, with an apparent eagerness that would have put many professing Christians to the blush![5]

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[3] The British and Foreign Bible Society decided on 2,000 copies of the Spanish Testament, using the text of the 1596 Amsterdam edition of the Reina-Valera version. An extra edition of 1,000 copies of St Matthew's Gospel (the first portion to be printed) was issued, so that these might be distributed as soon as each copy came from the press. On the other hand, the Religious Tract Society, translated into Spanish its Tract No. 67, titled 'Scripture Extracts', followed months later by St Paul's Epistle to the Romans. See 3rd BFBS Report (1807), p. 139. See also Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society, p. 73.

[4] For details of how the Bible Society's 'Agent for Prisoners' at first used 100 copies of St Matthew's Gospel to test their appeal on the prisoners, see his letter, dated 'Prisoner of War Office', Portsmouth, 18th March 1806, in 2nd BFBS Report (1806), pp. 107-108.

[5] Letter, dated Stonehouse, near Plymouth, 18th Nov., 1806, in 3rd BFBS Report (1807), p. 156.

A somewhat similar experience was met by the tract distributor among the same prisoners. Although he lamented that there had been instances of 'improper uses' made of the tracts, 'in general, they have been received with gratitude, and read with avidity.'[6]

This unexpected enthusiastic reponse from the Spanish prisoners of war (the French and the Dutch apparently did not show the same eagerness) proved to be of great consequence for the future plans of both the Bible and Tract societies. This appears to be the first time since the sixteenth century that British Protestants had the opportunity to observe such spiritual inquisitiveness on the part of the Spaniards, and the spectacle came as a surprising and happy discovery. It seems to have left a deep impression on those connected with the two societies. It was not long before they began to entertain the notion that perhaps the Spanish people, if emancipated from the control of their priests, might accept another religious alternative to the Catholicism they had never had the choice to reject.[7] Later events were to show that the case of the Spanish prisoners was not an isolated one.

It was consequently thought that if these Spanish prisoners were that eager for the 'printed Word,' then perhaps a similar spirit of religious inquiry existed in the hearts of thousands, if not tens of thousands, of their countrymen at home. This particular idea

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[6] Letter of 'D.W.', 'a respectable Officer at Stonehouse, near Plymouth,' dated 4th April 1807, in Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society, p. 89.

[7] Perhaps more than anything else, it was the revelations of the converted Spanish priest, D. Jose Maria Blanco y Crespo (or, 'Blanco White', as he was popularly known in Britain), in his writings in the 1820's on religious conditions in Spain, that served to advance this idea. See, especially, his Letters from Spain (London, 1822).

was not fully developed until the middle of the century. But already it existed in germinal form in the way the Bible, Tract, and other British evangelical societies sought to gain entry into Spain beginning 1808. Early that year, about 700 Spanish Testaments and a huge consignment of tracts were sent to Gibraltar. With Spain now on the side of the Allies against Napoleon, her frontier with Gibraltar was reopened. Subsequently, opportunities were found to circulate the Testaments and tracts in many Spanish towns, particularly Cadiz and Malaga, as well as in Minorca.[8] When the Spanish prisoners of war were repatriated from England, the British and Foreign Bible Society also distributed among them a total of 775 Testaments for their relatives and friends.[9]

The Period of the Peninsular War and the Cadiz Cortes (1808-1814)

The year 1808 may be considered the beginning of a growing interest among British evangelical Protestants in the course of Spanish religious affairs, particularly on the question of religious toleration. Apparently, they were not unmindful of the liberalizing influences of the French occupation of Spain.[10] While they certainly

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[8] See 5th BFBS Report (1809), p. 258. See also Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society, p. 106. Cf. The Religious Monitor; or, Scots Presbyterian Magazine, vol. VI (1808), p. 528.

[9] 5th BFBS Report (1809), p. 258.

[10] It was known that Napoleon was not hostile, but in fact well-disposed towards his Protestant subjects. The Religious Monitor in 1808, for example, quoted Napoleon's statement to the Paris Consistory of the French Reformed Church, guaranteeing the independence and inviolability of their worship. See vol. VI (1808), p. 238.

For more on Napoleon's relationship with French Protestants, see Burdette C. Poland, French Protestantism and the French Revolution: A Study in Church and State, Thought and Religion, 1685-1815 (Princeton, 1957), p. 276.

sympathized with the sufferings of the Spaniards, they also hailed the religious 'reforms' of Joseph I.[11]

During the period of the Spanish Cortes at Cadiz, British evangelical Protestants also noted with some satisfaction the liberal measures in religious affairs passed by that body.[12] Although the deputies abolished Joseph's decrees and established Catholicism as the state religion,[13] they nevertheless treated the Church little better than did the Bonapartes. The Inquisition was also abolished, as an institution incompatible with the new constitutional regime. Religious houses were suppressed, ecclesiastical properties sequestrated to the state, the Papal Nuncio expelled, and protesting bishops suspended or exiled.[14]

It is not likely, however, that the London Bible and Tract

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[11] See, for example, The Religious Monitor, vol. VII (1809), p. 571. For more details on Joseph's religious policy, see Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos espanoles, vol. VII, p. 15.

[12] See, for example, The Religious Monitor, vol. XI (1813), p. 118.

[13] Thus, Article 12 of the Constitution of 1812 passed by that Cortes read: 'The religion of the Spanish Nation is, and shall perpetually be, the Catholic, Apostolic, Roman, only true /religions/. The Nation protects it by wise and just laws, and prohibits the exercise of any other.' See Eduardo de Guzman, España, entre las dictaduras y la democracia, con el texto integro de las siete constituciones que han regido en España a partir de 1812 (Madrid, 1967), p. 41.
This Article was apparently patterned after a similar one in the 'Bayonne Constitution' of 1808 ('The Catholic, Apostolic, Roman religion in Spain and in all Spanish possessions, shall be the religion of the King and of the Nation; no other shall be permitted'); as indeed, also after a provision in the Treaty of Bayonne that same year, to the effect that 'nothing reformed and less faithful' than the religion presently established shall be tolerated in Spanish territory. See Warren M. Diem, 'Las fuentes de la Constitution de Cadiz,' in Ma. Isabel Arriaga et al, Estudios sobre las Cortes de Cadiz (Pamplona, 1967), pp. 409-10.

[14] For more details, see Peers, The Church in Spain, 1737-1937, p. 11. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 87f.

societies at this time had any clear, definite ideas as to their future operations in Spain. Perhaps mainly because of the uncertain conditions in that country, their labours there during this period followed a more or less desultory pattern. Not much is known of the work of the Religious Tract Society.[15] But beginning 1809, the British and Foreign Bible Society employed a number of volunteer 'correspondents' to circulate various quantities of Spanish Scriptures in Gibraltar, the Spanish peninsula, Minorca, or wherever Spaniards might be found. Practically all these 'correspondents' were British naval officers, whose facility in moving around made them highly valuable to the Bible Society.

Thus, it was not unusual for reports to come in from widely dispersed places -- from southern England to the Western Mediterranean. One correspondent, for example, wrote from Minorca that he had sold 63 Spanish Testaments in four days and that he needed another 100 copies to replenish his stocks; five months later, another reported that he had delivered 300 Testaments to the men of a Spanish frigate anchored at Plymouth.[16] A third wrote from a 'Principal Naval Station' that within a twelve-month period in 1812-1813, he had sent to different persons abroad a total of 344 Spanish Testaments for circulation, and had sold another twenty to Spanish naval officers and various other individuals.[17] Learning from an interesting experience late in 1808

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[15] In fact, after 1808 it was not until 1815 that new supplies of tracts were sent to Spain. That year, an Anglican minister and a pious army captain visited those parts of Spain occupied by British troops and circulated Spanish tracts among the local population.. See Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society, p. 415.

[16] 6th BFBS Report (1810), pp. 361, 374, citing letters from two Bible correspondents, dated 17th Nov. 1809, and 13th April 1810.

[17] 9th BFBS Report (1813), p. 510.

with the men of a Spanish frigate which landed at Plymouth,[18] the British and Foreign Bible Society also appointed as distributors of Spanish Scriptures certain individuals of evangelical piety, who were advantageously located in English seaports frequented by Spanish vessels. This scheme proved successful,[19] so that it was continued as a regular feature of missions to Spaniards for several decades.

It must be admitted that during this early period from 1808 to 1814, what might be called 'evangelical work among Spaniards' was virtually limited to the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The reports were few and far between, and much of what was done, in fact, took place outside Spanish territory. The total number of Spanish Scriptures circulated amounted to no more than a few thousand. But, as suggested earlier in connection with the Spanish prisoners of war, this was apparently the first time that Protestants were able to begin what could be a regular missionary work among Spaniards. The cumulative effect of their early successes in this respect, little as these might seem today, was to raise Protestant hopes that in time a more ambitious endeavour might be effected within Spain. Early in 1814, the British and Foreign Bible Society received not a little encouragement from the Swedish Ambassador to Spain, who voluntarily

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[18] It was reported that the chaplain and several officers of the Spanish frigate, followed by many of the 300 men on board, came to the house of a Protestant clergyman in the town, in order to ask for Spanish Testaments. Many requested for extra copies to give to their friends and relations at home. The Testaments were immediately read, most of the sailors kissing and clasping the books to their bosoms as soon as these were received. Before the clergyman was aware of it, many of the men, and even the elderly Spanish chaplain, had caught his hand and kissed it, in deep gratitude for the books. See 'Extract of a Letter from a Clergyman at Plymouth,' dated 8th Sept. 1808, in the 5th BFBS Report (1809), pp. 245-46.

[19] One distributor, a lady in a southern English seaport, reported in March 1810 that the previous year, she had disposed of a total of 1,035 Spanish Testaments. See 1st EBS Report (1810), pp. 39-41.

expressed his 'principal wish to co-operate, whether near or far off, with the great designs of this noble Society.'[20] It is not known, however, what efforts, if any, the Swedish Ambassador exerted in Spain to promote the interests of the Bible Society. In any case, adverse circumstances soon made progress in this direction apparently impossible, at least for the time being.

The Bourbon Restoration and Conservative Reaction (1814-1820)

The restoration of the Bourbon monarchy in Spain at the end of the Napoleonic Wars quickly led to a conservative reaction in that country. Ferdinand VII annulled the enactments of the liberal Cadiz Cortes, and reestablished the Inquisition, along with censorship. Thus, the peace of 1814, which provided rapid openings for the British and Foreign Bible Society in central and northern Europe, did not bring about a similar result in Spain. As a former secretary of that Bible Society years later recalled, official reports in reference to Spain at this time contained 'little more than lamentations over its sad state.'[21]

Yet, despite discouragement on the part of some British Protestants interested in evangelical work in Spain,[22] fresh hopes arose not long afterwards. These new hopes were the result of reports that certain enlightened Spaniards were clandestinely working for re-

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[20] Comte de la Gardie to the Rev. John Owen, dated London, 19th March 1814, as quoted in the 5th EBS Report (1814), pp. 95-96.

[21] Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 4.

[22] In reference to the reestablishment of the Inquisition, the Religious Monitor, for example, was led to remark that 'either that Ferdinand is utterly unqualified to hold the sceptre of Spain, or that the Spanish people are wholly unfit for the enjoyment of any portion of rational freedom.' See vol. XII (1814), p. 396.

ligious reforms. One report said that since 1808, some three thousand copies of the Spanish Bible translated from the Vulgate[23] had been sold in Spain, and that many, expressing dissatisfaction with Catholicism, had assembled together to study the Scriptures.[24] It was the alarm of the government over these events (undoubtedly, along with the spread of Freemasonry), which reportedly prompted the reestablishment of the Inquisition.[25]

In 1815 the Hibernian Evangelical Magazine (Dublin) also reported that a Spanish duke of liberal views had called upon the Reformed minister at Toulouse the year before, for the purpose of being made more particularly acquainted with Protestant teachings. In the course of their conversation, the duke disclosed certain developments in Spain,[26] which tended to corroborate the above reports. On parting

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[23] This probably refers to the Scio version, in ten volumes, published in Valencia from 1790 to 1793. Cf. S. L. Greenslade, The Cambridge History of the Bible: The West from the Reformation to the Present Day (Cambridge, 1963), p. 354.

[24] 6th EBS Report (1815), p. 85. See also Hibernian Evangelical Magazine, vol. I (1815), p. 282.
This was also somewhat corroborated by the Spanish Protestant, D. Angel Herreros de Mora, speaking before the 1857 Berlin Conference of the Evangelical Alliance. See his address, 'The Religious Condition of Spain,' in The Religious Condition of Christendom (Berlin, 1857), ed. by Edward Steane (London, 1859), p. 476.

[25] In his decree reestablishing the Inquisition, Ferdinand VII said: 'The late troubles, and the war which has desolated during six years every province in the kingdom; the long abode which has been made in Spain by troops of different sects, almost all of whom were infected with sentiments of hatred toward our religion; the disorder which has been the inevitable result of this, and the inattention with which the affairs of our holy religion have been treated during this unfortunate period; all these circumstances united, have laid the field open to wicked persons, who have never experienced any check; dangerous opinions have been introduced, and have taken root in our states by the same means as they were spread in other countries.' As quoted by The Religious Monitor, vol. XII (1814), pp. 396-97.

[26] The duke was quoted as saying that, in regard to religion, there were three classes of Spaniards -- 'the Deists and Atheists, the slaves of a degrading superstition, and the disciples of the Gospel.' The last mentioned used to assemble in secret before 1808, but since

with the Protestant minister, the duke reportedly expressed the hope that before five years, there would be Protestant churches and ministers in all the large towns of Spain.[27] This piece of 'religious intelligence' then led the same magazine to remark that 'Spain is in a better state than is generally supposed,' and that this 'affords a gleam of hope that the light of the gospel is beginning to penetrate through those shades of terror, which have long obscured a great part of the Continent of Europe.'[28]

Whether the events mentioned in these and similar reports were correctly related or not was a question which hardly bothered those evangelical Protestants interested in Spain. On the whole, exuberance of zeal inclined them to believe anything favourable to their cause. In any case, just before the Spanish constitutional triennium of 1820-1823, two developments occurred, which raised their hopes for a successful venture in Spain. The first was the establishment in Madrid of an experimental boys' school, patterned after the educational principles of the Quaker schoolmaster, Joseph Lancaster (1778-1838)[29] and the Anglican chaplain, Dr Andrew Bell (1753-1832).[30] The second

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then less secretly (though, they were again forced underground after 1814). The duke also mentioned a Spanish canon, who had been first secretary to the minister for religious affairs during the reign of Joseph. This ecclesiastic had reportedly quitted the Catholic faith, and had translated into Spanish several Protestant works. For this, he was forced to flee Spain at the restoration of Ferdinand. The duke also added that the recent proceedings against the leading members of the Cortes were due to their attempts to reform the Church. See The Hibernian Evangelical Magazine, vol. I (1815), p. 146.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid. See also p. 282. Cf. 6th EBS Report (1815), p. 85.

[29] See Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, Dictionary of National Biography (22 vols., London, 1908-1909), vol. XI, pp. 480-83.

[30] See ibid., vol. II, pp. 149-52.

was the apparently continuing interest of many enlightened Spaniards in the Bible and in Protestant teachings, as indicated by reports being regularly received from chaplains in Gibraltar, or evangelical Protestant workers in southern France. Of this second development, more will be said in a later part of this chapter, in connection with the Spanish work of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society and the so-called 'Continental Society'.

When the Madrid model school[31] was established in 1818, the news was received with great interest by evangelical Protestants in Britain. To them, it was a favourable indication of the progress of liberal ideas in Spain. This was largely because in Lancaster's original model, Bible reading and religious instruction, which was non-denominational but explicitly Protestant, stood at the centre of

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[31] This school was founded by high-ranking Spanish nobles, who were convinced of the advantages of the system of 'mutual instruction' of Bell and Lancaster. A committee of nine members of their circle, headed by the Duque del Infantado, placed the school under their patronage, and obtained sanction for it from both the King and the Supreme Council of Castile. They appointed a British military officer, named John Kearney, as the salaried supervisor of the entire program. The plan was for the Madrid model to be reproduced throughout Spain, each school being conducted by city or town councils, 'Economic Societies', or any other interested corporations or individuals. No further regulations were imposed other than that all schools should adhere strictly to the prescribed system, and submit to no other authority than the committee at Madrid.

By 1823, two more schools under this system were established in Madrid, and at least one each in Valencia, Seville, Cadiz, and other principal towns and cities. Though these schools suffered adversely during the reactionary period 1823-1833, they were afterwards revived when liberal ministries came to power.

For more details, see the official Spanish handbook, Metodo de enseñanza mutua, segun los sistemas combinados del Dr. Bell y de Mr. Lancaster, para uso de las escuelas elementales o de primeras letras; aprobado por S.M., y mandado observar en la escuela central de Madrid y en las demas que de esta clase se establezcan en España (Madrid, 1820). See also The Religious Monitor, vol. XVI (1818), pp. 191-92; vol. XVII (1819), p. 132. See also the 18th Report of the British and Foreign Schools Society, as cited by The Christian Monitor and Religious Register, vol. III (1823), p. 750. Cf. Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, pp. 139-40, 182.

the curriculum. It was apparently generally assumed in Britain that the Spanish adaptation of this model followed along the same lines. Later reports in British evangelical journals on the Spanish 'Lancastrian' schools in Madrid and other places sounded as if they were referring to quasi-Protestant institutions.[32] The fact of the matter was that it was Catholic priests, though admittedly those of liberal views, who taught the subjects in morality, Christian dogma and ecclesiastical history. The catechism textbooks used were Catholic, and the Scripture version used was almost certainly Scio's Catholic Bible.[33] It should be said, however, that the Spaniards did use translations of the Scripture, spelling and arithmetic lessons prepared by the British and Foreign Schools Society.[34] In any case, it appears that the existence of these schools greatly contributed to evangelical hopes in Britain that Protestant work might shortly be possible in Spain, given a liberal and tolerant government.[35]

The Constitutional Triennium (1820-1823)

As already alluded to, a military revolt in 1820 brought the doceanistas, or constitutionalists, to power. With the re-proclamation of the Constitution of 1812 came, among other things, absolute liberty of the press.[36] On the surface, this appeared to be a defin

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[32] One evangelical magazine, for example, described these schools as 'foundains of Scriptural instruction,' and spoke of 'children receiving instruction in the Holy Scriptures according to the British system.' See The Missionary Register (1829), p. 502. See also The Christian Repository and Religious Register (1818), p. 309.

[33] See Metodo de enseñanza mutua . . ., pp. iv f.

[34] The Christian Repository and Religious Register (1818), p. 309.

[35] See, especially, The Missionary Register (1829), pp. 502-503.

[36] See Angel Gonzalez Palencia, Estudio historico sobre la censura gubernativa en España, 1800-1833 (Madrid, 1934), vol. I, p. xxiv.

nite advance over the same, but limited liberty in 1812. During that earlier period, a distinction had been made between political and religious opinions, the latter being then subject to pre-publication censorship (previa censura) by the ecclesiastical ordinaries.[37] The constitutional triennium was also characterized by renewed government attacks upon the prerogatives of the Church,[38] as well as agitations for reforms by a small but influential number of enlightened Spanish ecclesiastics.[39] In view of these developments, certain British evangelical societies were once again encouraged to exert new efforts in Spain. First came the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society, followed later by the Continental Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge over the Continent of Europe,[40] more popularly known as the 'Continental Society.'

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[37] See the decree of the Cadiz Cortes, 'Libertad politica de imprenta,' in Fernando Diaz-Plaja, El siglo XIX (Madrid, 1955), p. 98. Cf. The Religious Monitor, vol. IX (1810), p. 41.

[38] For details of the anticlerical measures of this constitutional regime, see Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. II, pp. 61f.

[39] See A. H. de Mora, in Steane, The Religious Condition of Christendom (Berlin, 1857), p. 476.

[40] This society was founded in 1818 by a wealthy Scotsman, Henry Drummond, at the inspiration of his friend, the evangelist Robert Haldane (1764-1842). It was patterned after Haldane's original Scottish 'Society for Propagating the Gospel at Home.' Although mainly based in London, the Continental Society also had a strong Edinburgh and Leith Auxiliary, organized in 1821 through Haldane's own efforts, plus various smaller auxiliaries or corresponding committees in Stirling, Glasgow, Dundee, Perth, Paisley, Dublin, Belfast, Gloucester, Bristol, Liverpool, Leeds and Hull. Although its primary objective was to foster the reveille among continental European Protestants, frequent contacts between Spaniards and its agents and colporteurs in southern France eventually drew the attention of the Continental Society to the prospects of work in Spain. See Alexander Haldane, Memoirs of the Lives of Robert Haldane, of Airthrey, and of his Brother, James Alexander Haldane (London, 1852), p. 463. See also Proceedings of the Continental Society, for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge over the Continent of Europe, Fifth Year (London, 1823), esp. pp. xxxii-xxxiv.

Little is known of the actual proceedings of the Religious Tract Society during this period,[41] but the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society was quite extensive and deserves further discussion. As early as 1816, the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist chaplains in Gibraltar had observed clear indications of the favourable disposition of many enlightened Spaniards towards the Scriptures and Protestant literature. The British and Foreign Bible Society responded by sending that year a few hundred Spanish Testaments,[42] which were in time all circulated from Gibraltar. When the 1820 Spanish revolution brought increased demand for the Scriptures, the Bible Society printed in Shacklewell a Scio Testament edition of 5,000 copies, under the supervision of the converted Spanish priest, Blanco White.[43] About the same time, another Scio edition of 10,000 was prepared in Barcelona for the same society by a Spanish priest, who obtained a permit for it from the Vicar General of that place.[44] These were followed the next year by the first London edition of the complete Spanish Bible (Scio's version, with the Apocrypha).[45] Several more Scripture editions were to follow in the next few years, including one of 15,000 copies of the Testament, printed in Paris in 1822. Pamphlets were also circulated

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[41] What is certain, however, is that in 1823 the Religious Tract Society circulated in Spain some 8,000 tracts. This circulation was apparently fruitful. It was reported, for example, that through his reading of some of these tracts, a Spanish priest had become favourably disposed towards Protestantism. While it is not known whether he did turn Protestant, he contributed his services to the Tract Society by translating into Spanish a number of the English publications of that society. See Jones, The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, p. 303.

[42] 13th BFBS Report (1817), p. lxi.

[43] See T. H. Darlow and H. F. Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society (2 vols., London, 1911), vol. II, p. 1140.

[44] Ibid. [45] Ibid.

to give Spaniards information on the nature and the work of the British and Foreign Bible Society.[46]

During the constitutional triennium, several thousand copies of the Scripture editions above were sold in Spain, particularly through Cadiz and Malaga, not to mention Gibraltar and southern France.[47] It seems that the liberal atmosphere of the period had enabled many a Spaniard, for whom perhaps Catholicism had lost its meaning, to embark less timidly in unorthodox directions of religious inquiry. Agents and correspondents of the British and Foreign Bible Society were constantly amazed by the manifest eagerness of many to buy Bibles and Testaments.[48] In fact, in Gibraltar the Society found it necessary in 1821 to set up a 'Corresponding Committee', under the supervision of the various chaplains at the garrison, in order to cope with the enlarged task of Scripture circulation. In the next three years, that Committee, through various ways, circulated in Spain no less than 1,000 Bibles and 2,000 Testaments,[49] and in years ahead served as an effective outpost of the Bible Society.

So far, the only British evangelical societies which had actually undertaken some work in Spain were the London Bible and

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[46] See, for example, Breve noticia de la Sociedad Biblica Britanica y Estrangera (Chelsea, c. 1823).

[47] At one time, the British and Foreign Bible Society, in response to requests, despatched a total of 100 Spanish Bibles and 6,500 Testaments to various agents and correspondents in southern France. See 19th BFBS Report (1823), pp. liv, 44.

[48] See, for example, 'Extract of a letter from Mr. Croscombe, dated Gibraltar, Nov. 8, 1822, to the Wesleyan Missionary Society,' The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. IV (1823), p. 78.

[49] Letter of Dr Pinkerton, dated Gibraltar, 21st April 1824, in the 21st BFBS Report (1825), p. 67. For more details of the way Scriptures found their way to Spain from Gibraltar, see Proceedings of the Continental Society . . . (1823), p. 88.

Tract societies. The constitutional triennium encouraged at least one other British evangelical body, the Continental Society, to attempt a 'regular mission' in Spain. This new development is to be differentiated from the labours of the Bible and Tract societies, for although it indeed was to begin also with the simple dissemination of Scriptures and Protestant tracts, its ultimate objective was to proselytize Spaniards. In this venture, especial attention was apparently to be directed towards enlightened Spanish priests, for it was hoped that converts from this class might later be employed as Protestant agents.[50] This new development is quite significant, in that it shows a progressive movement in the direction of Spanish evangelization, as the latter was more fully developed and carried out years later.

Thus, early in 1822, an agent of the Continental Society tried to obtain from the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, the Primate of Spain, permission to introduce into the country Scriptures without the expository notes. These were to be either in the Scio Catholic version, recently revised by the British and Foreign Bible Society, or any other version which the Cardinal might approve.[51] When this application was refused,[52] the Continental Society thought that less

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[50] Thus, one early report mentioned a converted Spanish friar, formerly connected with the University of Cartagena, as having gone to London to meet members of the Continental Society. Unfortunately, this man died from a lung infection upon his arrival. (For other details, see ibid., p. 88). But it is significant that up to 1854, Spaniards acting as Protestant agents were practically all former ecclesiastics or monks.

[51] The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. III (1822), pp. 61-62.

[52] On the whole, the Catholic hierarchy in Spain at this time had no objections to Bible circulation, provided the copies were of the authorized Catholic versions. There is on record a letter of the Bishop of Loryma to the Spanish Minister of Grace and Justice, dated Madrid, 21st April 1823, commending the new Amat version. Not only was this version free from anything censurable, said the prelate, but

conspicuous methods might better serve its purposes in Spain. Thus, various quantities of Spanish Scriptures were brought into the country, mainly through sailors, merchants, and foreign visitors to the chief Spanish seaports. On one occasion, 500 Testaments were smuggled from Gibraltar to Malaga.[53] In southern France near the border, other agents of the Continental Society also sold Scriptures to travellers and soldiers crossing over to Spain.[54] It appears that one agent, in fact, took advantage of the entry in 1823 of the French Army (the 'Ten Thousand Sons of St. Louis'), and distributed Spanish Scriptures for the soldiers to take to Spain.[55]

The Continental Society's most daring attempt, however, was launched from Edinburgh. In this city was a young Spanish Protestant (referred to in the reports only as 'J.G.'), who seems to have been a British subject and had lived most of his life in Britain or Gibraltar. On the recommendation of the Edinburgh and Leith Auxiliary, the Continental Society sent him to Cadiz in the summer of 1823. He was to circulate Spanish Testaments and tracts, and to ascertain the people's probable response to a regular evangelical mission,[56] which, if feasible, was shortly to be established. After some weeks

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it was also 'very useful at a time when the London Bible Society is scattering abroad through the whole world so many millions of versions in the Vulgate in vulgar languanges, without any explanation or note whatsoever.' As quoted by Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 68.

53 See Proceedings of the Continental Society (1823), p. 88.

54 See letter of 'H.P.' (Henri Pyt), dated Bayonne, 22nd April 1823, in ibid., p. 70.

55 The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. III (1822), ;. 63; vol. VI (1825), pp. 28-29.

56 Proceedings of the Continental Society (1823), p. 45. Cf. The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. V (1824), pp. 24-25.

in Cadiz, he extended his operations to the near-by town of San Fernando, at the invitation of two Spanish gentlemen, whom he had met on board the ship from London. But the day after his arrival, he and two of his assistants were arrested by the military authorities, and charged with seditious activities under the guise of distributing religious tracts. This was an unfortunate incident, which appears to have been purely the product of the attending political circumstances. There were then rumoured to be Spanish traitors, who were working for the French, and who, under the pretext of religious purposes, were going through the cities in a mission of sabotage and murder.[57] As the president of the late Cadiz Cortes subsequently told the Continental Society agent, had it been a time of peace, the latter might have been able to distribute as many Protestant tracts as he was able, and no one would have said anything in complaint.[58]

Released after ten days, through the remonstrance of the British Consul at Cadiz, the agent 'J.G.' was then deported to Gibraltar, where he was prevailed upon to stay by the Anglican and Wesleyan Methodist chaplains in the garrison. The latter expressed the view that in Gibraltar, there was greater prospect of being useful. This was not only because of what was now an unsettled state in Spain,

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[57] See 'Extract of a Letter from J.G., agent from the Continental Society,' dated Gibraltar, 1st October 1823, in The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, vol. II, n.s. (1824), p. 26.

[58] In their conversation on board the ship from Cadiz to Gibraltar, the ex-Cortes president reportedly confirmed the presence of Spaniards spying for the French under the cover of religion. Taking one of the agent's tracts, the former pointed to a poem, which, he said, had placed the agent under suspicion. The subject was of God sending Christ to sinners with laws of peace to the conscience. The military governor of San Fernando, said the ex-Cortes president, had taken the allegorical view that 'God' in the poem actually referred to the French King, and 'Jesus' to the Duke of Angouleme, 'sent by the King of France with laws of peace to the cities, to pacify the disturbances of Spain' See ibid.

but more importantly, because it was thought likely that a Spanish Protestant congregation in Gibraltar might be immediately gathered, if there were a minister to preach to them in their own language. Sadly enough, the Continental Society agent was not fully prepared for that task, because although of Spanish parentage, he had only an imperfect knowledge of the Castilian language. However, he stayed on to assist in the Spanish work of the Gibraltar chaplains,[57] and quite possibly remained there for some time.

The Second Period of Ferdinand's Rule (1823-1833)

Succeeding events after the end of the constitutional interregnum of 1820-1823 showed that it was now even less likely that Protestant work could be carried on in Spain. Paradoxically, however, a renewed British evangelical interest in Spanish religious affairs arose, as if to meet the challenge of the increased difficulties of establishing missionary work in that country. In the January 1824 issue of The Christian Monitor and Religious Register (Edinburgh), there appeared a long article, titled 'Historical Sketch of the Attempt to Introduce the Reformation into Spain.'[58] This was apparently one of earliest articles on Spain, which appeared in British religious journals in the next fifty years, with the view of showing why the Reformation failed in that country. It was also sometime about 1824 that the Edinburgh professor, Thomas M'Crie, began to write his volume on the Reformation in Spain (noted elsewhere in this study), which for several decades ranked as one of the most authoritative sources on the subject.

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[57] Ibid.

[58] See vol. IV (1824), pp. 31-41.

The period immediately following 1823 inaugurated a characteristic practice of those British evangelical societies interested in Spain. Whenever a reactionary regime forced them out of that country, they would continue their labours outside its borders, wherever Spaniards might be found in great numbers. Meanwhile, they would take advantage of whatever opportunities might arise from time to time to send Scriptures and Protestant literature into Spain.[59] This was precisely what the Continental Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society did after the collapse of the constitutional triennium.

Not long after his flight from Spain in 1823, a converted Spanish Franciscan friar, D. Juan Calderon (1791-1854),[60] laboured for a few years in Bayonne, under the service of the Continental Society. In 1829 he came to London, and for a while preached to hundreds of his countrymen (liberals who fled Spain or were exiled after 1823), living in Somers-Town. Through arrangements prepared by a member of the Committee of the Continental Society, a Baptist chapel was secured each Sunday night for this purpose. At first, hundreds attended the services, because some influential exiles induced all they could prevail upon to come. Unfortunately, this was apparently not motivated by any genuine interest in Protestantism. It was just that these exaltado liberals thought it a good way of getting back at the Spanish clergy they hated. They blamed the latter for the misfortunes of their country, and more particularly, for the banishment they were presently enduring. Thus, as Calderon himself said later, they

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[59] As illustration, see the work of the Continental Society in Bayonne, in The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. VI (1825), pp. 28-29.

[60] More will be said of Calderon in later chapters, but see also 'Auto-Biography of Don Juan Calderon, A Spanish Priest' (a four-part series), Evangelical Christendom, vol. IV (1850), pp. 230f.

'felt that the power of Spaniards thus holding a religious service according to Protestant forms, accorded well with their political ideas about liberty.'[61]

Such tenuous reasons, however, could not really be expected to keep the religious services going. Attendance rapidly dwindled before long, mainly because other exiles, who were more influential than those who supported Calderon, discouraged the people from taking part in the Protestant services. Moreover, the very first Sunday night, Calderon scandalized the 'republican faction', when he prayed for King Ferdinand. Consequently, there was a false rumour spread around that he was, in fact, a royalist spy. On top of these, it was also said that those who attended Protestant services would be branded as heretics, and completely barred from returning to Spain, in the event of a political amnesty being declared. Thus, as a result, no more than twelve or fourteen continued in attendance at the services.

On the whole, this experiment was a failure. Practically all the exiles at Somers-Town left for France, after the French revolution of 1830. Calderon himself rejoined his wife and children in Bayonne. There he remained until 1842, when he went to Madrid, to continue his Protestant activities, under the guise of being a professor of Castilian literature. More may be said of the work among Spaniards of the Continental Society,[62] but this properly belongs to another

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[61] Ibid., p. 328.

[62] Sometime late in the 1830's, the Continental Society was reconstituded as the European Missionary Society. This in turn merged in 1840 with the Societes Evangeliques of Geneva and France, to form the Foreign Aid Society. In 1846, the latter was once more reconstituted as the Evangelical Continental Society, through the initiative of Dr Merle d'Aubigne, of Geneva, and the Hon. Arthur F. Kinnaird. See the first Annual Report of the Foreign Society, for Promoting the Objects of the European Societes Evangeliques (1840), p. 5.

chapter.

The other evangelical society which conducted a Spanish mission during this period -- in this case, at Gibraltar -- was the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. This particular mission was the outgrowth of their Gibraltar chaplaincy,[63] and was the first endeavour by a denominational missionary body to proselytise Spaniards. As will be shown more clearly in the next chapter, the chain of events starting from this Wesleyan Methodist mission demonstrated the strategic importance of Gibraltar as a British missionary outpost.[64] This was a fact that was also appreciated by other evangelical societies.[65]

The roots of the Wesleyan Methodist Spanish mission may be traced back to 1816, when Methodist chaplains in the British garrison began to collaborate with the London Bible and Tract societies, in the sale of Spanish Scriptures and the distribution of tracts.[66] The idea of a possible Spanish mission, attached to their Gibraltar chaplaincy, gradually pressed itself upon the minds of the Wesleyan Methodist com-

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[63] For the earliest beginnings of this chaplaincy, see W. H. Rule, An Account of the Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism in the British Army (London, 1883), pp. 18-19. Cf. G. G. Finlay and W. W. Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (5 vols., London, 1922), vol. IV, pp. 417f.

[64] From the beginning the Wesleyan Methodists had seen the importance of the location of Gibraltar. As one Methodist historian put it, 'Gibraltar was considered to be the key to Spain . . . in a Missionary sense.' See William Moister, A History of Wesleyan Missions, in all parts of the World, from their Commencement to the present time (2nd rev. ed.; London, 1871), p. 43.

[65] See, for example, The Missionary Register (1829), pp. 437-38. See also The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. II (1851-52), p. 275; vol. V (1854-55), pp. 23, 241.

[66] See The Report for the year 1817, of the Committee for the Management of the Missions, first commenced by the Rev. John Wesley, the Rev. Dr Coke, and others; and now carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference (London, 1817), p. 4.

mittee on missions, as yearly reports from Gibraltar continued to suggest the existence of a deep curiousity and eagerness on the part of many Spaniards to know more about Protestant teachings.[67] This was also the same impression received by English visitors to cities and large towns of Spain.[68]

The need for a Gibraltar mission to Spaniards appeared imperative late in 1823, when the collapse of the constitutional regime forced many Spanish liberals to flee their country. Many of them sought temporary refuge in Gibraltar. As these refugees generally opposed the Catholic clergy, it was thought likely that a number of them might be well-disposed towards Protestantism. Already, the efforts of a 'Benevolent Society', attached to the Wesleyan chaplaincy, for the purpose of attending to the needs of sick and distressed foreigners in Gibraltar, had resulted in several Spaniards reportedly being 'brought to a saving acquaintance with the truth.'[69] Moreover, an effective means had also been found of sending quantities of Scriptures and religious tracts into Spain.[70]

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[67] Methodist missionary reports at the time gave prominence to the various encounters between their Gibraltar chaplains and Spanish inquirers. In 1821, two gentlemen from Cadiz made arrangements with the chaplain, the Rev. William Croscombe, for regular remittances to them of Scriptures and Protestant literature. A Spanish priest from an interior town of Spain also came for Bibles, tracts, and translations of the Anglican Prayer-Book. In 1823, many Spaniards at various times also visited the Wesleyan chapel, not only to observe the religious proceedings there, but also to hold private conversations with Croscombe on the subject of religion. See WMMS Reports (1821), p. xxii; (1823), p. 3. Cf. The Scottish Missionary Register, vol. IV (1823), p. 78.

[68] This is somewhat suggested by one report appearing in ibid.

[69] WMMS Report (1823), p. 3.

[70] Of the hundreds of Spanish merchants regularly visiting Gibraltar, Croscombe had found many willing to sell Scriptures for a commission. See WMMS Report (1825), p. 5.

In view of these opportunities, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society decided late in 1824 to appoint a second chaplain-missionary to Gibraltar. His task was to learn Spanish and direct his efforts primarily to the Spanish political refugees, as well as to the mixed population in the town outside the garrison.[71] At the start, he was to share part of the English work with the other chaplain. But as he gained proficiency in the Spanish language, he was to devote increasingly more of his time to the Spanish mission. The man chosen for this task was a young minister named William Barber.[72]

Barber commenced his work, full of enthusiasm, at the beginning of 1825. By his arrival, a small group of inquirers, among them a Catholic priest, had already been gathered into a class for Bible study, and had meanwhile been placed under the charge of a Spanish evangelist.[73] It was hoped that in time, this class would consti-

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[71] Wm. Barber to his father, dated Gloucester, 21st Oct. 1824, in Aquila Barber, A Brother's Portrait; or, Memoirs of the late Rev. William Barber, Wesleyan Missionary to the Spaniards at Gibraltar . . . (London, 1830), p. 230. Cf. WMMS Report (1824), p. 3.

[72] Barber was born in Bristol in 1799 into a family of evangelical piety. His father was a Methodist, and his mother a Baptist, who had several ministers in her own family. Barber himself received his ministerial training from the Bristol Baptist Academy, although later he and his elder brother Aquila both decided for the Wesleyan Methodist ministry. Frail in health since childhood, Barber grew up to be a deeply sensitive and introspective soul, in whom successive tragedies left their deep imprint. In the space of seventeen months, he lost his young bridge, his mother, and then his teen-aged sister -- all the women, who meant most to his life. It was, in fact, apparently due to a desire to escape from his painful memories in England, as well as from the inclement weather, which was not congenial to his chronic lung complaint, that he sought a missionary post in some warmer climate abroad. See Barber, A Brother's Portrait, pp. 6f., 189-90.

[73] This Spanish evangelist, D. Juan B. Quirell (or Quierell), was Barber's associate till 1828. Nothing is known about his activities from then on until 1857, when, as a teacher of English in Cadiz, he was employed as part-time agent by another British society, the Spanish Evangelization Society. See Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 67-67.

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tute the nucleus of the first Spanish Wesleyan Methodist congregation in Gibraltar.

Despite the indifference and opposition which he encountered, from Spanish Catholics and English Protestants alike[74] -- which for a time brought him to the brink of despair,[75] Barber's efforts in time slowly began to bear fruit. Having gained some proficiency in Spanish, he set about to put the inquirer's class on an improved footing; conducted regular meetings for prayer, Bible study, and worship; and on Saturday evenings, held, whenever possible, some sort of 'experience-meeting' with his congregation.[76] He identified himself with the local population, left the Mission House for a lodging in the town, placed the Spanish Mission more independently of the English chaplaincy, and on the whole, showed himself sensitive to the inward sentiments of those among whom he worked.[77]

By 1826, Barber had gathered a core of serious and sincere worshippers, although he felt they were not yet ready to be organized

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74 Early in his work, Barber complained of being regarded nearly by all Spaniards 'as an object of suspicion, as worse than a Romish priest or a Jesuit,' and of the difficulty of 'having to do with people who either hate all religion, or are bigoted to their own.' As to the English, they were not only, as a whole, indifferent to religion; they were even decidedly hostile to those of 'evangelical and vital piety.' While Catholics, and even Jews and Muslims, were rather viewed with complacency, Methodists, said Barber, were only barely tolerated. See Barber, A Brother's Portrait, pp. 282, 341.

75 See ibid., pp. 270, 281f. See also Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 31.

76 For more details, see Barber, A Brother's Portrait, pp. 339, 344f.

77 This was shown especially by Barber's introduction, with the approval of the Wesleyan Methodist mission secretaries, of the liturgy of the Church of England, as well as the Anglican Prayer-Book. Barber believed that these were more congenial to the Spaniards' preference for more ritualistic services. See ibid., p. 284.

into a 'society'.[78] The following year, however, up to fifty Spaniards and native Gibraltarians were in regular attendance at his three weekly services. That same August, he finally decided to organize a 'Spanish Wesleyan Methodist Society,' and admitted into communion service at first seventeen, and later, twenty-one communicants.[79]

It would thus appear that by this time, the Wesleyan Methodist Spanish Mission had at last been firmly established. But at this stage, Barber's habitual tendency to under-rate his own accomplishments[80] threatened his entire work. His previous reports had led the mission secretaries in London erroneously to believe that his work was simply a waste of money and effort. This, incidentally, is perhaps the reason why Barber's achievements scarcely received attention in British evangelical journals of the period, although considerably less significant bits of 'religious intelligence' on Spain had at various times been given more importance. Published notices of his work at this time might have considerably advanced the incipient conviction among evangelical Protestants that a mission to Spaniards was practicable. But such was not to be provided by Barber. In fact, it was only due to the most ardent representations of his friends, both in Gibraltar and in England, that the mission secretaries were able to appreciate his achievements.[81]

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[78] Ibid., p. 348.

[79] Ibid., pp. 336f. Cf. WMMS Report (1826), p. 6.

[80] As his brother Aquila put it, this was Barber's one haunting fault, namely, the 'habitual tendency of his mind to desponding views of himself and his work.' See A Brother's Portrait, p. 360.

[81] Ibid., pp. 360f.

It was certainly a turning point in Barber's work when the 85th Annual Methodist Conference of 1828 voted to receive him into full connexion, somewhat indicating that his Spanish mission was to be placed on a more or less permanent footing.[82] Barber also seems to have taken a more positive view of what he has accomplished, and now thought of remaining for a much longer period in Gibraltar. He, a widower, entertained thoughts of a second marriage. He had also visited Spain earlier that year,[83] doubtless with the idea of extending his work there, if this were possible. But then, as sudden as it was unexpected, tragedy came. In the autumn of 1828, there came a violent epidemic of yellow fever, killing more than sixteen hundred people in Gibraltar. Among them was Barber. Contracting the fever while attending to dying soldiers, he passed away on the 26th of October that year, not quite thirty years old.[84]

Barber had demonstrated that a mission to Spaniards was feasible and could be expected to produce the desired results. But what was more tragic than his death was the fact that the significance of what he had accomplished was not even fully appreciated at the time.[85] The new Wesleyan Methodist chaplain who succeeded him

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[82] At its annual meeting held earlier that year, Spain also caught the attention of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. As a former chaplain to Gibraltar told the gathering, 'if you have not yet many converts in Spain, you have ascertained that a spirit of inquiry is existing in that benighted country.' See The Missionary Register (1828), p. 268.

[83] Barber, A Brother's Portrait, pp. 387f. [84] Ibid., pp. 435f.

[85] Even the best tribute paid to Barber by another Wesleyan Methodist missionary, who came to Gibraltar a few years later, did not give full credit to Barber's relationship with the Spaniards, and their response to his efforts. Coloured by his own views of the Spaniards, and perhaps also by Barber's earlier reports, this other missionary said: 'It was his misfortune, indeed, to be dealing with persons who could not appreciate his motives, nor understand his object; . . . There is no reason to believe that his efforts were followed

paid little more than token attention to this Spanish mission. In fact, it was practically left to waste, until another Methodist chaplain with a keen interest in Spain came in 1832.

Concluding Remarks and Observations

The attempts of certain British evangelical societies to enter Spain during liberal periods from 1808 to 1833 were apparently encouraged by hopes, that conditions there had sufficiently changed, so that faiths other than the Roman Catholic might now be tolerated. By the very nature of the political struggle in Spain, these evangelical societies not surprisingly pinned their hopes on the victory of political liberals. It was expected that such a victory would pave the way for religious toleration, if not religious liberty, in Spain. It is doubtful, however, whether the members of these societies fully understood the various factions of Spanish liberalism, and the respectively platforms of each. The evidence available suggests that British evangelical Protestants at the time tended to over-simplify the situation, indiscriminately placing all 'enlightened' Spaniards on one side, and the traditionalists, on the other. As far as they saw it, it was through the conglomeration of 'enlightened'mmen in Spain, as a whole, that their missionary hopes would somehow be fulfilled.

But as it turned out, although very bitter struggle took place between liberal governments and the Church during this period,

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by the real conversion of a single soul, or that their immediate and visible result was any thing more than fraudulent profession of religious feeling by a few persons from the dregs of the Gibraltar poor, and the Spanish.' (See Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 33). It was not until several decades later, that Rule seems to have changed his appraisal of Barber's work, and spoke of it in considerably more complimentary terms. Cf. Rule's An Account of the Establishment of Wesleyan Methodism in the British Army (London, 1883), p. 22.

it was to be left to future decades for religious toleration to be instituted as a government policy in Spain. In the first place, the overwhelming majority of the Spanish people were, as yet, neither prepared nor willing to tolerate any faith other than their own. The revolt against Napoleon, with its strong religious undertones, had, in fact, intensified the Catholic feelings of the nation.[86] These feelings continued to seethe, being hardly diminished, in later years, in reaction to the hostile measures against the Church taken by anticlerical, constitutionalist regimes. This is not to mention the fact that Ferdinand's regalist policies did not fully satisfy the most conservative traditionalists.

When the religious policies of the constitutional governments of 1810 and 1820 are also taken into account, it appears that the hope of British evangelical Protestants as regards missionary prospects in Spain were quite premature. Indeed, the Cadiz Cortes in the earlier period was dominated by francophiles, anticurialists, Jansenists, and freemasons -- and in this sense, represented the most advanced thinking, though not the true sentiments, of the entire Spanish nation. Yet, despite their political liberalism, the deputies to the Cortes considered it expedient for the moment to at least pay lip service to the traditional principle of religious unity.[87] The Astu-

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[86] This is best illustrated by the Catecismo Español de 1808, which was almost a political handbook. This catechism taught that the three obligations of a Spaniard were 'to be a Christian, and to defend the Fatherland and the king,' and that the French (whom it was a 'meritorious act' to kill) were 'modern heretics', who had substituted for the 'political maxims' of Christ those of Machiavelli. For more details, see excerpts of this catechism in Diaz-Plaja, El siglo XIX, pp. 60, 71f. Cf. Llorente, The History of the Inquisition of Spain, p. 570.

[87] As Toreno, one of the framers of the Constitution of 1812, was quoted to have said: 'In time and when, through the medium of the

rian economist was a lone voice, who proposed in the constitutional draft presented to the Junta Central (Central Committee) of Seville in 1809, that 'no citizen shall be inconvenienced in his religion, but shall be free to practise that whichever he liked.'[88] On more than one occasion, even those who were reputedly les amis de la tolerance deemed it more prudent not to press the issue of religious toleration.[89] Thus, the Spanish Constitution of 1812, while closely following the French charters of 1781, 1793, and 1795, differed from all these in one salient respect, namely, its inclusion of Article 12, on religion. As will be remembered, that article 'perpetually' established the Catholic, apostolic, Roman, 'only true' religion, to the exclusion of any other. Again, the Cadiz Cortes proclaimed liberty of printing of political literature, but maintained the practice of previa censura on religious publications. Moreover, the constitutionalist regime of 1820-1823, which persecuted the Catholic Church in Spain perhaps more vigorously than was ever previously done, was in fact too unpopular and short-lived to be of any use for Protestant

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press, and the establishment of freedom, the public opinion had been better formed in this respect, by all being made to understand how just and necessary it is to respect all religions; and, on the other hand, the number of foreigners had increased; then the Spanish Catholic would not be alarmed at seeing the Protestant temple erected at the side of his church, as his ancestors saw the mosque and the synagogue, previously to the introduction of the Inquisition. But to establish toleration suddenly, after the empire of that tribunal had lasted three centuries, would have been folly, and would have furnished the clergy with a pretext to raise an outcry against reform in a more efficacious manner.' See Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 45.

88 D. Alvaro Florez Estrada, as quoted by Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 51.

89 Geoffroy de Grandmaison, L'Espagne et Napoleon, 1804-1809 (3 vols., Paris, 1908), vol. I, p. 198. This same view is also shared by other authors, as Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, p. 111.

purposes in that country.

Despite all these, there were increasing indications, however, that the principle of religious liberty, as the basis for true civil liberty, was slowly but surely taking root among enlightened Spaniards. In this lay the genuine foundation of Protestant hopes for their future work in Spain.

Chapter III

FRESH EVANGELICAL VENTURES IN LIBERAL SPAIN (1833-1843)

Toward the end of the 1820's, Protestant prospects in Spain momentarily appeared so bleak.[1] Even among those who had zealously supported the earlier attempts of a few British evangelical societies to enter that country, none would have dared predict when the next opportunity for fresh efforts might come. M'Crie's volume concluded with no more than a restrained hope that the 'more enlightened portion of the Spanish nation,'[2] who had turned their eyes to Britain instead of France, might assist in securing for their own country a rational constitution and a purified religion, upon their return. Similarly, British evangelical magazines contained no hopeful note about Spain. This state of things, however, was soon to change.

Background Conditions in Spain

In 1833, Spanish political affairs took a new turn. Queen Maria Cristina's anxiety over the future of her daughter Isabella's rights to the throne had forced her, even before Ferdinand VII's death, to open the opportunities for power to those avowedly opposed to Carlism.[3] Not surprisingly, as soon as the Carlists took to the field to do battle, Maria Cristina openly allied herself with the

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[1] See, for example, The Missionary Register (1828), p. 449; (1829), p. 402.

[2] History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain, p. 400.

[3] For more details, see Carr, Spain 1808-1939, pp. 152-53.

moderado liberals, though she despised their political views as much as she hated their religious indifference. It was through this expediency, nevertheless, that political liberalism and constitutional government finally gained a permanent hold in Spanish affairs. In quick succession, increasingly liberal men took the helm of government, so that by 1835 the most radical prime minister ever to come to power, namely, the exaltado Mendizabal, had gained control. By now, traditional absolutism was a rebel, and it appeared that only a military victory could bring it back in the form which it enjoyed during the Spanish ancien regime.

Although Maria Cristina's regency had begun with a personal intention on her part not to introduce 'dangerous innovations'[4] into Spanish church affairs, her alliance with the moderados and the return of the exaltados from exile left her powerless to fulfil it. The consequences on the Church were disastrous. This was aggravated by the severance of Spanish diplomatic relations with Rome, on account of Pope Gregory XVI's refusal to give categorical recognition to Isabella's rights to the throne. A 'committee of ecclesiastical reforms,' composed of Spanish Jansenists, among them the future Primate of Spain and D. Felix de Torres Amat,[5] the Bible translator, proposed certain 'gallicanist' reforms. Though conservative clerical opposition prevented these plans from being fully effected, more serious attacks upon the Church were to come from anticlerical government ministries.[6] As in previous liberal regimes since the reign of

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[4] Royal Manifesto (4th October, 1832), as quoted by Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 240.

[5] See ibid., vol. VII, p. 242.

[6] The first two anticlericalist decrees were issued during the

Joseph, monasteries, convents, colleges, and religious congregations and orders (with but three exceptions) were dissolved. The chief revenues of the Church were also abolished, and ecclesiastical and monastic properties disamorticized.[7] Within the seven-year period from 1833 to 1840, the Spanish clergy were numerically reduced by more than thirteen-fold.[8] When some members of the hierarchy proved intractable, the government resorted to strong-arm tactics to make them comply.[9]

What proved to be the most gruesome manifestation of popular hatred towards the priesthood was the mob massacre of more than a hundred friars in Madrid in July 1834. This was followed a year later by the burning of churches and convents, and more assassinations of ecclesiastics in five provincial cities.[10] These murders

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ministry of Toreno in 1835; three more followed under Mendizabal in 1835 and 1836, and one under Calatrava in 1837. The particular target of these decrees were the Carlist clergy and the Jesuits, the latter being re-expelled from Spain in 1835.

[7] For more details, and for a brief historical review of civil and ecclesiastical disamortization in Spain, see 'La desamortizacion en España,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XVIII, p. 364.

[8] In 1787 their number had been 188,625. In 1833 it was still 175,574 (89,840 priests; 61,736 monks, and 24,007) religious). But by 1840, it totalled only 12,736. In the next decades, the Spanish clergy continued to suffer further vicissitudes, their number in 1862 (which was 6,072), being one of the lowest figures ever. By 1878, however, the figure had again risen to 40,891, and by 1898 it was calculated to be around 72,000. See Encyclopedie des sciences religieuses, ed. by F. Lichtenberger (13 vols., Paris, 1882), vol. IV, p. 537.

[9] Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 267-68.

[10] For more details, see ibid., vol. VII, pp. 243-47. For attempts to explain this popular enmity towards the priesthood, see Peers, The Church in Spain, 1737-1937, pp. 13-14. Cf. Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. I, p. 618; vol. II, p. 703. Some of the clerical vices, which may have lowered the popular esteem

were strongly suspected of having been the result of masonic or carbonario conspiracy.[11] Whatever was the case, what seems to be more significant is the fact that such crimes could ever take place in Catholic Spain. All that needs to be said is that during the period 1833-1843, the Spanish Church was dealt a stunning blow, although the State felt obligated to support the clergy they dispossessed. It was not until the signing of the Concordat of 1851 that the strained relations between the Spanish government, on the one hand, and the Papacy and the Spanish Church, on the other, were somewhat normalized.

All these events in Spain undoubtedly proved of great interest to several quarters in Britain.[12] It would seem that a large measure of this interest was the result of the fact that, as one recent historian puts it, 'a large number of Englishmen,'[13] as a consequence of Wellington's campaigns, had by this time known Spain quite well. A number of veterans of those campaigns had published memoirs of their sojourn in Spain.[14] In the 1830's, Spanish affairs, therefore, were given regular publicity in British newspapers, although it was unfortunate, as the same historian above was careful to point out,

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of the priesthood, see Vicente de la Fuente, Historia eclesiastica de España (2nd ed., 6 vols.; Madrid, 1873-75), vol. III, pp. 483-84.

[11] See, for example, 'La masoneria en España,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XXXIII, p. 744.

[12] For the political interest in Britain over the course of Spanish affairs at this time, see Palmerston's speech before Parliament in June 1850, as quoted in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. LXVIII (1850), p. 323. Cf. G. Villiers, A Vanished Victorian: Being the Life of George Villiers, Fourth Earl of Clarendon, 1800-1870 (London, 1938), p. 83. (Villiers was British envoy to Spain from 1833 to 1838).

[13] Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 155.

[14] One particular book, which may be especially cited as an attempt to present a sympathetic view of Spain (including Spanish religious practices), was written by an ex-soldier named Sherer, under the title, Recollections of the Spanish Peninsula (London, 1823).

that the 'projection of the conscience of Europe into Spain distorted and oversimplified the issues at stake.'[15]

At any rate, the possibility of following up what a few evangelical societies had previously attempted to do in Spain seemed to have occurred to many Protestants in Britain. The macabre outburst of anticlericalist hatred in 1834 and 1835 could not have but evoked also the thought among Protestants that perhaps Catholicism in Spain was indeed losing its hold on the people. Moreover, since the first attempts of the London Bible and Tract societies in 1808, this was indeed the first time that Spain was under what appeared to be truly liberal governments. Some importance was attached to the fact that many of the Spaniards now in power had spent some years of exile in England. Before long, there also appeared some indications that these Spaniards had been favourably influenced by the atmosphere of religious liberty, with which they came in contact in England.[16]

Developments Encouraging Fresh Protestant Efforts in Spain

Aside from the political reasons already given, there were also other developments, which served to strengthen the growing conviction among Protestants that it was now possible to begin work in

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[15] Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 155.

[16] As the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, William Rule, later recalled: '... many Spaniards, especially those who had been emigrants in England, appeared desirous to undeceive their countrymen as to our religion. . . . The missionary works, for example, of Ellis, Gutzlaff, and other well-known authors, were favourably reviewed; and the advantages of scriptural instruction, in connexion with the management of public schools in Britain and America, were descanted on with unqualified approbation. Such proceedings of religious bodies as were thought to be in unison with the policies of Spain, were made public there; and the liberality of Protestants towards Roman Catholics in England . . . was cited, by the advocates of religious liberty in Spain, as a precedent worthy to be followed.' See Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 139.

Spain. These developments were somewhat unconnected, but together they presented a picture of Spain gradually advancing into a more liberal atmosphere than that in the opening years of the 1830's.

In February 1833, a few months before Ferdinand's death, two Quakers, Stephen Grellet (1773-1855)[17] and William J. Allen (1770-1843),[18] visited Spain to promote philanthropic aims,[19] and to plead for the establishment there of religious liberty.[20] When they came, the political situation then tended to favour their objectives, because of the progressive measures initiated by certain liberals who had recently been called to some posts in the government. Having with them the highest personal credentials, the visitors were cordially received by the American, French, and British ambassadors; the Spanish Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior, both of whom in different ways had been acquainted with the work of the Quakers;[21]

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[17] Grellet, born 'Etienne de Grellet du Mabillier', came from an aristocratic French family. His father was once comptroller of the royal mint and member of the household of Louis XIV. Fleeing the revolution in France, he eventually settled in New York, where he joined the Society of Friends. Beginning 1796, Grellet embarked on an itinerant ministry, which took him nearly all over the United States and Canada, and later also to Europe. For more details of Grellet's life, see his Memoirs of the Life and Labours of Stephen Grellet, ed. by Benjamin Seebohm (2 vols.; London, 1860), vol. I, pp. 3f. See also the pamphlet, 'A Testimony Concerning Stephen Grellet, of Burlington, United States' (Burlington, 1856), pp. 4-13.

[18] Allen was an English philanthropist, who for over thirty years was the treasurer of the British and Foreign Schools Society. For more details, see Helena Hall, William Allen 1770-1843, Member of the Society of Friends (Hayworth Heath, 1953).

[19] It was the Quakers' characteristic practice, as one recent writer put it, to seek 'interviews with "the Great" in general, and royalty in particular,' in the conviction that an enlightened, benevolent ruler possessed an 'incomparable power for good in society,' both through his example and his position to effect beneficial changes. See Elizabeth Isichei, Victorian Quakers (London, 1970), p. 192.

[20] Grellet, Memoirs . . ., vol. II, p. 228.

[21] For details, see ibid., vol. II, pp. 380, 388.

and, most important of all, King Ferdinand and Queen Maria Cristina themselves.[22] This was perhaps the only occasion ever that a Spanish monarch gave an audience to Protestant missionaries.

Grellet and Allen were practically official guests in the city of Madrid. Accounts of their visits to the different prisons and charitable institutions, with their daily itinerary, were printed in the newspapers. As a result of the various interviews and receptions given in their honour, they were able to meet a good number of liberal Spaniards in the upper classes of society -- grandees, nobles, high-ranking civil and military officials, ecclesiastics, bankers and lawyers.[23] Many others personally sought them at their lodgings,[24] and on at least four occasions, they held religious meetings, at which many Spaniards were present.[25] Later, when they left Madrid for Valencia and Barcelona, an order published by the King stirred up much excitement, it being unusual for the latter to command that due civilities be rendered to two emissaries of another religion. In the towns through which they passed, the streets were often lined with people, eager to catch a glimpse of them. At the inns where they stopped, many of the well-to-do local citizens also approached them, to inquire about their religious beliefs and practices.[26]

On the whole, their five-week visit to Spain showed that a

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[22] For details of the royal audience, held on the 10th of March 1833, at the invitation of King Ferdinand VII himself, see ibid., vol. II, pp. 391-94.

[23] Ibid., vol. II, passim.

[24] Details of some of these visits, including one by a young Barcelonese who had been told of the Quakers' visit by a priest-friend recently settled as a religious fugitive in England, are in ibid., vol. II, pp. 391, 407.

[25] Ibid., vol. II, passim.

[26] Ibid., vol. II, pp. 395f.

good number of high-ranking Spaniards were far from hostile to Protestantism, if it would bring beneficial results for their country. The two Quakers succeeded in all their objectives, save perhaps the most important of all, namely, the establishment of full religious liberty in Spain. As the Minister of the Interior admitted in their presence, such a measure was quite proper, but there was simply no way of bringing it about in Spain at the time.[27] Indeed, such a step could only have provoked the conservative party of apostolicos to greater excitement, and this the government could simply not afford, in view of the present question of succession. Grellet and Allen, however, were quite satisfied that they had sown the proper motivation, so that full liberty of conscience might be proclaimed in Spain as soon as it was possible to do so. Like many other hopes that Protestants entertained at the time, this was easier said than done. But perhaps the more immediate significance of their visit was the greater attention to Spain, which it helped to focus among British evangelical societies interested in that country, particularly those societies in which the Friends were especially active.

Beginning 1834, there were also indications that Scripture-circulation, the usual precursor of regular Protestant missions, was now more practicable than ever before. In the autumn of that year, the British and Foreign Bible Society correspondent in Gibraltar found that many leading booksellers in chief Spanish towns and cities were willing to sell Scriptures on commission, provided there was a way of receiving supplies of these, without their getting into trouble with the law.[28] It also appeared that Scripture circulation by

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[27] Ibid., vol. II, p. 390.

[28] See William H. Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work at

agents of Protestant Bible societies, if conducted discreetly, might gain support from liberal Spanish statesmen, intellectuals, and even members of the hierarchy and the clergy.[29] Certainly, the cause of Bible circulation had some open advocates in Spain. Foremost of them was none other than Amat, the Bishop of Astorga and Bible translator, whose Spanish Bible first appeared in 1823.[30] Incidentally, Amat was known to be friendly with a number of British Protestants (more evidence of which will be shown below). The attitude of intellectuals sympathetic to Bible circulation was perhaps best reflected by an editorial in the liberal Madrid journal, El Español, which, in an issue in March 1836, raised the question:

> Why should Spain, which has explored the New World . . . why should she alone be destitute of Bible Societies? Why should a nation eminently Catholic continue isolated from the rest of Europe, without joining in the magnificent enterprise in which the latter is so busily engaged?[31]

It was therefore clear that Protestant Bible societies could expect,

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Home and Abroad, in Connection with the Wesleyan Methodist Conference (London, 1886), p. 123.

[29] Ibid., pp. 140f. In 1837, the Bible agent George Borrow wrote to his friend, Richard Ford, that at least a third of the Spanish clergy, though unwilling to leave the Catholic Church, were 'known to be anxious of the Word of God,' and in favour of Bible circulation. See Herbert Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow (London, 1912), p. 196.

[30] Many Protestants from Yorkshire, and several English and Spanish merchants in Britain -- all in all about 300 -- subscribed to this edition, so that it was possible to sell each copy more cheaply than other Catholic editions. Unfortunately for Amat, this fact, much exaggerated later, was used by his enemies, notably the Papal Nuncio's secretary in Madrid, to prevent a second edition in 1832. The Gaceta de Madrid published a letter accusing Amat of allegedly receiving large sums from Yorkshire to finance his first edition. The French Ami de la Religion, however, came to his rescue, and ultimately helped to surmount all the difficulties. Some Protestant societies, indeed, offered to finance the second edition, if Amat would suppress all the notes and comments. But prudently, he refused to accede to this proposal. See 'Felix Torres Amat,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. LXII, pp. 1434-35.

[31] As quoted in Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, p. 173.

at the very least, no opposition from certain Spanish liberal circles.

Another development which may have encouraged British evangelical societies to enter Spain during this period was the successful Bible work among Spaniards in southern France. As early as 1834, the French correspondents of the British and Foreign Bible Society in Toulouse, Marseilles, and other southern French towns had been engaged in Bible work among the many Spaniards in their localities.[32] So encouraging were the results that the workers in Toulouse decided in that year to send colporteurs over to Spain, as soon as this would be possible.[33] Whether they did so, or not, is not certain. What is sure, however, is that the following year, one of their number went to the Pyrenees to arrange for the introduction of Testaments into Spain. At the same time, two colporteurs were also appointed to work among the Spaniards living in the French town of Perpignan.[34]

Entry of British Evangelical Societies into Spain

All these developments were instrumental in encouraging British evangelical societies beginning 1835 to attempt more or less regular work in Spain. In view of their previous labours in that country, the first to take action were the Bible and Tract societies. They were followed a little later by others, notably the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It is not clearly exactly how many

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[32] Of these correspondents, the most active were the three Courtois brothers, all bankers, in Toulouse. They founded in 1835 the Societe de Livres Religieux a Toulouse, which, until the Paris 'Society of Spanish Evangelization' was formed in 1858, was the main instrument of Spanish missions in southern France and northern Spain. See The Continental Echo and Protestant Witness, vol. I (1845), pp. 83, 267.

[33] 30th BFBS Report (1834), p. xxvii. Cf. The Missionary Register (1834), pp. 435-36.

[34] 32nd BFBS Report (1836), p. xxi.

British Protestant societies or individuals attempted work in Spain during this period. But the prime minister Mendizabal is quoted to have said in February 1836, less than five months since his assumption of power, that he had been 'pestered' by Englishmen calling themselves 'Evangelical Christians, who have of late come flocking over into Spain,'[35] seeking government permission for their activities.

From available records, however, it appears that the Religious Tract Society was active in Spain from 1836 to about 1840. A Bible agent in 1839 mentioned having met in Seville some Englishmen, who had come to distribute tracts among the Spaniards.[36] An earlier report alluded to the existence of 'several correspondents' in Spain of this society.[37] In 1836, its Spanish coadjutors reportedly included two provincial governors and a French army captain.[38] From the Tract Society committee, it is learned that that same year they intended to send a large supply of tracts to a Spanish count and his lady ('both converted to the Truth, and feel desirous of making it known to their countrymen'[39]), who were then returning to Madrid. Two years later, nearly twenty thousand religious tracts were consigned to various correspondents in Barcelona, Gibraltar, and other Spanish cities.[40] The following year, one of the Society's agents in

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[35] As quoted in Eileen Bigland, In the Steps of George Borrow (London, 1951), p. 202.

[36] Borrow to the Rev. Andrew Brandram, Seville, 25th Nov., 1839, in Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society ed. by T. H. Darlow (London, 1911), p. 451.

[37] The Missionary Register (1837), p. 535.

[38] The Missionary Register (1836), p. 458. [39] Ibid.

[40] The Missionary Register (1838), p. 529. This seems to be the largest consignment of tracts in any single year to Spain, from 1808 to 1849. The comparatively limited work during this period has been attributed to 'the difficulties arising from the bigoted attachment

Spain printed five different evangelical works, with a total number of ten thousand copies, nearly all of which were circulated before he was compelled by the Spanish authorities to leave the country.[41] Little is known of the response of the Spaniards to the work of tract distribution during this period. It is reported, however, that at one time, the Religious Tract Society received praises from a Malaga newspaper editor, for the 'good work' it was doing in Spain.[42]

Incidentally, the Religious Tract Society sometime toward the end of the 1830's, also became the channel for circulating the Spanish publications[43] of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. A few years earlier, the latter had tried to set up an agency of its own in Spain. After 'many almost ineffectual efforts,'[44] however, it decided to entrust its stocks to the Religious

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of the people to Romanist doctrines' (see Samuel G. Green, The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years (London, 1899), p. 65). Consequently, during these fifty years, only £487, 7s. were spent for Spain by the Society.

