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SPANISH PROTESTANT REFUGEES IN ENGLAND.

BY DR. LIESELOTTE LINNHOF, Author of *Spanische Protestanten und Engländer*.

IN the 'forties and 'fifties of the sixteenth century, the Protestant doctrine was received with great rejoicing in Spain, the two towns of Valladolid and Seville, where a great number of the noble and more refined section of the population formed the first Protestant congregations on Spanish soil, taking the lead. Also the greater part of the monasteries and nunneries in the neighbourhood of these two centres of Protestantism had been imbued with the new doctrine. Of the greatest significance were the events in the Hieronymite convent of San Isidro del Campo, in the vicinity of Seville. Many of the monks had been converted, due chiefly to the influence of important Sevillian Protestants as Dr. Egidio, Dr. Constantino, Garci-Arias—commonly called "el Maestro Blanco"—and to the devoted study of evangelical books imported from Geneva and Germany. Within a few years, considerable reforms were introduced into monastic life: the fixed hours for prayer were now spent reading and interpreting the Bible; prayers for the dead were omitted; papal indulgences and pardons were entirely abolished; the concentration on the Holy Scriptures superseded the obligation of novices to submit to strict monastic rules. Only the monastic garb and the external ceremony of the Mass were retained as a precaution. A few monks, however, found it difficult to reconcile with their conscience the keeping to external rules for reasons of fear only. Therefore in 1557 twelve monks left the monastery to enjoy peace of mind and religious freedom in Protestant countries. The most important of these were Cassiodoro de Reina, Cipriano de Valera, and Antonio del Corro, whose lives and works we propose to deal with in detail later on. A contemporary account of these events is contained in Montano's *Sanctae inquisitionis Hispanicae artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae . . .* and Valera's *Dos Tratados*.

The monks first went to Geneva, the town of Calvin and the refuge for all Protestants who had to flee from their country for reasons of religious belief. Here already in 1555 seven Spaniards—Dr. Perez may have been among them—had been given a kind reception and many Spaniards had followed later on. The Spanish exiles were admitted to the Italian Protestant congregation and met many fugitive foreigners. Here they came into intimate contact with numerous English Protestants, who had escaped the terrors of Mary's persecutions and found their way to Geneva, where in 1555, under the leadership of William Whittingham, they founded an Anglican Congregation. As a matter of fact the religious exiles from both these countries had much in common; the very persecution which threatened them at home formed a

strong link abroad : while the Englishman would recall with horror the incidents at the "Smithfield Fires," the Spaniard would tell grim tales of inquisitional persecutions and *autos de fé*.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne in 1558 was the signal for the English exiles to return to England ; at the same time the Spaniards were offered a new refuge in a country of religious freedom and safety. Thus from 1558 on, most of the Spaniards made their way to England, stopping only for short periods of time at Geneva and other Protestant places. This drift towards England was accentuated by the Counter-Reformation, which made it impossible for the Spaniards to stay any longer in the Protestant parts of Germany, France or in the Netherlands, so that England rapidly became their new home. Their faith had been strengthened by exile, by continuous wanderings, by pains and misery. When they finally settled in a country free from religious persecutions, their hostility against the old church was deeply rooted in their breasts and it is in their writings that we find that real fighting spirit of Spanish Protestantism. Though in exile no task seemed worthier and better to them than to endeavour by word and deed to convert the rest of their countrymen to the true faith.

CASSIODORO DE REINA (1520-94)

Cassiodoro de Reina, born about the year 1520 in Seville, entered at an early age the monastery of San Isidro, and, with many other monks, embraced the doctrines of the Protestant Church. Early in his youth he had studied the Holy Scriptures with much eagerness, but his intentions of translating the whole Bible into Spanish could only be realised, when in foreign countries he had escaped the control of the Holy Office. In Geneva, the first stay after his successful flight from Spain, he became a member of the Italian Protestant Congregation, and in Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he proceeded in 1558, he joined the French Church. As his liberty in Germany, however, seemed to be endangered by the vigilance of King Philip's spies, Reina went to England shortly after the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Here he met a considerable number of his own countrymen. Many Spanish merchants had migrated to London during the reign of Henry the Eighth. Their numbers had increased in the times of Philip and Mary, and some of them had been converted to Protestantism. It evidently was but during the reign of Queen Elizabeth that they joined to found a Congregation of Spaniards ; for up to that time there is mention only of a French, Italian, and Dutch, but not of a Spanish Protestant Community in London. After his arrival in London Cassiodoro de Reina entered the French Church, when soon afterwards John Strype mentions him as the first preacher of that Spanish Protestant Congregation : . . . " I find now a congregation of Spaniards in London ; and one Cassiodorus was their preacher . . . which congregation began about the last year (1569), when they met in a private house for their devotion." ¹ Reina composed a confession of faith, entitled :

¹ John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, I, i, p. 355.

