

A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH
CENTURY LITERATURE ON THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN

by 45

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HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

Nearly 300 years after the famed autos de fe of the sixteenth-century Spanish Inquisition, there was a flurry of interest in Europe about this institution--its historical setting, methods, procedures, and victims. Possibly this interest could be attributed to the spread of the concepts of the freedom of thought and ideas of liberty and equality which were present in Europe after the French Revolution of 1789. In any case, numerous books were produced on the Inquisition with a lesser number on a related historical development, the initial appearance of Spanish Protestantism. Through a study of those books and the ones of the twentieth century, the author has attempted to describe historiographical trends in works on the Spanish Protestant Reformation.

Because of the interrelationship of the appearance of the Protestant faith in Spain and the Spanish Inquisition, it is necessary to define as accurately as possible the subject of this paper. Much of this report was concerned with the Inquisition, but only as it pertained to the development of Protestantism.

It must be realized that although there were many who suffered from inquisitorial action in sixteenth-century

Spain, only a minority of the heresy cases could be accurately labeled as pertaining to Protestants. Most of the cases were trials of Jews or Moors. Of those which were classified as Protestants, it was found that before the middle of the sixteenth century, they primarily consisted of "unconscious" heretics¹--of men who, prior to the condemnation of Martin Luther, would have been reckoned orthodox. Included in this group were admirers of Desiderius Erasmus, the Dutch Reformer. But these men were Roman Catholics, who really had no thought of wandering from the faith, but who fell under suspicion and were consequently persecuted. Mysticism and Illuminism began their development in Spain about this same time and furnished another source for accusations of Lutheranism because of their tendency to cast aside the observances of sacerdotalism and to bring the sinner into direct relationship with God. But none of the above-mentioned groups actually could be called Protestants, and they demand separate consideration.

It was not until close to the middle of the sixteenth century that men could be found who knowingly and consciously had embraced certain doctrines of the Reformation. It is to these men that the term Protestant applies and about whom this study is concerned.

¹Henry C. Lea, A History of the Inquisition of Spain, III, (New York, 1907), 412.

Although the real beginning of this historiography originated with a Latin work entitled Arts of the Holy Spanish Inquisition published in 1567 by one or more unidentified Spanish Protestant refugees under the pseudonym of Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus,² it was not until the beginning of the nineteenth century that there was an intense interest in the Spanish Reformation.

One of the first to become interested in the Spanish Inquisition and its effect on the Protestants of Spain, and to whom most of the nineteenth-century historical accounts owe their origin was Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823). He was a Spanish Catholic priest and doctor of Canon Law, and also the Secretary General of the Spanish Inquisition from 1789 to 1791. The Napoleonic invasion of his native country in 1808 was a decisive turning point in his life. He became an enthusiastic supporter of the invaders of his homeland because he saw in the new order the only effective instrument by which Spain could be lifted from the political, social, and economic stagnation in which the country had found itself since the last decade of the previous century. Aside from

² fl. 1560. Also referred to under the hispanicized name of Reginaldo Gonzalez de Montes. For more information on the man or men, see Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles, II (Madrid, 1880), 478-481; and Edward Boehmer, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520, II, (New York, 1962), 114-119.

his interest in the general state of Spain, he was, of course, particularly concerned with the Spanish Church. His contact with the Inquisition and his unique knowledge of its history and its procedures had convinced him that the Spanish Church must undergo drastic changes. His primary objective was the abolition of the Inquisition. A few years later when the French had been driven from Spain, Llorente wisely retired to France. He took with him a number of the original documents from the Inquisition archives of which he had been in charge.³ Thus Llorente was able to write the first documented history of the Spanish Inquisition. The work came out in four volumes in 1817 and 1818 in Paris with the title Histoire critique de l'Inquisition d'Espagne depuis l'époque de son établissement par Ferdinand V jusqu'au règne de Ferdinand VII, tirée des pièces originales des archives du Conseil de la Suprême et de celles des tribunaux subalternes du Saint-Office. The series was soon translated into English, German, Italian, and Spanish.