41 Jones, The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, p. 305.

42 Ibid., pp. 304-305.

43 As early as 1710, the publication of Spanish literature had been urged upon the S.P.C.K. But it was not until 1825 that something was done in this respect. Late that year, a plan was made to translate 'the most approved works in divinity into the Spanish language' (see The Christian Monitor and Religious Register, vol. V (1825), p. 510). The following year, a translation of Paley's Evidences of Christianity was issued. Little more was done, however, until 1837 when the S.P.C.K. published a revised Amat New Testament, followed in 1839 by a Spanish edition of the Book of Common Prayer. The latter was first issued during the reign of James I, in order to enlighten Spanish public opinion about Anglicanism, in connection with the proposed marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain. (See W.K. Lowther Clarke, A History of the S.P.C.K. (London, 1959), p. 115). The Prayer Book, primarily intended for the Spanish Protestant congregation in Gibraltar, was later revised and reprinted in 1852 and 1854. In 1853, the S.P.C.K. also issued a revised Amat Bible, and in 1862 a modernized edition of Valera's Bible.

44 Jones, The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society, p. 306.

Tract Society.

It was also during the period 1833-1843 that the smaller British Bible societies had their attention drawn to Spain. As early as 1830, the Edinburgh Bible Society had begun to include Spanish Scriptures in grants to its correspondents in various British seaports frequented by Spanish vessels.[45] Two years later, the Glasgow Bible Society, with some financial assistance from that of Edinburgh,[46] published a revised version of the Protestant Valera Spanish Testament.[47] This was the version ('far superior to that in general use among the Spaniards'[48]) which the Glasgow, Edinburgh, and the Trinitarian Bible societies insisted upon as the only appropriate version for circulation in Spain. In this respect, they clashed with the British and Foreign Bible Society, which at this time circulated the Catholic versions derived from the Vulgate, in accordance with its policy of disseminating only those versions generally accepted in any particular country.[49] If cooperation between the Glasgow and Edin-

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[45] See 21st EBS Report (1830), p. 10.

[46] The initial grant in 1833 was £100, But from 1834 to the formation of the National Bible Society of Scotland in 1860, the Edinburgh Bible Society continued to give that of Glasgow an annual grant of £300, to assist in the translation and publication of the Spanish Testament. See the EBS Reports for this period.

[47] For details, see extract from the Twentieth Report of the Glasgow Bible Society, in the 24th EBS Report (1833), p. 72. See also Darlow and Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture, vol. II, p. 1443.

[48] Glasgow Bible Society, in 24th EBS Report (1833), p. 72. (Unfortunately, the original Minutes and Reports of the Glasgow Bible Society have been lost (see William C. Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane: The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland (Edinburgh, n.d.), p. 26), and very little information is available on the work of this Bible society as a separate entity before the merger of Scottish Bible societies in 1860.)

[49] This whole question was connected with the so-called 'Apocrypha

burgh Bible societies was in financial matters, their collaboration with the Trinitarian Bible Society[50] was apparently more on the aspect of actual Scripture circulation in Spain. Beginning 1839, the Trinitarian Bible Society apparently found an effective means of disseminating Scriptures in that country. This was through the agency of a converted Spanish priest, who at this time was serving as a Protestant missionary in Lisbon. From the correspondence between this man and the Trinitarian Bible Society, it seems that the books were first sent to Lisbon, and from there, forwarded to the former's friends in Malaga.[51]

It is also reported that many copies of the above Valera Testament edition were subsequently introduced into Spain. But because of strong opposition by the Spanish clergy to this non-Catholic version, the circulation was not long afterwards discontinued. The rest of the edition were then sent to South America.[52] After this, little else is known about the activities of these three small Bible societies. What is certain, however, is that beginning 1841, the Edinburgh Bible Society began sending consignments of Spanish Testaments to the Scottish Presbyterian chaplains in Gibraltar.[53] Through various means, these books were then circulated in Spain.

Controversy,' which raged between the BFBS and the Scottish Bible societies for more than a decade. For details, see ibid., pp. 21-23.

[50] For some details on the founding in 1831 of this society, showing its affinity to the Glasgow and Edinburgh Bible societies, see the 22nd and 23rd EBS Reports (1831), pp. 10-14; (1832), p. 7.

[51] For full details, see the 31st EBS Report (1840), p. 34. (This converted priest was the Rev. Dr Vicente Gomez y Tejar, of whom more will later be said.)

[52] Somerville, From Iona to Dublane: The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland, p. 26.

[53] See, for example, the 32nd and 33rd EBS Reports (1841), p. 26; (1842), p. 22.

An interesting feature of British Protestant work in Spain, especially beginning the 1850's, was the existence of independent missions conducted by a number of individuals of evangelical piety. Some attempts in this fashion were already made as early as the 1830's, although available records do not give the number of those who came. What is certain is that the Rev. Robert Cleaver Chapman, of the Plymouth Brethren, visited northwestern Spain in 1838, in the company of two young missionaries.[54] No permanent results came from their efforts at this time, but Chapman many years later was to send two other Brethren missionaries to Spain.

Quakers also came at this time. Although their primary objective was to advance the anti-esclavist campaign, it seems that like Grellet and Allen years before, they also took the opportunity of promoting Protestant interests in Spain.[55] What is more certain is that in 1842, there came to Madrid the ex-Franciscan Calderon and an ex-Capuchin monk, D. Ramon Montsalvatge.[56] They were connected with

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[54] See Henry Pickering, Chief Men Among the Brethren (London, 1932), p. 29. Cf. Frank Holmes, Brother Indeed: The Life of Robert Cleaver Chapman (London, 1956), p. 83.

Interestingly enough, the Wesleyan Methodist missionary, Rule, apparently met these Plymouth Brethren at the time. But he was perhaps referring to their work years later, when he said that they were 'spreading and multiplying as propagandists in all parts of Spain.' See Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 203.

[55] Thus, the English Quakers, Benjamin Barron Wiffen (of whom more will be later said) and George William Alexander, came to Spain for this purpose in 1839 and again in 1842. See 'Memoirs of Benjamin B. Wiffen,' in Eduard Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries. Their Lives and Writings, According to the Late Benjamin B. Wiffen's Plan and Use of his Materials (2 vols., Strassburg, 1874), vol. I, pp. 10f.

The anti-esclavist labours in Spain of the English Quakers was intimately connected with the formation years later of the Anti-Slavery Society in Spain, in which a number of Spanish Protestants were members.

[56] Montsalvatge, then still in his twenties, was a Catalan, who had earlier enlisted in the Carlist army. Disillusioned by what he

the European Missionary Society (the former Continental Society), although they also seem to have received a commission from the British and Foreign Bible Society. Under Espartero's liberal government, they conducted a more or less open Protestant propaganda campaign in Madrid, though little fruit came from their labours. In 1843 a plan was made for them to go on a Bible-selling tour of the Balearic Islands. Unfortunately, the collapse that year of Espartero's regime ushered in a conservative reaction, and the probject had to be abandoned.[57]

With the possible exception of that of the Religious Tract Society, all these evangelical labours above hardly produced any permanent results. The comparatively more successful endeavours were those of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. It is not easy to explain why some societies were more successful, while others were not. Of the three other smaller Bible societies, one might say that their failure was largely due to the opposition of the clergy towards the Scripture versions they attempted to circulate. Beyond this, however, there appears to be a further reason. It seems that in view of the frequent changes of Spanish ministries at this time (some of these indifferent, and others, sympathetic or at least, not hostile to the Protestant cause), those societies which stayed on long enough were able to make the most gains, when the political atmosphere was in their favour. This can certainly be said of the British and Foreign Bible So-

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thought was a betrayal of the Carlist cause at the peace of Vergara in 1839, he went to France, and two years later, at Besancon, embraced Protestantism. Prior to his coming to Madrid, he worked in France as colporteur for the Continental Society and the Evangelical Society of Geneva. See Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 348-49.

[57] Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 345-48.

ciety and the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society.

The British and Foreign Bible Society in Spain

Practically all the Spanish work of the British and Foreign Bible Society at this time is linked with the names of its two pioneer agents, Lt James Newenham Graydon, R.N.,[58] and George Henry Borrow.[59] The former was an unpaid volunteer, and the latter a regularly appointed agent, who earlier had done service for the Bible Society in St Petersburg and Portugal. Their task in Spain was at first simply to obtain official permission for the printing of the Scriptures. But in the end, they themselves were placed in charge of circulating the editions they were able to print. Whether by chance or by design, it fell to Graydon's responsibility to print the Catalan Testament and accordingly establish himself in Barcelona, and Borrow, to print the Spanish (i.e., Castilian) Testament and direct his ope-

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[58] Graydon, an Irishman, entered the Royal Navy in 1806, and served off the coasts of Spain and France during the Napoleonic Wars. He was commissioned acting lieutenant in 1815. From that date till 1868, he was on the Royal Navy reserved list, receiving a handsome per diem allowance of six shillings up to 1863, and seven shillings thereafter. This gave him freedom of movement. Going to Gibraltar in order to learn Spanish, he experienced there a religious conversion, and through the Wesleyan Methodist chaplain, became interested in Bible work among the Spaniards. Subsequently, he was accepted by the British and Foreign Bible Society as volunteer agent for Spain. For more interesting details, see William R. O'Bryne, A Naval Biographical Dictionary (London, 1849), p. 426. See also The Navy List Corrected to the 20th December, 1868 (London, 1869), p. 95. Cf. John E. B. Mayor, Spain, Portugal, the Bible (Cambridge, 1892), pp. 26f.

[59] Borrow has been the subject of a considerable amount of literature, largely on account of his own literary achievements. It should suffice to mention here that he was born in Norfolk in 1803, the son of a militia captain and a lady descended from French Huguenots. Borrow was a self-made man, and it was on account of his reputed linguistic abilities that he first came under the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The classical biographies of Borrow are William Ireland Knapp, Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow (2 vols.; London, 1899), and Herbert Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow (London, 1912).

rations from Madrid.

Undoubtedly, both Bible agents would not have been able to achieve any substantial progress, without the assistance of influential men. Although refused help by the British envoy, Sir George Villiers,[60] Graydon found a friend in the Civil Governor of Barcelona. It was presumably this official, who later helped him obtain a permit to print the Scriptures. Borrow, on the other hand, succeeded where Graydon had failed -- in persuading Villiers to help. Despite seemingly insurmountable difficulties, which took nearly five months to overcome,[61] Villiers finally managed to secure for Borrow the permit he needed. This was made possible, only apparently because of Villiers' influence.[62] As one historian put it, at that time when the Carlist war was at its height, the tottering Spanish ministries

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[60] For more on Villiers, see G. Villiers, A Vanished Victorian: Being the Life of George Villiers, Fourth Earl of Clarendon, 1800-1870 (London, 1938). Another good biography is Herbert Maxwell, The Life and Letters of George William Frederick, Fourth Earl of Clarendon (2 vols.; London, 1913). Both biographies contain long sections on Villiers' career as a diplomat in Spain.

[61] At first, the greatest obstacle was Mendizabal's furious hostility to Bible agents, whom he believed responsible for the slave disturbances in Cuba. Then it was the scruples of the succeeding Isturiz ministry over the decrees of Trent, which prohibited the printing of vernacular Scriptures without notes from the writings of the Fathers or Catholic doctors of the Church. But the decrees seemed to be only a convenient excuse. The real dilemma facing Isturiz was the fact that he wished to alienate neither the conservative clergy, who already leaned heavily towards Carlism; nor Villiers, the envoy of the country from where he expected a much-needed loan, as well as guns and gunpowder. So, his cabinet temporized and played with subterfuge, hoping that Borrow would ultimately give up. For more details, see Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, pp. 180f.

[62] Villiers, by this time, had occupied a position, which, as his biographer put it, 'if not unprecendented, is rare in the case of a Minister accredited to a foreign court. His influence made and unmade cabinets, appointed and dismissed military commanders, created or shattered reputations. He advised what should be done, and what should not be done, and in nine cases out of ten his advice was taken.' This is hardly an exaggeration, and there are several cases to demonstrate it. See Villiers, A Vanished Victorian, pp. 99-100, 105.

'thought more of balancing between the favor of England and of the clergy than of the legality of their acts.'[63]

Graydon was the first to embark upon his task. Before the end of 1836, he had been able to print in Barcelona no less than 5,000 Catalan Testaments, as well as 3,000 Spanish Bibles and another 3,000 Spanish Testaments.[64] He had also by then circulated a total of 1,600 copies from these editions, nearly all by sale.[65] His successes in Barcelona encouraged him to embark on a Bible-selling campaign, southward along the Mediterranean coast. He passed through Valencia, Alicante, Cartagena, and Almeria, refining his sales methods, as experience in each town taught him.

On the other hand, Borrow began printing in January 1837, with the assistance of a Spanish professor and journalist, named D. Luis de Usoz y Rio, of whom more will later be said in connection with his own work in Spanish evangelization. By that May, Borrow had completed the Spanish Testament edition -- 5,000 reprints of the 1826 Scio edition, printed in London. Thus, by the spring of 1837, he was ready to take Spain by storm, as he apparently pictured himself about to do. Leaving his business in Madrid in care of Usoz, he went off with his Greek servant for what was to be a tour of northwestern Spain for five and a half months.

Taking advantage of the liberal atmosphere under the new progresista ministry of Calatrava, both agents freely advertised by

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[63] Henry Charles Lea, Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected With the Inquisition (New York, 1967), p. 181. This volume is a reprint of the original 1890 Philadelphia edition.

[64] See Graydon, in Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 6.

[65] Ibid., vol. II, p. 7.

posters or in the newspapers.[66] Graydon sold his Scriptures personally, while Borrow, though he disposed of hundreds of copies himself, decided to use friendly booksellers in all the chief towns and cities he visited, leaving quantities of Testaments as each bookseller desired. Whenever the opportunity came, both agents also did not fail to cultivate the friendliness of 'enlightened' local priests. The far greater majority of the hierarchy and clergy, however, put up a strong opposition to their activities, and in some places, clerical agitation threatened them with imprisonment,[67] at the very least.

During this Bible campaign in 1837, Graydon was far more successful than Borrow, in terms of the volume of sales. This was perhaps because the cities he visited were commercial, cosmopolitan centres, where Spanish liberalism traditionally was strongest. At one time, when business was at its best, he sold in one day alone a total of 1,082 Testaments.[68] On the other hand, though Borrow perhaps did not sell as many Scriptures as he had hoped, largely because he had chosen to visit those regions where Carlism was firmly entrenched, his tour was none the less significant. As one latter-day author has put it, nobody in that corner of Spain who saw his 'picturesque figure' (Borrow was six foot three), 'or heard him thundering his militant Protestant faith ever forgot him,'[69] and,

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[66] See, for example, ibid., vol. II, p. 8.

[67] Thus, in the diocese of Leon, where Borrow's Testaments were banned, and his posters torn down by the clergy, he barely escaped from a band of ex-Carlist soldiers, who came to his inn in the middle of night to arrest him. See George Borrow, The Bible in Spain (3 vols.; London, 1843), vol. II, pp. 86-90.

[68] Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 7.

[69] Bigland, In the Steps of George Borrow, p. 223.

perhaps, also the Book he had traveled so far to sell.

The Wesleyan Methodist Mission in Spain

While all this Bible work was in progress, mostly in Madrid, the northern provinces, and the coastal cities along the Mediterranean, the Wesleyan Methodists in Gibraltar were also attempting to set up an evangelical mission in southern Spain. What Barber had merely contemplated in the 1820's seems to have finally become a real possibility for his successor in this next decade.

When the Rev. William Harris Rule[70] came to Gibraltar in 1832 as Wesleyan Methodist chaplain and 'Missionary to the Spaniards',[71] his eyes were already trained on the busy port cities of southern Spain. With characteristic aplomb, he immediately reversed what he considered were timid policies of his immediate predecessor; discarded the 'miserable methods of attracting beggars'[72] heretofore adopted in Gibraltar; and, with the resources of the Bible and Tract depots, set about to organize the various operations of a 'real Mission.'[73] In all these, the mission society secretaries in London

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[70] Rule, a Cornishman, came from a family with Scottish Presbyterian and Quaker backgrounds. His early academic training ranked with the best of the Dissenters' education at the time. With his pious home surroundings, it was not surprising that he decided to become a missionary. As a young man, however, he was aggressive, impetuous, and strong-willed. In his first missionary assignment in Malta, these characteristics brought him into recurrent conflicts with his senior colleague, so that he was subsequently transferred to St Vincent in the West Indies. Rule had hardly changed when he came to Gibraltar in 1832. But it was his kind of stubborn determination, which seemed precisely needed for his future task. For more details on Rule's early life, see his Recollections of My Life and Work, ch. 1.

[71] Ibid., p. 66. [72] Ibid.

[73] Without regard to the earlier labours of Barber, Rule delighted himself with the assumption that he was the first missionary in Gibraltar to be 'explicitly' instructed to work beyond the confines of the British population there. See ibid.

fortunately afforded their aggressive Gibraltar chaplain a wide latitude of freedom to exercise his own judgment in many particulars, enabling him to quickly turn every good opportunity to advantage.

For the first two years, Rule occupied himself mainly with establishing a solid foundation for the Spanish Mission in Gibraltar. Though the work among adult Spaniards and native Gibraltarians did not attain the proportions of that among children and youth, the whole Mission[74] served as the indispensable preparation for his work in southern Spain. Intended to be 'a nursery for the Spanish work,'[75] it served, in fact, also as a functional, though perhaps imperfect, barometer of the kind of response that Rule could expect in Spanish cities. Thus, as soon as the Gibraltar Mission proved successful, Rule felt that his next step was obviously to cross the mile-long stretch of sand leading to Spanish territory.

During his visit to Madrid in January 1836, Rule met several ardent advocates of constitutional and religious liberties, whose prestigious position and influence in the Cortes made it desirable to win their sympathy to the Protestant cause.[76] Through a letter of introduction supplied by a friend in Cadiz, Rule also met the Bible

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[74] By 1842, when Rule left Gibraltar, the Wesleyan Methodist Mission there had four day- and two evening-schools, with a total enrolment of more than 300. The adult Methodist adherents, however, stood only about twenty-five, generally, as it would appear, from the lower classes of Spaniards. Of the 'members', the figure was even much lower, remaining constant in the next few years. It was reported in 1848 that for some years past, the Spanish Methodist Society had numbered only seven, two or three new members only being added now and then to make up for losses through deaths or removals. See WMMS Report (1846), p. 26. Dozens, however, were added in the 1860's.

[75] WMMS Report (1836), p. 11.

[76] Among them were members of the Constitutional Commission, including its president, the renowned poet, D. Manuel Jose Quintana. See Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, pp. 140f.

translator, Amat, and his friend, the Augustinian Historian, Fray Jose de la Canal. These two Spanish ecclesiastics perhaps typified the Spanish Jansenist thinking of the period. Both were vigorous anticurialists and advocates of church reform and Scripture circulation. Though they were less vocal about it, both men reportedly also entertained the idea of a possible union between a reformed Spanish Church and the Church of England.[77] It might be said in passing, that Catholic apologists of a later period, like D. Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo,[78] tended to deny that such ideas were ever held by Spanish ecclesiastics. But the preponderance of available evidence, if these can be relied upon, seems to indicate that at least a few reformists among the Spanish clergy then looked to the Church of England for help.[79]

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[77] This was the one topic, which largely occupied Rule's separate conversations with Amat and Canal. This possible union was to be based, as Canal reportedly put it, on common agreement on the authority of the Old and New Testaments and of the teachings of the Church Fathers of the first six centuries.

But Rule, who was a typical evangelical, firmly insisted that such a proposed union, even following a Spanish break with Rome, was impossible, due to disagreement on other doctrinal issues. Thus, instead of a bridge, the Bishop and the friar met in Rule a stubborn barrier. For more details, see ibid., pp. 142-46.

[78] In discounting Rule's report of Amat's schismatic project, Menendez y Pelayo averred that Rule (whom he thought rather ignorant in theological matters, 'as is usual with Methodists') had understood badly and translated poorly what Amat had actually said. (See Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 340n). But this argument seems rather naive, and fails to be convincing.

[79] Several cases might be cited, but perhaps it would suffice to note that in 1850, a canon of a cathedral chapter in Andalusia wrote to the Anglican chaplain at Gibraltar, as follows:

> 'You will find my profession of faith, to the letter, in the Apostles' and the Constantinopolitan Creeds. . . . This was ever my thought from the time that I once recognized the true faith of Christ, to place it under the powerful shadow and protection of the Anglican Church, that, strengthened by so great a support and led by so great a light, it might be propagated through the Spanish territory and bring forth fruit most abundantly. . . . The true and genuine Gospel of Christ cannot be preached in Spain,

Rule returned from that trip, more hopeful than ever that he could count on the support of certain Spanish liberal circles, who were well-disposed towards religious toleration.[80] Before long, he was ready to launch his evangelical mission to Spain. After two unsuccessful attempts in the small towns of San Roque and Algeciras, he decided it would be best to begin in Cadiz. This choice was no accident. Cadiz was the traditional centre of Spanish liberalism. It also had a large foreign population. Moreover, the experiments in the two towns above had shown that an evangelical mission could hope for no success, unless in an urban, cosmopolitan centre.

At the end of 1836, the Wesleyan Methodist work in Cadiz began with an 'English Mission'[81] among the foreign merchant shipping

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but the Gospel of the Pope, which is a very different thing. The Spaniards, having this before their eyes, laugh at the mission of the Christian priesthood, are losing faith and morals, and sinking into atheism. . . . Will you, then, associate yourselves for the work of the Gospel in these regions? Will you, in your charity, lead this people to the truth faith of Christ . . . from atheism and indifferentism to the Church of God?' (As quoted by F. Meyrick, The Church in Spain (London, 1892), p. 438).

It might also be mentioned that Canal himself was disenchanted with Rome for its 'arrogance and domineering measures;' resentful of France, for the 'infidelity' it introduced into Spain, and disillusioned with Spanish inability to combat irreligion and skepticism. Thus, in the struggle for religious renewal, in which he was an active participant, Canal thought of looking for help across the sea to the Church of England. Cf. Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, pp. 160-61.

[80] As Rule later said: 'One cheering fact from this Madrid visit was unexpectedly ascertained . . . Among the more intelligent /Spaniards/, there was a large number who entertained a prepossession highly favourable to Protestant doctrines and worship, so far as they had acquired any idea of them; and this was probably brought about, not only by the personal influence of returned emigrants, but by the improved state of the periodical press . . .' See ibid., p. 170.

[81] This was probably an excuse for starting some kind of evangelical mission within Spanish territory. In any case, there was a need for such an 'English mission.' There were up to 400 British, American, and German residents in Cadiz, not to mention those in nearby towns. Many native Gibraltarians (and therefore, British subjects) had also settled there. Three-fourths of the more than 330 foreign vessels calling there each year were British. See ibid., pp. 191-92.

in the bay. At first, Rule did not reside in Cadiz and left only his young assistant, James Lyon, to take charge over the work. This was apparently in order not to excite the conservative clergy by his presence, until after the nucleus of a Spanish mission had been formed.

When Rule settled there late in 1837, a Sunday prayer meeting for adult Spaniards had been organized, and a children's school, patterned after that in Gibraltar, had been established. As far as is known, the latter was the very first Protestant mission institution ever to be established in Spain. By the spring of 1839, enrolment had risen to ninety-five,[82] mostly children of well-to-do Spanish families who had voluntarily accepted Rule's conditions of compulsory religious instruction, attendance at the Sunday Protestant services, and non-observance of feast days of Catholic saints.[83] Not long after Rule moved to Cadiz, a Spanish congregation was formed. This soon grew large enough, that for a while the idea was seriously entertained of purchasing from the government, if possible, one of the suppressed convent-churches in the city.[84] So encouraging was the progress of this Cadiz mission, that even as early as 1837, plans were made to open a second Wesleyan Methodist station in Barcelona.[85] For some reason, however, it was decided to concentrate work meanwhile in Cadiz.

This Wesleyan Methodist mission was to become the bone of contention between Spanish libre-cultistas, or advocates of religious toleration, on the one hand, and the conservatives and clericalists,

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[82] WMMS Report (1839), p. 9.

[83] Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 198.

[84] Ibid., p. 201.

[85] WMMS Report (1837), p. 8. This plan to open a second station in Barcelona was probably inspired by the successful work of Bible circulation by Graydon in that city.

on the other. The mission school itself passed through several tumultous periods in its brief career. Established when a Progresista was Civil Governor of Cadiz, it invariably suffered when Moderados were in power. Twice, Rule had to apply to the central authorities in Madrid for a provisional licence to have it reopened, when it was closed by the local government.

This period marked the beginning of what was later to assume a more or less fixed pattern in the Protestant struggle against Catholic opposition. Protestants would seek protection through the most liberal interpretation of the existing laws. Their Catholic adversaries, on the other hand, would similarly look for various means, legal or otherwise, to check their progress. Occasionally, liberal Spanish officials sympathetic to the Protestants' cause, though ostensibly remaining aloof from the contest, would give the latter advice on how to proceed.[86]

As far as Rule's Cadiz mission was concerned, the central authorities in Madrid generally upheld his hand, as far as the law would permit. As in the case of Borrow, it was the influence of Villiers, which weighed heavily in Rule's favour, especially when the British consul at Cadiz refused to help. Villiers, while holding to the inviolability of the established religion in Spain, reportedly rationalized that the Wesleyan Methodist Spanish Mission was a 'Brit-

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[86] A typical case was the incident early in 1838, when the Cadiz mission school was ordered closed, on the ground that by law, only Spaniards could teach in Spain, and the schoolmaster (Mr Lyon) was a British subject. Rule was then advised by the under-secretary of foreign affairs, D. Julian Villalba -- with the concurrence of other influential Spaniards -- on how he might reopen the school, without running afoul with this law. Rule was to hold the school inside his own domicile, thus making it a private institution, and placing it under the nominal management of a Spaniard acting as 'regent'. In actual practice, however, Rule may still hold absolute control over the school's affairs. See Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 188.

ish interest',[87] which he had the duty as British ambassador to protect. What strengthened Rule's case was the fact that to Villiers and indeed to the Spanish Ministry, the closure of his mission school was the product of pure caprice and malice, on the part of the provincial and local authorities.

Interestingly enough, the controversy over the Cadiz mission school seems to have provided the occasion for the issue of two royal orders respecting educational institutions. The first abolished the two-fold test of Spanish nationality and Catholic affiliation, for anyone to teach in Spanish schools.[88] The second, coming a few months later, facilitated anyone of good character, in establishing schools and colleges for youth. If so desired, such schools and colleges may also be incorporated with the nearest Spanish university.[89] What was especially favourable to Protestants in this second decree was the provision that, aside from the usual curriculum, the directors of the new colleges might also offer unrestricted instruction in any other subject. There was no further proviso, save that any college might be closed, if inspection showed the existence of 'grave abuses' therein.[90]

This then was a generous opportunity, which opened a legal avenue for the establishment in Spain of Protestant schools, in which evangelical doctrines might be taught without government restriction. Various Spanish ministries may rise and fall, but here was a precedent, from which subsequent Protestant endeavours could benefit during

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[87] Ibid., p. 190.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Royal Order of August 12, 1838, as cited in ibid., pp. 190-91. Cf. also Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 254.

[90] Ibid.

tolerant future regimes. Unfortunately, the unstable political situation toward the end of the 1830's was soon to nullify the first fruits of this Protestant gain.

Protestant Retreat

The successes of Rule and the two Bible agents may be attributed to their own zeal and initiative, the help of influential persons, and behind all these, the relaxation of the laws governing religious censorship, as well as the apparent eagerness of many Spaniards to buy copies of the Scriptures.[91] On the other hand, their eventual withdrawal from Spain at this time was the consequence of several factors. Thus, one might mention the mounting clerical opposition to the Protestant intrusion, the disastrous results of the indiscretions and the quarrels among the Protestant workers, and, in the case of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the lack of understanding on the part of the Committee in London of the delicate political situation in Spain.[92] One cannot also ignore the unfortunate results of the controversy between the British and Foreign Bible Society and the smaller British Bible societies, on the question of what Scripture version to circulate in Spain.

It is to be remembered that the Spanish ministries at this

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[91] The seemingly enthusiastic response of the Spanish people, particularly the lower classes, was often attributed to the fact that the Protestant Bible societies sold copies of the Scriptures at very nominal prices. Certainly, this is an argument which cannot easily be dismissed. Even Villiers (see his despatch to Lord Palmerston, 12th May 1838, F.O. 72.504.172) believed this to be true. The fact of the matter is that, as late as 1868 the only Catholic authorized Spanish Bible was the five-volume Scio version, with parallel Latin and Spanish texts, which cost thirty shillings, far out of reach of the common people (see Christian Work, vol. II, n.s. (1868), p. 281).

[92] William Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society (5 vols.; London, 1904-1910), vol. II, p. 237.

time were unusually tolerant, though not on the basis of any legal statute, but simply on the favourable disposition of the men in power. Protestant activities were condoned, as long as these did not provoke the conservative clergy into any action that would jeopardize the situation of the government. As a rule, many of the Spanish officials could not have personally cared very much about religion. Some who advocated religious toleration were doctrinaires, deeply imbued with the concept of religious and constitutional liberty. Those who were passionately anticlerical might have thought that giving some measure of toleration to Protestantism was a way of spiting the Catholic clergy. For some, it may simply have been due to a desire to maintain good relations with Great Britain, which was felt too important an ally to offend on a petty religious issue. A few other Spaniards, however, may have genuinely believed in the advantages that Protestant influence would bring over to Spain.[93]

In any case, there was hardly any Spanish statesman, who was not aware of the political implications of a foreign Protestant intrusion, especially in the light of the government's quarrel with the Church. Mendizabal had refused Borrow's application for a permit to print the Spanish Testament, because, among other things, he feared that this would excite further the conservative clergy. Many other Spanish officials, who otherwise might have been favourably disposed towards Protestantism, had ambivalent feelings about the matter, and ultimately deferred to the fact that the Spanish nation was Catholic

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[93] Rule, speaking of Sr Olivan, when the latter was under-secretary of the Interior, said: 'From his lips I received an assurance that it was the desire of the Government that the religion of England should be introduced into Spain, as being a religion of superior morality, and more conducive to national prosperity than their own.' See Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 187. Yet, it should be said that receiving Protestant influence was one thing; turning Protestant was quite another.

in character. This is partly reflected in the fact that the Constitution of 1837, though liberal in its religious article, affirmed nonetheless that 'the nation binds itself to maintain the worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion which the Spaniards profess.'[94] No mention was made of religious toleration.[95] It is perhaps also not insignificant that those Spanish officials who helped the Protestant workers were careful not to give written permits or other documents, which might later place their careers in jeopardy, in the event of a strong clericalist reaction.

On the whole, this was how matters stood up to 1837. As far as Protestant work was concerned, clerical opposition till then was certainly a great but not a fatal hindrance, as long as the Spanish government remained tolerant and rendered the evangelical workers justice. Moreover, many Spanish ecclesiastics of liberal views did not seem to have objected to the Protestant circulation of the Bible, as long as there was no attempt at Protestant propaganda or proselytism.[96]

Unfortunately, the Protestant workers in Spain at this

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[94] As quoted by Guzman, España, entre las dictaduras y la democracia, p. 136. Significantly enough, the terms 'perpetually' and 'Roman', appearing in that of 1812, were dropped. This 1837 article simply assumes that Spaniards profess the Catholic religion.

[95] On the possibility of inserting a religious toleration clause, Calatrava told Villiers that he would propose it. But as Villiers stated in his despatch to London, Calatrava believed it possible that 'the remains of ancient prejudices in the country might still have weight with the Deputies and prevent his addition being carried, but that at all events the Government would have the satisfaction of declaring the grounds upon which it considers that religious freedom is essential to the well being of the State.' See Villiers to Palmerston, 25th February 1837, F.O. 72. 478. 59.

[96] This seems to be the view held by Villiers himself. See his despatch of 5th May 1838, as quoted by Maxwell, The Life of George William Frederick, Fourth Earl of Clarendon, vol. I, pp. 150-51.

time may have obtruded themselves too openly in the public eye. The British ambassador himself did not approve of Borrow's 'impudent zeal', of Graydon's creating 'great excitement' in places he visited, or of Rule's intention to openly proselytize Spaniards.[97] In their struggle against Catholic opposition, the evangelical workers also were often heady. Convinced that justice and the spirit of the age were on their side, they were impatient at the half-heartedness of moderately liberal Spanish officials. Moreover, whether intentionally or not, their methods in evangelical work[98] could not but provoke the anger of zealous Catholics. They never refused to accept the challenge thrown by their clericalist opponents, Rule being especially guilty in this respect.[99] His counter-measures to threats and repressions were seemingly designed to vex the Spanish officials who opposed him. The lessons from this he did not learn until much later.[100] It would appear, in fact, that these Protestant workers in

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[97] See ibid.

[98] Borrow, for example, launched a grand propaganda invasion of Madrid, using large colourful posters and 'sandwich-men' (a novelty in that city) to advertise his Scriptures. Graydon, on the other hand, wrote and distributed inflammatory handbills, containing religious and political undertones. He also openly proselytized Spaniards, asking his converts to sign documents declaring their unconditional separation from the Roman Catholic Church. For more details, see Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, passim.

[99] Thus, once in Gibraltar, Rule boldly entered the Catholic church where the preacher was making a harangue against him. Conspicuously, he took down notes with paper and pencil, so as to make 'no mistakes' in his refutation the following day. In Algeciras also, Rule showed his disdain for police agents, through the cavalier fashion with which at one time he literally escaped from the hands of the latter, to the delight of the watching crowd. For more details, see his Recollections of My Life and Work, passim.

[100] A wiser man by 1844, Rule said: 'If our measures be such as do not involve any aggression on the civil authorities, one may calculate on degrees of protection, increasing together with the progressive improvement of laws and administration.' See his Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 359.

Spain at this time saw themselves as dashing cavaliers, riding into the heart of the enemy camp, creating instant havoc, and then beating a quick and successful retreat, before the enemy had sufficient time to recover from the sudden onslaught.

From the start, there had also been a smouldering rivalry between Graydon and Borrow. When Graydon's indiscreet activities alarmed the ecclesiastical authorities, the result brought serious difficulties for Borrow. The latter found himself the helpless target of ecclesiastical anger, while Graydon fled safely to Gibraltar. Before long, this rivalry broke out into open conflict, Borrow accusing Graydon in blustering letters to the Bible Society Committee in London. Moreover, Borrow was convinced that his ten-day imprisonment in May 1838[101] was somehow a consequence of those events proceeding from Graydon's indiscretions. The situation was aggravated further by the unfortunate case of the converted ex-priest, D. Pascual Marin.[102] Borrow thought that Graydon and Rule had induced the man to become a Protestant, and had then abandoned him, expecting Borrow to assume

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[101] Following Graydon's circulation of the inflammatory handbills, alluded to earlier, the ecclesiastical authorities prevailed upon the Civil Governor of Madrid to revoke Borrow's licence to sell Scriptures. Borrow was arrested for roughly handling a police constable, who had threatened him with imprisonment, unless he ceased his clandestine sales. For more details, see Borrow, The Bible in Spain, vol. III, pp. 1f.

Villiers contended that the manner in which Borrow was imprisoned violated the provisions on the 'rights of foreigners', under the existing treaties between Great Britain and Spain (for details, see Villiers to Ofalia, 8th May 1838, in F.O. 72. 504. 181). As Villiers had a strong case for complaint, the affair proved to be a great embarrassment to the Spanish government, which offered to compensate Borrow for his troubles. But Borrow refused the money. For more details, see Knapp, Life, Writings and Correspondence of George Borrow, vol. II, pp. 278-286. Cf. Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, pp. 230-47.

[102] Marin, a former curate in Valencia, turned Protestant under the influence of Graydon and Rule. For this, he was imprisoned and later, dismissed from his ecclesiastical post. For more details, see Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, pp. 227-32.

responsibility for his financial support. The quarrel between the two Bible agents, into which Rule was dragged,[103] became a scandal, when Borrow published in the Gaceta de Madrid and Correo Nacional, a denunciation of Graydon's activities.[104]

The result of all these was disastrous for Protestant work in Spain. Catholic opposition was intensified against all evangelical workers. The comparatively tolerant Spanish government (at this time, under Ofalia), prodded by the withering criticism of clericalist enemies, reacted by proscribing Protestant activities in the country. The affair between Graydon and Borrow also became an embarrassment to the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a nuisance to the British Embassy in Madrid. Subsequently, that embassy, under instructions from the Foreign Office in London, directed all British consuls in Spain 'to warn any British subjects who may attempt by preaching, or by distributing books in Spain, to assail the Roman Catholic religion, that they will render themselves liable to a state-prosecution, which may possibly end in their imprisonment, or their expulsion from the country; and that Her Majesty's Mission in Madrid cannot be expected to protect them from the consequences of such an open violation of

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[103] For details, see Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, pp. 250-51.

[104] Though Borrow did not name Graydon in his published statement, there was no question as to whom he meant. The former asserted that the British and Foreign Bible Society did not wish to proselytize Spaniards, and that the Society, in fact, desired to cooperate with the Spanish clergy (which was true). But Borrow represented himself as 'sole authorized Agent in Spain of the British and Foreign Bible Society,' which did not please the Committee, who highly valued Graydon as an agent. For complete details, see Borrow to Brandram, 17th May 1838. See also Manuel Azaña, 'Jorge Borrow y "La Biblia en España"', Obras Completas (4 vols.; Mexico, 1966), vol. I, pp. 1078-1079.

Unfortunately, Borrow's recourse to the public newspapers, in order to defend himself, did not achieve its ends. It not only displeased the Bible Society Committee, but also failed to impress the Spaniards. It also brought Borrow's relationship with Graydon beyond repair.

the laws of Spain.'[105]

Under the circumstances, the scandalized Bible Society had to recall Graydon, although they allowed Borrow to remain in Spain, for another Scripture campaign tour of the provinces. After this, Borrow made a brief visit to England, but returned to Spain at the beginning of 1839. But though in the next fifteen months, he was to sell over a thousand Spanish Testaments,[106] it is a moot question whether his return to Spain was ultimately profitable for the Bible Society. He dallied for several months in Seville, collecting and writing on Gypsy lore (his favourite subject), at the entire expense of the Bible Society.[107] He quarreled with the Archbishop of Seville, when the latter seized seventy-six of his Testaments, and with a local magistrate, when this official refused to give him his passport for another Bible campaign in central Spain.

Borrow's relationship with the Bible Society Committee in London had considerably deteriorated since the autumn of 1839. From January 1840, the former heard nothing concerning his whereabouts or his activities, till the British consul at Cadiz wrote that Borrow proposed to leave that port for England early that following April.[108]

Even before Borrow had left Spain, zealous Spanish Catholics, particularly the Bishop of Cadiz, had been trying various

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[105] See the circular to all British consuls in Spain, as quoted in The Continental Echo, and Protestant Witness, vol. II (1846), p. 22.

[106] Browne, The History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 10.

[107] As one writer later put it, Borrow thought (quite wrongly) that the Bible Society had treated him most shabbily, despite all the good work he had done for them in Spain. So he was going to stay in Seville, as long as he wanted at their expense. See Bigland, In the Steps of George Borrow, p. 240.

[108] Ibid., p. 246.

means,[109] to rid the country of Rule and the Wesleyan Methodist mission at Cadiz. Rule was a stubborn man, however, and he seems to have made it a point of British and Protestant honour not to be cowed into subjection by coercions and threats. Although the British consul at Cadiz was no help at all, Rule felt that he could rely on the sense of justice of Villiers and his friends in the Spanish cabinet. Rule also appealed to every single Spanish law that might be interpreted in his favour.[110] If he gave any ground at all, it was a tactical move, with the intention of re-occupying it, as soon as the clerical excitement had subsided. Whenever an order to close his schools or his religious meetings was imminent, he voluntarily did so, to forestall a government order that might be used as an adverse precedent for future actions against Protestants in Spain.[111]

What Rule did not seem to have realized, however, was that his tactics of evasion and defiance were ultimately destructive. Al-

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[109] These included a memorial against Rule, addressed by the Bishop of Cadiz to the city council (for full text, see WMMS Report (1840), pp. 12-14); preaching crusades in all Cadiz pulpits against him and those Spanish parents who sent their children to his schools; threats of violence, especially during Lent, when religious feelings ran high; vituperative denunciations in the clericalist press, both in Cadiz and Madrid; and finally, a show of force -- soldiers armed with rifles and bayonets, waiting outside the Protestant place of worship, to dissuade further meetings. See his Recollections of My Life and Work, esp., p. 208. Cf. Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, esp., pp. 265, 270f.

[110] Thus, after his congregation's usual place of meeting was closed, Rule used the inviolability of his own home as the residence of a British subject, to continue the religious services. He disguised the fact, by having his congregation come in two's or three's at irregular intervals from eight o'clock in the morning till eleven, when the Sunday service of worship began. Again, when his grammar schools were closed, he simply applied for a permit to establish a Colegio de Humanidades, or superior school of instruction, which he was at liberty to do on the strength of the Royal Order of August 12, 1838. See Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, pp. 206-207.

[111] Ibid.

though these seemingly scored a Protestant victory for the moment, in the end these forced the central authorities in Madrid to use a mailed fist against him. Matters soon came to a head. The Queen Regent issued a special order 'that Mr. Rule be forbidden to open any sort of establishment, whether school of primary instruction, or college of humanities, or any other in which, directly by himself, or by persons under his influence, he might disseminate doctrines contrary to our religious unity,' and furthermore, 'that the said Rule be not permitted, under any pretext to have meetings, conferences, or preachings in his house.'[112]

It seems that the Spanish cabinet, on the whole, were reluctant to proscribe all Protestant activity in Spain. If they were forced to do so, it was only because clericalist pressure was too strong to be ignored. It is to be noted, however, that the particular order above was directed only against Rule, and not necessarily against other Protestant workers in Spain.

It is not possible to say whether the attitude of the Spanish authorities towards other evangelical workers in later years was coloured by their experience with Rule at this time. The latter certainly was a stubborn man; if he had to retreat, this had to be by stages. Thus, he remained in Cadiz till an ultimatum from Madrid came late in April 1839. This was to the effect that unless he left Spain within twenty-four hours, he would be dealt with as a state criminal, and be placed under peril of death (la ultima pena).[113] From Gibraltar, he

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[112] See the official communication from the Spanish Minister of the Interior to the Civil Governor of Cadiz, as quoted in ibid., pp. 212-13. Cf. Rule, Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, p. 266. See also Rule's account (given many years later) of the opening of his school at Cadiz, and its closure by royal decree, in his letter to the Foreign Office, dated 29th Sept., 1876, in F.O. 72. 1455.

[113] W. H. Rule, History of the Inquisition, from its establish-

continued to direct the Cadiz mission, keeping 'possession of the ground so far as possible'[114] through his assistant Lyon, who was able to stay on for another year. When it was Lyon's turn to be expelled, Rule insisted that he not leave Cadiz, except 'at the point of the bayonet' or with 'a written certification of expulsion, by which the responsibility of their own act should be left on the Spanish authorities.'[115] Until April 1840, Rule made several secret visits to Cadiz, to give comfort to his congregation. As a matter of fact, this only resulted in their being fined.[116] After this, Rule decided it more prudent to send them an occasional pastoral letter. This he continued to do, until his departure from Gibraltar in the summer of 1842.

Thus ended the evangelical experiments in Spain during this period of regencies from the death of Ferdinand to the accession of Isabella. Within the five years from 1836 to 1840, the British and Foreign Bible Society circulated in Spain nearly 14,000 copies of the Scriptures in Spanish, mostly Testaments.[117] To these might be added an undetermined number, circulated by the other smaller Brit-

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ment in the twelfth century to its extinction in the nineteenth (2 vols.; London, 1874), vol. II, p. 331.

[114] Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 215.

[115] See the 'certificate of expulsion' of Lyon, signed by D. Francisco Javier Cavestany, Secretary of the Superior Political Government of Cadiz, dated 6th April 1840, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. I (1847), p. 115.

[116] Rule has reproduced a copy of the official receipt of the fine imposed on one Margarita Barea, for having lodged Rule in her house, without informing the authorities, and for having permitted him to hold meetings therein, dated 12th May 1840, in Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 216n. (Rule, of course, reimbursed his church members for the fines, some of which amounted to as much as 200 reales, or £2, 1s. 8d. in sterling currency.)

[117] Browne, History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 11.

ish Bible societies during the same period. As to Rule's mission in Cadiz, very little result, if any, remained after 1842.

If Protestant inability to continue their work at this time is to be the main consideration, these evangelical ventures in Spain must be considered a failure. But if these are to be understood as an experiment to determine the feasibility of Protestant work in Spain, under the aegis of tolerant liberal governments, the entire experiment was a success. Clearly, the next step was for the future to decide.

Chapter IV
THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF SPANISH EVANGELIZATION (1843-1855)

The reverses in Spain, which Protestant work suffered at the end of the 1830's, gave those who supported it in Britain much cause for reflection and re-evaluation in the next decade. In 1843, it must have been a moot question whether new evangelical work in Spain could be attempted in the next twenty-five years. But as the decade wore on, there came increasing signs that missionary labours in that country could shortly be resumed, and this amidst more favourable conditions than before. At the same time, there were developments in Britain, particularly in the early 1850's, which tended to promote the cause of Spanish evangelization. The result of all these was the intense campaign, pursued by the most zealous advocates of that cause, to interest their fellow Protestants throughout the British Isles in supporting it. The campaign culminated in the organization of the first Protestant missionary society for the specific purpose of 'evangelizing' Spain.

Continuing British Evangelical Interest in Spain

Perhaps the most fundamental development in the promotion of Spanish evangelization was the far better understanding by its leading advocates of the actual conditions in Spain. Indeed, this understanding was sometimes still inadequate, and, as was the case earlier in the century, British evangelical Protestants were still likely to exaggerate the significance of Spanish events, which seem-

ingly supported their hopes. But on the whole, it was a much more reliable picture of Spain that they now possessed, compared to that which they had in previous years.

This better understanding of Spain was the result not only of improved communications and more extensive newspaper reports,[1] but also through the increasing number of books (including travel memoirs) written on that country.[2] This is not to mention travel guides, as Richard Ford's Handbook for Travellers in Spain (1845).[3] On the specifically religious aspect, there were also a number of volumes or magazine articles on Spain, prepared about this time by British Protestants who had gone over there for a visit. Interestingly enough, some of these visits were made precisely for the purpose of ascertaining missionary possibilities in that country.[4]

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[1] The London Times had a correspondent resident in Madrid from 1854-1855. This man, Frederick Hardman, also wrote several penetrating articles on Spain, which appeared in several issues of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine before and after these dates, under the penname 'Vedette.'

[2] Travel books on Spain published in Britain at this time included W. Robertson, Journal of a Visit to the Peninsula, 1841 (1845); D. Urquhart, The Pillars of Hercules; or, a Narrative of Travels in Spain and Morocco (1848); to which might also be added G. A. Hoskin, Spain, as It Is (1851).

On the effect of literary writings about Spain upon the cultured classes of Britain, an Edinburgh authoress, Mrs Catherine Ponsomby, herself a zealous advocate of Spanish evangelization, said: 'Some years ago no writings were so popular in the literary world as those on Spain.' There was thus awakened, she added, 'an interest of no common kind in the memorials of its polished greatness.' (See The Christian Family Advocate, vol. I (1852), p. 248). For the connection between English and Spanish literature, see 'Hours in Spain,' Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. LXVIII (1850), pp. 534-44. See also 'On the Character of Cervantes and His Writings,' The Gentleman's Magazine, vol. XLI, n.s. (1854), pp. 264-79.

[3] This volume, says Carr, 'did much to mould the Anglo-Saxon attitude to Spain,' although they did continue to view this country in the eyes of modern Europe. See his Spain 1808-1939, p. 15n.

[4] The most notable examples in this respect were the Rev. Francis Ch. Trench (then first minister of St John's in Reading, and after-

It is interesting to note that during this period, several British Protestants published books on their experiences in Spain, in connection with religious purposes. Borrow's widely popular narrative, The Bible in Spain (3 vols., 1843), was but the first of these. In 1844, Rule also published his Memoir of a Mission to Gibraltar and Spain, which concluded with the hopeful note that 'Spain shall yet be evangelised.'[5] This was followed the next year by Francis C. Trench's Diary of Travels in France and Spain, chiefly in the year 1844. James Meyrick, then Anglican vicar of Westbury in Wiltshire, who visited Spain several times beginning 1849, also wrote two volumes on the practical operation of the Catholic Church in Spain.[6] It is quite significant that what Meyrick saw in Spain considerably tempered his earlier admiration for Tractarianism.[7] Moreover, several evangelical periodicals published in London or Edinburgh, notably the influential Evangelical Christendom, the News of the Churches and Journal of Missions, and The Bulwark, began to pay increasingly more attention to 'religious intelligence' about Spain. Indeed, as early as 1846, Spain had been mentioned in the pages of The Continental Echo and Protestant Witness, a journal promoting 'continental

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wards rector of Islip, near Oxford), who went to Spain in 1844; and the Rev. Dr James Thomson, who was Bible agent there from 1847 to 1849. For his reasons for visiting Spain, see Trench, Diary of Travels in France and Spain (2 vols.; London, 1845), vol. II, pp. 70-72.

[5] See page 369.

[6] What is the Practical Working of the Church in Spain (Oxford, 1850), and The Practical Working of the Church in Spain (Oxford, 1851).

[7] In the preface to his second volume, Meyrick said that he and his brother, Frederick (also a vicar), left England, 'one with a high respect, the other with a high admiration, for the spirit of many of the practices of Rome -- such as retreats, sisterhoods, and the good work wrought by these institutions.' But first-hand observation of these at work in Spain 'cleared off the mist which imagination throws over the distance, and revealed the truth.'

missions'. But it was not until 1850, and especially after 1854, that news on Spain became a regular feature, more or less, of the above evangelical periodicals.

As will be shown more fully later in this chapter, all these and similar publications served to promote the cause of Spanish evangelization, by drawing attention to Spain. What is important to note at this point is that these, indeed, did much to enlighten the advocates of that cause, on the contemporary Spanish situation. Consequently, they were better able to see, as never before, the practicable ways by which they might pursue their particular objectives.

By the 1840's, it had become apparent that political stability in Spain under truly liberal governments was the necessary condition for a successful Protestant entry into that country.[8] It had been shown by previous experience not enough to depend on the incidental and ephemeral opportunities provided by liberal ministries, whose decrees held only as long as they stayed in power. What was needed was a policy of toleration, preferably supported by constitutional guarantees, which future Spanish governments would have to respect. It was apparently hoped that Protestantism would eventually take root in Spanish society, if given long enough an opportunity or time to work towards this objective.

The crux of the matter, however, was that, from the viewpoint of Spain, there was hardly any natural ground forenacting such constitutional guarantees of religious toleration. The common argument, held even by some liberals, was that the entire Spanish nation was Catholic; it was therefore, academic to grant religious tolera-

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[8] This is clearly reflected in the articles written, for example, by Rule and Thomson, appearing in several issues of Evangelical Christendom from 1847 to 1851.

tion to other cults that did not even exist in Spain. If the existence of non-Catholic communities in Spain were an 'accomplished fact', then perhaps it would be time enough to reconsider the laws on religion. But certainly not until then. In fact, this argument continued, there was already enough toleration in Spain. Since the Inquisition was abolished, a man might hold heterodox views, or become an atheist, and still remain unmolested, as long as he does not attempt to subvert the religion of the state.[9] This last condition, however, implied that it was virtually impossible to legally propagate non-Catholic views in Spain.

This then was the vicious circle that Protestantism somehow had to break: it was not tolerated, because it did not exist; it could not exist, because intolerant laws prevented its entry. As shown by events in the 1830's, Protestantism could come into Spain only if some liberal ministry were willing to disregard existing laws. Yet such a ministry would have to be confidently strong to resist the reactionary forces of clericalists in the country.

Though the possibility was still vague in the 1840's, evangelical Protestants in Britain, nevertheless, had some hope that religious toleration would eventually be established in Spain. Rule was quite right in a statement made in 1847, that since the 1830's,

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[9] One of the clearest statements of this argument was given by Sr Esquivel, a member of the constitutional commission of 1837. He said: 'If there exist among us men of different religions, I will plead for toleration and even for religious liberty; but if among us religious unity reigns, for whom are we to establish these principles? I always distinguish liberty of thought from liberty to manifest it. Toleration is the precursor of liberty. Neither one nor the other is deposited in the laws.' As quoted by Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodox españoles, vol. VII, p. 276.

This view was echoed several times in the next decades. See, for example, D. Salustiano de Olozaga, as quoted in Evangelical Christendom, vol. IV (1850), p. 88.

the few Spanish libre-cultistas had slowly but steadily been increasing in number.[10] These men were represented in the various liberal political parties, and included not only statesmen, but also military officers, economists, bankers, journalists, intellectuals, professionals, and even a few ecclesiastics (including the Bishops of Astorga, Jaen, and Malaga, and Garcia Blanco, the Hebrew professor at Madrid). The reasons they advanced for religious toleration were complex and varied, but at the risk of oversimplification, it might be said that all these were animated by a desire to modernize Spain, in keeping with the progressive ideas of the age.

Some of these reasons had been mentioned in previous chapters. It might suffice to say that two new ones were now being put forward. The first assumed that freedom of moral and religious thought was the only basis of true civilization,[11] therefore, it was a primary condition for the cultural progress of Spain. The other was more directly pragmatic, and came under the title of 'industrial argument' for religious toleration. It was somewhat reminiscent of Urquijo's policy in 1797. This argument advanced the view that if Spain were to attract foreign business and capital from the industrialized nations, then she must, among other things, tolerate non-Catholic forms of worship. As one leading exponent of this idea told the Cortes on the occasion of the debate on the Asturian railway project in 1849, big foreign capitalists would be drawn to Spain, if their religion were res-

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[10] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. I (1847), p. 113.

[11] This was the view held by Borrow's friend, Usoz. It was mentioned in passing in one of his letters to Borrow, and later, during a conversation with the English Quaker, Benjamin B. Wiffen. See Knapp, Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow, vol. I, pp. 361-62. See also 'Memoirs of Benjamin B. Wiffen,' in Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries, vol. I, p. 11.

pected. But 'while certificates of Catholicism,' he continued, 'are required in Spain, in order for a foreigner to establish himself, it is vain to think of improvement, roads, or communications.'[12]

Thus, while it was true that the overwhelming majority of Spaniards were either hostile or indifferent to the idea of religious toleration -- and this was a fact, clearly recognized by advocates of Spanish evangelization[13] -- nevertheless, there were certain liberal quarters in Spain, which vigorously clamoured for its establishment. As an Englishman, who knew Spain intimately, said in 1853, numerous were the libre-cultistas whose zeal had carried them 'beyond the narrow bounds of prudence fixed by the Spanish Government for the expression of their religious views and sentiments.'[14]

As far as advocates of Spanish evangelization were concerned,

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[12] The conservatives answered this argument by saying that what Spain needed to attract foreign business was not so much religious toleration as it was peace, law, and order. This was a claim, which indeed had something to say for itself. But the tragedy which in 1850 befell an English Protestant corkwood manufacturer in Gerona underlined the deterrent, posed by the lack of religious toleration, to the easy flow of foreign capital to Spain. The Englishman, William Bucknall, had married a Spanish lady. The ceremony, solemnized by the British consul at Barcelona, was legal and valid according to British law. But it was not so in Spain. The Bishop of Gerona, therefore, ordered the couple's separation, until they were canonically married, according to Catholic rites. The couple refused, and legal proceedings were instituted against them. The case eventually reached diplomatic level, and upon the insistence of the British government, the Spanish ministry deliberated on it early in 1851. As the ministerial ruling confirmed the Bishop's decision, and the couple insistently refused a Catholic ceremony, the man's business was utterly ruined. Both he and his wife had to leave the country. See The Christian Family Advocate, vol. II (1853), pp. 154-55. See also Lord Howden to Sr Luzurriaga, dated Madrid, 14th Jan. 1855, in F.O. 72. 864. 14.

[13] See, for example, Evangelical Christendom, vol. IV (1850), pp. 111-12.

[14] Thomas Parker, in his preface to Adolfo de Castro, History of Religious Intolerance in Spain (London, 1853), pp. ix-x.
Parker, of whom more will be said later, had formerly resided in Spain, and knew personally many liberal politicians in that country.

they had by this time realized that not all so-called 'enlightened Spaniards' were Protestantism's best friends or allies.[15] It was now apparent that it had been been a mistake to assume that the Spaniards most hostile to the Catholic Church could be counted upon by Protestants for help.[16] In Spain, these men, more often than not, were materialists or militant atheists. If they were fiercely opposed to the clergy and the Church, it was often because they were opposed to religion, as a whole. In fact, it would appear that they interpreted 'religious liberty' as the freedom to profess one's chosen religion, or, -- as was perhaps more important to them -- the absence of one. By 1868, such a view was being voiced openly in the halls of the Spanish Cortes.[17]

Indeed, it would be recalled that it was not Mendizabal's radical ministry, but that of the moderate Ofalia, which gave concessions to Rule in the 1830's. It also has to be noted that it was another *moderado* government, which in 1848 revised the Spanish Penal Code, softening the harshest penalty clauses on crimes against the religion of the state.[18] This the *progresistas*, who were too engrossed in constitution-making, had not bothered to reform. This does not also mean, however, that all *moderados* were sympathetic to the Protestant cause, for, on the contrary, some of them were among the more zealous supporters of religious unity. As future events were to

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[15] See, especially, *ibid.*

[16] Borrow himself had realized this as early as 1838. In one of his letters, he asked his friends in England 'to keep clear of the *exaltado* or republican party,' and to expect no help from them. See Borrow to Brandram, dated Madrid, 19th April, 1838.

[17] See Eiras Roel, *El partido democrata español*, p. 397.

[18] For a full discussion of this subject, see Hughey, *Religious Freedom in Spain*, ch. ii.

show more clearly, it was not so much the political programmes of one party or another that ultimately counted in favour of Protestant entry into Spain, as it was the personal views and attitudes towards religion of individual statesmen and influential persons.[19] If one has to make a more particular observation, it might be said that the Spaniards who were not hostile to Protestantism were, for the most part, advanced moderados or conservative progresistas. The democratas, organized in 1849, stood out as a striking exception, for on the whole, they proved to be consistent supporters of religious toleration. It was from among their number that Protestants later found some of their closest allies.

Except for a brief interlude in 1847, the moderado regime from 1843 to the middle of 1854 held particularly dim prospects for an early resumption of Protestant work in Spain. This was because the leaders who took over from Espartero were anxious to heal the rift between Rome and Madrid, and to solve the difficult 'religious question', which was to continue as a live issue for over a quarter of a century. If the progresistas were responsible for ecclesiastical disamortization in the mid-1830's and for what was known as 'Alonso's schism'[20] in 1841-1842, the moderados, on the other hand, partially relaxed the tension by signing with Rome the Convenio of

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[19] For a good description of the various attitudes of educated Spaniards towards religion, see Hugh James Rose, Untrodden Spain; and her Black Country (2nd ed., 2 vols.; London, 1875), vol. I, pp. 229-35.

[20] This refers to an attempt by D. Jose Alonso, then Minister of Grace and Justice (who had jurisdiction over religious matters), to establish a national Spanish Church independent of Rome. It was supported only by Spanish 'Jansenists', notably Amat. See Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 288f. Cf. Juan Perez Alhama, La iglesia y el estado español (Madrid, 1967), p. 53.

1845.[21] It was this document which laid down the standard for the religious clauses of the Constitutional Reform of 1845,[22] and the Concordat with Rome in 1851.[23] The conciliatory attitude of the moderado ministries at this time towards the Church was undoubtedly influenced also by the openly reactionary court of Isabella II, surrounded as it was by a clerical camarilla,[24] whose pre-occupation was the protection of the Church's interests. Most of the ministries at this time were filled by opportunists, so that it was comparatively easy for the Crown, by holding out favours and choice positions, to make these politicians subservient to its interests.[25] Thus, the Spanish ministry went along with Isabella in 1852, when, at the en-

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[21] The opening article of this Convenio read: 'The Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion continues to be the religion of the whole Spanish nation, to the absolute exclusion of any other worship in the entire dominions of Her Catholic Majesty.' In all, there were seventeen articles, of which two were kept secret. For the text, see ibid., pp. 95-105.

[22] See Guzman, España, entre las dictaduras y la democracia, p. 166.

[23] The full text of the Concordat is reproduced in Perez Alhama, La iglesia y el estado español, pp. 413f. An English translation also appears in the British and Foreign State Papers, vol. XLI (1851-1852), pp. 141f.

[24] The camarilla (literally, 'little chamber') was a clique of advisers, who owed their position solely to sovereign favour. At one time or another, Isabella's camarilla included her confessor; P. Fulgencio Claret; her husband's confessor, the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo; and the notorious 'nun of the stigmata', Sor Patrocinio, who had great influence over the superstitious Isabella. Many unflattering remarks had been said about this clerical clique around Isabella, for having been the bane of constitutional governments during her reign. See, for example, Antonio Carro Martinez, La constitucion espanola de 1869 (Madrid, 1952), p. 17. Cf. Elizabeth Wormeley Latimer, Spain in the Nineteenth Century (Chicago, 1897), p. 264. Sor Patrocinio's influence over Isabella was also mentioned by the British ambassador, Lord Howden (see his despatches, of 10th and 16th March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 99 and 100).

[25] See V. G. Kiernan, The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History, (Oxford, 1966), pp. 33f.

couragement of her clerical advisers, she issued a royal decree, forbidding foreigners to exercise both the public and private observance of any worship other than that of the state religion.[26]

Nevertheless, there were indications that despite all these, religious toleration in Spain was not a hopeless cause. The fears that Isabella's decree above evoked in Britain did not come true. This was because the Spanish ministry, while accepting it as a document just to placate clerical interests, apparently did not seriously intend to carry out its purpose.[27] Before long, other events in Spain, as will later be seen, advanced the cause of religious toleration in that country.

In tracing the growth and spread among British evangelical Protestants of the idea of Spanish evangelization, one notes that these matured and materialized into definite plans of action in the ten years between 1844 and 1854. Practically all articles on Spain appearing in British evangelical periodicals during this period invariably contained the hope that at the right time, the Spanish libre-cultistas would come to power and bring about the desired changes in that country. In the meanwhile, British evangelical Protestants exerted new efforts at home, in preparation for such an anticipated opening of Spain.

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[26] For the pertinent articles of this royal decree of 17th November 1852, see British and Foreign State Papers, vol. LIII (1862-1863), p. 1057.

[27] As Lord John Russell, as British Foreign Secretary, later told the House of Commons, the Spanish government did not wish to execute their country's laws on religion, in a manner oppressive and injurious to the British, and apparently, the entire foreign community in Spain. See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. CLXIII (1861), col. 681. See also a reference to this Spanish royal decree (showing British perplexity as to its true import), in Pierce Connelly, 'The Madiai Millions: A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl of Aberdeen, First Lord of the Treasury' (London, 1853), pp. 7-8.

The factors that encouraged and developed this fresh and more vigorous interest in Spain were varied, and at first may seem unrelated to one another. But when viewed as a whole, they show a logical progression and a cumulative effect. As already alluded to, all these culminated in the organization in Britain of the first missionary society to Spaniards. These factors, though not easy to classify, may roughly be divided into five: first, the continuing Protestant activities (for the most part, conducted secretly) in or along the borders of Spain; second, the growing movement for reform among Spaniards of evangelical piety, which they called la Segunda Reforma; third, the inspiration to British evangelical Protestants provided by the work of converted Spanish priests; fourth, the increasing appeals to support Spanish evangelization, carried on by its leading advocates, through the pages of the chief British evangelical periodicals; and lastly, the climate engendered by the upsurge of intense anti-Catholic feelings in Britain, sparked by the so-called 'Papal Aggression' in 1850.

Continuing Protestant Activity in Spain

As far as working in the open was concerned, this had become an impossibility for British evangelical societies after 1843. After Borrow, Rule and Lyon left Spain, not a single foreign Protestant worker could be found in Spain. Yet, it was still possible for Protestant Spaniards, of whom one or two had been named, to work secretly in Spain. Being Spaniards, they could easily conceal their activities.

There is enough evidence to affirm that beginning 1844, clandestine Protestant operations continued in Spain through the agency of a handful of Spaniards. The evangelical societies which

conducted these operations were the four British Bible societies mentioned above, apparently in cooperation with the French and Foreign Bible Society. Although the Religious Tract Society, of London, seems to have practically suspended its work in Spain until 1851,[28] it is quite certain that the Societe de Livres Religieux a Toulouse was active in the border towns of Spain along the Pyrenees.[29]

Thus, the Trinitarian Bible Society, taking advantage of their contacts in Lisbon from where Testaments were then forwarded to Spain, made use of this opportunity to continue their Spanish work.[30] Significantly enough, from 1843 to 1845, this Bible Society printed 1,535 Spanish Gospels from the Valera version,[31] and it is likely that this edition was part of the Scriptures sent to Spain. The Glasgow and Edinburgh Bible societies likewise found ways of sending their own books to their Spanish correspondents. In 1845, for example, the Edinburgh Bible Society found 'an unexpected opportunity' of sending 1,000 copies of John's Gospel to 'an important station in Spain.'[32] That same year, a few copies were also remitted to 'a friend in Madrid' (Usoz), at the suggestion of 'a gentleman residing near Woburn' (Benjamin Wiffen).[33]

Not much is known of the way the Scriptures were conveyed to Spain. But from separate, though complementary, sources of information, it appears that Scriptures and Protestant literature from

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[28] Green, The Story of the Religious Tract Society, p. 89.

[29] See The Continental Echo and Protestant Witness, vol. I (1845), pp. 83, 267.

[30] See excerpts of the Trinitarian Bible Society report, in the 35th EBS Report (1845), p. 30.

[31] The Herald of the Churches (1846), pp. 231-32.

[32] 36th EBS Report (1846), p. 44. [33] Ibid.

England were sent to the northern Spanish port of San Sebastian. These were received by a Spanish gentleman,[34] who was perhaps a Protestant. He then forwarded the books to Usoz in Madrid.[35] It may be supposed that shipments of Scriptures to other correspondents elsewhere in Spain were sent through similar means.

The British and Foreign Bible Society also continued its work among Spaniards in southern France[36] and those visiting Gibraltar. The latter was the staging point for forwarding Scriptures to Malaga, Cartagena, and apparently also Cadiz and one or two other places in Spain. Reports of the above Bible Society from 1841 to 1854 occasionally mentioned sending consignments to correspondents in the above-named places. To be sure, open colportage, as Borrow and Graydon did in previous years, was at this time impossible. However, this does not exclude the possibility that some Scripture circulation continued through other means.[37]

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[34] This Spaniard was D. Francisco de Brunet, mentioned by B. B. Wiffen in a letter to Mrs John T. Betts, dated 5th May 1865, in Samuel Rowles Pattison (ed.), The Brothers Wiffen: Memoirs and Miscellanies (London, 1880), pp. 170-71.

[35] One source states that 'Don F. de B.' (i.e., Brunet), since the 1840's, used to forward to Usoz a 'great number' of boxes, containing books and Scriptures from England. See Bessie Lawrence, The Aurora in Spain: Dawnings of Gospel Light in the Past and Present History of that Country (Barcelona, 1880), pp. 43-44. (Miss Lawrence was the daughter of a Plymouth Brethren missionary to Spain, who knew Brunet personally.)

[36] This particular work was a joint effort of several evangelical societies. The BFBS supplied the Scriptures (no less than 3,300 Spanish Bibles and Testaments from 1841 to 1854). The Evangelical Society of Geneva provided money for colportage expenses, and the French and Foreign Bible Society, in cooperation with local Protestant pastors in Toulouse, Montauban and other places, supplied the colporteurs. At one time, these numbered no less than sixty. See letter of Rev. Dr James Thomson, dated Zaragoza, 29th Aug. 1848, in the 45th BFBS Report (1849), p. xciii. See also 37th BFBS Report (1841), pp. xxvii-xxix.