“Declaracion, o confession de fe hecha por ciertos fieles Españoles, que huyendo los abusos de la iglesia Romana, y la crueldad de la Inquisicion d’España hizieron a la Iglesia de los fieles para ser en ella recibidos por hermanos en Christo,” to bring about his countrymen’s admission to the Protestant Church. It was a simple and clear-worded confession in which they submitted to the Church by combining the Lutheran and Reformed doctrine, that is to say the Augustana of 1530 and the 42 articles of Cranmer and Ridley. It was Cassiodoro who organised the simple services of that first community of Spanish Protestants in London, who, in order to avoid public annoyance were advised by Bishop Grindal and the Secretary of State, William Cecil, to meet in a private house rather than in a church. The Spanish ambassador in London, Bishop Alvaro de la Cuadra, vividly complains of this in a letter to Philip the Second. “I wrote that the Spanish heretics had been given a very large house belonging to the bishop of London in which they might preach thrice a week, which is true, as it also is that they are favoured by the Queen. . . .”¹ These private meetings very soon were felt to be prejudicial to the exercise of religious worship, so that in 1560 Cassiodoro filed a petition, signed by all members of the Congregation, asking for the right to have a church of their own; a detailed account of this is given in Strype’s *Life and Acts of Archbishop Grindal* (p. 47 f.).

Though Strype is unfamiliar with the outcome, we know from a report by the above-mentioned ambassador De la Cuadra (1562) that the petition was actually granted. The Spanish Protestants got the church “St. Mary Axe” as a place of worship. De la Cuadra’s report induced King Philip to give instructions to his ambassador to have Cassiodoro de Reina expelled from England as soon as possible and also Gaspar Zapata, who assisted him in translating the Bible. That way the Spanish sovereign thought to get hold of Cassiodoro and Zapata in the Netherlands, bare of the protection of England’s free soil. Unfortunately De la Cuadra’s attempts were successful. Queen Elizabeth, who up to then had greatly favoured Cassiodoro by giving him a pension of sixty pounds yearly and by assisting him financially to attend the conference at Poissy, took amiss his marriage (in 1563) and withdrew her favour. Moreover, the accusation of being a Sodomite—a charge of which he fully cleared himself later—seemed to make a longer stay in England appear impossible.

The few quiet years in England were followed by a life of restlessness and struggle, a life hard to live for a man like Reina, rather infirm and aged before the time. From England he first proceeded to Antwerp in the spring of 1563; but here he was not safe from the persecutions of Philip the Second, who had put a price upon his head. In 1564 we find him at Montargis as a minister of René

¹ Minute of the Conversation between the Ambassador and the Lord Chamberlain and Dr. Wotton respecting the charges made against the Ambassador. (*Spanish State Papers*, Elizabeth, P. 247, 1562, 20 June, 170. Simancas, B.M. MS.Add. 26, 056a.)

de France, Dowager Duchess of Ferrara, together with Antonio del Corro and Juan Perez de Pineda. Soon afterwards (in 1565) he went to Frankfort. Beza's recommendations to the French Protestant Congregation in Strassburg to get Reina's services as a preacher were not followed, partly because of differences of doctrine, partly because some doubt still existed as to the crime he was charged with in London. In Frankfort he finished his translation of the Bible. He got much assistance and useful suggestions from his two Strassburg friends, Johann Sturm and Conrad Hubert, with whom he not only anxiously kept up correspondence, but discussed his work whenever he came to see them. In 1569 the whole translation of the Old and New Testament was published in Basle, one of the central places for the printing of Protestant books at that time. Thus Cassiodoro had successfully completed the work of his life, and his most ardent desire was fulfilled. With indefatigable zeal he had kept up translating the Bible in all periods of his restless life, without getting discouraged by obstacles of various kinds. He rightly states in the preface to the first edition of his Bible, that, deducting the time taken by illness and professional work, he had for nine long years not laid aside the pen. Translating the Bible, Reina made it a principle to keep as close as possible to the original text. As he did not know Hebrew very well, he generally used the Latin version of Santes Pagninus for his translation of the Old Testament, comparing the original only when there were doubts about something; likewise he often made use of the Spanish version published by the Jews in Ferrara. As for the New Testament, Reina had to translate it by himself, for the translations then extant, as those of Enzinas or Juan Perez de Pineda, had become rather scarce by this time. The dedication is addressed to "The princes of Europe and especially to those of the Holy Roman Empire" ("a los principes de Europa y especialmente a los del Sacro Romano Imperio") followed by a letter of John Sturm to Queen Elizabeth, in which he highly praises Reina's perseverance in his work. Reina dedicated a copy of his Bible to the University of Basle as a token of his gratitude. In the summer of 1570 he returned to Frankfort, where, as a member of the French Protestant Congregation, he soon got the freedom of the city. A new period of life began for Cassiodoro, when in 1578—after having cleared himself of the suspicions and the crime he was charged with in England—he accepted the post of a French pastor to the Lutherans in Antwerp. Though the Calvinists often attacked him, who was a firm Lutheran and a faithful adherent to the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, by reproaching him, for example, with having signed in the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury certain articles concerning the Lord's Supper not in accordance with the Lutheran doctrine, and though differences about predestination and the Lord's Supper often set at variance the small Protestant congregation, the seven years of Reina's activities here were successful and satisfactory. In 1580 his catechism composed for his community, following the example of Luther's, was published by the Antwerp church in three languages, in French,

Dutch and Latin. Reina was even proposed for the post of superintendent of the Augsburg Confessionists in Antwerp, but he declined.