Besides its practical contribution to the struggle to rid Spain of the Inquisition, the great merit of Llorente's history of the Spanish Inquisition lay in the fact that it focused the attention of Spaniards and of the world on an institution that had been detested by many for a long time.

³It is not known exactly what happened to those documents.

The reaction of Spanish conservatives was, as can well be imagined, ferocious. In traditionalist quarters Llorente's book was attacked as misrepresenting and distorting facts, and as exaggerating both the misdeeds of the Inquisition and the number of victims of the Holy Office. In brief, it was viewed as a sinister contribution to the leyenda negra, the "black legend", which to many Spaniards seemed to discredit Spain's traditional religious policy and colonial practices.⁴ The controversy which raged so fiercely over Llorente's book in the nineteenth century has not subsided completely in our own times. Many Spanish conservative historians still look upon it as a monstrous ingredient of the leyenda negra. On the other hand, in liberal circles in Spain and in the eyes of sober-minded historians on both sides of the Atlantic, Llorente was duly credited with having been the first to present to the world a history of the Spanish Inquisition primarily based on original documents.

However, Llorente has been criticized justifiably for his exaggerations, particularly his estimate of the number of victims the Inquisition tried through the centuries.⁵ Although Llorente's work was thoroughly documented from the

⁴The term "black legend" began as a description of the Spanish atrocities against and exploitation of the American Indians. See Charles Gibson, The Aztecs Under Spanish Rule. Stanford, 1964, p. 403.

⁵See especially Lea's History and Henry Kamen, The Spanish Inquisition, (London, 1965).

Inquisition archives, that did not make it unbiased. Also, John E. Longhurst (b. 1918), Professor of History at Kansas University, in a study of the Spanish Protestant martyr, Julian Hernandez,⁶ pointed out that Llorente obviously relied too heavily on Montanus, who gave a highly colored and not always accurate martyrology of Spanish Protestants.

But the way was paved by Llorente for an intense interest in early nineteenth-century Europe of sixteenth-century Spain. Of paramount concern was the Spanish Inquisition, with a lesser number of books produced on Spanish Protestantism. Those in the latter category repeated one another and Llorente really added little more than confusion to the study of Spanish Protestants; they were written with a strong Protestant bias; and they dealt with the Spanish Protestants after 1550. Furthermore, they almost all dwelled on the episodes of Spanish history between 1559 and 1562 at Seville and Valladolid where the autos de fe were centered on the people condemned for "Lutheranism".⁷ Another favorite topic of those early nineteenth-century authors was the escape of a few Spanish Protestants from Spain at mid-century.

⁶John E. Longhurst, "Julian Hernandez, Protestant Martyr," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXII (1960), 93; and "The History of a Legend," Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review (May 23, 1959), p. 201.

⁷Term used for all those whose beliefs challenged those of the Roman Catholic faith in Spain of the sixteenth century.

The principal works in this category included: Thomas McCrie's History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century; Adolfo de Castro y Rossi's The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II; Elizabeth Charles' The Martyrs of Spain and the Liberators of Holland; Moise Droins' Histoire de la Réformation en Espagne; E. Christ's Spanish Heroes of the Faith: Portraits of the Reformation; and Cornelius A. Wilkens' Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century.⁸ However, only three of those accounts seemed worth noting. The rest were primarily repetitious tirades.

Thomas McCrie (1772-1835) was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and ecclesiastical historian. He entered Edinburgh University in 1788 and was ordained in 1796. He opposed his synod's view of a need for complete independence of church and state, and was consequently ejected from his pastorate in 1809. This conflict about a principle of ecclesiastical history led him to a thorough and searching study of Scottish church history. The fruit of his labor was The Life of John Knox, published in 1811. In February of 1813 Edinburgh University granted him the degree of Doctor of Divinity, a distinction they often conferred on English nonconformists, but never before on a Scottish dissenter. Later he broke

⁸ See my Bibliography for complete information.

new ground in his writing of church history with his books on the Reformation in Italy⁹ and Spain. McCrie's study was one of the first to bring to the English-speaking people an account of the Protestant movement in sixteenth century Spain, and it became their standard work for many years. However, his book relied heavily on Montanus and Llorente and was very sympathetic towards the Spanish Protestants.

