



- ◆ Trabajo realizado por el equipo de la Biblioteca Digital de la Fundación Universitaria San Pablo-CEU

I have extracted from this Sketch, suitable passages for the Memoir, and his own account of the discovery of each book is thereto annexed.

The verses at the close of the Memoir were written by my Uncle himself; the last line in the second verse having been slightly altered, to make the allusion *now* correctly appropriate.

Oakfield, Reigate. May 1869.

Mary Isaline W. Wiffen.

BENJAMIN BARRON WIFFEN was born in the year 1794. His Father John Wiffen was descended from an old family, De Wimpffen*), who settled in Norfolk. He was an intelligent man, of great conversational powers, and of poetical taste. When travelling on business, he always carried with him volumes of a miniature edition of the Poets, (of Pope, Dryden, Akenside, Churchill and translations of Homer and Virgil,) in saddle bags slung across his horse in the style of travellers of that day, when such a taste was not general, and usually restricted to the learned.

His Mother Elizabeth Wiffen was a woman of superior abilities, of great industry and energy of character. She was early left a Widow with six young children, whom she carefully trained and educated, and in 1839 she retired with her two unmarried daughters, and her son Benjamin, to a country villa, Mount Pleasant, near Woburn in Bedfordshire, where she lived to the advanced age of eighty years. Elizabeth Wiffen and her Husband were both members of the Society of Friends.

B. B. Wiffen was with his brother, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, educated at the "Friends'" School at Ackworth in Yorkshire. Tradition yet tells how my Father, the future Poet and Translator of Tasso and Garcilaso, used to lie awake, amusing his boy companions in their dormitory, with strange tales and wonderful romances drawn from his own imagination; — the continuation of which was eagerly demanded night after night by the delighted auditors.

The brothers were throughout life much attached to each other, and the intellectual pursuits of the elder greatly influenced the sub-

*) No doubt of German origin. There is a town called Wimpfen on the Neckar, and a family von Wimpffen still flourishes. Boehmer.

sequent career of the younger. The first volume of poems, "Aonian Hours", published by J. H. Wiffen, was dedicated by him to

"Benjamin Barron Wiffen
In recreation and in study
in gladness and in trial
The Companion, the Brother and the Friend."

In the noontide of his career J. H. Wiffen was removed by death at the early age of 43 in May 1836. And thus does B. B. W. touchingly advert to the lifelong loss of his brother, in a poem written many years later, when time might seem to have healed the wound which Death had made.

"Ye groves whose sweep my unveiled windows view,
Not e'en Frascati bears the palm from you.
If there Italian skies in radiance glow,
Here deeper verdure lights the turf below.
Dear classic glades! where he who late took down
Tasso's sweet lyre and made its echoes known,
Formed his pure taste and made with graceful ease
Italian sense in Saxon music please.
That lyre, alas! with all its chords unstrung
Is on the *) cypress bough again uphung.
How oft at dewfall when the setting sun
Told that the labours of the day were done,
In that sweet sense accomplished duty brings,
When Time himself takes rest upon his wings;

*) See J. H. Wiffen's L'Envoi to his Translation of Tasso stanze IV.

"If with no vulgar aim, no selfish view,
I sought to give thy foreign chords a tongue,
Let not my hopes all pass like morning dew,
When on thy cypress bough again thou'rt hung,*)
But sometimes whisper of me to the few
I love, the fond, the faithful and the young;
And those who reverence the wronged soul that planned
Thy world of sound, with archangelic hand."

*) Tu che ne vai in Pindo,
Ivi pende mia cetra ad un cipresso,
Salutarla in mio nome, e dille poi
Ch'io son dagli anni, e da fortuna oppresso.

Rime del Tasso.

Here have we met and walked uncounted hours
While Verse, sweet Verse! strewed all the way with flowers.
The twilight lake, the woods, the drowsy birds,
E'en solemn midnight witnessed of our words.
There on our own, how oft the starry eyes
Of the bright Pleiads glistened from the skies.
I will not question of their spheres to tell,
What Memory chants in her eternal cell;
To Her while wet with ink this paper lies
A Brother's hand inscribes a Brother's sighs.
His after scholar in the art divine,
How late to learn, how rough in every line.
Not touched to music by his graceful hand,
How rude as written, must these Verses stand."

In 1866 he writes to a friend — "H — M — has come down to arrange the library." (at Woburn Abbey) — "I went and lunched with him. It was pleasant to sit in the room where I had so often seen my Brother, and where he wrote his Tasso, Garcilaso, and Russell Memoirs. It felt like a gleam of Autumn sunshine recalling the glow of Summer."

In 1839, soon after he went to reside at Mount Pleasant, he became acquainted with his Spanish friend; and thus gives an account of the circumstance.

"The interest which I have taken in the writings of the Spanish religious reformers, had its rise from a casual acquaintance, which ripened into a tender and enduring friendship with an enlightened Spanish Nobleman, Luis de Usoz y Rio."

"He was a gentleman of family, by birth a *caballero*, of high education and strong literary tastes, especially in everything that illustrated the knowledge of the Scriptures, and the ancient writers of his country. He had passed five or six years in Italy, studying law in the Spanish college at Bologna, and passed through his academical courses in several of the Universities of Spain, and in that of Bologna with honours. In 1835 he returned to Madrid, and married a lady of good family and ample fortune. Wishing to avail themselves of this juncture to travel abroad, they visited Italy and

its principal cities, then Paris, and came to London early in the year 1839.

"Whilst living at Madrid, Luis was one day called upon by a peasant who offered him a volume for sale. He read the title "Apologia de la Verdadera Theologia Christiana," being Barclay's "Apology" translated into Spanish by Felix Antonio de Alvarado. He did not know the book, bought it, and read it with curiosity. Finding it expounded the Doctrines of the Society of Friends, called Quakers, and having seen an English translation of his choicest poet Garcilaso de la Vega by Jeremiah H. Wiffen, one of them, he resolved (should he go to London) to find him out, and learn more respecting the Society of which he had read in the Apologia. Soon after his arrival in London he was taken by George Borrow (author of the Bible in Spain) to witness the proceedings of the Committee of the Bible Society, and was introduced by him to Josiah Forster, one of the Committee, and a prominent member of the Society of Friends. Luis at once enquired after J. H. Wiffen; and learnt that he had died in 1836, but that his widow and children, and his brother were living."

"Just at this time I went from my home at Woburn to London, in order to attend the annual meeting of the Society of Friends. As soon as Josiah Forster saw me there, he told me that a Spanish gentleman had enquired for my deceased brother. He put the card of his address into my hand, and requested me to call and see him."

"At first I felt a hesitation, having so slight an introduction, and no motive of my own; yet reflecting that the gentleman had enquired for my brother, to whom I was much attached, I resolved to call upon him at once."

"I found him residing with his wife at 15, Jermyn Sreet.

"He was erect and rather tall in person, with thick black hair, close cropped according to the Spanish mode. His countenance was grave, and dark-complexioned, yet mild in expression; and his eyes were dark and animated. In figure and in features he was spare. His manner was modest and had an air of polite reserve. After a short time passed in general conversation, as I had to proceed further, he put on his hat and accompanied me. While we walked along the streets our conversation continued; and in order to correct what I

thought was an erroneous view, entertained by people who travel in foreign countries to view the productions of the Fine Arts, I made the remark, that I did not think it was by pictures, statues, and vases, that the civilization of nations was advanced; but that *religious liberty*, the real freedom of moral and religious thought and action, *was the only basis of true civilization*. The heartiness with which he expressed his concurrence with this sentiment, showed me that it was no new thought, but one familiar to his mind. I believe that our friendship, which lasted for the remainder of life, was then begun while walking the streets of London."

At the close of the year 1839 B. B. Wiffen accompanied his friend George William Alexander to Spain, in order to promote the effectual abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery. They had the opportunity of pleading the cause of humanity before Espartero, then Regent of Spain; and the Catholic Bishop of Cordova laid his hands upon their heads as they stood before him, and blessed them, — "thanking God at the same time that he had lived to see the day, when two Englishmen came to travel in Spain to advance the abolition of Slavery." Luis de Usoz y Rio felt also deeply interested in the cause of Emancipation. His father had held the office of *Oidor*, or Protector of the Indians, in a Spanish colony of South America, and he himself had been nursed by a slave who was made free and lived and died in his family.

B. B. Wiffen greatly enjoyed the freshness and incident of foreign travel. His love for, and appreciation of, the beautiful in Nature were very great, and the charm of the picturesque scenes, and old historic associations — the glowing skies and fragrant blooms of beautiful Spain, remained vividly impressed upon his mind until the close of life.

Writing in 1864 to his friends John and Maria Betts, of Pembury, he says. "The mention of your intended route by Folkestone, Boulogne, and Paris brings to my recollection the first journey I made abroad, a little later in the season than this, by the same route, only sailing from Dover. I then found the realization of the thoughts — shall I call them *visions*, I had had years before, when every thing seemed improbable, and I laid myself down in the lonely woods here, and thought so earnestly, that I thought it aloud unconsciously, "I wonder whether I shall ever go abroad!"

"Between Dover and Boulogne the autumn sun large and red, rose out of the waters, his beams glancing on a hundred and fifty fishing smacks with their white sails spread, glancing hither and thither in the distance like a brood of white winged butterflies."

"We in those days jogged on pleasantly through the old historical cities of the western road by the diligence. Amiens was the first, then Abbeville, Orleans, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Angoulême, Bordeaux. We passed over the beautiful Suspension Bridge, a miracle of art, which George Stephenson, the well known engineer, prophesied would fall under the *measured* tread of a regiment of soldiers, — and it *did!* At Bayonne we first saw the snow-capped Pyrenees, tinted as by celestial roses in the sultry sun, and in Biscay the ruins of palaces caused by the recent Carlist War of Succession."