It was only by the surrender of Antwerp to the Prince of Parma in 1585 that Reina was forced to leave and returned to Frankfurt. At the repeated requests of many French, Dutch and German Lutherans here, Reina, after having accepted the Concord of 1536, got the permission to preach in the French Protestant Congregation. He died in 1594.

Cassiodoro de Reina is the only one among the Spanish refugees who explicitly stood by the Lutheran doctrine and remained faithful to it all his life. He alone really deserved to be called a Lutheran, a name which the Inquisition employed to designate the adherence to any kind of Reformed doctrine, without making a difference between certain individual forms. He may well be called the strictest and most devoted one to dogma among the Spanish Protestants of his time.

CIPRIANO DE VALERA (1532-1602)

Another fugitive monk from the monastery of San Isidro, Cipriano de Valera (born in 1531 or '32 in Seville), in the "Acts of Inquisition" commonly called "the Spanish heretic" ("El hereje español"), is rather well known for his literary activities. For six years he studied dialectics and philosophy at the High School of Seville; he also devoted himself to theological studies in common with the learned Benito Arias Montano. He was extremely fond of hearing the sermons of Dr. Egidio and Dr. Constantino, and soon came into contact with the Sevillian Protestants, especially with Juan Perez de Pineda and Julian Hernandez, not to forget his close companion Cassiodoro de Reina. On October 10, 1558, he was admitted with seven other Spaniards to Geneva and to the Italian Protestant Congregation there. In the same year the Spanish Protestants in Geneva got a church of their own (Saint-Germain) and one of their countrymen as a preacher.

From Geneva Valera went to England, a country which had become very hospitable to foreign refugees after the accession to the throne of the Virgin Queen. Here he continued the studies he started with in Spain, and in February, 1560, got the bachelor's degree of the University of Cambridge on account of his studies and his knowledge acquired in Seville; at the same time he was elected a fellow of Magdalene College. On June 12, 1563, he took his master's degree; three years later (on February 21, 1566) we find his name and degree registered at Oxford. Here he acted as tutor to Mr. Walsh of Ireland, who afterwards became a Bishop.

Unfortunately it cannot be seen from the few documents of this time still in existence, whether Valera was a member of the Congregation of the Spanish and Italian fugitives in London, or even Reina's successor as a Spanish preacher there. It might have been possible that Valera belonged to that Church, for in the last will of a certain Alfonso Baptista on July 15, 1573, Valera is mentioned as "a schoolmaster resident in London"; besides, we do know that

in March, 1579, he assisted in carrying on Reina's lawsuit there. The chance to prove his activities as a preacher is small though, because the members of the small Spanish Congregation were forbidden to have divine service in a church of their own and a compatriot as their preacher. Strype, for example, our most reliable authority, does not give us the slightest account of an appointment of Valera, whereas he particularly mentions Cassiodoro de Reina and later on Antonio del Corro as Spanish preachers. Most of the members of the Spanish Protestant community were attending the services of the Italian or French Church. Anyhow, there must still have existed some kind of a Congregation of Spaniards in London: Don Diego Guzman de Silva, the new Spanish ambassador, who in 1564 got precise instructions from Philip the Second to make exact inquiries as to the names of all Spanish Protestants in London, the date of their arrival and departure, reported in a letter to the King that this community of Spanish heretics would be dissolved in the very near future:

(" . . . The Conventicle of Spanish heretics here is on its last legs. A certain Gaspar Zapata . . . awaited here some security or assurance from the Holy Office in order to return to Spain. I have managed to get him away with his wife and family, and he has gone to Flanders with a safe-conduct from the duchess of Parma . . . I understand it to be to the interests of God and your Majesty that Spaniards who have gone astray in this way should be brought to submit again. It is even important for the national honour, for they make much of an heretical Spaniard everywhere in order to pit him against . . . (undecipherable) who are not heretics. This man was held in high esteem, and if affairs are managed skilfully I hope that his example will be followed by the submission of the greater number of them, because such are the evil doings of these heretics, that more of them (the Spaniards) are held by fear than ignorance of the truth . . .")¹

Guzman de Silva's assumption should prove wrong, and his successor Guerau de Spes started with new complaints about the "continuance of the evil," stating that a heretic was appointed pastor to the 150 Spaniards imprisoned at Bridewell, and that Spanish Protestant books were publicly printed in London. This very readiness of continuously admitting Spanish fugitives to her country and aiding Spanish Protestantism—by the way, one of the most grievous charges made against Queen Elizabeth in Pius the Fifth's Bull excommunicating her in 1570—was to her an effective means to arouse her enemy Philip the Second. To get an idea of the manner in which English people would judge the Spanish Protestants, it may be of interest to refer to a certain passage in Bishop Jewel's reply to the papal Bull written to defend against all attacks the dealings of his Queen. He sharply distinguishes between the Spaniards newly arrived and those who came over to England in the retinue of Philip and Mary.