Adolfo de Castro y Rossi (1823-1898) was a learned Spanish Andalusian writer and critic. He managed a well-known periodical, El Constitucional in Cadiz, Spain, and wrote for it many articles and poems, besides publishing several books on Spanish history. Castro was a Roman Catholic and yet he hated the Inquisition and Philip II, so his work on Spanish Protestants dealt cautiously with Roman Catholic and Protestant doctrines. It was published primarily as an examination of McCrie's earlier study. Castro thought that McCrie did not have enough sources before him and that the world deserved a more factual account than either McCrie or Llorente had presented. However, Castro's study only succeeded in adding a few more details to the same subject matter.

Cornelius August Wilkens¹⁰ was a German Protestant who

⁹Thomas McCrie, History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Italy, (London, 1827).

¹⁰fl. 1870-90. Exact dates and extensive information about Wilkens have been unascertainable.

for some time was a professor of Theology and Philosophy at Kalksburg, near Vienna. His original work on Spanish Protestants was printed at Gütersloh in 1888 titled, Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert. He tried to distinguish his contribution by analyzing various Spanish Protestants, their personalities and their writings. However, he failed to use documentation and left it unclear to the reader how he arrived at his conclusions. Also his account was very subjective and dealt with the Spanish Protestants as martyrs for the true faith. "If their bodies are taken prisoners, their hearts are free in the love of Christ. They may be burnt or killed, but immortal life still remains."¹¹

Although most of the studies of the early nineteenth century tended to glorify the Spanish Protestants and attack the Spanish Inquisition, in the latter part of the century there were also a few which defended the Roman Catholic position. Most of the body of literature in this category came in the twentieth century. However, two works which appeared in the latter part of the nineteenth century were representative of those which were to follow.

Francisco Javier Garcia-Rodrigo (d. 1891) was a Spanish writer who was also the secretary of a body of professional men from the nobility in Madrid called the Cuerpo colegiado

¹¹Cornelius A. Wilkens, Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century, trans. Rachel Challice. London, 1897, p. 165.

de la Nobleza. His three-volume Historia Verdadera de la Inquisición provided an excellent example of those works which actually do little more than attempt to show the biases and inaccuracies of Llorente in an equally biased Catholic account. But the historian and literary critic, Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo (1856-1912) gave the reader an added dimension. It was his Historia de los Heterodoxes Españoles which became the basis for most pro-Catholic answers to Llorente. Organized in a manner much more readable than Llorente's and well documented, Menendez took the position that the Spanish spirit was basically Catholic and that heresy was just a "fleeting gust of wind."¹² The "Reformation" in Spain was only a curious episode and of no great importance.¹³ Menendez violently attacked Llorente's writings asserting that they were disorganized, badly written, and almost traitorous in their description of sixteenth-century Spain. But by proclaiming his work a refutation of Llorente, he thus paid an unwitting compliment to the object of his scorn.

Menendez made use of both Protestant and Catholic viewpoints, and although his study attempted to justify the Inquisition and discredit the Spanish Protestants, it was by far the most objective of all the nineteenth-century accounts

¹²Menendez y Pelayo, I, 29. This is my own translation.

¹³Ibid., p. 26.

thus far mentioned. He also discussed some Spanish Protestants, such as Antonio del Corro (1527-1591), that other accounts had failed to mention.

Not all of the historical literature of the nineteenth century dealing with the Spanish Reformation could be classified as biased toward Protestantism or Catholicism. The English Quaker and historian, Benjamin Barron Wiffen (1794-1867), together with his close Quaker friend Luis de Usoz y Rio (1805-1865), an enlightened Spanish nobleman, dedicated their lives to the purpose of rescuing from oblivion the works of the Spanish Reformers. These works were republished in a twenty-volume series called the Reformistas Antiguos Españoles, which, with the exception of two volumes, were under the editorship of Usoz,¹⁴ and exemplified a lifetime of serious scholarship. However, the series is now extremely rare and apparently unobtainable in its entirety. Produced between 1847 and 1865, it is not recognizable as a series because the separate books have neither uniform size nor covers.¹⁵

Wiffen helped his friend in the collecting of materials

¹⁴Volume 7, Epistola Consolatoria by Juan Perez, and volume 15, Alfabeto Cristiano by Juan de Valdes, were edited by Benjamin B. Wiffen--the remainder by Usoz.