[37] One certainly wonders what happened to the 800 Spanish Bi-

Before long, there were two developments, which indicated that the British and Foreign Bible Society expected new openings for work in Spain in the not too distant future. The first was the revival in 1845 of the 'Corresponding Committee' at Gibraltar. In 1853, this body was reconstituted as the 'Gibraltar Auxiliary Society.' Early the following year, a regular Spanish colporteur was employed. The second was the appointment in 1847 of the Rev. Dr James Thomson,[38] as Bible agent in Spain. He was given a wide commission, being permitted to move about freely for two years -- not as 'a formal agent' who had to feel bound to sell or give away so many Scriptures within a certain space of time, but one who would survey the general conditions of the country, establish good contacts among sympathetic Spaniards, and ascertain the possibilities for the future work of the Bible Society.

Thomson traveled extensively throughout Spain, making many

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bles and over 1,400 Testaments sent to various correspondents in Spain from 1840 to 1854 (see BFBS Reports for this period, under 'grants'). To this might be added the 5,000 Bibles and 2,000 Testaments printed in Madrid for the BFBS in 1840 (see 37th BFBS Report (1840), p. lv). To be sure, a number of these must have been circulated by Calderon and Montsalvatge from 1842 to 1843. But certainly, not all could have been sold during this brief period. By 1854, the BFBS found it necessary to print a new edition in Madrid. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that some Bible circulation took place between 1843 and 1854, through the Spanish correspondents of the BFBS.

[38] Thomson was a Scotsman -- though not to be confused with four or five contemporaries, also named 'James Thomson' -- and in 1847, he was already well known for his missionary and educational labours in South America. For this, he had received honourary citizenship from the governments of Argentina and Chile. As a young man, he very nearly joined Robert Haldane as a missionary in Montauban. But as this plan did not materialize, he went instead to South America, in the double capacity of agent for the BFBS and the Lancastrian Educational Society. As Bible agent, he laboured in Buenos Aires, Chile, Peru, Colombia, and later in Mexico, Canada, and the West Indies. See his letter, dated 29th Aug. 1848, in the 45th BFBS Report (1849), p. xciii. See also John A. Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ (London, 1932), pp. 235-37.

friends among high-ranking Spaniards of liberal views,[39] arranging contacts for the future circulation of the Scriptures,[40] and studying the climate of liberal opinion on the Spanish laws governing religion and the importation of Protestant literature from abroad. Thanks to his keen diplomacy, tact, mastery of the language, and profound understanding of the Spanish character, Thomson was outstandingly successful in every aspect of his mission. In fact, it might be said that by 1849, he had become the foremost evangelical Protestant authority on Spain in Britain. Perhaps the two most important fruits of his tour were: first, the vital information on Spanish conditions, which he brought back with him; and second, the subsequent developments resulting from his contacts with many influential Spaniards. Both of these gave a tremendous impetus in Britain to the idea of Spanish evangelization.

Spanish Evangelical Movement for Religious Reform

Another factor which encouraged Spanish evangelization was the movement for religious reform in Spain, known as the 'Second Reformation', la Segunda Reforma. This was initiated by a handful of Spanish Protestants, though they preferred to call themselves evan-

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[39] Thomson's friends and acquaintances included ecclesiastics, military men, professionals, journalists, businessmen, provincial and city officials, and deputies to the Cortes. These contacts provided him an introduction wherever he went. Thus, the Civil Governor of Cadiz, for example, introduced him to a Cortes deputy. The latter in turn drafted a complimentary letter commending Thomson, asked his clerks to make 29 copies, which the deputy himself individually addressed to his friends in places Thomson was to visit. See the 45th BFBS Report (1849), pp. xci, xcv-xcvi. See also Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), pp. 278-79.

[40] The most important of these contacts was a Protestant Spaniard from Seville, D. Jose Vasquez. It was this man (as will be shown later), who was responsible for much of the Protestant advance in the whole region of Andalusia from 1852 to 1860.

gelicos, that is, 'evangelicals', or sometimes, as Catolicos netos, meaning 'pure Catholics'.[31] The latter term was apparently used, in order to draw other Spaniards, who, although desirous of religious reforms, nevertheless, wished to remain 'Catholic'. There certainly was a reluctance to call themselves Protestantes, because of the adverse connotations of the term in Spain. However, either because those Catholic reformists they wished to attract did not respond, or evangelical Protestants in Britain from whom they expected support objected to the term, 'Catolicos netos gradually went out of use, The terms evangelicos or Cristianos evangelicos came to be used more often, especially after 1854.

There is evidence, corroborated even by the Catholic apologist Menendez y Pelayo, that a small circle of 'evangelicals' in Madrid regularly met for prayer and Bible study in the home of the Quaker, Usoz.[32] Such meetings may have begun as early as 1842 or

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[31] This was also the title of the Spanish evangelical magazine, printed in London by the ex-Franciscan friar, Calderon, supported by Thomson. As the term was sometimes used, it referred also to those Spaniards, who gladly received this magazine, and accepted the doctrines therein.

[32] Usoz (1805-1865), already mention on more than one occasion, was a Madrileño, of noble ancestry, whose father was once a magistrate (oidor) in South America. He studied law and the humanities in the universities of Valladolid, Alcala, and Bologna, and was once a student of the well-known Spanish Jansenist, D. Antonio Puigblanch. He mastered Hebrew under Orchell, archdeacon of Tortosa, and Aramaic and Arabic, under the prodigious Italian orientalists and polyglots of the first half of the century, Cardinal Mezzofanti and Michaelangelo Lanci. For a time, Usoz held the chair in Hebrew at Valladolid, although only in his twenties at the time. In 1835, he earned his doctorate from Bologna, defending the thesis that 'a general council has more authority than a pope.' So successful was his defense that the cardinal presiding at the disputation had to say: 'You have sustained a very bad thesis!'

Usoz was an enthusiastic advocate of the Bible societies, and in Borrow's ephemeral plans for a Spanish Bible Society in 1836-1837, he suggested Usoz as a likely secretary. Usoz became a Quaker, after reading a Spanish translation of Robert Barclay's Apology for the

1843. Thomson recalled in 1852, referring apparently to this circle, that when he was in Spain, 'a little body of Spanish Christians in Madrid were in the habit of meeting together on Sunday for worship and edification.'[33] Their number was placed at twelve in 1850,[34] although they seem to have increased in later years. There were also reports of similar evangelical circles elsewhere in Spain.[35] However, many of the contemporary ones appearing in various British evangelical periodicals and other publications,[36] afford the present student of history little additional knowledge about these groups. This is because of the characteristic absence of details, especially of names and places, which was made necessary by the simple question of maintaining security.[36]

True Christian Divinity (1678). Subsequently, Usoz met the English Quaker, Benjamin Barron Wiffen, with whom he formed a life-long friendship. See Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana, vol. I, pp. 9f. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 350-58. Cf. also John Stoughton, The Spanish Reformers (London, 1883), p. 313.

[33] The Christian Family Advocate, vol. I (1852), p. 166. This group composed two prayers for the use of Spanish evangelicals, under the title of 'Dos Oraciones que hacen algunos españoles antes y despues de leer las Sagradas Escrituras.' The full of the English translation by J. Thomson is in Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), pp. 141f.

[34] Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 357. Cf. J. Thomson, 'Spain, Descriptions of the Degraded State of that Country as respects Religion; indications of new life on this subject; a Spanish religious periodical, its character, reception, and usefulness' (London, 1850), p. 4.

[35] See, for example, Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, passim.

[36] What a former Scottish Free Church chaplain in Gibraltar said in 1858 certainly applies also to this earlier period. He said: 'There is this peculiarity attaching to evangelistic operations in Spain, which does not attach to missionary work among the heathen, that it would be imprudent and suicidal -- however gratifying for the moment -- to relate the particular proceedings of agents, and to announce publicly the spheres in which they are labouring and the spe-

Though Usoz seems to have begun this reform movement, the man who was soon to become its chief leader was an ex-Dominican priest, D. Angel Herreros de Mora.[37] In many ways, he was like Usoz. He, too, came from an aristocratic family, had the benefit of a good education, passed through a brief period of Jansenism, and was a member of the highest academic circles. He was also a writer, one of his published works being a compendium of philosophical treatises.

Hence, this indigenous attempt at a religious reformation in Spain appealed to advocates of Spanish evangelization in Britain. What was specially important to the latter was the fact that, to them, this was an opportunity to help rekindle the light of the Reformation in Spain. This was a duty, which they felt devolved upon themselves, as Christians privileged to be in a country where that Reformation faith had flourished.

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cial instances in which success may crown their efforts. All that can safely be given to the public is either general statements, or details with the names of persons and places omitted.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII (1858), pp. 374-75.

[37] Mora came from a family traditionally identified with liberalism and anticlericalism. His uncle was Minister of Grace and Justice when the Jesuits and diocesan juntas de fe were suppressed in 1835. The same familial streak of liberalism clearly stood out in him.

When most religious houses were suppressed in 1835, Mora left his college at Ocaña, though it was one of the few, which were especially spared. He then applied himself to philosophy, and later taught at the University of Madrid. His wide travels in Europe considerably broadened his outlook, and in 1843 he turned Protestant. At the height of the conservative reaction in 1850, the Vicar General of Madrid vainly tried to make him recant. When two attempts were later made on his life, Mora fled to Bordeaux, where he associated himself with the French Reformed pastors, MM. La Harpe and Douesnel. In that city, he met a young French lady from a devout, well-to-do Protestant family, whom he later married. When the revolution of 1854 brought the progresistas back to power, Mora and his family returned to Madrid. See A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora of his Imprisonment by the 'Tribunal of the Faith,' and Escape from Spain, tr. by W. H. Rule (London, 1856), pp. 29-33. Cf. The News of the Churches and Journal of Missions, vol. III (1856), pp. 263-64.

The Labours of Converted Spanish Priests and Friars

The conversion of a few Spanish priests and friars, and their subsequent labours under the service of Protestant societies, was also an important factor in advancing the cause of Spanish evangelization. There had been a few Spanish ecclesiastics converted to Protestantism in the eighteenth century,[38] but it was not until the 1820's that such converts worked actively to win their countrymen to their new-found faith.

Mention has already been made of Blanco and Calderon. The former's chief contribution was in giving British evangelical Protestants an insight into the religious conditions in Spain. His anti-Roman Catholic writings in the 1820's were also later used by advocates of Spanish evangelization to great advantage, by circulating these in Spain.[39] Though Blanco turned to Unitarianism late in his life, and perhaps died a skeptic,[40] what was more often remembered about him was the simple fact that he was a Catholic priest who turned Protestant.

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[38] Mention, for example, is made of Pellicer and Alvarado, the latter being the translator into Spanish of Robert Barclay's Apology. It is also reported that a secular priest, D. Antonio Gavin, graduated with an M.A. from the University of Zaragoza, became a Protestant. On the advice of Lord Stanhope, conqueror of Port Mahon, he fled to England, and in 1715 was admitted into the Anglican Church by the Bishop of London. He was subsequently appointed chaplain of H.M.S. Preston. Later he wrote a book titled The Master Key to Popery (1725). See The Bulwark, 4th series, no. CCXXVIII (1906), p. 272.

[39] These included especially his The Poor Man's Preservative against Popery, and Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism. Both were issued in Spanish, the former passing through several editions in Edinburgh under the titles Preservativo contra Roma and La Verdad Descubierta por un Español. The latter came out under the title Pruebas de la Verdad del Cristianismo.

[40] For a critical study of Blanco's thought, see William E. Gladstone, 'Blanco White,' Gleanings of Past Years (7 vols.; London, 1843-1879), vol. II, pp. 1-64.

Calderon was certainly much more active in Spanish evangelization than Blanco. By 1846 he was back in London. Through the recommendation of Thomson and Rule, he was employed by the Foreign Aid Society, as missionary to Spaniards in the London area.[41] Having no mean education (he was professor of Humanities and Castilian Literature in Madrid in 1842-1843), Calderon was entrusted by Usoz in copying manuscripts of the works of sixteenth-century Spanish Reformers, found in the British Museum and Oxford University.[42] It was beginning 1849, however, that Calderon embarked on his greatest contribution to Spanish evangelization -- the publication, in collaboration with Thomson, of the Spanish evangelical magazine El Catolicismo Neto.[43] This was the Spanish counterpart of the Italian Protestant periodical, L'Eco di Savonarola, printed in London and also supported by evangelical Protestants in Britain. El Catolicismo Neto may be credited for disseminating throughout the chief cities of Spain the doctrinal teachings of the Spanish evangelicos.

The road that Blanco and Calderon took was followed by several other Spanish ecclesiastics in the second quarter of the nineteenth century -- Dr Jose Muñoz de Sotomayor, Dr Lorenzo Lucena, Dr Vicente Gomez y Tejar, D. Pablo Sanchez Ruiz, D. Ramon Montsalvatge, D. Angel Herreros de Mora, and apparently a few others, only briefly referred to in Protestant journals of the period.[44] All of the above, with

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[41] The Continental Echo, and Protestant Witness, vol. II (1846), p. 159.

[42] See ibid. See also Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), p. 250; vol. IV (1850), pp. 231f. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos espanoles, vol. VIII, pp. 344-48.

[43] El Catolicismo in 1851 was continued under the title El Examen Libre, which ceased publication on Calderon's death in 1854.

[44] Thus, see The Christian Family Advocate, vol. II (1853), p. 81.

the exception of Mora, who joined the American Protestant Episcopal Church, and Montsalvatge, who affiliated himself with the Free Church of Geneva, ultimately became presbyters of the Church of England.

British advocates of Spanish evangelization knew little of the former lives of these men, or of the immediate reasons for their departure from the Catholic Church.[45] What mattered to them, however, was that these Spaniards did renounce that Church, apparently having found no meaning in her teachings or her priesthood. Practically all of these men had passed through a period of painful doubt and skepticism. It was therefore greatly encouraging to British evangelical Protestants that these Spaniards had found their Christian faith revived in Protestantism, to which they now offered their services.

Muñoz y Sotomayor was engaged in the translation into Spanish of Protestant literature,[46] Gomez had a flourishing evangelical mission in Lisbon,[47] and Sanchez Ruiz was engaged in similar work in North Africa.[48] Montsalvatge, after working with Calderon in Madrid, was subsequently ordained in Geneva and sent to South America. His successful missions in Cartagena[49] (in modern Colombia) received lav-

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[45] For brief details regarding the lives of these men, see the Appendix to Adolfo de Castro, Historia de los protestantes españoles y su persecucion por Felipe II (Cadiz, 1851), pp. 459f. See also J. Thomson, 'British Religious Liberty Abroad . . .', p. 15. See also Evangelical Christendom, vol. V (1851), pp. 88f. Cf. Annual Report of the Foreign Society, for Promoting the Objects of European Societes Evangeliques (1841), pp. 15-16. On Montsalvatge, see The Life of Ramon Montsalvatge, a converted Spanish Monk of the Order of the Capuchins (London, 1846), published by the Religious Tract Society. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 235f., 348f.

[46] Ibid., vol. VII, pp. 235-36.

[47] Thomson, 'British Religious Liberty Abroad . . .', p. 15.

[48] See La Luz, vol. VIII (July 29, 1876), p. 241.

ish praises from British evangelical periodicals.[49] Lucena also was at first employed by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to direct the revision and editing of Amat's Spanish Bible, after which he became pastor of a Spanish Anglican congregation in Gibraltar.[50] On his return to England in 1849, Lucena conducted a Spanish mission connected with St Aidan's Theological College at Birkenhead. At the same time, he occupied himself with translation work and the writing of religious tracts for use in Spain. In 1852 he became associated with Oxford University, subsequently holding a chair in Castilian language studies, which post he retained till his death.[51]

More than anything else, the conversion of these Spanish priests was considered by advocates of Spanish evangelization as a sure indication that more might also take the same road to Protestantism. At least, it was believed that among the Spanish clergy, there were other 'dissentients', whose 'anti-Pope and anti-Roman views are patent enough.'[52] It was to this group, therefore, that British evangelical Protestants wished to direct especial attention.

Religious Publications of Englishmen and Spaniards

A third factor which gave impetus to Spanish evangelization was the encouragement given by the various collaborations in the production of religious literature between Protestant Englishmen and Spaniards. To be sure, these collaborations were not widely known

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[50] Apparently an outgrowth of the Anglican chaplaincy at Gibraltar, this congregation was composed of sixty or seventy Spaniards. Attached to it was a children's school, enrolling 150. See the Seventh Annual Report of the Foreign Aid Society (1847), p. 25.

[51] Cf. The Christian Family Advocate, vol. II, (1853), p. 81.

[52] Ibid.

until many years later.[53] But each little bit of information on the subject invariably helped to create among British evangelicals more interest in Spain.

The first of these joint endeavours was the gigantic project of the wealthy Quakers, Usoz and Wiffen, to collect and publish the works of Spanish Reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[54] For over twenty years, they spent much time and money, gathering the works of such men as Tejeda, the brothers Juan and Alfonso Valdez, Montes, Valera, Sacharles, Ponce de Leon, Perez, and others. Without much doubt, the major part of the work belonged to Usoz,[55] although Wiffen certainly gave an important contribution to it. The latter, in particular, gave Usoz encouragement, searched all library sources in Britain, especially those at Cambridge, and obtained for Usoz a few manuscripts.

The result of these vast efforts was the publication from 1847 to 1865 of the twenty-volume annotated series titled Reformistas antiguos españoles. Along with nine other works, including Valera's

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[53] Cf. Pattison, The Brothers Wiffen, p. 81.

[54] This collaboration, which extended also to their work for the abolition of slavery in Spanish territories, was the result of a casual meeting in London in 1839, out of which grew their lasting friendship. For details, see 'Memoirs of Benjamin B. Wiffen,' in Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana, vol. I, pp. 10f. Cf. Knapp, Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow, vol. I, pp. 359f.

[55] It is unfortunate, however, as Knapp has shown (see ibid., vol. I, pp. 364-65), that in later years, practically all credit for this valuable work was given to Wiffen, with justice scarcely being given to Usoz's greater efforts. This error started in 1849, with the publication of George Ticknor's History of Spanish Literature. The same error was later reproduced in Bohn's Supplement to Lowndes's Catalogue, Brunet's Manuel, the work of Bernard Quaritch, and especially Boehmer's Bibliotheca Wiffeniana.

For Usoz's account of his part in the preparation and publication of this series, see Reformistas antiguos españoles, vol. XII, p. 9; vol. XX, p. 156.

Spanish translation of Calvin's Institutes, this series gave Usoz a special place of honour not only among Protestants abroad, but even in the Spanish literary world.[56] It is also significant that although the government authorities knew of what Usoz was doing,[57] they allowed him to go on, as long as he proceeded discreetly and did not use his work for Protestant propaganda.

About the same time that Thomson and Calderon were engaged in the publication of El Catolicismo Neto, another joint literary effort was being made by the London printer, Thomas Parker, a former resident in Spain, and his friend, the Spanish historian D. Adolfo de Castro y Rossi.[58] With the encouragement of Parker and Thomson, Castro had expanded and revised an unpublished work he had finished in 1847. In 1851, this was issued under the title Historia de los protestantes españoles y su persecucion por Felipe II. Two years later, he produced a second volume, Historia de la intolerancia religiosa en España. In both instances, Parker translated the material into Eng-

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[56] It is interesting to note that Usoz was the only Spanish Protestant to be praised by the zealous Catholic apologist, Menendez y Pelayo. See Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 359f.

[57] In later years, Usoz's printer in Madrid, the Protestant D. Jose Cruzado, told a Baptist missionary to Spain (Knapp) of 'the night visits of the alguaciles, and the connivance of the government ministers who were well aware of what Usoz was doing, but did not interfere so long as he kept quiet.' See Knapp, Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow, vol. I, p. 364.

[58] During his time, Castro was the foremost Spanish historian on the subject of Protestants and Jews in Spain. In 1847 he published in Cadiz a history of the Spanish Jews. It was translated by Edward D. G. M. Kirwan into English, and was published in Cambridge and London under the title The History of the Jews in Spain, from the time of their settlement in that country till the commencement of the present century.

The mid-1800's seemed to have been particularly rich in literature on this subject. In 1848, Elias Hiam Lindo had also published in London his The History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal, from the earliest times to their final expulsion from these kingdoms, and their subsequent dispersion.

lish.[59] Since the sheets were sent to London upon being printed in Cadiz, it was possible for both the originals and the translations to come off the press about the same time. In fact, the English version of the first volume was completed fifteen days earlier than the Spanish edition. There was apparently a purpose in this, namely, to arouse public opinion in Britain and Spain about the same time, in connection with the efforts then being made for the establishment of religious liberty in the latter country.

Castro's books were indeed considered timely in both countries. The Spaniards received them reflectively -- which would have been otherwise, if they had been written by a foreigner.[60] In Britain, their impact was perhaps even greater, for they gave more fuel to the religious hysteria then raging among Protestants, on account of the so-called 'Papal Aggression'. To this was added the violent indignation from 1851 to 1853, over the reported persecutions of Protestants in Tuscany.[61] Both these developments, coming as they did at this time, undoubtedly gave Castro's books far greater public acceptation than would have been otherwise.

Parker and a new colleague, a Protestant Spaniard named D. Jose de Mora, also stepped into the place left vacant by the deaths in 1854 of both Thomson and Calderon. To continue the work of El Libre Examen, Parker and Mora late that year began the publication of a new Spanish evangelical periodical, which became a powerful instru-

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[59] The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II. (1851); and History of Religious Intolerance in Spain; or, An Examination of some of the Causes which led to that Nation's Decline (1853).

[60] The Christian Family Advocate, vol. II (1853), p. 85.

[61] For details, see Samuel P. Tregelles, Prisoners of Hope: Being Letters from Florence relative to the Persecution of Francesco and Rosa Madiai (London, /1852/).

ment for Protestant propaganda in Spain. This was El Alba (The Dawn),[62] the title being especially chosen as an allusion to the awakening of the 'Second Reformation' in Spain. This periodical continued to be circulated into the 1860's, and found enthusiastic acceptance in many liberal quarters and among the militia.

Parker also published anonymously a little volume titled Roman Catholicism in Spain (Edinburgh, 1855), purportedly written by 'An Old Resident' in that country.[63] This book added to the interest in Spain generated by another small volume published five years before.[64] Being a polemical expose of the evils of the Spanish Catholic system, Parker's book tended to caricature the facts. But as a piece of propaganda, it served its purpose well. A reviewer in an Edinburgh religious magazine perhaps expressed its typical impact on evangelical Protestants, when in his review he reminded his readers that 'Popery requires only to be known to be feared and hated.'[65]

Evangelical Propaganda Campaign for Spanish Evangelization

At this point, it may be well to consider the intensive campaign that the 'friends of Spain', as British advocates of Spanish

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[62] The first few issues were subsidized with liberal contributions from two ladies, a wealthy Englishwoman named Mrs Hargreaves, who had suggested the idea of a new Spanish evangelical magazine to Parker, in the first place; and Miss Jane Whately, daughter of the Archbishop of Dublin, who not only helped collect funds, but also assisted, with her perfect knowledge of Spanish, in editing the paper. See Peddie, Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 10f.

[63] There has been some question as to the authorship of this book, whether it was Angel Herreros de Mora, or his kinsman, N. Mora, editor of the Madrid journal El Heraldo. There is no doubt, however, that it was Parker who translated it into English. See Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 350.

[64] A.F.R., The Reformation in Spain. A Fragment (London, 1850).

[65] The Reformed Presbyterian (1855), p. 395.

evangelization sometimes referred to themselves, conducted from about 1845 onwards to win support for their cause. As mentioned in an early part of this chapter, it was the publication of the memoirs of Borrow and Rule, which directly led to this campaign.

Borrow himself seems to have lost all interest in Spain, except as a literary setting for his future works in connection with Gypsy lore.[66] However, his The Bible in Spain evoked an enthusiastic response, perhaps beyond his wildest expectations. It went through five editions within seven months of its first publication, and in America alone, some 30,000 copies were sold in the first five months. Subsequently, it was also translated into French, German, and Russian.[67] The reviews were nearly all lavish praises, so that the few adverse ones, as that in the Catholic journal, the Dublin Review, actually stood out as incongruous exceptions. Borrow became a celebrity overnight. He was feted and feasted by the highest circles of London society, including Members of Parliament and the foreign diplomatic corps.[68] Sir Robert Peel even made a complimentary reference to him in a speech before the House of Commons.[69]

Apart from its literary merits, the book undoubtedly owed its 'instantaneous success', as a later writer put it, to 'its appeal to the Religious Public. Never, perhaps, had they been invited to read such a book, because never had the Bible been distributed by so

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66 This was apparently because his last experiences in Spain caused him to be embittered with the British and Foreign Bible Society, and with all Spaniards, in general, save three friends -- the printer Andres Borrego, Borrow's landlady Maria Diaz, and Usoz. See Knapp, Life, Writings, and Correspondence of George Borrow, vol. I, pp. 361-62.

67 Jenkins, The Life of George Borrow, pp. 350-55.

68 Ibid., p. 354.

69 The Times (April 12, 1843), p. 4.

amazing a missionary as George Borrow.'[70] It would not be an exaggeration to state that the book transfixed in the public mind the otherwise incongruous combination of 'the Bible' and 'Spain'. Such was its effect among evangelical Protestants that a quarter of a century later, an Edinburgh religious periodical could still confidently remind its readers of 'the greatest interest excited in this country'[71] by Borrow's The Bible in Spain.

In 1845, Rule also began in earnest to promote the idea of evangelizing Spain. At that time, there was considerable interest in Britain in the 'evangelization of Italy', and indeed, of the entire continent of Europe.[72] What Rule did was to take advantage of this general interest in the continent to direct as much of it as possible to Spain, in particular. He proposed a specific scheme, which included a mission to Spaniards in London (conducted by Calderon shortly afterwards) and a society similar to one recently organized for the conversion of Italians. It was hoped that through this proposed society, a considerable number of Spaniards would be favourably disposed towards Protestantism. On their return to their own country, they might then support the struggle for the establishment there of religious liberty. For this latter purpose, the proposed society might also widen its circle of personal contacts by corresponding with libre-cultistas in Spain.[73]

Rule's efforts were complemented by the writings of Thom-

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[71] The United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XIII (1869), p. 239.

[72] By 1845 a new evangelical periodical, The Continental Echo, and Protestant Witness, commenced publication to promote this cause.

[73] Rule to the editor, dated Barton-on-Humber, 8th Dec. 1845, The Continental Echo and Protestant Witness, vol. II (1846), p. 19.

son, whose missionary determination to secure Protestant religious liberty in Spain was further motivated by a personal reason.[74] With indefatigable energy, both men entered into their self-appointed task. Their articles on Spain appeared in nearly every issue of the most influential British periodicals at the time.[75] Moreover, at every opportunity, they presented their cause before evangelical societies and influential Protestant leaders, including government ministers and members of Parliament, likely to give them a sympathetic hearing.

Briefly, what Rule, Thomson and other leaders in Spanish evangelization endeavoured to make their fellow evangelical Protestants see was that, despite interruptions by reactionary regimes, liberalizing influences had been effectively at work in Spain over the years. As proof, they pointed to the abolition of the Inquisition, the relaxation of religious censorship, the suppression of religious and monastic orders, the disamortization of ecclesiastical properties, the withdrawal of the civil prerogatives of the clergy, and on top of all these, the growing strength of liberal political parties in that

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[74] Thomson's beloved wife died in Madrid in 1848. For want of a consecrated Protestant cemetery, he had to bury her in a waste spot outside the city. It was even without a proper service of committal, for he could not obtain permit for this. This bitter experience sustained his vow to work determinedly for the removal, as he put it, of 'British reproach' in this respect. He determined not to leave Spain, 'until I had seen the dear deposit, in which I am so closely interested, committed to a British and Protestant cemetery, where it might be expected to lie, without further molestation, until the archangel shall sound his trumpet, and the dead in Christ shall arise.' (See Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), p. 277). Thomson had enclosed the spot with an iron railing, but he had not been absent many months, when there came the ultimate insult. Vandals pulled the railing down, and used the spot as a stable for mules. See British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. II (1853), p. 941.

[75] Aside from Evangelical Christendom, a good example that might be cited was The Christian Family Advocate (Edinburgh). In a twelvemonth period beginning October 1852, Thomson's articles on Spain appeared in no less than ten monthly issues, almost all on the first page.

country.[76] Again and again, it was urged that British Christians should exert a concerted effort to 'evangelize' Spain, using, in the absence of religious toleration in that country, such prudent means as were allowed by her present laws.[77]

The 'Papal Aggression' of 1850

The appeal for Spanish evangelization received a tremendous boost from the nation-wide upsurge of anti-Catholic feelings in Britain beginning 1850. Such anti-Catholic sentiments had been smouldering among evangelical Protestants since the Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829. These were given further impetus by their reaction to the Tractarian Movement, which to zealous evangelical Protestants appeared to be 'the precursor of Popery.'[78] The more militant among them considered the Tractarians as traitors 'a thousand times worse'[79] than Roman Catholics. That a prominent clergyman like John Henry Newman, not to mention several of his Oxford colleagues, should turn Catholic could not fail to give alarm to evangelical Protestants. This had the result of uniting them, whether Churchmen

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[76] Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. I (1847), pp. 42f.

[77] For specific schemes of sending Bibles, periodicals, and religious tracts to Spain, see Thomson's proposals in Evangelical Christendom, vol. III (1849), p. 251.

[78] The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), p. 128.

[79] Ibid., vol. II (1852-53), p. 25; vol. XV (1866), p. 169.
Thomas Arnold, of Rugby, perhaps expressed the typical feeling of those who opposed Tractarians, when he said: 'My feelings towards a Roman Catholic are quite different from my feelings towards a Newmanite, because I think the one a fair enemy, the other a treacherous one. The one is a Frenchman in his own uniform . . . the other is a Frenchman disguised in a red coat.' As quoted by Patrick Howarth, The Year is 1851 (London, 1951), p. 14.
Militant journals of the period, especially The Bulwark, abound with similar sentiments.

or Dissenters, in a common cause.[80] Moreover, the Maynooth Endowment Act of 1845[81] opened a new source of irritation, which led to a vigorous campaign for the withdrawal of all government financial subsidies to Catholic institutions throughout the British empire. What made the situation appear more alarming to evangelical Protestants was the concomitant rapid growth of Catholic influence in politics, and the tolerant attitude of the Whigs in Parliament. Evangelical Protestants felt their faith and the whole basis of the nation's life so threatened, that they believed they must, as one put it, 'unfurl the banner of truth in defense of the liberties of Protestantism.'[82] In 1851 Roman Catholics in Great Britain were statistically still a small, hardly significant minority,[83] but their quiet gains since 1829 were sufficient to alarm evangelical Protestants. By the 1850's, the so-called 'Standing Committee on Popery' was a regular feature in many Protestant churches, especially in Scotland.

Protestant uneasiness about the growing Catholic threat broke out into frenzy, when Pope Pius IX in 1850 reestablished the Catholic hierarchy in England and Wales. This 'Papal Aggression',[84]

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[80] Cf. John T. McNeill, Modern Christian Movements (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 108.

[81] This act, championed by Sir Robert Peel, appropriated £30,000 to the Royal Catholic College at Maynooth, Co. Kildare, near Dublin, and provided, moreover, a regular annual grant of £27,505 for salaries, scholarships, and other operational expenses. For more details, see The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church, ed. by F. L. Cross, (London, 1958), p. 880.

[82] Mrs Robert Peddie, Memorial Sketches (Stirling, 1856), p. 160.

[83] See Catholic Statistics, 1823 to 1853 (Dublin, 1853). Cf. British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. IV (1855), p. 171.

[84] For a good Catholic source justifying this papal measure, see 'The Private History of the Creation of the Roman Catholic Hierarchy in England. A Letter to the Right Hon. the Earl Stanhope from Sir

as it was so called, evoked a sharp howl of indignant protest and demonstrations from Protestants throughout Britain.[85] The Ecclesiastical Titles Act of 1851[86] was considered a spineless answer to this foreign 'aggression', and did not appease popular indignation. The net result was that by 1851, the year of the Great Exhibition in London and the fabulous 'Crystal Palace', public opinion had been roused to fever pitch. It was the year of 'Protestant tracts and pamphlets', 'Protestant sermons', 'Protestant articles', and 'Protestant meetings' all over the land.[87] As one author has recently put it, it was a year of 'general pride and prejudice.'[88] Many would have certainly agreed with a leading Edinburgh journal in a statement in 1852, that the real dangers that faced Britain four years after the fateful year of 1848 were Catholicism and Democracy -- and of the two, the former

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George Bowyer, Bart., M.P. for Dundalk' (2nd ed., London, 1868). For a brief discussion of English Catholicism during this period, see Friedrich Heyer, The Catholic Church from 1648 to 1870, tr. by D.W.D. Shaw (London, 1969), pp. 195f.

[85] A typical evangelical reaction to this 'aggression' (which reaction, as will shortly be shown, had some influence on the promotion of Spanish evangelization) is reflected in the statement: 'The recent Bull of the Pope . . . is rightly to be considered an implicit declaration of war against this Protestant nation, to be followed up by active hostilities in due time.' See 'A Pastoral Address to the British Parliament, No. II: The Divine Rights of the Christian Church, the True Principle of Toleration, and the Just Repression of Crime, No Persecution' (London, 1851), p. 2.

[86] This act, repealed by Gladstone in 1871, forbade Roman Catholics to assume ecclesiastical titles within the United Kingdom under a penalty of a fine of £100. All bequests and donations to persons under such titles were also declared void. For complete text, see G.M. Young and W.D. Handcock (eds.), English Historical Documents, 1833-1874, vol. XII(1) of the series under the same title, ed. by David C. Douglas (London, 1956), pp. 369-70.

[87] The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), p. 151.

[88] Asa Briggs, Victorian People: A Reassessment of Persons and Things (Harmondsworth, Middx., 1967), p. 25.

was considerably the greater.[89] The chief concern of the British Empire, the same journal continued, was 'the preservation of its PROTESTANT CHARACTER.'[90]

Just as Tractarianism precipitated the formation in 1846 of the Evangelical Alliance,[91] so the religious hysteria set off by the 'Papal Aggression' in 1850 motivated in the next two or three years the organization of literally scores of Protestant 'Societies' or 'Alliances' (with women's auxiliaries) in chief British cities from Aberdeen to Plymouth.[92] If the Evangelical Alliance was organized primarily to defend evangelical principles, these new associations in the early 1850's were meant to combat Catholicism wherever it may be found.[93]

It was apparently the conviction of evangelical Protestants that resurgent Catholicism in Britain was being operated not only by 'Papists' at home, but, in a wider sense, by the whole 'Roman-

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89 Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. LXXI (1852), p. 753.

90 Ibid.

91 For details of the formation and the distinctive principles of this body, see Edward Steane (ed.), The Religious Condition of Christendom (a series of papers read at the fifth annual Evangelical Alliance Conference in London, 1851) (London, 1852), pp. 57-60.

92 The strongest and most influential of these associations was undoubtedly the London Protestant Alliance, composed of more than 200 leading ministers and laymen in the metropolis, and presided over by the Earl of Shaftesbury. For lists of the other associations, see The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), pp. 150-51, 164-65.

93 This is reflected in the reference to 'a warfare which must last until this system of superstition [i.e., 'Popery'] is overthrown' (see the First Annual Report of the Protestant Alliance (1852), p. 10). The same sentiment is also reflected in the resolution of the Foreign Aid Society 'to co-operate with the Protestant Defence Committee in securing protection for Protestants, and for the missionaries of the Reformation in every Roman Catholic country of the European Continent.' See the Eleventh Report of the Foreign Aid Society (1851), p. 7.

ist' machinery itself. Many British evangelical Protestants did not doubt that the conversion of their country was high on the Catholic list of priorities. It was reported in 1851 that in several Spanish cities, prayers were regularly being offered to the Virgin Mary for the conversion of Britain.[94] Great significance was also attached to a statement of the Univers (Paris), the leading Catholic journal in Europe, that: 'Every one is struck by the grandeur of the results which the conversion of England or of Russia would produce; it is therefore natural, that in all parts of the earth the prayers of Catholics should incessantly ascend to the throne of God to obtain the return of those two nations . . .'[95] The English Catholic zealot, 'Father Ignatius', also proclaimed 'a crusade for the conquest of England for God and his Church,' such conquest being surely 'a deathblow to Protestantism throughout the world.'[96]

From the evangelical propaganda literature of the period, one gets the impression that militant Protestants in Britain had understood the struggle with Catholicism to be of world-wide dimensions. This is partly reflected by the fact that the evangelical 'order of battle' was divided into two categories, 'at home' and 'abroad'.[97]

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[94] As cited by The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), pp. 53-54.

[95] Univers (Nov. 28, 1851), as quoted by The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), p. 273.

[96] As quoted in Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (1851), pp. 367-68.

[97] For details, see The Bulwark, vol. I (1851-52), pp. 2, 80. Under this category of 'order of battle abroad' was included the question of Protestant religious liberty in Catholic countries. Generally, two points were emphasized; firstly, the attainment of complete religious liberty for British subjects residing in those Catholic countries with which Britain had standing treaties of friendship; secondly, the extension of the same liberty to the Protestant subjects of those Catholic countries (see Evangelical Christendom,

Thus, it appears that the furor over these 'evidences' of Catholic designs to destroy the 'Reformed' and 'pure faith' of Britain impelled the most militant evangelical Protestants to combat 'Popery' through defensive measures at home, and offensive missions abroad in Catholic lands.[98] By 1850 Protestant missions had already gained footholds in such staunch Catholic countries as Italy, Austria, Portugal, and Ireland. Only Spain, the strongest bulwark of Catholicism, remained comparatively closed to Protestantism.

The Spanish Evangelization Society

By the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, it appeared possible that the idea of 'evangelizing' Spain might gain support among British evangelical Protestants. The advocates of Spanish evangelization had taken the view that it would be to the greatest advantage of the Reformed Faith, if it should win the allegiance of

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vol. V (1851), p. 436). Time and again, it was also urged that the protection of Protestants abroad was a manifest duty devolving on Britain, she being the leading Protestant power (see The Christian Family Advocate, vol. I (1852), p. 182). This was an idea shared also by Protestant subjects of Catholic countries. Thus, the converted Spanish priest, Dr Gomez, in 1851 begged the Evangelical Alliance to petition the British government to enact a law 'for naturalising all priests and other ecclesiastics and also secular persons among Roman Catholics of any nation, who should embrace the Protestant faith, in any of its forms, and wish to live under the protection of Britain.' Gomez also asked free transportation expenses for converted priests who may wish to immigrate to Protestant countries, as well as temporary financial assistance 'until they might be employed in some Protestant mission or school, or in some secular occupation.' (See Evangelical Christendom, vol. V (1851), p. 89). In response to the second request, Thomson at one time did ask the British Foreign Secretary to provide assistance to some Spanish refugees (see his letter to Lord John Russell, London, 17th July 1851, in F.O. 72.799). It is not known, however, what action the Foreign Secretary took in the matter.

[98] This very idea is quite clearly suggested, for example, in the 'overture' to the General Assembly from the Free Church Synod of Perth, dated 20th April 1852, in Assembly Papers of the Free Church of Scotland (1852), p. 8.

Spain. It is quite interesting to note that just as Catholics saw the conversion of Britain as the death-blow to Protestantism, so did Protestants see the conversion of Spain as being the same to Catholicism.[100] Speaking in 1855 on the particular implications of Spain's conversion to Protestantism, a theological professor at Edinburgh pointed to

> the vast influence which Spain might be expected to wield in the way of spreading the truth if it was once evangelised; for Spanish agents could be brought to bear upon seventeen millions of human beings in Spanish America, who are at present lying under the darkness of Popery; the same influence could be brought to bear upon the five millions of Cuba and the Philippine Islands; access could also be obtained to various of the important military establishmets in Africa; and the light might also find its way into the rich Spanish convents of Palestine.[101]

To some degree, the intensive propaganda campaign to win support for Spanish evangelization did achieve its purpose. If in 1853 Thomson could still lament that British Christians, as he put it, seemed 'not to have faith to pray for Spain,'[102] by 1855 the official organ of the Evangelical Alliance was able to affirm happily that Britain was now 'fully awake'[103] to the importance of her duty and mission to Spain. The same journal then went on to say that now 'strenuous efforts are made on all sides to forward, energetically, the conversion of a noble race from the debasing influence of a dark superstition to the acknowledgment of pure Evangelical truth.'[104] So

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100 Supra, pp. 18, 131.

101 Dr William Hetherington, in Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 232.

102 'Spain, its Position and Evangelization . . .', p. 1.

103 Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 106.

104 Ibid.

sure was the conviction that Spain had now been recognized as a legitimate field of missionary effort that another evangelical writer at the time confidently declared: 'It only remains for us to apply the same energies to Spain that we do to other parts of the world . . . Let us go resolutely to the work with faith and energy, and Spain shall become the kingdom of our God and of His Christ.'[105]

The ultimate result was the formation in Britain early in 1855 of the first missionary society to the Spaniards, the so-called 'Spanish Evangelization Society', of Edinburgh.[106] An outgrowth of an evangelical prayer circle originally interested in Italian evangelization,[107] with elements from the Continental Society first established in 1818, the formation of the Spanish Evangelization Society was the direct result of the inspiration provided by Thomson's efforts. The purposes of the society might be summed up in two simple statements: first, to go in at whatever door would be open to them, and set up mission stations wherever Spaniards willing to listen to the preaching of the Gospel might be found; and second, to establish fixed congregations in chief centres of Spanish populations, from which Protestant influence might radiate in all directions.[108]

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[105] Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 20.

[106] For details of the events leading to the formation of this society, see Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 3f.

[107] A close study of the names and places of residence of advocates of both Italian and Spanish evangelization (especially the various ladies' auxiliary committees) clearly shows the intimate relationship between these two missionary causes. Compare, for example, The Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society (1862) and /Salvatore Ferretti/, Brief Narrative of a Sixteen Years' Mission in London on Behalf of Italy and the Italians (London, 1857). Interestingly enough, Archives du christianisme, vol. IX (1826), p. 42, mentions the formation in Edinburgh of 'une societe de dames' for the welfare of Greeks.

[108] The Presbyterian, no. 12 (1869), p. 14.

As might be expected, the members came from those churches in Scotland, in which evangelicalism was strongest, particularly the Free Church and the United Presbyterian Church. Although basically a Scottish society,[109] it also had many corresponding members from England, and a few from Ireland and Switzerland. In 1859, an auxiliary committee was also formed in London.[110] From the very beginning, the moving spirit behind the organization was an Edinburgh authoress, Mrs Robert Peddie (nee Maria Denoon Young), whom one historian has called its 'real founder'.[111] She was editor of the official organ, The Spanish Evangelical Record (first issued in 1856),[112] and president of the 'Ladies' Financial Association' of the Society.

As succeeding chapters will show, it was this Society, which, along with the British Bible societies, carried on the main burden of Protestant work in Spain, before other evangelical groups entered that country after 1868.

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109 Thus, the leaders were prominent evangelical ministers and laymen of Scottish Presbyterianism. The first officers were: The Rev. Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff, Bart. (president); Ebenezer Mills (secretary); Lord Benholme (hon. president); Robert Peddie (hon. secretary); and the committee members -- the Rev. Drs William Robertson, Henry Grey, Robert Candlish, Andrew Thomson, Thomas M'Crie, William Goold, and William Hetherington; the Rev. Messrs Richard Hibbs and Andrew Arthur; and Messrs Peter Drummond, Patrick Dalmahoy, John Gibson, John M'Andrew, Henry David Dickie, Andrew Jameson, Donald Matheson, Henry Craigie, George F. Barbour, and Andrew Snody. See Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 232f.

110 Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII (1859), p. 184.

111 James A. Wylie, Daybreak in Spain; or, Sketches of Spain and its New Reformation (London, /1870/), p. 152. In fact, after 1875 the Society became more popularly known as 'Mrs Peddie's Society'. See The Continental Presbyterian, no. 2 (1893), p. 86.

112 This was continued as Times of Refreshing in 1868, again as Tidings from Spain in 1870, and finally as The Spanish Christian Record in 1875.

Chapter V

THE LIBERAL BIENNIUM IN SPAIN AND PROTESTANT MISSIONARY OPPORTUNITIES (1854-1856)

By the 1850's, the cause of Spanish evangelization appeared to have more chances of success than at any other time in the past. The dream of its advocates of a missionary society to the Spaniards had been realized. It is true that in 1854, an untimely death took away Thomson, the leading advocate of this missionary endeavour since 1849. But by now, his contagious zeal had won a sufficient number of influential men to his cause. It was no longer simply one or two individuals pleading for the 'evangelization' of Spain, but a chorus of voices from several prominent leaders of British evangelicalism[1] -- Anglicans, Wesleyan Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Quakers, Plymouthist Brethren, and Presbyterians (especially the Scottish Presbyterians). Moreover, the 'Apocrypha Controversy', which earlier had sorely divided the Bible societies in Britain and had adversely affected Bible work in Spain in the 1830's, had by this time subsided,[2] thus opening the possibility of closer cooperation

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[1] Thus, the London 'Committee for the Evangelization of the Spanish Peninsula', organized by Thomson in 1852, included outstanding evangelical leaders, like the Anglican Rev. Robert Bickersteth (later Bishop of Ripon); the Wesleyan Methodist Rev. Dr Beecham; the Baptist Rev. Dr Edward Steane, secretary of the Evangelical Alliance; and the Congregationalist Mr Josiah Conder, editor of the Eclectic Review, to mention only a few. See Thomson, 'Spain, its Position and Evangelization . . .', (p. ii).

[2] Note, for example, the comparatively mild tone of the circular, 'Statement and Appeal of the Edinburgh Bible Society: Addressed to the Friends of Pure Bible Circulation, and the Religious Public of Scotland,' appended to the 36th EBS Report (1846), esp. pp. 3f.

among the societies concerned. Therefore, it seemed that now what was only needed was the opportunity for a new missionary opening in Spain.

The Spanish Revolution of 1854 and Religious Toleration

The opportunity came when the Spanish revolution of 1854 brought back Espartero and the progresistas to power. Their regime was not to last more than two years, and came to be remembered years later as the liberal bienio (biennium).[3] During this brief period, however, a new Constituent Cortes, 'by general consent the foremost in Spanish history for brilliance and learning,'[4] was convened. It launched reforms more liberal than any other in the past. But its especial distinction was in its economic reforms,[5] and its particular treatment of the sensitive cuestion religiosa.

It was perhaps to be expected that Espartero's return to power would reopen the old quarrel with the Church. The Minister of Grace and Justice was Alonso, the old opponent of ultramontanism and author of the 'schism' of 1841-1842. His immediate successor was a man no less anticlerical. Thus, the Jesuits were promptly re-expelled and the Concordat of 1851 lightly treated. For five months, the government also refused to grant official entry to the papal bull, proclaiming the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which had long been awaited by the Church in Spain. Moreover, ecclesiastical properties were once more appropriated for the use of the State under a new scheme

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[3] The most recent, and in fact, the most exhaustive study of this particular period is Kiernan's The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History.

[4] Ibid., p. 107.

[5] Ibid., p. 5. Cf. Carr, Spain 1808-1939, pp. 255-56.

of disamortization. But if these issues enraged the Church, nothing caused more agitation and uproar than the question of religious liberty. Since the 'Democratic Manifesto' of 1849,[6] the principle of religious freedom had slowly been growing in importance as a national issue.

In fact, the three-week Cortes debate on the subject in February 1855 turned out to be the first full discussion of it in Spanish history,[7] and was naturally followed with keen interest both in Spain and abroad. The Spanish Protestant, Mora, late in 1856 confidently affirmed that 'for the last two centuries and a half so much has not been said in Spain of the Reformed Church, of Protestantism, and of its doctrines, as within the last two years.'[8] Indeed, the Spanish press and public opinion were bitterly divided on the issue, stalwart protagonists being ranged on both sides. The radical press--- El Clamor Publico, La Iberia, and La Soberania Nacional -- naturally advocated religious liberty, or at least religious toleration; while the Carlist Esperanza and the rest of the powerful clericalist press[9]

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[6] This manifesto, drafted by the leaders of what was soon to be organized as the 'Democratic Party', set forth such 'inalienable' human liberties, as liberty of conscience; free expression of thought (libre manifestacion del pensamiento); liberty of printing, publication, and discussion; as well as the right to peaceful assembly and association. Moreover, while the Manifesto recognized the apostolic Catholic religion as that of the State, the term 'Roman' was omitted, as in the Spanish Constitution of 1837. It was also insisted that 'no Spanish citizen should be persecuted or molested for his religious opinions.' See Eiras Roel, El partido democrata español, pp. 161-65.

[7] Kiernan, The Revolution of 1854 in Spanish History, p. 128.

[8] A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora . . ., p. 8.

[9] A recent study seems to show that, on the whole, the Madrid clericalist press in the early 1850's had a circulation perhaps four or five times larger than those of liberal journals. For details, see Federico Bravo Morata, Historia de Madrid (3 vols., Madrid, 1966), vol. I, pp. 308-309.

championed the cause of religious unity. Faithful Catholics, led by priests and women fanatics,[10] were up in arms. Amidst the agitations, bishops also sent furious communications to the Cortes, demanding the preservation of religious unity.[11] The clergy used every device to obtain signatures to petitions condemning the liberal religious clause drafted by the Constitutional Commission. The whole country was in ferment, as the vaunted blessings of religious unity were painted in glowing colours, and contrasted with the supposedly dark, foreboding horror in countries where such unity was woefully absent. Queen Isabella herself exerted every effort to suppress the possibility of religious toleration being passed. She reportedly told her ministers that they and the Cortes might do what they liked, but she would 'never consent to the Catholic religion being declared otherwise, directly or indirectly, than the sole religion of the country.'[12]

Within the Cortes itself, the entire period of the religious debate was highly charged with passion, punctuated by frequent uproars and near-fights in the assembly and in the spectators' galleries.[13] The whole controversy centred on the so-called 'second base', the draft of the religious clauses. Submitted by a liberal Constitutional Commission, it read:

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[10] For interesting details, see Frederick Hardman ('Vedette'), in Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. LXXXVII (1855), pp. 715f. For a copy of the petition of the ladies of Madrid, see Howden's despatch, 31st March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 140.

[11] The petition of a Spanish priest, P. Valentin Ruiz, in favour of religious toleration for all forms of worship (see Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 107), was a unique exception, and representedly only a small minority of enlightened ecclesiastics.

[12] Howden, 8th Feb. 1855, F.O. 72. 864. 53. See also his later despatch of 10th Feb. 1855, F.O. 72. 864. 63.

[13] Howden, 1st March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 86.

> The nation engages itself to maintain and protect the public worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion which Spaniards profess; but no Spaniard nor foreigner shall be liable to be persecuted civilly (civilmente), on account of his opinions, provided that he does not manifest these by public acts, contrary to the Religion.[14]

There was, in fact, nothing essentially new in this constitutional base, which was not already covered by the spirit of the Penal Code of 1848. That code already recognized a certain degree of liberty of conscience, provided heterodox opinions were kept to one's self.[15] The second base, however, did not satisfy the traditionalists, who wanted a wording similar to the first article of the Concordat of 1851 -- to the effect that the Catholic, apostolic, Roman religion continues to be the state religion, to the exclusion of any other.[16] Nor did it please the radical libre-cultistas, who were apprehensive of the implications of the term civilmente.[17] In effect, this term opened the possibility of one's heterodox religious opinions, whether publicly or privately expressed, being made a cause for him to be indicted ecclesiastically by the diocesan tribunals, although guaranteed from prosecution by civil courts.

Considering the markedly liberal character of the Cortes, it was not surprising that of the total of twelve amendments to the religious clause, nine were presented either for complete religious liberty, or at least, for a greater measure of religious toleration.

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[14] As quoted in Howden's despatch to the Foreign Office, dated Madrid, 8th Jan. 1855, F.O. 72. 864. 2.

[15] See Hughey, Religious Freedom in Spain, pp. 22-23.

[16] See Perez Alhama, La iglesia y el estado español, p. 413.

[17] This was reportedly inserted after Isabella summoned the president of the Constitutional Commission to appear before her at midnight on January 6th, and expressed her strongest disapproval of the liberal clause on religion she heard they were going to propose. See Howden, 8th Feb. 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 53.

in obedience he reaps eternal life through the Spirit, in refusal he earns death in the flesh. Second, has not Barth, at least to some extent, misunderstood the fire of God's love in its decision in Christ?

2. The continuing and persistent existence of the elect and the rejected.

According to Barth, although there are different kinds of being in Christ, all men are in Him.[1] Emil Brunner notes that this is a serious difficulty with Barth, since he finds that according to the New Testament there is a being of man outside Christ, alienated from Him.[2] Brunner traces his difficulty with Barth back to what he calls the innovating doctrines of Barth, the doctrines that there is only one elect man and only one rejected man. Brunner has overstated his case here. Barth certainly holds that other individuals beside Christ are elect. But Brunner has pointed to a

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1. C.D. II/2, p. 321: 'The community recognises and attests the being of man - every man - in Jesus Christ.' Cf. C.D. IV/1, the sub-section 'The Being of Man in Jesus Christ', pp. 92-122 passim. There should be little doubt that there is new being 'hidden and enclosed and laid up' for all men in Jesus Christ: what may be doubted is that this 'true and actual being' which is theirs in Christ means that they are 'in Christ'. (p. 92).

2. E. Brunner, op.cit., p. 314. But see E. Bues, 'Zur Prädestinationslehre Karl Barths', Theologische Studien, Vol. 43 (1955), pp. 56, 57.

problem which must be faced: the New Testament does speak of a being of man separated from Christ and of a transition from separation to union with Christ.[1] It is hard to interpret Ephesians Chapter 2, and in particular chōris Christou in verse 12 as it contrasts with en Christō in verse 13, in any other way. It is important to see why Barth does not reckon with the being of man outside Christ. In agreement with the New Testament he holds that sinful man, while still the creature of God, is wholly unable to see (Jn. 3: 3) the Kingdom of God and is thus unable to judge himself as needing to turn to God. There is nothing whatever in the sinner to assist him in any way in his transition from being turned away from God to being turned to Him. The only way in which he could possibly make the decision for God is to participate in Christ's election of God. Thus, Barth speaks of the conversion of man as his awakening to his being in Christ.[2] Before he was asleep in Christ, now he is awake. His election of God is a transition from one kind of being in Christ to another.

Barth is on good ground in holding that every man is created through Christ; that it is only in Christ, by participating in His repentance, that a man can repent; and that there is in conversion a transition from sleeping to waking;[3] but the New Testament stands against him in that

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1. E.g., Col. 1: 13, 21-2.
2. C.D. IV/2, pp. 553-584.
3. I Thess. 5: 5-6 'You are all sons of light and sons of the day....So then let us not sleep as others do, but let us keep awake and sober.' It is inconceivable that Paul is exhorting the Thessalonian Christians to wake while other Christians are to remain asleep. He can only be contrasting Christians and non-Christians. The others, the (Contd.

New Protestant Attempts in Spain

As soon as the progresistas ('the petted children of Britain')[25] took the helm of the Spanish government in August 1854, the advocates of Spanish evangelization immediately took steps to advance their cause. It was suggested in Edinburgh that British and American Protestants should at once address Espartero, either by letter or deputation, on the subject of religious liberty. The purpose was to ask him, if it were not perhaps possible 'to send missionaries at once' to Spain.[26] It is not known whether American Protestants did act on this suggestion. But what is certain is that the Scottish Reformation Society, of Edinburgh, many of whom were members of the Spanish Evangelization Society, did send a memorial to Espartero. They begged him to use his influence to have religious liberty for 'natives and foreigners' established in Spain, and 'to vouchsafe to a free people the inestimable blessing of a free press, and above all, of a free Bible, with unrestricted liberty to read and circulate "the holy Scriptures . . ."'[27]

There is no record as to how Espartero received this petition, or whether he made any reply to it at all. In any case, the British advocates of Spanish evangelization immediately prepared to make new evangelical attempts in Spain. These attempts, however, and their significance, could only be clearly understood, if seen within

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[25] This was how an opponent of theirs put it at the time, in an article quoted by The News of the Churches, vol. II (1855), p. 9. It was certainly a characterization which British evangelicals interested in Spanish evangelization seemed to have accepted.

[26] The Bulwark, vol. IV (1854-55), p. 61. See also Draft Minutes of the Acting Committee of the Scottish Reformation Society (Aug. 22, 1854), in the archives of the Scottish Reformation Society.

[27] For the full text, see The Bulwark, vol. IV (1854-55), pp. 136f.

the context of the whole Protestant endeavour in Spain at the time. There were then at least three main groups working for the Protestant cause in Spain, namely, British evangelical societies, French Protestants, and the Spanish evangelicos. Of French evangelical work, it might simply be said that this was a continuation of the Scripture and literature circulation carried on from southern France since the 1830's. It was intimately connected with British effort, and received considerable support, both in terms of literature supplies and money, from British advocates of Spanish evangelization.[28] At this time, however, it was comparatively limited in scope. It was not until after 1858, when the Paris Society for Spanish Evangelization was formed, that substantial French evangelical effort was exerted in Spain.

The work of the Spanish evangelicals, however, is deserving of more detailed attention. As alluded to in previous chapters, the ultimate goal of Spanish Protestants, or evangelicos, as they preferred to call themselves, was the formation of a Spanish reformed Church. What they had in mind was the gradual winning of the Church in Spain towards evangelical principles. This implied the indigenous reformation of that Church in both doctrine and administration, the abandonment of 'superstitious' and 'idolatrous' worship and practice (referring to Mariology and the veneration of saints), the exaltation of the Bible in Christian faith and practice, and the achievement of independence from Rome. In other words, it was to

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[28] For details, see Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, passim. This British support was also in line with the idea that it was to French evangelicals 'above all that the friends of the Protestant cause must look for diffusing the light of a pure Christianity throughout Europe.' See the Seventh Report of the Foreign Aid Society (1847), p. 5.

follow the same road taken by the Protestant Reformation in the sixteenth century, with the view of bringing about a truly reformed, and yet truly Spanish Church. Hence, the title la Segunda Reforma, 'the Second Reformation', which they gave to their objective.

By working silently and prudently[29] till they had gained enough strength to come out more openly, these Spanish 'reformers', as they might be called, hoped to gain the sympathy of the enlightened portions of the Spanish people and clergy. Particular effort was directed towards those who were then engaged in the object of 'de-Romanizing', so to speak, the Church in Spain.[30] The Spanish evangelicos

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[29] Thus, in an article in 1855, the Spanish evangelical magazine El Alba outlined a possible scheme of action for evangelicos to follow:

'We have already seen that in Spain, and especially in the larger cities, there are thousands of persons who have abandoned the Roman worship . . . and profess, although secretly, the doctrines of the Saviour in all their purity. . . . By the second article of the new constitution . . . from henceforth, Spaniards who think as we do have no longer any need to repress or conceal their thoughts . . . Without fear of persecution they may now declare their sentiments in the face of the day, provided they do so with moderation and temper, -- without making efforts of proselytism, without insulting or irritating their adversaries, without making a mock of established practices, -- but simply by avowing to their friends and acquaintances the fact that they no longer pertain to the Church of Rome. . . .

'Protestant families can now meet together on Sundays, in numbers permitted by the laws of Spain, in houses agreed on beforehand, in order to tender their worship to God. . . . (The follows a simple outline of worship, beginning with a loud, extemporaneous prayer, readings of the Old and New Testament, a brief exhortation, a hymn, and to close the service, perhaps a collection of alms for the sick, the poor, or the instruction of the ignorant of whatever sect or creed.)

'Is there any evil in all this? anything criminal? any thing which can cause alarm to the most nervous authority? . . . If not, we say, "LET US SET TO WORK," . . . a little beginning of this kind is only necessary to lay the foundations of the great work, to draw around /us/ numerous co-operators, and to prepare the coming of that day in which we shall see all Spaniards, strong under the standard of the truth . . .' As quoted by The News of the Churches, vol. II (1855),

[30] The idea of reviving the old Mozarabic Church in Spain gained more ground after 1865, and especially after 1870, but it already was foreshadowed in the thought of such men as Canal and Amat in the 1830's. In 1847, the Catholic priest, D. Antonio Ma. Garcia Blanco, a Cortes deputy and Hebrew professor at Madrid, suggested to the Cortes a return to forms practised in the primitive Christian Church. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. IV (1850), p. 89.

also sought to gain the sympathy of libre-cultista statesmen, whose usually anti-Roman fulminations made them determined enemies of the ultramontane hierarchy and clergy.

To be sure, these Spanish evangelicos knew they needed the assistance of their fellow Protestants in foreign countries, and this they sought with much vigour. There was a plan in future to appeal 'to the aid of their brethren of England, Germany, Holland, and America' to 'acquire funds for building, in the Peninsula, churches wherein the gospel may be preached in Spanish, and the Divinity worshipped in the simple forms of the primitive church, without any of those false adornments, copied from Paganism, and which have been introduced by Rome.'[31] But while they enthusiastically encouraged the circulation of Bibles and Protestant literature, they did not particularly share the unbridled enthusiasm, nor approve the blatant proselytizing practised by some British evangelical workers in Spain. Such measures, they believed, were foolhardy, and would only stir up anti-Protestant prejudices. As Mora so clearly put it, the Spanish government would be more likely to support the Segunda Reforma, 'if foreigners will but act with prudence in our country.'[32]

The Spanish Protestants, therefore, hoped to promote the cause of religious reform by working at the same time to advance the cause of religious freedom. Mora himself was the close friend of leading Democratas, as well as members of Espartero's cabinet, not to mention Espartero himself.[33] During the Cortes debates on the relig-

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[31] El Alba, as quoted by The News of the Churches, vol. II (1855), p. 291.

[32] Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), p. 172.

[33] The News of the Churches, vol. III (1856), p. 264. Mora him-

igious question in 1855, he collected the speeches of his friends in the Cortes who advocated religious freedom, added his own preface to these, and then published the whole as a small volume.[34] About this time also, he began to publish in serial form in the democrata jour- La Discusion a controversial history of the Jesuits. This found general acceptance among liberal elements, and was condoned by the government, despite the vigorous protests of clericalists.

Around February 1855, Mora and his friends formed a junta, or committee, in Madrid, to direct and coordinate all their efforts for religious liberty. This junta subsequently sent him to Britain, and later to the United States, in order to secure the support of sympathetic Protestants in those countries. For his trip to Britain in April 1855, Mora was accompanied by an Englishman of strong evangelical piety, William Greene,[35] who had resided many years in Spain. The result of their various conferences with chief evangelical leaders in

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self said: 'Among other friends, there are some of the Ministers who have governed Spain who know me intimately, -- one, especially, knew me when I was a child, -- and a large number of Deputies in Cortes, and among them some with whom I have been in communication nearly every day, and have often been seen with them in the most public places.' See A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora, p. 17.

[34] This was 'M', La asamblea española de 1854, y la cuestion religiosa (Madrid, 1855). That 'M' was indeed Mora is supported by evidences he himself supplied in his Narrative (see p. 6), and also by Evangelical Christendom, which identified the compiler of the speeches as the 'Spanish Correspondent' in Madrid of the Evangelical Alliance (see vol. IX (1855), p. 171), in turn identified elsewhere as Mora.

[35] Greene was a railway engineer who came to Spain around 1847, and was employed in the construction of the Asturian railway. A Baptist with strong evangelical and missionary fervour, he took every opportunity to distribute Scriptures and tracts, and to speak of his faith to thousands of Spanish labourers. Later Protestants thought they found traces of his teachings at every place where he remained for any length of time. See Antonio Carrasco, 'Report on the State of Religion in Spain,' in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 116.
Greene was also apparently an associate of Thomson, when the latter was in Spain from 1847 to 1849. Of Greene's work, more will be mentioned below.

London was the formation there of a 'Central Committee',[36] to assist the struggle for religious liberty in Spain. Rule, who was Mora's close friend, was a leading spirit in this Committee, and was himself appointed one of the secretaries. From London, Mora and Greene proceeded to Edinburgh, where they met with the Committee of the Spanish Evangelization Society.[37] Encouraged by the liberal financial assistance rendered by various British evangelical societies and private individuals, the Madrid junta more formally organized themselves into the so-called 'Spanish Reformed Church',[38] and embarked upon a bolder course of action, in making other Spaniards know of their separation from the Church of Rome.

Though religious liberty was not yet established in Spain, the Spanish evangelicos nevertheless felt that what was accomplished was more than they could expect. To further their objectives, it was then decided that Mora should go to the United States, to pursue the same goals he had successfully attained in Britain. Supplied with letters of introduction from Rule, he sailed for America in June 1856. On arrival, he was most warmly received by evangelical Protestant leaders, particularly in Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. The American Bible and Tract societies commissioned him to go over their Spanish translations. Financial contributions were also collected to aid the evangelical work in Spain.[39]

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[36] A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora, pp. 6-7.

[37] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 38.

[38] The following entry, interestingly enough, appears in the Committee minutes of the Edinburgh Bible Society: 'Read a letter from M. de Mora, dated Madrid, 25th July 1855, on behalf of the Central Congregation of the Spanish Reformed Church, requesting assistance in promoting the gospel in that country.' See EBS Committee Minutes (19th November 1855).

[39] A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora, pp. 8f.

Unfortunately, the work of the Spanish *evangelicos* in Madrid suffered a serious setback in 1856, when clericalist reaction followed Espartero's fall from power. At the instigation of the ecclesiastical authorities, Mora was arrested at the end of August that year,[40] on charges of 'apostasy from the faith, of infraction of the vow of chastity by having contracted marriage, and of being a propagandist of Protestantism in Spain.'[41] Mora spent about two weeks in prison, at first under the most inhumane conditions,[42] although these were later alleviated at the intervention of his friends. When it appeared that an attempt on his life had been made, his friends, with the connivance of the civil authorities, arranged his escape.[43] Mora was then placed under the protection of the British Embassy in Madrid, and a British diplomatic courier personally escorted him out of the country.[44] Early in October, Mora safely arrived at Rule's home in London.[45] Subsequently, Mora spent some years in the United States,[46] and from 1867 till his death in 1876, he served as pastor to a Spanish congregation at Lisbon.[47]

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[40] *The News of the Churches*, vol. III (1856), pp. 263-64, 290.

[41] See official summons by the Madrid Tribunal of the Faith, as quoted by Rule, History of the Inquisition, vol. I, pp. 336-37.

[42] *A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora*, *passim*. [43] *Ibid*.

[44] Cf. Clarendon to Otway (British *charges d'affaires* at Madrid), 25th Sept. and 16th Oct. 1856, *F.O.* 72. 890. 66 and 78.

[45] See Rule, *Recollections of My Life and Work*, pp. 232-33.

[46] From 1861 to 1865, Mora collaborated with an American Presbyterian missionary to Bogota, in revising Valera's Bible. The revised version was published by the American Bible Society in 1865. For details, see Darlow and Moule, *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture*, vol. II, p. 1452.

[47] For details, see *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), pp. 307-308. See also *La Luz*, vol. VII (May 13, 1876), p. 160.