"These are few, those were many; these are poor and miserable, those were lofty and proud; these are naked, those were armed; these are spoiled

¹ *Spanish State Papers*, Elizabeth, 1565, 26 April, 296. Guzman de Silva to the King.

by others, those came to spoil us ; these are driven from their country, those came to drive us from our country ; these came to save their lives, those came to have our lives ; if we were content to bear those then, let us not grieve now to bear these."

Interpreting the scarce notes on Valera, we might well say that the traces left by his activities in London were anything but considerable. The importance of this reformer lies mainly in his literary and enormous propaganda work to convert his countrymen in Spain during the years 1558-1602. How little Valera cared for reaching the ears of an English audience, can be seen from the fact that he wrote exclusively in Spanish. His writings published in London since 1588 may be divided into three groups :

1. Polemical writings directed against Rome.
2. Spanish translations of the fundamental works of Calvin.
3. A second edition, revised and improved, of Reina's whole translation of the Bible.

Apart from the *Dos Tratados* and the pamphlet on the jubilee proclaimed by the Pope, *Aviso a los de la iglesia Romana sobre la indiccion del Jubileo por la Bulla del Papa Clemente Octavo*, the first group contains the treatise addressed to the Spanish prisoners in Berbery, among whom had taken place an evangelical revival : " *Tratado Para Confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria en la catolica y antigua fe, y religion Christiana y para los consolar con la Palabra de Dios en las aficiones que padecen por el Evangelio de Jesu Christo*," published in 1594, and the preface to the *Catholico Reformado*, William Massan's Spanish translation of the *Reformed Catholic* of Perkins, professor in Cambridge, a Calvinistic Puritan.

The " *Tratado Para Confirmar los pobres cativos de Berueria . . .* " may be considered as an imitation of the " *Epistola consolatoria*," by Juan Perez de Pineda, both serving a similar purpose. The aim of Valera's treatise was to strengthen the faith of those Spaniards suffering the most terrible imprisonment in the midst of pagans ; it was their task firmly to defend their religion not only against Popery, but also against the influences of Mahometanism and to display a model of true Christian life to the heathens. The author sharply criticises the institutions of the Roman Catholic Church as " *Popery*," " *Worship of Saints*," " *Purgatory*," " *Holy Mass*," etc., which he regards as nothing but diabolical arts to blind the people. He emphasises that God wants a repeated and zealous reading of the Holy Scripture which should include the interpretation and explanation of important passages. There are some people who conceive the title of the treatise, " *Los pobres cativos de Berueria*," to be fictitious, hiding the sufferings of the Protestants of Seville. We think, however, that this interpretation is rather unfounded. Apart from the fact that anything indirect or allegorical seems as a rule to be somewhat alien to the nature and style of Valera and that the simple way of explaining the Protestant doctrine was well suited to the mentality of those newly converted prisoners who were surrounded everywhere by heathens and Jews, the year

of publication (1594) appears to be rather late for addressing such a treatise to the Sevillian Protestants, whom numerous *autos de fé* had released from their torments.

Strongly antipopish as he was, Valera without doubt highly approved the contents of the above-mentioned translation of William Massan, to which he wrote an introductory letter: "Epistola al Cristiano Lector." In this treatise, as well as in Valera's writings, the numerous outward ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church, which had been created by men against the will of God, form the most important points of attack against Romanism. His whole life Cipriano de Valera fought Rome, the mortal enemy of Protestants, of Lutherans and Calvinists. Though he did not adhere to any strict dogmatism, did not advocate a religious system of his own and proposed more or less general reforms, his strongest sympathies were with the Calvinistic doctrine. This sufficiently appears from the fact that in 1596 he finished an entirely new edition of Calvin's catechism, which had been translated into Spanish as early as 1550 and again been edited in 1569, furthermore that in the succeeding year (1597) he had published the first Spanish translation of Calvin's standard work, *Institutio Religionis Christianae*. In the encyclical epistle—addressed to all Protestants in Spain—preceding the translation, he deals with the value of true knowledge of God and calls for defending Calvin's teachings against all false prophets.

Valera did a great service to his co-religionists in Spain by re-editing, in 1596, the New Testament of Cassiodoro de Reina, followed, in 1602, by the revised edition of Reina's whole translation of the Bible, "La Biblia, Que es, los sacros libros del vieio y nuevo testamento. Segunda Edicion." Some very important corrections regarding form and contents were made by him and he himself explains in his "Exhortacion" that he spent twenty years of his life without any outside assistance thoroughly revising Reina's Bible, not omitting certain textual improvements.