¹⁵Dr. John E. Longhurst has shown the author several copies from the series. Volumes one through five and seven have no general titlepage. In Volume six the title reads Obras Antiguos de los Españoles Reformados. In Volume eight and the succeeding volumes it is Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.

for this series and had hopes of not only putting before the public the works of the Spanish Reformers, but also writing a biographical sketch of information about each man. He died in 1867, only two years after Usoz, and thus the "completion of his last cherished wish was prevented."¹⁶

Dr. Edward Boehmer (1827-1906), Professor of the Romance Languages and Librarian at the University of Halle, was a valued friend and correspondent of Wiffen. He undertook to complete the work Wiffen had often referred to as his "Bibliotheca," and Boehmer appropriately called his volumes, Bibliotheca Wiffeniana.¹⁷ Therefore, it was the combined efforts of three dedicated scholars who brought to the world in the last half of the nineteenth century what is still the most reliable body of information on the Spanish Protestants.

The Bibliotheca Wiffeniana, though not written as a history of the Reformation period in Spain, provided a descriptive narrative of each Reformer plus bibliographical material about the works written by them. In the footnotes of these three volumes, there is a wealth of information. Many primary sources also are published following the biographical sketch of each man.

The main criticism leveled against the Bibliotheca

¹⁶Mary I. W. Wiffen in the Preface to Boehmer, I, 5.

¹⁷These three volumes were published according to the late Benjamin Wiffen's plan and with the use of his materials in Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. 1874.

Wiffeniana is its organization. The information is there, but it is extremely difficult to locate. However, no modern historian has yet attempted to compile this immense amount of material in a more organized, readable manner.

At the turn of the century, another serious scholar appeared in this field of the history of Spanish Protestants. Dr. Ernst Schäfer (1872-1946), a German savant, in his three-volume work on Spanish Protestants and the Inquisition of the sixteenth century, Beitrage zur Geschechte des Spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert, has rendered a great service in dispelling the many exaggerations propounded by most of the historians already mentioned in this study. He diligently searched among the archives of the Spanish Inquisition and studied them in detail with Germanic thoroughness. While not completely concealing his Protestant sympathies, he presented the facts in a relatively objective manner. Henry C. Lea (1825-1909), noted nineteenth-century historian, in a review of Dr. Schäfer's work said, "Before a scientific investigation such as this, the legends of Gonzales de Montes, transmitted by Llorente to McCrie and succeeding writers, shrivel into their proper proportions."¹⁸

It was in the first of these three volumes that Schäfer dealt with the Protestant conventicles of Seville and

¹⁸ Henry Charles Lea, review of Beitrage zur Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus und der Inquisition im sechzehnten Jahrhundert, in the American Historical Review, VIII (April 1903), 529.

Valladolid, and of the procedures of the Inquisition. The second and third volumes were the records of these materials. Criticized somewhat by Lea that he needed a more extended knowledge of the operations of the Inquisition in order to judge it less leniently, his work still served to correct some of the exaggerated notions then popularly current. Similarly his account of the Protestant persecution itself and of the Inquisition's unfortunate sufferers dispelled many illusions. The Protestant victims were neither so numerous nor such martyrs as they had been represented. Many recanted their faith before being put to death.

Soon after Schäfer's work appeared,¹⁹ the monumental A History of the Inquisition of Spain was published in English by Henry Charles Lea. This four-volume composition has since become the modern standard history of the Spanish Inquisition.

Lea, who received degrees from the Universities of Giessen in Germany and Pennsylvania, in addition to attending Harvard and Princeton and being a Fellow of the Imperial University of Moscow, published many books on church history. His four volumes on the Inquisition abandoned the approach of loyalty to one's confession, and his account was relatively objective. His style was factual and straight forward. Nothing comparable to it in scientific research on the

¹⁹Schäfer's account was written entirely in German including the Spanish archival documents upon which he based his theories and conclusions.