"I dipped my hands in every river I passed, and gathered memorials from every memorable spot, which I have but lately given to the flames."

"You will go much in the same track, but you will not see the country sights and incidents *as* I saw them."

And again —

"I did not see Toledo. I remember however the passage of the Sierra Morena, Carmona, and especially Cordova, its mosque with bronze covered doors, and its patio of orange trees — the Roman bridge and Moorish Alcazar. It is well you have had some Spanish travelling by diligence with mules. How pleasant it is at the earliest morning before sunrise, to jog along the mysterious country through strange villages enveloped in a fragrant atmosphere of burning lavender. And to notice the melting colours of the sky from the deepest purple almost black with intensity, the vermilion and gold unequalled in purity of colour by anything seen in these moister northern latitudes. And at night the stars are really like lamps hung in heaven, for the air being so dry and pure, the eye seems to look beyond, and see the other side of them."

"Then the orange tree in full leaf and fruit is, I think, the most beautiful vegetable product of nature.

Spain is yet oriental, earliest ages
Gave her an' Asian beauty * * *

"The Moors introduced the rose, the orange and date. The rose grows wild on the hills about Cordova, and the Moorish love of flowers is still shown in the streets of Seville by the semi circular pots hung against the fronts of houses, containing carnations" (a favourite flower with Spanish ladies).

"The Alcazar there is an interesting antiquity. In the lower streets of Seville may be seen the Moorish manners, a family sitting in a circle, cross legged on the floor, eating their dinner off a mat, or playing at cards upon it. The convent of San Isidro near Seville was where Cassiodore de Reina, translator of the Bible of 1569, indoctrinated most of the monks, and from which he escaped. At the Seminary or College of Doctrine, Seville, Juan Perez author of the "Epistola Consolatoria" was master. Dr. Constantino preached there, and at the Cathedral. De Montes and Zafra, who wrote the "Arts of the Inquisition", were its officers there; they favoured the Reformers and escaped, to exhibit to the world its true character. One prison of the Inquisition stood in the *Plaza de San Francisco* but the chief prison was the *Triana*, I think on the other side the river. The Quemadero or burning place was where Julian Hernandez, the friend of Juan Perez, who carried his books to Seville, was burnt, as were also the bones of Dr. Constantino, who died in prison."

"The Quemadero was an elevated platform of masonry, with large statues of the Evangelists at the corners. It stood out of the old city, near the part where passengers now embark on board the steamer for Cadiz."

In the summer of 1841 Luis de Usoz y Rio and his wife visited B. B. Wiffen at Mount Pleasant, and their visit is thus recorded by him. "My mother was then slightly unwell, but would not have the visit put off on that account. They came and passed a few days; and my aged Parent getting worse, expired on the Sabbath night, while they were yet in the house, quietly passing away alone in her sleep. They would naturally be affected by such an event, but they were more touched by the manner with which it was received by the family. At the usual Scripture reading before breakfast, on the morning after her decease, my eldest sister selected the 14th. chapter of St. John commencing "Let not your heart be troubled." The undisturbed order

and quietness observed in the family deeply affected them." I believe "said Luis afterwards, that I was brought there by Providence at that time to witness the death of a true Christian." How much this scene impressed them, is shown by the circumstance that my friend's widow remembered it, and read the same chapter upon the occasion of the death of *her* Husband in 1865."

In the year 1843, B. B. Wiffen again travelled into Spain with G. W. Alexander,*) on the same benevolent errand of freedom for the slave. On this visit he became still more intimate with his Spanish friends, and yet more deeply interested in all that related to Spain, her literature, and her martyrs for the truth. From this period his literary pursuits gradually assumed a definite form; and the discovery by him of the "Alfabeto Cristiano" of Juan de Valdés, (which had been lost for the last three centuries), led to the restoration and reprinting of the various and unknown writings of that author, as well as of numerous other valuable religious works; which furnished a delightful and interesting study, and became for 25 years the absorbing interest of his life.

This close and intimate acquaintance with the inner thoughts and religious experience of those noble men, who suffered persecution, tortures and martyrdom, rather than deny the Truth which they had received from their Lord and Master, — could not but leave its impress on a mind which studied their character and their writings with such love and veneration, and their influence upon his own spiritual progress was very apparent.

As years rolled on, his views became exceedingly clear, on the practical fitness of the great truths of Christianity for the comfort and happiness of the Believer. He expressed regret that Christians did not live more "by the faith of the Son of God."

Amidst the sorrowful trials and vicissitudes of life, he deemed it especially incumbent on the Christian, to endeavour in faith "to look upwards, and to look forward, with hope; to number our remaining blessings, and to be very grateful to the Great Giver of them all, for what He has hitherto lent, and for what he yet permits us to use; to

*) On an interview they had at Lisbon with the papal Nuncio see Memoirs of Stephen Grellet ed. by Benj. Seebohm, third ed., vol. 2, London 1862. p. 72. There the year of the interview is said to have been 1842. Boehmer.

maintain our minds in patience, bearing the Divine Will as the portion of our Cross to be endured in this life, until our final change and release come."

It was a great satisfaction to him to know, that his literary labours where not without result even during his own lifetime. A copy of the "Epistola Consolatoria," was given to Manuel Matamoros, whilst imprisoned at Granada for having read the Bible to others, and for having spread it. "I have seen," writes B. B. W. (7 mo. 20th 1862) his letter of the most ardent thanks for it. He states that the book has been written for him! Thus have I seen the sentiment of the last paragraph of the introduction to that volume exactly verified."

The paragraph alluded to runs thus:

"Persecution in a greater or less degree has ever attended the progress of Divine truth; opposition and tribulation will continue to accompany it. The example and counsel of those who have before passed through these trials, are strong incentives to others who, coming after, suffer for the like principles; nor may it perhaps be too much to believe, that some of these may derive encouragement in their course, from the perusal of the scriptural pages of the Epistola Consolatoria."

Very early in life B. B. Wiffen, in unison with his brother, cultivated the art of poetry; but at a certain period, finding that it was too absorbing and that it interfered with the sterner duties of life, he consigned his poems to the flames; yet he afterwards resumed the pursuit and produced many very pleasing poetical pieces — "The Warder of the Pyrenees," "Spanish Letters," "Alice Gray," "My Winter Home" &c. &c.

He had a Poet's love for flowers. He writes — "My Hyacinth is full of large white blossoms, and looks so happy shining in the morning sun. Is it foolish to invest it with feeling; it has an organized life of its own, and having no other living creature with me, why may not my *consciousness* go forth to it? the beauty of it's Life reaches to *mine!* This is sentiment!! and it is also metaphysics or psychology."

He never married — but he had a true appreciation of the dignity of Woman, and was always very gentle in his manner to

young people and little children. He thus expresses his sentiments to his friends at Pembury, with whom he "passed many *Attic Hours* over the pages of Valdés." "The conduct of a house with the guidance of household, is the glory of a woman. It is her domain, and the kingdom over which her sceptre sways, and her throne of judgment. The family life, is the best form of life, and the most fruitful of benefits, and examples, and of benign influences. A gracious family is the highest type of human nature. It is a good thing then to desire it."

The death of Luis de Usoz y Rio in 1865 was a blow from which B. B. Wiffen never rallied. Extracts from his letters will best convey his feelings during the period of his friend's declining health.

2 mo. 25. 1865.

"I told thee of the two serious hemorrhages, that Luis has had from the lungs — the symptoms are of a most unfavourable character. Now I understand the force (yet thou didst not give it the meaning I did) of the expression in one of thy letters "*his poor thin countenance*" which when I read it, I felt as an augury. Under these circumstances, with the prospect of the approaching end of all things human, his heart is at rest and his mind tranquil, and I have trust, that the words of Isaiah will be realized to him: — "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in Thee." In this I have much hope for him; for myself I am very sad and depressed with the thought of the end. We know not however when, and it may possibly be some time yet. Indeed some have lived for years after such symptoms.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and the actual future of life is hidden from us."

3 mo. 15. 1865.

"Poor Luis! I grieve to think that our sweet friendship must expire, and how soon! "What deaths we suffer ere we die!" Luis will take no remedy but Patience nor do anything for his disease but yield himself up *absolutely* to the disposal of Providence and the grace of his Saviour. He refers to a fable of Iriartes against doctors, which much impressed his mind when a youth.

"Batalla el enfermo
Con la enfermedad" &c.

The few lines in his last letter are depressing, they seem to sink my heart, and render the words too heavy in my mind to breathe."

9 mo. 13. 1865.

"A letter received yesterday from his Brother, Santiago, brings the mournful intelligence of Luis' death on the 17th of last month, the day on which our letter to him would arrive at Madrid. Santiago writes: "Su mujer me ha contado hoy ciertos pormenores de su muerte, "y dice que murió con igual paz y tranquilidad a la que hubiera "tenido ahí. Nadie le incomodó y ella cumplió todas sus prescripciones. "El murió cristianamente, y ella muestra una conformidad cristiana."

"My eyes fill with tears whilst I write, and my heart feels as though it has an arrow in it. My strength and my faith seem to melt in the heat, — not indeed for him, but for myself. If I had better learned the lessons of his example, I should be less unmanned than I feel I am. His pleasant and instructive friendship, for twenty five years has been the charm of my life. It softened, almost sweetened my constitutional melancholy; in all depressions of spirit there were a pleasant friend and pleasant subjects to turn to, that always answered with kind good will."