Valera had the Bible printed in Amsterdam; it was published by Lorenzo Jacobi. In a letter of October 30, 1602, from Amsterdam, Arminius, the leader of the Remonstrants, recommends Cipriano de Valera to a certain John Uytenbogard in the Hague. ". . . I hope you will do your best to care for Valera and aid him with money sufficient to return to England. I have done for him whatever I could and he rightly deserves to spend free of care the few years left to him." Soon afterwards Valera returned to England. The date of his death is unknown, though he probably died in 1622 in England.

Only a small part of Valera's writings was known in Spain during his lifetime. The only work of his cited in the first Expurgatorial indices of the seventeenth century is the translation of Calvin's *Institutio*. By far of the greatest importance to his countrymen was his edition of the Bible which, according to the report of Diodati—the translator of the Bible into Italian—soon spread all over Spain and in later centuries became the prototype for modern versions of the Bible in Spain and America.

ANTONIO DEL CORRO (1527-91)

Whereas his two countrymen, Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera, excelled in their works, Antonio del Corro chiefly interests us because of his unrelenting vitality and certainly pugnacious attitude. Through all his stirring life, in numerous differences and discussions, he asserted himself against his adversaries with the utmost tenacity.

Antonio del Corro—usually latinised “Corranus”—was born in the winter of 1526-7 as the son of a Sevillian lawyer. He was a relative and most probably a nephew of the inquisitor Antonio del Corro in Seville, who had to conduct the process against Dr. Egidio. One day this inquisitor gave vent to his feelings and related to the amazed monk how indignant he was at the most iniquitous way in which the Holy Office was carrying on the lawsuit against Dr. Egidio, who was known for leading a truly Christian life.

At the request of his young friend the inquisitor enabled him to have a glimpse into the inquisitorial records. Comparing the accusations against Dr. Egidio and the subtle theological definitions given by the monks with the replies of the defendant, Corro readily grasped which side really was attached to the true faith.¹ The officers of the Inquisition, not thinking in the least of possible consequences, gave him Protestant books imported from Germany in exchange for some favour of his. By studying them, Corro was fortified in the conviction he already had gained from the apologies and sermons of Dr. Egidio, and firmly embraced the Protestant doctrine. His escape with the eleven monks was a complete surprise to all persons staying behind, as up to the last minute he had been on good terms with the inquisitors and spoken of his inner change to his most intimate friends only.

In Geneva Corro, as the first of the Isidrians, paid homage to Calvin and professed himself an adherent of his doctrine. After a short stay in Geneva he went to Lausanne, where he entered the academy, a training seminary for Protestant ministers, and he came into intimate contact with Beza, who was only seven years older. It was of importance for Corro's further development, that already here in Lausanne he came to know the fatal consequences of the dissension among the different Protestant sections as to the Lord's Supper and the doctrine of predestination. As soon as a certain degree of religious liberty made itself felt in Navarre, he left Lausanne to preach somewhat nearer to his native country. Recommended by Calvin, Corro first got a position as a preacher in Nérac. The next year (1561) we find him in Aire, soon afterwards in Bordeaux and finally as “pasteur des capitouls” in Toulouse, which city he had to leave rather hurriedly after a short period of time, as a religious war broke out, in which Protestants were persecuted with the utmost cruelty.

At the end of 1563 Corro stayed at Théobon, *maison seigneuriale*

¹ Corro himself gives a vivid account of this later on in his letter to King Philip.

in Lot-et-Garonne, *arrondissement de Duras*, from where, on December 24, 1563, he wrote a letter to his friend Cassiodoro de Reina. It was in this memorable letter, which his enemies frequently used against him later on, that he invited Reina and Cipriano de Valera to come to Théobon and start printing the Bible in a castle granted for this purpose by the Queen of Navarre. He further asked Reina to get him some books, as those written by Caspar Schwenkfeld and Valentin Crotvald and others, "who [he says] treat of the doctrine of our religion to edify our conscience." He also wanted to read Osiander's treatise on justification, in which the author deals with the three different phases of Christ. Besides, he asked Reina several questions—for example, what opinion people there held on Velsio and the Italian Aconcio, and what was to be thought of the ubiquity of Christ as a human creature. "I should like to know [he says] what edification it might give to a Christian heart to know whether the glorified Christ is a creature or not." He inquired how the Lord's Supper was celebrated in the churches dominated by Crotvald and how they interpreted the words of Christ, etc. But this letter did not reach Reina at all; neither did all the others Corro sent from Bergerac, his next stay. For by this time Reina had already left England, and the letters were delivered to the French Consistory instead, which kept them as valuable evidence of the theological opinions of the two Spanish fugitive monks thought to be so dangerous.