A more open kind of Protestant propagandizing, apparently unconnected with Mora's movement in Madrid, was carried on in Barcelona in 1854-1855. This centred around the colourful figure of a Waldensian Spaniard, an ex-advocate and himself a native Barcelonese, named D. Francisco de Paula Ruet y Roset.[48] Under the protection of his brother, a military officer who reportedly had important connections in the city,[49] Ruet preached evangelical doctrines to eager crowds in one of the main public squares.[50] A passing mention early in 1855 in the London Times, that there had lately been 'some attempts at Protestant doctrine in Barcelona,'[51] probably referred to Ruet's activities. His fiery, anti-papal preaching was popularly received. But it so stirred the conservative clergy, that at their instigation, Ruet was four times arrested by the civil authorities.[52] The first two occasions were on charges of inciting public disturbance; the next, for writing a highly controversial religious article in a popular Barcelonese journal,[53] and the fourth, for 'contumacy', as Ruet refused

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[48] Ruet (1826-1877), was the son of a colonel in the Spanish Army, and was educated for law at the Bishop's College in Barcelona. On a visit to Turin, he came in contact with the Waldensians, was converted, and subsequently was admitted into their Church. For three years afterwards, Ruet assisted in the evangelistic and pastoral work of the Waldensian pastor, M. Meille. He returned to Barcelona, however, as soon as Espartero came to power in 1854. For more details, see The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 147. See also Minutes of the Free Church Presbytery of Edinburgh (4th Aug. 1858), MS. CH3. 111. 27. in the Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh.

[49] The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 147.

[50] Brief references to Ruet's activities in 1854 and 1855 are also found in the unpublished Memoirs of Fritz Fliedner. (The present author is indebted to the Rev. Alberto C. Araujo, of Madrid, for showing him Miss Irma Fliedner's Spanish translation of this manuscript.)

[51] The Times (March 22, 1856), p. 6.

[52] Cf. Hughey, Religious Freedom in Spain, pp. 29-30.

[53] Fliedner's Memoirs identifies this journal as the Eco de la Actualidad, edited by the Spanish Minister of War, D. Jose Maria Nus. Ruet's use of this journal is perhaps another indication of his strong

to heed an order by the Bishop of Barcelona to appear before an ecclesiastical tribunal. Ruet contended that he could not conscientiously submit to the jurisdiction of a Church to which he did not belong.[54]

As in Mora's case, there was an apparent leniency on the part of both the civil and military authorities,[55] in their treatment of Ruet. This was despite the fact that Ruet immediately resumed his preaching, with undiminished zeal, each time he was released from jail. Rather, it was the diocesan tribunal, which was anxious to silence him, and which condemned him to the 'torture of fire',[56] an empty gesture, for the Spanish temporal authorities would on no account have ratified it. In fact, it was not until O'Donnell as prime minister was replaced by the more autocratic Narvaez, that Ruet was condemned by the civil tribunal. For publicly manifesting acts contrary to the state religion, Ruet was sentenced to exile.[57]

Ruet may have returned to Piedmont for a month after his release in September 1856,[58] to rejoin the Waldensians. What is sure is that by that November, he had arrived in Gibraltar, and was serving as assistant to the Rev. Andrew Sutherland, the Scottish Free Church

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connections, through his family, with the military.

[54] The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 147.

[55] Thus, the otherwise ruthless Zapatero, Captain-General of Barcelona, immediately ordered Ruet's release from his first imprisonment, when the latter was able to give sufficient evidence that his arrest was purely due to religious grounds. (For the text of Ruet's letter to Zapatero, see The New of the Churches, vol. III (1856), p. 157.) The same leniency was shown by the civil tribunal, which offered the possibility of Ruet's return from 'perpetual exile', if and when he would present credentials, duly signed by the proper ecclesiastical authorities, to the effect that he had reconciled himself with the Church. Cf. The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 147.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Ibid.

[58] This is suggested by an article appearing in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI (1857), p. 30.

chaplain in the garrison. Not long afterwards, the Spanish Evangelization Society assumed responsibility for Ruet's support, he having agreed to become their agent.[59] Later, he took charge over the ministry of the 'Spanish Presbyterian Church', organized early in 1858, as an outgrowth of the Scottish Free Church chaplaincy in Gibraltar. At the petition of eighty-six members and adherents of this congregation,[60] the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland voted to recommend Ruet's ordination.[61] This was subsequently performed at Gibraltar by the Free Presbytery of the North of Italy.[62] Henceforth, Ruet was to assume an important role in Spanish evangelization.

The Work of British Evangelical Societies

At this point, it may be well to discuss the activities in Spain at this time of British evangelical societies. As will be seen shortly, some of these activities complemented, though unfortunately others were set as cross-purposes to the objectives of the Spanish evangelicos. The British evangelical societies which came to Spain

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[59] Report of the Colonial and Continental Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (1857), p. 34.

[60] For the full text of this petition, see Assembly Papers of the Free Church of Scotland (1858), pp. 1-2.

[61] See Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (1858), pp. 43-44. See also Minutes of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh (9th June, 4th August 1858), MS. CH3. 111. 27, Scottish Record Office.

There were precedents for the ordination of foreign workers, by the Free Church of Scotland. The Free Presbytery of Glasgow had ordained two Portuguese Protestants earlier, namely, Antonio de Mattos in 1849, and Henrique de Veira in 1853. They were commissioned for work among Portuguese converts in Trinidad. See Minutes of the Free Presbytery of Glasgow (3rd October 1849, 16th August 1853), MS. CH3. 146. 35, Scottish Record Office.

[62] For an eye-witness account of Ruet's ordination, see The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. III (1858), pp. 113-14.

during the liberal biennium, for the most part, were the same ones which had earlier laboured in that country -- the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign, Trinitarian, Glasgow and Edinburgh Bible societies. If the Wesleyan Methodists and the Evangelical Continental Society (the former 'Continental Society') seemed not to have shown much interest in Spain at this time, it was apparently because they decided to channel their efforts through the newly organized Spanish Evangelization Society. There were indeed at least two Wesleyan Methodist ministers to came to Spain at this time, but both were soon forced out of the country by clerical opposition. In any case, it is not certain whether they came to represent their own Missionary Society. The first of the two, George Alton, was agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society. It is not known, however, whether the other, Arthur I. Frith,[63] came in any official capacity.

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[63] Frith, quite innocently, was the centre of a diplomatic incident, which very nearly caused the British ambassador's recall. The former held Sunday services in his lodgings in Seville for about half a dozen English and American friends. It seems that a few Spaniards attended these services as well, though this is by no means certain. Nor it is clear, whether Frith intended these meetings as the beginning of his mission to Spaniards, as Rule and Lyon did in Cadiz years before. What is certain is that clerical opposition soon forced Frith to suspend his services. Although the Civil Governor of Seville personally assured him of his 'perfect liberty' to hold any 'private meeting' in his residence as he pleased, Frith decided not to continue his religious meetings.

The incident became an issue, when the son of the British consul in Seville reported it, rather exaggeratedly, to Lord Howden in Madrid. This was in March 1855, at a time when Howden was particularly piqued by the evasiveness and contemptuous reply of the Spanish Foreign Minister to his repeated inquiries, regarding the religious position of British subjects under the new Spanish constitution. Howden's hasty action in seeking redress for the alleged persecution of Frith (the London papers described it as the 'Seville outrage'), led to an embarrasing controversy between him and the Spanish Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Interior. The case grew to an extent, such that the Spanish government asked the British, whether Howden should not be recalled. See Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, vol. LXXXVII (1855), pp. 717f. See also Frith to Howden, dated Seville, 22nd March 1855, and Howden's despatch to Clarendon, 28th March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 148. See also Howden's later despatches, F.O. 72. 866. 153, 157, and 158.

There were also numerous Anglicans in Spain at this time, especially in Malaga, where there had been a regularly appointed chaplain since 1850, the Rev. Charles Brereton. But while these Anglicans were eager to obtain religious liberty for themselves, they certainly did not share the enthusiasm of evangelical Protestants in Britain, over prospects of missionary work in Spain. As a matter of fact, their chaplain strongly assured Howden that none of his congregation were of the 'indiscreet' British 'societies and individuals', who had come to proselytize the Spaniards.[65] It needs to be said, however, that in various cities and towns of Spain, especially along the coast, there were a number of evangelical Protestants, who actively supported Spanish evangelization.[66] To their voluntary labours may be attributed a large part of the success of Protestant missionary work in Spain at this time.

Thus, the foreign-based missionary work in Spain during the liberal biennium was left mainly to the Spanish Evangelization Society, with the assistance of the various British Bible and Tract societies. That they were able to achieve some measure of success, despite their small number of workers and the difficult conditions under which they laboured, is one of the most interesting aspects of Spanish evangelization during this period.

Because of its inconveniently located base in Gibraltar, it was the British and Foreign Bible Society, which was the first to

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[65] See Brereton to Howden, dated Malaga, 15th March 1855, in F.O. 72. 865. 121.

[66] Many of these evangelical Protestants resident in Spain at the time are mentioned by name in Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, passim. It might just simply be added that one such man, Mr Charles Furlong, resident at Jerez de la Frontera, was for a long time refused recognition as British vice consul, by the Spanish government, because of his Protestant activities. See various communications on this subject in F.O. 72. 1047.

take advantage of the new openings in Spain in 1854. In the confusion following the outbreak of the revolution,[67] Alton immediately took steps to send Scriptures into Spain. With the assistance of the Scottish Free Church chaplain in the garrison, he gathered every available Bible, Testament, Scripture portion, and religious tract from the depots of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. These he placed under the charge of the local Bible colporteur, and sent the latter to Spain, with but one instruction -- not to bring a single copy back.[68]

The eagerness with which these books were bought by many Spaniards, who reportedly came from as far as eighty miles away to meet the colporteur, encouraged the British and Foreign Bible Society to send Alton on a survey tour of Spain, as Thomson had done in 1847. The former found that it was still legally impossible to import Scriptures. This was not on account of religious censorship, however, but simply on the strength of the laws designed to protect the book publishing trade in Spain. The Law of Literary Property of 1847 forbade the importation of books in the Spanish language, printed and bound abroad, unless previously authorized by the Spanish government, -- in which case, no more than 500 copies of any one title may be imported.[69] The only practical alternative, therefore, was to print the Script-

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[67] The removal of most of the border guards in southern Spain to troubled sports farther north had increased the volume of commercial traffic between Gibraltar and Spain, while the process of customs inspection had practically broken down. See The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. V (1855), p. 155.

[68] Ibid. Cf. Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. III, p. 162.

[69] For the pertinent articles of this law, see the 55th ABS Report (1871), pp. 98-99, See also the Spanish tariff law, Ley de Aduanas, of 1841, as cited by Trench, Diary of Travels in France and Spain, vol. II, pp. 70-71.

ures within Spain.

To this end, Alton went to Madrid. He quite easily secured permission from Espartero's government to print 10,000 copies of the Spanish Bible and Testament. While the printing was in progress, he also organized a vast system of colportage. Little did he know of what the Catholic opposition had in store for him. From the start, the conservative clergy and their faithful supporters had exerted every effort to thwart the project. The clericalist papers in Madrid circulated the rumour that Alton (derisively called 'the Protestant bishop'), had left his hotel without paying the bill.[70] Greater opposition was yet to come.

What the British and Foreign Bible Society perhaps did not expect was the ability of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities to dig up some old unrepealed law to foil their plans. The difficulties of the tariff and the literary property laws might have been surmounted, but certainly not the provisions of several old laws (in this case, one of 1820), which forbade the circulation in Spain of any Scripture edition containing neither the Apocrypha, nor the notes and comments from the Fathers or the learned Catholic doctors of the Church. As the two Scripture editions Alton printed in 1855 had neither one nor the other, the Vicar General of Madrid interdicted their circulation. The British and Foreign Bible Society made overtures to Lord Howden, seeking his intercession with the Spanish authorities. But this time, Howden, who did not believe himself 'authorized to interfere in any subject that involves a direct and premeditated violation of the law of the land,'[71] offered no further help than to ad-

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[70] See Howden's despatch, 10th March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 98.

[71] Howden's despatch, 10th March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 100.

vise Alton to consult the legal opinions of the two best known lawyers in Spain.[72]

Unfortunately, the opinions of the lawyers Alton consulted widely differed, apart from being 'both very obscure and involved.'[73] The Spanish Ministers themselves were not quite decided as to which law was applicable on the subject, so the question ultimately had to be resolved in the Cortes. The libre-cultista deputies ardently supported Alton, if only because the suppression of the Scripture editions symbolized a direct threat to the same liberty they vigorously propounded. Their staunchest spokesman on this occasion was one Dr Mariano Battles, deputy for Valencia, whose favourable disposition towards Protestantism was attributed to his having been a former student at the University of Edinburgh.[74] Battles contended that simply because the 'apocryphal books', as he put it, and the usual notes or comments were not in the editions in question, it was no

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[72] Howden made a clear distinction between the unjust obstruction of British Protestant subjects in the peaceful and prudent exercise of their worship, and the legal proceedings against Protestant propagandists who openly assailed the state religion of Spain. Thus, while he was quick to act on the former, he most strongly declined to interfere in the latter. As he told Clarendon: 'I do not conceive that in instances like these an English Minister is called upon to support Englishmen who travel merely for the purpose of doing what is prohibited by the country to which they voluntarily come, bad and ridiculous as are its enactments.' (See his despatch, 10th March 1855, F.O. 72. 865. 100). In a later despatch (7th April 1855, F.O. 72. 866. 164), Howden expressed his belief that it was a folly to attempt to coerce and proselytize Spaniards.

[73] The Times (March 22, 1855), p. 6.

[74] Battles was the second Spanish medical graduate from Edinburgh. The first was in 1786, Battles in 1827, and the third in 1835. As far as the records show, there was not any other up to the year 1866. See List of Graduates in Medicine in the University of Edinburgh from MDCCV to MDCCCLXVI (Edinburgh, 1867), pp. 19, 80, 104. Mrs Peddie (The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 48) noted that many evangelical Presbyterians in Edinburgh remembered Battles as a student in the University.

reason to prevent their circulation in Spain. What mattered was the fact that they agreed in every other respect with the original Scio text, on which they were based.[75] Battles pointed out that the Vicar Ecclesiastic of Madrid had permitted the printing that very same year of a 'Bible for Catholic Families', which lacked twelve prophetic books, the Canticles, an epistle of John, and the Apocalypse.[76] Such arguments were cogent enough. But in the face of intense clerical opposition, the Cortes decided it more prudent to disallow the projected Bible circulation. The books were confiscated and deposited with the authorities in Madrid, and it was not until 1869 that these were finally circulated.[77]

The failure of this venture in 1855 forced the British and Foreign Bible Society to carry on its Spanish work clandestinely. Spain was hardly mentioned in its annual reports immediately after 1856. But it is known that in one way or another, hundreds of Spanish Scriptures, mostly Testaments, were circulated there during this period. This was not brought to light, however, until after the arrest and imprisonment of one of its colporteurs, a Gibraltarian named

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[75] The Bulwark, vol. V (1855-56), p. 263. By this time, Protestants were very careful that in the Catholic versions they printed of the Bible, not one word should depart from the original. As Thomson had warned earlier: 'No alteration whatever should be made in them, because if once touched at all, all confidence is destroyed, as the amount and nature of the alteration will be unknown, and will be supposed to have been made with the worst purposes.' See The Christian Family Advocate, vol. II (1853), p. 8.

[76] For details of this Scripture edition, see Darlow and Moule, Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of the Holy Scripture, vol. II, p. 1448.

[77] After prolonged negotiations, the Scriptures were released, on condition that all should be taken out of the country. In 1867 these were shipped out to Bayonne, but were brought back into Spain after the revolution of 1868. See Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. III, pp. 168-69.

D. Martin Escalante.[78] After this incident, the British and Foreign Bible Society practically brought to a halt its labours in Spain. Instead, it placed most of its supplies at the disposal of the Spanish Evangelization Society and private friends,[79] who were in a position to circulate these in that country.

Little is known of the actual operations in Spain of the three other British Bible societies during the liberal biennium. This is chiefly because after 1855, they channelled their resources through the Spanish Evangelization Society.[80] What is certain, however, is that the Glasgow and Edinburgh Bible societies, and sometimes also the Trinitarian Bible Society, continued to cooperate in the printing of the Valera Testament. It is also reasonable to expect that the two Scottish societies continued to use the agency of the Scottish Free Church chaplaincy in Gibraltar, for sending Scriptures into Spain. What is also certain is that from a suggestion made by an English minister resident in Pau,[81] a scheme for wider cooperation in Protestant work in northern Spain among the three Bible societies

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[78] Escalante was arrested at Vejer de la Frontera, a town near Cape Trafalgar, on the charge of carrying contraband goods (Spanish Testaments). Found guilty, he was sentenced to nine years at hard labour. But through the efforts of the Evangelical Alliance, successful efforts were exerted through diplomatic channels to obtain his pardon from the Spanish government. The records of the British Foreign Office, series F.O. (Spain), pieces 952-53, 957, 959-60, 967, 971-72, 974, 977-79, 982-84, 989, 993, 995 and 1023, contain no less than thirty-five separate communications between the Foreign Office, British consuls, the British Embassy at Madrid, and British evangelical leaders from July 1859 to January 1861, on the subject of Escalante.

[79] One of these, a British-Spaniard of Jerez, named D. Alicante Walpole, reportedly distributed personally no less than 60,000 copies of the Scriptures in Spain. See Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 146-47.

[80] For details of grants to the Spanish Evangelization Society, see Committee Minutes of the Edinburgh Bible Society (19th Nov., 24th Dec. 1855). See also Minutes for 18th May, 19th Oct. 1857; 2nd Feb. 1858.

[81] This was the Rev. Dr J. D. Hales, of Richmond, Surrey, who

and other evangelical groups interested in Spain. The Edinburgh Bible Society was especially enthusiastic in endorsing a 'conjunct operation',[82] which by 1860 had widened enough to include the British and Foreign Bible Society.[83]

The Religious Tract Society also worked hand in hand with the Spanish Evangelization Society, although the former seems to have had its own correspondents in Spain as well. It is known that in 1851, the former sent to one of its friends in Spain nearly 4,700 Spanish tracts and books for circulation in that country, at the same time that 9,000 other Spanish and English publications were addressed to Gibraltar. In the next two years, more consignments were despatched to this latter station. When the Spanish revolution of 1854 broke out, another grant of 3,500 tracts and books were sent directly to another correspondent in Spain. Subsequently, smaller grants reportedly followed in 1855 and 1856, when the Religious Tract Society printed new editions of three evangelical books and two New Testament portions, specifically designed for distribution among Spaniards.[84] These were the very editions which formed the bulk of the literature circulated in Spain by the Spanish Evangelization Society during these years. Thus, in more ways than one, this latter society became the instrument for uniting and coordinating the labours in Spain of Brit-

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was also coadjutor of both the Spanish Evangelization Society and the Evangelical Continental Society. See Committee Minutes of the Edinburgh Bible Society (20th April 1857).

82 Ibid.

83 Special Committee Minutes of the Edinburgh Bible Society (6th August 1860).

84 Green, The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years, p. 89.

ish evangelical societies, which had kept a missionary interest in the Spanish people.

The Mission of the Spanish Evangelization Society

It should now be apparent, therefore, that one cannot very well estimate the extent of Protestant activities in Spain during (and immediately after) the liberal biennium of 1854-1856, without looking into the work there of the Spanish Evangelization Society. As an introduction to this particular subject, it might be mentioned that as early as 1853, those evangelical Protestants who later became members and coadjutors of this society had already been engaged in a 'seaport ministry' to Spanish visitors to Britain.[85] The exciting discovery in 1854 of the mysterious 'Spanish gentleman',[86] who was Thomson's chief contact in Spain, was a timely one. It paved the way for missionary operations, as soon as the 1854 revolution broke out.

The immediate effect of the organization of the Spanish Evangelization Society, as alluded to above, was to remedy the hitherto desultory mode of Protestant propagandizing in Spain. Previously,

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[85] In such places as Liverpool, Plymouth, Leith, Dublin, this was carried on by evangelical ministers and laymen sympathetic to the cuase of Spanish evangelization. In London, there was a Spanish evangelist, working under the direction of Thomson's friends. See Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 228-29.

[86] This was the Protestant of Seville, D. Jose Vasquez, whom Thomson in 1853 had engaged, on the former's suggestion, to make a three- or four-month missionary tour of Spain. This was in order to form personal connections in different places, for receiving and circulating Scriptures and tracts. Unfortunately, when Thomson died in February 1854, he left nowhere in his papers any clue as to the man's full name or his address. Thus, the 'Edinburgh Committee of Spanish Evangelization', as the organization in that city was then called, for several months could not continue Thomson's work in Spain. By the strangest coincidence, however, a zealously evangelical English lady of means, had gone to Spain to promote the Protestant cause. This lady, a Mrs Hargreaves, discovered that her Spanish tutor in Seville (Vasquez) was also a Protestant. This incident ultimately led to the identification of Vasquez. See ibid., pp. 10-16.

pious British tourists or resident businessmen simply gave away Testaments or tracts to their Spanish acquaintances or fellow-travelers. Others simply left these on park benches, or in their hotel rooms, hoping that some Spaniard might pick these up and benefit from perusing them. Still others engaged Spaniards in casual personal conversations on religious topics, often with no tangible results, especially because this had to be carried on in a language most of these British visitors could only speak imperfectly.[87]

Perhaps the most important reason for the rapid success of the Spanish Evangelization Society was that, although it did engage as coadjutors some British Protestants resident in Spain, it employed as colporteurs Spanish converts, who had rapport with their own countrymen and who could conceal their operations more effectively than a foreigner. In accordance with its original objectives, the plan of operations for Spain of this society was three-fold: first, to flood the country with Scriptures and appropriate Protestant tracts; second, to win to evangelical Christianity by preaching, discussion, or exposition of the Scriptures as many Spaniards as were willing to listen; and third, to gather converts into organized congregations, which may serve as nuclei for the continuing spread of Protestant influence in the country.

To carry out the first aspect of this plan, the tracts intended for distribution along with the Scriptures were translated into Spanish. With the cooperation of the Religious Tract Society, these were stereotyped in Britain. With the stereotype plates, subsequent editions were then brought out in Toulouse, Bayonne, and even

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87 87 A. Carrasco, 'Report on the State of Religion in Spain,' in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 116.

Madrid and Seville.[88] To faciliate circulation in Spain, literature depots were established in Bayonne, Lisbon, and Gibraltar, in addition to those in London and Edinburgh. Thus, from these strategically located depositories, tens of thousands[89] of various tracts, Bibles, Testaments, or Scripture portions were successfully poured in a continuous stream to the society's correspondents in Spain. These correspondents were usually Englishmen, in contrast to the colporteurs, who were usually Spaniards, working under the supervision of Vasquez.

British Protestants in Spain contributed in various ways to this endeavour. Thus, two English merchants in Alicante shipped many of the society's Scriptures and tracts, free of charge, from London to Spain, with the use of their fruit vessel. Another Englishman, who owned a yacht, cruised from one Spanish coastal town to another for the same purpose.[90] From among the many coadjutors of the Spanish Evangelization Society in Spain, three names stood out with distinction. The first was the English lady, Mrs Hargreaves, who once alarmed Howden, when she came to him for assistance in a scheme for 'startling the sacerdotes,'[91] as the latter put it. The second was

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[88] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 17, 21-22.

[89] By the end of 1856, the society had circulated in Spain close to 100,000 copies of the Scriptures, to which another 120,000 were added in the next two years. In 1859 another 6,108 Bibles and Scripture portions and 38,702 religious tracts were circulated. In 1861 alone, up to 32,646 publications of various kinds were disseminated through the various agents and colporteurs of the society. See ibid., pp. 63, 79. See also Reports of the Colonial and Continental Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (1860), p. 58; (1862), p. 4. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII (1858), p. 275. Cf. also Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, p. 129.

[90] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 47.

[91] Howden politely but firmly refused to give his assistance, as such a scheme would have surely increased the agitation of the con-

the railway engineer Greene, whom Howden also had to caution for his excessive zeal in distributing 'unauthorised' publications.[92] The third was another English engineer, named Robert Stewart Clough,[93] who was to become one of the most active Protestant workers in Spain till his retirement in the 1890's.

As the vigilance of the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities increased, the Spanish Evangelization Society employed extraordinary ways of sending its books and tracts into Spain. From the various reports of the period, it appears that no other means were available except smuggling. At least on one occasion, the Scottish Free Church chaplain in Gibraltar concealed Testaments in barrels of gunpowder, which apparently came under less restrictions than contraband books.[94] However, what was perhaps the most interesting way of sending small religious tracts to Spain was through the Spanish penny post. As suggested earlier by Thomson, the procedure was simply to purchase large supplies of Spanish stamps. Names and addresses of Spaniards of lib-

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servative clergy against the government. For his prudence, Howden received a personal note of thanks from Espartero himself. (See Howden's despatch, 10th June 1855, F.O. 72. 876. 239). Mrs Hargreaves, however, continued her Protestant propagandizing. She was probably the subject of a report in 1859, that an 'English lady' in Madrid, 'on fixed days, has Protestant worship celebrated, with a certain degree of publicity in her drawing-room, by a minister of the Anglican Church.' See the London Times (July 10, 1859), p. 10.

92 Howden's despatch, 19th December 1855, F.O. 72. 863. 211.

93 Clough seems to have started as a volunteer worker for the Spanish Evangelization Society, 'making use of his professional position to introduce publications.' See Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society for the year 1861, p. 4. For more on Clough's work in Spain, see Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 147-61.

94 Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, no. 78 (January 1869), p. 12. While the above incident was perhaps not repeated, it appears that more conventional ways of smuggling, through merchants, and perhaps even through the professional contrabandistas, were used to bring Scriptures to Spain.

eral views were gathered from various parts of Spain, and then sent to London and Edinburgh. There, small tracts or Gospel portions were placed in envelopes, addressed and then stamped. Later, packages of these were carried by ship captains, and posted in the Spanish towns they visited. In this way, the Spanish Evangelization Society was able to reach numbers of Spanish families, who would not otherwise have been accessible through the usual colportage or door-knocking methods.[95]

The second and third aspects of the society's plan of operations were carried out, mainly by the network of propaganda under their Spanish agent Vasquez. To all intents and purposes, this man served as the missionary superintendent in Spain of the Spanish Evangelization Society. He planned and directed the whole missionary network in southern Spain, recruited sub-agents and colporteurs,[96] and sent regular weekly reports to the Committee in Edinburgh. Much of the success of the society was undoubtedly due to this one Spaniard, whose understanding of the aspirations of his people prevented the blunders that would easily have been committed by foreign workers. If the Spanish Evangelization Society was able to approximate the highest objectives of Mora's circle in Madrid, it was because the Committee in Edinburgh merely supplied the resources and left the actual conduct of the mission to Spaniards, like Vasquez. It would have been an entirely different result, if the society had employed only foreign workers with the fanaticism of Mrs Hargreaves.

Being a Spanish gentleman of no mean education, Vasquez

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[95] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 19-20.

[96] For the names of the various sub-agents and colporteurs under Vasquez, see ibid., passim.

easily entered into good rapport with both the simple folk and the educated classes. His circle of friends included the most respectable and distinguished citizens in many cities. One report of a religious meeting he held in an Andalusian capital mentioned as being in attendance 'doctors, lawyers, ecclesiastics, officers of the line, of the garrison, of the national militia and civil guards, and persons employed in high public situations.'[97] It also appears that Vasquez was intimately connected with some Republican or Democratic clubs. It is reported that some of these political circles began meeting on Sundays, for the purpose of reading the Scriptures and studying the 'Spanish Scripture Catechism' printed by the Spanish Evangelization Society.[98]

Such was the influence of Vasquez that occasionally, prominent men approached him voluntarily, to profess their sympathy in his work. At one time, three leading citizens of an Andalusian city reportedly told him that they were Protestants 'at heart, and were working in favour of the Reform.'[99] Moreover, they were preparing, they said, some tracts on religious matters (manuscripts of which they showed to Vasquez), and that they knew many families in different places, who shared their sentiments. Other friends of Vasquez offered their help, by resolving to use all the means they could command to promote the cause of 'the Reform', and to 'represent formally to the government, the great necessity of granting to Spain full tolerance in religious worship.'[100]

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[97] Ibid., p. 52. [98] Ibid., pp. 75-76. [99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., p. 51. The allusion to this projected petition to the government is quite significant. As will be shown in the next chapter, a document to that effect was used as evidence against Spanish Protestants, in legal proceedings against them on the charge of sedition.

It was a simple plan of missionary operation that Vasquez followed. But he pursued this with an earnestness, which could not fail to elicit the admiration of the Committee in Edinburgh.[101] He visited all the large cities, and a good number of the chief provincial towns. In each of these, he had Protestant friends, or he knew local citizens sympathetic to his cause. His successes obviously varied from place to place. But what is interesting to note is that in every case, the ecclesiastical authorities were practically powerless to have him arrested. This was especially because he was usually on good terms with the Captain-Generals, the Civil Governors, and the officers of the national militia,[102] the latter being a seed-bed of revolutionary and anticlerical sentiments.

Remarks and Observations

The question may now be asked: how successful, in terms of their objectives, were Protestant efforts in Spain during the liberal biennium of 1854-1856, and perhaps also of the period immediately following? If one reads the reports of the Spanish Evangelization Society and other kindred sources, it would indeed appear that Protestant propaganda did make a considerable impact upon a good number of Spanish intellectuals and the radical elements of the masses. The demand for Scriptures and evangelical tracts was reported to be simply

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[101] In the first six months of 1857, for example, Vasquez (though then still a partially paid agent) made 261 home visits for religious instruction, received 375 calls on him for the same purpose, and addressed privately small groups of individuals, totalling about a thousand persons. In addition, he personally sold 96 copies of Scriptures, distributed gratis 31 copies of the same, along with 527 evangelical tracts. (Most of the sales were done by his sub-agents and colporteurs). As will be seen shortly, he also led a few hundred individuals, through his own personal ministry, to join the 'Reform.' See ibid., pp. 75-76.

[102] Ibid., p. 51.

'indescribable', and that these were circulated as fast as parcel after arrived in Spain. 'No supplies,' said Mrs Peddie, 'had hitherto satisfied the demands, and the most touching appeals for larger supplies were being constantly received in Edinburgh.'[103] One issue of El Alba in 1856 also said:

> In Barcelona, Madrid, and other chief towns, there are now to be found many persons, including not a few of the clergy, who protest against the tyranny and superstitions of the Church of Rome. In Madrid alone, according to information on which reliance may be placed, there are nearly four thousand of the people who have abandoned papal worship, many of whom assiduously read and study the Scriptures as the sole rule and standard of their faith and conduct.[104]

Two years later, it was also reported by Protestant sources that in several places in Spain, there were evangelical juntas, congregations, or groups of eager inquirers, each number from twenty to third individuals.[105]

Vasquez himself, in the period from November 1856 to July 1857, reportedly led through his personal ministry some 213 individuals to join the movement for religious reform. Of these, seven families, who apparently had had close association with him for sometime, made their decision in protest to Pope Pius IX's proclamation of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception.[106] Many others then followed

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[103] Ibid., p. 56. [104] As quoted by ibid., p. 57.

[105] See, for example, Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII (1858), p. 275.

[106] A few Spaniards indeed dared to defy this dogma. A priest, writing under the initials 'J.J. y T.', attacked it in a work titled On the Nullity of the Dogmatic Definitions Made by his Holiness Pius IX, concerning the Mystery of the Immaculate Conception (1855). This echoed the arguments of French journalists, who dubbed the dogma 'une charade ecclesiastique'. The consequences of such opposition, however, were disastrous to the authors, as clearly demonstrated in the case of P. Braulio Morgaez, a Dominican theology professor at Alcala de Henares. Though an enfeebled man of 66, he was cast into prison as a heretic, on account of his work, Doctrinal Judgment upon the

their example, and more reportedly would likewise have done so, if not for fear of the consequences. In 1857, seven more Spaniards were received into the evangelical fellowship by Vasquez -- 'two ladies, four gentlemen, and an Italian professor of music,' while fourteen were also 'under instruction.'[107]

It is unfortunate that no disinterested source could corroborate these reports. Not a few critics, Protestants themselves, who were then skeptical of the success of any evangelical endeavour in Spain, dismissed these and similar surprising reports as mere propaganda and idle talk. Undoubtedly, some of the criticisms were valid. Reports that up to 15,000 'Protestants' could be found in Cadiz, and 45,000 in Barcelona, were obviously careless exaggerations, discounted by many advocates of Spanish evangelization themselves.[108] There seems no doubt, however, that in a number of places, there were indeed genuine Spanish evangelical Christians. This is notwithstanding a later statement by a Spanish Protestant minister, who, in recalling these early days, said that the congregations were wanting in religious instruction, and the members were not as 'spiritual as could have been desired.'[109] That there were large numbers of discontented Catholics, who joined the 'Reform Movement' can hardly be doubted, but it is another question as to

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Pontifical Decree of December 8, 1854 (1855). For more details, see The News of the Churches, vol. III (1856), p. 97.

[107] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 75-76.

[108] As a Presbyterian chaplain in Gibraltar said, 'the Protestantism of far the greater number of these consist, no doubt, in hatred to Popery and the priesthood, and not in devotion to the doctrines of the Gospel'. See The News of the Churches, vol. V (1858), p. 319.

[109] A. Carrasco, in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 117.

how many of these were genuine evangelical Christians.

A closer investigation of the available sources, however, seems to show that despite what might have been a tendency to exaggerate, resulting from an overflow of enthusiasm, on the part of advocates of Spanish evangelization, at least the missionary reports were founded on some degree of truth. It is quite certain that by 1860, there were at least a few hundred Spanish Protestants, or *evangelicos*, gathered in small closely-knit circles for prayer and Bible study.[110] They were in several cities of Castile, Catalonia, and Andalusia, and perhaps also elsewhere in the north of Spain.[111] A Scottish evangelical journal reported that year that 'in different parts of Spain, where the Word had been spreading,'[112] evangelical meetings were being held, though it would not be prudent to enter into particulars. It added that if only there were liberty of worship, there could have been many more such congregations, organized on the presbyterian model. The Spanish government knew that these Protestant circles were connected with the Rev. Francisco de Paula Ruet in Gibraltar.[113] Each *evangelico* was asked to sign a document renouncing the Roman Catholic Church. As soon as this paper was received in Gibraltar, Ruet then entered the person's name in the roll of the so-called 'Spanish Reformed Church'. It is not known how many there were

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[110] For their system of organization, see William Greene, *Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners* (London, /1863/), pp. 8-12, 134-35.

[111] The *Messager de Bayonne* (Oct. 27, 1860) reported that priests in Villabona, near Vitoria, refused burial to a child of 'Protestant parents', so that this had to be buried in France. As cited by *The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland*, vol. V (1861), p. 137.

[112] *Ibid.*, vol. IV (1860), p. 251.

[113] Mr Edwardes' despatch to Lord John Russell, 29th June 1861, *F.O.* 72. 1007. 142.

in Madrid, under the leadership of Usoz. But the members of the 'Reformed Churches' of Malaga, Granada, and Barcelona at the end of 1860 numbered about 130, 160, and 80 adults, respectively, as shown by the signatures in letters they sent to friends in Britain.[114] Apparently, there were also similar 'Reformed Churches' in the cities of Cordoba, Seville, and Cadiz, and in a few other places. It is at least certain that up to forty colporteurs were engaged in Bible work in the region of Granada alone.[115]

Thus, it would seem that the labours of the Spanish Evangelization Society, with the help of kindred evangelical agencies, had finally resulted in the establishment of Protestant communities in Spain. The Spanish government knew of their existence, but they were not interfered with.[116] It was no longer a crime to be a Protestant in Spain, provided one kept his ideas to himself, and neither proselytized nor attacked the religion of the state. There were persecutions that were soon to follow, but these were primarily at the instigation of the ecclesiastical authorities. As will later be shown, the government acted only if there were suspicion of Protestant complicity with outlawed political activities, or if their activities constituted an attack upon the state religion.

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[114] Though only 40 names appeared in the Barcelona letter, this was explained by saying that, in as much as it had to be hurriedly prepared, there was not enough time for the other half of the Church to affix their signatures. See Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, pp. 24-25, 36-37, 45-47.

[115] Annual NBSS Report (1868), p. 26.

[116] This was said by none less than the private physician of Queen Isabella, during a visit in 1860 with Professor (later Sir James) Simpson, of Edinburgh. Simpson, the discoverer of chloroform as an anaesthetic, was himself apparently also a supporter of Spanish evangelization. See Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 185.

Chapter VI

BRITISH EVANGELICALS AND THE 'SPANISH PRISONERS' (1857-1868)

The end of the liberal biennium marked the beginning of more determined efforts on the part of Catholic traditionalists to eradicate the new roots of Protestantism in Spain. Even while Espartero was still in power, the attacks of the conservative hierarchy and the clericalist press against what they called 'the Protestant Propaganda' had already been fierce enough. In an open letter to Queen Isabella, the Bishop of Cadiz called her attention to the 'abuses of the irreligious press' and 'the secret intrigues of the Protestant Propaganda, which is undermining the ground, employing every kind of fraud in order to seduce the simple people, and make them apostatise from their faith.'[1] The diocesan chapter of Avila also expressed 'horror' at the 'immense treasures and large resources with the aid of which insatiable Protestantism has propagated error.'[2] The Avila chapter then went on to say:

> Our indignation ought to be redoubled when we see that it can now lift its hideous Gorgon head on the most classic ground of Catholicism itself. One more hour of negligence on the part of those in whose hands repose the destinies of the nation, and we are lost.[3]

The pastoral warnings to the Catholic faithful about the

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[1] La Esperanza (Aug. 15, 1855), as quoted by The News of the Churches, vol. II (1855), pp. 265-66. See also the pastoral letter of the Bishop of Santander in 1856, as cited by Sir Robert Peel, in The Bulwark, vol. X (1861), p. 323.

[2] As quoted by Evangelical Christendom, vol. X (1856), p. 272.

[3] Ibid.

new and terrible dangers threatening Spanish religious unity were then echoed in nearly every clericalist journal. What was singularly striking about this whole clericalist counter-propaganda was its characteristic appeal to history, the firm identification of Spain with Catholicism, of orthodoxy with national happiness, of being a Spaniard with (as one could infer) being civilized itself.[4] Conversely, Protestantism was anathematized as not only heretical, but also alien and inherently hostile to the Spanish spirit, malevolently subversive and even anarchic -- an undesirable visitor from north of the Pyrenees. An attempt was made to revive the ancient Catholic crusading spirit, in what was now proclaimed to be a new glorious undertaking. Spaniards were urged to read no book or literature prohibited or unauthorized by their confessors, to enter no establishment where Bibles or Protestant books were sold, to communicate with or permit to enter their houses no persons known to be Protestant agents, and to permit none of their families 'to purchase anything at the shops of Protestants.'[5]

Queen Isabella herself took advantage of Espartero's gradual loss of control to take action against the Protestant Propaganda. Early in 1856, she instructed the new Minister of Grace and Justice, the neo-Catholic D. Candido Nocedal, to issue secretly the following circular to provincial and local authorities:

> Her Majesty's government is firmly resolved to exercise the utmost rigour against those Spaniards and foreigners who may pretend, under any pretext whatever, to break or disturb the religious unity to which it has pleased divine Provi-

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[4] As La Cruz, the clericalist journal of Seville, put it: 'To turn us from loyal subjects into traitors -- from Christians into heretics -- from sons of God into sons of the devil -- from happy beings to unhappy wretches -- from Catholics into infidels, and from Spaniards into barbarians, -- is the mission which those of the Propaganda come to exercise among us in the country of the Cid, in the nation of Philip . . .' As quoted by Evangelical Christendom, vol. IX (1855), pp. 207-208.

[5] Ibid.

> dence that Spain should owe her prosperity, and upon which reposes -- it could not be otherwise -- the second basis of the constitution by which the monarchy should be guided. In consequence, M. Presidente, you will arrange with the political administrative and ecclesiastical authorities to put a stop, at any price, to such a crime -- to such an enormous scandal. You will sedulously excite the zeal of the public prosecutor, who must proceed officially against the guilty parties whenever he may suspect the accomplishment of any act contrary to the basis of the state religion. It is to be thoroughly understood, that as the piety of the Queen will worthily reward the services rendered by the judges in this matter, so those who may be indifferent, or culpably tolerant, will draw upon themselves an exemplary chastisement.[6]

Full of foreboding indeed were the coming days for the handful of Spanish Protestants. What can be more ominous than for suspects to be presumed guilty before trial, or for judges to be rewarded or punished, according to whether they were zealous or indifferent in the way they handled cases in this new heresy-hunt? Moreover, early in 1857, Nocedal issued another circular to provincial governors, urging them to watch vigilantly against the circulation of 'schismatic and heretical books.'[7] To this was appended a catalogue of books, which, in fact, were the very same works circulated by the various British evangelical societies.

Thus, the stage was set for the attempts that soon followed to suppress the Segunda Reforma in Spain. Mention has already been made of the arrest and imprisonment of Ruet in 1855, Mora in 1856, and Escalante in 1859. These by no means were the only cases of persecution during this period,[8] and the more infamous ones were still to

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[6] Because the Spanish government at this time was, on the whole, still strongly liberal, this circular was never published in the official Gaceta de Madrid. But it was reproduced by the Presse of Paris, which in turn was quoted by The News of the Churches, vol. II (1856), p. 97.

[7] Ibid.

[8] In 1857 there were also reports that Protestants were implicated

come. As this present chapter will attempt to show, all these persecutions brought a mixture of disaster and blessing to Protestant work in Spain. But what was perhaps more significant was the greater interest in the cause of Spanish evangelization that these persecutions evoked, among evangelical Protestant circles abroad.

The Persecution of Spanish Protestantism

The persecution of Spanish Protestants began in August 1860, when a young seminarian at Granada, D. Nicolas Alonso Marselau, the Archbishop's protege and son of a prominent family, turned Protestant and subsequently fled to England.[9] This incident became the final irritant to the long pent-up chagrin of Catholic authorities in Andalusia over their difficulty in checking the flow of Protestant literature into the region from Gibraltar. The arrests began early in October, with the seizure of the leader of the evangelical junta of Grana-

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in the Andalusian agrarian uprisings that year. A Protestant colonel in the Spanish Army and several of his peasant followers were reportedly among those shot in the government reprisals that followed. This officer, Colonel Serra, a Democrat and a close friend of Espartero, had been in exile on account of his liberal views, for most of the period since 1839. He first went to France, where he became a Protestant, and then to Portugal, returning to Spain only when Espartero was in power. After 1856, Serra plotted against the reactionary government of Narvaez. Through a journal he published in Seville, Serra pursued the dangerous combination of radical politics and Protestant propaganda. The secret meeting of his religious followers, held in a secluded field near Seville in February 1857, and attended by more than 300 men, was a quasi-political rally, ending with shouts of 'Down with the Pope and tyranny!' Details of Serra's activities were apparently communicated by his close friend Vasquez, to the Free Church chaplain in Gibraltar. The chaplain (the Rev. A. Sutherland) in turn briefly mentioned Serra's fate in The News of the Churches (see vol. IV (1857), p. 238). But it was not until the publication of Mrs Peddie's The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain in 1871, that the full details were publicly known in Britain.

[9] See Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 26. Cf. the petition of Protestants in Bath (Mar. 15, 1861), urging the intervention of the British government, on behalf of the imprisoned Spanish Protestants, in Appendix to the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Session 1861), p. 127.

da, D. Jose Alhama Teva, who was named responsible for Alonso's escape. The papers the police found in Alhama's possession, not the least important being a copy of an evangelical confession of faith, revealed what appeared to be a widespread network of 'Protestant conspiracy' in Andalusia. Also found were names of other Protestant propagandists, including that of D. Manuel Matamoros Garcia,[10] who was then preaching in Barcelona. The information gathered by the authorities pointed to Matamoros as, next to Vasquez, the foremost Protestant propagandist in Spain.

The alarm of the ecclesiastical authorities precipitated them to instigate the civil power to take immediate action against the Protestants. There is good reason to suppose that the latter would not have done so, for it was difficult to establish a solid case for the suspects' alleged religious crimes. Unfortunately, however, the Spanish Protestants had close links with political revolutionaries. It need only be recalled that Vasquez's efforts were supported by the political clubs, and that the Protestant Colonel Serra

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[10] Matamoros (1835-1866), born in Huelva and the son of a former lieutenant-colonel in the Spanish Artillery, was himself an army lieutenant, attached to the regiment stationed in Seville. It was there that he first came in contact with Protestantism, through the tract Andrew Dunn, given to him by a colporteur of the Spanish Evangelization Society. After his conversion in 1859, Matamoros zealously disseminated Protestant propaganda materials among the men of his regiment. Discovered by the regimental chaplain, Matamoros was soon discharged from the army. By this time, he had become a close associate of Vasquez, who arranged for him to become an agent of the Paris Committee of Spanish Evangelization (f. 1858). It was in this capacity that, in collaboration with Ruet in Gibraltar, Matamoros began evangelical work in Malaga in 1860. After organizing the 'Reformed Church of Malaga', and on Ruet's instructions, Matamoros started a new evangelical mission in Barcelona.

For more details of Matamoros' life and work, see F. Fliedner, 'Manuel Matamoros,' The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, ed. by S.M. Jackson et al (London, 1908-11), vol. VII, p. 243. Cf. Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, pp. 6-9. Cf. Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, pp. 143-81. Cf. Encyclopedie des sciences religieuses, vol. XII, p. 696. Cf. also Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 359f.

was himself a revolutionary. A despatch from the British charge d'affaires in Madrid to the Foreign Secretary in London, although in connection with a slightly later event (the 'La Loja uprising'[11] in 1861), perhaps gives the explanation for the government proceedings against the Spanish Protestants. The despatch reads:

> As your Lordship may imagine, Protestantism is not held guiltless, and I am sorry that there should be any pretext for even naming it in connection with the late rising, but the facts, as related to me, are that there existed in Granada two Societies established, the one Protestant and the other Democratic; -- their affairs became so much interwoven that proceedings were instituted, and in consequence of the want of discernment on the part of the judges, as well as the cunning of the democrats, the protestant society was brought to light as the guilty party, whilst the democratic remained hidden in the background.[12]

Though some, like the British ambassador, could not believe that the above insurrection was the result of 'the illegal propagation and progress of Protestantism in the South of Spain,'[13] the Spanish government was convinced that Protestant agents had a part in it.

Thus, mass arrests of Spanish Protestants beginning October 1860 took place in Granada, Malaga, Seville, Cordoba, and other towns

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[11] This was a socialist republican uprising in a small town between Malaga and Granada. For interesting details, see Mr Edwardes' despatch, 10th July 1861, F.O. 72. 1008. 169. See also J. Diaz del Moral, Historia de las agitaciones campesinas andaluzas (Madrid, 1929), pp. 55f.

[12] Mr Edwardes' despatch, 10th July 1861, F.O. 72. 1008. 169. The Protestant connection with radical peasant movements seems to be corroborated by a later statement of an English lady-traveler: 'Granada has a large number of Protestants amongst its population, numbering between three and four thousand. They all wear a small gold star beneath their coats, and, Spaniard-like, daggers and revolvers as well. They are a suspicious race . . .' (See Anon, A Winter Tour in Spain (London, 1868), p. 251). Whether these were indeed Protestants is uncertain, but that they should be categorically identified as such is significant.

[13] The ambassador, Sir John Crampton, said: 'Should it even turn out that any number of Protestants are implicated in this insurrectionary attempt, it must be conceded that they were actuated by other motives than a hope to improve their condition as a religious sect.' See Crompton's despatch, 23rd July 1861, F.O. 72. 1008. 8.

of Andalusia. Among the first to be seized were the leaders of the 'Reformed Church of Malaga' -- the Spanish Evangelization Society agent, D. Jose Gonzalez Mejia; a sculptor, D. Antonio Marin; and an eighteen-year-old evangelist, D. Antonio Carrasco Palomo.[14] In Granada, those arrested included one D. Miguel Trigo, who, significantly enough, was another military officer. Several other Protestant propagandists in Seville were also discovered through mail matter intercepted by the authorities.[15] It is not exactly known how many persons all in all were involved in the indictments from 1860 to 1863. Though none but Matamoros was arrested in Barcelona, at least 18 Protestants in Malaga, 19 in Seville, and 21 in Granada were detained in jail for varying periods of time.[16] Fourteen other Protestant leaders who had opportunity to do so fled to safety in Gibraltar, Portugal, or Marseilles. Vasquez was one of six, who managed in time to reach Gibraltar.[17]

Thus, religious and political motives intermingled in the legal proceedings against the Spanish Protestants of Andalusia. It proved to be quite an embarrassment for the Spanish government, however, for they could find no sufficient political grounds for their case. Consequently, the government tried to minimize the scandal[18] of what appeared to be simply a religious persecution. At first, a

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[14] See Encyclopedie des sciences religieuses, vol. XII, p. 696.

[15] Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, pp. 169-70.

[16] Ibid., pp. 27, 57, 168-70.

[17] Cf. Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 148. See also Lord John Russell to Crompton, London, 19th Oct. 1861, F.O. 72. 1002. 97.

[18] See Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, p. 280.

document in Matamoros' possession -- a circular addressed to all Spanish evangelicos, proposing for their consideration whether or not it would be advisable to petition the Cortes for an act establishing religious freedom in Spain[19] -- afforded the authorities a pretext to charge the prisoners with sedition and complicity with the revolutionary parties. When the La Loja uprising became, a malicious attempt was also made to implicate them in the affair, through the testimony of suborned witnesses.[20] But as all these could not be substantiated, the charge was finally limited to the crime of attempting to change the state religion.[21]

Spanish justice seemed to be very slow, and the trials were not held until December 1861. The accused were found guilty, sentenced to seven years in penal servitude and civil disqualification for life, and ordered to pay the costs of the lawsuit. What happened next could perhaps have taken place in few other countries at the time. Twice the prisoners appealed against their conviction, and each time the public prosecutor appealed as well, demanding increased severity for their sentence.

In October 1862, a higher court accordingly handed down another sentence. This time, Matamoros was condemned to eight years at

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[19] Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 150. Cf. Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, pp. 169-70.

[20] For the full details, see ibid., pp. 75-76.

[21] Against this charge, the main argument of the defence was that all that the accused did was to convince many, by persuasion and good works, teachings, and examples, to become good and earnest Christian believers. Said one advocate: 'Not one word of menace, not one subversive sentence, not one remotest thought can we trace, that they had realized, that they had proposed to realize, one material exterior direct action which would in any way change or abolish in Spain the Roman Catholic and Apostolic religion.' See ibid., p. 151.

hard labour, Alhama to nine years of the same, although all the others accused in Granada, Malaga, and Seville were acquitted. Once again, the condemned men and the prosecutor made separate appeals, the latter persisting in his demand for the maximum sentence of eleven years for Matamoros and Alhama, and expressing his dissatisfaction at the acquittal of the others. Another five months were to elapse, before these opposing appeals were heard by the Superior Tribunal at Granada. The final sentence was penal servitude of nine years for Matamoros, Alhama, Marin, Carrasco, and Gonzales, and seven years for Trigo.[22]

Protestant Indignation Abroad

It was not long before the outside world knew of the plight of the Spanish Protestants. The vastness of the legal proceedings[23] was such that nothing of this sort could remain unheard of for long. The prisoners themselves were determined that their case should reach the bar of European opinion. As Matamoros wrote to his friend Greene: 'If I am condemned, I will protest, by the press of every country in Europe, against the injustice that punishes for the sole sin of professing Christianity. . . . This protest I will send to you, that you may translate and publish it.'[24]

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[22] For details, see Edward Steane, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Deputation to Madrid on behalf of the Spanish Prisoners, with an introduction, and appendix, containing the petitions, &c. (London, 1863), pp. 9-10.

[23] By January 1861, the lawsuits had already covered more than 1,000 pages of law papers (see Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 43). At the last pleadings in Granada in 1863, the reading of the accusation alone, which filled a folio volume, lasted three hours. Cf. Jules Bonnet, in Christian Work, vol. I (1863), p. 204.

[24] See Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 17.

It was perhaps natural that the prisoners should turn for help to their friends in other countries, especially in Britain. It was still fresh in everybody's mind how the international Evangelical Alliance, as well as the British government, brought pressure to bear on the Catholic powers concerned, in order to effect the release of such persecuted Protestants, as Dr Giacinto Achilli, Count Guicciardini, and the Madiai couple in Tuscany,[25] and even Mora and Escalante in Spain. The Evangelical Alliance was also thought to be in a good position to advocate for the Spanish prisoners. That body had recently gained the praise of Europe, when it served as the chief instrument in freeing six Swedish Catholic converts from prison, and in persuading the Swedish government to repeal the intolerant laws governing dissenters from the official Lutheran faith.[26] Thus, Alhama wrote the ex-seminarian Alonso, who was now safe in London: 'All Spaniards look to England in this crisis; and from England only can we expect help.'[27] There certainly was much expectation reflected in the anxious query of Matamoros to Greene: 'Has the English press done anything for us?'[28]

The British press did take up their cause. One need only look at the metropolitan journals and religious periodicals from 1861 to 1863, to see frequent references to 'the Spanish prisoners', or the 'persecuted Protestants in Spain'.[29] Certain British evangeli-

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[25] The story of the trials and tribulations of the Italian Protestants, Achilli and Guicciardini, is told in the pages of Evangelical Christendom, vols. III-IV (1849-1850), passim. For other minor cases of religious persecution in Catholic lands, see Minutes of the Acting Committee of the Scottish Reformation Society (14th July, 20th Aug., 1st Oct., 12th Nov. 1858).

[26] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII (1858), p. 245.

[27] See Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 41.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Of the major newspapers, it was no less than the London Times

cal magazines, which ordinarily carried no references to Spain, followed closely the developments of the trials in Andalusia.[30] It was not also long before Matamoros' correspondents were found in nearly every capital of Europe, many of them in Britain.[31] The Evangelical Alliance set up from 1861 to 1865 a 'Spanish Persecution Fund',[32] to help pay the heavy law costs and support the families of the prisoners. By the spring of 1863, an amount totalling nearly £1,000 had been sent to Spain from Britain. Moreover, even as the long-drawn legal proceedings were continuing, Matamoros' letters were collected by two of his friends and published in 1863,[33] in an attempt to gain more popular sympathy for the Protestants suffering in Spain. So great was the response, that a Scottish Free Church journal ventured to say in 1863 that 'the name of Matamoros is now familiar in the ears of all Christendom.'[34]

The immense outpouring of Protestant sympathy in Britain

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which carried on sustained interest in this affair. See, especially, its issues for May 1, 7, 14, 20, 1861; Feb. 24, May 10, 26, Oct. 7, 10, 15, 1862; and also Feb. 4, 1863.

[30] The most notable example of this is the Baptist monthly The Church (Leeds, later London). See its reports under the heading 'General Intelligence', in vols. IV-VI (Jan. 1861-July 1863).

[31] When Prince Albert died in 1862, Matamoros and other Spanish Protestants also sent an address of condolence to Queen Victoria. This was conveyed through Dr Samuel P. Tregelles' letter to the British Foreign Secretary, dated 20th March 1862, in F.O. 72. 1049.

[32] See financial sections of the Annual Reports of the Evangelical Alliance (1861-1865). See also the private circular, 'Persecution of Protestants in Spain' (London, 1862).

[33] These were Greene's volume already referred to above, and Dr Abraham Capadose's The Power of Faith; or, Details of the Life and Sufferings of Manuel Matamoros (The Hague). Further interest in Spain was also evoked by the anonymous volume, The Martyrs of Spain, and the Liberators of Holland (London, 1862).

[34] The Monthly Record, no. 12 (July 1862), p. 266.

for the Spanish Protestants was undoubtedly due to the fact that British evangelical Protestants saw the persecutions in Spain as a replica of the earlier 'Madiai affair' in Tuscany.[35] The memory of Mora's imprisonment was still fresh in their minds, and Escalante's case was then, in fact, still being resolved. Moreover, the Spanish prisoners in Andalusia had many acquaintances among religious and political leaders in Britain. Perhaps the most influential of these were Sir Robert Peel, M.P. for Tamworth;[36] Sir Andrew Buchanan, the British envoy at Madrid; the railway engineer Greene; and Dr and Mrs Samuel Prideaux Tregelles.[37] Both Peel and Buchanan had personally visited the Protestants in Granada and had witnessed their sufferings in prison.[38] The former, along with Shaftesbury and Kinnaird, became the Spanish prisoners' chief advocates in Parliament; while the latter apparently exerted a favourable influence on the disposition of his successor, Sir John Crampton, towards the prisoners. Greene and the Tregelleses also were the chief source of information for British evangelicals on the fortunes and conditions of the Spanish prisoners and their families.

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[35] See Sir Robert Peel's address, in The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-61), p. 322. Cf. The Book and its Missions Past and Present, vol. VIII (1862), pp. 109-112.

[36] Peel, who succeeded to the baronetcy in 1850, had been British attache in Madrid in 1844-1846. It was perhaps on account of this, that throughout his long career as Member of Parliament (1850-1886), he kept a continuing interest in Spanish affairs. Cf. The Foreign Office List (1891), p. 167.

[37] Dr Tregelles was considered the most eminent English scholar in textual criticism of the Greek Testament during his time, second only to Tischendorf. He and his wife met Matamoros in Malaga, and it was Mrs Tregelles, who introduced Matamoros to Greene. Cf. Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 11.

[38] The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-61), p. 321. See also The Home and Foreign Record of the Free Church of Scotland, vol. V (1861), p. 288.

Another reason for the strong sympathy in Britain for the Spanish prisoners was the fact that fervent anti-Catholic sentiments continued to seethe among evangelical Protestants. This is clearly reflected in the various tracts, circulated for the specific purpose of rousing British Protestant conscience to action, regarding the persecution of Protestants in Spain. One tract writer, for example, warned that what was happening in Spain, where Catholicism was dominant, would most likely be the case also in Britain, should that intolerant creed ever gain ascendancy in the country.[39] Citing provocative statements excerpted from Catholic journals,[40] an attempt was made to show that Catholicism was the epitome of intolerance. Spain was used as the best example of this.[41] To many evangelical Protestants, therefore, the persecutions in Andalusia showed clearly the evil designs of Catholic powers in Europe on Protestantism, as well as civil and religious liberty.[42]

Thus, throughout the duration of the trials in Andalusia, from December 1860 to May 1863, British evangelical Protestants kept up an impassioned concern over the welfare of the Spanish prisoners. They clamoured for the intervention of the British government on behalf of the prisoners, arguing that such intervention was fully just-

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[39] Anon, 'The Present Treatment of Protestants by the Church of Rome Where Dominant, and its Intentions Here' (London, c. 1862), p. 4.

[40] Thus, an old copy of The Rambler (Sept. 1851) was quoted as saying that 'Catholicism is the most intolerant of creeds' and that 'it is intolerance itself; for it is truth itself' (see ibid). Many of the quoted statements were those of Cardinal Wiseman or Cardinal Manning.

[41] See, for example, Peel's address on behalf of the Protestant prisoners in Spain, in The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-61), p. 323.

[42] Sentiments like this had been expressed as early as 1852, in reaction to the persecution of the Tuscan evangelici. See, for example, Assembly Papers of the Free Church of Scotland (1852), p. 9.

ifiable, according to Vattel's Law of Nations (London, 1793).[43] It was claimed that Britain had a duty 'to use her influence in behalf of those who are persecuted for conscience's sake, and especially if such persecution is perpetrated by a Government in friendly relations with Great Britain, and above all in the case of such a country as Spain, which has derived so many benefits from that relation.'[44] It was further argued that Britain had a right to such an intervention, by virtue of her tolerant attitude towards Catholics within her own realm.[45] Cited as worthy precedents were, first, Oliver Cromwell's action on behalf of the persecuted Vaudois in the seventeenth century; and second, the British government's intervention in the case of the Madiai in 1852.[46]

To represent these sentiments, a huge and influential deputation was sent to the Foreign Office in December 1860.[47] The following April, a large gathering, attended by the most notable leaders of British evangelical Protestantism and presided over by Shaftesbury,

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[43] 'When a religion is persecuted in one country, the foreign nations who profess it may intercede for their brethren; but this is all they can lawfully do, unless the persecution be carried to an intolerable excess; then indeed it becomes a case of manifest tyranny, in which all nations are permitted to succour an unhappy people' (p. 7).

[44] Sir Robert Peel, before the Commons (15th March 1861), in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. 161 (1861), col. 2055.

[45] Petition of the Scottish Reformation Society, attached to the frontispiece of its Minute Book, vol. 2 (1858-1870).

[46] Sir Robert Peel, before the Commons (15th March 1861), in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. 161 (1861), cols. 2058-64.

[47] The deputation was composed of more than seventy-five prominent church leaders, members of Parliament, military and naval officers, university professors, advocates, doctors, journalists, bankers and businessmen, representing the Evangelical Alliance, the London Protestant Alliance, the Scottish Reformation Society, the Evangelical Continental Society, and the Islington Protestant Institute. For full details, see The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-61), p. 189.

was held at St James' Hall in London.[48] The purpose was to bring the case of the Spanish Protestants to the attention of the general public. That gathering was to have much influence upon the determination of evangelical Protestants all over the country to exert greater pressure on the British government to intervene in the case. From February 1861 to July 1862, no less than 52 petitions from various evangelical groups throughout the British Isles were sent to the House of Commons.[49] These, as well as those previously addressed to the Foreign Office,[50] urged the strongest remonstrance with the Spanish government, on the subject of religious intolerance in Spain and the release of the Protestant prisoners in Andalusia. The subject of the Spanish Protestants was also repeatedly brought before the attention of Parliament, chiefly by Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, and more frequently by Peel and Kinnaird,[51] in the House of Commons.[52] Peel himself presented the greater number of the public petitions above.

Throughout these evangelical agitations, the only distracting voice came from certain 'broad-church' Anglicans, who would rather have the British government exert efforts primarily for the

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[48] For full details, see ibid., vol. X (1860-63), p. 323.

[49] See Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Session 1861), passim; (Session 1862), pp. 667, 824, 861. See also Appendix to the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Session 1861), pp. 30, 126-27; (Session 1862), p. 375. Cf. The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-61), p. 307.

[50] For the various letters and petitions addressed to Lord John Russell, see F.O. 72. 998.

[51] Kinnaird at this time was one of the vice-presidents of the Evangelical Alliance, and until 1864 concurrently president of the Scottish Reformation Society.

[52] See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. 162 (1861), col. 416; cols. 800f. See also vol. 163 (1861), cols. 677-79.

religious liberty of three to four thousand of their own countrymen in Spain. This particular viewpoint was championed by the Rev. Alexander D'Orsey, the Bishop of Gibraltar's chaplain to the English in Spain. D'Orsey was strongly opposed to the 'high-church' view that Anglicans in Spain should identify themselves with the Catholic Church in that country, just as much as he disagreed with the evangelical intention to proselytize the Spaniards.[53] In view of the recurrent incidents of British subjects being molested in the exercise of their religion, D'Orsey believed that this was of higher priority, than seeking the liberty of Spanish Protestants. As he put it, the British government could not, with integrity, plead for the liberty of 'one or two Spaniards who, however we may compassionate them, are after all only suffering because they have broken their own laws,'[54] until that government had first dutifully attended to the rights of British Protestant subjects in Spain. D'Orsey's voice, however, was drowned by those of evangelical Protestants pleading for the Spanish prisoners.

Throughout all these evangelical agitations, the official attitude of the British government was generally one of moderation. Though the members of the cabinet would have wished the religious persecutions in Spain put to an end without delay, they nevertheless maintained steadfastly that Britain had no right to interfere in internal Spanish affairs. They would take strong exception to the claim by some English Catholic journals, that the British government could not

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[53] See D'Orsey's letter to the Times editor (Oct. 26, 1860), p. 4.

[54] D'Orsey's letter, dated Cambridge, March 1861, as reprinted in The Bulwark, vol. X (1860-1861), p. 308.

[55] Ibid. See also his petition, in Appendix to the Reports of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Session 1860), p. 189. See also various pertinent communications, in F.O. 72. 1023 and F.O. 72. 1051.

intercede in cases involving the religious interests of British subjects in Spain,[56] but they considered it an entirely different matter, where Spanish subjects were concerned. Russell thought that in deference to the views of another sovereign state, however repugnant these views might be to his own feelings, it was inexpedient for him as British Foreign Secretary -- even in the way of friendly advice -- to bring the case of the Spanish Protestant prisoners before the government in Madrid.[57] The Prime Minister, Lord Palmerston, also put forward the view, that all the British government could do was conduct unofficial conversations with the Spanish authorities, taking care, moreover, not to give offence in any way whatsoever.[58]

Indeed, many were the private conversations between British and Spanish officials on the subject of the imprisoned Protestants in Andalusia. Russell spoke of it to the Spanish ambassador in London, and Crampton and Edwardes at the British legation in Madrid, to members of the Spanish cabinet.[59] It would appear from the reports on these conversations that the Spanish government was not indifferent to British views on the matter. As a matter of fact, the Spanish cabinet would have been quite willing to demonstrate some

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[56] It was apparently in answer to such claims, as 'the English Protestants who go to Spain have no right beyond the right of the Spanish law' (The Tablet, Dec. 29, 1861), that Austen H. Layard, then Foreign Under-Secretary, told the House of Commons that the exercise of British subjects in Spain of their religion was protected by the spirit of the existing treaties between the two countries. See Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. 166 (1862), col. 1040.

[57] See ibid., vol. 162 (1861), col. 839.

[58] See ibid., vol. 166 (1862), cols. 253-54.

[59] See, for example, Edwardes' despatches, 28th May 1861, F.O. 72. 1006. 82; 3rd July 1861, F.O. 72. 1008. 147; and Crampton's despatch 4th August 1861, F.O. 72. 1009. 35.

measure of leniency.[60] There was one difficulty, however, and this was the determined hostility of Queen Isabella and her clerical camarilla towards the Spanish 'heretics'.[61] A Spanish historian was later to point to the prime minister's subservience to the whims of the court, as the leading factor in the condemnation of the Protestants of Andalusia.[62]

Thus, months dragged on without relief for the prisoners. It was now apparent that unofficial conversations between Spanish officials and the representatives of any foreign power interested in the case could bring no result. Thus, once more it fell to the religious societies, particularly, the international Evangelical Alliance, to continue the efforts to obtain freedom for Matamoros and his fellow-prisoners.

Foreign Protestant Intervention

As early as 1861, a special committee of the British Branch of the Evangelical Alliance had been formed, to secure the release of the prisoners. It was decided then that if other methods failed, a deputation representing as many nations of Christendom as would be willing to cooperate should go to Madrid. If this should still prove unsuccessful, then an intensive campaign was to be launched in every national press in Europe, to denounce Spain in no uncertain terms for her

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[60] Russell, speaking before the House of Commons (18th April 1861), Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. 161 (1861), cols. 800-801. Cf. Crampton's despatch, 3rd May 1862, F.O. 72. 1034. 201.

[61] This was corroborated by the Duke of Montpensier, Isabella's brother-in-law, who sympathized with the Protestant prisoners and was himself dubbed a 'Protestant' by the royal court for his liberal views. See the letter of M. Jules Bonnet, dated Paris, 16th March 1864, in Christian Work, vol. II (1864), p. 218.

[62] Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, p. 279.

religious intolerance.[63] After the 'Conference of Christians of All Nations' held in Geneva in September 1861, the Evangelical Alliance made one more informal attempt to achieve its goal of freeing the prisoners. It sent an English general to see the Spanish prime minister, then General Leopoldo O'Donnell, to represent to him the united intercession of international Protestantism and ask for royal pardon for the condemned men.[64] When this mission failed, the international Evangelical Alliance, led by the British Committee of that body, finally decided to send the most impressive deputation that it could possibly muster.

As ultimately constituted, the deputation was composed of twenty-four noblemen, ex-government ministers, ex-diplomats, pastors, and other high-ranking citizens in their respective countries. Truly representative of European Protestantism, they came from Austria, Bavaria, Denmark, France, Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Sweden, and Switzerland.[65] They brought with them nine petitions addressed to

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[63] For details, see Steane, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Deputation to Madrid, on behalf of the Spanish Prisoners, pp. 1f.

[64] This envoy of the Evangelical Alliance, Major-General Alexander, R.A., was especially indebted to the British Minister at Madrid, Sir John Crampton; and M. Thouvenel, the French Foreign Minister, who at the instance of private communications from Lord Russell and Lord Clarendon, gave him (Alexander) a letter of introduction to M. Barrot, the French Ambassador at Madrid. Both Crampton and Barrot in turn gave him letters of introduction to O'Donnell. See ibid., p. 19. See also Sir Culling Eardley to Russell, 24th Feb. 1862, F.O. 72. 1051.