"He completed his literary work with his "Isaiah," and the 20th volume of the "Reformistas," and with him all our work seems ended."

9 mo. 17. 1865.

"I acknowledge immediately the receipt of your two very kindly sympathising letters."

"A pious writer has said "the soul partakes of the constitutional nature of the body: He who is languid in a state of nature, is languid in a state of grace;" and I find it so. In vain we give the body food, unless it has the power of digesting and assimilating the nourishment; so too unless the Soul has its appetite and forces, in a healthy state, it cannot take and apply its desired consolations. Age, which weakens the natural part, ought to ripen in proportion the inner life of the Christian; and it does ripen it. It makes it mellow indeed, but does not toughen it, so to speak, against the shocks of his present life. A Christian may lawfully feel sorrow at his trouble, but he should not, as

Valdés would say, resent it, i. e. *continue* to feel sorrow, for that is to reject the dispensations of the Almighty, for they ought to be accepted with alacrity of whatever kind they be. I would wish to do so even in this trial, but the waters of the heart repeatedly rise up into the eyes."

"I am pleased to hear of your happiness. I can at present only look backward. I dare not look forward being behind the pillar of cloud."

"A Spanish correspondent of mine, who three months before his death went to see Luis, has given me the impression made on his mind by the interview. I use his own language — "He rises early, works, takes a light breakfast (a cup of chocolate) — dines at 2 p. m. takes a walk, works again, and goes to bed without supper. * * * Although I am sorry that he is so aged, (he was but in his sixtieth year) stricken, as he says, with a mortal malady, and so to all appearance, to remain but a short time in the body, I am awed with the sight and touch of this singular man, — and yet he is so modest, so simple, so tender, so ineffably excellent, that all his wealth and vast learning are as nothing to his holy life and Christian conversation. To have such a man in Spain, is I think a great marvel. And to me to enjoy his kindness for these 23 years, an inestimable privilege I must ever be grateful and responsible for it to the end of my account."

"The same correspondent, after his death writes to me this concerning him. "He is gone, but his works remain; His mouth spoke as his pen wrote, for his speech was as fluent, sweet and Christian as his writings; in fact he was a living book, — his mouth is silent, his works finished. Our loss is heavy, it is not our own only, it is an irreparable national loss."

"Another correspondent describes him thus: "During the long period of our acquaintance I have had occasion to observe his diligence and solicitude to instruct himself, his singular mode of thought and view of things, his passion for truthfulness and the extirpation of abuses, which he did not live to see corrected, his modest conduct in his elevated position in life and his beautiful inclination to favour the necessitous. These marks of true virtue ought to bring grateful remembrances of his latter end."

B. B. Wiffen took an active interest in many of the benevolent institutions of his day. He was a conscientious member of the Society of Friends, observant of their peculiarities, and most exemplary in carrying out their principles in his daily life and conversation; and in services for the good of their section of the Christian church, he was ever ready to take his part.*) It was in attending a religious meeting, on a severe wintry night, that he is believed to have taken the influenza cold by which he was so suddenly carried off.

It seems to have been his wish that he might "slip away unobserved." And this was the case. He was gone before most of his relatives and friends knew that he was ill.

He died on the evening of Monday the 18th of March 1867 in the Seventy third year of his age.

His loss was much felt, and the blank still remains, to his intimate friends, who, penetrating through those characteristics, which gave to him at times the appearance of an air of shyness und reserve, — found the pure gold hid down below, and could appreciate the true worth of his character.

One of his Spanish friends thus alludes to his death. "I cannot express properly the loss I suffer with the passing away of our friend B. B. Wiffen. I knew him at Madrid in 1841, the first time he went there with G. W. Alexander to promote in Spain the Anti-Slavery cause. So long an intercourse would be sufficient at present for my sorrow, but there are many other things which endeared, during his life, our friendship and my regard for him."

"From the first time when I went to England to visit your country, Benjamin assisted and guided me, according to his grave character looking to the success of my journey as an important task for himself. During a short period, we visited together several places in England and some Institutions. Whenever I called upon him in following years, I found at Mount Pleasant, not merely a benevolent friend, but rather a tender or affectionate Brother."

*) The biographical notice of B. B. Wiffen in the Friend's Obituary for the year 1867, London 1867, p. 236 f. is by the author of this enlarged Memoir. Boehmer.

With the rest of their family, side by side, in the "Friends" quiet burial ground at Woburn Sands, lie the two Brothers! Over their last resting place the grass grows green — the harebells wave, and the old Pine trees murmur for aye their wild and solemn Requiem!

"They passed away unobserved, but they will not be forgotten by a thankful posterity. Spain shall one day write the name of the two brothers Wiffen with illustrious letters on the pages of her history!"

"There is a spot of earth — a small
Green unfrequented plot. — 'Tis sown
For immortality! — by all,
Save by a friendly few, unknown.

"By glossy holly sheltered round,
Where soft the aged Fir trees sigh,
In quiet and forgotten ground
The Brothers, Friends and Poets lie!"

"We ask no Cross nor Tomb to story
Their Memories to other days, —
For Letters write their own best glory,
And Virtue is unfading praise."

"The crumbling stone despite of Fame,
Shrinks back to native dust again;
But every page that speaks THEIR NAME,
Is graven in the minds of men!"

Copy of a letter
from Theodore Harris to Santiago Usoz i Rio.

Leighton Buzzard. Beds.
25. III. 1867.

DEAR FRIEND,

It now becomes my duty as executor and friend of our late dear Benjamin Wiffen to give thee some information of his peaceful end and of some other matters. Of the former thou hast no doubt had information from Maria Betts and a letter from his nephew A. A. Watts will probably reach thee before this does.

He was buried yesterday morning in the little burial ground at Woburn Sands in the presence of a large company of Friends and neighbours.

Four of his relations were present viz. his sister Priscilla Watts, her son and daughter, and his niece Isaline Wiffen. It was a pleasant day like the coming in of spring and the sun shone on his coffin as it rested over the grave. At the grave side, before the body was lowered to its last resting place, our dear friend Christine Alsop from Stoke Newington near London preached, quoting that triumphant passage of the Apostle Paul "O! death where is thy sting? O! grave where is thy victory?" After we had deposited our departed one's remains in the grave we went into the meeting house where for so many years he had been used to worship in Spirit the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is to be worshipped "in Spirit and in Truth."

Here the company followed us and the whole place was filled till it overflowed, and though many stood, some could not find room to stand.

After a time of reverent stillness our dear friend C. Alsop knelt down and prayed to God. She also preached. Then my friend John M. Albright (whose ancestor, a persecuted Quaker in the 17th century, contributed towards the building of the Meeting House, as appears by our records) spoke to the congregation, ending his discourse with that of Peter "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." Finding liberty in my spirit, and believing that my dear Master permitted me, I took up these last words and addressed the people something after this manner — "That if it was a cause for rejoicing to the Christian believer when any returned, from going astray, to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls Christ Jesus, finding rest and peace in Him even in this life, was it not as a crown to that rejoicing when our beloved ones departed from us and we had cause to believe that they were at rest and peace *for ever* with the Lord? But if we desired to draw consolation from this we must look at their *lives* and at their *deaths*. I appealed to the audience whether they had not witnessed the faithful life of our dear Friend, and added that some of us whose privilege it was to be with him very near his end could give our testimony that there was not wanting evidence of his rest in Christ at that solemn time. In contemplating the end of a beloved friend we long for an answer to our question "My friend is it well with thee?" An answer is furnished in their lives and in their deaths — and more than this, it is given to the Christian believer in thus meditating on the dear ones taken from him sometimes in his better moments to feel a precious assurance from the Lord that *All is well*. Were there not hearts present to whom this experience was not strange as it respected our dear friend whose body we had but now consigned to the silent grave?" After me, C. Alsop added her testimony to dear Benjamin's rest in Christ, relating that when she said to him a few days before his death "Not through works of righteousness which we have done but of His mercy He saveth us" — and asked him if his dependance was on the Saviour he brightened up and replied "Oh! nowhere else." With this the meeting ended having been a solemn and I hope instructive time. I will conclude with a few particulars of his illness — On 6th day morning the 15th inst. about 10 o'clock I heard that he was ill and my wife and

I drove over at once. I remained with him till 3 p. m. He was quite sensible and able to converse without difficulty. I found he had walked into Woburn on the 3rd day previous and it had been too much for him. His housekeeper paid him every kind attention. He said to me "If thou writest to Maria Betts, tell her that I have every attention I could desire." He did not eat anything solid and only took a little beef-tea. I fed him with a spoon. He got me to pay his quarter's rent which became due to-day the 25th but he wished it settled. He signed his name to the cheque better than I expected. I left him apparently more comfortable. He was in his own little bedroom. The next day he saw several friends who had only learned his illness shortly before. Amongst those who called was his old friend Edward White from Amptill. By him he wrote a letter to me quite in a cheerful strain and said he felt much better and thought he should be better. Ed. White is deaf and it must have been an exertion to him to dictate that letter and perhaps he saw too many and did more than was prudent that day. But he said to some who called that their company cheered him, and so no doubt it did. The next day was 1st day and I drove over and attended the meeting at the Sands intending to spend the afternoon with him. After meeting John Hewlatt told us that he was much worse and was wandering in his mind. The Doctor had also seen him and had pronounced him much worse. Harriet Letchworth then went in her carriage with the other friends and myself to Mount Pleasant. She and I alighted and I went up to him. Hearing that she was below, he said he would like to see her, so she went up for a few minutes. He was then quite conscious and seemed very pleased to see us and whilst she remained he was even animated. He however looked very ill, much worse than on the 6th day when I saw him. When she left I fed him with an orange. He was not in much pain, though at times uneasy. I dined at Lucy How's returning to him afterwards. He consented to my writing to his sister Priscilla Watts. He had not wished this on my previous visit. In the afternoon I read to him a portion of the second epistle of Paul to Timothy purposely concluding with those wonderful verses: "For I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have

kept the faith." As I was beginning the next verse, he interrupted me saying: "A noble testimony that, but who of us can say it?" I reread the verses and the next one not without emotion. "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day and not to me only but to all them also that love his appearing." I thought what a blessed assurance was contained in these words for the humble believer, not indeed a Paul, but yet a believer in Jesus, — "*And not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing*" I thought, but did not utter this. Perhaps by not uttering it I robbed myself and thee of some sweet words of our dear departed friend. We remained in reverent stillness for a while.