However, the two friends finally met in Orléans, from where they both went back to Bergerac. Because of a royal edict exiling all foreign Protestants Corro was made to flee, and he and Reina found a refuge in Montargis, the residence of Renée de France, Duchess of Ferrara. Here they met their compatriot, Juan Perez de Pineda, who had lost his position in Blois for the same reason. Meanwhile the Consistory of Antwerp had tried several times to appoint Juan Perez, and after his death Corro, preacher to the Protestant congregation there. The reason why Corro did not at once accept this offer with the enticing prospect of preaching to a Spanish auditory in his native language, could only have been that the Duchess was sorry to part from him.

At that time the Prince of Orange endeavoured to smooth the differences between the numerous Calvinists and Lutherans living in Antwerp. He tried to make the Calvinists accept the Augsburg Confession, so that one might possibly join the Protestant Princes of Germany. It seems that shortly after his arrival in Antwerp Corro took part in a discussion, between Calvinists and Lutherans (Martinists they were called there) on the one side and Romanists on the other, on the subject of the Lord's Supper.

The Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret of Parma, learning of the arrival of the Sevillian apostate Corro in the Spanish Netherlands, prohibited his preaching in Antwerp. The Prince of Orange tried to make the Regent alter her decision, using as an argument the repeated request of the Protestants to grant Corro the right to preach. But the controversy, which Corro soon started with

his colleague, the Istrian Flacius Illyricus, concerning the Eucharist and his publishing the whole affair in a letter addressed to the Augsburg Confessionists kept the Prince from further assisting him. A letter written by Corro to the King of Spain in March, 1567, was in vain. After an armed rebellion of the Calvinists in March, 1563, had been quelled with great difficulty, the Regent exiled Corro and other Protestant ministers who had just arrived in Antwerp.

As did his two countrymen, Cassiodoro de Reina and Cipriano de Valera, Antonio del Corro also went to the England of Queen Elizabeth where, contrary to his previous intentions, he remained for good. From the very beginning of his stay in London he was embittered by the numerous intrigues of the French Protestants. His fiercest enemy, the French preacher Jean Cousin, had been collecting material to accuse him. Corro's above-mentioned letter to Reina (" . . . which rather smells of the abstract speculations of Servet and Osiander and the ubiquity of Brenz . . ."), his two Antwerp publications, and numerous details on his life were sufficient reason for Cousin and the Elders of the French Consistory to refuse Corro admission to the French Church in London; they accused him publicly of being a Latitudinarian and adherent to heresies. Corro complained of this to Bishop Grindal, who, after first having examined the case on June 5, 1567, gave the following rather favourable judgment :

" . . . We, moved with the desire of preserving the concord and peace of the church and of defending the good fame of the said master Antonius, have cited him before us and have diligently conferred with him, in the presence of some pious and learned men, on those points of the Christian religion, concerning which he had fallen under some suspicion, and, from the conference had with him, we have plainly understood that the said master Corranus is averse from all impious opinions and that he entertains right and pious sentiments concerning Christian religion, and embraces from his heart the pure doctrine of the Gospel, which our own and other reformed churches profess. And since he has abundantly satisfied us, that all others also may be satisfied and that his character may remain unimpeached, and the suspicions which had been conceived may be removed from the minds of all, we wish these things to be testified by this writing unto all who may read or hear it." (Given on the 5th of June, 1567.)

This testimonial, issued by an ecclesiastical authority like Grindal, silenced all possible objections Girolamo Jerlito, the preacher of the Italian Church in London, might have had to admit the Spaniard to his Congregation. Corro even got the permission to preach to the Spanish members of this community. On a list of 1568, Corro is mentioned as one of the foreigners going to the English Church, a member of the Italian Protestant Congregation and a Spanish preacher : " Strangers that go to the English Church : . . . Anthony Coran in Cripplegate ward, preacher in the Italian Church, born in Spain; tenant to the duchess of Suffolk; Mary his wife; John and James, their children; David de Dieu and Joan Leveresse their servants; and they go to the Italian Church. (He preached also in Spanish.)"

But Corro's joy of having reached what he endeavoured to obtain

all his life was soon spoiled by new violent attacks led by his opponent Cousin and the French Protestants: The National Synod of the Reformed Churches of France at Vertheuil in Angoumois in September, 1567, issued a decree prohibiting the appointment of Corro as preacher of any church until he had cleared himself of the heresy he was charged with. Corro, indignant at this, wrote a treatise in his defence, called "apology," in reality nothing but a sharp polemic in which he gives vent to his anger provoked by the deceitful and unjust proceedings and does not even shrink from violent invectives against his adversaries. The irritated French made new attacks against him and it took months and years to bring to an end the fierce combat of the two forces, with the final result that, because of the accusations raised against him, Corro, after two years of activity, was dismissed from his post and his small Congregation dissolved.