Inquisition has been done since its publication, and all later books on the subject have been inevitably influenced by it.

Lea's third volume was especially important for its history of Spanish Protestantism. He dealt with the Spanish Protestants of the sixteenth through the eighteenth century, and discussed the influence their appearance and repression exerted on the fortunes of Spain. Lea saw the little Protestant movement not as a danger to the Catholic faith, but "only as serving to tighten the bonds which restricted the development of the nation."²⁰

After the publication of Lea's work, there was in the early twentieth century an emphasis on histories of the Inquisition which dealt with Protestantism, rather than studies on the Spanish Protestants per se. Many of those historians were less propagandistic than the writers of the nineteenth century; and most of them relied heavily on Lea and/or Menendez. In that category were Arthur S. Turberville's The Spanish Inquisition; Benardino Llorca's La Inquisición en España; Miguel de la Pinta Llorente's La Inquisición Española; Salvador Fornieles' La España del Siglo XVI: Felipe II y la Inquisición; Cecil Roth's The Spanish Inquisition; and Henry Kamen's The Spanish Inquisition.

The historiographical trends of the nineteenth and

²⁰Lea, p. 479.

early twentieth century historians could be summed up in the following manner. In the early nineteenth century, there were many Protestant accounts of the Spanish Inquisition with a lesser number that concentrated on the Spanish Protestants. Of the latter, the main characteristics were that they presented only what might be called a Protestant view, they were highly repetitious of one another, and they nearly all dealt with Spanish Protestants after 1550. In the latter half of the nineteenth century there were several scholars, e.g., Usoz, Wiffen, and Boehmer; and there were a few historians such as Menendez, who defended the Spanish Inquisition and attempted to discredit the Spanish Protestants. With the turn of the century, there was a move away from the tendency to write history according to the loyalty of one's confession and toward a presentation of a more factual history; for example, Lea and Schäfer.

However, among the historians of the mid-twentieth century there has been a recent flurry of interest in the Spanish Reformation Protestants. The efforts of Professors John E. Longhurst of Kansas University and Paul J. Hauben of Michigan State University have had much to do with this renewed interest. Longhurst's studies have treated Spanish Protestants of the first half of the sixteenth century. His works have attempted to define who were Protestants and who were actually Erasmians. Both groups were tried as

"Lutherans" by the Spanish Inquisition.²¹

Paul Hauben's interest has been Spanish Protestant expatriots and their relationship to Calvinism. He has written a book and numerous articles on this subject. His Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation discussed the refugees Antonio del Corro (1527-1591), Cassiodoro de Reina (1520-1594), and Cypriano de Valera (1532-ca. 1605). It was one of the first books to treat the subject of the relationship of the Spanish refugees to Calvinism but Hauben nevertheless was criticized for not making full use of his sources nor substantiating his views sufficiently.²²

Obviously, the historians of the mid-twentieth century have branched out into new areas of the Spanish Reformation and have produced fresh interpretations about the era. For example, Longhurst has studied the role of smuggled Protestant books into Spain,²³ and Hauben has attempted to discover the role which Calvinism played in the Spanish Reformation.²⁴ Also, historian Henry Kamen, of the University of Edinburgh, in The Spanish Inquisition added a new interpretation to the

²¹Longhurst has informed me that a book dealing with the as yet untouched field of Spanish Protestants between 1500 and 1550 is to be published in late 1968 or early 1969.

²²Elizabeth F. Hirsch in a review of Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation in the American Historical Review, LXXIII (June 1968), 1546-47.

²³Longhurst, "Julian Hernandez, Protestant Martyr."

²⁴Paul J. Hauben, Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation. (Geneva, 1967).

institution when he discussed the origin of the Inquisition as a means of preserving the socio-economic structure in Spain rather than as a purely religious development. Thus, the historians of the mid-twentieth century have abandoned the approach popular in the nineteenth century of loyalty to one's confession and have replaced it with relative objectivity, while at the same time suggesting new features of interest in the Spanish Reformation.