By his request I went to call upon the Doctor and passed a short time at our friends the Letchworths returning to his bedside soon after 6 o'clock.

I found he had had a visit from a good man in the village, which had pleased him, he said they had had some nice conversation. Before long the Doctor came, and with us he was cheerful and conversed about himself in his usual way. He felt thirsty and the Doctor said he might drink a little water every hour. Altogether he seemed much more comfortable than in the morning. I forgot to say that in the afternoon I carried him into the room which his housekeeper had prepared for me where he was much more comfortable than in his own little bed and room.

I persuaded him to allow himself to be moved because I said his sister would be more comfortable in the best bed-room than in his little chamber. He was most thoughtful about others and would not give the least trouble to any one — He said "Thou must give my love to Annie (my wife) and thank her for sparing thee to-day." — Just before I left I asked him whether there was anything he wished to say to me; he said "No I have nothing to say and I do not wish to think there is anything" — Thus intimating that all his affairs were off his mind — This is a great comfort to us, and it was to him, I have no doubt. Near the close of my visit, after I had fed him with some orange &c. he said "Thou art very kind" or something of the sort — I said — "We may do little things for one another, but how little

compared with what has been done for us" — He replied with emphasis "*Ah! indeed.*" Soon after 7 o'clock I left him: he then seemed more comfortable. I learn that he had not a good night, being troubled with some uneasiness. Thomas Letchworth was with him the following day and others saw him. At about $\frac{1}{4}$ or $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 o'clock his gentle spirit was released. Lucy How was the last who saw him, I believe, except his housekeeper who tended him constantly. She tells me that though at the last he might have been unable to *speak*, she believes he was *perfectly conscious* to the very last moment. His breathing almost imperceptibly ceased, and so calm was his exit that the exact moment could not be determined.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; Yea saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

Thy friend

Theodore Harris.

Dr. A. Kuyper in his edition of Joannis a Lasco opera t. 1. 1866 says p. LXV sq., speaking of those who assisted him in getting Lasco's different writings: Quos tamen omnes, si fas esset talia at trutinam appendere, vinceret facile et egrederetur candida benignitate et vere paterno quo me exceperit amore vir aestumatissimus Benjamin B. Wiffen, qui Woburniae, in ea Angliae, cui Bedfordshire nomen, provincia, sacrarum profanarumque litterarum studiis placide vitam impendit. Prompta semper benevolentia et iuvenili alacritate senex mihi potenter et efficacissime plus quam credi potest auxiliatus est. Unde cunq̄ue ex Angliae refertissimis pretiosissimisque thesauris, quae aliquantulum mihi prodesse possent, sectatus est, conguessit, excerp̄sit, mecumque denique communicavit. Quibus eum in modum me iuvenem sibi devinxit, ut quorum ipsi debeam memoriam haud facile deletura sit aetas et nullus dubitem, eius amicitiam (familiaritatem paene dixeram) in summae felicitatis meae parte ducere.

NOTICES AND EXPERIENCES

OF

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN

IN RELATION TO THE WORKS OF THE EARLY SPANISH REFORMERS,

THEIR DISCOVERY AND REPUBLICATION

IN THE SERIES CALLED THE

REFORMISTAS ANTIGUOS ESPAÑOLES.

The interest which I have taken in the writings of the Spanish religious Reformers had its rise from a casual acquaintance, which ripened into a tender and enduring friendship with an enlightened Spanish nobleman Luis de Usóz i Rio. It began in the spring of the year 1839 and continued up to his death in 1865.

After visiting England, Luis and his wife returned to Spain in the autumn of 1841. Early in the following spring, I was a second time invited by my friend G. W. Alexander to accompany him to that country, and in the course of this journey I met my Spanish friends at Seville. Luis has himself reported his own impression of this interview in the 20th volume of his **Reformistas Antiguos Españoles** (page 156) he writes thus: "There is a sort of literary proselytism, which is exercised unconsciously, and which in relation to these books has come to be one of the sources of my wealth. Years ago conversing with an Englishman, in the corridor of the Hotel at Seville, where we were staying, about Spanish literature, I spoke to him of this branch of it, casually shewing him an ancient copy of *Carrascon* which I had in my hand. That Englishman was my friend Benjamin B. Wiffen, who was acquainted with Garcilaso, but who did not at that time know the book which I then shewed to him, nor any of its companions in misfortune, stupidly registered in our Expurgatory Indexes. Without acknowledging it at that time, Benjamin Wiffen was at once made a literary proselyte, as unexpectedly to himself as to me. And looking at it more closely in the sense which I attach to the word I shall call him too, an indispensable proselyte. For I being a Spaniard and drugged with no small dose of indolence or Spanish slowness, and resident in our hard Spain, where to seek these my loved books is

"almost as vain as it is dangerous, it was necessary for me to have "a friend out of Spain, some person as much a friend to myself as "to these books. Wiffen was that friend and the consequence of our "conversation at Seville was, that it concentrated his thoughts and "studies in the search for the works of those Spanish writers who "were persecuted for their attachment to Christian liberty." He then began a correspondence with me on this subject which was kept up (for more than 25 years) by my frequent commissions for books.

On my return from my second visit to Spain I found in a bookseller's catalogue, a tract in English, entitled "The Reformed Spaniard", by Juan de Nichôlas i Sacharles. I sent it to Luis to whom it was unknown even by name. He translated it into Spanish and inserted it, with the title *El Español Reformado*, in the 8th vol. of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. The author wrote it first in Latin, a copy of which is in the Library of the British Museum, with several others, of which I have not been able to purchase one. Perceiving in this incident a certain aptitude in me which might facilitate his object, Luis remitted to me a small sum of money with the request that I should send him, together with certain books of different kinds, all others of this *special* character that I might discover and could procure for him.

When resident in London Luis became acquainted with the Canon Riego, a Spanish Refugee, who was brother to the patriot Riego. He knew that the Canon possessed certain books which he highly valued, but which he had not succeeded in purchasing of him whilst he remained in London. Luis wrote to me to obtain them if he could be persuaded to sell them. These books were Valera's *Calvino* 1597, Juan Perez's *Psalms* 1557, and the *Epistola Consolatoria* 1560, an unknown work also by Juan Perez. I took an opportunity to see the Canon about them. I found him occupying two upstairs rooms in a house kept by a shoemaker in Seymour St. Camden Town. The front room was crowded with books, chiefly Spanish, for he was a dealer and combined love of money with love of books. The smaller back room served him for bedroom and kitchen where he slept and prepared his food, leaving barely space for a couple of chairs for himself and for a guest. He was shy to me about his books.

I candidly avowed my object, at the same time manifesting respect for him, as indeed I felt pity for his misfortunes, and sympathy with the cause that produced them. I did not however urge my wishes, and went away unsuccessful. After a lapse of some months, I again called upon him with my niece Isaline and repeated my desire to purchase the books, asking permission at least to look at them. He shewed me two of them, and for the third book, the "*Epistola*" substituted a written copy of his own for the printed one. I had been informed that the Canon would certainly try and expunge some offensive passages from the work, and I had been warned to be careful that the book was not mutilated or rendered imperfect. This interview also ended unsuccessfully. About six months afterwards, I called a third time on the Canon, avowing the same purpose, and the old man, yielding, somewhat to more familiar acquaintance, somewhat to my perseverance, perhaps forgetful of his caution, shewed me the printed *Epistola*; I had it in my hands but a few moments, and was looking through the leaves when he passionately snatched it away, and this third interview passed like the previous ones fruitlessly with the addition of a little troubled feeling between us. He had expressed his desire that the *Psalms* by Juan Perez should be printed and I had avowed my desire that the *Epistola* should be so. I again waited an interval of some months and then wishing to remove any unfavorable impressions that might remain on his mind from our last meeting, my residence being at a distance from London, I wrote to him kindly, asking him once more whether he was willing that I should purchase his books. He replied promptly that he was willing for a certain sum to send them. I answered I would give him the high price; and, aware now that I was not to be put off with a copy, he sent the three printed books down to me. On examination I found that he had obliterated a long passage in the *Epistola*. I regretted to see this, not only for the literary injury, but for the flaw in the Canon's moral integrity, the more so because he had many times declared to me how much he loved and honored the book and its author, saying that while the sentiments of the book were those of a Reformer, Perez could neither be considered a thorough Lutheran, nor a Calvinist. The passage, as I afterwards found,

was one in which he had a deep personal interest. It strongly condemned the folly and idolatry involved in the reverence or worship paid to relics. Riego himself was a Canon of the Church at Oviedo, where, of all places in the kingdom of Spain, are preserved at this day the most absurd and monstrous collection of these remains of humanity. I have a list of them, purchased on the spot, and the Canon Riego himself shared in the gain, derived from the ignorant and superstitious devotees. I returned all the books with rather a sharp letter, written however in a not unkindly spirit, charging him with having perpetrated a falsehood to posterity, upon an author and upon a book which he had declared he so much admired and loved. I judged it better to sacrifice the books so that I might awaken his moral integrity. He wrote me an angry reply and here seemed to be the end of the affair. I deemed the books entirely lost to me and endeavoured to forget them. After some time a strong impression came over me that the Canon who was an aged man would soon die, and that if I were ever likely to obtain his books I ought to write to him again. I knew by his former letter that he had felt my remarks and that was enough to fulfil my purpose. I therefore again wrote, and did so in a friendly manner, asking him if he would let me have the books. He replied in the same friendly tone, that if I would send him a draft, he would return the books and that he had moreover restored the passage he had obliterated, adding that it would give him much pleasure to assist me in printing it, correcting the press for me. A few days afterwards, the Canon was found speechless and dying, his heart had been chilled by the first frosty night of October 1846, and it had ceased to beat.