At the same time the publication of his *Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu* involved Corro in the greatest difficulties with the members of the Italian congregation. In Antwerp he had got a copy of this little work which in short sentences sums up the Christian doctrine. He had revised the book, improved it and given assent to its publication. A French minister had brought forth twenty-five arguments against the *Tableau*, which the Italian preacher, Girolamo Jerlito, made use of when criticising the Latin translation of the *Tableau* he had prepared for Bishop Grindal. The gravest attacks centred on Corro's opinion of the doctrine of justification. In 1570 a Congregation called together to settle the affair decided against Corro and excluded him for some time from the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Nevertheless, Corro sent a copy of the revised French edition of his *Tableau* to "Madame de Staffort" in 1570 as a New Year's present, and in the same year dedicated to Queen Elizabeth the first edition of his Latin translation.

The indignation of the Italians regarding the *Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu* was seized upon by Corro's adversaries, the Elders of the French Consistory. A protocol of their discussions enumerates the faults they found with Corro's work: Amongst other things they reproached him with confounding the Eternal Word of God with the preached word, consequently accepting the heresy of Osiander and destroying the deity of Christ. They furthermore maintained that he professed the doctrine of freewill, that he believed that part of our justification could be derived from our works; that he did not call Christ nor the Holy Spirit God, and never openly spoke of Christ as Redeemer. These accusations, together with previous events, caused a violent conflict between Corro and his enemies extending over years. May it be sufficient to say that it was finally brought to a close on the French National Synod at Nîmes in May, 1572. During the different phases of this long struggle, Corro defended his opinions with the subtlety of a great lawyer. Again and again he emphasised that errors in his *Tableau* should be attributed to his somewhat obscure and unusual way of expression, but on no account to any bad intentions on his part.

He repeatedly assured how much he abhorred all dogmas contrary to the doctrines of the Holy Scripture. It must have been a great disappointment to Corro that his friend Beza, whose assistance he had asked for in numerous letters, left the decision of the first-mentioned case entirely to Bishop Grindal as to the only authority competent in this matter and that on a National Synod in La Rochelle he publicly rejected Corro's doctrine contained in his *Tableau de l'œuvre de Dieu*.

But Corro knew how to get the assistance of influential English patrons, as for example of Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, the new Bishop of London Sandys, Leicester, the Chancellor of Oxford University, the Earl of Huntingdon, etc., who all highly appreciated his thorough theological knowledge. In 1571 Corro was asked by the two London Temples to deliver theological lectures in Latin and in 1573 Bishop Sandys gave his official consent to that appointment.

In these lectures Corro explained the "Epistle to the Romans" and in the next year he collected all his notes on the subject into a theological dialogue, *Dialogus theologicus. Quo epistola divi Pauli apostoli ad Romanos explanatur . . .* which he dedicated to "the generous Lords of the two London Temples." In his dedication Corro again refers to all his previous misfortunes, and gives expression to his joy of having finally obtained the present position, adding that he would be very happy indeed to remain an active member of this community as long as possible. Two reasons made him publish his dialogue: 1. That the reading of the book might bring again to the remembrance of his pupils the things he had dealt with in his lectures; 2. That he might proclaim the pureness of his theological doctrines and defend them against the calumnies of his enemies. To make quite clear his opinions, Corro at the end of his dialogue sums up the Articles of Faith, particularly stressing those points which had sometimes aroused the opposition of his listeners, such as predestination, justification and freewill. Contrary to Calvin, he rejects the doctrine of predestination in its strictest form, conceding to anybody the possibility of obtaining everlasting happiness by a steadfast and unwearied endeavour. Corro partly affirms the doctrine of freewill, as a reply to those who reproached him with exhorting his hearers to good works. He states that he did not mean in the least to degrade Christ's work of redemption but recommended good works only to counteract the prevailing evil inclination of human nature.

A sharp competition arose between Corro and Villiers, a preacher belonging to the French Protestant Congregation, when they both endeavoured to obtain an academical degree of theology from Oxford University. In 1576 Corro sent his petition to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, Lawrence Humfrey, with a letter of recommendation by the Chancellor, the Earl of Leicester. At that time Villiers also made application. As a matter of fact Corro's enemies, the preachers and Elders of the French Congregation, did their best to hinder Corro's graduation. Taking extracts from his works, from

his Temple lectures, from the ominous letter to Reina and even from casual remarks in private conversation, they put up a list of 138 heretical theses, which they refuted with an equal number of antitheses. "Theses excerptae ex lectionibus, colloquiis et maxime ex scriptis D. Corrani, quas verbi Dei Ministri Belgicae Gallicae et Italicae Ecclesiarum quae Londini . . . conveniunt Duo: Edm. Cantuarensi Archiepiscopo proponunt.—Antitheses quibus Belgicae, Gallicae et Italicae ecclesiarum Ministri ostendunt, quae in doctrina vel in doctrinae D. Corrani forma reprehendunt."