[65] The members of this Evangelical Alliance deputation were: Baron Werner von Riese Stallburg, member of the Austrian Parliament and Chamberlain to the Emperor (for Austria); Pastor W. Tretzel, of the Lutheran Church in Nuremberg (for Bavaria); A. L. Brandt, Knight of the Order of the Danebrog (for Denmark); Rev. William Monod, president of the French Evangelical Alliance; Baron Leon de Brussiere, Councillor of State, etc.; Count Edmond de Pourtales; M. George Andre (for France); Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.; Colonel J. Geddes Walker, R.A.; Rev. J. S. Blackwood, D.D., LL.D.; Rev. Edward Steane, D.D., honorary secretary of the Evangelical Alliance; Rev. Herman Schmettau, Ph.D.,

Queen Isabella and one to the Spanish Cortes, coming from each of the countries represented, as well as one from Russia. Of these various petitions, perhaps the most impressive were those from Austria, Holland, and Sweden.[66] This is not to mention still another petition to the Queen, prepared by 30,000 ladies of France, and presented separately a few days before the first members of the deputation arrived in Madrid.[67]

The unmistakable impression that the Evangelical Alliance deputation and the various petitions intended to convey was that a vast number in Europe, both Protestants and Catholics, were keenly interested in the condemned men's release from prison. The reported coming

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foreign secretary of the Evangelical Alliance; and the deputies of the Society of Friends -- R. W. Fox, Esq., John Hodgkin, Esq., Joseph Cooper, Esq. (for Great Britain); Dr Abraham Capadose, M.D., president of the Netherlands Evangelical Protestant Society; Baron K. F. de Lynden, Chamberlain to the King; Jhr Mr Jan Willem van Loon, judge of Amsterdam (for Holland); Heinrich XIII, Prince Reuss; Count von Kanitz, aide-de-camp to the King; Count von Behr Negendank; Herr Kluber, a cavalry officer (for Prussia); Baron Hans Essen, Member of the House of Nobles of Stockholm (for Sweden); and M. J. Adrien Naville, president of the Geneva Committee of the Evangelical Alliance (for Switzerland). See Steane, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Deputation to Madrid, on behalf of the Spanish Prisoners, pp. 25-26.

[66] The petition of the Evangelical Churches of Austria contained 4,000 signatures, representing not less than two million Protestants. The signatories included members of the Austrian and Hungarian nobility, and the Protestant members of the University and Academy of Science of Vienna. There were also two petitions from Holland, one containing the signatures of 45,000 Dutch ladies (obtained within one week); and another, presented by fifteen high-ranking Dutch Roman Catholics. The address from Sweden caontained about 1,000 signatures, including 34 Members of the House of Nobles, 84 of the House of Commons; a considerable number of clergymen, headed by the Bishop of Gottenburgh; and the principal professors of the University of Uppsala. For the full texts of these petitions, see ibid., pp. 54-68.

[67] Sent by the Protestant ladies of France, this petition was brought to Spain by the French Protestant professor and journalist, M. Jules Bonnet. It was presented to Isabella by the Duke of Montpensier, who had volunteered to do so. (It was also Montpensier, who gave advice to the deputation as to how to present their purposes to the Queen). See Bonnet's letter, dated Paris, May 1863, in Christian Work, vol. I (1863), p. 203.

of the deputation emboldened the liberal press in Madrid to attack the conduct of the government in the case.[68] In defence of the Spanish Ministry, however, it was argued that the Protestants in Granada were arrested and condemned, 'non pas d'apres les lois inquisitoriales, mais en vertu du Code penal espagnol, qui est peut-etre le plus liberal et le moins severe de tous les codes de l'Europe.'[69] They were not being punished as sectarians of Protestantism; they simply had violated the Constitution. As if in answer to this argument, the Siecle, of Paris, did not doubt that the Spanish Protestants were, by law, guilty as charged. 'But what surprises us,' it continued, 'is, that such a law should be in existence in the 19th century, in a civilized country, and applied with so much rigour; and this for having read the Bible in public, or lent it to a neighbour.'[70]

It would have been a great surprise indeed, if Queen Isabella and her court did not feel the pressure of this foreign opinion. If one report could be relied upon, even Pope Pius IX counselled her to revoke or mitigate the punishment upon the Protestants, for its rigour was a disgrace to the Catholic Church.[71] Thus, the Queen decided to act. To avoid a direct confrontation with the deputation, she commuted the sentences on the condemned men, from imprisonment to exile of equal

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[68] Thus, the usually moderate Correspondencia attacked the government claim that no one in Spain could be prosecuted for his religious beliefs. As cited by Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 180.

[69] Anon, La verite sur les protestants espagnols (Paris, 1863), pp. 5, 8.

[70] As quoted by Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 179.

[71] See Christian Work, vol. I (1863), pp. 317-18, citing two letters, purportedly coming from one 'L. de M____', dated Tours, 4th and 30th May 1863, as first reported in the Western Morning News.

duration.[72] Beyond this, however, she would go no further.

Thus ended the most notorious case of religious persecution during Isabella's reign. Just before the Spanish revolution of 1868, there indeed took place another attempt to prosecute a Spanish Protestant schoolmaster in Malaga.[73] Once again, strong efforts, particularly by the Evangelical Alliance, were exerted in Britain for his immediate release. However, the Spanish civil authorities this time, on the whole, showed a much greater degree of tolerance, and there was not to be as much furor over the case, as in the 'Matamoros affair' earlier in the decade.

Consequences of the 'Matamoros Affair'

Far from extinguishing Spanish Protestantism, the persecutions of the early 1860's advanced its cause, as would never have been otherwise. Alhama was quite right, when he said in 1861 that 'in Spain, /evangelical/ Christianity will date a new era from our trial.'[74] Indeed, the court proceedings in Andalusia broadcast the existence and the admirable constancy of faith of the handful of Protestants in Spain. Not one in those accused ever abjured this faith. This aroused curiousity in not a few Spaniards, who thereafter began to ask what was there in this 'new teaching' that some would be will-

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[72] La Correspondencia (May 20, 1863), p. 4. Cf. Anon, Manuel Matamoros: a champion and martyr in the cause of religious liberty in Spain (Stirling, 1898), p. 45.

[73] This man, D. Julian Vargas, a Madrileño, had studied at the Free Church Theological Faculty in Lausanne. He was arrested for holding Protestant meetings in his house, and for teaching doctrines contrary to the state religion. His case was brought before the attention of the British Foreign Office and Parliament, and funds were raised to defray the cost of his defence. Proceedings against him were dropped when the revolution came. For further details, see the Annual Report of the Evangelical Alliance (1868), pp. 14-16.

[74] See his letter in Greene, Matamoros and His Fellow-Prisoners, p. 41.

ing to suffer for it. It was estimated, not without some justification, that ten years of preaching would not have advanced the Protestant propaganda in Spain, as did the ordeals suffered by Matamoros and his friends.[75] Within two months since the first arrests were made in October 1860, thirty-seven new converts were added to the 'Reformed Church of Malaga',[76] and it appears that soon afterwards, Protestantism made incursions in northern towns, like Zaragoza. A contemporary writer perhaps was not exaggerating, when he said: 'From Cadiz to Barcelona, from Sierra Nevada to the Asturias, there is not a hamlet or a village, which has not heard of the Protestants of Andalusia, whose constancy has touched many hearts and doubtless excited many secret sympathies.'[77] Years later when the revolution of 1868 revealed a widespread clamour for religious liberty, the French Protestant historian Edmond de Pressense unhesitatingly attributed this change in the public sentiment of Spain on the subject of religious freedom to the sufferings of the Andalusian Protestants.[78]

Whatever its effects on Spain might have been, the impact of the 'Matamoros affair' abroad seems to have been quite considerable. For more than two years, the case of the Spanish Protestant prisoners and the hardships endured by their families were constantly remembered in evangelical prayer circles, especially in Britain.[79]

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[75] Ibid., pp. 40-41.

[76] Matamoros to Nicolas Alonso, 13th Dec. 1860, in ibid., p. 32.

[77] Jules Bonnet, in Christian Work, vol. II (1864), p. 219.

[78] As cited by ibid., vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 22-23. Cf. NBSS Annual Report (1868), p. 23.

[79] See, for example, Steane, Narrative of the Proceedings of the Deputation to Madrid, on Behalf of the Spanish Prisoners, p. 20.

Events in suceeding years were to show just how much new interest, among Protestants abroad, in the cause of Spanish evangelization did result from this affair.

Certainly, the most important consequence of the intervention of the international Evangelical Alliance, on behalf of the Spanish prisoners, was the formation in several countries of 'Committees of Spanish Evangelization'. All these were patterned after the Spanish Evangelization Society, of Edinburgh, and the 'Paris Committee' founded in 1858. From 1863, perhaps even earlier, there were thus organized local 'Committees' in The Hague, Amsterdam, Lausanne, Geneva, Neuchatel, Orthez, and other places on the continent. In later years, these were often referred to, according to their countries of origin, hence, the 'Dutch Committees', the 'Swiss Committees', the 'French Committees', and the 'German Committees'. Thus, the idea of Spanish evangelization which began in Britain had now spread among other evangelical Protestants in the continent. But if not for the Civil War in the United States, similar committees might have been formed in that country as well. In the late 1850's, American evangelical Protestants had begun to show some interest in Spain.[80]

Strangely enough, in Britain the cause of Spanish evangelization suffered a temporary setback soon after the release of the Spanish prisoners from jail. It appears that during his brief visit to England in the summer of 1863, Matamoros unfortunately produced an unfavourable impression on Englishmen. Unaccustomed to the Spanish temperament, they accused him of being imperious and not a little spoiled by the adulation accorded him from almost everywhere. He was

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[80] See the articles on Spain in the American Baptists' Missionary Magazine, vol. XXXVIII (1858), pp. 50-53; vol. XXXIX (1859), pp. 22f.

also thought imprudent and too confiding, charges which, along with that of imperiousness, his faithful friends stoutly claimed to be simply the result of English ignorance of the Spanish character.[81] Consequently, while those British evangelical Protestants who had long been interested in Spanish evangelization remained steadfastly faithful to this cause, a considerable measure of the new interest evoked by the trials in Andalusia was lost.

Partly because of this, the plan to let Matamoros speak in various evangelical meetings in the chief cities of Britain did not materialize. Moreover, certain members of the British government seemed to have been anxious to curtail his visit, lest his projected tour would place them in a difficult position with the Spanish government.[82] Perhaps this was the reason why the Spanish Protestant exiles rejected the British plan to have them settle and form an evangelical colony in Oran.[83] Instead, the majority of them, led by Matamoros himself, decided to stay in southern France or Switzerland.

Hence, this turn of events temporarily drew the initiative for Spanish evangelization away from the British to the French, Dutch and Swiss Protestants. As Greene, Matamoros' ever faithful friend, was led to say in 1866: 'England, as is well known, had through certain persons been prejudiced against Matamoros and his work, but God

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[81] As Mme. L. Bridel wrote to an English friend: 'The Spanish character is as yet comparatively unknown to us, and not sufficiently understood and appreciated.' (See Christian Work, vol. IV (1866), p. 124). Another of Matamoros' friends said: 'On le croyait imperieux, il n'etait que resolu a tout sacrifier a sa mission, a commencer par lui-mem; on le taxait d'imprudence, il avait la foi; on le disait trop confiant, il aimait.' See Roger Hollard, 'Necrologie: Manuel Matamoros,' Revue Chretienne, vol. XIII (1866), pp. 565-66.

[82] See The Bulwark, vol. XVI (1867), p. 277.

[83] W. H. Rule spoke of this plan in Christian Work, vol. I (1863), p. 525.

had not forgotten his devoted martyr, and Holland and Switzerland must be his nursing father and mother.'[84]

Before long, however, a new surge of enthusiasm for Spanish evangelization arose in Britain, largely due to the unflagging zeal of Matamoros' closest friends to promote that cause. When he died in Lausanne in 1866, his early death being attributed to the effects upon his health of the harsh conditions in prison, this event only served to increase their determination to continue his cause. As the Rev. Dr Alexander N. Somerville,[85] of Glasgow, said: 'Our beloved Matamoros is no more! A nobler, purer, gentler, and more lovely soul we had not with us on earth. . . . /But/ we must not let our interest in the evangelisation of Spain die, nor even languish, though Spain's noblest son is gone.'[86] Thus, new interest in Spanish evangelization developed among British Protestants, especially in Glasgow, under the leadership of Somerville. During the five years from 1863 to 1868, they continued their missionary endeavours in Spain, and lent generous financial assistance to the various projects in France and Switzerland, which had been established as a result of the Spanish exiles' inspiration.[87]

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[84] Christian Work, vol. IV (1866), p. 124. Cf. also p. 402.

[85] Somerville, a Scottish Free Church minister, had been a most enthusiastic exponent of Spanish evangelization, since he first heard of Matamoros' arrest in 1860. He freely opened his home to the Spanish exiles, whenever they came for a short visit. In later years, Somerville also was the leading spirit in the formation of a confederate association in England and Scotland for Spanish evangelization. For more than ten years, he promoted the cause by public lectures and his pen. For more details, see George Smith, A Modern Apostle: Alexander N. Somerville, D.D., 1813-1889 (2nd ed., London, 1891), pp. 117f.

[86] Letter to his daughter, Marianne, dated 3rd Aug. 1866, in Smith, A Modern Apostle, p. 106.

[87] These projects were institutions to serve as instruments for Spanish evangelization. First was the 'Seminaire Espagnol', a resid-

'The Dawn of the Second Reformation': 1863-1868

Many advocates of Spanish evangelization, looking back in time after 1868, considered the immediately preceding period as 'the dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain.' If there was one such period, it would most appropriately apply to the five years between 1863, when the Spanish Protestant leaders went into exile, and the year 1868, when the revolution brought good fortune to Protestantism in Spain. During this five-year interlude, the Spanish exiles began preparations for the missionary work they planned to undertake, as soon as it would be possible for them to return to their country. British evangelical societies, on the other hand, assisted them in their work, although these societies also carried on clandestine operations in Spain, whenever possible.

It was perhaps to be expected that the persecutions from 1860 to 1863 would once again force a virtual silence on the activities of those, who continued the Protestant propaganda in Spain. With the exception of the Spanish Evangelical Record, which had a controlled circulation, other British religious journals hardly made any reference to any work in Spain up to 1868. They took every opportunity,

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ential college for Spanish theological students, attached to the Faculte de Theologie Libre de Lausanne. The others were the preparatory schools for younger Spanish students, located in the French province of the Basses Pyrenees, one for boys in Arrudi, and another for girls in Pau. By 1866, no less than thirty young Spaniards were enrolled in the above institutions. In Lausanne, up to thirty Spanish ministerial students took their preparation there in the twenty-five years between 1864 and 1889. All these establishments were supported by the combined efforts of continental and British evangelical Protestants, but were placed under the direct care of the 'Lausanne Spanish Committee'. In the winter of 1865, a short-lived institute for Spanish evangelists from Andalusia was also set up in Pau. For details, see ibid., pp. 105f. See also Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 37-38. See also Manuel Matamoros, Light in the Dungeon: A Record, trans. with The Glory Beyond: A Sequel, by A. St. G. N. (2nd ed., enlarged; London, 1870), pp. 36-40.

however, to publicize the labours of the Protestant Spaniards in exile.

The Protestant movement in Spain, especially in Andalusia, was perhaps crippled, but certainly not entirely suppressed by the adverse events of the early 1860's. As their existence was surely no longer a secret to the government,[88] all that Spanish Protestants could do, as a security measure, was to conceal the identity of most of their members, as well as the details of their activities. For their further protection, the congregation in any one town would be divided into groups of eighteen,[89] so that if one company were discovered, the rest might be able to escape undetected. Only the most essential records were kept, and even these reportedly contained feigned names. Each small company chose as evangelist the most zealous and pious among them, and these evangelists in turn formed the so-called 'Council of Directors'. Each individual took upon himself the responsibility for propagating the Reformed Faith with zeal, account of the work and the results being given at each meeting, and then communicated to the Directors.[90]

Although the reliability of the source is uncertain, it was at least reported by an English lady, who was in Spain in the win-

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[88] Antonio Carrasco, in Proceedings of the Amsterdam Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (1867), ed. by Edward Steane (London, 1868), p. 143.

[89] This limited number was apparently in accordance with the government ruling passed in 1855, that it would be illegal for non-Catholics to hold religious meetings with more than twenty persons present. (See Howden's various despatches, 7th April to 1st May 1855, F.O. 72. 866. 159, 161, 167, 183, 190.) The number eighteen would then allow a visiting preacher and a companion to come, without exceeding the limit.

[90] See Matamoros to Somerville, dated Sept. 1864, in Minutes of the NBSS Western Committee (3rd Oct. 1864). Cf. The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, vol. V (1884), p. 175.

ter of 1867, that there were 300 Spanish Protestants in Seville, 'a large number' of them in Granada, and 'plenty of protesting Spaniards' in Cadiz, who dared not admit, however, their disbelief in the practices of the Catholic Church.[90] It was also reported by another source that till his death in 1865, Usoz dedicated the last years of his life to the formation in Madrid of a 'Spanish evangelical committee', to defend and propagate the Reformed ideal in Spain.[91] It may therefore be presumed that the Protestant circle under his leadership continued their regular meetings, and pursued the discreet methods they had always followed, of wining to their side sympathetic Spaniards through peaceful discussion and argumentation.

As far as the work in Spain of foreign evangelical societies is concerned, it is known that the Spanish Evangelization Society was represented there at the time by its active agent, the engineer Clough.[92] It is also certain that the Plymouth Brethren began their first serious attempts to set up a mission in Spain during this period. Chapman, who had earlier been mentioned as having contemplated such a mission in 1838, accompanied to Spain in 1863 two lay teacher-missionaries, Messrs William Gould and George Lawrence.[93] Perhaps through the suggestion of Matamoros, whom they met in Bayonne after the latter's release from prison, Gould and Lawrence set up

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[90] Anon, A Winter Tour in Spain, pp. 170, 181, 251.

[91] Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, p. 193.

[92] To readers of the Spanish Evangelical Record, Clough was more popularly known under his code-name 'Sigma'. For more details of his work, see Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 147-61.

[93] Hardly anything is known about Lawrence's life, but Gould is reported to have previously been an evangelist in England and Australia. See La Luz, vol. II (Aug. 27, 1870), p. 4. Cf. John Daniels to the editor of The Christian Standard, dated Barcelona, 15th May 1874, in vol. IV (June 3, 1874), p. 116.

their mission station in Barcelona.[94] Strong Catholic opposition, however, made real progress impossible. In 1865, they were obliged to flee the country,[95] about the same time as the flight of a merchant from Liverpool, Mr Legh B. Armstrong, who had also engaged in proselytizing activities.[96] Little else is known of the work of other individual Protestant workers, although one Mr David Evans was reported in 1860 to have sold Bibles in Barcelona,[97] and a British-Spaniard named Sr Alicante Walpole was said to have personally circulated in the next few years no less than 60,000 Scriptures and tracts.[98]

What seems to be the most successful work in Spain by a British evangelical society at this time was that of the National Bible Society of Scotland, in cooperation with the Spanish Protestant exiles. As briefly mentioned earlier, this body was the result of a merger of Scottish Bible societies in 1860, in which those of Edinburgh and Glasgow were the largest components.[99] Soon after the union, the Directors of the National Bible Society seriously considered the possibility of embarking upon new endeavours in Spain. Thus, in 1862 an attempt was made to send to that country a thousand copies of a revised Valera Testament edition, printed the previous year.

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94 See Lawrence, The Aurora in Spain, pp. 43, 47.

95 F. Roy Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement (Exeter, 1968), p. 189. Cf. Araujo Garcia and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 65. Cf. also Holmes, Brother Indeed: The Life of Robert Cleaver Chapman, p. 84.

96 Armstrong, in Christian Work, vol. II, n.s. (1868), p. 559. Cf. Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 202-203.

97 See Consul Baker's despatch, Barcelona, 11th May 1860, F.O. 72. 987. 18.

98 Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 146-47.

99 For details, see Somerville, From Iona to Dunblane: The Story of the National Bible Society of Scotland to 1948, pp. 31-32.

Refused entry by customs officials, these Testaments were deposited for a while at Bordeaux. It was not until after 1865 that these were circulated, by one of Matamoros' co-exiles, who was appointed by the National Bible Society as colporteur among the 5,000 Spaniards residing in southern France.[100]

It was toward the end of 1864 that the National Bible Society cooperated with the Spanish exiles in clandestinely printing in Malaga an edition of the Valera Testament. Based on a scheme prepared by Matamoros,[101] the plan, as finally adopted, was for a Protestant printer, named D. Ramon Giral, to print 3,000 copies of the Testament at a press hidden in his house.[102] Arrangements having been made by the Spanish exiles with their friends in Andalusia, the National Bible Society granted a sum of £150, to cover the cost of materials and binding. Only a few, even in Andalusia, knew of the project. The National Bible Society, in its report for 1865, simply stated that 'an edition of 3000 copies of the Spanish Testament has been printed, and is now ready for distribution.'[103] In later years, this edition was commonly referred to as the 'Malaga Testament'.

Fresh and vigorous Protestant activity in Spain followed the successful completion of this edition. Several new circles of

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[100] Minutes of the NBSS Eastern Committee (18th Dec. 1865).

[101] See Matamoros' letter to Dr A. N. Somerville (one of the directors of the National Bible Society), dated Sept. 1864, in Minutes of the NBSS Eastern Committee (19th Sept. 1864). Cf. Minutes of the Western Committee (3rd Oct. 1864).

[102] For very interesting details connected with the printing of this edition, see A. Carrasco, in Proceedings of the Amsterdam Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, 1867, p. 145. Cf. NBSS Occasional Record, no. 15 (May 1869), p. 218. Cf. also G. A. Frank Knight, The History of the National Bible Society of Scotland. Part I: 1809-1900, p. 148.

[103] Annual NBSS Report (1865), p. 30.

of Spanish evangelicos subsequently were formed in no fewer than ten or so Spanish towns, where the Testaments were circulated. Aside from Malaga, these included Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, Toledo, Seville, Cordoba, Cadiz, Chilcha, Benicarlo, and apparently also Valladolid and Zaragoza, not to mention a great number of villages in the countryside. In less than fifteen months, some 1,530 copies of the 'Malaga Testament' had been sold. When the revolution of 1868 broke out, only about a thousand were left uncirculated.[104]

It is to be noted that the joint endeavour above was between Scottish Presbyterians and the Spanish exiles in France and Switzerland. Just before the 1868 revolution, a relationship of co-operation was entered into between the same parties, although this time with the Spanish exiles in Gibraltar. In particular, this new relationship was between the Spanish Evangelization Society and the so-called 'Reformed Church of Spain', as will be given fuller discussion below.

Since the late 1850's, and especially after 1860, the Spanish Protestant community in Gibraltar had slowly been growing in number. From time to time, there came to join them a few converted priests, who sought refuge in that British territory. Thus, one might mention the ex-Escolapian, Dr Juan Bautista Cabrera,[105] whose decision

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104 Annual NBSS Report (1868), p. 24. See also NBSS Occasional Record, no. 13 (Nov.,1868), p. 192.

105 Cabrera (1837-1916) ranked with Antonio Carrasco as the best trained Spanish Protestant minister at this time. Educated at Valencia and Albarracin, he was an outstanding theologian in his own right, and was quite at home in four languages other than his native tongue, namely, Greek, Hebrew, English and Italian. Upon arrival in Gibraltar, he was employed by the Anglo-Continental Society (which was designed to propagate the principles of the Anglican Church), in the translation of several theological treatises into Spanish. For more details, see Lord Plunket's introduction to The Divine Offices of the

to embrace Protestantism was hastened by his disgust at the persecutions in Andalusia in 1860. There were also others, like the ex-Franciscans, D. Pablo Sanchez Ruiz and D. Antonio Vallespinosa; the ex-Capuchin, D. Francisco Orejon Delgado; and the ex-Jesuit D. Antonio Simo Soler.[106] Upon the invitation of Cabrera, there also came about 1865 another Spanish priest, D. Antonio Aguayo y Molina,[107] who had been excommunicated for his attempts to lead the Spanish clergy into a schism from Rome. Though Aguayo ultimately did not join the Protestants, he nevertheless declared himself to be their staunch ally, as he was to reaffirm in 1870, when ephemeral attempts were made to establish the so-called 'Spanish Old Catholic Church'. Of this, more will be said later.

Ruet having been transferred to a new Spanish mission in North Africa, the mantle of leadership in Gibraltar naturally fell upon Cabrera. As Spanish events beginning 1866 gradually gave definite indications of an imminent political change, which was expected to bring about religious liberty, the Spanish Protestant exiles in Gibraltar took steps to prepare themselves for such an event. Cabrera reconstituted the different Spanish Protestant congregations there, now numbering several hundred all in all, into the aforementioned 'Reformed Church of Spain' (Iglesia Española Reformada). This took place in April 1868, just five months before the Spanish revolution,

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Spanish Reformed Church (London, 1882), p. xxi. Cf. Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. X, p. 207.

[106] For more details about these other converted Spanish priests, see Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, pp. 232f. Cf. Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, passim. Cf. also Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 488f.

[107] On Aguayo's attempts to bring about this schism, see ibid. vol. VII, pp. 370-71. See also Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, pp. 235-36.

which opened the country freely to Protestant missions. Cabrera himself was unanimously elected president of the Central Assembly of this Church.[108]

The Iglesia Española Reformada saw herself as the true continuation of the old Mozarabic Church, before this came under the domination of Rome. In a statement drafted about the middle of 1868, the members of the Central Assembly defined their task as to 'preach the pure Word of God as it was left to us by the Apostles, and transmitted to us by the primitive Christians,' and to 'labour with the Divine aid to make the light of the true faith shine in our Spain -- to make the ancient Spanish Church regain its brightness.'[109] More particularly, it was their avowed aim 'to unify all efforts directed for the spread of the Gospel in Spain -- to adopt one version of the Bible, a Confession of Faith, and Code of Discipline, so as to bring about the desired union among Spanish Reformed Churches -- to form auxiliary subaltern assemblies in convenient places for the advancement of the Gospel -- to appeal to all Spanish reformed ecclesiastics[110] to join us -- to ordain or to procure the ordination of such individuals of approved godliness and efficiency as the number of the faithful require.'[111]

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[108] The other members of the Central Assembly were: D. Manuel Hernandez (secretary), Soler, Sanchez, Alhama, and Clough, who was the agent of the Spanish Evangelization Society at Seville. See The Original Secession Magazine, vol. IX (1869), p. 392.

[109] The Declaration Set Forth by the Central Consistory of the Spanish Reformed Church. With some account of the members and their meetings at Gibraltar, on the 25th April and the 1st June, 1868, tr. from the Spanish by A. R. C. Dallas (London, 1868), p. 19.

[110] This apparently referred to those Spanish ecclesiastics, who were either schismatic, like Padre Aguayo, or who had secretly embraced Protestant or some other heterodox views, as the alumbrados (illuminati) mentioned by Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 366f.

[111] As quoted by The Original Secession Magazine, vol. IX (1869), p. 392.

It can thus be seen that this Reformed Church of Spain of 1868 held promise of being the true fulfilment of the Segunda Reforma. Her self-understanding, her hopes and aspirations followed closely along the lines of the reformed-church ideal, held at various times previously by such Catholic ecclesiastics, as Canal, Amat, Garcia, Blanco, Aguayo, and even by the Jansenists at the turn of the century. That this Reformed Church of 1868 was too closely identified with Protestantism certainly posed difficulties for those Spanish reformists, whose primary aim was simply separation from Rome. Yet these difficulties were not necessarily insurmountable, as such an alliance with foreign Protestantism, in the first place, was apparently merely an expediency. Later, this might be reduced to simply maintaining fraternal relations with Protestant Churches abroad, as the Reformed Church of Spain gained strength and permanent roots.

The relationship entered into by the Iglesia Española Reformada and the Spanish Evangelization Society, whereby the members of the former's Central Assembly officially became agents of the latter,[112] posed an interesting situation on the very eve of the opening of Spain to the free entry of Protestant missions. While the Spanish Protestants had a clear vision of a reformed and yet truly Spanish Church, if possible, free from foreign influences, this was not quite the idea of their friends abroad, particularly in Britain. While it is true that among British advocates of Spanish evangelization, there were those who would have been content with simply financially supporting such a Church as that of Cabrera purported to be,[113] the vast majority apparently conceived of a Spanish Reformed Church

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[112] See Christian Work, vol. V (1871), p. 270.

[113] Ibid.

patterned after the evangelical Protestant ideal in Britain. It appears that when the latter spoke of Spanish evangelization, they rather thought in terms of importing British evangelical Protestantism into Spain. This had been demonstrated years before by the Wesleyan Methodist mission in Gibraltar and Cadiz.

Mora's 'Spanish Reformed Church' of 1855 was distinctively indigenous enough, as to be able to draw into herself Spanish religious reformists of various shades of opinion, however they called themselves -- Cristianos evangelicos, Catolicos netos, or even Protestantes, in the way they understood this last term. However, it was Ruet's 'Reformed Church of Spain' in Gibraltar of 1858, which introduced definitely foreign influences into the reformed-church ideal.[114] Cabrera's Church of 1868 sought to purify this ideal, according to the original lines of the Segunda Reforma. If this Church had had enough time to evolve her own creedal system, polity, and practices, with the least influence from abroad, the future course of Spanish evangelization might have taken a different direction. But the opening of Spain to the free entry of foreign Protestant societies in 1868 determined the particular course taken by the religious reform movement in that country.

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[114] Thus, the petition of Ruet's congregation to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland for his ordination expressed the petitioners' belief that 'the doctrines, the discipline, and the government of the Free Church of Scotland, are in accordance with the Divine Word, reformed from Popery.' (This was undoubtedly due to the presence and influence of the Scottish Free Church chaplain, the Rev. Andrew Sutherland). See 'Petition from Gibraltar,' Assembly Papers of the Free Church of Scotland (1858), p. 2.

will accept him on condition of his proving himself worthy of it. According to Federal theology, this was the purpose of the covenent of works. God promised Adam eternal life on condition of obedience.

(b) It is thought that Christ fulfilled the law which Adam broke, and so established man's claim to eternal life. Although it is a manifestation of His free grace that He does this, it is the covenant of works which He fulfilled and so it is impossible to escape the idea that it is by works - albeit the works of Christ - that man stands in God's favour.

(c) It is thought that men now enter into God's grace <u>if</u> they repent and believe. It is difficult to avoid the idea that it is by repentance and faith that one becomes worthy of grace. For if man must first establish a claim to God's grace, and if Christ has done this by His work on man's behalf, it seems appropriate that men should establish their 'interest' in Him by their own work of repentance and faith.[1] Of course, repentance and faith were never actually called works, but they were thought of as means of controlling God's grace. Since God and man at first stand related neutrally and man must establish his claim on God by righteous works, faith as such can never be that which God reckons as

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1. Cf. J. Fraser of Brae, <u>A Treatise of Justifying Faith</u> (Edinburgh, 1679), p. 13: '...how flat and dull make they the business and mystery of the Gospel, who maintain that as the Lord required perfect Obedience, as the Condition of the first Covenant, so he requireth a cordial assent to the truths of the Gospel, and a sincere Obedience flowing therefrom, as the Condition of the Second Covenant.'

mystical ideas of a comparatively unknown German philosopher, Karl C. F. Krause (1781-1832), may be regarded as an attempt to find a new basis for moral regeneration, which the advocates of this movement did not find in traditional Catholicism.[2] For kindred reasons, the revolutionary leaders of Spain opted for religious freedom. It was their opinion that the religious lay at the base of the civil liberties, which had advanced other countries, as Britain and France. If Spain were to move forward and place herself on equal footing with such countries, she could no longer afford, therefore, to disregard the principle of religious liberty.[3]

For a number of years, advocates of Spanish evangelization had hoped that a Spanish revolution, such as that of 1868, would bring about some measure of religious liberty in Spain.[4] General Prim, one of the rebel chieftains, had often remarked while in exile

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[2] For more on Krausism, especially among professors at the University of Madrid, see J. Lopez Morillas, El krausismo español, perfil de una ventura intelectual (Mexico, 1956). See also Ma. Dolores Gomez Molleda, Los reformadores de la España contemporanea (Madrid, 1966). For a brief, but good critical treatment of the subject, see Carr, Spain 1808-1939, pp. 301-304.

[3] This is reflected in Marshall Serrano's address at the opening of the Constituent Cortes in 1869 (see The Annual Register (1869), p. 254). On the other hand, the most rational defence of Catholic unity, was perhaps expressed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago. Writing to the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, he argued that the repression of outward manifestations of anti-Catholic beliefs, 'although of itself not enough to change inward convictions, serves to restrain and prevent the propagation of evil doctrines; and this is indubitably a less evil than to establish the saturnalia of a thousand creeds of religion . . .' As quoted in E. B. Elliott, Controversy with the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, on the Great Questions between Protestantism and Romanism; in Letters between the Cardinal and the Rev. Alexander Dallas (London, 1870), p. 20.

[4] Thus, Dr Guillaume de Felice, dean of the Protestant College at Montauban, said in 1866: 'Who knows whether, in a few years, a popular revolution may not introduce full liberty of conscience and worship beyond the Pyrenees? This is possible and even probable.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. VII, n.s. (1866), p. 539.

in England that such liberty would surely be among the changes his party would introduce in Spain, if ever they came to power.[5]

Although in the first few days immediately following the revolution, many things seemed to hang precariously on the balance, the configuration of the new state of affairs as regards religious freedom soon rapidly took shape. In a series of anticlerical decrees, the Provisional Government flexed their 'gallican' sinews, and struck several successive blows against certain particularly hated religious institutions. First, the Jesuits were suppressed and their properties sequestrated to the state; all other gains since 1856 of various other religious orders were also nullified.[6] Then liberty of education was proclaimed, by which intellectual freedom was affirmed and educational institutions freed from clerical control.[7] These were followed by the proclamation of the absolute liberty of the press.

Undoubtedly, however, what was more positively significant for Protestantism was the manifesto to the nation, which the Provisional Government issued on the 25th of October. In effect, this manifesto promised to put into practice the various popular demands expressed during the revolution, namely, universal suffrage, trial by jury, freedom of the press and of association, and -- the 'most important freedom of all'[8] -- religious freedom. That the Provisional

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[5] 65th BFBS Report (1869), p. 141.

[6] Carro Martinez, La constitucion española de 1869, pp. 97-98.

[7] Ibid., p. 102. Cf. The Annual Register (1868), p. 216. This, incidentally, promised to be favourable to Protestant missions, for the decree granted to any qualified party the freedom to establish and operate schools in the country.

[8] Manifesto of the Provisional Government (25th Oct. 1868), in Nicolas Ma. Serrano and Melchor Pardo, Anales de la guerra civil (España desde 1868 a 1876) (2 vols.; Madrid, 1875-76), vol. I, pp. 601-606. As early as October 1867, a Democrat and former Cortes deputy

Government meant to keep its word was shown not long thereafter, when General Serrano declared that Jews and adherents of all other religions were now free to come to Spain, and practise their respective forms of worship.[9] One of that government's first acts also was to approve the applications of two Protestants to erect chapels in the city of Seville.[10] Thus, even long before the Constituent Cortes opened in 1869, it was already apparent that among its most important acts would be the declaration of religious liberty, or at least, of a generous measure of religious toleration.

Indeed, one of the two most hotly debated questions in the Cortes was that on religion, the other being the form of the government. Tension and heat were at once apparent from the start of the religious debate. This occupied one-fourth of the time spent on the entire Constitution, and had to be extended beyond what was originally alloted for its deliberation. The subject evoked, as a recent writer put it, some of the most notable polemics in the entire history of Spanish parliamentarism.[11] Menendez y Pelayo characterized the entire discussion over the issue, as 'not a political debate, but a fisticuff of impieties and blasphemies.'[12] This was obviously in

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had expressed the view that the establishment of religious liberty should be the most fundamental norm (primerisima medida) of a successful revolution. See Eugenio Garcia Ruiz, La revolucion en España, (Paris, 1867), pp. 144f.

[9] Serrano to the Bordeaux Committee of the Universal Israelite Alliance, dated 1st Dec. 1868, in Serrano and Pardo, Anales de la guerra civil, vol. I, p. 724.

[10] The two applicants were a Mr Cunningham, a merchant from Glasgow, and the Rev. Henry C. Hall, missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union. See NBSS Occasional Record, no. 13 (Nov. 1868), p. 189. See also Christian Work, vol. II, n.s. (1868), p. 559.

[11] Carro Martinez, La constitucion española de 1869, p. 226.

[12] Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 465.

reference to the fact that the extreme left no longer had any qualms about voicing the most radical opinions in the Cortes.[13]

Naturally, the few Carlist deputies raised their voices for Catholic unity, in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats, who proposed absolute religious liberty and the complete separation of Church and State. Between these two extremes stood the other deputies. Some advocated religious liberty, though not the separation of Church and State; others, conditional religious liberty; and the rest, simply religious toleration.[14] Outside the Cortes, the discussions on the issue showed the same intensity and heat. The entire scene was reminiscent of that in 1855, only that this time, there was apparently more belligerence between the protagonists.

Judging from the composition of the Constituent Cortes,[15] it seemed inevitable that a liberal religious clause would be passed.

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[13] Thus, one Republican deputy, the atheist Dr Francisco Suñer y Capdevila, in presenting his amendment to the already liberal religious 'base', proclaimed a guerra a Dios ('war against God'), and asked on behalf of every Spaniard and resident foreigner the right and freedom 'to profess any religion, or not to profess any' at all. He also 'insulted' (according to his opponents) the Virgin, by saying that she bore other children after Jesus, then attempting to read the Gospels to prove this. A fierce uproar ensued. When the Cortes president indignantly repelled his statement, Suñer walked out of the chamber, followed by the other Republican deputies. It is interesting, as Carro Martinez has noted (La constitucion española de 1869, p. 227n.), that the 'insulting phrase', although reproduced by I. A. Bermejo in his Historia de la interinidad (1875-77), has been deliberately omitted from the Diario of the Cortes. See also J. Viliesid's report, in The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church, vol. II (1869), p. 458.

[14] Blasco Ibanez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, p. 413.

[15] The various vested interests in the Cortes were represented by the following groups: 1) the extreme right, composed of 18 Carlists, 14 'isabelinos', and 69 Unionists; 2) the centre right, 156 Progressives; 3) the centre left, 20 Democrats; and 4) the extreme left, 69 Republicans. See Carro Martinez, La constitucion española de 1869, p. 115.

But a totally unexpected event, while the debate was in progress, assured the triumph of religious liberty in Spain. Workmen in Madrid, in cutting through a broad mound, known as the Quemadero de la Cruz and traditionally identified as the burning-place of the Inquisition, came upon an interesting discovery. They found, alternating with sand and earth, two black strata of ashes, containing human bones and instruments of torture, of which an iron collar received the greatest attention.[16]

Great was the popular excitement in Spain, when the discovery was announced in the newspapers. It was generally believed that these were the gruesome evidences of a past auto-de-fe.[17] The occasion provided radicals a new opportunity to hurl fresh attacks against the priesthood, and against religion, in general.[18] No other event could have been more timely for the discussions in progress in the Cortes. The libre-cultistas naturally employed it to great advantage. It also occasioned some of the most impressive rhetorics from the liberal deputies. A young Republican, in a loudly applauded

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[16] For more details, see James Howard Harris (3rd Earl of Malmesbury, Memoirs of an Ex-Minister (new ed.; London, 1885), pp. 652-53. Cf. Rule, History of the Inquisition, vol. I, p. 291. Cf. also Smith, A Modern Apostle, pp. 115-16.

[17] In answer to doubts whether there ever was an auto-de-fe in Madrid, Rule showed in 1874 that there was indeed a record of at least one such event. It reportedly took place on June 30, 1860, a Sunday, to entertain the 17-year-old King Charles II and his French bride with festivities and spectacles. Eighteen 'Judaizers' and one 'Morisco' were burnt alive, along with the remains of ten others long dead, two Christian heretics and eight Jews. See Rule, History of the Inquisition, vol. I, pp. 291-308, citing Jose del Olmo, Relacion historica del auto general de fe que se celebro en Madrid en este año de 1680 con asistencia del Rey N.S. Carlos II., y de las magestades de la Reyna N.S., y la Augustisima Reyna Madre, siendo inquisidor general el excelentisimo Señor D. Diego Sarmiento de Valladares (Madrid, 1680).

[18] See letter from Madrid, dated 12th May, 1869, in Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 184.

speech, said that the metal in that iron collar just unearthed, was by comparison softer and more humane and compassionate than the hearts of those used it, 'the infamous executioners of an infamous theocracy.'[19]

The eloquent witnesses against religious intolerance given up by this old site of the Quemadero added the final measure to the seething hatred of anticlericalists toward the priesthood. The murder (believed to be clerically-instigated) of the Civil Governor of Burgos, in the cathedral of that diocese, while the man was in the course of his official duties,[20] was still fresh in everybody's mind. All these above, and the eloquence of such Cortes deputies, as Pi y Margall, Figuerola, and Castelar,[21] easily swayed the balance in favour of religious liberty. The religious clause, which was finally incorporated into the Constitution of 1869, read:

> Art. 21. The nation binds itself to maintain the worship and the ministers of the Catholic religion.
>
> The exercise, public or private, of any other religion is guaranteed to all foreigners resident in Spain, with no further limitations except the universal rules of morality and law.
>
> Should any Spaniards profess any other than the Catholic religion, all the provisions of the foregoing paragraphs are applicable to them.[22]

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[19] D. Jose Echegaray, as quoted by Carlos Cambronero, Las cortes de la revolucion (Madrid, n.d.), p. 65. See also the British ambassador's comments on this speech, Sir Austen H. Layard's unpublished The Story of My Mission to Spain, vol. I, fols. 43-44 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38932).

[20] For details, see Jeronimo Becker, Relaciones diplomaticas entre España y la Santa Sede durante el siglo XIX (Madrid, 1908), pp. pp. 238-45. Cf. The Annual Register (1869), p. 254.

[21] For the pertinent texts, see Cambronero, Las cortes de la revolucion, pp. 37f. See also Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, pp. 414-31. Cf. Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 237-38.

[22] See Guzman, España, entre las dictaduras y la democracia, p. 192.

Thus, virtual religious freedom was finally established in Spain. This was the first time, since the sixteenth century, that this principle became an integral part of the fundamental law of the land. In a sense, therefore, the Constitution of 1869 changed the religious basis, in which Spanish society was traditionally understood. The age-old dictum was negated, that 'to be a son of Spain was to be a son of the Church,'[23] that to be a Spaniard was to be a Catholic, and never anything else. The law now recognized the rights of the religious dissenter, or even of the apostate.[24] The net effect of this change, and of the practical disestablishment of the Church, was to reduce all religious systems to the same level, in the eyes of the law. This gave Protestantism, therefore, an opportunity, not only to exist in Spain, but also to propagate itself, as would never otherwise have been, in view of the overwhelming forces of the Catholic Church. As to how well Protestantism took advantage of this opportunity will be the subject of the following pages.

British Evangelical Response

As soon as the news of the September 1868 revolution was heard, British advocates of Spanish evangelization, especially those in Scotland, looked forward expectantly to the free entry of evangelical missions to Spain. Almost invariably, they saw that revolution as a providential event. Typical was the statement by The Presbyter-

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[23] Sanchez de Toca, as quoted in Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. LXII, pp. 504-505.

[24] Ibid. This is also shown in the Spanish Foreign Minister's statement that 'Spain, as a liberal nation, does not wish to place any obstacle in the way of the legal acts of any religious community.' As quoted by Layard, in his despatch to Lord Clarendon, 14th Dec. 1869, F.O. 72. 1211. 11.

ian (Edinburgh), that 'God has marvelously opened the door; it will be foolish as well as disgraceful if we do not at once seek to enter in.'[25] Yet another Scottish religious journal declared that God was turning 'to Protestant Britain, to Protestant America' -- in both 'the old world as in the new,'[26] to bring the Gospel to 'benighted' Spain. Many more evangelical sources might be quoted,[27] but it will suffice to cite the jubilant statement by a correspondent of the National Bible Society of Scotland, that 'all Spain is at our feet.'[28]

What impressed advocates of Spanish evangelization abroad was the fact that, even under the provisional Spanish government, there was indeed a great measure of religious freedom, enjoyed by whoever claimed it for themselves. Although the situation then was still uncertain, an Englishman wrote from Madrid at the end of 1868: 'We shall not have, perhaps, full liberty of worship, but we shall have assuredly, as in Italy, a full toleration; and for the moment this is sufficient for us to work.'[29] It was apparently believed that surely, nothing but the simple limitations of their resources could now hinder Protestant missions from entering Spain. If there was uncertainty as to how long the door would remain open, this, on the whole, only spurred the advocates of Spanish evangelization to make haste, while the opportunity lasted. As a leading United Presbyterian minister put it, it was neither wise nor safe 'to lose even a single

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[25] No. 7 (Nov. 1868), p. 14. This was a periodical published by certain Scottish Free Church ministers and laymen.

[26] Reformed Presbyterian Magazine (1869), p. 253.

[27] See, for example, Reformed Presbyterian Witness, vol. II (1868), p. 527. Cf. Annual NBSS Report (1868), p. 23.

[28] NBSS Occasional Record, no. 17 (Jan. 1870), p. 232.

[29] Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, no. 79 (Jan. 1869), p. 38.

day in taking the fullest possible advantages of the opportunity we now enjoy.'[30]

But if it was comparatively easy to raise funds in Britain,[31] it was altogether another matter, when it came to finding the right men to send as missionaries to Spain. It was not that no one was willing. It was simply a case of hardly anyone being proficient enough in the Spanish language, to be able to do the most rudimentary tasks of a mission to Spaniards. 'It is to be regretted,' said a Scottish Free Church writer at the end of 1868, 'that among the pious and learned clergy of the Free Church, there seems to be none able to speak the Castilian tongue.'[32] Even after a year later, the National Bible Society of Scotland also found that not one of the fifty applicants for its agency in Madrid knew Spanish. The man eventually chosen for the post was selected on account of his 'known and proved facility in acquiring languages.'[33] Even the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, which had been the first society to open a regular mission in Spain, did not have an available missionary until late in 1870. In fact, the only British society, which had ready workers for Spain, was the Spanish Evangelization Society, as noted in the

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[30] NBSS Occasional Record, no. 17 (Jan. 1870), p. 232.

[31] Thus, from 1869 to 1871, the British and Foreign Bible Society raised a total of £8,133 in a special campaign for funds to print and circulate a million Spanish Gospels. The National Bible Society of Scotland also launched a special 'Spanish Fund', which brought in about a thousand pounds by the end of 1869. Cf. Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. III, p. 173.

[32] Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, no. 78 (Jan. 1869), p. 12. On the importance of this missionary qualification, one said: 'The Spaniard cannot bear to hear his language spoken badly; he is too much accustomed to that eloquence which seems to be the natural gift of all his countrymen.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 115.

[33] NBSS Occasional Record, no. 17 (Jan. 1870), p. 233.

preceding chapter. Thus, in the meantime, British evangelical societies interested in opening work in Spain, secured the services of Spanish Protestants returning from exile, and of the handful of volunteer foreign evangelical workers, who were either in Spain at the time of the revolution or went there immediately afterwards.

The Return of the Spanish Exiles and Former Foreign Workers

The immediate task of reopening Protestant work in Spain, or of bringing into the open the clandestine propaganda activities over the previous years, fell upon this motley group of evangelical labourers above. Of the exiles, the first to take action were those nearby at Gibraltar, who were personally assured by General Prim that they were now free to return to their country.[34] They were soon followed by other exiles in Portugal, North Africa, England, France, and Switzerland. Only a few, like Mora, chose to remain in Lisbon and other cities in southern France, in order to minister to Spanish Protestant congregations in those places. By the beginning of 1869, the Protestant exiles who had returned had begun preaching evangelical doctrines in the cities of Seville, Cadiz, Cordoba, Malaga, Granada, Cartagena, Barcelona, Madrid, and Valladolid. In these efforts, they were assisted by other Protestant Spaniards, who had managed to remain in Spain, despite the persecutions of 1860 to 1863. Very early in the work, Seville in the south, and Madrid, in the north, emerged as the chief centres of Protestant activities in Spain.

Alongside these former exiles were the foreign volunteer

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[34] For interesting details of the meeting at Algeciras between Prim and three members of the General Assembly of the Spanish Reformed Church (namely, Cabrera, Alhama, and Hernandez), see Cabrera's report, in The Original Secession Magazine, vol. IX (1869), p. 392.

our place without any co-operation on our part and, in the face of our hostility, suffered for us. He not only took our place, but did for us there a perfect and complete work. There remains nothing whatever for us to add to it, yet this exclusive perfection is the ground on which our standing before God and on our own feet rests. Christ does away with our disqualified being and gives us a place in Himself. The fact that His work needs no addition on our part relieves us of anxiety and gives us the confidence boldly to enter into the place He has for us.

In order to open up this place for guilty man, God had to act decisively in His creation. Only if He were God could He do that which was not relative and ineffectual; only if He were man could He alter and convert man. The incarnation of God is thus the presupposition of the conversion of man.[1] It is the incarnation of God Himself, God in person. Only thus could a creation falling into the abyss be rescued. And it is God as servant, for only thus could God take responsibility for man. This involves the Church in the astounding confession that God (in the Son) became a servant.

That God actually became man and a servant is something which can be said only because God has in fact done it. Barth says again and again that the Church must not tell God what He can or cannot do, but must let itself be told by Him who He is and what He does.[2]

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1. In this way the conversion of man in Jesus Christ is 'the revolution of God', as opposed to all 'immanent judgments and crises and catastrophes and revolutions with their relative and limited killing and making alive...' ibid., p. 562.

2. e.g. ibid., p. 192; cf. also: 'what can all our statements be but a serious pointing away to the One who will Himself tell those who have ears to hear who He is?' ibid., p. 210.

If the Church allows itself to be told who God is, it sees God in Jesus bearing the sin of the world on the cross. It sees God entering into man's plight,

> making His own not only the guilt of man but also his rejection and condemnation, giving Himself to bear the divinely righteous consequences of human sin, not merely affirming the divine sentence on man, but allowing it to be fulfilled on Himself.
> (C.D. IV/1, p. 175)

Do we really dare to say that it was God who suffered in this way? Barth answers that to take offence at this point is to miss the glory of God and to question our salvation. He first considers this mystery of God from the point of view of the outer movement of God, the mystery of the Son's 'deity in His work ad extra.'[1] If there is thought of diminishing the deity of God in Jesus 'what sense can there be in talking about the reconciliation of the world with God in Him?'[2] He then considers this mystery in relation to the inner mystery of God. Any thought that by going to the cross God abandoned His deity or compromised His identity with Himself (this possibility would set God in opposition to Himself and make Him contradict Himself[3]) would not only limit the glory of God, but would render Him unable to be our Saviour:

> Of what value would His deity be to us if - instead of crossing in that deity the very real gulf between Himself and us - He left that deity behind Him in His coming to us....In the folly of such a contradiction to Himself He could obviously only confirm and strengthen us in [our] antithesis to Him....
> (C.D. IV/1, pp. 185-6)

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1. ibid., p. 177.
2. ibid., p. 183.
3. Barth points out that the more seriously we take the cry on the cross, the more serious does the temptation to think in this fashion become (ibid., p. 185). Yet to do so would be to become guilty of 'supreme blasphemy'.

of his own. A Miss Sandford, from Erie, Pennsylvania, also came in 1870, and carried on another independent work at her own expense.

In Madrid, these foreign volunteers joined hands with the former exiles Ruet, Carrasco,[43] and Orejon, and many other Protestant Spaniards and Central Americans of Spanish descent. Of the other members of this motley company, one might especially mention the Puerto Rican statesman and abolitionist, D. Julio Vizcarrondo, and the Cuban writer, orator, and ex-priest, D. Tristan de Jesus Medina y Sanchez,[44] as well as D. Francisco Cordoba y Lopez. Cordoba, who was editor of a democrata journal, together with his entire editorial staff, embraced

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1867, to do research in sixteenth-century Spanish literature, and was in Paris until July 1869. For his later contributions to Spanish literature, Knapp in 1877 was made Knight Commander of the Grand Cross of Isabella the Catholic. On his return to the United States in 1879, he joined Yale University, and later the University of Chicago. For more details, see Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), Dictionary of American Biography (20 vols., New York, 1928-1936), vol. X, p. 454.

[43] Carrasco (1843-1873) was one of the best educated of the Spanish exiles. Unlike the converted ex-priests, as Cabrera, his education was received in Protestant institutions. From 1863, he studied theology at the Free Church Theological Seminary in Geneva, under Professors C.-L. Pronier and J. H. Merle d'Aubigne, and was in Tübingen in connection with his doctoral studies, when the Spanish revolution of 1868 broke out. Early in 1870, he received his doctor's degree in theology from Geneva, and was also ordained by the Free Church in that city. For more details, see Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, pp. 765. Cf. F. Fliedner, Leaves from Spain, no. 1 (March 1873), p. 6. Cf. also Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, p. 247.

[44] Vizcarrondo (1830-1889) was already a Protestant, when he went to Spain in 1864. He associated himself with the Democratas, and was one of the founders of the Spanish Abolitionist Society. For his revolutionary activities, he was forced to flee to France, but returned to Spain after September 1868. In later years, he was several times Cortes deputy for Puerto Rico, and was also editor or co-editor of several Spanish and Latin American journals. On the other hand, Medina, also a Democrata, was a member of the academic circle of the Madrid Athenaeum. In 1869, he ranked among the chief converts of Protestantism. But going through several periods of vacillation between Protestantism and Catholicism, he subsequently took an apparently unsectarian Christian position. For more details, see Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. XXXIV, p. 134; vol. LXIX, p. 816. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 500-501.

Protestantism, and placed themselves under the direction of the Anglican chaplain to the British embassy.[45]

Ruet and Carrasco began the first attempts at open propaganda in Madrid, the former working closely with the French pastor, Curie. Then in November 1868, Armstrong and Campbell quietly and without fanfare opened their respective homes for Protestant worship, gathering each Sunday afternoon sizeable congregations of Spanish Protestants and inquirers,[46] including former associates of Usoz. To give unity to Protestant work in northern Spain, and in anticipation of the arrival of more evangelical workers, there was organized at the end of 1868, at Curie's suggestion, a twelve-man 'Madrid Committee of Spanish Evangelization', of which the first president was Vizcarrondo.[47]

Thus, even long before the arrival of the regularly appointed missionaries from abroad, Spanish Protestants and foreign volunteer workers had settled and begun work in the chief cities of Spain. These included Valladolid, Madrid, Barcelona, Cartagena, Malaga, Granada, Cordoba, Cadiz, and Seville. In many places elsewhere in the country, other Protestant resident foreigners also lent a generous hand, in preparing the way for the coming of regular missionaries and evangelists.[48] It is not possible to determine precise-

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[45] Ibid., vol. VII, p. 500. It is not known, however, exactly what role the Anglican chaplain, the Rev. James R. Whyte, played in Spanish evangelization at this time.

[46] Letter to Samuel Southall, of Leeds, dated Madrid, 15th Jan. 1869, in Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 57.

[47] UPC Missionary Record, vol. III (1870), p. 137.

[48] In some instances, it was these foreign residents, who offered their homes for use as preaching places, when local Catholic landlords would not let any of their premises for Protestant purposes. Thus did one Mrs Kirk, a Scottish widow, who had lived more than

ly the influence and help that these individuals, who had long been established in their places of residence, were able to give to the Protestant endeavour in Spain at this time. But it is quite evident that in many places, the regular evangelical workers who came later would not have been as successful as they were, without this valuable assistance.

Agencies of the Various Bible and Tract Societies

The various Bible and Tract societies, which had always been at the vanguard of evangelical missionary effort, immediately set up agencies in Spain, by engaging the services of those workers, who were already in that country. Thus, the British and Foreign Bible Society appointed Curie its agent at Madrid, and also requested its agent at Lisbon to take charge momentarily over the work in southern Spain.[49] The National Bible Society of Scotland did not employ a paid agent in Spain until the end of 1869, when it sent the Rev. John Jameson, a United Presbyterian minister, to Madrid.[50] But soon after September 1868, it engaged as 'correspondents', to receive shipments of Scriptures and to organize colportage, such men as Clough in Seville; Campbell, Armstrong, Lawrence, and Gladstone in Madrid; and the Rev. John C. Coventry, the Scottish Free Church chaplain in Gibral-

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twenty years in Puerto Real (See The Presbyterian, vol. II (1870), p. 78). Other reports also mention such men, as Mr Duncan Shaw, the British consul at Cordoba, and other English residents of that town and neighbouring Linares, as having assisted the labours of Protestant missionaries and evangelists. Mention has also been made of a Mr Cooper, an employee of the Rio Tinto Mining Company, in Huelva, who directed voluntarily a local evangelical mission in his area. Cf. Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, passim.

[49] Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. III, p. 169. Cf. 65th BFBS Report (1869), pp. 141-42. Cf. also 55th ABS Report (1871), p. 120.

[50] See Minutes of the NBSS Eastern Committee (1st Nov. 1869).

tar.[51] Similarly, the Trinitarian Bible Society found coadjutors in Clough and Lawrence; while the Religious Tract Society entrusted its work to Armstrong, who soon organized a complex network of tract distribution throughout the country.[52]

Through Curie, Carrasco, and Ruet at Madrid, the French Bible and Tract societies also managed to circulate their own literature in Spain. So were their American counterparts, through missionaries from the United States. Both the American Bible and Tract societies had long been interested in Spain,[53] and it will be recalled that in 1856, both had engaged Mora to be their Spanish agent. When late in 1868 the American and Foreign Christian Union[54] sent a missionary to Seville, the American Bible Society took the opportunity to circulate in Spain through him a total of 5,000 Spanish Testaments.[55] However, this society was content to assume a merely supporting role in the Spanish field. This was because of its general policy to work in close harmony with other kindred societies, and because at the time it believed that its sister-societies from Britain were able and willing to

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[51] Annual NBSS Report (1869), p. 32.

[52] See Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 149.

[53] The ABS had been interested in the Spanish field since 1818, while the American Tract Society began sending its literature to Spain and Gibraltar as early as the 1830's. In 1836, the former gave a grant of £2,000 to the French and Foreign Bible Society, for the printing and circulation of Spanish Testaments. In succeeding years also, the ABS and its auxiliaries in New York and Philadelphia occasionally sent various quantities of Scriptures for distribution in Spain or Gibraltar. See ABS Reports for 1836, 1837, 1838, and 1847.

[54] This union was founded in New York in 1849, to unite all American denominations in the work of world-wide evangelization. Its early labours were among the alien population of the United States. Abroad, its work was mostly in nominally Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America. See Bliss, The Encyclopedia of Missions (1904 edition), p. 18.

[55] For details, see Henry Otis Dwight, The Centennial History of the American Bible Society (New York, 1916), p. 306.

carry the main burden of Bible work in Spain.[56]

To achieve their objectives, the British Bible and Tract societies established depots in chief Spanish cities, as Madrid, Seville, and Barcelona. In towns where there were already evangelical workers, the services of these men were usually engaged in superintending Bible colportage and tract distribution in their respective areas. The paid colporteurs usually received a fixed salary, plus commission of up to 50 per cent of their sales.[57] It was fortunate that Bible and tract work in Spain during these years was generally free from the rivalries, which in time arose among the other evangelical missionary agencies in Spain. The bitter controversies of early years among the Bible societies had now subsided. To avoid overlapping in colportage, the Bible societies agreed among themselves, 'without rigidly dividing Spain,' to have 'different fields of operation.'[58] As a sign of goodwill among them, it was even possible for one man to serve as agent for two Bible societies at the same time.[59]

The British and Foreign Bible Society chose as its main field the area of north and central Spain. By 1869 it had no less than eighty-six sub-depots outside Madrid.[60] On the other hand, the National Bible Society concentrated its efforts in the south,[61] al-

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[56] Bliss, The Encyclopedia of Missions, vol. I, p. 62.

[57] Minutes of the NBSS Eastern Committee (5th April 1869).

[58] Ibid. (9th Nov. 1868). Cf. Minutes of the NBSS Western Committee (2nd Nov. 1868).

[59] Thus, in 1869 Lawrence was agent for both the National Bible Society and the Trinitarian Bible Society. From 1889 to 1892, Jameson also served in a similar capacity for both the former and for the British and Foreign Bible Society.

[60] Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 162-63.

[61] Annual NBSS Report (1868), pp. 25-26.

though it also had one depot in Valladolid, which it was allowed to keep, as this had been established as early as November 1868. The French and American, and the Trinitarian Bible societies only supplied Scriptures but did not employ colporteurs of their own. Thus, their work was hardly ever in conflict with those of the two other societies from Britain. In this way, the various Bible and Tract societies worked hand in hand for Spanish evangelization. By 1870, there were a total of about 40 colporteurs, working in no less than 75 different cities and towns all over the peninsula, and even across the sea in the Balearic Islands. Their task was simply to disseminate Scriptures and evangelical literature. Preaching and exposition of the Bible lay outside the scope of their labours, as this work properly belonged to the other missionary societies. It was hoped, however, that Scripture and tract circulation would immediately be followed by the coming of regular missionaries and evangelists.

Entry into Spain of the Missionary Societies

While all the above new Protestant beginnings were being made in Spain, the regular foreign missionary societies were also making hasty preparations to come to Spain. In an earlier chapter, it had been shown that previous Protestant missionary attempts in Spain had been mainly by British societies,[62] with a comparatively small effort being exerted from southern France, among those who had been influenced by Haldane and the reveille. But as will be recalled, the 'Matamoros affair' in the early 1860's brought Spain be-

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[62] Unfortunately, the Evangelisches Kirchenlexikon (Göttingen, 1959) does no justice to the efforts made by British evangelical Protestants before 1860, and gives the impression that the first foreign assistance to the Segunda Reforma came from Holland and Germany. See vol. III, p. 1074.

fore the attention of the international Evangelical Alliance, leading to the formation in France, Holland, and Switzerland of several new 'Committees' of Spanish evangelization. These missionary committees, which before 1868 existed mainly to support the Spanish Protestants in exile, now shifted their work to Spain, by financing the labours of the exiles who had returned to their country. However, the foreign evangelical groups, which entered Spain immediately after the revolution, were still predominantly from the British Isles. This was not only because the idea of Spanish evangelization had long taken root in Britain,[63] but also because the 'Matamoros affair' did, in fact, bring into being at least three new British 'Committees' for the evangelization of Spain. These were the London United Committee for Promoting Christian Work in Spain, the Glasgow Committee of Spanish Evangelization, and the Confederate Association for the Diffusion of the Gospel in Spain.

Thus, within two years after the Spanish revolution of 1868, no less than eight British evangelical societies, committees, or mission boards began work for the first time in Spain. Apart from the three groups just mentioned, these included the Board of Foreign Missions of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, the Continental Committee of the Irish Presbyterian Church, the Spanish Episcopal Mission, the Madrid Evangelical Aid Society (London), and the Foreign Evangelical Society.

This is not to include the eight other British societies, which at one time or another had previously been at work in Spain,

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[63] This reflected in a statement made in 1868 by a Wesleyan Methodist, that for more than a century since 1765 'there had not been a month . . . in which many minds have not been under culture, and many hearts filled with thoughtful care for Spain.' See British and Foreign Evangelical Review, vol. XVIII (1869), p. 148.

and which now simply reinforced or revived their earlier efforts. These were the Plymouth Brethren, the Evangelical Continental Society (the former 'Continental Society'), the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the Spanish Evangelization Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the three Bible Societies (the British and Foreign, the Trinitarian, and the National Bible Society of Scotland).

All the missionary groups mentioned above generally fell into one or the other of two categories, according to their goals in Spain. Under the first were those, which were interested only in assisting the evangelical work already established in Spain. These were the London United Committee, the Confederate Association, the Glasgow Committee, the Madrid Evangelical Aid Society, the Foreign Evangelical Aid Society, and the Evangelical Continental Society. The second category comprised those interested in more or less denominational work in Spain, namely, the Plymouth Brethren, the Wesleyan Methodists, the Episcopalians, and the Irish and United Presbyterians. The last two were generally willing to cooperate closely with other missions, but they were also interested in a Spanish Presbyterian Church.

The Spanish Evangelization Society did not exactly fit into any of these classifications. While its objective was primarily to assist the Spanish Protestants, in particular, the 'Spanish Reformed Church' under Cabrera, nevertheless, it also showed strong tendencies of exerting influence, in favour of Presbyterianism. Like the other Presbyterian missions, the Spanish Evangelization Society hoped to see a united Spanish Protestant Church with a presbyterian order and creed.

The London United Committee, drawn from the members of the Evangelical Alliance, had an ephemeral existence, and dissolved itself sometime in 1869 or 1870. Its single purpose was to assist the work

in Spain, until other evangelical societies shall have established themselves more firmly in that country. It distinguished itself by being the first in Britain to send foreign workers to Spain after the revolution of 1868. Thus, in February 1869, the London United Committee sent two young Sephardic Jews to Madrid, to work under the supervision of Armstrong and Campbell, and at the same time to survey the possibilities for a mission to Jews in Spain.[64]

The Confederate Association, also drawn from among the members of the Evangelical Alliance and composed of Matamoros' personal friends, appears to have been the provincial counterpart of the London United Committee. Founded by Somerville, and growing out of a special Spanish committee of the Glasgow Continental Society,[65] this Confederate Association had two other component committees in Leeds and Liverpool.[66] It also had coadjutors from Kensington, Bristol, Birkenhead, Birmingham, Manchester, and Darlington.[67] Because of their geographical separation, which did not lend to an easy management of all the affairs of the entire association, each of the different committees transacted its own business, and maintained independence in the administration and disbursement of its funds. But each winter, a conference of the entire association was held at Somerville's home in Glasgow,[68] at which time all the important

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[64] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 149.

[65] Smith, A Modern Apostle, p. 118.

[66] The moving spirits behind the committee at Leeds were the Quaker businessman, Thomas Harvey, and his colleague, Samuel Southall; the one in Liverpool was John Rew, a long-time coadjutor of the Spanish Evangelization Society.

[67] Christian Work, vol. IV, n.s. (1870), p. 19.

[68] Smith, A Modern Apostle, p. 118. Cf. p. 121.

decisions were adopted.[69]

The Glasgow Committee of Spanish evangelization illustrated the close relationships that the various groups, which were formed from the larger fellowship of the Evangelical Alliance, had with one another. As Spanish auxiliary of the Evangelical Continental Society, the Glasgow Committee was related to the parent society in London, and through the latter, also to the Spanish Committees of Geneva and Lausanne. It also functioned as the strongest component of the Confederate Association, at the same time that it was in perfect understanding with the Spanish Evangelization Society in Edinburgh. All these, however, did not submerge the identity of the Glasgow Committee, for as a separate entity, it maintained a number of Spanish evangelists in Spain.

The Evangelical Continental Society, on the other hand, perhaps best exemplified the non-denominational interest in Spain of certain (though unfortunately, only the minority and the weakest) British societies at work there, during this period. Although supported mainly by the Congregational Union of England and Wales, the Evangelical Continental Society never intended to create a separate Spanish mission church. This Society did establish mission stations in Camuñas (near Toledo) and Zaragoza in 1870, one in Bilbao in 1876, and another in Rubi, near Barcelona, about 1880. But all the evangelists were Spaniards, and were supplied by the Madrid Committee, previously mentioned. The work in Spain of the Evangelical Continental Society, however, was but a fraction of what it had elsewhere on the continent. At no time did the number of its Spanish stations

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69 Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 142n.

exceed four. In fact, by 1890 it had transferred into the hands of the American Congregationalists all but one of its Spanish mission station,[70] Within a decade, even this was also given up.