I. Ferdinando de Texeda.

Carrascon &c.

In the year 1847 Luis printed in Spain the curious and witty little book called Carrascon, which he had bought of a Spanish priest in the country, prefixing to it an introduction of seventy two pages. The composition of the work is gay and graceful in style, with a charming admixture of wit and of seriousness. It was so rare that as much as £ 12 had been given for a copy in London. The reprint of this little volume was Luis' first step towards carrying out his main design, and it constitutes the first volume of the series which he afterwards denominated *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. The author was unknown; and a good deal of curiosity had been shewn by learned refugee Spaniards to discover his name, but without success. After it had been printed, Luis pointed out to my notice a passage in the author's address to the reader which seemed to him to have been purposely introduced in order that his name might thereafter be traced by any one who had the curiosity to search for it. The passage translated runs thus:*) "In England Tejeda wove four (webs): one in Latin which he marked with his name, *Texeda retextus* (the web rewoven); two others in English, the one entitled *Miracles Unmasked*, the other with a Latin title, *Scrutamini Scripturas*. In the last book I make the English Liturgy speak Spanish. The wise King James of happy memory ordered me to do this. He rewarded me for my labour with a Prebend in the worthy Cathedral of Hereford, and had God not shortly afterwards raised him to reign in His glorious Kingdom, His Majesty would have given me, as he himself promised, more than this, for he

*) Carrascon 2nd edition p. 6.

told me that the Prebend was but the first fruit of greater favours." The whole of the address is interesting.

I searched for the other works Tejada mentioned, and discovered the author's name plainly avowed as Ferdinando de Texeda. I found him mentioned in Hackett's *Life of the Chancellor, Archbishop Williams*, as the translator of the English Liturgy into Spanish; again in Browne Willis' *Survey of Cathedrals*, as being Canon of Hereford; and he was incorporated at Oxford by the same name. I drew up a succinct statement of these evidences, which was afterwards printed as a second Appendix, though doubtless some copies were circulated before it could be added.

II. Juan Perez.

Epistola Consolatoria.

Desirous of sending this work to Madrid, I was unwilling to risk its loss in transmission, for I then held it to be the only copy extant, and I felt no less interested to preserve it for the edification of my own country than for that of Spain. I felt anxious to have its existence secured and multiplied by the press ere I parted with it.

Inexperienced as I then was, having purposed to reprint it in England, I first made a literal transcript page for page and line for line, rendering thus the printing of it a work of mere mechanical labour; but my desire went beyond a mere reproduction, I wished to associate some account of the author with it. I first searched M'Crie, and afterwards Llorente, and then obtained from another source particulars not known to M'Crie, which I arranged and embodied in an introductory notice; and in order to serve two purposes, I printed it in English and Spanish, as my friend Luis gladly translated it into his own language. This labour although so rapidly told in words, was accomplished but gradually, at intervals, spread over the course of several years. My means did not enable me to incur the expense of bringing out this work, but several of my friends came to my help. I prepared a list of the Spanish Reformers then known by me and printed the list, with the *Epistola*, at the end of the Spanish prefatory notice which is the germ of the *present Catalogue*.*) I reprinted Juan Perez' *Epistola Consolatoria* in 1848, and it constitutes Vol. II. of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

*) Compare p. 5.

Breve Tratado de Doctrina.

Having heard of the valuable library possessed by George Offor of Hackney, I called upon him to inquire whether he possessed any books of the class Luis sought. He had no knowledge of such himself, but recommended me to call upon an acquaintance who lived in a dingy and doubtful back street in the neighbourhood of the Tower. Passing through a little office, I found a respectable and amiable looking gentleman and his middle aged son sitting at the tea table. I made my business known to them with some hesitation, which they quickly dispelled by asking me to take tea with them. Their kindness revived my spirits, and the younger man disclaiming any knowledge of books said, he had bought two little volumes with a miscellaneous lot of other things, which might be such as I inquired for. He shewed me two, bound in vellum, and placing them in my hand said "the little one, Sir," (and it was a very small one) "I will give you, and you shall give me for the other what you think to be its value." The larger one I well knew, for it was Valera's *Dos Tratados*. The little one I had never seen, or heard of, but I at once discerned its character, for though anonymous, it was identical in size, in letter and in appearance, with the Spanish original of the *Epistola Consolatoria* of which I had just finished the reprint. It appeared to be an unknown work by Juan Perez. It was the *Breve Tratado de Doctrina* of 1560. I retained the book some time in order to have it bound and to discover, if possible, some notices in reference to its origin, for I thought, I perceived by its arrangement and style, that much of it was but an expanded translation of some other earlier work. I found the original draft of it in the works of *Urbanus Regius*, in his tract *Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium MDXXVI*. Perez has made it a valuable book of controversial doctrine by additions of his own.

I sent it to Luis with notes of all that I could learn about it and of the manner in which it was found. He reprinted it in the year 1852, prefixing a dedication, delicately written and addressed to myself. The work constitutes Vol. VII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Imajen del Antecristo.

Luis was known at Madrid as a purchaser of old and rare books. In the year 1847, a person in humble circumstances, who had been employed in the care of books, died and left a few of his own behind him. His widow wishing to dispose of them, made the first offer of them to Luis. They furnished him with four of his most desired treasures. These were: the *Imajen del Antecristo*, an unknown tract in Spanish, but which owed its origin centuries before to the writings of Wycliffe; the *Carta a Don Felipe II*; the two Commentaries of Valdés; and a rare copy of Valera's Spanish Bible of 1602, containing the dedication to Prince Maurice and the States General, not to be found in England. This copy is however not unique, there is another, and they both came, singularly enough, into the hands of private persons in Spain without being sought for. Luis had a few copies of the dedication reprinted. The *Imajen del Antecristo* and the *Carta a Don Felipe II*, he reprinted in 1849 in one volume, constituting Vol. III of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Breve Sumario de Indulgenias.

When I printed the *Epistola Consolatoria* in 1848, I entertained the opinion that the book might be unique; but the researches of a friend, to whom I had given the title, issued in the discovery of a second copy in an obscure place in Edinburgh. He sent it to me by post and had bought it for a shilling. The volume contained not only the *Epistola*, and the *Breve Tratado* of 1560, but an unknown tract of the same author, the *Breve Sumario*.

I had already furnished Luis with the two first, and he had reprinted them.

I had learnt from the Preface of an ancient English translation of the *Epistola*, that the translator John Daniel had also translated another tract from the Spanish. I had found the title of the *Breve Sumario*, in Maitland's Catalogue of such English books as were printed before

the year 1600, in Lambeth library. I went to Lambeth and was allowed to copy this English translation, which transcript had lain by me for some years. I now found in the *Breve Sumario* the Spanish original of the English Tract of John Daniel. It seemed as if the previously unknown tract at the end of this despised and neglected volume, had fled, as it were, from utter destruction, into my hands for preservation. I wished to retain this volume, the only copy I knew of in this country, having first supplied my friend. I prepared to reprint the *Breve Sumario*, thinking to add John Daniel's English translation, and had even drawn up an introduction, which was to have been inserted in English and Spanish. I fell however into a state of chronic ill-health, when just on the point of beginning, and now I despaired of accomplishing the design.

There lived in my neighbourhood a village girl whom I had instructed in the manner of making *fac-similes* of the titles of books. She took readily to the art and executed it with fidelity and grace; she readily made for me a *fac-simile* of the *Breve Sumario*, part of which, printed in very small type, required more than usual precision and clearness of vision. It was indeed beautifully done and was a gem when bound as a small quarto in green morocco. I sent it together with my introduction and notes to Luis. Luis edited the tract, rewriting my introduction, and added other interesting information to it, particularly a long intercepted letter of Antonio del Corro's to Cassiodoro de Reyna, relative to the printing of the Spanish Bible, which he was about to print at *an old castle in Navarre*. The *Breve Sumario* was printed in 1862 in a very small size, as much as could be in *fac-simile*, and it constitutes Vol. XVIII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

III. Franziseo de Enzinas, alias Dryander, alias François du Chesne.

Spanish version of New Testament.

Histoire de l'Etat du Pais Bas et de la religion d'Espagne

printed both in French and Latin.

Dos Informaciones. Letters.

Acquainted with what M'Crie and Gerdes had written about Enzinas, I earnestly sought for whatever related to him. In Gerdes' Florilegium is mentioned a work with a French title as written by Enzinas, which I knew contained the narrative of the imprisonment he underwent for having presumed to publish his, the first Castilian, version of the New Testament. I found also that John Foxe the martyrologist had read it from the Latin M. S. at Basle, the M. S. being then in the hands of John Oporinus the printer. This M. S., this book as Foxe calls it, was printed in Latin by Enzinas for Melancthon, and from it, Foxe drew the information about Enzinas which he inserted in his Martyrology.