A BRIEF ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bataillon, Marcel. Erasmus y España: Estudios sobre la historia espiritual del siglo XVI. 2nd ed., trans. Antonnio Alatorre. Mexico, 1966. 921 pp. Illus., bibl., appdcs., index.

Originally published in Paris in 1937 titled, Erasme et l'Espagne: Recherches sur l'Histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siecle, it is an extensively documented work of highest quality on the Erasmian influence on Spain. It is rich in thought, original in its views, convincing in its argument and gives a fresh light on the intellectual and religious history of Spain of the sixteenth century. It is one of the best books on the sixteenth-century religious movements in Spain. Excellent bibliography.

Boehmer, Edward, ed. Bibliotheca Wiffeniana: Spanish Reformers of Two Centuries from 1520. 3 vols. 1874. Reprinted New York, 1962. Appdcs., index.

These three volumes are indispensable to any student of Spanish Protestantism. They were published according to the plan of Benjamin Wiffen and with the use of his materials, since Wiffen died before they could be published in his name. These volumes have stood the test of time extraordinarily well. Their primary purposes were to provide bibliographical information as to the subjects' works and a descriptive narrative of each man.

Castro y Rossi, Adolfo. The Spanish Protestants and their Persecution by Philip II. trans. Thomas Parker. London, 1851. 386 pp. Appdcs.

The author hated the Inquisition and Philip II and emphasized the results of Philip's coercion policy (for example, the ignorance, confusion, ruin) on Spanish history. He says Philip should go down in history with the Neros and other oppressors.

Charles, Elizabeth. The Martyrs of Spain and the Liberators of Holland. New York, 1866. 400 pp.

Written as if it were the memoirs of the Cazalla sisters--Dolores and Costanza--who lived in Spain in the sixteenth century. Very subjective, evangelistic, glorifies the Spanish Protestants and is mostly historical fiction.

Christ, E. Heroes españoles de la fe: Cuadros de la reforma. Madrid, 1893. 312 pp.

From a Swiss historian comes another in a series of accounts of the latter half of the nineteenth century which glorified the sixteenth-century Spanish Protestants. Originally published in Basel in 1886, it was titled: Spanische Glaubenshelden: Reformationsbilder. Pious in tone. It follows Usoz, Llorente, Castro, McCrie. Generally unreliable; for example, his treatment of the Protestant martyr, Julian Hernandez.

Droin, Moise. Histoire de la Réformation en Espagne. 2 vols. Paris, 1880.

Generally untrustworthy, e.g., he confuses Juan and Alfonso Valdes.

Fornieles, Salvador. La España del Siglo XVI: Felipe II y la Inquisición. Buenos Aires, 1951. 155 pp.

Uses mostly secondary sources. Makes many apologies for Spanish Inquisition by comparing it to the Inquisitions established throughout Europe. Too heavy with quotes. Justifies the Inquisition by stating it was necessary for the political and religious unity of the country.

Garcia-Rodrigo, Francisco Javier. Historia Verdadera de la Inquisición. 3 vols. Madrid, 1877.

A very defensive study of the Inquisition written primarily to refute Llorente. Practically every page attempts to prove Llorente as biased, incorrect, and full of exaggerations. Adds nothing new to previous histories.

Gutierrez-Marin, Claudio. Historia de la Reforma en España. Mexico, 1942. 447 pp. Bibl., appdcs.

Written by a Spanish Protestant who was once Secretary of the Spanish Evangelical Church, whose main emphasis is to tell about the "Second Reformation" of Spain--that of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the section on sixteenth-century Protestants, he maintains Protestantism was not stamped out in 1565--it laid the groundwork for the "second" Reformation.

Hauben, Paul J. "A Spanish Calvinist Church in Elizabethan London," Church History XXXIV (1965), 50-56.

Good for its information on Cassiodoro de Reina.

_____. "In Pursuit of Heresy: Spanish Diplomats versus Spanish Heretics in France and England During the Wars of Religion," Historical Journal IX (1966), 275-85.

Gives added information about Philip II's espionage forces.