The Madrid Evangelical Aid Society and the Foreign Evangelical Society, both of London, had limited purposes in Spain. Consequently, they played no more than a supporting role to the larger societies. Suffice it to say that the former assisted the work of the Evangelical Continental Society at Zaragoza, although most of its funds were spent for the training of Spanish colporteur-evangelists.[71] The latter, on the other hand, mainly dubsidized a number of children's schools attached to the different mission churches.[72]

Of the denominational missions that were established in Spain after 1868, the most influential was undoubtedly that of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. This was not in terms of numbers, for at no time did its 'foreign personnel' exceed three (of these, only one was British,[73] the other two were Sephardic Jews,[74]

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[70] Bliss, Encyclopedia of Missions, vol. I, p. 363.

[71] The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), p. 367.

[72] Ibid.

[73] This was the Rev. John Jameson, who joined the United Presbyterian Mission in 1871, although he still retained his position as agent in Spain of the National Bible Society of Scotland.

[74] The first was the Rev. Jose Viliesid y Seby, son of a converted rabbi. He was born in Salonica, though his family later moved to Gibraltar. He studied at the University of London, and later at the United Presbyterian Theological Hall in Edinburgh, and was subsequently ordained in that city. He was one of the two young men sent by the London United Committee to Madrid in February 1869.

The other was his brother-in-law, the Rev. Abraham Ben Oliel, son of a Jewish doctor in Tangiers, and a good friend of Rule. Converted to Christianity in Gibraltar, Ben Oliel was ordained to the ministry in 1852. From 1848 to 1869, he was a missionary of the British Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Jews, working for most of this time in North Africa and Gibraltar. Ben Oliel was responsible for opening the United Presbyterian in Spain, although un-

although they were British subjects). The influence of the United Presbyterian Mission was rather due to the fact that it represented the denominational interests of Scottish Presbyterians. It was partly for this reason that the Reformed Presbyterian Church[75] and the Free Church of Scotland eventually decided not to establish their own missions in Spain, the latter being content with a chaplaincy at Cadiz.[76] The United Presbyterian Mission itself began with one station in Cadiz in January 1870, this being followed by the opening of three more in Jerez, San Fernando, and Madrid the next year.[77]

The Irish Presbyterian Mission, on the other hand, began in Madrid at the end of 1869, when the Rev. Mr (later Dr) William Moore, M.A., set up a small mission station in the district of Peñuelas. A second Irish missionary joined him in 1871, but financial difficulties encountered by the Continental Committee of the Irish Presbyterian Church led to this second missionary's recall about a

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fortunately his relationship with the mission board later turned sour. He moved to Oran in 1875, and subsequently severed his connections with the United Presbyterian Church. For more details, see Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, p. 275. See also Evangelical Christendom, vol. V (1852), p. 216.

[75] For details about the unsuccessful plan to open a Spanish mission, to be jointly supported by the Scottish and Irish synods of the Reformed Presbyterian Church, see The Reformed Presbyterian Witness, vol. III (1869), p. 136; vol. IV (1870), p. 398.

[76] As was intended, the Free Church chaplain at Cadiz was able to help the Spanish missions in the area, while this chaplaincy lasted from 1869 to 1875. Another reason why the Free Church of Scotland did not open its own Spanish mission was the fact that it already was giving regular grants to the Spanish Evangelization Society, and occasional gifts to the Spanish Reformed Church. Moreover, the foreign missionaries of the Spanish Evangelization Society usually came from the Free Church. Cf. Report of the Continental Committee of the Free Church of Scotland (1870), pp. 4-9.

[77] In 1873, work in Cadiz was abandoned. From then on, only the three other places mentioned above were maintained as chief stations by the United Presbyterian Mission.

year later.[78] Moore remained in Madrid until 1881, after which he opened a new mission station in Puerto Santa Maria (near Cadiz), which thereafter became the centre of the Irish Presbyterian work in Spain.

The Spanish Episcopal Mission at Seville begun by the Rev. Lewen S. Tugwell, as well as that briefly attempted in Barcelona by a Spanish convert to Anglicanism,[79] were the fruits of the inspiration provided by the Rev. Alexander R. C. Dallas,[80] the founder of the 'Irish Church Missions to Roman Catholics'.[81] Tugwell, who was chaplain to the British residents in Seville, established his Spanish mission soon after the 1868 revolution. So as not to offend those of his Church who objected to the proselytizing of Catholics, Tugwell referred to his mission as an 'Anglo-Spanish mission',[82] the term 'Anglo-Spanish' being characteristically applied to every aspect of his work. His plan was to send out to neighbouring towns, where there were British residents, a number of Anglican chaplains who spoke Spanish. On top of their normal duties, these chaplains might engage in

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[78] See Fritz Fliedner, in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 125.

[79] This was an independent Episcopal mission, conducted by the Rev. Antonio Vallespinosa, supported by funds collected in England by Dallas. For details, see Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en España, pp. 252f.

[80] Dallas (1791-1869) had served in Spain as an officer in the British Army in 1810-1812. As an Anglican clergyman (chaplain to the Bishop of Winchester) years later, he maintained a keen interest in Spain. In 1863 he arranged for two young Spanish converts to come to England to study theology, one of whom (Vallespinosa) was ordained in 1865. For more on Dallas' work for Spain, see [Mrs Dallas], Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas (London, 1871), pp. 492f.

[81] For the origin of this work, see The Edinburgh Christian Magazine, vol. IV (1852), pp. 15f.

[82] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 150, 209.

Anglo-Spanish missions 'by means of church and school.'[83] For Seville itself and the immediate environs, Tugwell envisioned a vast network of mission schools, in which he hoped to enrol as many as 10,000 Spanish children, for a nominal fee of half a real (1½d.) per week.[84] To this end, in 1869 he opened a children's day school, which enrolled nearly 200 in less than a year.[85] Alongside this was also a training college for schoolmistresses, governesses, and Bible women, in which twenty-five young Spanish ladies were enrolled in a matter of months. It was Tugwell's hope that those training as schoolmistresses would later take the government examinations, so that on passing, they might also be qualified to teach in the state schools.[86] Unfortunately, these grandiose plans were not to receive as much support from the Church of England, as Tugwell would have hoped.

As to the Wesleyan Methodists, it was rather unfortunate that much of the early enthusiasm for Spanish missions had apparently been lost. Despite the statement of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in December 1868, that it was unmistakably 'the duty of the Protestant Churches of this country to supply to the people of Spain the light of evangelical truth,'[87] that society, in fact, at first appeared hesitant to move out of Gibraltar into Spain. Whether it was on account of the cost involved, or for some other reason,[88]

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[83] Ibid., p. 150.

[84] Ibid., p. 209.

[85] By 1876, these had had several branches, with a total enrolment of 1,400 children. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVII (1876), p. 141.

[86] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 209.

[87] As quoted by Finlay and Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, vol. IV, p. 427.

[88] See WMMS Report (1869), p. 20.

it was not until 1870 that the Wesleyan Methodists sent one lay missionary to Barcelona, William Thomas Brown.[89] Their second missionary, for the Balearic Islands, did not come until three years later.[90] In fact, for the rest of the century, they seldom had more than two resident missionaries to supervise their disjointed field, one part of which was in Catalonia, and the other, across the sea to the Balearic Islands.

The Plymouth Brethren, like the English Baptists who came in 1873,[91] provided a strong contrast to the other evangelical groups in Spain at this time. For while they might be considered as having denominational interests, in the sense that they were hardly ever concerned at this time with cooperation with other missions, they were equally not interested in their own ecclesiastical organization. Accordingly, their stations were managed independently of each other. Each was a 'faith mission' supported by no organized society in Britain.[92] They called themselves 'unsectarian evangelists',[93] although what they actually meant by this proved an enigma to other Protestant workers in Spain.[94]

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[89] A former clerk at the Wesleyan Methodist Mission House in London, Brown had heard Mora preach at a missionary meeting in that city in 1856. This encouraged him to study Spanish, after which he worked among crewmen of Spanish merchant ships on the Thames. See Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, pp. 297-98.

[90] Finlay and Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, vol. IV, pp. 428f.

[91] The first English Baptist workers were two graduates of C. H. Spurgeon's Pastors' College in London, Messrs J. P. Wigston and Thomas Hlamire. Cf. The Christian Standard, vol. IV (1874), p. 197.

[92] As Wigstone later put it, 'we reckoned that if God wanted us in Spain He would support us there.' See The Missionary Review of the World, vol. VI, n.s. (1893), p. 180.

[93] Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 296.

[94] As Carrasco said, he did not know how to classify them, for

The Plymouth Brethren were also distinctive, in that they depended more on foreign, rather than Spanish, workers. By 1874, they had the largest single group of foreign workers, totaling twenty-one, which was nearly one-half of all the foreign missionaries in Spain.[95] Both they and the English Baptists placed great importance on an itinerant ministry,[96] as well as on Scripture and literature circulation. The Plymouth Brethren, however, also gave emphasis to educational work, and children's schools were invariably major features of their various mission stations. Perhaps this was largely why their stations were located in chief centres of population, as Madrid and Barcelona, where such schools were likely to easily flourish. The English Baptists, on the other hand, concentrated their work in the more remote provinces, as in Estremadura by the Portuguese border, and in the northeast and northwest corners of Spain.

The American and Continental European Societies and Committees

To put the entire Protestant work at this time in Spain into proper perspective, one needs to mention also the various American and continental European societies and committees, which came after 1868. Of the American evangelical groups, mention has already been made of the Bible and Tract societies, and of the American and

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they belonged to no class, and they wished not the least organization. See Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 120.

[95] See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), pp. 366-67. It might also be added that generally, the Plymouth Brethren had the largest number of female missionaries, most of these being engaged in educational work.

[96] This is perhaps best reflected in J. P. Wigstone's 'The Gospel in the Towns and Villages in Spain' (a ten-part serial), The Christian Standard, vol. IV (1874), pp. 340f.
This itinerant ministry, couple with their little interest in eeclesiastical organization, accounted for the largely ephemeral results of much of their work in the first few years after 1868.

Foreign Christian Union. The latter for a time attempted to establish a mission in Seville. Its missionary, the Rev. Henry C. Hall, formed a brief association with Alonso Marselau, the ex-seminarian from Granada, and together they set up a mission station in a suburb of Seville. For a time, the work flourished. But like so many other disappointments in the whole Protestant work in later years, this mission crumbled, due to the inconstancy of faith of its Spanish worker. Alonso Marselau reneged, involved himself actively in cantonalist Republican activities,[97] and subsequently returned to the bosom of the Catholic Church. Disillusioned, Hall went back to the United States, the remaining fragments of his work being later incorporated into Tugwell's mission.

At one time, the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. apparently planned to open its own mission in Spain.[98] But perhaps because the Scottish Presbyterians were already in the country, this plan was abandoned. The only other American missionary societies, which established permanent work in Spain, were the American Baptist Missionary Union and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (Congregationalist). The former began in 1870, by adopting Knapp's independent 'faith mission' in Madrid, which was subsequently renamed Misiones Cristianas Primitivas (Primitive Christian Missions).[99] In later years, Baptist churches were organized in at least

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[97] For more details, see The Religious Tract Society Reporter, no. 1, n.s. (1870), p. 2. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 491.

[98] See F. Fliedner, in Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance (Philadelphia, 1880), ed. by John Dales and R. M. Patterson (Philadelphia, 1880), p. 350.

[99] Christian Work, vol. VI (1872), p. 80. Cf. G. Winfred Hervey, The Story of Baptist Missions in Foreign Lands (St Louis, 1886), pp. 743-49.

six towns other than Madrid. But as will be shown later, this mission was to meet more disappointments and failures than successes.

On the other hand, one of the most successful Protestant missions in Spain at this time was that of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, began in 1871. This mission was the result of that Board's decision to widen its work among nominal Eastern Christians, so as to include nominal Latin Christendom.[100] The American Congregationalist missionaries concentrated their work in northern Spain, especially in Santander and Zaragoza, where they cooperated closely with the missions supported by their fellow English Congregationalists. Up to the twentieth century, the American Board Mission in Spain was largely the work of one missionary family, well-known in American Congregationalism, namely, the Gulicks,[101] of Boston. Unlike British societies, which generally had no provision for missionaries' wives,[102] the ladies of the American Board mission were officially commissioned by the Woman's Board of Missions of the American Congregationalist Churches.[103] This perhaps made an important difference. In later years, their achievements in the field of women's education was to be a lasting Protestant contribution to Spain.[104]

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[100] For the full details, see the 61st Annual ABCFM Report (1871), p. xxi.

[101] Malone, Dictionary of American Biography, vol. VIII, p. 46.

[102] Dr H. M. MacGill to the Rev. Jose Viliesid, dated 6th Nov. 1876, in UPC Foreign Letter Book (National Library of Scotland, MS. 7656 C. no. 18).

[103] Elizabeth Putnam Gordon, Alice Gordon Gulick: Her Life and Work in Spain (New York, 1917), p. 35.

[104] Thus, the Colegio Internacional, which grew out of a girls' school, first begun by Mrs William H. Gulick in Santander in 1877, produced many graduates who excelled in the government examinations,

On the whole, the continental Committees took the view that Protestant work in Spain should be entrusted to the Spanish converts themselves. Thus, their main contribution to the work was in providing financial assistance and guidance to the Spanish Protestants.[105] Only the German Committees and that of Lausanne sent foreign workers. Even then, the latter maintained only one man, the Rev. Alexandre L. Empaytaz, who stationed himself in Barcelona.[106] On the other hand, the foreign workers sent by the German Committees were generally engaged in institutional work. It would appear that they regarded themselves as more or less simply 'assistants' to the work of evangelization being done by the Spanish Protestants and the other missions. In passing, it might be said that this was somewhat like the view of the Spanish Evangelization Society. It maintained only one foreign worker in Spain, whose job was to superintend the missionary operations of that Society. But, as suggested earlier, there was one difference. This was the fact that the Spanish Evangelization Society apparently desired to see a presbyterian church order and discipline for the ideal united Spanish Protestant Church.

The policy adopted by the continental Committees is best il-

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a number receiving the highest honours (sobresaliente). This American school set the standard for the various provincial Government Institutes engaged in the education of girls. It received the highest praises from many high-ranking Spaniards, among them Professor Salmeron, of Madrid, who was formerly a present of the Spanish Republic. For more details, see Gordon, Alice Gordon Gulick, passim.

105 For example, the Swiss, Dutch and French Committees all contributed to the work of Carrasco and Ruet in Madrid, as also did the Gustavus Adolphus Society, of Germany. There were various arrangements, but generally, the Committees shared the cost of salaries, rents, and other expenses. Cf. Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 307.

106 Gutierrez Marin, Historia de la reforma en Espana, p. 275. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), p. 266.

lustrated by the instructions, which the Berlin Committee gave to the Rev. Dr Fritz Fliedner,[107] when that Committee commissioned him as missionary to Spain in 1870. His task was the 'assistance of the newly-oriented Evangelical Church of Spain by counsel and action, especially in two directions: on the one hand in the awakening and revival of the evangelical spirit through the pure Word of God, on the other in the planting and cultivation of sound and healthy theology, and church organization.'[108] It followed from this principle that those Spanish Protestant churches that might arise from the work of the German missionaries 'should not be dominated by German church-types, but should be developed after the particular spirit of the land and nation, and assistance to this development should be offered in the most loyal manner.'[109] Fliedner also was to establish friendly relations with Spanish evangelical leaders, assist the movement for union, or at least federation of all Spanish churches into one body, and finally 'to avoid a bitter and purposeless strife with advocates of the Catholic Established Church and, on the contrary, to seek into personal relations with loyal Catholics, in order to influence and strengthen leanings towards freedom of worship.'[110] Later years were to show that, on the whole, the German Mission in Spain most dutifully upheld these instructions.

This mission, like that of the American Board, was another

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[107] For a brief sketch of Fliedner's life and work, see Neue Deutsche Biographie (Berlin, 1952-), vol. V, pp. 244-45. See also Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Handwörterbuch für Theologie und Kirche (8 vols., Tübingen, 1956-1961), vol. III, p. 976.

[108] A. W. Schreiber, Deutschlands Anteil an der evangelischen Bewegung in Spanien (n.d.), pp. 5-6, as quoted by Araujo Garcia and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 62.

[109] Ibid. [110] Ibid.

almost one-family mission, conducted by the Fliedners, of Kaiserswerth.[111] They concentrated their efforts on establishing institutions[112] -- schools, orphanages, evangelical bookshops, a publishing house, and a small hospital, although they also provided financial assistance to a number of Spanish congregations.

Thus, after 1868 Protestant missions became free, as never before, to work in Spain. Consequently, there came various evangelical groups from many lands. The distribution of Protestant workers was random, rather than systematic. This was because many of the workers, both Spaniards and foreigners, established their work in various places, as a result of opportunity rather than design. Thus, two or more different groups sometimes were found in the same city. Perhaps it would have been more profitable to their cause, if from the start they had all agreed to divide the territory, as some Bible societies did. Such an agreement would have eliminated the appearance, and indeed the possibility, of rivalry and competition. But if ever this occurred to any of them, this was apparently not regarded as important at the time. What mattered most was the need to gain an immediate foothold for Protestantism, and to demonstrate this to the Spanish government, the Cortes, and the nation as 'an accomplished fact'.

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111 These were the children of the renowned pastor of Kaiserswerth, Theodore Fliedner, who built a vast complex of charitable institutions, including orphanages, clinics, and schools for infants, deaconesses, and evangelists. Cf. Erwin L. Lueker (ed.), Lutheran Cyclopedia (St Louis, 1954), p. 380.

112 Perhaps the most famous of this was the Madrid Evangelical Institute, otherwise known as the Colegio de la Luz (College of Light). It was affiliated to the University of Madrid in 1833. Years afterwards, many of the Spanish pastors came from this college. The brightest of them were sent to Germany for four years of higher seminary studies. Cf. E. A. Rusher, Sunshine and Shadow in the South-west: A Record of a Visit to Y.M.C.A.'s and Missions in Spain and Morocco (London, 1903), p. 5.

Chapter VIII

PROTESTANT ADVANCE IN SPAIN
(1869-1874)

Soon after the revolution of September 1868, Protestant workers in Spain, on the whole, apparently took the view that the surest guarantee of religious liberty would be a republican government.[1] That such a government would instead bring more scourges, rather than blessings, to Protestantism in a country like Spain, was not to be realized until 1873. Thus, up to the summer of 1869, many Protestants hoped eagerly for its establishment.

Before long, however, it became apparent that Spain was not ready for that form of government. Despite sanguinary uprisings in the provinces by the Republican militias and the fiercest parliamentary opposition from the Republican deputies, the Constituent Cortes of 1869 upheld a constitutional monarchy. It was, in fact, in the course of the search for a new king, that the Hohenzollern acceptance of the Spanish crown, not being withdrawn quickly enough, led to the Franco-Prussian War in 1870.[2] The proclamation of the Third French Republic in September of that year brought new courage to Spanish Republicans.[3] But before they could maneuver themselves

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[1] See, for example, J. Viliesid, in the UPC Missionary Record, vol. II (1869), p. 409. Moreover, to the dismay of those evangelical workers who correctly saw the danger of mixing religion with politics, a good number of Spanish Protestants, including evangelists, took active part in Republican activities.

[2] J. Russell Major, The Western World (London, 1967), pp. 614-15.

[3] For the influence of French republican ideas on Spanish Republicanism, see C. A. M. Hennessey, The Federal Republic in Spain (Oxford, 1962), passim.

into the most advantageous position, the staunch monarchist and virtual Spanish dictator, General Prim, had succeeded in guiding the events which led to the Cortes election of Victor Immanuel II's son, Amadeo, Duke of Aosta, as Spain's new king.

Unfortunately for the young foreigner, his strongest ally, Prim, died from assassins' bullets just the day before he entered his adopted kingdom at the beginning of 1871. Thus, Amadeo I was left to face the intricate situation of Spain, with hardly anyone to turn to for guidance. Although his reign began in a period of comparative calm, it was simply a lull before the storm that was soon to break out anew. Factionalism reappared, and within months Amadeo was caught in the vortex of a political confusion, filled with inter-party distrust and obscure intrigues.[4] He found that he had only inherited a war-torn country, with an apparently fickle people, and a plunging economy. Moreover, it was a nation that was harried by frequent disturbances from Carlist and Republican extremists within, and a costly Cuban insurrection abroad. He was plagued by virulent Carlist propaganda, ridicule from aristocrats who despised his austere manners, the hatred of those of his subjects who considered him an intruder-king, and even by intrigues within his own government. One attempt was made on his life, and as the son of Pope Pius IX's excommunicated adversary, he reportedly could not even get a Spanish bishop to baptize his infant son.[5] Frustrated in his genuine desire

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[4] There were then five principal political parties, divided into a total of sixteen factions. Six new governments and three general elections were seen during Amadeo's two-year reign. For details, see Melchor Fernandez Almagro, Historia politica de la España contemporanea (3 vols.; Madrid, 1968), vol. I, pp. 126-27. Cf. Rhea Marsh Smith, The Day of the Liberals in Spain (Philadelphia, 1938), p. 54.

[5] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 191.

to rule as Spain's constitutional king, Amadeo abdicated in February 1873, and returned to Italy.

The radicals, who were predominant in the Cortes at this time, took advantage of this turn of events to declare -- in an unconstitutional manner[6] -- Spain a Republic, with an overwhelming majority of 258 votes to 32. But soon the old sores that were but temporarily or partly salved by Amadeo's occupation of the throne were opened once more. The Republican factions sharpened their bickerings among themselves, Carlists resumed their armed struggle on a large scale, while regionalist movements created anarchy in Catalonia and Andalusia. For the duration of the short-lived Spanish Republic, four presidents -- Figueras, Pi y Margall, Salmeron, and Castelar -- came one after another. Two draft constitutions were prepared, one in 1872 and another the following year, both of which proposed complete separation of Church and State, and absolute religious liberty.[7] But, like the Republic itself, these schemes were doomed to failure from the start.

The chaos of Spanish political affairs led to the military pronunciamento, or coup d'etat, which took place early in January 1874. To put an end to the confusion, the Captain General of Madrid burst upon the Cortes in session, ousted the deputies, and formed a new government under Marshall Serrano. It was ironic that only hours before, President Castelar had told the Cortes that such military actions no longer had any raison d'etre in modern, constitutional Spain. Almost immediately, the strong desire for a monarchy reassert-

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[6] For details, see Fernandez Almagro, Historia politica de la España contemporanea, vol. I, pp. 161-62.

[7] Hennessey, The Federal Republic in Spain, passim. See also Blasco Ibañez, Historia de la revolucion española, vol. III, pp. 757f.

ed itself, now gaining more support from various quarters disenchanted with the course of the Republic. Thus, the road was taken, which led to the Bourbon restoration in 1875.[8]

Spanish Response to Protestant Propaganda

It was in the interlude between the revolution of 1868 to the accession of Alfonso XII in 1875, when there was virtual religious freedom in Spain, that Protestantism made its greatest gains in the country. Indeed, under that atmosphere of freedom, Spaniards for the first time enjoyed a sense of liberation, which had only been approximated but never reached in any previous period in the nineteenth century. This found expression not only in politics, but more especially in religion, for the sense of liberation in this sphere was an entirely new experience. Thus, along with the open professions of atheism and hatred towards the clergy, not only from intellectuals and the middle classes but even from the masses, there came a new audacity to entertain heterodox teachings. Along this also came overt manifestations of schismatic ideas.[9] Under that same freedom, Prot-

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[8] For events in the interim period, prior to this restoration, see Fernandez Almagro, Historia politica de la España contemporanea, vol. I, ch. 6.

[9] The most significant event in this regard was the schismatic attempt to form a Spanish 'Old Catholic Church' in 1870. As elsewhere in Europe, a number of Spanish priests, under the inspiration of Aguayo, reacted strongly to the Vatican Council's definition of papal infallibility. On St Peter's Day, the 29th of June that year (a day apparently chosen deliberately), Aguayo and six other Catholic priests met at the Protestant chapel on Calle Madera Baja in Madrid. They drafted a 'Basis of a Constitution for a Spanish Church', as it was so called, to be presented at a forthcoming National Assembly. The first article read: 'This Church receives, confesses, and believes every doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures, the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene or Constantinople, and that of St. Athanasius embodied in the first four Councils of the Church.' Although the ultimate form of church order and discipline still had to be determined by the National Assembly, the 'Basis' proposed a presbyterian form. The first Synod, as it was so called, was held at the University of Madrid in

estantism, although vehemently opposed by the forces of traditional Catholicism, was allowed by the State to work unhindered.

In the period immediately following the 1868 revolution, the most surprising and encouraging feature of Protestant work in Spain was the great eagerness evinced by Spaniards to receive the Scriptures, and to listen to the preaching of evangelical doctrines. Protestant workers could hardly believe what they were seeing. Consequently, some of them, along with their most zealous supporters abroad, entertained the naive and extravagant expectation that Spain could virtually become Protestant in a matter of years. To be sure, not all foreign evangelical workers in Spain shared this false hope.[10] To many, however, it indeed seemed as if they were looking at the 'daybreak' of a new religious reformation in Spain.[11] The mission superintendent of the Spanish Evangelization Society told the 1870 General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, that if the Protestant churches in Andalusia continued to progress at the rate they were going, 'the movement would increase in such a way as had never been surpassed for a long time in any part of the world.'[12] It was

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August 1870, with the rector of the university presiding. The schismatics hoped to gain the adhesion of at first at least 200 Spanish priests. But the movement apparently soon lost strength, and ended in failure. For a translation of the full text of the 'Basis', see The United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XIV (1870), p. 478. See also H. C. Hall's report, as quoted in the 55th Annual ABS Report (1871), p. 97. Cf. Christian Work, vol. IV, n.s. (1870), p. 242.

[10] See the missionary letter from Madrid (probably by Campbell), dated 14th Dec. 1869, in Christian Work, vol. IV, n.s. (1870), p. 18. See also Fritz Fliedner, Leaves from Spain, no. 1 (March 1873), p. 1.

[11] This is suggested by the titles of the books, Daybreak in Spain (1870) and The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain (1871).

[12] R. S. Clough, in Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (1870), p. 34.

also believed that as long as the existing government policies continued to obtain, Protestantism would surely go on to more spiritual conquests in Spain. A foreign missionary said to a secretary of the National Bible Society of Scotland, on the latter's visit to Madrid in 1872: 'Give us a strong government and two-thirds of this people would be Protestant.'[13]

A few illustrations would suffice to show how such optimism arose. As a first case in point, one might cite the encouraging work of Scripture circulation. As Bible agent in Madrid of both the Trinitarian and the National Bible Societies, Lawrence alone for the year 1869 had average daily sales of 300 or more Gospels or Scripture portions. On one occasion (the opening day of the Constituent Cortes), he sold over 5,000 copies of the Gospel of John, a thousand of these in the space of only two hours. It was also reported that on another occasion, there was a 'perfect rush' on his depot, the eager customers, who formed a crowd reaching half-way across the street, 'literally struggling to buy the books.'[14] Again, on the feast-day of St Isidore, the patron saint of Madrid, Lawrence and some friends decided 'to cry the Bible' -- a novel way of selling Scriptures -- at the customary fair held on that occasion. About 300,000 people came to the fair, and the Scripture sales for the day reached more than 5,000 copies, not to mention nearly 100,000 tracts gratuitously distributed.[15]

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[13] NBSS Occasional Record, no. 24 (Nov. 1872), p. 331.

[14] Ibid., no. 15 (May 1869), p. 217. See also Reformed Presbyterian Witness, vol. III (1869), p. 125. Cf. United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XIII (1869), p. 239.

[15] A graphic account of this occasion is found in Smith, A Modern Apostle, pp. 111-13.

Bible agents and colporteurs in other parts of the country also met similar experiences. Many cases may be cited. But perhaps it would suffice to mention Clough's report, that for the first six months of 1869, he personally circulated in Seville up to 60,000 copies of Scriptures and tracts.[16]

Indeed, so great was the demand in Spain for the Scriptures that 10,000 volumes at one time were exhausted in a matter of weeks.[17] As one report early in 1869 put it, there appeared to be practically 'no limit'[18] to Scripture circulation, except the poverty of the people,[19] and the lack of workers and copies to sell. In just little over four years from September 1868 to the end of 1872, the National Bible Society alone circulated in Spain nearly 182,000 volumes, representing 17 per cent of its total foreign Scripture circulation for the same period.[20] The only other countries, where corresponding figures were larger, were France and Germany, and this was on account of especial efforts exerted by agents of the Society during the Franco-Prussian War. During this same period, the British and Foreign Bible Society, on the other hand, circulated more than half a million cop-

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[16] The Bulwark, vol. XIX (1869), p. 43.

[17] It was also felt a cause for rejoicing that most Spaniards apparently preferred the more readable Protestant version by Valera, to Scio's Catholic version. In fact, colporteurs received the impression that the people even regarded the latter with some degree of suspicion. 'We want the Protestant Bible' was reportedly a frequent remark. See Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 58, 148.

[18] NBSS Occasional Record, no. 15 (May 1869), p. 217.

[19] Ibid., p. 213.

[20] See the annual NBSS reports for 1868-1872, under the yearly tables of circulation. It should be remarked, however, that in the next five years there was a marked decrease in sales for Spain. Thus, only 132,000 volumes for this second period were circulated. In 1877 the total figure representing sales since 1868 did not reach 315,000. See the United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XXII (1878), p. 287.

ies, through its own agents and colporteurs.[21]

The apparent successes of the Religious Tract Society, of London, likewise served to brighten the Protestant outlook in Spain during this period. As early as January 1869, as many as 150,000 evangelical tracts and pamphlets had already been circulated throughout Spain. Madrid, being the national capital, was immediately established as the chief centre for the circulation of Protestant literature, under the supervision of Armstrong, Campbell, and Lawrence. Parcels of tracts, by the hundreds, were despatched daily from Madrid to the provinces, and occasionally, even overseas to South America and the Philippines.[22] The opinion was expressed at the time, that if only the Protestant workers in Madrid had all the time at their disposal, they could easily have circulated in that capital, and in scores of other large towns throughout the country, no less than a hundred thousand evangelical tracts each week.[23] In some of the contemporary missionary reports, the figures for circulation were so high, that it was even feared that their credibility would actually be questioned by supporters of the work, back in Britain. Thus, when one of the two Sephardic Jews sent by the Evangelical Alliance reported in June 1869, that one depot alone in Madrid, they sold in just one month hundreds of Scriptures and distributed 200,000 tracts, he felt he had to add: 'The last item looks incredible, but nevertheless it is true. The Lord is doing a mighty work in this land.'[24]

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[21] Cf. Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. III, pp. 170-74.

[22] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 57, 149.

[23] Ibid., p. 82.

[24] See J. Viliesid's report, dated Madrid, 16th June 1869, in the UPC Missionary Record, vol. II (1869), p. 409.

If evangelical workers encountered this experience in their Bible and literature work throughout the country,[25] they were just as equally astounded by the apparent eagerness of the Spaniards to listen to the preaching of evangelical doctrines. This eagerness was much in evidence in the cities and larger towns, where the influence of liberal thinking was particularly strong. In Seville, for example, Cabrera's three weekly services were always crammed with people, so that it was sometimes difficult for him even to get inside the chapel. Early in 1869, it was the general consensus of those at work in Seville, that four large Protestant churches in different parts of the city, each with a capacity of up to 2,000, would still be filled with eager listeners.[26] Similar events as those in Seville were witnessed also in Madrid. It was reported that on one occasion, some 2,000 people came to hear Ruet and Carrasco preach, and that most of these had to be turned away for lack of room.[27] Knapp, in just seven months of work, was able to enter in his rolls the names of 1,325 adult professed converts to Protestantism.[28]

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[25] Large sales of Scriptures were made, not only in those places where Bible colporteurs and Protestant propagandists had clandestinely worked in previous decades, but even in comparatively new fields. Thus, in Valladolid, up to 3,100 copies of the Scriptures were sold in one day in 1869, during the annual October fair. See NBSS Occasional Record, no. 18 (March 1870), p. 242.

[26] See statements of Tugwell, Clough, and Cabrera, in Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 211, 280-83. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 83. For Ambassador Layard's remarks on Protestant advance in Seville (and Cordoba), see his private letter to Lord Clarendon, dated 10th May 1870, in the former's The Story of My Mission to Spain, vol. I, fol. 47. (Brit. Museum Add. MS. 38932).

[27] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 82, 119. See also The Missionary Magazine, vol. I (1870), p. 119.

[28] See Knapp to Dr Hamilton M. MacGill, dated Madrid, 5th April 1870, in the UPC Missionary Record, vol. III (1870), p. 139. Perhaps it should be said that Knapp's mission was the only one in Madrid, which listed adherents so that it would be possible to keep track of them.

Elsewhere in the country, as in Cordoba, Cadiz, Linares, Granada, Malaga, Cartagena, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Valladolid, and other places, there were also similar reports[29] of Protestant meetings being attended by hundreds, and even up to a thousand Spaniards of all classes, including priests, military officers, local officials, and various professionals.[30] Scores, and sometimes even hundreds, of those who came reportedly had to be turned away, for lack of room. Early missionary reports especially singled out Valladolid and the village of Camuñas (near Toledo), for the amazing initial success of Protestantism in those places. It appears that the Republicans of Valladolid had identified evangelical teachings with their own ideals of equality, brotherhood, and human rights and liberty. Having taken complete control of the city during the revolution, they converted a former Catholic church into a 'Temple of Liberty'[31] for their own purposes. But they freely lent this building for the first Protestant gatherings in that city. On one occasion, the Republican clubs in different nearby towns and villages sent deputations to Valladolid, to discover for themselves the 'new doctrine' that Protestants taught and preached, so that they might study and discuss these in their own local clubs.[32] When Carrasco, himself a Republican, came in January 1869 to preach and expound the subject of religious liberty, enthusiastic Republicans flocked in to listen to his 'lectures'. The first

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[29] See, for example, Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, p. 247. Cf. Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 184. Cf. Reformed Presbyterian Witness, vol. III (1870), p. 450. Cf. La Luz, vol. II (Mar. 12, 1870), p. 2. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII, n.s. (1871), p. 331. Cf. UPC Missionary Record, vol. IV (1871), p. 573.

[30] Cf. Lawrence, The Aurora in Spain, pp. 44-48.

[31] Eiras Roel, El partido democrata español, p. 375.

[32] Reformed Presbyterian Witness, vol. III (1870), p. 450.

night, about 2,000 filled the deconsecrated church; the second night, some 4,000 pressed inside; and the third night, large numbers found themselves unable even to get to the door. When the local conservative clergy attacked Carrasco's speeches, it was also a Valladolid Republican journal, which was the first to publish his reply.[33]

On the other hand, the farming village of Camuñas (pop. about 1,700) stood out among the few exceptions[34] to the usual Catholic bigotry of the rural countryside. In this village, the local Republican landlords,[35] who were friends of Vizcarrondo, encouraged their tenants to secede from the Catholic Church. When an evangelist was sent there by the 'Madrid Committee' in 1870, the ground had been well prepared for Protestantism, and even the local magistrate was favourably disposed towards this new religion. Many people suggested that the whole village turn Protestant en masse, and then petition the central government in Madrid to hand over to them the village church. The chief cacique (local political boss), in fact, ordered sentinels posted in front of the building, to annoy and threaten the dozen or so faithful Catholic women. Eventually, the parish priest was forced to flee to another town.[36]

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[33] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), pp. 58-59, 82.

[34] Jameson in 1871 said that in some villages in various parts of Spain, most of the inhabitants had become Protestants (see NBSS Occasional Record, no. 24 (Nov. 1871), pp. 331-32). It is impossible, however, to verify the accuracy of this statement.

[35] Menendez y Pelayo (Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 496) mentioned among these landlords Araus and Ceferino Tressera. The latter was among those, who, along with Orense and Vizcarrondo, advocated in October 1868 a federal republic. See Eiras Roel, El partido democrata español, p. 385.

[36] Menendez y Pelayo also characterized Camuñas as a quixotic Geneva (una especie de Ginebra manchega), and used it to illustrate the alliance of rationalism and Protestantism. See Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 495-97.

It also needs to be said that from about December 1868, Protestant workers throughout Spain continually received calls for evangelists to go to various places, where the local population were reportedly ready to abandon Catholic worship and listen to Protestant preaching.[37] In nearly every case, leading liberal citizens in these places voluntarily offered their help in obtaining the premises, in which to hold evangelical meetings. So many were these requests, that it was generally believed, as Tugwell told a visiting Scottish minister in 1869, that 'although we could multiply a hundredfold our agents in Spain, we should still have too few.'[38] Thus, it was only the serious lack of workers, which made it impossible to fulfil these requests.

There were indeed numbers of Catholic priests, who approached Protestant missionaries, asking to be received as evangelical workers. It is doubtful, however, whether most of these came with genuine and noble motives. The experience of not a few Protestant missions was that these ex-priests were sometimes motivated by their impoverished state, following the dissolution of their religious houses, or simply by the desire to marry.[39]

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[37] See, for example, Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 343. See also La Luz, vol. II (Aug. 27, 1870), p. 3.

[38] Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, p. 211.

[39] As a Protestant missionary in Cadiz (probably Ben Oliel) put it in 1872: 'It would require a stretch of memory to recollect the number or names of the priests and theological students of Romish seminaries who have presented themselves since the commencement of the work in this city, professing adherence to Evangelical Christianity, and desiring admission into our Church. Unhappily, with rare exceptions, they want to be taken up and provided for from the outset; and as this could not and should not be done, their inquiries usually end with the first interview. Could we consistently and conscientiously encourage such a mercenary spirit, we might now have a goodly number of these men attached to our mission. . . . But as far as my experience and observation goes, I shrink from having anything

On the whole, the most important observation that may be made from all these is that, in the first few years after September 1868, an enthusiastic welcome was indeed accorded to Protestantism by a good number of Spaniards. To be sure, this number was but a small minority. The overwhelming majority of the population remained devotedly attached to the Catholic Church. Many liberal Spaniards also treated the Protestant propaganda with indifference, although on the whole, they were ready to defend the legal rights of Protestants. Yet those who evinced a good disposition towards Protestantism were numerous enough to attract the attention of the government, alarm the Catholic authorities, and astound the supporters abroad of Spanish evangelization. Never before had there been seen such an almost incredible response, on the part of Spaniards, to the principles of Reformed Christianity.

Moreover, the introduction of religious freedom removed the disabilities, which previously made Protestant advance hardly possible. Although strong opposition from the conservative clergy or from zealously Catholic local officials still brought difficulties, Protestants also greatly benefited from the secularization of schools, hospitals, cemeteries, and even of the marriage ceremony.[40] In many cases, Protestants found that they needed only to insist upon their legal rights, for these to be enforced by the authorities.[41]

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to do with priests who come seeking loaves and fishes conjointly with the bread of life.' See Christian Work, vol. VI, n.s. (1872), p. 47.

[40] For more details, see Hughey, Religious Freedom in Spain, ch. 2.

[41] Thus, when a Protestant army captain insisted in not joining a Corpus Christi procession, as he was ordered to do, his higher officers decided not to compel him to act against his conscience (see Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 208). The death of a Protestant woman in Madrid in 1869 also resulted in the laying aside of a portion of the General Cemetery of that city, for the use of Protestants. See The Bulwark, vol. XIX (1869), pp. 71-72.

Under the provisions of the revised Spanish Penal Code of 1870, Protestants also could now expect protection from harassments or persecutions by Catholic fanatics.[42]

Protestant Advance in Spain

Under this favourable atmosphere, Protestantism not only gained a permanent foothold, but also managed to advance in Spain. Although some of the places previously entered had been abandoned, by 1874 the various Protestant groups in the country had set up chief mission stations (i.e., with resident workers) in nineteen large Spanish towns and cities.[43] The largest concentrations of workers at this time were in Madrid and Barcelona.[44] In addition, they also maintained preaching stations in thirty-five other places. By this time, no less than twenty-five mission churches had been organized.[45] No

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[42] Under this Code, one was liable to imprisonment of up to six years, and fine of up to 2,500 pesetas for: forcing another to perform religious acts of worship of a religion not his own, or impeding him in his own worship; preventing by acts, words, gestures, or threats a minister of any religion to perform the ceremonies of his own religion; for impeding, disturbing, or interrupting the religious services in places designed for worship; publicly ridiculing 'any of the dogmas or ceremonies of any religion which has proselytes in Spain;' or for publicly profaning images, sacred vessels, or any other objects connected with worship. Any scandalous acts offending the religious sentiment of any group was also punishable by imprisonment of up to four months. See Articles 236-241 of the Code, in Joaquin Abella, Los codigos españoles vigentes en la peninsula y ultramar (Madrid, 1890), pp. 98-99.

[43] The other chief stations were in Santander, Valladolid, and Zaragoza in the north; Valencia, Alicante, and Cartagena along the Mediterranean coast; Seville, Cadiz, San Fernando, Jerez, Rio Tinto, Huelva, Cordoba, Linares, and Granada in the south; Camuñas in central Spain; and Port Mahon in the Balearic Islands. See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), pp. 366-67.

[44] Of the 131 foreign and Spanish workers throughout the country, a total of 31 were in Madrid, and 17 in Barcelona. See ibid.

[45] This was the figure given by Carrasco, in his report to the Evangelical Alliance in 1873. See Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 120.

exact figures were available for the number of communicant members, but the average attendance at Sunday services of worship throughout Spain at the time was placed at 1,840.[46] This figure is but one-fifth or so of the crowds, which flocked to Protestant meetings four or five years before, but it probably represents the more or less solid core of Spanish Protestants by 1874. There had also been established a total of forty-three day-schools, attached to the various congregations, and having an average daily attendance of nearly 1,800 children.[47]

Colleges for higher education, medical clinics, and orphanages were not to be established until much later. But during this period, attempts were made to set up seminaries or training schools for colporteurs and evangelists, as will be discussed shortly. Moreover, agencies for Scripture and tract circulation, connected with the corresponding societies abroad, particularly in Britain, were also established in Madrid and one or two other chief cities. In later years, Spanish chapters of various Protestant interdenominational organizations abroad were also founded. But as early as 1870, an attempt was made to form in Madrid a chapter of the Young Men's Christian Association.[48] This at first gave promise of being a useful instrument for reaching many youthful Spaniards, with its varied program of lectures and discussions on religious, literary, and scientific subjects; public readings of instructive books; discussion of controversial issues between Catholics and Protestants; and even eve-

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[46] The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), p. 367.

[47] Ibid.

[48] The first president was Carrasco, then the Rev. Angel Blanco Fernandez, and finally Ruet. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 307; vol. XV (1874), p. 44.

ning classes for adults. Unfortunately, this Madrid YMCA failed in this broad purpose, because it could not shed off its distinctively Protestant associations.[49]

Recognizing the importance of an evangelical press, some of the first Spanish Protestant exiles to return in 1868 published four short-lived periodicals. Thus, in Seville, Cabrera put out El Cristianismo, and Alonso Marselau, El Eco del Evangelio. In Barcelona, Vallespinosa had his El Eco Protestante; and in Cordoba, Soler, his La Reforma.[50] By 1874, however, five others had taken their places. In Madrid, Cabrera now edited the semi-monthly La Luz, founded by Carrasco in 1869; Armstrong, the weekly El Cristiano, published by the Religious Tract Society, of London; Fliedner, the monthly El Amigo de la Infancia (The Children's Friend); and a group of Spanish and foreign workers, the weekly La Bandera de la Reforma (The Reformation Banner). In Barcelona, on the other hand, Lawrence published his weekly La Aurora de Gracia.[51]

Perhaps the two most important Protestant achievements in Spain at this time were the formation of a larger 'Reformed Church of Spain', and the establishment of seminaries in Seville and Madrid, and one or two other training schools for evangelists, colporteurs, and schoolteachers elsewhere. Although these training institutions did not last, permanent seminaries not being established until the 1880's, they filled the need for Spanish workers, at a time when that need was at its greatest. In these two achievements, those British societies and missionaries willing to enter into cooperation with

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[49] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 44.

[50] Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, passim.

[51] The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), pp. 367-68.

other evangelical groups played the most important role.

As far as outward appearances were concerned, Protestant work at this time had come to be seen as primarily a foreign missionary effort. The goal of one truly reformed and truly Spanish Church continued as the ultimate objective. The difficulty, however, was that the American societies, and the most influential of those from Britain, attempted to impose their own models upon this ideal Church. Moreover, with different missions of various national origins working in the country, there was bound to be lack of coordination,[52] as well as separate interests. In the first months after the 1868 revolution, the tremendous task and the opportunities before them, not to mention the primary objective then of making Protestantism an 'accomplished fact' in Spain, gave the different evangelical missions no time to think of denominational interests. But as congregations began to be gathered, the question of polity and doctrine emerged. While all workers, both foreigners and Spaniards, agreed essentially on those points common to evangelical Protestants, they differed in Christology, the mode of baptism, and church polity,[53] not to mention occasionally minor issues, in which some particular missionary placed undue importance.[54]

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[52] As one American missionary admitted, 'amid such a variety of efforts, by individuals and temporary committees, great lack of system necessarily exists, and much is done in a tentative way; beginnings are made here and there not to be followed up, with a consequent loss of time and means, and sometimes of hope, which the larger experience and practiced methods of a well organized missionary society would have enabled its agents to avoid.' See 62nd ABCFM Report (1872), p. 86.

[53] A. Carrasco, Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 116. See also Knapp's letter, dated 22nd Oct. 1870, in The Missionary Magazine, vol. LI (1871), p. 57. Cf. Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, p. 503.

[54] See, for example, Ben Oliel's objections to the proposed constitution of the enlarged Reformed Church of Spain, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), p. 374.

It could have been argued that the diversity of Protestant missionary societies and agencies from many lands, working in Spain, was not by itself an evil. Indeed, such diversity could be construed as a testimony to the unity of purpose and concern, which evangelical Christians from these lands saw as their task in Spain. But the too apparent picture of division, as someone later put it, was 'enough to bewilder the friendly looker-on, and to give a handle to the common foe.'[55] It appeared that so many foreign groups were imposing their views on the Spanish Segunda Reforma. This then easily became a tool in the hands of enemies, who tried to awaken in the national pride of Spaniards a revulsion against this apparent foreign intrusion.[56] As Fliedner, who had always supported the movement for unity, put it:

> Is any Evangelical Church, denomination, or sect not represented in Spanish Missions? Is it to be wondered at that the Spaniards are startled, when they hear every one speak a different language? Presbyterians, Methodists, Plymouth Brethren, Congregationalists, Episcopalians, Free Churchmen, Baptists, Millerites, Darbyites, and others who do not know what they are.[57]

It must be quickly said, however, that only the American Baptist Mission pursued a blatantly denominationalist policy. As Knapp proudly once said: 'Our Baptist principles are, alone of all Protestant ones, those that can cope successfully with Catholicism.'[58] As a matter of fact, his First and Second Baptist Churches of Madrid were the result of proselytizing former Presbyterians and former Ply-

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[55] Lord Plunket (Archbishop of Dublin), in the introduction to The Revised Prayer Book of the Reformed Spanish Church, tr. by R. S. Clough (Dublin, 1889), p. xiii.

[56] Ibid., p. xiv.

[57] See The Religious Condition of Christendom (Basle Conference, 1879), ed. by J. Murray Mitchell (London, 1880), p. 251.

[58] See his letter, dated 29th Oct. 1870, in The Missionary Magazine, vol. LI (1871), p. 57.

mouth Brethren, respectively.[59] The Plymouth Brethren, and a few other independent workers, like Armstrong, refused union with other mission churches, only because they had an aversion to any ecclesiastical organization. The American Congregationalists, the Wesleyan Methodists, and the Episcopalians, were apparently amenable to a union, or better still, perhaps a federation of Spanish mission churches, provided their respective emphases in doctrine, church order, and discipline would be respected. Thus, those who put their efforts wholeheartedly into the movement for unity of Spanish Protestantism were the Scottish and Irish Presbyterians, the Evangelical Lutherans of Germany, and the Reformed Churchmen of France, Switzerland, and Holland.

At this point, however, one important observation has to be made. The continental Reformed Churches hardly had any missionary presence in Spain. The German Lutherans intended also to import no German-types into the peninsula. Thus, it came about that the greatest influence, as regards church order and discipline, came from Scottish and Irish Presbyterianism.

By the middle of 1869, there were two main sections of Spanish Protestantism. The first was the 'Spanish Reformed Church', supported by the Spanish Evangelization Society. Centred in Seville, this Church at the time was composed of six organized congregations. Aside from Seville, the other congregations were found in Cordoba, Granada, Malaga, Cadiz, and Huelva.[60] In July of that year, they

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[59] See Knapp's letters, dated 11th and 22nd August 1870, in The Missionary Magazine, vol. L (1870), pp. 386, 449.

[60] See J. Masa Jimenez, in Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, 1880, ed. by John B. Dales and R. M. Patterson (Philadelphia, 1880), p. 1121.

held their first Synod in Seville, presided over by Cabrera as moderator. Considering the antecedents of this Church, it was not surprising that the provisional Confession of Faith,[61] drafted on this occasion, was almost identical in substance to the Westminster Confession. A Code of Discipline and a Directory for Worship were also prepared, both documents clearly reflecting French and Scottish Reformed traditions.[62]

The second section of Spanish Protestantism comprised the so-called 'Evangelical Churches' in the north. These were the churches in Camuñas, Zaragoza, the 'Madera Baja' and 'Plazuela del Limon' in Madrid, and later, also that of Valladolid. With the exception of that in the Plazuela del Limon, which was United Presbyterian, the rest were supported by the various British and continental societies and committees, through the Madrid Committee of Spanish Evangelization. Thus, because of the greater diversity of the supporting societies and of the evangelical workers, through which they were gathered, these particular churches took a much longer time to organize than those in Andalusia.

It is significant to note that the initial attempt to have these churches in northern Spain organized came from Scottish

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[61] As far as is known, this was the second Spanish Calvinistic confession ever drafted. The first was reportedly prepared by sixteenth-century Spanish Protestant exiles in England, perhaps with the assistance of the Bible translator, Cassiodoro de la Reina. It was first published in London in 1559, under the title 'Confession of Christian Faith made by some believing Spaniards, who, fleeing from the abuses of the Romish Church and the cruelty of the Spanish Inquisition, abandoned their country in order to be received as brethren in Christ by the Church of the Faithful.' Later, it was reprinted in Spanish and in German in Cassell in 1601, and once more in German by Joaquin Ursino in Antwerp in 1611. See ibid., citing partly for his sources Gerdes' Florilegium Libr. Rar. (1763), p. 87, and Scrinium Antiquarium, vol. I, pp. 149-51.

[62] See Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, p. 312.

and Irish Presbyterians. Up to 1870, not a single congregation had yet been formally organized in Madrid.[63] Believing that this want of organization was bringing confusion to evangelical work in Spain,[64] the Presbyterian missionaries, Jameson and Moore, in concert with Knapp, who had embraced Presbyterianism as a temporary expedient,[65] organized in March 1870 the so-called La Iglesia Presbiteriana de Madrid.[66] It was hoped that this would serve as the nucleus, around which all Spanish churches would eventually be gathered to form a single Spanish Protestant Church. But without support from the rest of the evangelical workers, no progress was made. On the contrary, by August that year, Knapp had broken off with Jameson and Moore, and had formed his own 'First Baptist Church of Madrid', re-baptizing by immersion thirty-three members of the Presbyterian congregation.[67]

If this Presbyterian attempt ended in failure then, it did not mean the end of Presbyterian influence. Inspired by the example of their brethren in Andalusia, the Protestant congregations in Ma-

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[63] This was because of the fact that Carrasco and Ruet, before proceeding to such an organization, wished to see that all were first of all ready to join a Spanish Reformed Church, not connected to some denomination abroad. On the other hand, Armstrong, the most influential of all indepdendent workers in Spain, was not interested in any ecclesiastical organization, apart from the Madrid Committee, of which he was president. 'An unprofessed Plymouthist' was what one Scottish Presbyterian called him. See Jameson, in UPC Missionary Record, vol. III (1870), p. 140. See also MacGill to Jameson, dated 1st April 1870, in UPC Foreign Letter Book, no. 13 (NLS MS. 7650).

[64] MacGill to Jameson, dated 20th July 1870, in ibid.

[65] See Knapp to MacGill, 5th April 1870, in UPC Missionary Record, vol. III (1870), p. 139.

[66] For details, see Jameson, in ibid., p. 140.

[67] See Knapp's letter, dated Madrid, 11th August 1870, in The Missionary Magazine, vol. L (1870), p. 386. In fairness to Knapp, it might be said that perhaps he felt justified in doing this, soon after he realized his mistake in joining the Presbyterians, because the 'Presbyterian Church of Madrid' was after all founded on his work.

drid, Camuñas, and Zaragoza in 1871 finally organized themselves into the so-called 'Spanish Evangelical Union'.[68] Significantly enough, it was to Scotland that the uniting congregations turned for assistance in the drafting of their confession, liturgy, and discipline. For this purpose, they invited Somerville, the Scottish Free Church minister in Glasgow, to come to Madrid.[69]

Negotiations soon began for the merger of the Spanish Evangelical Union and the Spanish Reformed Church. Once again, Somerville was invited to help, in the preparation of a new Confession of Faith, and Code of Church Order and Discipline. The results of all these efforts was the union assembly at Seville in April 1871, at which time the so-called 'Spanish Christian Church'[70] was brought into being. It was a 'hybrid' Church, with an ecclesiastical order lying between the Scottish Presbyterian and the French Reformed models.[71] However, it enabled the American Congregationalists to join. This was because of the provision that, as long as unity of faith and discipline was strictly maintained, each local church was at liberty to shape its own structure and program, according to whatever the congregation might deem most suited for their locality.[72] By 1873, the

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[68] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII, n.s. (1871), p. 188. Cf. Smith, A Modern Apostle, p. 117.

[69] Ibid. [70] Christian Work, vol. VI (1872), pp. 47-48.

[71] Strangely enough, Ben Oliel refused to join (and even opposed his fellow-missionary Jameson), because: 'It is not Presbyterian, for there are no Presbyteries. It is not French Reformed, for though there is a central consistory, there are no regional consistories. It is not Independent or Congregationalist, for there is a central consistory, which assumes to govern the united churches. Nor is it like any other constitution with which I am acquainted.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), p. 374.

[72] For more details, see Christian Work, vol. VI (1872), pp. 47-48.

Spanish Christian Church had assumed a more distinctly presbyterian type of organization. There were then four 'Presbyteries' (although others preferred to call these 'Consistories'), comprising a total of twenty congregations throughout Spain.[73] The only ones not in the union were five congregations belonging to the American Baptists, the Plymouth Brethren, and the Episcopal Mission.

Before long, however, the question of church order was to come to the fore. As later events were to show, the American Congregationalists were not fully satisfied with the arrangement. Cabrera himself had leanings in the direction of an episcopal order. With the continental committees taking a neutral position on the question, it was therefore only the Irish and Scottish Presbyterians, who were anxious to preserve this order. No one can say that they would have withdrawn their support, if the Spanish Christian Church, for some reason, had changed to some other form of church government. But it is on record that when the Iglesia Presbiteriana de Madrid was accused of bringing about denominationalism, and suggestions were made for its dissolution, the Presbyterian missionaries in Madrid (despite their disavowals of any denominational interests) did send abroad an appeal 'to all those who value their Presbyterianism to sustain and further this their own church.'[74] In any case, what is certain is that Protestantism in Spain did make this significant advance towards

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[73] These were the Presbytery of Madrid North: Church of Jesus (Calle Calatrava), Church of the Saviour (Calle Leganitos), Las Peñuelas, Valladolid, Santander; Presbytery of Madrid South: Church of the Redeemer (Calle Madera Baja), Bellas Vistas, Camuñas, Alicante, Cartagena; Presbytery of Barcelona: Barcelona, Zaragoza, Port Mahon; and Presbytery of Seville: Seville, Cordoba, Granada, Huelva, Jerez, Cadiz, and Malaga. For more details, see A. Carrasco, in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 120.

[74] See statement of Jameson, Moore, and Knapp, in UPC Missionary Record, vol. III (1870), p. 141.

the fulfilment of the ideal of one Reformed Church in Spain. In this the British, in particular, the Scottish and Irish Presbyterians, took the lead, with the result that the Church approximating this ideal had by this time come under strong Presbyterian influence.

The British evangelical societies also played a leading role, as alluded to earlier, in the establishment of training institutions for Spanish workers. The question of seminaries was part of the fundamental issue: should foreigners, or Spaniards 'evangelize' Spain? This had been a frequent subject of discussion, even long before 1868, in the circles of those members of the Evangelical Alliance interested in Spanish evangelization.[75] The answer to this was crucial. For as can easily be seen, that answer also determined the approach to the whole idea of Spanish evangelization, including that concerning the training of future Spanish workers. Should this training be given in the long-established Protestant seminaries abroad, or in new institutions that must be set up in Spain?

The 'Seminaire Espagnol' at Lausanne was an experiment in this whole question. But at the end of 1868, not one young Spaniard had yet been graduated from this institution. The first Spanish Protestant workers after 1868 were generally the former exiles, or new converts -- ex-priests, -friars, and -seminarians, or laymen who showed interest in helping the evangelical cause. Yet, with a few notable exceptions, these, especially the new converts, disappointingly proved either unfit,[76] or unfaithful.[77] Knapp expressed the

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[75] See A. Carrasco, in Proceedings of the Amsterdam Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (1867), pp. 143f.

[76] The majority only had 'a very superficial knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures.' See Christian Work, vol. II, n.s. (1872), p. 48.

[77] As Ben Oliel said in 1874: 'Many of the natives who were or-

disappointment of all foreign missionaries in Spain, when he spoke of 'the great difficulty of securing earnest men as evangelists,' and of 'the ephemeral relations to our work of those who have preached for us.'[78] For this reason, nearly every missionary attempted on his own some sort of training program for his assistants.[79]

The British evangelical societies, however, should take the credit for having been the first to establish seminaries in Spain.[80] The earliest was the so-called 'Theological College of Seville', began in July 1869 with fourteen students, and built on the training classes earlier established by Cabrera and Clough. This was a project of the Spanish Evangelization Society.[81] At the end of that year, this college was placed under the direction of a Scottish Free Church minister, the Rev. John Sutherland Black, M.A., a scholar of no mean standing.[82] From a training class begun earlier by Knapp, there also grew in Madrid in January 1871 the so-called 'Evangelists' Training School', placed under the direction of Moore, Gladstone, Carrasco, and later, also Jameson.[83] About the same time, the United Presbyterian missionaries, Ben Oliel and Viliesid, also established

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dained into the pastorate . . . have disappeared from the field; they were men without training, and some proved unworthy of the sacred trust.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 192.

78 As quoted by Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, p. 216.

79 See, for example, La Luz, vol. II (Dec. 31, 1870), p. 4.

80 The American Board did not establish their own theological college in Spain until 1881 (see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXII (1881), p. 264), and the German Mission, until still later.

81 Interestingly enough, as early as 1861, this Society had thought of bringing young Spanish converts to Scotland for theological training. See its Annual Report for 1861, p. 4.

82 For details, see Wylie, Daybreak in Spain, pp. 290f.

83 La Luz, vol. III (Jan. 21, 1871), p. 4.

their own training school in Cadiz.[84]

These institutions received financial support from various sources, although most of the money came from Scotland. Aside from the Spanish Evangelization Society, the most ardent supporters were the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church. In 1871 alone, the students of the United Presbyterian Theological Hall in Edinburgh raised a total of £974, to help finance these institutions in Seville, Cadiz, and Madrid.[85] Unfortunately, the high cost of maintaining these colleges soon proved too great a burden for two or three societies or churches to carry. One after the other, these reluctantly had to be closed, thus throwing upon the individual missionaries or pastors in Spain the task of training their own assistants.

It now became apparent, that the training of Spanish Protestant workers needed to be the joint enterprise of all the various missions in Spain. However, the difficulties connected with establishing regular seminaries made it impossible to have this done at once. Adequate preparations had to be made, in terms of buildings, professors, and libraries, and these the missions were not ready to do. At first, it was thought more practical to send students abroad to Scotland or Switzerland, so that they might have 'the benefit of Christian example, society, and influence, of a higher quality than could be found in their native land.'[86] But then, it was not long before doubts were cast upon the wisdom of this plan. For one thing, the Spanish Protestants were bound to resent the basic presupposition behind the whole idea. The question that many soon began to ask

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[84] Minutes of the UPC Foreign Missions Board (27th Sept. 1870).

[85] UPC Missionary Record, vol. IV (1871), p. 573.

[86] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIV (1873), p. 126.

was whether there were indeed no 'disadvantages of education in a foreign land and tongue.'[87] Apart from the problem of having to overcome the difficulty of a foreign language, the student, for the entire duration of his study, also had to be temporarily separated from his own people and the actual scene of his future labours. Thus, in later years, determined efforts were made to permanently establish Protestant seminaries in Spain as soon as possible.

Problems and Difficulties

Protestantism in Spain did achieve more gains during this period, and especially in the first two years, immediately following the revolution of 1868, than at any other time. But this rapid advance was not to last for long. In the first place, the initial response to Protestant propaganda, on the part of a great many Spaniards, quickly subsided. The fact is that this enthusiasm was apparently based on two only superficial reasons.

Undoubtedly, the first of this was simply the curiousity about this 'new doctrine'. For generations, Spaniards generally had only heard about, but never came in contact with Protestantism. Now that it was legally allowed by the government to exist, many naturally wanted to know what it was all about. This curiousity was partly indicated by the fact that it was a common sight in Protestant chapels for 'large numbers,' as Ben Oliel once said of his own in Cadiz, to 'come in and out during the service, staying only a while.'[88] Some Protestant workers understood this situation only too clearly,

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[87] Rev. Henry R. Duncan (missionary superintendent of the Spanish Evangelization Society), in The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 155.

[88] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XII, n.s. (1871), p. 143.

and expected only a fourth or even a fifth of the first inquirers to continue in attendance at evangelical services, after the initial curiousity had been satisfied.[89] It might also be mentioned that along with this curiousity, many people came, because they were perhaps attracted by the eloquence of the Spanish preacher. A visiting Scottish minister in 1870 was not exactly far from the truth, when he said of the Spaniards, that 'there is, perhaps, no other nation so susceptible to the influence of eloquence.'[90] Many of those who did come to Protestant religious services may indeed have shed off some of their mistaken prejudices about Protestantism. But apparently, the greater number preferred to let it remain as la cosa de los extranjeros,[91] that is, 'the affair of the foreigners', as they had long regarded it.

The second reason for the initial enthusiastic response to Protestantism was the superficial identification of it with the liberal ideas of the revolution.[92] Protestantism and political liberalism had always been regarded as belonging to the same company. This was a view held even by Catholic traditionalists, who fiercely denounced both. This identification of one with the other was especially true among Spaniards of republican sentiments.[93] Thus, when republican rebels held Malaga for three days early in January 1869,

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89 The Missionary Herald, vol. LXIX (1873), p. 400.

90 Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 115.

91 The Missionary Magazine, vol. LI (1871), p. 57.

92 Latourette, Christianity in a Revolutionary Age, vol. II, pp. 220-21.

93 As occasionally mentioned earlier, the Spanish Protestants themselves tended to be of republican leanings. Mention has been of Carrasco and Vizcarrondo. At least two Protestant pastors, Alonso Marselau and Trigo (cf. Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 84) left the ministry, to engage in republican activities.

Armstrong was permitted to move about freely among the street barricades, in order to sell Scriptures and tracts.[94] Not many days later in Madrid, the captain of the guards on duty at the Ministry of the Interior placed his entire company of 113 men in line, and then in a brief address told them to read with due attention the Protestant tracts in his hands, as these spoke of liberty and life. Not many hours later, another company of guardsmen also sent for the same tracts, and received them in like manner.[95]

This close relationship between Spanish Protestantism and radical politics frequently evoked comments, mostly of disapproval, from foreign workers, who saw danger in that relationship. Thus, one missionary lamented that most of those who came to Protestant meetings did so, partly in order 'to show their adherence to Republican feelings.'[96] The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society in 1872 also spoke of 'the mixture of political feeling which renders the profession of Protestant views a very equivocal test of religious sincerity, and which identifies Protestantism with a class of extreme politicians'[97] in Spain. Indeed, Protestantism suffered adversely from the conservative clericalist reaction to the Republican excesses of 1873 and 1874.[97]

What is important to note at this point, however, is that

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[94] Christian Work, vol. III, n.s. (1869), p. 58.

[95] Ibid., p. 57.

[96] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 115.

[97] WMMS Annual Report (1872), p. 23.

[98] For details, see Rachel Challice, The Secret History of the Court of Spain during the Last Century (London, 1909), pp. 244f. See also Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los heterodoxos españoles, vol. VII, pp. 480f.

as soon as the novelty of Protestantism wore off, there correspondingly came a rapid decrease in the attendance at Protestant religious services. The merely curious had been satisfied, and those who came with a mixture of political and religious motives had realized that Protestantism was not actually what they had thought of it at first. In 1874, an American Congregationalist missionary perhaps best summarized the situation, when he said that 'the day of large and fluctuating congregations, and of exciting incidents' had past, and now Protestant missions were at the 'stage of steady, unobtrusive faith trying work.'[99]

Inevitably, one must also mention the fanatical opposition of traditionalist Catholics to Protestantism. Perhaps this opposition would not have been as intense as it actually was, if Protestant workers had pursued their objectives more quietly, or if the government had been less anticlerical. But never before had the Catholic Church in Spain felt so seriously attacked and persecuted.[100] Indeed, friars had been massacred in 1834 and 1835, but those were isolated incidents and caused by mob violence. It was a different thing for a 'godless' government to demolish, with one stroke of the pen, as by the Constitution of 1869, thirteen centuries of Catholic unity.[101] Thus, every Catholic diocese in the country was roused to action, as passionate exhortations and fiery harangues came from

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[99] W. H. Gulick, in The Missionary Herald, vol. LXX (1874), p. 283.

[100] As early as 1869, however, a Catholic preacher had suggested the idea of the Spanish Church, under 'godless' governments, as being 'la Iglesia perseguida', the Church persecuted. See Jaime Carrera Pujal, Historia politica de Cataluña en el siglo XIX (Barcelona, 1958), vol. V, p. 151.

[101] El pensamiento español (Mar. 31, 1869), as quoted by Carro Martinez, La constitucion española de 1869, p. 227.

bishops and priests alike. Zealous Catholics in many parts of the country, led by the clergy and the Asociacion de Damas Catolicas (Catholic Ladies' Association),[102] banded themselves together, for the defence of Catholic unity and a counter-attack against 'godlessness' and 'heresy.'

Catholic opposition to Protestantism ranged from mild measures to violence. Various means were employed to keep the people from associating with Protestants, and the clergy urged the Catholic faithful to destroy all evangelical literature they could lay their hands on.[103] Vilifications of Protestantism were shouted from the pulpits, or printed in the clericalist journals. Protestant teachings were also misrepresented, though it is not always certain whether this was deliberate, or simply the result of imperfect knowledge. Rumours were encouraged that Protestants were Jews, responsible for Christ's crucifixion, although with a strange inconsistency, they were also assailed as members of a 'modern sect' of Luther's creation.[104] Protestant workers were accused of bribing converts or parents to send their children to evangelical schools.[105] At the same time, a mass-

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[102] Cf. The Presbyterian, no. 11 (March 1869), p. 14. A university students' association, La Juventud Catolica (Catholic Youth), as answer to the Republicans' Joven España (Young Spain), was also organized. But it was not as fiercely anti-Protestant as the ladies' association. Cf. Gomez Molleda, Los reformadores de la España contemporanea, p. 232.

[103] See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXIX (1873), p. 400. However, most of the Protestant literature actually destroyed in this manner were those that were given away gratuitously, as handbills and tracts.

[104] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 142.