My friend James Hurnard of Colechester went to Paris to attend the Peace Congress, and made inquiries for me about such books and fortunately procured of a bookseller in the Palais Royal a small volume entitled *Histoire de l'etat du Pais Bas 1558* which being in French did not seem to be of the kind sought, nor was it one of the titles with which I had furnished him. The Bookseller remarked either by way of reprobation or recommendation "it is a bad book, Monsieur, written against the Pope and the Church, and the author was a bad man enough." This was sufficient to decide my friend's doubts, although the Bookseller asked what seemed to him an extravagant price for it. He, however, laid down the sum, resolving to present the book to me, that if it should prove worthless, at least it should not tax my pocket to pay for it. It proved to be the translation of the very work I had so earnestly sought for in Latin and Spanish. It was this French translation of Enzinas' Latin narrative of his imprisonment at Brussels, that furnished Gerdes with his information, from

whom again M'Crie drew his. Continuing my inquiries now more frequently for the Latin M. S. I found its existence mentioned so lately as about the year 1740. I was at length informed that it was preserved in the Library of the Johanneum at Altona. I lost no time in procuring a careful transcript of it. I found that some leaves at the beginning were lost, and that it was not the author's autograph, but a copy. In other respects it was complete and tolerably correct. A copy of the French translation had been found in the Royal Library at Brussels by M. Ch. Al. Campan, and because it had reference to the history of Belgium, La société de l'histoire de la Belgique commissioned him to edit it for publication. He procured a copy of the Latin M. S. and carefully edited the French and Latin with notes.

There were other works of Enzinas yet to be discovered. I had found, in the Catalogue of La Serna Santander, the anonymous title of *Dos Informaciones*. This volume was reported to me as existing in the Library of the University of Göttingen by Dr. Hoeck the Curator. With ready courtesy, and a confidence for which I shall ever feel grateful, he sent it to the Hanoverian Secretary of Legation in London, for my use. I at once copied it in my usual manner, page for page, and line for line, and speedily returned the original to Göttingen through the same channel. I forwarded my copy of it with notices and remarks to my friend Luis. The work had been edited and enlarged by Juan Perez. Luis printed the copy I sent him, in the year 1857, enlarging it with documents and observations to an extent almost equal to the text, and it constitutes Vol. XII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

By degrees I gathered a large mass of Enzinas' letters, some printed and scattered in various books; the larger portion however yet remaining in M. S. in the Archives or the Libraries of Zurich, Gotha and the Protestant Seminary of Strasbourg. How pleasant it is to me here to mention the kind and laborious zeal of Dr. Carl Schmidt, Professor of Strasbourg, in one of the very earliest schools of learning founded by the Protestants at the time of the Reformation, who made the copies with his own hands not only of Enzinas' letters, but of those of Juan Diaz, of whom I shall speak afterwards.

IV. Zipriano de Valera.

Los dos Tratados del Papa i de la Misa, &c.

Luis obtained Valera's *Dos Tratados* of 1599 in Spain, while I purchased for him of the eminent bookseller Thomas Rodd the first edition of 1588, and furnished him with various notes and notices of the English translation. Luis prepared the M. S. of this large work, and reprinted it in the year 1851, and it constitutes Vol. VI of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

I found two unacknowledged tracts of Valera's, in the British Museum Library, *Tratado para confirmar en la Fe Christiana* 1594 and *Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana sobre Jubileos* 1600. I obtained copies of them and sent them to Luis with another tract, *The Reformed Spaniard* by Juan de Nicholas i Saeharles, in English, never having found the Latin *for sale*, which as I have previously said he translated into Spanish and placed it with Valera's two treatises, which he reprinted in 1854 in one volume. They constitute Vol. VIII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Instituzion Religiosa escrita por Juan Calvino traduzida al Castellano.

One of the three books I had obtained from the Canon Riego was the Spanish translation of Calvin's Institutes by Valera, printed by Ricardo del Campo (Richard Field) 1597, a book which, although frequently found on the shelves of large public Libraries, is however scarcely to be obtained by private persons. Luis therefore carefully revised and prepared it for reprinting and issued it in a very thick quarto volume in the year 1858, and it constitutes Vol. XIV of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

V. Dr. Constantino Ponze de la Fuente.

Suma de Doctrina, Catezismo Cristiano, Confesion de un Pecador &c.

About the year 1812, Luis had procured at Lisbon Dr. Constantino's *Suma de Doctrina*, Sevilla 1551. The book is not Protestant in its sentiments, but it is scriptural and truthful, and endeavours to enforce sincere piety. It is simple in form and is of the purest Spanish, by one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. Luis desired greatly to reprint it. He found other works of Dr. Constantino mentioned by Nicolas Antonio, and the *Confession of a Penitent Sinner* in Gerdes' *Miscellanea Groningana*, in French. He requested me to seek for these books and especially the Confession in Spanish. I found in the Bodleian Library the *Doctrina Cristiana, primera parte* Anvers 1554, and I learned that a copy of it had been sold by C. J. Stewart to Archdeacon Churton. The *Doctrina Cristiana* is not the same work as the *Suma de Doctrina*. The former was planned for a larger work on Christian Doctrine, but was never completed, because the author became suspected by the Inquisition and he perished prematurely in its dungeons at Seville. I procured a copy of this *Doctrina Cristiana* Anvers 1554 from Augsburg and sent it to Luis. From inquiry pushed amongst the Foreign Libraries I fortunately found an earlier edition of the *Suma*, namely one *impresa en Sevilla 1545*, and what was more to the purpose, the *Catezismo Cristiano* with *Confesion de un Pecador penitente* in I Vol., *En Anvers 1556*, preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. A copy of these was procured and sent to Madrid. Another mutilated edition of the *Suma de Doctrina* was found in Trinity Library Dublin, from which a copy of *El Sermon que nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo hizo en el monte*, was made in order to correct another. The *Suma*, *Sermon*, *Catezismo* and *Confesion* were carefully edited, with critical notes and biographical notices upon the author as an appendix. I supplied fac-simile titles and Luis reprinted it in 1863. It constitutes Vol. XIX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

VI. Juan Diaz.

Pursuing my search for books of this class, I introduced myself in 1848 by correspondence to a gentleman who occupied an official appointment in one of the Government Departments in London. He directed his attention to the literature of Elizabeth's age and more especially to pamphlets. He had a wonderful collection of these in bundles, containing thousands, yet had no knowledge of the class I sought for, though he had written many quires of titles taken from Ames and Dibden, the British Museum and Bodleian Catalogues. However, in the year 1850 I think, he sent me down by the benevolent book post, a Latin book without its covers. It was *Historia Vera de Morte sancti viri Joannis Diazij Hispani 1546*. I immediately sat down and copied it in my usual way, page for page, line for line. I had no expectation that my correspondent would part with the book, but I had hoped that his more favorable circumstances might find me another copy. I soon returned it to him, telling him that I had copied it, and expressed my wishes by this doggerel:

“Go little book, go mournful book,
 “The sigh thou leav'st behind thee
 “Will make me look in every nook
 “And ask my friends by hook by crook
 “To seek again to find thee.”

Started I think by such unusual language, my friendly correspondent immediately presented me with the same copy, accompanied by a kind and graceful letter saying that he was ashamed to have caused me the labour of transcribing it. I had the book choicely bound in green morocco, and sent it together with my transcript to Luis inserting the following slipshod stanza:

“Go little volume, on thy destined way
 “To a far country, to a distant clime.
 “Learn thou to speak a foreign tongue and say
 “I send thee as a gift for future time

“Its literature to grace, and to convey
 “Knowledge of rueful deeds, and thoughts sublime.
 “Say this, and add: I was sent here to speak
 “Hope to the fainting heart and solace to the meek.”

When searching for the letters of Franzisco de Enzinas (Dryander), I found unpublished letters by Juan Diaz himself addressed to Ochino, to Enzinas and to Calvin, with other letters making mention of him, and I procured an excellent portrait of him engraved on wood, after the one in Beza's *Icones* 1580.

The Latin original of the book *Historia vera* &c. we found, from Enzinas' letters, to have been edited, if not composed, by Enzinas; Senarclaeus (Claude Senarclae) might have furnished him with the details of the tragedy. Luis translated the *Historia vera* into Spanish; the letters &c. he printed in Latin and Spanish, adding observations and an Index. He printed the volume handsomely in 1865 a few months before his death, and it constitutes Vol. XX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

VII. Juan de Valdés.

Many years before my friendship with Luis Usoz i Rio, and while my time was occupied in business, I had occasion to journey to a distant religious meeting, with an aged Quaker friend who possessed an ancestral and neglected library in the neighbourhood where I resided. As we jogged on together in his little pony chaise, my conversation turned upon what would be done with his books after his death, for he had no children to succeed him. As I questioned him about the rareness and value of some of them, he mentioned that the library contained one old work by a Spaniard which represented essentially the principles of George Fox. Nothing could be further from my thoughts at that time, than that I should have to do with ancient Spanish literature; but years having rolled on, I was from physical weakness thrown, against my own will, into a state of leisure, and wanted occupation. It was as I sat in my home at Aspley Guise beside the winter fire, in the very parish where that library was, and when the search after the early Reformers had become interesting to me, that that long forgotten conversation recurred to me. I now called to mind that a book containing principles like those of the Quakers and written by a Spaniard was actually existing within arm's length, as it were, in the library of my friend. It was still there, though he had died several years before. I procured the Catalogue written in a most minute hand, and in it I found the name of John Valdeso. This I supposed to be the volume my friend had mentioned. But there was no indication in what part of the library it was to be found. Determined, not to leave it unascertained, I at last fixed upon the upper corner of one of the sides of the large apartment. I took down every book that presented itself and read its title, resolved to leave nothing in uncertainty. After two or three days, and when I had looked over about four fifths of the whole, I came upon the book itself, and with the owner's permission brought it home to read. The book was Juan de Valdés' *CX Divine Considerationi*, and this was my first acquaintance

with its author. The work was quite unknown to Luis, who, however, even at this time, possessed an original copy of the *Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron*. This discovery like the finding of De Montes' work led thereafter to the restoration of Juan de Valdés' other various and unknown works, namely: the *Dos Diálogos*, containing the *Diálogo entre Lactanzio i un Arzediano* as well as that of *Mercurio i Caron*; the *Alfabeto Cristiano*; the *Ziento i diez Consideraciones* of three editions, and his Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Dos Diálogos.