_____. "Marcus Perez and Marrano Calvinism in the Dutch Revolt and the Reformation," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XXIX (1967), 121-32.

Adds new light on the influence of the Spanish on the spread of Protestantism.

_____. Three Spanish Heretics and the Reformation. Geneva, 1967. 141 pp. Bibl., index.

One of the first books to deal with the relationship of Calvinism to several sixteenth-century Spanish Protestant expatriots. However, he often seems to substantiate his views. Bibliography and index are incomplete.

Kamen, Henry. The Spanish Inquisition. London, 1965. 339 pp. Illus., index, glossary.

The most recent one-volume account of the Spanish Inquisition. Thesis is that the Spanish Inquisition was not primarily a problem of religious toleration but of social and economic environment.

Lea, Henry Charles. A History of the Inquisition of Spain. III, New York, 1907. Part of a four-volume series. 575. Appdcs., index.

Over fifty years old, this still remains the fundamental work on the Spanish Inquisition. It is for the most part unbiased and avoids editorializing. A well-documented treatment of the period taken almost entirely from original sources. A notable contribution to history.

Llorca, Bernardino. La Inquisición en España. Barcelona, 1936. 319 pp. Illus., appdcs.

One of the best examples of the writings of the twentieth century which attempt to refute the hostile accounts of the nineteenth century. It is full of prejudiced apologies.

Llorente, Juan Antonio. Historia Critica de la Inquisición de España. III, IV. Barcelona, 1835-36. Part of an eight-volume series.

The author's hatred for the Inquisition becomes evident in this exhaustive work. Despite the author's editorializing, the series is useful. Originally written in four volumes in French in 1817-1818. He claims his books are based on original documents, but in several cases this is questionable because of his exaggerations.

Llorente, Miguel de la Pinta. La Inquisición Española: Aportaciones para la Historia del sentimiento Religioso en España. Madrid, 1948. 453 pp.

Another view which attempts to vindicate the Spanish Inquisition. Rather than a strict history of events, he tries to give a picture of the culture and spirit of the times. He fails to add anything of value to the historiography of the period.

Longhurst, John E. Erasmus and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Juan de Valdes. Albuquerque, 1950. 114 pp. Bibl.

Monograph on one of the most famous of the Spanish Erasmians. Also contains an excellent annotated bibliography.

_____. "Julian Hernandez, Protestant Martyr," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance XXII (1960), 90-118.

Highly informative article on the truth about Julian Hernandez.

_____. Luther and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Diego de Uceda 1528-1529. Albuquerque, 1953. 76 pp.

Taken from the inquisitional archives, he presents the trial of the first of a long series of investigations of Spanish Erasmians.

_____. "The History of a Legend," Michigan Alumnus Quarterly Review, (May 23, 1959), 197-204.

Good historiographical study on Julian Hernandez.

McCrie, Thomas. History of the Progress and Suppression of the Reformation in Spain in the Sixteenth Century. London, 1829. 424 pp. Appdcs., index.

A sympathetic account of the Spanish Protestants that relies heavily on Juan A. Llorente, accepting the latter's inaccuracies and his bias. It was the standard work for English-speaking people for many years.

Menendez y Pelayo, Marcelino. Historia de los Heterodoxes Espanoles. I, II. Madrid, 1880-1881. Part of a three-volume series. Index.

The tone of the work, as the author states in his introduction, is completely Roman Catholic, and he does not disguise his disapproval of any deviation from orthodoxy. With his Roman Catholic viewpoint, he tells of the rise of mystics, the followers of Erasmus, and of the Protestants in Spain during the Reformation. It became the basis for most studies attempting to disprove Juan A. Llorente.

Puigblanch, D. Antonio. The Inquisition Unmasked: Being an Historical and Philosophical Account of that Tremendous Tribunal, Founded on Authentic Documents; and Exhibiting the Necessity of its Suppression as a Means of Reform and Regeneration. trans. William Walton. 3 vols. London, 1816.

The earliest of the many nineteenth-century Protestant tirades on the evils of the Spanish Inquisition.