[105] On the contrary, Protestants countered that it was, in fact, Catholics, who were buying off evangelical workers with cash or promises of good employment. See Christian Work, vol. VI, n.s. (1872), p. 80. (See also La Luz, vol. III (April 1, 1872), p. 1. Cf. The Christian Standard, vol. III (1873), p. 100. Cf. also NBSS Occasional Record, no. 16 (Nov. 1869), p. 216.) What is certain is that in

ive campaign was launched by the clergy to visit homes, and obtain promises of fidelity to the Catholic faith. Catechetical books were disseminated, and Catholic children's schools were established, often adjacent or just across the street to those set up by Protestant missions.[106]

Sometimes Protestant preachers were threatened with physical violence,[107] or else, charged with complicity in anti-government activities.[108] In some cases, Bible colporteurs were stoned, or their books were seized from them, and then torn up or burnt in public autos-de-fe.[109] Protestant religious services were sometimes disturbed by rowdies, so that evangelical workers were forced to post at the doors to their chapels the pertinent articles of the Penal Code, respecting punishable acts against any religion in Spain.[110] Various means were also employed to intimidate Catholic landlords, to prevent them from leasing their premises to Protestants, for use as evangelical halls of worship. Those who had already done so were either endlessly harrassed, bought off with a higher price, or threat-

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certain places where Protestant work was especially flourishing, the Damas Catolicas gave free food and clothing to members of Protestant congregations, or to those believed about to become Protestants. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), pp. 94-95.

106 Cf. ibid.

107 In the village of Mahajonda, for example, a Protestant meeting in 1870 was broken up, when the parish priest and his sacristan appeared with revolvers. The former did not draw his weapon, but the latter reportedly fired actually at one of the three Protestant evangelists. (See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 306). For details of another incident, involving a threat on A. Ben Oliel's life, see also ibid., vol. XII, n.s. (1871), p. 331.

108 Annual NBSS Report (1869), p. 34.

109 Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIV (1873), p. 30. Cf. Annual NBSS Report (1871), p. 44. Cf. 62nd ABCFM Report (1872), p. 86.

110 La Luz, vol. II (Nov. 12, 1870), p. 4.

ened with physical violence, loss of clientele, or arson to their properties, unless they immediately ejected their Protestant tenants.[111] In many cases, the Protestant converts themselves were also subjected to various forms of harrassment,[112] aside from the inevitable ostracism from the wider community, that usually followed one's profession of Protestantism.

As a result of all this opposition, a great many inquirers were persuaded to quit Protestant services, and many parents had to withdraw their children from evangelical mission schools.[113] Most Protestant congregations were also forced to meet in out-of-the-way or hardly suitable premises, if they could find any. In some places, Protestant work had to cease completely.

On the whole, however, the central authorities in Madrid could be relied upon to maintain the guarantees of the constitution, and protect the rights of Protestants. It was chiefly in the provinces, and in the smaller towns and villages, in particular, where bigotry was strong. There it usually needed only the connivance of the parish priest and bigoted local magistrates for Protestant chapels to be forbidden to open, or for an evangelist or colporteur to be turned out of town, or arbitrarily arrested on trumped-up charges.[114]

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[111] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), p. 154. Cf. F. Fliedner, Leaves from Spain, no. 1 (Mar. 1873), p. 7. Cf. also 64th Annual ABCFM Report (1874), p. 77.

[112] One usually effective way of coercing Protestant converts, especially tenant farmers, factory workers, or share-croppers, was to use the influence of zealous Catholic caciques, landlords, or employers. Thus, in Granada, for example, the manager of a large estate dismissed from work all who were suspected of having embraced Protestantism. See Christian Work, vol. VI (1872), p. 372. Cf. 66th ABMU Report (1880), pp. 77-78.

[113] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), pp. 94-95.

[114] See ibid., vol. XIV (1873), p. 30. For the case of the Bapt-

However, what especially vexed Protestants was the fact that by the time they could obtain redress for a certain wrong perpetrated against them, irreparable damage to their work usually had already been done. This was particularly true in 1873 and 1874, when the virtual collapse of order in the provinces[115] made it easier for bigoted local magistrates to harass Protestants, with little possibility of effective and immediate check by the central government.[116] Thus, in Seville in 1874, for instance, an Episcopal Mission place of meeting, which was moved from the interior of the city to the suburb, was prevented from being opened, on the ground that it was a 'new' place of Protestant worship, not yet approved. The local officials would not hear any of the explanation that it was not an additional chapel, but simply one already authorized, though now simply transferred to a new location. The case dragged on for months, despite complaints to Madrid. Only after the vigorous intervention of the British vice consul at Seville was the chapel finally inaugurated.[117]

A more serious case, actually beginning in 1872, took place in San Fernando. The local authorities forbade the opening of the United Presbyterian Mission chapel, on the ground that the building had neither proper ventilation, nor beams strong enough to guarantee the health and safety of those who would be meeting inside.[118] In

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ist minister, Rev. George S. Ben Oliel (brother of Abraham), and the alcalde of Linares, and for a typical example of the arbitrary arrest of a Bible colporteur, this time in the hill-town of Medina Sidonia, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 288.

[115] For details, see Soldevila, Historia de España, vol. VIII, pp. 29-100.

[116] Cf. The Missionary Herald, vol. LXXI (1875), p. 249.

[117] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), pp. 255-56, 288.

[118] For full details, see A. Ben Oliel, La libertad religiosa

this particular case, pure caprice and arbitrariness on the part of local, and also provincial, authorities were evident, even to the central government in Madrid. The building had been certified by a prominent government architect as perfectly safe and ventilated. But by various dilatory tactics,[119] the local officials succeeded in preventing the inauguration of the chapel for more than two and a half years. The Spanish Ministry in Madrid had to send an ultimatum, that either the officials concerned remove the ban on the chapel, or resign.

The case of the San Fernando chapel was a crucial test. An adverse decision on it would have provided a disastrous precedent for future proceedings against Protestant chapels elsewhere in Spain. As Ben Oliel put it:

> The question at issue was not local, but affected all the Protestant churches in the land. It was an attempt to assimilate the free places of worship to public buildings, subject to official inspection, and to the approbation or condemnation of official architects and academic bodies, who, being Papists, could not be expected to approve of any building dedicated to Protestant worship in Spain. Had the tactics adopted triumphed at San Fernando over a building reconstructed on purpose to obviate all objections on grounds of solidity or salubrity, what other buildings of those in use in Spain would have been deemed more solid or salubrious?[120]

This case was finally settled just a few days before the military pronunciamento at Sagunto, proclaiming Isabella's son, Alfonso, as the new king of Spain. The question that immediately troubled

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segun la constitucion y segun la interpretan algunas autoridades locales (Cadiz, 1874). This is an 84-page collection of documents, chiefly correspondence between Ben Oliel and the Spanish officials concerned, presented by the former to the British ambassador, Layard, on the 30th of May, 1874.

[119] For full details, see ibid. Cf. Ben Oliel to the secretary of the Evangelical Alliance, dated Cadiz, 25th June 1874, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), p. 255.

[120] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 83.

Protestants was: if such a case as that of the San Fernando chapel could happen under the Spanish Republic, what was to prevent similar, if not worse, harassments from recurring under Alfonso XII's regime?

Thus, if one speaks of Protestant advance in Spain from 1869 to 1874, as indeed was the case, it must also be said that Protestants were not able to make full use of the opportunities opened to them by the revolution of 1868.[121] This was not only due to Catholic bigotry, which was often singled out as the greatest hindrance to evangelical work, or to the challenge of militant atheism, which already began to be felt as early as 1870.[122] Not considering the insufficiency of funds and of trustworthy workers,[123] which almost always beset any missionary enterprise, part of this inability of Protestants to avail themselves fully of these opportunities was due to

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[121] Cf. Christian Work, vol. IV, n.s. (1870), p. 82.

[122] See, especially, Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 7.

[123] The lack of evangelical workers was aggravated by the tragic death of Carrasco, then only thirty-one years old, in the sinking of the French steamer Ville du Havre, in a night collision in the Atlantic with the British vessel Loch Earn, on the 22nd of November, 1873. Carrasco was then returning from New York, where he had gone to attend the sixth general conference of the Evangelical Alliance, as well as to raise funds for Protestant work in Spain. Four other European delegates to the conference died in that tragedy.

At the time of his death, Carrasco was pastor of the Iglesia del Redentor in Calle Madera Baja in Madrid (membership, about 700), the largest of the Protestant congregations organized since 1870. He was also concurrently president of the Synod of the Spanish Christian Church, and was considered the ablest, the best educated, and the most eloquent Spanish Protestant preacher (although Cabrera was also a candidate for the same title). In the words of Jameson, Carrasco was 'our principal representative, the mouth-piece of Protestantism in Spain. None like he had that marvelous command of language and that facility that carried away an audience.' Castelar at one time had wished, in fact, to engage Carrasco's services for the Republican Party. For more details, see 'In Memory of Pronier and Carrasco,' Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, pp. 763-66. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XV (1874), pp. 4, 14, 56, 254. Cf. also Manuel Carrasco, in The Quarterly Register, vol. II (1889), p. 66.

internal factors within Protestant work itself. Protestant missions in Spain, as already referred to, lacked a cohesive organization. Mistakes in judgment were made, which would have been easier to avoid than to repair.[124] There were personal rivalries and quarrels among the workers,[125] as mentioned earlier, to which may be added the existence of jealousy between Spanish Protestant leaders and foreign missionaries.[126] Abroad, supporters of the work also did not fully understand the true situation in Spain, so that often their wishes clashed with those of the missionaries in the field, or of the Spanish Protestants themselves.[127] All these debilitating factors were already recognized by 1874, but their combined effect was not fully felt until the last quarter of the century.

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[124] Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIII, n.s. (1872), p. 22.

[125] The intensity of some of these conflicts may be gauged from Knapp's statement: 'Our friends of another denomination are working against us, with all the force of British and Scotch gold.' (See The Missionary Magazine, vol. LI (1871), p. 154.) It would be tedious to mention all the personality conflicts and bitter quarrels among certain workers. But perhaps it would suffice to mention that between Ben Oliel and the Spanish Evangelization Society at Cadiz, the Rev. Jose Hernandez; or that between Jameson and Lawrence.

[126] One Scottish Presbyterian minister, who visited Spain in 1870, though speaking from the viewpoint of a foreigner, perhaps pointed to the root of this jealousy, when he attributed it to 'the totally different character of Spaniards and, for instance, Englishmen. It is exceedingly easy to hurt the national pride of the Spaniard.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 116.

[127] A good example of this was the reluctance of supporting societies and committees, especially in Britain, to send money to erect chapels or buy deconsecrated Catholic churches in Spain. They were more willing to send men instead. The apparent reason for this was the fear that the Spanish Protestants would use crosses in their chapels. ('The cross,' said one British evangelical writer, 'is one of the great bloody idols of the Church of Rome.' Cf. The Bulwark, vol. XVIII (1868), p. 53). This was one of the chief reasons, why Protestants in Spain were unable to secure, except in Seville and Madrid, decent places of worship, at a time when such would have been comparatively easy to obtain. Before long, strong Catholic opposition virtually closed this opportunity. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 83.

Chapter IX

RETRENCHMENT OR WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH MISSIONARY SOCIETIES (1875-1902)

With the accession of Alfonso XII to the throne in 1875, the question of religious liberty once more became a major and immediate concern of Protestants in Spain. Would the new government maintain such liberty? Or would there be a return to religious intolerance? At first, the question seemed to hang precariously on a balance. Alfonso had promised that he would rule constitutionally,[1] but it was another matter as to what constitution that would be. Some Protestants feared that he could easily become the subservient tool of clericalist reactionaries.[2] One British evangelical journal went so far as to call him 'the veriest slave of the priests.'[3]

This fear was heightened by the first acts of Alfonso's government. All clerical privileges prior to 1868 were restored. At the same time, steps were taken to restrict the activities of anti-clericalists. Thus, all liberal journals in Madrid, allegedly guilty of 'insulting religious persons and things,'[4] were suppressed. In February 1875, two decrees also were issued, one defining the right of public meetings, and another, annulling civil marriage among Cath-

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[1] See his 'Sandhurst Manifesto', in Diccionario de historia de Espana desde sus origines hasta el fin del reinado de Alfonso XIII (2 vols.; Madrid, 1952), vol. II, p. 1123.

[2] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), pp. 37, 99, 199.

[3] The Christian Standard, vol. VI (1875), p. 25.

[4] The Missionary Herald, vol. LXXI (1875), p. 212.

olics (valid since the Civil Marriage Act of 1870), and restoring the canon law regulations on matrimony.[5]

What Protestants in Spain feared was that these government measures might be used to threaten their religious liberty. Events indeed were soon to show that clericalists could easily take advantage of the new political atmosphere to impede the normal course of Protestant activities.[6] The decree on public meetings prohibited, unless with previous official and written authorization from local magistrates, assemblies of more than twenty persons, whether in the open air, or in any building not the habitual residence of the individuals concerned. While Catholic processions and masses, as well as theatrical and public spectacles, were exempted, no mention was made of religious meetings by non-Catholics. With this decree, therefore, Protestants felt themselves all the more vulnerable to the whims of bigoted local magistrates.[7]

The marriage reform decree did exempt Protestants from the

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[5] For more details, see Felipe Sanchez Roman, Estudios de derecho civil . . . y el codigo civil e historia general de la legislacion española (Madrid, 1912), bk. IV, vol. I, pp. 442, 512.

[6] Thus, early in 1875 two Protestant journals, La Luz and La Bandera de la Reforma, were suppressed along with the liberal political papers in Madrid. About the same time, the United Presbyterian mission chapel in San Fernando was also closed, on the allegation that it was being used as a rendezvous by Republican conspirators. It took the strong protests of the British and German governments to reopen the chapel, and release the Protestant journals from the ban. Bismarck intimated that Germany would defer recognition of Alfonso XII, until these anti-Protestant measures in Spain were revoked. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), pp. 329-30. For an interesting article on this question, and indeed on the wider subject of Protestant religious liberty, see C. J. Bartlett, 'The Question of Religious Toleration in Spain in the Nineteenth Century,' The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. VIII (1957), pp. 205-16.

[7] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 106. See also the Bible Society Monthly Reporter, vol. IX (1875), p. 701.

compulsory nature of canonical marriage. But it condescendingly treated conjugal unions among them not as 'marriages', but as merely civil 'associations' (consorcios). What was especially thought harmful was the clause, which read:

> All those who have been ordained in sacris, or who have taken the solemn vow of chastity in one of the canonically approved religious orders, are from the date of this decree not considered as legally married, although they may allege that they have abjured the Roman Catholic faith. This clause, however, does not touch the rights of legitimacy of the children born, or who might be born within the 300 days following this decree; but the paternal and the maternal authority, and those rights acquired hitherto in consequence of the conjugal association, must be dissolved.[8]

More than anything else, the decree was apparently designed to stop the scores, perhaps hundreds, of priests or nuns who were leaving their religious vocations, to get married and assume lay occupations. But Protestants in Spain could not help but think that it was a blow 'aimed directly at those priests who, having been converted to Protestantism, and married civilly, are now pastors of Evangelical Churches.'[9] Nevertheless, although some attempts were made to render this clause operative,[10] it did not seem to have done Protestants much harm. The worst it apparently did was to provide the enemies of Protestantism an opportunity to defame legally the personal character of many a leading evangelical pastor in Spain.[11]

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[8] As quoted by the Bible Society Monthly Reporter, vol. IX (1875), p. 702. The full text of the decree is also found in Layard's despatch, 10th Feb. 1875, F.O. 72. 1407. 177.

[9] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 106. Among the score or so married ex-priests, now serving as Protestant pastors, evangelists or teachers, one might mention Juan Bautista Cabrera, Francisco Palomares, Angel Blanco Fernandez, Manrique Alonso Lallave, Cipriano Tornos, Francisco Orejon, Pablo Sanchez Ruiz, Felix Moreno Astray, one Sr Ponce de Leon, etc.

[10] See, for example, The Missionary Herald, vol. LXXI (1875), p. 212.

[11] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 106.

Succeeding events, however, showed clearly that although Protestants indeed lost some of their liberties guaranteed by the Constitution of 1869, their worst fears of a return to religious intolerance had been exaggerated. The fact of the matter was that Alfonso, through the influence of his mentor Canovas del Castillo, did intend to live up to his promise, that he would be 'like all my predecessors, a good Catholic; as a man of the century, truly liberal.'[12] Indeed, the members of Alfonso's government wished to remain moderately conservative and conciliatory in their attitude towards the Catholic Church, and yet they were also religiously tolerant.[13] This was best expressed by the Constitution of 1876:

> Art. 11. The Catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion is that of the state. The nation binds itself to support its worship and its ministers.
>
> No one shall be molested in Spanish territory for his religious opinions, or for the exercise of his own worship, saving the respect due to Christian morality.
>
> Nevertheless, no ceremonies or public manifestations shall be permitted other than those of the religion of the state.[14]

As a compromise, this religious clause was a masterpiece of ambiguity, drafted by a government determined to maintain a precarious neutral position between the extremist political parties.[15] In effect, what it brought into being was a situation approximating the religious toleration, guaranteed by the Constitution of 1855. It was apparently meant to conciliate Catholic zealots, by pointing

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[12] 'Sandhurst Manifesto', Diccionario de historia de España, vol. II, p. 1123.

[13] Cf. Layard's despatches, 13th and 19th Jan. 1875, in F.O. 72. 1405. 82 and 100.

[14] See Joaquin Abella, Los codigos españoles vigentes en la peninsula y la ultramar (Madrid, 1890), p. 7.

[15] Cf. Sir J. Walsham's confidential despatch, 5th Aug. 1875, F.O. 72. 1411. 519.

to its literal rendering, and the libre-cultistas, by its peculiar construction, which could be understood as affirming a certain measure of religious liberty. The fact is that its interpretation depended entirely on the whim or will of the ministry in power.[16]

As might be expected, this compromise clause was subjected to vociferous attacks from political extremists. The Republicans denounced it, insisting on complete separation between Church and State, after the manner of Cavour's famous formula ('a free Church in a free State'), accepted in Italy even by some distinguished conservative statesmen.[17] On the other hand, zealous Catholics, particularly the ultramontanist 'Neos' or 'Irreconciliables',[18] as well as the Pope,[19] regarded it as a violation of Catholic unity, stipulated by the Concordat of 1851.

Amidst all these, however, the Spanish government stood firm. The greatest defender of the 11th Article was Canovas del Castillo himself, the champion of the restored monarchy, and Spanish prime minister for most of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Though Protestants in Spain did not fully appreciate it,[20] it was to

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16 Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 266. Cf. The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), pp. 303-304. Cf. also Mr Bourke (British Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. CCXXX (1876), cols. 6-7.

17 See Fernandez Almagro, Historia politica de la España contemporanea, vol. I, p. 450.

18 They were so-called, because of their adhesion to the 'new' doctrine of papal infallibility, and their intransigence in clamouring for the return of religious unity. See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXXI (1875), p. 307.

19 See Pope Pius IX's brief, as quoted by Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVI (1875), p. 293.

20 Because they identified him solely as the architect of the Bourbon restoration, many Protestants at the time distrusted Canovas. See, e.g., Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 281.

him that they owed their continued enjoyment of religious toleration, the best under a conservative Spanish government. He believed that such toleration must be written into the Constitution, and strongly opposed the intransigent Moderates, who advocated only a 'practical toleration', that is, one argued only from silence, as from the Constitutional Reform of 1845, for example.[21] As a recent historian put it, Canovas del Castillo was also particularly 'sensitive to European pressure, especially that exercised from the German and British embassies in favour of the Protestants' rights.'[22] As the latter himself said during the religious debate in the Cortes in 1875:

> Do you perhaps want a new revocation of the Edict of Nantes? . . . Are we to adopt this criterion, opposing ourselves to the concert of European nations, when by our position in Europe, America and Asia, we need to win for ourselves the sympathies of the entire world? It is easily said that it is possible to live in disagreement with these other nations; but those who say this perhaps dare not live in a house in a neighbourhood without the agreement of the other neighbours.[23]

Thus, the government policy of the restored monarchy preserved for Protestants in Spain a generous measure of religious toleration. Because conservative administration went no further beyond that of Canovas (even after Alfonso XII's death in 1885, and his young widow ruled as Regent), Protestants in Spain enjoyed at least nominal protection of the law during this period. On the contrary, time was to show that when a liberal ministry was in power, as indeed in 1881-1883, 1885-1890, and 1892-1895, the most generous interpretation

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[21] See 'Tolerancia,' Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americana, vol. LXII, p. 504.

[22] Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 351n. This subject is dealt with more fully by C. J. Bartlett, in The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. VIII (1957), pp. 205f. See also Layard, The Story of My Mission to Spain, vol. II, fols. 224-26 (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 38933).

[23] As quoted by Fernandez Almagro, Historia politica de la España contemporanea, vol. I, pp. 299-300.

of the 11th Article of the Constitution was accorded to Protestants.

To be sure, for Protestants there was to be no rest from struggle. The Catholic opposition persisted in the attempt to restrict their activities as much as possible, and contain them in the limited spheres, in which they had managed to establish themselves. If prior to 1869, the Protestant struggle in Spain was generally for liberty to exist, after 1876 it was a struggle to maintain that existence.

Spanish Protestantism After 1875

The course that Protestantism in Spain took during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in turn determined the course of action, which the supporting missionary societies and committees took with regard to the Spanish work. It is but natural to expect that the enthusiasm in supporting any endeavour of this nature would depend largely on its successes or failures.

In retrospect, it is clearly seen that Protestant work in Spain from 1875 to 1902, at the accession of Alfonso XIII, went through a phase of slow, faith-trying 'progress'. Gone were the exciting events of 1869 and 1870, which were eagerly reported in the leading missionary journals abroad.[24] By 1874 it was already clear

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[24] The fact of the matter is that as early as 1873, some evangelical workers in Spain had begun to raise some serious questions about the kind of missionary reports that were being given supporters of Spanish evangelization abroad. As Ben Oliel in Cadiz put it:

'The tendency to represent principally the sunny side of missions, keeping in the background whatever may discourage, is so general, particularly on the part of friends who undertake to describe distant scenes . . . I speak from long experience when I warn the friends of missions of the injury they may inflict, unwittingly, on the cause they love so dearly, by any departure from the exact facts. Those who undertake to present a general view of mission work over an extensive field, if they prefer to withhold their names, should at least date their communications, and state the place from whence they write

that the momentum Protestantism gained from the revolution of 1868 was being lost. Protestant workers, in a number of places, were relinquishing ground that they had previously entered.[25] After 1875, much of what was termed 'advance' of Protestant work in Spain, as reported in missionary journals abroad, seemed to be actually more in terms of consolidation, rather than expansion. Though indeed, there were small successes in various places now and then, the general picture of evangelical work in that country was one of stagnation. Henceforth, the growth of the Protestant community was more through natural increase, rather than the conversion of large numbers of Catholics.

Occasionally, some feeble re-expressions were made of the extravagant hope, as was most enthusiastically voiced out in 1869 or 1870, of Protestantism eventually winning the allegiance of the entire Spanish nation. But even this had now been considerably toned down,[26] and appears to have been simply wishful thinking on the part of those missionaries, who believed strongly that God must surely be on their side, and in time cause to grow the seeds that they had sown over the years. On the other hand, however, statements, like 'things look very gloomy here,'[27] began to appear more frequently in missionary reports

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and be careful to distinguish between what they state from personal knowledge and observation, and what from mere hearsay.' See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIV (1873), p. 124.

[25] See ibid., vol. XV (1874), p. 192.

[26] Thus, Jameson said in 1888: 'It has been gravely asserted that there is very little expectation of countries like Spain, and Italy or France, ever becoming in any degree evangelical, but I am not at all of this opinion. The process will probably be long -- in Spain likely longer than in most other countries; but it will most undoubtedly be carried on; and though it is not likely that any of us, who are at present working may see the end, the end will surely come . . .' See Annual NBSS Report (1888), p. 2.

[27] Rev. Richard Corfield, BFBS agent in Madrid, in Bible Society Monthly Reporter, vol. X (1876), p. 171.

from Spain beginning 1875.

To a great degree, the course that Protestant work in Spain took during this period was determined by external circumstances impinging upon it. The one important consideration in this respect was the two-pronged opposition by fanatical Catholicism, on the one hand, and rationalism and atheism, on the other. With the passage of time, the latter appeared to be the more formidable foe. For while it was comparatively easy to combat the misrepresentations (mostly from ignorance) by Catholics of Protestant teachings, it was considerably more difficult to win against the indifference,[28] or the sneers of those, who had denounced religion altogether. This militant godlessness, which perhaps harmed the Catholic Church more/it did the tiny Protestant community, however, had long been recognized by both as an ever-present threat. But its challenge to religion became more potent after 1870, with the establishment of a Spanish branch of the International, and especially after the Bakuninists' activities in 1873, at the time of the First Spanish Republic.[29] By the 1880's, Protestantism had begun to feel more strongly the assaults of atheistic propaganda. As Jameson reported in 1885, the 'worst enemy' of Bible colporteurs was 'not ignorance or bigotry, but infidelity. The Sunday Times of Free Thought, which holds up the Scriptures to ridicule is a popular weekly.'[30]

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[28] For a detailed discussion of this subject, particularly the various attitudes of Spanish intellectuals towards religion, at the time of the First Spanish Republic, see Rose, Untrodden Spain, and her Black Country, vol. I, pp. 229f.

[29] For details of socialist activities in Spain during this period, see Gerald Brenan, The Spanish Labyrinth (Cambridge, 1936), pp. 143f. See also Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Revolution in Spain (New York, 1939), pp. 209f. Cf. Carr, Spain 1808-1939, pp. 326-27.

[30] Annual NBSS Report (1885), p. 27.

Catholic opposition, however, did not diminish. It tended to be most intensive during Lent, when religious feelings ran high, or in those places newly entered by Protestant workers. On the application of the Primate of Spain and of the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Leo XIII issued a papal brief in 1878, forbidding any Spaniard, under pain of excommunication to give either food or shelter to any Protestant propagandist, or to possess any Protestant books. The Pope reportedly also addressed an autograph letter to King Alfonso, asking him to employ every legal means to banish Protestant missionaries from Spain, and to confiscate all their properties.[31] This was certainly one occasion, when Protestants in Spain could be thankful that it was Canovas, who was prime minister. For him, it was enough that Protestant announcements, posters, signs and other public manifestations of worship had been proscribed,[32] or that Protestant Bible colporteurs were forbidden to sell their books in public places, or in public establishments of any kind,[33] and could do so only at their own lodgings.

After 1876, there were fewer cases of violence committed against Protestants on account of their faith. But whenever such did occur, they were usually of a serious nature.[34] Most of the instances

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[31] As cited by the Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, no. 195 (Oct. 1878), p. 225.

[32] For details of the Spanish government order, for the removal of this 'public manifestations', and of the strongest reaction to this in Britain, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVII (1876), p. 304. See also Rule, Recollections of My Life and Work, p. 271. Cf. United Presbyterian Magazine, vol. XX (1876), p. 528. For various communications on the subject in the Foreign Office archives, see F.O. 72. 1455.

[33] Bible Society Monthly Reporter, vol. X (1878), pp. 320-23.

[34] Perhaps the most violent persecution ever committed against Protestants in Spain took place in the province of Navarra in 1881. In the village of Unzue, not many miles from Pamplona, the homes of the only two Protestant families there were fired at and savagely attacked by stones, for seven consecutive nights. When the American

in which Protestants were molested by Catholics generally centred around three main issues, namely; alleged public manifestation of Protestant worship or propaganda; alleged insults committed by Protestants against the Catholic religion, or its priests; and the question of spiritual juriddiction claimed by Catholic priests over Protestant church members or their children, especially on the occasion of baptisms or funerals.

Thus, a Lenten evangelical service in Cadiz in 1877 was interrupted and the congregation dispersed, because the Bishop had allegedly complained to the civil authorities, that the preacher's voice could be heard in the street. Therefore, the Protestant service, though conducted behind closed doors, was a 'public manifestation' of non-Catholic worship, contrary to the Constitution.[35] In 1880, a colporteur in Zaragoza was also charged with 'public manifestation', on the ground that he supposedly discussed the Bible with two or three persons, in such a public place as the town square.[36]

Many cases may easily be cited to show also how Protes-

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missionary Thomas L. Gulick and an evangelist came to investigate, they were ambushed, and fired upon at close range by two or more men armed with trabucos (blunderbusses). This was a daring act, committed in the presence of several witnesses. That Gulick and his companion escaped with not a scratch was simply 'miraculous', as Pamplona and Madrid liberal journals later reported. The Madrid authorities were greatly scandalized, but because no one was willing to testify, even on the attacks on the two houses, no redress could be obtained, and the culprits remained unpunished. As if this was not enough, the little wheat field of one of the Unzue Protestant families was later burned, and the widowed mother in that family was imprisoned for two months for 'stealing wood,' because she was seen picking chips on a public street. See The Missionary Herald, vol. LXXVIII (1882), pp. 142-43, 489. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXIII (1882), pp. 103-104. Cf. also The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. IX (1883), p. 233.

[35] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVIII (1877), p. 135. See also Mr Bourke (Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs), in Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vol. CCXXXIII (1877), col. 975.

[36] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXI (1880), p. 201.

tants, through no fault of their own, suffered from the Catholics' insistence that everyone respect the religion of the state. Thus, several Spanish Protestants were thrown into prison, for refusing, for example, to kneel on meeting the procession of the Host.[37] Of several instances of this nature, the most notorious was that involving a Protestant woman in Puerto Santa Maria. She had stepped into a doorway to let the procession pass, whereupon the priest reportedly dragged her out, and attempted to force her on her knees. Failing in this, he had her arrested, for insulting the religion of the state. Fortunately, wide publicity of the case, both in Spain and Britain, embarrassed the Spanish authorities, resulting in her release from detention.[38] It would seem that even consular officials of Protestant countries did not escape the same difficulty, as shown by a similar incident in 1891, involving the American consul in Seville.[39]

Beginning the late 1880's, a number of judicial proceedings were also instituted against Protestant writers or journal editors, for publishing articles claimed to be offensive to the Catholic religion. Thus, the Spanish Episcopal pastor in Malaga, editor of the evangelical journal La Reforma, was brought to court in 1888 on

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[37] It was customary for a Spanish priest, proceeding to a house to administer extreme unction, to carry aloft the custodia (monstrance), with an acolyte preceding him and ringing a hand bell, at the sound of which, all meeting the procession had to kneel. Since 1868, it was no longer obligatory to do so. Many Spaniards, from conscientious scruples, refrained from doing so, or simply got out of the way, to avoid offence. The latter course was what Protestants generally took. But it was when circumstances made it utterly impossible to avoid meeting such a procession, as in narrow streets, that a crisis inevitably arose. See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXVIII (1887), pp. 211, 144-45.

[38] See ibid.

[39] For more details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXXII (1891), p. 286.

this account. The case dragged on for four years. Fortunately for him, he eventually won an acquittal.[40] Three other separate cases of a similar nature followed, two of these occurring in 1892 and involving the same journal above, and the third, in 1893, in which the accused was the editor of the Protestant paper El Heraldo Cristiano, published in Figueras.[41] In the end, those accused were exonerated of the charges against them, but not until after they had suffered imprisonment and considerable sums had been spent in legal expenses.

A close scrutiny of all these cases reveals that the slightest pretext were sometimes used by fanatical Catholics to bring to court any Protestant, who may have written even a simple rejection of Catholic beliefs. To be sure, some Protestant articles did contain provocative statements. But as the Irish Presbyterian missionary, Moore, said in complaint, several other Spanish papers published by Republicans, free-thinkers, and atheists, continually printed articles 'a thousand times more aggressive and even insulting to the papal and sacerdotal system,' without any action being taken against them. 'But the moment an Evangelical paper, even in defence against some Jesuitical calumny on Protestantism, attempts a reply, and in so doing exposes the errors of Romanism,' he continued, 'it is pounced upon and threatened with fines and imprisonment.'[42]

The question of spiritual jurisdiction claimed by Catholic priests over Protestant converts was a particularly explosive matter, often involving violent arguments. It appears to have been

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[40] The Missionary Review of the World, vol. II, n.s. (1889), p. 57; vol. V, n.s. (1892), p. 730.

[41] For details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXXIII (1892), pp. 236-37, 376; vol. XXXIV (1893), p. 224; vol. XXXV (1894), p. 252.

[42] Ibid., vol. XXXIII (1892), p. 237.

based on the premise that a Spaniard could not be any other than Catholic, and once he is baptized in the Catholic Church, he remains till death a Catholic, whether he wills it or not.[43] Consequently, his children also ought to be baptized in the Catholic Church, no matter to what religious group of heretics he might have been deluded to affiliate himself.[44] If he indeed had held heretical opinions, it was also the duty of the parish priest to make him recant his errors at his death-bed, and save his soul from eternal perdition.

Thus, a zealous Catholic parish priest would sometimes come uninvited to homes of gravely ill Protestants, giving rise to ugly scenes between him and the Protestant minister. When a Protestant died, the corpse was sometimes forcibly taken away, with the active connivance of bigoted local magistrates, and buried in the Catholic cemetery.[45] When this was not possible, or when the dead person was an evangelical worker or too notorious a Protestant, the most rigorous

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[43] This was precisely the argument used by the parish priest of San Pedro (near Cadiz) in 1879, in claiming spiritual jurisdiction over a Protestant convert. For more details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XX (1879), pp. 266-67. For a similar case in the mountain village of Iznatoraf, near Jaen, see vol. XXI (1880), p. 72.

[44] It is reported that again in Iznatoraf in 1876, a Catholic mob, led by the alcalde and two priests, forcibly tore from their parents' arms the two-year-old daughter and the new-born infant of a Bible colporteur. The children were then borne triumphantly through the town to be baptized in the Catholic Church. In consequence of the injuries the infant received in the struggle and the rough handling, it later died. As a result of the complaint lodged by the father with the Ministry of the Interior, a royal order was issued on the 21st of October 1877, affirming the government's determination to preserve religious toleration. See The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 304. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XVIII (1877), p. 337.

[45] In this manner were buried two Protestants in Alcoy in 1880, as reported in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXII (1881), p. 271. For other typical cases, see The Missionary Review of the World, vol. VI, n.s. (1893), p. 177. See also Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, p. 371.

attempts were made to delay the interment, by refusing a burial permit, or by some other dilatory tactic.[46]

In not a few cases, resistance offered by the Protestant minister led to his being charged with wilfully attempting to prevent a religious (in this case, a Catholic) ceremony. Thus, in 1878, for example, the Baptist pastor of Alcoy was accused of impeding a Catholic ceremony, when he resisted the attempt by the local parish priest to administer extreme unction to a dying Protestant woman. Subsequently, he was sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and ordered to pay half the costs of his trial.[47] Fortunately, the wide publicity given his case, especially by the liberal Spanish press, and the efforts of the Evangelical Alliance, ultimately obtained his pardon.[48]

It needs to be said, however, that in all these, the Spanish government maintained a strong determination to give religious toleration to Protestants. When the Papal Nuncio complained in 1881 about the government's leniency towards Protestants, the Spanish Ministry replied that they would mostly certainly not countenance any

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[46] Thus, one might cite the case of the Protestant schoolmaster at Escornaz, near Granada, whose body lay unburied for nearly three days, because of tactics employed by the local priest and officials. For details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXX (1889), p. 144.

[47] It was not only the pastor, Rev. G. S. Ben Oliel, but also the patient herself, and her entire household, who were all Protestants, who protested against the unwelcomed visits of the priest. At the trial, seventeen witnesses testified, and the Baptist church roll was shown to prove that she indeed was a Protestant. Nevertheless, the court ruled that she was a Roman Catholic. When she died a few days later, the judge would not issue a burial permit, without a Catholic certificate of baptism, partida de bautismo. This in turn, the parish clerk would not give. In the night, the corpse was forcibly taken away by the sub-alcalde and several policemen, and buried in the Catholic cemetery. For more details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIX (1878), pp. 108, 255, 350-51. See also La Luz, vol. X (Jan. 30, 1878), p. 10.

[48] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIX (1878), pp. 351, 374.

interference by bishops and the Pope with the rights of the government under the Constitution.[49] In nearly every case, aggrieved Protestants ultimately obtained some measure of justice, although they might not always get full satisfaction, as they would have hoped.[50] Certainly, in cases involving cemeteries, the government usually ordered a piece of public property to be designated as a civil burial-ground, if there was not already one established, where Protestants might be buried. Moreover, one particular case of persecution in a village near Bilbao at the end of 1879, led to the government decision that parents had the right to choose for themselves, in what cemeteries the bodies of their children might be buried.[51]

Nevertheless, Protestants in Spain found these constant harassments particularly annoying, especially those committed in small towns far from the provincial capitals. Not only did these incidents greatly hamper missionary work; they also constituted an additional burden, in terms of the time spent in trying to seek justice. As one foreign missionary said: 'Those who have never been in Spain do not know what it is to have to seek for justice in the public offices of the Government, where they try to get rid of us by tiring our patience.'[52]

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[49] Ibid., vol. XXII (1881), p. 127.

[50] As F. Fliedner said, in Italy, persecutors of Protestants might be punished. In Spain, a Protestant might be exonerated of the malicious charges against him, but those who oppress him might not be punished. See The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. I (1879), p. 306.

[51] Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXI (1880), p. 73. This, however, did not prevent legal proceedings against a Protestant, who had his child buried in a Protestant cemetery, though the child was baptized in the Catholic Church, before his conversion. He finally obtained justice, but only after long negotiations with the Minister of Grace and Justice. See ~~The Catholic Presbyterian~~, vol. IX (1883), p. 233.

[52] T. Gulick, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXI (1880), p. 201.

Under these circumstances, Protestant work in Spain, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, was unable to make any substantial expansion. As a result, Spanish Protestantism simply turned inward into itself, becoming a community for mutual culture. The situation was perhaps best expressed by Jameson in 1886, in a statement in the Quarterly Register of the Alliance of Reformed Churches:

> The later history of the Protestant movement in Spain is certainly peculiar. To the enthusiasm and curiousity of the first years has succeeded an almost absolute stagnation over the Peninsula. The new places which have been begun during the last ten years might almost be counted on the fingers of one hand, certainly on those of both hands; neither have new missions been undertaken by the foreign Societies, nor have the native Churches initiated any new mission of importance; so that, it is years since I have written for any periodical. I cannot report any sensible increase in the number of 'Stations.' It is certainly curious that the Missionary Societies should have so completely ceased to extend their work in this country, and seems to argue a kind of hopelessness with regard to the evangelical work here, which I take leave to think is not altogether creditable.[53]

It would appear then that the Protestant workers in Spain spent most of their energies in consolidating their gains since 1868. In particular, the greatest efforts were made to strengthen the young Spanish evangelical churches, to prepare them for self-support and effectiveness in carrying on the missionary task themselves. After the sad experiences of former years, the evangelical churches now also took more care in their choice of workers, and in the admission of new members.[54] Gradually, more and more of the responsibility in the management of the congregations and the task of mission was handed over by foreign missionaries to Spanish pastors, evangelists, and teachers. With a few exceptions, (particularly among independent workers, mostly

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[53] Vol. II (April 1886), p. 28.

[54] Count A. Bernstorff, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXIX (1888), p. 79.

Plymouth Brethren and English Baptists), the foreign missionaries in Spain now generally saw themselves simply as advisers to their Spanish colleagues, or merely as representatives in Spain of the various supporting societies abroad. As far as these societies were concerned also, most of their funds, by this time, were being spent in the maintenance of various missionary institutions. These included orphanages;[55] small hospitals in Madrid and Barcelona;[56] secondary schools for boys in Madrid and Puerto Santa Maria, and for girls in Madrid and Zaragoza;[57] and theological colleges located in the last three places mentioned.[58]

But perhaps the most important development in Spanish evangelization during this time was the increased attention given to the unification of Protestantism in Spain. This was particularly significant, because it was a revival of the original objective of estab-

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[55] See Rusher, Sunshine and Shadow in the South-West. A Record of a Visit to Y.M.C.A.'s and Missions in Spain and Morocco, p. 11.

[56] These hospitals arose from the need for Protestants to have their own medical clinics. While the law provided for them a place in the government hospitals, the fact was that harassment of Protestant patients by Catholic doctors, priests, and nurses, many of whom were nuns, made life there for these patients practically unbearable. For details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXI (1880), p. 13; vol. XXVI (1885), p. 241.

[57] F. Fliedner, in The Religious Condition of Christendom, Copenhagen, 1884, p. 124.

[58] The 'School for Evangelists' in Zaragoza was under the American Board, and the 'Colegio de la Luz' in Madrid, under the German Mission. The 'Missionary Training College' in Puerto Santa Maria, on the other hand, was supported by the Spanish Evangelization Society and the Irish Presbyterian Mission, in cooperation with the Spanish Christian Church. Opened in 1884, it had a yearly enrolment of about ten to fifteen students. The curriculum included a solid secular education, and intensive courses in the Old and New Testaments, homiletics, Latin, and English. Those preparing for the pastorate, on top of these, were required to study Hebrew and Greek. From the start, its directors were Irish Presbyterian missionaries, first Dr Moore, and later the Rev. William Douglas. For more details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXIX (1888), p. 17; vol. XXXIII (1892), p. 168.

lishing one Reformed Church in Spain. Unfortunately, it was both paradoxical and tragic, that even in this search for unity, division should exist. The main cause was the question of polity. But it is interesting to note, that if polity was a divisive factor, it was also considered as a potential uniting element, in the attempt to bring together all Spanish Protestant churches into one body. Beginning the 1880's, two approaches towards this hoped-for union emerged, namely, the presbyterian and the episcopal.

As will be recalled, there was organized in 1871 the Spanish Christian Church, which then symbolized the united strength of Spanish Protestantism. Only a small minority of mission churches, as already mentioned, had stayed out of the union at the time. But as this Church became more distinctly presbyterian, the Congregationalists withdrew, and in 1885 formed their own Union Ibero Evangelica.[59] By 1880, Cabrera had also severed his relations with the Spanish Christian Church and with the Spanish Evangelization Society, of which he was their principal Spanish agent. He then offered his services to the Episcopal Mission at Seville. This move by Cabrera was especially disconcerting to the Presbyterians, because for most of the time since 1871, he had been the moderator of the Spanish Christian Church, and was, in fact, generally considered its 'founder'.[60]

The Reformed Spanish Church (Episcopal)

Apart from some personal reasons,[61] which might have motiv-

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[59] The 76th ABCFM Report (1886), p. 105, clearly states that this Union was formed in 1885, and not 1882, as other writers claim.

[60] Cf. Henry R. Duncan, in The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. III (1880), pp. 383-87.

[61] It is known from sources not hostile to Cabrera, that since 1871 he had had ruffled relations with the Spanish Evangelization So-

ated Cabrera to transfer to the Episcopal Mission, it would appear that all along, he had cherished episcopacy. At heart, he was an Episcopalian. That he had very close associations with Tugwell at Seville was not the least insignificant. It is also to be remembered that his idea of a Spanish Reformed Church in 1868 was one with a quasi-episcopalian polity and a mozarabic liturgy.[62] This Church could just as easily have been episcopalian in polity, if the Church of England then had only shown some substantial interest in it. Thus, if Cabrera, like Knapp, for a time embraced presbyterianism,[63] it was apparently because in 1868, this was the most predominant influence in Protestant missions in Spain. Presbyterianism at that time also seemed to be the pillar to support Spanish Protestantism.

But with the passing of years, it seemed to some, certainly to Cabrera, that the Spanish experiment with presbyterianism had failed, if not in principle, at least in practice.[64] The defections

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ciety. This was due to several reasons, but an important consideration was the matter of Cabrera's salary. See correspondences between H. M. MacGill and Cabrera, and MacGill and Mrs Peddie, from July to December 1871, in the UPC Foreign Letter Book, no. 14 (NLS MS. 7651).

[62] See The Declaration Set Forth by the Central Consistory of the Spanish Reformed Church, pp. 19f. It is to be remembered that this document, containing the theological principles of that Church, was drafted entirely by Cabrera.

[63] Cabrera told the 1870 General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, that his only desire (then!) was that the Reformed Church of Spain should be 'purely Presbyterian and free.' (See Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland (1870), p. 34). This, too, was what Knapp, a few weeks later, told the General Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, at Belfast.

[64] As Professor John E. B. Mayor, of Cambridge, later emphatically put it: 'Southern Europe, all experience proves, demands government by bishops and a fixed form of prayer. In Italy and Spain, Presbyterianismovements are doomed to failure.' See his pamphlet, 'Bishop Cabrera' (Cambridge, 1894), p. 2.

It needs to be said, however, that some Spanish Protestants were just as strongly convinced of their presbyterian principles. As the

from the Spanish Christian Church, on account of denominational interests, seemed to show that that Church could not be the nucleus of a united Spanish Protestantism. Now that Cabrera had lost hope in the practicability in Spain of the presbyterian system, much less in congregationalism, he therefore decided to introduce episcopacy. He apparently hoped that this would succeed, where the Presbyterians had failed, in uniting the scattered forces of Protestantism in Spain.

The first decisive step towards the formation of what eventually came to be known as 'The Reformed Spanish Church (Episcopal)'[65] took place in 1878. Cabrera and a few others, purportedly representing the 'Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Episcopal Churches', sent a memorial to the Lambeth Conference of that year. They requested that episcopal orders by conveyed, by either the English or Irish bishops of the Anglican Communion, to the Spanish and Portuguese bishops-elect that they might choose.[66]

The memorialists represented the Reformed Spanish Church as the original, true apostolic Church in Spain. It was Catholic, but certainly not Roman. As for what called itself a Church of Rome

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Rev. Manuel Carrasco (brother of Antonio) said, in reference to the separation of the American Board mission churches from the Spanish Christian Church: 'One does not know a more lamentable occurrence than that the Societies which sustain Christian work in Spain should hinder the Spanish Christians from adopting that Presbyterian form of Church government which they believe to be the best adapted to their country.' See The Quarterly Register, vol. II (1889), pp. 66-67.

[65] For details on the order and discipline of this Church, see 'General Bases of the Discipline of the Spanish Church,' in The Divine Offices and Other Formularies of the Reformed Episcopal Churches of Spain and Portugal, tr. by R. S. Clough and T. Godfrey Pope (London, 1882), pp. 214-19. Cf. 'A Communication from the Spanish Episcopal Church and a Statement Concerning the Work of the Church in Mexico,' tr. by R. S. Clough (Madrid, 1880), p. 5.

[66] Randall T. Davidson, The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888 (London, 1889), pp. 179-80. Cf. Mayor, Spain, Portugal, the Bible, p. 7.

in Spain or Portugal, such a Church, as the very name implied, had to be an alien growth, to which the Christians of those countries could not owe any allegiance.[67]

The Lambeth Conference, however, found that most of their number were totally unacquainted with the Iberian Episcopal Churches. Thus, while they did sympathize with the memorialists, they hedged about and hesitated, and finally suggested that these Churches be placed under the spiritual care of the new Bishop of Mexico.[68] Before long, however, the Irish episcopate began to take a cautious interest in the Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Churches. This led to the transfer of responsibility for their spiritual guidance into the hands of Lord Plunket, Bishop of Meath (later Archbishop of Dublin). At the first General Synod of the Reformed Spanish Church, held in Seville in 1880, Cabrera had been elected Bishop.[69] On the authorization of the Irish episcopate, the Bishops of Meath, Clogher, and Downs associated with him to form a 'Provisional Council of Bishops'[70] for Spain.

For more than a decade, however, the question of the conferment of episcopal orders on Cabrera remained undecided. This was largely because of a few differences between the Reformed Spanish Church, on the one hand, and the English and Irish Churches, on the other, in terms of doctrine, church order, and liturgy. This is not

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67 Cf. Lord Plunket, in Mayor, Spain, Portugal, the Bible, p. 35. Cf. also Rev. Alexander Robertson, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXXIV (1893), p. 112.

68 Davidson, The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888, pp. 179-80. Cf. Mayor, Spain, Portugal, the Bible, p. 10.

69 The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. III (1880), p. 385.

70 John E. B. Mayor, 'The Spanish Reformed Church' (Cambridge, 1895), p. 13.

to mention the strong opposition to Cabrera's consecration, posed by Anglo-Catholics, led by the Bishop of Ely.[71] On the matter of church order and doctrine, the Reformed Spanish Church was willing to approximate more closely the episcopal order and the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Anglican Communion.[72] But on the question of liturgy, Cabrera's party adamantly defended their own, which was basically Mozarabic in character.[73] As Cabrera himself explained:

> It was not deemed expedient to adopt the Book of Common Prayer, especially as our Church is not a daughter of the Anglican Church, but is purely Spanish, its object being the reformation of Spain, without importing foreign rites and systems, by raising up again the ancient, primitive Church of Spain as it existed during its period of liberty and independence in ecclesiastical affairs, pruning and rejecting all those errors and useless oppressive innovations which, during nine centuries, were gradually introduced and imposed by the Church of Rome.[74] (Italics supplied.)

No other statement of the 'Spanish Reformers' could have more clearly expressed their stand. Thus, the Lambeth Conference of 1888, which drafted the 'Quadrilateral', on the basis of which the Old Catholic Churches of Germany and Switzerland were admitted into inter-communion with Anglicanism, had no recourse but to reject the Reformed Spanish Church, in this respect.

In 1889, Plunket appealed on Cabrera's behalf to the Old Catholic Bishops, Reinkens and Herzog. When negotiations in this quarter failed,[75] the hierarchy of the Church of Ireland finally de-

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[71] Mayor, Spain, Portugal, the Bible, p. 138.

[72] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXII (1881), p. 303. Cf. Mayor, 'The Spanish Reformed Church,' p. 13.

[73] For details, see ibid., pp. 23-24.

[74] See Cabrera's letter, in Light and Truth (Aug. 1881), as quoted by Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXII (1881), p. 302.

[75] The reason for the failure of these negotiations was simply due to the fact that these two Old Catholic Churches, by virtue of a

cided to confer episcopal orders on Cabrera, after having been assured of the whole-hearted support of the Irish clergy and churches, in this question. Thus, in Dublin in 1894, Cabrera was officially consecrated 'Bishop of the Reformed Spanish Church', by the Archbishop of Dublin, in concert with the Bishops of Clogher and Downs.[76] As might be expected, it was followed by loud cries of protest from Presbyterians, Anglo-Catholics, and the Catholic hierarchy in Spain.

The Reformed Spanish Church was the true embodiment of the ideal church of the Segunda Reforma. Of all the Protestant Churches in Spain, it was the only one, which earnestly sought to find roots in what was distinctively Spanish cultural tradition.[77] Unfortunately, Cabrera's hopes of making it the nucleus for uniting Spanish Protestantism did not materialize. It did not attract the other evangelical congregations, which, through strong foreign influences, abhorred ritualism. Some also remembered its origin as practically a schism from the Spanish Christian Church.[78] Nor did it succeed in gaining the adhesion of those of the Spanish Catholic clergy with anti-

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previous agreement, could not act without concurrence from the Old Catholic Church of Utrecht. The Dutch Old Catholics, in turn, refused recognition of the Reformed Spanish Church, apparently because the latter's prayer-book embodied the Thirty-Nine Articles, to which they could not entirely subscribe. Cf. Frederick Meyrick, 'Efforts After Church Reform Abroad: Events in Spain,' (London, 1898), p. 3. Cf. Davidson, The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, and 1888, p. 282.

[76] Mayor, 'The Spanish Reformed Church,' p. 14.

[77] Cf. Araujo Garcia and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 63.

[78] To be sure, a few of Cabrera's former Presbyterian colleagues at first did not look at his withdrawal from the Spanish Christian Church as schismatic, but simply as a step forced on him by the circumstance of having a large family to sustain. But they certainly accused him of propagating a particular system, and of making 'a raid upon other systems.' (See H. R. Duncan, in The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. III (1880), pp. 384-85, 387). In any case, Cabrera succeeded in taking away with him only his own congregation (the Madera Baja) at Madrid.

Roman views.[79] It was unfortunate that the Reformed Spanish Church came into being at a time when Protestantism had already lost its most advantageous moment in Spain, as in the years immediately after 1868. The result might have been different, if its establishment had come in 1870, not 1880. Consequently, as far as the Spanish people were concerned, the Reformed Spanish Church was just another Protestant sect, not the Spanish alternative to Roman Catholicism. By the end of the century, it had only sixteen congregations, the largest being in Madrid and Seville. It also had one Bishop, ten ordained ministers, six lay evangelists, about 2,000 children enrolled in its various schools, and an estimated numerical strength of close to 2,000 communicants, with a total of 3,000 adherents.[80] Roughly, this represented one-third of Spanish Protestantism at the time.[81]

The Spanish Evangelical Church

The efforts for unity among other Spanish Protestants also continued, under the initiative of the Spanish Christian Church. These efforts were especially encouraged by Fliedner and the Scottish

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[79] A handful of these priests were indeed converted to Protestantism. Thus, in 1889, for example, there was Dr Rafael de Zafra Menendez, D.D., a former Jesuit professor at Bordeaux; followed in 1896 by the vicar of Valles, in Catalonia; and in 1899 by D. Miguel Longas, former philosophy professor at Tiers. But strangely enough, none of these affiliated himself with the Reformed Spanish Church. The first two joined the Baptists in Figueras, and the third, the Wesleyan Methodists in Barcelona. For more details, see Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXXI (1890), p. 20; vol. XXXVII (1896), p. 217; vol. XL (1899), p. 115.

[80] See Randall T. Davidson, The Lambeth Conference of 1897 (London, 1907), p. 75. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XL (1899), p. 115.

[81] By 1933, however, it comprised only 8% of Spanish Protestantism, and ranked only fourth from the Spanish Evangelical Church, which then composed 30% of all Spanish Protestants. Cf. Araujo Garcia and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 68. Cf. Leonard, Histoire generale du protestantisme, vol. III, pp. 530-31.

and Irish Presbyterian missionaries. As early as 1880, about the same time that Cabrera's Church was being formally organized, the General Assembly of the Spanish Christian Church passed a resolution, intended to open the way for closer cooperation with as many other mission churches in Spain as possible. It read in part:

> . . . henceforward, the Spanish Christian Church, continuing in all things unchanged, in relation to those who accept her standards, do receive as brethren and fellow-counsellors, on their regular application and admission, all those recognized in the Lord's vineyeard in Spain who are at one with her in faith and doctrine, taking counsel with them in all matters pertaining to the advancement of the cause of Christ in Spain and in all their individual spheres of labour, inviting them as members, with all the privileges excepting that of voting on matters on which they do not submit to be governed, to all ordinary and extraordinary meetings of the Presbyteries within their districts, and to the General Assemblies.[82]

The most important result of this measure was the merger in 1886 of the congregationalist churches of the Union Ibero Evangelica and the Spanish Christian Church. The new enlarged union was now called La Iglesia Evangelica Española, the 'Spanish Evangelical Church'.[83] The Presbyterians being the larger of the two uniting bodies, it was natural to expect that they should exert the strongest influence in the choice of polity for the new united Church. Strangely enough, it would seem that the Spaniards themselves at this time were the most determined proponents of presbyterianism. Undoubtedly, the reaction to Cabrera's introduction of episcopacy had heightened their appreciation of the presbyterian order. Even the Congregationalists among them seemed to have accepted this order, on the ground that congregationalism was virtually impossible for churches still in

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[82] See The Catholic Presbyterian, vol. IV (1880), p. 150. Cf. Jameson, in Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, 1880, pp. 787-88.

[83] Araujo Garcia and Grubb, Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 64.

their infancy.[84] The American Board in Boston, however, was not happy with the arrangement, and brought pressure to bear on their mission churches in Spain. The result was that the congregationalist churches were forced to withdraw from the union in 1887.[85] After this, it took more than a decade for old sores to heal. The difficulties encountered by the American Board Mission during the Spanish-American War of 1898,[86] when the entire Mission had to seek refuge across the French border in Biarritz, underscored the importance of granting independence to the mission churches. Thus, by 1899 it was possible for the congregationalist churches to reunite with the Spanish Evangelical Church, the Union Ibero Evangelica this time being finally dissolved.[87]

It might also be said that along with this search for unity among Spanish Churches, there was also a parallel movement to bring them closer to the wider fellowship of world Protestantism. Thus, the Spanish Christian Church in 1877 joined as a charter member the Presbyterian Alliance (or the World's Alliance of Reformed Churches, as it was later called), when this body was formed in Edinburgh that year.[88] As already mentioned, Cabrera's consecration in 1894 also brought the Reformed Spanish Church within the fellowship of the Anglican Communion. This development of closer ties with the wider

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[84] Cf. M. Carrasco, in The Quarterly Register, vol. II (1889), p. 67.

[85] Ibid.

[86] For details, see Gordon, Alice Gordon Gulick: Her Life and Work in Spain, passim.

[87] Enrique de Tienda, in The Continental Presbyterian, no. 9 (1900), p. 43. Cf. Rusher, Sunshine and Shadow in the South-West, p. 40.

[88] For more details, see Report of the Proceedings of the First General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, ed. by J. Thomson (Edinburgh, 1877).

Protestant fellowship was also shown in the establishment by the 1880's of Spanish chapters of international Protestant associations. The most important of these was the Spanish Evangelical Alliance,[89] which, after two unsuccessful attempts in 1872 and 1877, was finally organized in 1889. The YMCA of past years was revived, and through the wives of Spanish pastors and foreign missionaries, the YWCA was also established.[90] Through the American Board Mission, the Christian Endeavour Society was also introduced in 1888. By 1900, there were no less than thirty-seven local societies in Spain, which by then had become part of the World's Union of Christian Endeavour Societies.[91]

Thus, by the turn of the century, the tiny Protestant community in Spain was securely holding its own ground, despite the most adverse circumstances. A conservative estimate would place the number of adherents at ten to twelve thousand, nearly half of these being communicant members, in a nation of eighteen million people.[92] Clearly, this was far short of the hopes and expectations of earlier years. However, the foreign missionaries generally consoled them-

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[89] See Evangelical Christendom, vol. XIX (1878), pp. 91, 158-59; vol. XXX (1889), pp. 189-92.

[90] Cf. Rusher, Sunshine and Shadow in the South-West, passim. Cf. also Clarence Prouty Shedd et al, History of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations (London, 1955), passim.

[91] The Continental Presbyterian, no. 10 (1901), p. 8.

[92] Statistics compiled by the Rev. W. H. Gulick in 1891 showed at the time that there were a total of 9,220 attendants on Protestant public worship, and 3,516 communicant members. (See The Missionary Review of the World, vol. IV, n.s. (1891), p. 553). By 1913, a conservative estimate placed the number of communicants at 8,000 to 10,000, although other estimates ranged as high as 12,000 to 20,000. (See W. B. Douglas, in Proceedings of the Tenth General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, Aberdeen, 1913, ed. by Dykes Shaw (Edinburgh, 1913), p. 310). For a population table of Spain from 1797 to 1950, the figures being taken at ten-year intervals since 1877, see Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 696.

selves with the thought that if progress was slow, at least, as one of their British colleagues put it, 'by comparison with other mission fields, the rate of advance in Spain has been quite equal to the average of other countries.'[93]

Retrenchment or Withdrawal of British Missionary Bodies

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, no other British missionary societies came to open new evangelical work in Spain. To be sure, there was founded in 1880 the so-called 'Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society'.[94] But this was simply intended to consolidate Episcopal support in England and Ireland, for the Reformed Episcopal Churches in Spain and Portugal, begun in 1868. Indeed, there were also a number of individual 'faith missions' opened in Spain during this period. But these, which were mostly English Baptist or Plymouth Brethren, were not connected with any organized society in Britain. Most were conducted by single individuals or families.[95] Of these, the most successful and the best known were the so-called 'Figueras Evangelistic Mission',[96] a Baptist work established

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[93] Jameson, in The Continental Presbyterian, no. 2 (1893), p. 86.

[94] See Burton L. Goddard, The Encyclopedia of Modern Christian (London, 1967), p. 611.

[95] Most of these individual missions were located in northern Spain. Among those established by the 1890's, one might mention the work of the Baptists, Messrs George J. Chesterman and Henry Payne in Coruña, the brothers Messrs H. S. and Thornton C. Turrall, and another relative, Eduardo Turrall, in several places in the province of Galicia, and the Plymouth Brethren missionary, John Nisbet, in Valladolid. For more details, see the Annual NBSS Reports for 1891 to 1904.

[96] This was the outgrowth of an earlier work by two Baptists, a Spaniard named Previ, and a Swede, Erick Lund. Previ was converted in London in 1875, through a nurse at the London Opthalmic Clinic, a Miss Emily Murray, who was then working with the Bible Flower Mission, engaged in hospital evangelism. Afterwards, Previ studied at the Grattan H. Guinness Training Institute, where he met Lund. Together

in 1877 in Figueras, capital of Gerona, and the 'Algeciras Mission',[97] begun by some Scottish Presbyterians in the Andalusian town by that name in 1890.

However, on the whole, this period witnessed a gradual retrenchment, and in some cases, withdrawal from Spain of British missionary societies, boards, or committees engaged in Spanish evangelization. Partly, this was because the Spanish evangelical churches were now growing into maturity. But this was a minor reason, and by itself would certainly not have compelled these societies to take this step. As a matter of fact, it would seem that, if it were only possible, they would have wanted to continue their presence in Spain. It was generally believed that the missionary task was simply much too big for the young Spanish Churches to accomplish by themselves. The search for reasons to explain this retreat from Spain must be done within the

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the two came to Spain, and worked in Figueras with a young Spaniard from Madrid, the Rev. Luis Lopez Rodriguez. On Previ's death in 1880, Miss Murray came to Figueras, and later married Lopez. Together they decided to open an independent mission, with schools and a medical clinic, supported by friends in Britain. It was a one-family mission, with the help of the pastor's two brothers, and occasional volunteer teachers and medical missionaries from England. It was especially noted for its evangelistic, medical, and literature work, particularly, the periodical El Heraldo Cristiano and the so-called 'Spanish Religious Tract and Book Society'. By 1909, its publications were reaching such far-flung places, as South America and the Philippines. For more details, see Lawrence, The Aurora in Spain, p. 27. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXV (1884), p. 241. Cf. also Bliss, The Encyclopedia of Missions, vol. I, pp. 369-70.

[97] This was one of the last British evangelical missions in Spain in the nineteenth century. Established by some Scottish Presbyterians, in 1890, to revive the earlier work in Algeciras first begun in 1880, most of its support at first came from Scotland. From the first, it was also closely connected with the National Bible Society. As a matter of fact, its founder, the Rev. R. Pollock Simpson, himself later became the agent in Spain of the National Bible Society. When Simpson transferred to begin a new mission in Aguilas, province of Murcia, in 1894, the Algeciras Mission passed into the care of a Mrs. Todd Osborne. Before long, however, it came under the charge of an Englishman named Harris. Cf. Annual NBSS Report (1892), p. 31. Cf. Rusher, Sunshine and Shadow in the South-West, p. 20.

context of the conditions, which originally brought forth the idea of Spanish evangelization, and of the actual course of Protestant work in Spain after 1868.

Firstly, it has to be noted that Evangelicalism in Britain, which had been the basic impulse for Spanish evangelization, had subsided by the 1870's, under the onslaught of ritualism and rationalism.[98] With its passing, therefore, also went the interest in 'evangelizing' Spain, an idea which appealed to only a small minority of British evangelical Protestants, in the first place. In Britain, it was the generation at mid-century, who were most interested in this missionary endeavour. They were among those who reacted strongly to the 'Papal Aggression', and were those who involved themselves in the Evangelical Alliance attempts to free the Protestant prisoners in Andalusia. But by the time a new generation during the last quarter of the century should have taken up the cause of Spanish evangelization, there were, in fact, only few who were interested enough to do so.

Secondly, interest in continental missions to nominal Catholics, by the third quarter of the nineteenth century, seems to have lost much of its original appeal in earlier years. As far as Spanish evangelization was concerned, the mixed motives, which helped to bring it into being -- compassion for the Spanish people, as well as hatred for the Catholic system -- now no longer had their original intensity. The factors which had aroused these sentiments, in the first place, had now largely been removed. On the other hand, the opening of more foreign fields of mission to the heathen caught the

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[98] See R. C. K. Ensor, England 1870-1914 (London, 1936), pp. 136-40. Cf. McNeill, Modern Christian Movements, pp. 88f.

greater attention of British Protestants, especially those strongly motivated by the thought of millions of heathen perishing in their blindness, without ever hearing of the Gospel.[99] Moreover, among missionary circles, it was generally held that only those directed to the heathen were 'real missions',[100] in the strict sense of the word. Thus, in the event of a necessary curtailment in missionary expenditures, such enterprises as continental missions were the first to suffer. As early as 1843, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society expressed this view, when it said that 'amidst the increasing wants of the Missions in purely Heathen countries,'[101] it was not possible to employ in Gibraltar another missionary to the Spaniards. The same view was likewise taken by the United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. The Secretary of that Board, though himself a staunch supporter of Spanish evangelization, stated in 1872 that 'our Spanish Mission is proving an expensive one, to a degree beyond our calculation;' therefore, retrenchment had to be done. But in the same breath, he also said: 'Our Indian, China and Caffrarian missions are all expanding, and must expand.'[102]

Moreover, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, British Churches were more concerned about 'continental chaplaincies', to fill the spiritual needs of their own members, who might be in permanent or temporary residence on the continent.[103] Thus, missions

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[99] Cf. Warren, The Missionary Movement from Britain in Modern History, p. 48.

[100] Cf. UPC Missionary Record, vol. IX (1888), p. 162.

[101] WMMS Report (1843), p. 18.

[102] MacGill to Ben Oliel, dated 27th June 1872, in UPC Foreign Letter Book, no. 15. (NLS MS. 7652.)

[103] Thus, by 1904, the Church of England had a total of 61 perma-

to nominal Catholics on the continent took only a secondary position alongside foreign missions or continental chaplaincies. This being so, it naturally came last in the consideration of missionary planning.

A third factor which brought about retrenchment or withdrawal from Spain was the failure of the great hopes, expected of Protestant work in Spain immediately after 1868. To be sure, part of the consequent discouragement, on the part of subscribers to Spanish evangelization, was based on an erroneous understanding of the situation in Spain, as false as the basis of those same extravagant hopes. As a Presbyterian Alliance report said in 1892, in reference to evangelical work in Spain in the first few years after 1868:

> Another great mistake is to be found in the singular conceptions formed by foreign Christians regarding the excitement that followed the Revolution of 1868. Many of these regarded that as of a religious character and viewed it as a great spiritual awakening, recalling the exercises of Pentecost itself. The truth is, that that excitement was in itself hardly anything but a political fever, and when the Gospel preachers set forth their 'strange doctrines', natural curiousity and indifference, if not enmity to the Church of Rome, led multitudes to crowd the meetings, a most limited number having anything of spiritual interest or anxiety. We thought that not only was there an open door, but that the presence of those crowds revealed a people hungering for the Gospel. When the mistake was discovered, some lost faith in the whole work, and too often turned away from a field whose true character they had simply failed to judge right.[104]

To this might be added the many mistakes in the way the missionary

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nent chaplaincies, and 421 summer or winter 'stations' on the continent; and the Scottish Presbyterians, 17 and 4, respectively. The Wesleyan Methodists, on the other hand, had 2 permanent chaplaincies, and several seasonal stations in different parts of the continent. See Proceedings of the Eighth General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, Liverpool, 1904, ed. by George D. Mathews (Liverpool, 1904), p. 94n.