I first saw the *Diálogo de Lactanzio i un Arzediano* at Trinity College, Cambridge. The Librarian permitted me to copy it, which I did, and I immediately transmitted the sheets to Luis as they were written in Trinity library; and some time afterwards I sent him a copy of the black letter edition which is in the British Museum library, in order that he might compare the two readings.

Luis reprinted it in 1850 with the *Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron* and issued them in a handsome and accurate volume, perhaps the most valuable of the series of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. It constitutes Vol. IV.

Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and on his first Epistle to the Corinthians.

In Trinity College, Cambridge, I made my first acquaintance with these Commentaries of Juan de Valdés. Every day, and not merely every year, showed advance in Luis' labour of love. In the year 1855 he had prepared copies of the two Commentaries of Valdés with explanatory notes occupying 60 pages, which he placed at the

end of the Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. He appended his notes to both Commentaries at the end of the one volume in which he published them, doing so exactly three centuries after the first publication of the Commentary on the Romans. Juan de Valdés dedicated the Romans to Giulia Gonzaga, and his countryman Juan Perez edited and printed the Commentaries at Geneva. They constitute Volumes X and XI of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Alfabeto Cristiano

in Italian, Spanish and English.

I have stated in the prefatory notice to the *Epistola Consolatoria*, reprinted in 1848, that my purpose, in restoring such long forgotten books, was mainly addressed to the multiplication of copies, and their preservation in the great National and University Libraries, both at home and abroad, where they would remain secured from dispersion by alienation, and from destruction by carelessness. There, they would be found when the activity of inquiring minds should be excited to search for them and to bring them into popular use. No merely sectarian or proselyting motive suggested this course, but it was suggested by a love of books and of literature, and a feeling, be it called obstinate or generous as it may, that the persecuted victims of literature should find a voice in after ages, and protectors from the cruelty and bigotry of the ruling powers of their own times. In short, that the fires, which had consumed the bodies of men, should not be so absolutely successful as to turn out the teachings of their minds from the earth, so that it might be said:

“For every tome of price destroyed

“A double volume fills the void

“Of nobler pages,

“Burn on ye zealots of a day,

“For so ye herald Freedom's way

“And speed the ages!

I cherished such views as these in relation to the *Alfabeto Cristiano*; I desired to have the unique copy of it, which I possessed, (it is in Italian) reproduced by reprinting it, enriched and illustrated with notes from the pen of my coadjutor Luis. I have related in my preface to my English translation of the *Alfabeto* the incidents and mode of its discovery; and well do I recall the pleasure with which I first read it, pen in hand, jotting down each sentence as it passed through my mind. I may here tell of the solicitude I felt, when about to expose this only copy to all the perils of travel, in transmitting it to Luis at Madrid, for I had made it a rule of my conduct to sacrifice the choicest objects to him, whose superior talents and learning, I was well persuaded would make better use of them than I could. I only laid upon him a request that the Italian original might be *literally* reprinted. Years passed on, expecting that some time or other Luis would find the opportunity to do this, increasing the value of the work by his well furnished notes. As the volume demonstrated to a certainty a point upon which doubts had been thrown, namely the intimate intercourse of Juan de Valdés with Giulia Gonzaga, I took every occasion to increase my information about Giulia, drawing it only from sources of the first authority. The Chief Librarian of the British Museum directed me to Count Litta's magnificent work *Memorie di Celebri Famiglie Italiane*. In the account of the Sabbionetta branch of the Gonzaga family, there is the mention of some books relating to Giulia, and in Ireneo Affò's *Memorie di tre principesse* I found what I desired given with indisputable authority.

Luis had despaired of being able to reprint the *Alfabeto* in his own country. If other obstacles were not in the way, he wished to obtain a *fac-simile* reprint, and he knew of no printer there who could execute it. Hence he wrote to ask me, if I could undertake it, stating the difficulties he was under. I shrank from the responsibility, yet my desire overcame my doubts and hesitation. I replied that I would do it, and as it would be executed in England, it might be accompanied by the English translation which I had already roughly prepared when I first read the book. I wished also that some information should be added respecting the personages mentioned in the work. My acquiescence gratified him; he prepared his Spanish translation

that the reprint might go out together with the *two* translations as an evidence of our love for the author, and our mutual friendship one for the other. He prepared and sent me over a beautiful transcript of the Italian, done by his own hand, and afterwards returned the precious original by which to correct the transcript which was placed in the hands of Mess^{rs} Spottiswoode & C^o, who employed a new fount of Italic letter for the purpose. This was the cause of some trouble, and even with all our care, of some slight errors in the finished book. The proofs and the finished sheets were sent to Luis as they successively appeared. He was charmed with the beauty of the character, and gave the printer his unqualified praise. Luis had sent me his Spanish translation of the *Alfabeto* in parts. I had proceeded with the revision and the preparation of a fresh copy of my English translation and with the prefatory notice of Valdés and Giulia Gonzaga, which I wrote out five times; and whether the effort to do the subject justice, issued at last in a manner worthy of the time and labour it absorbed, is not for me to determine. It was satisfaction enough to me at the conclusion to learn that it more than satisfied my friend, who repeatedly expressed it in his letters, and even his admiration of the volume.

At the same time that the *Polyglot* was printed, a hundred extra copies of the English translation were taken off for publication and for presents to friends. This work, now completed and executed entirely at the cost of Luis, except as to my personal share in it, the precious original was again sent back to him in safety. The *Polyglot* edition of the *Alfabeto Cristiano* constitutes Vol. XV of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Ziento i diez Consideraciones.

In Trinity Library, Cambridge, I first discovered the Italian version of *Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni* of which I requested the loan, and occupied the lengthening hours of the evenings in the autumn of 1850 in copying it literally, page for page, line for line, 15,000 lines, finishing it about the anniversary of my 60th year. I had the transcript well bound, a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga inserted, and sent the M. S. volume to Luis at Madrid. He considered it a pledge of duty to the labour I had taken, not to be sparing of his own, and began to translate it gradually into Spanish, the language in which the author Juan de Valdés had first written it, but which version had either perished, had never been printed, or having been printed has been wholly destroyed. Luis printed it in 1855, and it constitutes Vol. IX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni of 1550.

I had succeeded in procuring from Augsburg a copy of this Italian original and had sent it to Luis.

Thinking that some of the Spanish Reformers books might be preserved in Holland, I ventured to write a letter of inquiry to Frederick Muller of Amsterdam, who referred my letter to his son, a very intelligent antiquarian bookseller there. My letter gave him the scent of game, and he hunted, as he literally said, for me in the purlieus of that city. As the result, he sent me a copy of the Italian original of "*Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni*" 1550, which I now possess, and which belonged to Acronius, a Frisian who occupied the Chairs of Mathematics and of Medicine at Basle at the time it was printed, and who must have known its editor Curione. I thought the sum of two pounds five shillings a moderate price for such a treasure. On a casual visit of my friend Frederick Seebohm, I showed him the book, and told him how I prized it, and how much I wished, it could be multiplied. He merely asked the probable expense of such an undertaking, but said no more.

I had heard that a young gentleman, named Edw. Boehmer, residing at Halle, had found a copy of this same book in Francke's Orphan School there, and that he had got it written out as I had done, and sent it to an English gentleman who had expressed the wish to have it, in order to get it printed. This gentleman sent it to other friends and it was lost. Thinking that Mr. Boehmer must be a man who felt a like interest with me in these subjects, I wrote to him, while he, having read my name and address in some publication, wrote to me. By this singular, but perhaps not uncommon coincidence, when minds at a distance are drawn in thought towards each other, our letters crossed, thus making two strangers, friends at once.

I had thought no more of Frederick Seebohm, nor had I suspected the sentiment which the sight of *Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni* had implanted in his mind, when I received a letter from him unexpectedly, with these words: "the money is ready, you may print the book as soon as you please". I communicated this to Dr. Boehmer, asking him to do it for love, not money, save for the printer's expenses. He readily embraced the offer; with alacrity he caused another transcript to be made by the hand of an intelligent Italian who modernized the orthography, while Dr. Boehmer, with the characteristics of a critical German mind, edited and passed it through the press. I requested the Doctor to add increased value to his labour by affixing a memoir or notice of Juan de Valdés; with great industry and research he produced as an appendix to the work his "*Cenni Biografici sui Fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso*". It is a valuable production calculated for the student rather than the general reader, and needs an index to assist his reference. Only 300 copies were printed, not quite half of them for sale. It issued in 1861 and does not form one of the series of the Reformistas, yet, like the work of Enzinas by M. Campan, it stands in intimate relation to that series, and with both of which I may be said to have had some part.