Roth, Cecil. The Spanish Inquisition. New York, 1964. 316 pp. Appdcs., bibl., index.

He makes no distinction between Erasmians and Protestants. His main interest are the Jews who were tried by the Spanish Inquisition.

Rule, William H. History of the Inquisition. London, 1868. 464 pp. Appdcs., index.

Another very hostile account of the Spanish Inquisition. Attempts to cover in one volume not only the history of the Spanish Inquisition but the Roman as well.

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A necessary source for all who treat of this phase of the Reformation. It is an exhaustive examination of the original documents on the Spanish Protestants during the career of the Spanish Inquisition. His facts are unassailable. However, his documentary proofs are in a German translation rather than the original which slightly detracts from the value of the work.

Turberville, Arthur Stanley. The Spanish Inquisition. London, New York, Toronto, 1932. 250 pp. Bibl., index.

Good, relatively objective one-volume account with helpful annotated bibliography.

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A collection of the various works of the Spanish Reformers. These volumes are now very rare.

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Translated and condensed from the author's Die Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus im Sechzehnten Jahrhundert, Gütersloh, 1888. Very pro-Protestant and subjective. Deals with Spanish Protestants as martyrs for the true faith.

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**A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL STUDY OF NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH
CENTURY LITERATURE ON THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION
IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPAIN**

by

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The religion and often the government in Spain has been strongly dominated by the Roman Catholic Church for approximately 500 years. However, there was a period in the mid-sixteenth century when some Protestant doctrines penetrated its land.

It was nearly 300 years after the introduction of Protestantism into Spain before historians began a concentrated study of the impact and the causes of that development. Most of this interest was directed towards the institution of the Spanish Inquisition, which worked diligently to arrest any and all religious deviates from the established Roman Catholic faith. Many studies were made on the Spanish Inquisition, and at the same time a smaller number of books were written which dealt more exclusively with the early Spanish Protestants. It was the purpose of this study to examine the historical literature of the nineteenth and twentieth century on the Protestant Reformation in sixteenth-century Spain in order to describe the historiographical trends.

Most of the historical literature of the early nineteenth century was very hostile toward the Spanish Inquisition. These books were written predominately by Protestants who interpreted the events in the light of their own religious orientation. A case in point was Thomas McCrie (1772-1835), a Scottish ecclesiastical historian. However, a few Catholics dared to criticize the period, too; for

example, Juan Antonio Llorente (1756-1823), a Spanish Catholic priest. Then in the latter part of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century a number of historians such as Marcelino Menendez y Pelayo (1856-1912), Spanish historian and literary critic, wrote books which defended the Inquisition and its persecution of Spanish Protestants in protest to the onslaught of condemnations. Both sides presented subjective accounts reflecting basic confessional loyalties and emphasizing the religious issues.

Also in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were intermingled with the defensive accounts of the Inquisition a few works less propagandistic in nature. This group of authors tended toward more objective writing which presented both viewpoints with greater impartiality. These historians of the Spanish Reformation included Benjamin B. Wiffen (1794-1867), English Quaker, and Henry C. Lea (1825-1909), noted nineteenth-century scholar.

Since the early years of the twentieth century, the foci of the studies has changed somewhat. One focal point is still the Spanish Inquisition, but interpreted in new ways. Henry Kamen in The Spanish Inquisition, discussed the origin of the institution as a means of preserving the socio-economic structure rather than as a purely religious development. Another focal point is the Spanish Protestant movement. But, the historians of the mid-twentieth century have felt the impact of the trend toward specialization. Some such as

Paul J. Hauben, Professor of History at Michigan State University, are interested in the Protestant expatriots and their relationship to Calvinism. Others, like John E. Longhurst, Professor of History at Kansas University, are interested in discovering the Spanish Protestants who existed before 1550.

Among the writings of the mid-twentieth century, there can be seen new attempts at interpretation. There is neither the dominant emphasis on religious issues nor the extremely subjective accounts of the nineteenth century. These historians have abandoned the approach of loyalty to one's confession and replaced it with relative objectivity while at the same time suggesting new interpretations of the various aspects of the Spanish Reformation.