[104] 'Report of Committee on Work on the European Continent (Eastern Section): Spain,' in Proceedings of the Fifth General Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches Holding the Presbyterian System, Toronto, 1892, ed. by George D. Mathews (London, 1892), pp. 445-46.

work was conducted, the crippling results of opposition by Catholics and sneers of atheists, or the demoralizing effect of the disunity and quarrels among the Protestant workers. On this last subject, the secretary of the United Presbyterian Foreign Missions Board wrote to Jameson in 1870: 'I can assure you that disunion in Spain is becoming a scandal, and I know what I say when I assure you that in Geneva, in France and in Scotland, it is giving much pain and will lead if not healed to dry up sources of sympathy.'[105]

A fourth factor, which gradually assumed greater importance with the passing of years, was the jealousy of Spanish evangelical workers towards foreign missionaries. Basically, this feeling was rooted in the national pride of the Spaniards, but the resentment was further aggravated by attempts of the latter to impose their own views on the Spanish Protestant churches. It was also intensified by the strong belief, shared even by a good number of foreign missionaries themselves,[106] that only Spaniards could best 'evangelize' their own country. But more than all these, it was also the result of the inequalities between foreign missionaries and Spanish workers, in terms of status and salaries.[107] Generally, what the Spanish Protestants

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105 See MacGill's letter, dated 20th July 1870, in UPC Foreign Letter Book, no. 13 (NLS MS. 7650).

106 See, for example, the 62nd ABCFM Report (1872), p. 85.

107 Although Jameson in 1880 said that 'the question had never come up in any degree, of the difference between native pastors and foreign missionaries,' (see Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance, Philadelphia, 1880, p. 787), the fact was that the difference was great enough, so that it could hardly be ignored. Thus, while foreign missionaries generally received salaries of £250 to £300 a year, with travelling allowances of up to £25, the Spanish pastors and evangelists employed by foreign societies with foreign personnel in Spain received only £100 to £150. See, for example, Minutes of the UPC Foreign Missions Board (27th July 1875), minute 345.

requested from the supporting societies abroad was simply financial assistance, for them to be able to build chapels, schools, and other missionary institutions, as well as to pay the salaries of Spanish workers, until the congregations were strong enough to stand alone by themselves. What they could not understand was why their friends abroad would rather send foreign workers instead. Usually these foreigners did not turn out to be the best evangelists, on account of their lack of understanding of the Spanish people and their imperfect knowledge of the language.[108] Each foreign missionary, in fact, had to have a Spanish pastor or evangelist to assist him.

Many statements by Spanish Protestant leaders might be cited, to illustrate this resentment towards foreign workers. But it would suffice to refer to Cabrera's statement, already cited above,[109] and to Carrasco's address at the sixth general conference of the Evangelical Alliance in New York in 1873. Carrasco's words succinctly expressed, as no one else did, the true sentiments of the Spanish Protestants, so that perhaps it deserves to be quoted at length. While admitting that some foreign missionaries did agree with the Spaniards' views on this subject, so that they could not be held in blame for only following 'the commands of their church,' Carrasco said:

> . . . If the foreign brethren had been content to preach Christ alone to the Spanish, leaving them afterward to decide among themselves as to the minor points of form, and constitute themselves according to their own liking; if those friends had only laid aside their particular opinions as to baptism, ecclesiastical organization, and other doctrinal points; if they had not been so anxious to appear in the first rank, . . . events would not have been precipitated, and many churches . . . would not have been closed.

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[108] For the kind of importance the Spaniards attached to this particular subject, see A. Carrasco, in Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873, p. 118.

[109] Supra, p. 301.

> The responsibility for what has occurred . . . also devolves on the committees, churches, and private individuals who are interested in the Spanish work of evangelization. . . . It would seem as though each one of these were only intent on communicating his particular ideas, forgetting that Spain must of necessity stamp her religious reformation with her own particular nationality.
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> . . . Why is it . . . that almost all the churches or groups of individuals who have taken part in the evangelization of Spain send representatives here from their own country? Have they no confidence in Spaniards . . .? Do they consider their agents so much more capable of directing a congregation than we are? Can they not see that the salary of one of these agents would suffice to defray the expenses of a new work in another town? Are they not aware that their agents are in danger of exaggerating the tendencies or ideas of those who send them to justify their participation in the management of the churches, as well as of mistaking their wishes for realities, leading them into errors in their reports of their works, resulting in the creation of hopes which are completely defrauded by exit? And if, when facts come to demonstrate the truth, they would only frankly confess their mistake, the evil would not be so great; but no, the want of success is attributed by them to a lack of inclination on the part of the Spanish to receive the Gospel.
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> . . . The characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon nation, their rigidity of manner, their habits, and their nature, so far less expansive than ours, are all so many obstacles to prevent the establishment of that sympathy between pastor and congregation so necessary when treating of the saving of souls. . . .[110]

It would be wrong to suggest that those in Britain, who had long supported Spanish evangelization, and had come to understand a little of the Spanish character, were necessarily offended by these blunt statements above. Many of them by now could not have but realized that these were true. But what seems to have happened was that, it became increasingly more difficult to muster new support for Spanish evangelization, from the younger generation of British Protestants.

Thus, due to the four factors above, one finds a greatly diminished British evangelical interest in Spain, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is not possible to tell, which of these

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[110] Ibid., pp. 117-18.

factors had the greatest influence in bringing about this development, but all certainly contributed to it. As their periodicals usually reflected the general interests of British evangelical Protestants, it is quite significant to note that beginning the 1880's, only occasional notices on the work in Spain appeared in The Bulwark or in Evangelical Christendom.[111] In fact, those that did appear were mostly reports of Catholic persecution of Spanish Protestants, or fervent appeals for funds to continue the work in Spain.[112] The intensity of these pleas for assistance, combined with the comparative silence of those other evangelical quarters, which in previous years might have been expected to contribute their active support of Spanish evangelization, may be taken as an indication that by this time, this cause had lost its earlier appeal indeed. The situation was perhaps best described in 1893, by an Irish Presbyterian missionary, who was superintendent of the work of the Spanish Evangelization Society, when he said:

> With the lapse of years, the first gush of enthusiasm for Spain on the part of the home churches had spent itself, and this Society, in common with all others, was greatly hampered, not only in endeavouring to extend its work, but even to maintain what it had undertaken. Every year since, its funds have been diminishing, chiefly from the removal by death of loyal and liberal contributors, whose places have rarely been supplied by others. It has been necessary, therefore, from time to time, and to avoid getting into debt, to retire from several . . . important posts.[113]

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[111] The Missionary Record of the United Presbyterian Church printed the annual reports of that Church's missionaries in Spain, as a matter of course. So did Mrs Peddie's The Spanish Christian Record, of her society's work. But all these were of evidently limited circulation.

[112] Practically all these appeals for funds, appearing mostly in The Bulwark, especially from 1889 to 1892, were, in fact, written by either Mrs Peddie, or Mrs Emily Lopez Rodriguez, wife of the director of the Figueras Evangelistic Mission.

[113] William Moore, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXXIV (1893), p. 145.

With the loss of many of the original supporters of Spanish evangelization, the financial strain on the British societies working in Spain became increasingly unbearable every year. As the same missionary above was constrained to say: 'If help does not come speedily, it may be necessary to contemplate the sad necessity of a "retreat in the presence of the enemy."'[114]

Unfortunately, on the whole, this was precisely what these evangelical societies were forced to do after 1875. Perhaps the only exceptions were the Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society, the Religious Tract Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society. As far as the first two were concerned, this was because of the very nature of their objectives, and the way their labours in Spain were normally conducted.[115] In the case of the British and Foreign Bible Society, its large finances enabled it to hold its ground,[116] despite

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[114] Ibid.

[115] The Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society simply provided financial assistance to the Spanish Reformed Episcopal Church. On the other hand, the Religious Tract Society did not employ any paid agents in Spain, and its work was carried on through the labourers already established there. For details, see Greene, The Story of the Religious Tract Society for One Hundred Years, pp. 137-41.

[116] Despite the fact that its Scripture sales through colportage dropped to the lowest figure of 20,800 copies, during the financial year 1879-1880 (as compared to nearly 66,000 in 1871), the British and Foreign Bible Society managed to maintain its operations in Spain, even increasing the number of its colporteurs from twenty in 1884 to thirty in 1904. From 1868 to 1904, the Society spent in Spain a total of £178,549, though receipts in this same period from this particular field came to only £31,810. In business terms, this was a 'loss' of over £146,739, or an average of over £4,000 a year. In actual fact, this represented what the Society was willing to spend annually for Spain. When it is considered that this sum was more than four times the average annual expenditures of the National Bible Society in that country, from 1880 to 1904, one can appreciate the ability of the British and Foreign Bible Society, to maintain its Spanish agency, by the sheer superiority of its financial strength. Its Madrid agency, from 1868 to 1904, circulated in Spain a total of 2,286,023 copies of the Scriptures. For more details, see Canton, A History of the British and Foreign Bible Society, vol. II, pp. 178f., 352f.

the adverse effects of the restrictions on Scripture circulation imposed by the Spanish government in 1876. All other British evangelical societies, on the other hand, had to adopt, in one way or another, some policy of retrenchment.

By 1875 the Trinitarian Bible Society had virtually ceased its operations in Spain. The National Bible Society, on the other hand, managed to keep most of its ground, although with great difficulty. Finding Spain to be one of the most expensive of its fields of labour,[117] in 1881 it was forced to close its Barcelona agency. Though its central agency in Madrid was maintained for another decade or so, by 1893 this central agency had been transferred to the comparatively small coastal town of Aguilas, in the province of Murcia. In 1886 the number of Spanish colporteurs employed by this Bible Society had been reduced to four,[118] and two years later, the Scripture sales had dropped to the lowest recorded level for any single year since 1868 -- a mere 5,161 Bibles, Testaments, and Portions.[119] Although this situation considerably improved in the 1890's (the average number of colporteurs was eleven, and Scripture sales, about 20,500 per year), at no time were the successes of the National Bible Society from 1868 to 1874 ever repeated.[120]

During this last quarter of the century, it was in the

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[117] See Annual NBSS Report (1872), p. 52. In 1879, the Society decided to limit its yearly expenditures in Spain to no more than £1,000. (See Minutes of the NBSS Western Committee, 15th Sept. 1879). In fact, its average expenditures from 1880 to 1900 came to only about £920 a year.

[118] Annual NBSS Report (1886), p. 82.

[119] Annual NBSS Report (1889), p. 29.

[120] The total Scripture circulation in Spain by the National Bible Society from 1880 to 1900 was about 450,000. This brought the total circulation since 1868 to about 800,000.

evangelistic aspect of the missionary work of the British evangelical societies that retreat was most evident, although the independent missions by the Plymouth Brethren and English Baptists also encountered similar difficulties.[121] By 1881, the Irish Presbyterians had handed their Madrid station over to the German Mission, in order to concentrate their efforts in Andalusia.[122] By 1890, both the Confederate Association for the Diffusion of the Gospel in Spain and the Glasgow Committee had been dissolved. This was largely due to the deaths of the two men, who were the moving spirits behind these organizations, namely, Thomas Harvey, of Leeds, who died in 1885, and Dr Somerville, of Glasgow, in 1889. On the other hand, by 1894, the Evangelical Continental Society had either completely abandoned, or entrusted to the American Congregationalists, all its mission stations in northern and central Spain, except that at Bilbao.[123] Before the end of the century, even this last station also had to be given up.

Perhaps the most significant retrenchments in Spanish missions were those by the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, the United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, and the Spanish Evangelization Society. This was especially so, because of the historical

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[121] As Albert R. Fenn, then director of the so-called 'Chamberi Mission' (Plymouth Brethren) in Madrid, said in 1893: 'This mission is now passing through great trial in common with other mission schools in Spain . . . /supported by funds entrusted to George Müller, of Bristol, and his son-in-law, James Wright/, who this autumn were obliged to retire from the responsibility of supporting these schools on account of lack of funds.' See The Missionary Review of the World, vol. VI, n.s. (1893), p. 579.

[122] See letter of the Rev. James W. Whigham, convener of the Continental Committee of the Irish Presbyterian Church, quoted in the Minutes of the UPC Foreign Missions Board (24th Dec. 1883), minute 3799.

[123] See H. A. Schauffler, in The Missionary Review of the World, vol. VII, n.s. (1894), p. 611. Cf. Bliss, The Encyclopedia of Missions, vol. I, p. 363.

CHAPTER VIII

JESUS IS VICTOR

The Christology of Barth's Dogmatics IV/3 is at once the most exciting and the most disappointing of his entire Dogmatics. It shows Christ in His fullness and glory opening up a fullness and glory for men, and yet at the central point - where Jesus is the Victor in such a way that He opens up victory for us men - Barth fails to give his doctrine the decisive content it needs. In the outline of this Christology which now follows it will become clear that the glory of the Mediator, which is the theme of this section of the Dogmatics calls for more radical treatment.

Jesus Christ lives.[1]

This simple truth contains a great and complex range of truth. Jesus Christ is Himself the reality of the reconciliation of God and man. He Himself is the content, and therefore the pledge and guarantee, of the reconciliation made in Him. In Dogmatics IV/1 Barth spoke of the God-manward movement in Him; in Dogmatics IV/2 he spoke of the man-Godward movement in Him; but now in Dogmatics IV/3 Barth speaks of the movement of the God-man outward toward other men. The first two perspectives taken together exhaust the material content of the doctrine of Christ,[2] but this third perspective is necessary to show that the life in Him radiates out to men and makes them alive. Christ lives not for Himself but for others, and therefore in the fulfillment of His life He

1. C.D. IV/3, p. 39.
2. ibid., Editors' Preface, p. ix; C.D. IV/1, p. 136.

will not be alone any more than will God Himself be without His people. Thus, the content of reconciliation which is actual in Jesus Christ (as demonstrated in Dogmatics IV/1 and IV/2) shines out to other men in such a way that they are called to serve Him and actively to participate in the life in Him. As the pledge and the guarantee of the reconciliation made in Him (as demonstrated in Dogmatics IV/3) He gives men the sure hope of eternal life and they live in this hope as they follow Him in His progress through history to its consummation. He is the hope of the world, and they actively share in His self-attestation, i.e., His truth.

It is impossible in this study to do justice to the rich and complex truth which radiates from the living Jesus. Some aspects, however, should be particularly noted. The first and fundamental point is this. We have to do with the living person of Jesus Christ, not with doctrines about Him or with impersonal forces. Barth emphasises that Jesus lives in His act.[1] He lives in the act of His self-actualisation. This is the meaning of His personal being. But it must be remembered that His existence is the being together in act of both God and man. As O'Grady puts it:

> That he lives means that His existence is act, actualization of being in sovereign spontaneity after the manner of God, and also actualization in limited spontaneity after the manner of the creature. (Church in the Theology of Karl Barth, p. 160)

Because He is this person, we must note, second, that His glory is not empty but full and radiates out to men. He lives in the very act of communicating Himself. He is light, and His light shines out to men, shining in the enlightening

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1. ibid., p. 41.

tain members of the Board, who urged the discontinuance of the Spanish Mission, on account of its heavy drain on the Board's finances, without giving back commensurate results.

The subsequent retrenchment in the missions of these three British evangelical groups severely weakened Protestant work in Spain. The Wesleyan Methodists by 1881 had what appeared to be a flourishing work in Barcelona and the Balearic Islands. That year, they had a total of 5 chapels, 9 other preaching places, 22 day-schools, with an enrolment of 651, a communicant membership of 223, and a total worshipping community of 1,250.[131] Unfortunately, a reduction in annual budgets for the Spanish mission began that year,[132] just as the first five schoolmaster-evangelists were ordained into the ministry. Perhaps the full effect of this adverse turn in the Spanish mission of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society can never be fully known. But by 1896, the total communicant membership in the various Spanish congregations of this mission came to only 263, a net increase of only 40, the result of fifteen years of missionary labour.[133]

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sources and taking on new fields too fast, and in a manner that was bound to involve the Board in additional expenditures it could not possibly afford. Thus, it insisted that on no account were the missionaries in Spain to take any step involving additional expenses, without prior sanction of the Board. On the other hand, the missionaries felt that the Board did not sympathize with the actual situation in Spain. Because of stiff Catholic opposition, opportunities for expansion were fleeting, and in most cases, these were lost, while waiting for the Board in Edinburgh to give its approval. The UPC Foreign Letter Books and the Minutes of the UPC Foreign Missions Board show the existence of conflicts of this nature.

[131] See statistical data in the WMMS Report (1881).

[132] In 1880, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society admitted that its grants were 'utterly insufficient for the support of existing agencies, much less to provide for the extension rendered to secure positions already won.' See WMMS Report (1880), p. 2.

[133] Ten years later, the total communicant membership barely reached 335. See Finlay and Holdsworth, The History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, vol. IV, p. 430.

In 1870, it was the Spanish Evangelization Society, which had the largest mission in Spain. At the time, it has as many as seven chief stations in Andalusia, all with resident pastors or evangelists, as well as organized congregations, with a total of more than 2,500 communicant members. The same mission also had more than a dozen minor stations or preaching places; nearly the same number of children's schools; a theological college at Seville; and at one time, as many as twelve missionary agents, plus several colporteurs.[134] By 1900, however, all that remained of this work were the chief stations at Cadiz, Seville, and Huelva, and minor stations in about eight other places. Although the Society at this time supported twelve Spanish workers, three of these ordained pastors, there were only four day-schools, and a total worshipping community of 206, only 94 of whom were communicant members.[135] Ultimately, the continuing financial difficulties of the Society led to its dissolution in 1910,[136] its work being entrusted to other Protestant groups in Spain.

On the other hand, the United Presbyterian Mission in 1873 had four strong mission stations, with congregations and flourishing children's schools in Cadiz, San Fernando, Jerez, and Madrid. For a time, another mission station was also opened in Montilla, near Cor-

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[134] See Peddie, The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain, p. 220. Cf. Evangelical Christendom, vol. XI, n.s. (1870), p. 52. Cf. also La Luz, vol. II (Mar. 12, 1870), p. 3. The chief mission stations of the Society were then found in Seville, Cadiz, Cordoba, Granada, Huelva, and Constantina, with preaching places in Jerez, Puerto Santa Maria, Arahal, and a number of other places.

[135] See Annual Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society (1899), p. 8. Cf. Statistics supplied to the Rev. Harlan P. Beach, of New York City, by the Rev. W. B. Douglas, the Society's missionary superintendent in Spain, dated Mar. 2, 1900, in the Manuscript Section of the Missionary Reseach Library, in New York City.

[136] Cf. Annual Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society (1909), p. 11.

doba, not to mention several minor stations elsewhere in New Castile and Andalusia. But for various reasons, the work in Cadiz completely collapsed in 1873, and that in Montilla was shortly afterwards also abandoned. By 1882, some members of the United Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions had begun to agitate for the complete withdrawal of the Board from Spain. Though they did not immediately succeeded in pushing through this suggestion, the rest of the Board did recognize the urgent need for retrenchment. For several years, the fate of the United Presbyterian Spanish mission hang in the balance. Finally, in 1888 the Synod decided to transfer responsibility for this mission from the Board of Missions to the Continental Committee of the Church.[137] This meant a chance of status of the work in Spain, from a 'foreign' to a 'continental mission'. By 1891, the Irish Presbyterians had been persuaded to take direct control over the Andalusian stations of this mission, although the United Presbyterians continued to contribute to the support of the entire work.[138]

Thus, by the accession of Alfonso XIII in 1902, the only missionary organizations from the British Isles at work in Spain were the Spanish Evangelization Society, the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, and the Continental Committees of both the United Free Church of Scotland[139] and the Irish Presbyterian Church. As all the congregations supported by these bodies had Spanish pastors, there were no more than two foreign missionaries (one Wesleyan Methodist, and the

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[137] See UPC Missionary Record, vol. IX (1888), p. 162.

[138] By 1900, the former United Presbyterian mission churches at Jerez, San Fernando, and Madrid only had a total of 328 communicant members and 394 children enrolled in the various day-schools. See Minutes of the UPC Foreign Missions Board (27th Feb. 1900), min. 4043.

[139] This was the union in 1900 of the United Presbyterian Church and the Free Church of Scotland.

other, Irish Presbyterian), to represent all four. Moreover, both were in Spain only in the capacity of missionary superintendents. British 'missionary presence', in a real sense, however, continued in Spain, through independent English Baptist and Plymouth Brethren workers. Unfortunately, they constituted what appeared to be a divisive force in Spanish Protestantism. Nevertheless, as far as work by organized missionary societies was concerned, the initiative by this time had passed on to the Americans, particularly, the Congregationalists.[140] On the whole, this new situation reflected what was to be the general picture of world-wide Protestant missions in the twentieth century.

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[140] The annual ABCFM Reports show that from 1872 to 1912, the American Board appropriated a steadily increasing sum for its Spanish Mission. During the first ten-year period, it spent an annual average of $8,000; the second, $14,700; the third, $14,800; and the fourth, $16,100.

Chapter X

EPILOGUE

In preceding chapters, an attempt has been made to show why and how certain evangelical Protestants in the British Isles carried on the missionary enterprise, which they called 'Spanish evangelization'. In a sense, this was a time-conditioned interest, a particular product of certain favourable circumstances and events in the nineteenth century. It began at a time, when the missionary impulse was at its strongest in Britain, and when, as Garcia and Grubb have put it, a nineteenth century religious 'reformation in Spain was obviously a possibility.'[1] There was no doubt in the minds of its advocates that Spanish evangelization was a viable enterprise. Indeed, it was crowned with some measure of success. It is enough to point to the fact, that a Spanish Protestant community[2] exists today, when there was none in 1808.

Yet, it is also clear that Spanish evangelization fell short of the great expectations of it in Britain at the time. As already mentioned, its advocates time and again had expressed the hope, that the Spanish people might find in Protestantism a third possible alternative between traditional Catholicism, on the one hand, and rationalism and atheism, on the other. For a time, this appeared

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[1] Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 67.

[2] Latest estimates would place the Spanish Protestant community today at a number between 55,000 and 60,000, in a country of nearly 32.5 million people. In 1862, there were then 51,184 Protestants in Spain (of whom 25,187 were communicant members), a mere one-sixth of one per cent of the general population, then numbering nearly 30 million. Cf. H. Wakelin Coxill and Kenneth Grubb, World Christian Handbook (1962 edition) (London, 1962), pp. 217-18.

possible, but as it turned out, this possibility was more apparent than real. The fact of the matter is that Protestantism never really appealed strongly enough to either the masses or the upper, and especially the intellectual, classes in Spain.[3] As Castelar (whom Protestants in the 1860's and 1870's considered one of their greatest friends[4]) once declared in the Madrid Athenaeum: 'We are all either Ultramontanists or Rationalists. For the Protestants, the followers of Luther and Calvin, we have no room.'[5] Protestantism, he added, left his heart too cold. This sentiment was typical of liberal Spanish intellectuals, as a whole. More often than not, they sought the alternative to traditional Catholicism either in rationalism, or the Spanish expression of Krausist philosophy.[6] For the few deeply religious thinkers, like Miguel de Unamuno (1864-1936), who rejected traditional Catholicism, Spain still had to see her own religious reformation.[7] But this was not to be an imported element; it must be a revival of the Christian faith deeply imbedded in the Spanish soul.

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[3] See, however, John Mackay's introduction to Jacques Delpech, The Oppression of Protestants in Spain, tr. from the French by Tom and Dolores Johnson (Boston, 1955), p. 7.

[4] Castelar was reportedly inspired by the ideas of Alexandre Vinet (1797-1847), Swiss Reformed theological professor at Lausanne. See Encyclopedie des sciences religieuses, vol. IV, p. 531.

[5] As quoted by F. Fliedner, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXIV (1883), p. 303.

[6] Cf. Carr, Spain 1808-1939, p. 352n. Cf. also Bartlett, in The Journal of Ecclesiastical History, vol. VIII, p. 211.

[7] As Unamuno reportedly once said in Cartagena: 'We need a reformation in Spain, a reformation that shall be our own, of the soil, no importation, but that shall be for us what the Reformation of the sixteenth century was to the Scandinavians and Saxons.' As quoted by W. B. Douglas, in the Report of the Spanish Evangelization Society (1907), p. 1.
For more on Unamuno's religious philosophy, see Mackay, The Other Spanish Christ, passim.

Not to be overlooked also was the fact that there was more emotional prejudice against Protestantism than atheism.[8]

Moreover, Protestantism in Spain did not seem to have been able to shed off the stigma of being a foreign importation, an element ultimately alien to the Spanish spirit. This foreign-ness was reinforced by the attempts of foreign missionaries to transplant historic Protestantism and its various denominational developments into Spain. As Knapp once proudly reported to his mission board in Boston: 'I conduct now every thing just as in America . . . I judge that this people can do no better than follow us in America.'[9] This was echoed in an amazingly similar manner by a Wesleyan Methodist missionary, who reported to London in 1881: 'We labour to have our Societies here, one exact copy of our Societies at home in all things.'[10] Even the Anglican supporter of Spanish missions, Dallas, earnestly desired that the Spanish churches under his care should maintain the Episcopalian order and discipline, and that 'the whole service should be conducted as much as possible on the model of the English Church.'[11] Not surprisingly, even Protestant Spaniards themselves resented this importation of foreign religious practices.[12]

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[8] This is reflected in the oft-repeated remark: 'Sooner agnostic or atheist, than Protestant!' Cf. Count A. Bernstorff's report, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXIX (1888), pp. 77. Cf. A. L. Empaytaz, in Evangelical Christendom, vol. XXVI (1885), p. 83.

[9] Knapp's Letter, dated 15th Nov. 1870, in The Missionary Magazine, vol. LI (1871), p. 57.

[10] Rev. Robert Simpson, in WMMS Report (1881), p. 36.

[11] Mrs Dallas, Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, p. 503.

[12] This is reflected in an incident at Seville in 1872. During a celebration of the Lord's Supper, in connection with the inauguration of a newly opened Protestant church building in the city, some of the Spaniards felt uneasy about the nature of the proceedings.

revelation of Jesus Christ'[1] there is this twofold demonstration of freedom. Are we then left '<u>remoto Christo</u>'?[2] Are we left to ourselves? Barth answers, No. Jesus Christ does not pause in His work and He does not leave us in a vacuum.[3] He is present to us as an active Subject.[4] He comes in the form of the promise of the Spirit.[5] This phrase has two meanings: (1) The Spirit promises.[6] Jesus Christ

> in the power of His life as the Resurrected from the dead...gives to men the sure promise of His final appearing...and therefore the redemption and perfecting of the world reconciled in Him. (<u>C.D.</u> IV/3, p. 351)

For Christians this means active knowledge:

> The recipients, bearers and possessors of the promise... are Christians...who know [Christ] as the One He is, who know His presence and work in subjective correspondence with His objective reality...and who in knowing Him know themselves as men reconciled, justified and sanctified in Him, and may thus make use of the freedom indicated to them in Him. (<u>C.D.</u> IV/3, p. 352).

The promise also means (2) that the Spirit is promised.[7] Christ is not yet present and active in all men, 'in the subjective realisation corresponding to His objective reality.'[8] The Spirit is promised to these unbelievers also but they are not yet caught up in the living stream of life: they are still on the rocky banks of the stream.[9] But 'the

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1. <u>ibid</u>., p. 345.
2. <u>ibid</u>., p. 346.
3. <u>ibid</u>., pp. 348f.
4. <u>ibid</u>., p. 349.
5. <u>ibid</u>., p. 350.
6. <u>ibid</u>., p. 351.
7. <u>ibid</u>., p. 353.
8. <u>ibid</u>., p. 353.
9. <u>ibid</u>., p. 355.

stream is too strong and the dam of their unbelief too weak for us to be able reasonably to expect anything but the collapse of the dam and the onrush of the waters.'[1] Thus, Jesus Christ is not remote from our sphere, but filling it and active in it in a way which is for our good.

Barth makes this clear in three points: (1) Christ's coming between the times and in our sphere 'is no less genuinely His own direct and personal coming...thanwas His first coming...or will be His final coming.'[2] (2) He comes not in the power of naked deity, but as the Son of God and Son of man, in the totality of His being God and man.[3] In His coming again He has not abandoned His flesh and He may therefore be the hope of all men.[4] He may work in our sphere. His working in our sphere as true God and true man (3) 'is qualitatively no less than it was in the first form and will be in the last. (Hence, to resist His working in our sphere, to blaspheme the Holy Spirit, cannot be forgiven, since it denies the very presence of God as the source of forgiveness.)[5]

In this light, Barth gives a final answer to the question of why Jesus Christ posits this 'not yet', this time before His concluding parousia. The 'provoking and even dreadful riddle'[6] that even while Jesus Christ, in the form of the Spirit, is working in the whole world there are still those

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1. ibid., pp. 355-6.
2. ibid., p. 356 (my underlining).
3. ibid., p. 357.
4. ibid., p. 358.
5. ibid., p. 358.
6. ibid., p. 360.

that the former, on the whole, took as regards this matter had far-reaching consequences. Not only did the sending of foreign missionaries result in the introduction of foreign influences into Spain; it also produced that situation, which resulted in jealousy and rivalry between foreign workers and Spanish Protestant leaders, and among the former themselves. Moreover, much money was spent in maintaining the comparatively high salaries of foreign personnel, when such sums could have been more profitably expended in opening new work in several towns under Spanish evangelists, or in the purchase of good buildings for worship. Consequently, after the best opportunities for doing so had passed, Protestant missions, particularly those based in Britain, discovered that they had not been able to enter as many places as they would have wanted, and that their congregations hardly had any adequate places for worship. With the exception of Madrid and Seville, where Protestants did manage to acquire former Catholic churches, or at least, a separate building for worship, most of the Protestant 'chapels' in Spain hardly fitted the description. Up to the end of the century, these usually consisted of simply one room in a private home, or in a barn or a store, the same place being used as a schoolroom.[17] Such surroundings hardly appeared inviting to new inquirers, particularly those from the upper social classes. One can certainly sympathize with the Wesleyan Methodist minister, who, after a visit to Spain about the end of the century, said: 'Our success is strictly dependent upon our premises and our resources. Given better buildings and larger help, it would be easy to double our members and our scholars.'[18]

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[17] See J. E. Badgett Meakin, in The Missionary Review of the World, vol. IV, n.s. (1891), p. 590.

[18] Rev. William Perkins, as quoted by Finlay and Holdsworth,

In the actual manner in which missionary work was conducted, one also finds certain weaknesses and errors of judgment. Without repeating specific details already mentioned in preceding chapters, suffice it to say that these shortcomings basically stemmed from the fact that the British (and American) societies and missionaries tended to view the Spanish situation only through Anglo-Saxon perspectives. In later years, Garcia and Grubb were to refer to the undesirability of 'the foreign missionary who cannot co-operate with the existing churches, or respect and appreciate one of the finest European cultural traditions.'[19] Moreover, while it is true that the various 'committees of Spanish evangelization' abroad, on the whole, left the administration of Spanish missions to the workers actually in Spain, the fact is that the mission boards did attempt to direct the course of their missions from their board rooms abroad. This was true not only of the United Presbyterians, but also of the Wesleyan Methodists, and indeed, also of the American Congregationalists and Baptists.

The uneven and rather random distribution of their meagre forces, upon their entry into Spain after 1868, should not necessarily be held against Protestant missions. More often than not, the location of their stations was dictated by circumstances and opportunities, rather than by deliberate choice.[20] But the fact remains that immediate attempts to remedy the situation, along with closer cooperation among the various missions (especially those conducted by independent British missionaries), would have considerably advanced the entire work, while the best opportunities continued to obtain. That

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A History of the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society, vol. IV, p. 435.

[19] Religion in the Republic of Spain, p. 88.

[20] Ibid., p. 87.

these remedial measures were not given urgent attention until much harm to the work had been done, was an error of judgment, which turned out to be beyond repair. Considering the fact that at one time, up to three-fourths of the total number of foreign missionaries in Spain came from Britain, it seems unfortunate that they had not all been able to come together under one coordinating body. One would have thought that missionaries coming from the same country would have little difficulty in coming to an agreement, as indeed the German 'Spanish Committees' of Barmen, Bremen, Berlin, Frankfurt, and Stuttgart were able to do. It was also regrettable that there were far too many independent British missionaries, unconnected with any organized society. Many of the earlier mistakes and random beginnings, in the period between 1869 and 1874, could have been avoided, given the more or less steady financial support and the wisdom of a mission board or society, especially if long-experienced in evangelical missions.[21]

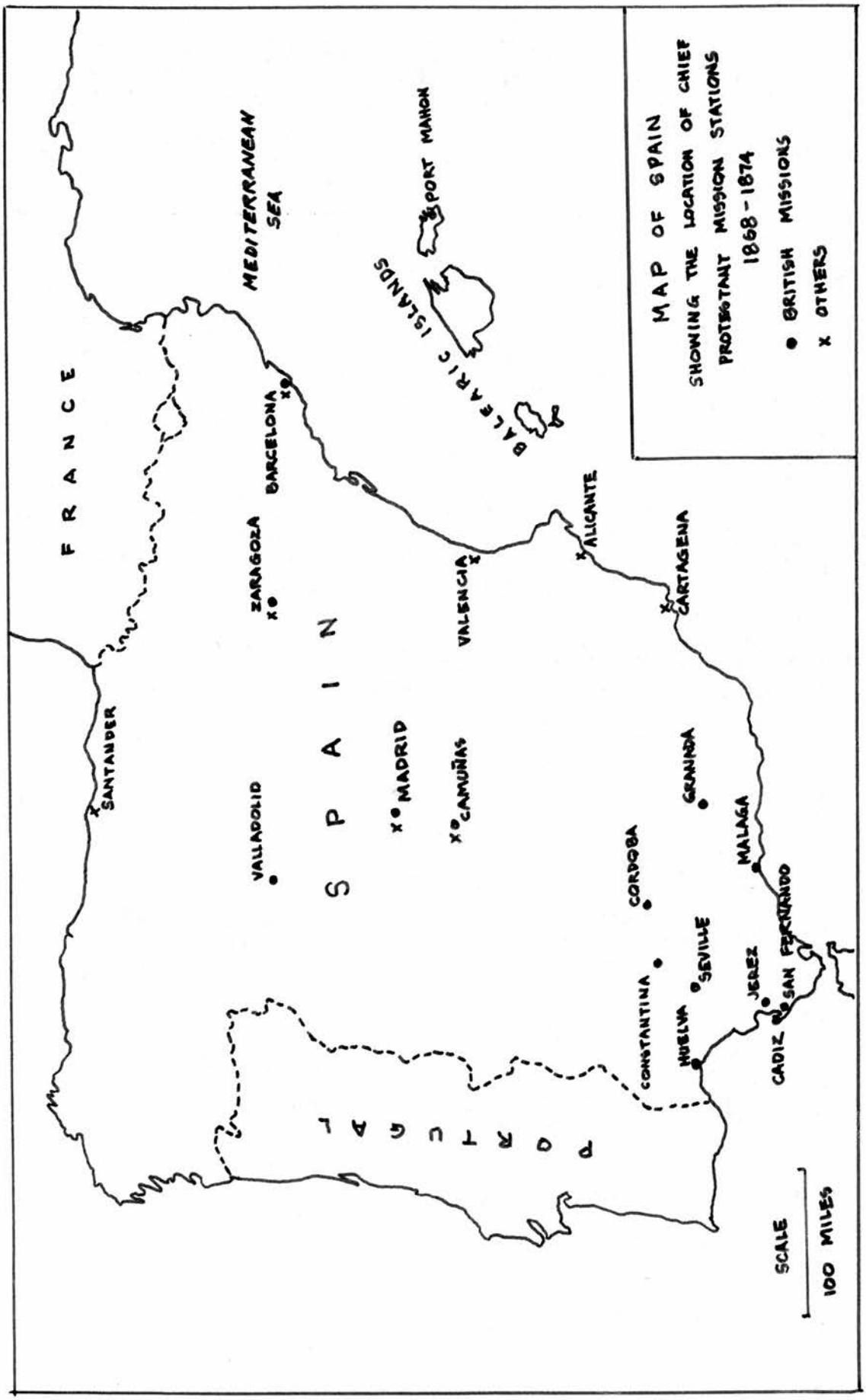
Yet, despite all these, one can affirm that British evangelical societies did accomplish some real achievement in Spain. The failure one refers to was their inability to make the most out of the favourable situation, arising from the events of 1868 and 1869. Much of this achievement is perhaps intangible. But certainly, however one looks at it, credit must be given to British evangelical societies

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[21] It is interesting to note, that when Puerto Rico, Cuba, and especially the Philippines, were freely opened to Protestant missions in 1898, the various American mission boards interested in these former Spanish possessions met and agreed upon an equitable division of the field, even long before they actually entered it. While this measure was also the product of the general development of the idea of comity in Protestant missions, as a whole, it is tempting to conjecture that their experience in Spain was a vital factor in the Protestant determination not to repeat the same mistakes, as they open new work in these former Spanish colonies. For details, see Arthur Judson Brown, The New Era in the Philippines (New York, 1903), pp. 173-82.
Incidentally, the American Baptist mission in the Philippines was opened by the Rev. Erick Lund, a Swede, who for many years had served as a Baptist missionary in Barcelona.

for laying the foundations of Protestant work in Spain. From 1808 to 1868, evangelical Protestant labours in Spain, though often impermanent and desultory, were almost exclusively British, some help beginning 1834 being given by French Protestants. It was also the British societies interested in 'continental evangelization', in particular, the Spanish Evangelization Society, which gave the greatest support to those Spaniards, who advocated the Segunda Reforma. Nor can be minimized the efforts of British evangelical societies in the defence of the religious liberty of Spanish Protestants, from the time of Mora in 1856 till sporadic persecutions ended in the early 1890's.

More than all these, a direct link can be traced between the present Iglesia Evangelica Española, the largest Spanish Protestant Church to date, and the labours of the Spanish Evangelization Society beginning 1855. Thus, in a very real sense, British evangelical missions to Spain in the nineteenth century can truly be regarded as being directly responsible for the origins of Spanish Protestantism today.


MAP OF SPAIN
SHOWING THE LOCATION OF CHIEF PROTESTANT MISSION STATIONS
1868 - 1874
● BRITISH MISSIONS
x OTHERS
FRANCE
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
BALEARIC ISLANDS
PORT MAHON
BARCELONA
ZARAGOZA
VALENCIA
ALICANTE
CARTAGENA
SANTANDER
VALLADOLID
MADRID
CAMUÑAS
GRANADA
MALAGA
CORDOBA
SEVILLE
JEREZ
SAN FERNANDO
CADIZ
HUELVA
CONSTANTINA
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
SCALE
100 MILES



MAP OF SPAIN
SHOWING THE LOCATION OF CHIEF PROTESTANT CENTRES IN 1902

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This selective bibliography lists only those sources, which are frequently referred to in the text, or which contain significant information, directly relevant to the subject of this study. A considerable number of those consulted have been omitted, if they contain only brief, though perhaps pertinent, paragraphs or pages, especially if information therein also appears in other sources included in this list. By the very nature of this study, the sources may be divided into three main categories, namely, those dealing with conditions in Great Britain in the nineteenth century, and with British evangelical Protestantism, in particular; those dealing with the political, social, economic and religious conditions in Spain at the time; and finally, those which contain direct information on Protestant missionary endeavours in that country. This last category naturally comprises the bulk of the materials consulted. For convenience, however, these sources are listed below, according to the nature or purpose of their contents, in relation to this dissertation.

Whenever relevant, or helpful to the reader, a brief introduction is given for each heading. Occasionally, a short note also follows certain individual sources, to which especial attention needs to be directed.

A. (1) BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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B. UNPUBLISHED SOURCES (arranged according to place of deposit)

(1) The British Museum (Great Russell Street, London)

The Manuscript Division of the British Museum contains the Layard Papers, belonging to the British Ambassador at Madrid from 1869 to 1877. While these papers are mostly political in nature, they do contain some notes on the religious

conditions in Spain during the period. These papers are particularly helpful in showing the attitude of the Spanish government towards the religious question, and towards the religious liberty of Protestants, in particular.

B.M. Add. MSS. 38932-33. 'The Story of My Mission to Spain,' vols. 2-3, of Sir Austen Henry Layard's Memoirs.

B.M. Add. MSS. 38997-99. Vols. 1-3 of Layard's ten-volume private correspondence from 1869 to 1874.

B.M. Add. MSS. 39121-24. Letter-books of Layard's semi-official correspondence, 1869-1877, in four volumes.

(2) The Public Records Office (Chancery Lane, London)

The Public Records Office contains the archives of the British Foreign Office, of which Series F.O. 72 (Spain) has been intensively consulted. A surprising amount of information, pertaining to Protestant activities in Spain from 1837 to 1877, is contained in these records. Such information is found not only in diplomatic despatches between the Foreign Office in London and the British Embassy in Madrid, but also in consular reports and other volumes under the heading 'Domestic various', mainly between Protestant leaders in Britain and the Foreign Office. Almost every case of religious persecution of Protestants in Spain is dealt with, especially if British subjects are involved.

As used in the footnotes in this dissertation, an entry, like 'F.O. 72. 1008. 12', means that the document referred to is document numbered 12, in the 'piece' or bound volume numbered 1008, in series F.O. 72. In cases where the documents are not numbered, only the 'piece' number is given.

Series F.O. 72 (Spain)

1837.	vol.	nos. 471	Domestic various.
"	"	" 478-79	Sir George Villier's despatches.
1838.	"	" 503-505	" " " "
"	"	" 506	Lord William Hervey's "
1839.	"	" 527, 533	Mr Henry Southern's "
"	"	" 537	Consular reports.
1840.	"	" 547	To Messrs G. W. Jerningham, Arthur Aston, Newton Scott, drafts.
"	"	" 557	Consular reports.
1841.	"	" 572-78	Mr Arthur Aston's despatches.
1851.	"	" 780-81	To Lord Howden, drafts.
"	"	" 782-88	Lord Howden's despatches.
"	"	" 799	Domestic various.
1852.	"	" 816	" "
1853.	"	" 834-35	" "
1855.	"	" 867	Lord Howden's and Mr Otways' despatches.
1856.	"	" 890	To Lord Howden and Mr Otway, drafts.
18"	"	" 891-94	Lord Howden's despatches.
1859.	"	" 952-53	To Mr Buchanan, drafts.

1859.	vol.	nos.	957-60	Mr Buchanan's despatches.
"	"	"	962	Consular reports.
"	"	"	967	Messrs Middleton's, Edwardes', and Lumley's despatches, and foreign various.
"	"	"	971-73	Domestic various.
1860.	"	"	975	To Mr Buchanan, drafts.
"	"	"	977-80	Mr Buchanan's despatches.
"	"	"	982-85	Sir Arthur Buchanan and Mr Edwardes' despatches.
"	"	"	987, 989	Consular reports.
"	"	"	993	Mr Dering's despatches, and various consular, domestic, and foreign papers.
"	"	"	995-98	Domestic various.
1861.	"	"	1001-02	To Sir A. Buchanan, Mr Edwardes, and Sir John Crampton, drafts.
"	"	"	1003-11	Sir A. Buchanan's, Mr Edwardes', and Sir J. Crampton's despatches.
"	"	"	1012	Sir A. Buchanan's, Mr Edwardes', and Sir J. Crampton's telegrams.
"	"	"	1015	Consul Mark's (Malaga) reports.
"	"	"	1018, 1020	Consular reports.
"	"	"	1021	Chaplain Cafe, and various consular, domestic, and foreign papers.
"	"	"	1023-24	Domestic various.
1862.	"	"	1028-29	To Sir J. Crampton, drafts.
"	"	"	1030-40	Sir J. Crampton's despatches.
"	"	"	1047	Consular reports.
"	"	"	1049	Messrs St Maur's, Middleton's, Lawrence's, and Hunt's despatches, and various consular, domestic, and foreign papers.
"	"	"	1051-52	Domestic various.
1868.	"	"	1180-82	Sir J. Crampton's despatches.
1869.	"	"	1205-06	To Sir J. Crampton and Mr Ffrench, drafts.
"	"	"	1207-14	Sir J. Crampton's, Mr Ffrench's, and Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
1870.	"	"	1230-31	To Sir A. H. Layard, drafts.
"	"	"	1232-37	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
"	"	"	1255	Domestic various.
1871.	"	"	1274-76	Sir A. H. Layard's and Mr Ffrench's despatches.
1872.	"	"	1309-13	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
1873.	"	"	1336-44	" " " " and Mr Macdonnell's despatches.
1874.	"	"	1365	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
1875.	"	"	1402-04	To Sir A. H. Layard and Sir J. Walsham, drafts.
"	"	"	1405-07, 1410-11	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
1876.	"	"	1423-24	To Sir J. Walsham, drafts.
"	"	"	1434-35, 1439	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
"	"	"	1454-55	Domestic various.
1877.	"	"	1468	Sir A. H. Layard's despatches.
"	"	"	1470	Sir J. Walsham's despatches.

(3) The National Library of Scotland (George IV Bridge, Edinburgh)

The most valuable sources pertinent to this research, found in the Manuscript Division of the National Library of Scotland, are the 'Foreign Letter-Books of the Secretaries and Other Officials of the Foreign Mission Committee' (Board), of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. These contain letters sent to missionaries in Spain, more particularly, to the Rev. Messrs Abraham Ben Oliel, Joseph Viliesid, John Jameson, Angel Blanco Fernandez, and on occasion, also to other foreign and Spanish Protestant workers. A number of letters addressed to evangelical Protestant leaders in Scotland and England also sheds much light on the affairs of the Spanish Evangelization Society.

For the purpose of this research, the thirty volumes of the Foreign Letter-Books referred to above, covering the period from 1868 to 1908, have been meticulously consulted.

MSS. 7648-58. United Presbyterian Church. Foreign Letter-Books, nos. 11-21 (1868-1882). These eleven volumes contain the correspondence of the Rev. Dr Hamilton M. MacGill, Foreign Missions Board Secretary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland from 1868 to 1879.

MSS. 7659-76. United Presbyterian Church (later United Free Church). Foreign Letter-Books, A nos. 1-17 (1882-1908). These eighteen volumes contain the correspondence of the Rev. Dr James Buchanan, who succeeded MacGill from 1881 to 1908.

(4) The Scottish Record Office (Princes Street, Edinburgh)

The following sources found in the Scottish Record Office contain primary information on the actions of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches, as regards ordinations of Spanish pastors or Jewish-Spanish missionaries to Spain, as well as important decisions on the United Presbyterian Mission in that country.

MSS. CH. 3. 111. 27-28. Minutes of the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh, 1855-1866, two volumes.

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(5) British and Foreign Bible Society (Queen Victoria Street, London)

The archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society present a vast mine of information on Bible work in Spain, not only in the preparation of Spanish versions, but also in the actual circulation of these in Spain.

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George Borrow's Letters, 1833-1840.

Special Sub-Committee Minutes, 1882-1905, seven volumes.

(6) National Bible Society of Scotland (St Andrews Square, Edinburgh)

The extant manuscripts in the files of the National Bible Society of Scotland include the Minute Books of the Edinburgh Bible Society from 1815 to 1861. Unfortunately, those of the Glasgow Bible Society before the merger in 1860 were destroyed by fire. All incoming foreign correspondence were also used for 'salvage purposes' during World War II. Nevertheless, the records available are rich in materials for the study of Protestant work in Spain, particularly beginning 1855.

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(7) Methodist Missionary Society (25 Marylebone Road, London)

There exists a box containing William H. Rule's papers, but the more relevant materials are those by a later missionary to Spain, the Rev. William T. Brown, as follows:

Manuscript Journal (and copies of letters), 1869-1870.

Glimpses of a Mission in Spain, and contributions towards a history of Methodist schools in Spain, n.d.

(8) Scottish Reformation Society (George IV Bridge, Edinburgh)

Because the Scottish Reformation Society was keenly interested in fighting for (Protestant) religious liberty abroad, it naturally paid attention to cases of alleged religious persecutions of Protestants in Catholic countries. For this reason, the Minute Books of this society contain various references to Spain, particularly from 1854 to 1876.

Draft Minute Book, 1853-1858. (The binding is broken, and the book is in very poor condition.)

_____. Minute Books, vols. II-III, 1858-1891.

(9) Missionary Research Library (Union Theological Seminary, Broadway, New York City)

Aside from various printed reports and journals of British and American evangelical missionary societies engaged in Spanish evangelization in the nineteenth century, the present author found the following among the manuscripts collected by this library:

Letter of Mrs Rosalba G. Graham (nee Peddie), outgoing Secretary of the Spanish Evangelization Society, to the Rev. Harlan P. Beach, of New York City, dated Willoughbridge, Market Drayson, England, 2nd February 1900.

Statistical Report for the Missions of the Spanish Evangelization Society, March 1900, supplied by the Rev. William B. Douglas, superintendent of the Society's work in Spain.

(10) Various Deposits in Spain

The extant records in Spain are mostly those of various local churches, though other documents of a more general nature have been collected by various persons, particularly in Madrid, Seville, and Barcelona. Since these records are more pertinent to a study of Spanish Protestantism itself, the present author had decided not to list them here, except to point to the individuals in custody of these records, particularly the Rev. Teodoro Fliedner (Madrid), the Rev. Alberto Araujo (Madrid), the Rev. Benito Corvillon Orbegozo (Madrid and Barcelona), and Sr Patricio Gomez (Seville). Details of addresses may be found in any current issue of Directorio Evangelico in Vademecum Evangelico.

C. PUBLISHED SOURCES

(1) British Official Documents

These sources, for the most part, contain material illustrative of the religious conditions in Great Britain during the period covered by this study -- in particular, the strong anti-Catholic sentiments of evangelical Protestants; British official and popular reaction to reports of acts of religious intolerance against Protestants in Catholic lands; as well as British diplomatic policy, in regard to questions concerning religious liberty in Spain. Of especial interest are texts of petitions sent by various evangelical bodies to the House of Commons, requesting that the good influence of the British government with the Spanish authorities be used to alleviate the sufferings of persecuted Protestants in Spain.

Appendix to the Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Sessions 1860, 1861).

Appendix to the Thirty-Second Report on Public Petitions (June 1862).

British and Foreign State Papers, vols. XLII (1852-53), XLVII (1856-57), LXVIII (1876-77).

The Foreign Office List, London, 1852-1900.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd series, vols. CLVII (1860), CLX-CLXVI (1861-62), CCXXX (1876), CCXXXIII (1877).

Parliamentary Papers, vol. LXXXIX (1852-53).

Reports of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Public Petitions (Session 1862).

(2) Spanish Official Documents

Diario de sesiones de las Cortes constituyentes, Madrid, 1837, 1855, 1869, 1876.

Metodo de enseñanza mutua, segun los sistemas combinados del Dr. Bell y de Mr. Lancaster, para uso de las escuelas elementales, o de primeras letras; aprobado por SuM. y mandado observar en la escuela central de Madrid y en las demas que de esta clase se establezcan en España, Madrid, 1820.

Novisima recopilacion de las leyes de Espana, dividida en XII. libros, en que se reforma la recopilacion publicada por . . . Felipe II . . . de 1567, Madrid, 1805.

(3) Printed Documents and Reports (Churches and Evangelical Societies)

The British sources in the following list were consulted by the present author at various libraries in London and Edinburgh, and the American sources, at the Congregational Library and Andover Newton Theological School Library (Greater Boston area), and the Missionary Research Library (New York City).

American Baptist Missionary Union. Annual Reports, Boston, 1871-1909.

American Bible Society. Annual Reports, New York, 1828-1900.

American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Annual Reports, Boston, 1872-1912.

British and Foreign Bible Society. Annual Reports, London, 1806-1904.

_____. The Bible Society Monthly Reporter, London, 1866-1904.

Edinburgh Bible Society. Annual Reports, Edinburgh, 1810-1860.

Evangelical Alliance. The Religious Condition of Christendom (Papers read at the Berlin Conference of the Evangelical Alliance), ed. by Edward Steane, London, 1859.

_____. Proceedings of the Geneva Conference (1861), ed. by Gavin Carlyle, London, 1862.

_____. Proceedings of the Amsterdam Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (1867), ed. by Edward Steane, London, 1868.

_____. Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1873: History, Essays, Orations, and Other Documents of the Sixth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance (New York, 1873), ed. by Philip Schaff and S. Irenaeus Prime, London, 1874.

_____. The Religious Condition of Christendom (Described in a series of papers read at the Seventh General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, Basle, 1879), ed. by J. Murray Mitchell, London, 1880.

_____. The Religious Condition of Christendom (Described in a series of papers presented to the Eighth General Conference of the Evangelical Alliance, Copenhagen, 1884), ed. by Lewis Borrett White, London, 1885.

_____. Jubilee of the Evangelical Alliance. Proceedings of the Tenth International Conference (London, 1896), ed. by A. J. Arnold, London, 1897.

Evangelical Alliance (British Organization). Abstract of the Proceedings of the Annual Conferences, London, 1851-1853.

_____. Reports Presented to the Annual Conferences, London, 1854-1890.

Evangelical Society for the Diffusion of Religious Knowledge over the Continent of Europe. Annual Proceedings, London, 1818-1823.

Foreign Aid Society. Annual Reports, London, 1841-1853.

Foreign Evangelization Society. A Guide to Evangelical Work on the Continent of Europe, London, 1874.

Free Church of Scotland. Assembly Papers, Edinburgh, 1851-1852, 1858.

_____. Reports of the Colonial and Continental Committee, Edinburgh, 1856-1890.

_____. Proceedings and Debates of the General Assembly, Edinburgh, 1858-1876.

Glasgow Bible Society. Annual Reports, Glasgow, 1829-1846.

National Bible Society of Scotland. Annual Reports, Edinburgh, 1861-1904.

_____. Minutes of the Western Committee, Glasgow, 1893-1894.

_____. Occasional Record, Edinburgh, 1869-1872. (Continued as the Quarterly Record, 1873-1906.)

_____. Report on Bible Work in Spain in connection with (the) visit of the Western Secretary, May 1872, Glasgow, c. 1872.

Presbyterian Alliance (later Alliance of Reformed Churches). Report of the Proceedings of the First General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance (Edinburgh, 1877), ed. by J. Thomson, Edinburgh, 1877.

_____. Report of the Proceedings of the Second General Council of the Presbyterian Alliance (Philadelphia, 1880), ed. by John Dales and R. M. Patterson, Philadelphia, 1880.

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Religious Tract Society (of London). Annual Reports, London, 1806-1900.

_____. The Jubilee Memorial of the Religious Tract Society:

Containing a Record of its Origin, Proceedings, and Results, 1799-1849, ed. by William Jones, London, 1850.

_____. The Monthly Reporter, London, 1870-1875.

_____. Proceedings of the First Twenty Years of the Religious Tract Society: Being a Compendium of its Reports, and Extracts from the Appendices, London, 1820.

_____. The Religious Tract Society Record of Work at Home and Abroad, London, 1877-1900.

Spanish Evangelization Society. Annual Reports, Edinburgh, 1861-1862, 1890-1909.

Spanish Reformed Church (Presbyterian). The Declaration Set Forth by the Central Consistory of the Spanish Reformed Church. With some account of the members and their meetings at Gibraltar, on the 25th April and the 1st June, 1868, tr. by the Rev. Alexander Dallas, London, 1868.

Spanish Reformed Church (Episcopal). A Communication from the Spanish Episcopal Church, tr. by R. Stewart Clough, London, 1880.

_____. The Divine Offices and Other Formularies of the Reformed Churches of Spain and Portugal, tr. by R. S. Clough and T. Godfrey Pope, London, 1882. (Contains a brief historical introduction by Lord Plunket, the Bishop of Meath.)

_____. The Revised Prayer-Book of the Reformed Spanish Church, tr. by R. S. Clough, Dublin, 1889. (Contains an up-dated historical introduction by Lord Plunket.)

Statistics of Protestant Missionary Societies, 1861, 1862-1873, London, 1863, 1874.

Trinitarian Bible Society. Annual Reports, London, 1832-1874.

_____. Report Presented April 1839, respecting certain versions of the Bible, which are circulated by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1839.

United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Minutes of the Foreign Missions Board, Edinburgh, 1873-1902.

_____. Reports of the Colonial and Continental Committee, Edinburgh, 1889-1902.

Wesleyan Methodist Church. Reports of the Committee for the Management of the Missions . . . carried on under the direction of the Methodist Conference, London, 1816-1817.

Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society. Annual Reports, London, 1819-1902.

(4) Journals and Periodicals (arranged according to place of publication)

The dates following each journal or periodical title refer to the issues, in which articles on Spain and Protestant missionary work in that country may be found. Many others, which illustrate only the religious conditions in Britain at the time, have been excluded from this list, although these have also been helpful to the author, in understanding how British evangelical Protestants came to be interested in Spanish evangelization. Whenever applicable, the name of the publisher (committee, denomination, or evangelical society) is also indicated.

(i) Boston

The Baptist Missionary Magazine, 1858-1859.

(Continued as): The Missionary Magazine, 1869-1906. American Baptist Missionary Union.

The Missionary Herald, 1871-1908. American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

(ii) Belfast

The Missionary Herald of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, 1870-1894, 1922.

(iii) Edinburgh

Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 1846-1856.

British and Foreign Evangelical Review, 1852-1889.

The Bulwark; or, Reformation Journal, 1851-1910. Scottish Reformation Society. (This strongly anti-Catholic journal maintained great interest in Spain, especially from 1854 to 1866, and from 1888 to 1900.)

The Christian Family Advocate, 1852-1854. (Edited by Mrs Catherine Ponsomby, an associate of Mrs Peddie, this magazine was the strongest advocate in Edinburgh of the cause of Spanish evangelization during these years. Many monthly issues began with articles on Spain, written by the Bible agent, the Rev. Dr James Thomson.)

The Christian Monitor, and Religious Register, 1821-1825.

The Continental Presbyterian, 1892-1911. Continental Committee of the Free Church (later, United Free Church) of Scotland.

The Edinburgh Christian Magazine, 1850-1854.

The Herald of the Churches; or, Monthly Record of Ecclesiastical and Missionary Intelligence, 1846.

The Home and Foreign Missionary Record of the Church of Scotland, 1861, 1869-1872.

The Home and Foreign (Missionary) Record of the Free Church of Scotland, 1850-1860.

(Continued as): The Weekly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, 1861-1862.

(Continued as): The Monthly Record of the Free Church of Scotland, 1863-1877.

The News of the Churches and Journal of Missions, 1851-1858. (This journal is one of the major sources of 'religious intelligence' on Spain, during these years.)

The Original Secession Magazine, 1869-1871. (Though only briefly interested in Protestant work in Spain, it is useful for its reports, not usually found in other evangelical journals.)

The Presbyterian, 1868-1873. Published by a group of Scottish Free Church ministers and laymen.

The Reformed Presbyterian Magazine, 1859-1860, 1869-1876.

Reformed Presbyterian Witness, 1869-1875.

The Religious Monitor; or, Scots Presbyterian Magazine, 1803-1819. (This seems to be the only British evangelical magazine, which carried more or less sustained interest in Spain, during this period.)

The Scottish Missionary Register, 1820-1845.

The United Presbyterian Magazine, 1857-1879.

(iv) London

The Christian Standard, 1873-1875. Published by English Baptists.

Christian Work, 1863-1874. (The continuation of The News of the Churches and Journal of Missions, of Edinburgh, this periodical is the major source of information on the work of the Spanish Protestant exiles before 1868. Due to its regular correspondents in Spain after September 1868, it also provides valuable information on Spanish missions at this time.)

Evangelical Christendom, 1847-1899. (This official organ of the British organization of the Evangelical Alliance is an indispensable source for the study of Protestant work in Spain, although it is comparatively silent on the subject between 1863 and 1868, and after about 1890.)

The Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle, 1824-1826.

Leaves from Spain, 1873-1900. (English translation of the Rev. Fritz Fliedner's more or less regular newsletters, Blätter aus Spanien. A few of the original letters in German have also been consulted.)

Light and Truth, 1878-1902. Spanish and Portuguese Church Aid Society, for the Reformed Spanish Church (Episcopal).

The Missionary Register, 1828-1848.

The Missionary Review of the World, 1889-1901.

The Quarterly Register, 1886-1899. The Alliance of Reformed Churches, holding the Presbyterian System.

The Times, 1835-1900.

The Wesleyan-Methodist Missionary Magazine, 1822-1982.

(vii) Madrid

La Luz, 1869-1893. (This was more or less the official organ of the Spanish Protestants. It was under Presbyterian hands (Spanish Reformed Church, later Spanish Christian Church), although it represented Spanish Episcopal interests, with the defection of its editor, Cabrera.)

(viii) Paris

Archives du Christianisme, 1823-1824, 1866.

Revue Chretienne, 1865-1869.

(5) Pamphlets

Anon. Atencion! que los apostatas quieren variar nuestra religion, Madrid, 1825.

_____. The Circulation of Roman Catholic Versions of the Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society: the defence of the practice examined, London, 1868.

_____. Facts for the Friends and Supporters of the British and Foreign Bible Society (respecting the Spanish translation of the Vulgate published by the Society, /London, 1861/.

_____. The Irish Church: Her Assailers and Defenders. With Some Remarks on Religious Liberty and Toleration in England and Spain, London, 1868.

_____. Manuel Matamoros: a champion and martyr in the cause of religious liberty in Spain, Stirling, 1898.

_____. Manuel Matamoros, the young Spanish Officer, Stirling, 1902.

_____. Persecution of Protestants in Spain (An appeal for contributions towards defraying the law and other expenses of Matamoros, Alhama, and Trigo, London, 1862.

_____. The Present Treatment of Protestants by the Church of Rome where Dominant, and its Intentions here, London, c. 1862.

_____. Spain in 1866, Edinburgh, 1866.

_____. Spain, 'Thy People Think on Her Stones!', Dublin, 1855. (A translation by William Greene, of an anonymous article from the Spanish evangelical journal, El Alba.)

_____. A Testimony Concerning Stephen Grellet, of Burlington, United States, Burlington, 1856.

_____. Un español a los españoles (Spanish version of the tract, 'A Spaniard to Spaniards,' circulated by the Religious Tract Society), London, 1860.

_____. La verite sur les protestants espagnols, Paris, 1863.

_____. What is Now England's Duty? Is It Not, Pre-Eminently, to Attempt to Evangelise the World?, London, 1848.

_____. Young People's Work for Spain. A Plea for Bible Schools for Spanish Children, 1884.

Ben Oliel, Abraham. La libertad religiosa en España segun la constitucion, y segun la interpretan algunas autoridades locales, Cadiz, 1874.

Blanco y Crespo (Blanco White), Jose Maria. A Letter to Protestants Converted from Romanism, Oxford, 1827.

Cadier, Albert. L'Evangelisation du Haut-Aragon, Valence, 1920.

Dalton, Hermann. Die evangelische Bewegung in Spanien, Wiesbaden, 1872.

Fliedner, George. Missionary College, Madrid, Madrid, 1926.

Greene, William. A Visit to the Earthquake Districts of Andalucia, London, 1885.

Harvey, Sarah Grace. Memorials of Thomas Harvey, Leeds, 1886.

Hennessey, C. A. M. Modern Spain, Oxford, 1965.

Herreros de Mora, Angel. A Narrative by Dn. Angel Herreros de Mora of his Imprisonment by the 'Tribunal of the Faith', and Escape from Spain, tr. by W. H. Rule, London, 1856.

_____. La asamblea española de 1854, y la cuestion religiosa (published anonymously under 'M'), Madrid, 1855.

Matamoros, Manuel. Light in the Dungeon: A Record, trans, with The Glory Beyond: A Sequel, by A. St G.N., 2nd ed., enlarged, London, 1870.

Mayor, John E. B. Bishop Cabrera, Cambridge, 1894.

_____. The Spanish Reformed Church, Cambridge, 1895.

Meyrick, Frederick. Efforts after Church Reform Abroad: Events in Spain, London, 1898.

Montsalvatge, Ramon. The Life of Ramon Montsalvatge, a converted Spanish Monk of the Order of the Capuchins, London, 1846.

Olave y Diez, Serafin. Horrores y vergüenzas de la intolerancia religiosa, Madrid, 1875.

Protestant Reformation Society. Protestant Commemoration in 1888 of the Defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, and of the accession of the Protestant Dynasty in 1688, Hastings, 1888.

Rule, William Harris. The Spanish Priesthood Rebuked, London, 1856.

Rusher, Edward A. Sunshine and Shadow in the South-west; a record of a visit to YMCA's and missions in Spain and Morocco, London, 1903.

Steane, Edward. Narrative of the Proceedings of the Deputation to Madrid on behalf of the Spanish Prisoners, with an introduction, and appendix, containing the petitions, &c., London, 1863.

Thom, John Hamilton, Joseph Blanco White, London, 1841.

Thomson, James. British Religious Liberty Abroad, and general religious liberty in all nations: in a letter to . . . Viscount Palmerston, London, 1851.

_____. Notices respecting missionary operations and religious liberty in Portugal, Spain, and South America, London, 1852.

_____. Spain; description of the degraded state of that country as respects religion; indications of new life on this subject; a Spanish religious periodical, its character, reception, and usefulness, London, 1850.

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Turrall, H. S. and White, B. L. Galicia, Northwest Spain, n.d.

(6) Printed Books

(i) Primary Sources

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Anon. Roman Catholicism in Spain, Edinburgh, 1855.

_____. The Spanish Peninsula: A Sketch of its Past History, Present Condition, and Future Prospects, London, /1861/. (Contains an account of Rule's mission in Gibraltar and Cadiz.)

_____. A Winter Tour in Spain, London, 1868.

Azaña y Diaz, Manuel. 'Jorge Borrow y "La Biblia en Espana,"' in his Obras Completas, vol. I, Mexico, 1966.

Balleine, G. R. A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England, London, 1908.

Balmes, Jaime Luciano. El protestantismo comparado con el catolicismo en sus relaciones con la civilizacion europea, 2 vols., 5th ed., Paris, 1854.

Barber, Aquila. A Brother's Portrait; or, Memoirs of the late Rev. William Barber, Wesleyan missionary to the Spaniards at Gibraltar . . ., London, 1830.

Bates, Katherine Lee. Spanish Highways and Byways, Chautauqua, New York, 1920.

Becker, Jeronimo. Relaciones diplomaticas entre España y la Santa Sede durante el siglo XIX, Madrid, 1908.

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Blasco Ibañez, Vicente. Historia de la revolucion española, (desde la guerra de la independencia a la restauracion en Sagunto, 3 vols., Barcelona, 1891.

Borrow, George Henry. The Bible in Spain, 3 vols., London, 1843.

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Boehmer, Eduard. Bibliotheca Wiffeniana. Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries, from 1520. Their Lives and Writings, According to the late Benjamin B. Wiffen's Plan and Use of His Materials, 2 vols., Strassburg, 1874.

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Castro y Rossi, Adolfo de. Historia de la intolerancia religiosa en España, Cadiz, 1853. (The English translation by Thomas Parker was issued in London the same year, under the title History of Religious Intolerance in Spain.)

_____. Los protestantes españoles y su persecucion por Felipe II, Cadiz, 1851. (This contains an appendix, with some details of the lives and labours of such converted Spanish priests, as D. Jose Maria Blanco and D. Lorenzo Lucena. This appendix, however, does not appear in the English translation by Parker, titled The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II., London, 1851.)

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Dallas, Mrs. Alexander R. C. Incidents in the Life and Ministry of the Rev. A. R. C. Dallas, London, 1871.

Darlow, T. H. (ed.). Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1911.

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Diaz-Plaja, Fernando. El siglo XIX, Madrid, 1954. (Contains excerpts of official documents, relating to Spanish history in the nineteenth century.)

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Field, Henry M. Old and New Spain, London, 1888.

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Peddie, Mrs Robert. The Dawn of the Second Reformation in Spain; being the story of its Rise and Progress from the year 1852, Edinburgh, 1871. (Although the narra-

tive is sometimes confused, this is an indispensable source for the study of Spanish evangelization during these years. It was written by the individual who was in possession of all the facts, relating to the work in Spain of the Spanish Evangelization Society.)

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_____. Untrodden Spain, and her Black Country, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1875.

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_____. History of the Inquisition from its Establishment in the Twelfth Century to its Extinction in the Nineteenth, 2 vols., London, 1874.

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(ii) Secondary Sources

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only detailed and critical study of Protestant missions and churches in Spain in the twentieth century. Though now out of date, and though containing a few minor inaccuracies, it is invaluable for its statistical data and judicious treatment of Spanish Protestantism.)

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