A convocation in Oxford made Corro's promotion depend on his refuting the charges made against him. It is worthy of notice, moreover, that Corro met not only the opposition of the French Protestants in London, but also of the English University professors in Oxford. Wood tells us in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, p. 578 :

" . . . the chancellor had designed Corro to read divinity in the university, and to allot him a catechist lecture, upon some consultation (as it was pretended) for the utter extirpation of the Roman Catholic religion from the university. This being the seeming design to plant him among the academians, you cannot imagine what fear and jealousies were raised in the heads of the old puritanical doctors and others, who were fully bent to root out the dregs of popery in the university, lest that which they laboured in, should be frustrated by a stranger. I have seen a copy of a letter written by Jo. Rainolds of Corpus Christi College to Dr. Laur-Humphrey, then Vice-Chancellor, dated June 7, wherein several things being said of Corrano and his doctrine, you shall have the contents only. That (1) if Corrano be settled in the University, it is to be feared that it will raise such flames therein that they will not easily be quenched. (2) 'T is requisite that it be really known whether he be able to show that he be lawfully called to the ministry of the gospel and charge of teaching publicly, either by the order of any Christian church beyond the sea or by the authority of the church of England, or whether ordained by a bishop, of which matters there be some that doubt. And if he be not, how can he read? And if he be, it would be well if it be known. (3) That he is evilly thought of for heresy of the French church and others, and Beza doth publicly charge him of it in an epistle of his that is extant. (4) That he is supposed to be tainted with Pelagianism which partly appears from certain Tables which he brought with him and afterwards scattered abroad. On which a certain person of sound judgment made such notes that from thence one may evidently perceive that Corrano's obscure speeches in the said Tables do give just suspicion of very great heresies about predestination and justification by faith, two of the chief points of Christian religion, etc. And therefore it is hoped that as you were a means to remove Franc. Puccius, so you will endeavour to stop Corrano from coming among us, who is thought to be a master of Puccius, etc." ¹

The fact that in 1579 Corro was appointed reader in Divinity to the students of three Halls, Gloucester, St. Mary and Hart, sufficiently proves the probity of his character and the pureness of his doctrine. Many important and well-known personalities stayed in Oxford at that time and must have attended his lectures, as John Lyly, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Lodge, Sir Edward Hoby, Thomas Pie and perhaps John Thorius. As Wood relates in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, Corro was living as a student in Christ's Church in 1579, if not earlier, where he was "Censor theologicus" from 1581 to 1585. At the age of fifty-nine he was matriculated there.

¹ Also compare Wood's *Hist. and Antiqu. Uni. Oxf.* (Gutch), p. 195 f.

In 1581 Corro edited a second work on the Epistle to the Romans, with a preface addressed to the students of Oxford University: "Epistola beati Pauli apostoli ad Romanos, e Graeco in Latinum versa et in Dialogi formam redacta . . ." During the last years of his life, Corro seems to have joined for good the Anglican Church. In 1582—most probably on the recommendation of Leicester—Bishop Aylmer conferred upon him the prebend of Harleston in St. Paul's, London, where he died in 1591.

It is not easy to judge at the end of this biography how far the numerous charges made against Corro and his doctrine were justified or whether they were justified at all. Perhaps it may be concluded from the mere interest Corro took in works like the *Dialogi* by the Italian Bernardino Ochino—whose mentality is doubtless akin to his own—Osiander's treatises, the writings of Schwenkfeld and so on, from his admiration of Castalio, Ochino's friend and the translator of his works, that there were similar tendencies in him and a certain inclination for critical analysis of religious conceptions. On the other hand—and this is extremely important for any judgment on Corro—the first reformers, notorious for their intolerance, were easily inclined to condemn as heresy anything slightly different from their own doctrine. They were never quite free from personal hatred or jealousy, and had no scruples about slandering their adversaries as much as they could. Besides, any possible reconciliation of the two parties was rendered even more difficult by Corro's violent and unyielding character.

WHICH IS ; or the Unknown God. By an Unknown Man. *Alden Press.* 6s.

From internal evidence we learn that this book was first written in 1909. It is reprinted after many years, by the author's widow, as a fitting memorial to him and as a thankoffering to God for the new experience of Him which has come to her at the age of seventy-three, through meeting the Oxford Group. The unknown man is made known in this edition as A. H. Pilkington, M.A., Peterhouse, Cambridge, and Balliol, Oxford. His aim is described by his old friend, Sir Hugh Hall, in the following words: "To reawaken spiritual faith by the manifestation of the power of Christ." The key verse of the book is Revelation i. 8. The argument revolves round the idea of gravitation. God is the centre of attraction in His universe. Mr. Pilkington is a strong advocate of the doctrine of Evolution. He believes that if the beginning of the universe expressed itself in a descent from the spiritual to the material, the end of this universe will express itself in an ascent from the material to the spiritual. God is drawing us all to Himself. It is an unusual book. It is not everybody's book. But those who value constructive solutions of the problem of the universe will be delighted by the ingenious and original ideas expressed by one "who being dead, yet speaketh."

A. W. P.