The Hamburg M. S. of the Ziento i diez Consideraciones.

Looking over the *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana* Francofurti 1730, at Tomus III p. 578-9 I found the title of the Spanish CX Considerations in M. S. with the date 1558, translated from the Italian, which could not be the original of Valdés, because it was dated 18 years after his death, and expressly says: *Traducidas del Italiano en Romance* (Spanish). But, without doubt, it was a translation from the printed Italian of 1550 by a Spaniard inclined to the Reformed religion. In 1730 it was in the possession of Conrad Uffenbach, whose library was sold at Frankfurt by auction and scattered in many directions. How could I hope to find this desirable M. S.? I made inquiries for it wherever I could in Germany. After a number of years Dr. Ewald of Gotha informed me that it was purchased with other MSS. by the City Library of Hamburg. There it was found and I was able to obtain a careful transcript of it, executed by Dr. Bernhardt under the superintendence of Dr. Petersen. The transcript was long in hand. It however came over to England at last, and was forwarded to Luis at Madrid, who printed it under various and peculiar difficulties. It has a fac-simile of the 1st Consideration of the M. S. and constitutes Vol. XVI of the series of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

Ziento i diez Consideraciones

an improved Spanish version.

The Hamburg M. S. of the CX Considerations had furnished fresh readings, and given a different turn to the sense of some sentences of this work, by the different way in which the ancient author understood some of the parenthetical clauses of the Italian original. Luis became dissatisfied with his translation of 1855. He made an improved version, and determined to have it printed in the Italic letter which he so much admired in the *Alfabeto Christiano*, to distinguish it from the former edition. This could only be done in England, and Luis wrote to me to undertake the superintendence of it. My years had advanced to the going down of the dial; not expecting that my sun

like Hezekiah's could be retarded in its setting, I was very unwilling to accept the responsibility, apprehensive that life might fail me in the middle of it. Persuaded however to think more of the author than of myself, I accepted the duty in the winter of 1861-62. The corrected copy was sent to me and was put into the hands of the printer early in the summer of 1862.

At this opportunity of producing a new edition, I earnestly desired that it should be accompanied by a life of Juan de Valdés, especially as seen from the Spanish side. I requested, I repeated the request, I urged my friend Luis to prepare it. He knew all about Valdés that I knew, for I had kept his information from time to time up to my own, and he had a familiar knowledge of whatever his countrymen had written. Practised in study and in criticism, the habit of his mind was fixed. It could make selections, draw conclusions, and resolve points of critical accuracy, but his mind could not direct its thoughts into a current of continuous narrative.

I had myself found, in the notice to the *Alfabeto Christiano* how difficult this was to do with regard to the interrupted incidents of a biography, of which so little was known as that of Valdés. I saw that it was beside Luis' way of thought to do this. I requested him however to select all the correspondence of the brothers Valdés with Erasmus, and to gather any other documents which might serve for materials for the future use, of any one who might undertake to execute the main purpose I had in view. Without the slightest prospect, it is singular that I, myself, was to be the person, who first should use them for this purpose.

As the printed text of the CX Considerations proceeded, Luis sent me over the sheets of critical variations occupying 31 pages closely printed of the finished book, and from time to time the documents etc., which placed as an appendix occupied 253 printed pages. I placed fac-simile titles of the various editions, 14 in number, in order to show at a glance the history as it were of the book, and I placed at the end an index to the appendix, so much needed to the edition of Dr. Boehmer, and this, as I said before, I was, unexpectedly to myself, the first to make use of. The volume was finished in the autumn of 1863. It was greatly admired by Luis who sent the

highest compliments to the printer G. A. Claro del Bosque (Spottiswoode and C^o), and it constitutes Vol. XVII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*.

I have now mentioned the incidents connected with the reprinting of the 20 volumes of this series called *Los Reformistas Antiguos Españoles*. With the exception of one volume they were executed solely at Luis' cost and were prepared solely by our joint labours. His was the first conception of the object. This conception proceeded not by any plan or scheme of arrangement, but simply as circumstances arose to favor its development. The learning was his, so was the talent and the outlay; mine, were the advantages of liberty and free action, and residence in a country which furnished the readiest means for the acquisition of this kind of knowledge. We both were favored with leisure, we both had the simple and independent means of livelihood, we wanted no more. We both repudiated the thought of accepting assistance from any society or association, for our views were not mercenary, neither were they directed to immediate, but future results, because we firmly believed that these results would manifest themselves long after we had ceased to live.

Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés.

As mentioned before, the reprint of the original Italian version of CX Considerations was brought out at Halle under the supervision of Dr. Boehmer, and did not of itself form one of the series of the Reformistas. The funds for the printing were furnished, as I have related, by my friend Frederick Seebohm. When the volume was finished and bound, a certain number of copies were sent to him, in order that such of his friends who had contributed, should possess them. Amongst these friends and subscribers, was John T. Betts of Pembury Kent, a gentleman then residing near Hitchin, whom Frederick Seebohm frequently met on the railway, and whose free and boundless topics of conversation showed that he had travelled much and had

studied peoples and their languages. He frankly gave his aid, and when finished, a copy of the work was sent to him. He spoke Italian with fluency and correctness, for he had lived a long while in Italy, and being now returned home, found an unknown book in the language he loved. Attracted by its subject and style, and not knowing that the work had ever been published in England, he sat down to translate it.

So much had been done for these Divine Considerations, in Dr. Boehmer's Italian reprint and Luis' three Spanish editions, that I had long desired to find some one who would prepare *con amore* an English translation, equal to Nicholas Ferrar's in correctness, but refined from his quaint and obsolete language. I had long waited in vain, little thinking that there was a person already engaged on a first version, that person being ignorant at that time of Nicholas Ferrar's translation.

When John Betts became acquainted with the *origin* of the Italian reprint, he sought my acquaintance. He had then done about a third of the work; and proceeded with alacrity with the remainder, assisted by his intelligent and skilful wife as amanuensis.

I had striven to obtain an authentic narrative account of the two brothers Valdés from two or three more able writers than myself, and had been dissatisfied with the attempts. Another opportunity now presented itself. The translator, unfamiliar with the sources of information from which I drew my own knowledge, necessarily devolved the labour of this task upon me, which I saw could not be avoided if it were now to be done at all.

Aided by the same excellent amanuensis, I sketched out the plan with her, nor had I occasion once to vary from it. I had but to fill it up in order to complete it. Every day witnessed our pleasant progress. The hours of composition, of study or of writing, were only interrupted by charming drives in the romantic neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells; for we were settled for the summer months at a cottage in a primitive village, almost within sight of that fashionable town.

I added to the *Life and writings of Juan de Valdés*, 13 titles in fac-simile of the CX Considerations and an index; with a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga, executed on wood for our private copies. My friend

John T. Betts took the responsibility of publishing the joint work; I the revision and correction of the proof sheets, whilst he was absent in Spain, visiting my friend Luis. The work was published at the close of the Year 1865.

Up to the printing of the finished sheets of the *Life and writings of Valdés*, Luis was yet living. They were sent to him from time to time as they were finished. He read them all. I need not affect modesty in quoting his opinion of them, for I know the sincerity and rigid truthfulness of his mind and hence the value of his criticism more than that of any man, because he had the best knowledge of the subject itself. I quote from several passages in his letters:

3 Mo. 31th 1865.

“I received the sheets of the Life of Juan de Valdés which I have read with great interest and pleasure. Except the two mistakes noted above, I think them very good, and truthful in general. They are a proof of your diligent industry and love to our friend Juan de Valdés.”

“I think that the volume must be appreciated in England by every lover of good books. Take care of yourself. May God prolong your days. Yours very affectionately Luis.” Alas! he was then himself in ill health. I was tenderly anxious for the continuance of his days. His wishes for me have been verified, so have my fears for him!

Luis repeated a desire for the early issue of the volume, but did not live to witness its publication.

My friend Luis de Usoz i Rio died on the 17th of August 1865 at the age of 59 Years and 9 Months.

The death of my friend seemed to bring a natural conclusion to our mutual pursuits. With him the *animus* was withdrawn from me, and the active interest I had taken in them seemed almost at once to cease. There remained however one thing which I had proposed to his consideration several years before this. It was, that he should prepare a *Bibliotheca* or detailed Catalogue of all the ascertained works of the Spanish Reformers. This I thought might establish them as a class of writers; a class of which their countrymen were almost entirely ignorant, and might serve as a manual for any person in his

search to find them. I collected and transmitted to Luis from time to time materials for this purpose. He did not live to make use of them, and it now devolved upon me, if ever it were accomplished, to accept the duty myself and carry out my own suggestion which his most careful accuracy would have performed more happily. Such are the simple circumstances which have led to the production of the present volume and it can only be wished that it may be found of some use to those who would desire to pursue with greater success the object which has given birth to it.

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN

Aspley Guise

Woburn

9 Mo. 7th 1866.

Extracts

from

Benjamin B. Wiffen's correspondence with Edward Boehmer

with some introductory remarks.

DURING the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1851, I was staying, with Dr. Tholuck, whom I had accompanied from Halle, at Belvedere the country-seat of Sir Culling E. Eardley, near Erith. There Dr. Tholuck was presented, by Don Juan Calderon, editor of the Spanish journal then appearing at London, *El examen libre* the continuation of his *Catolicismo neto*, with a copy of Adolfo de Castro's *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, printed in the same year at Cadiz. From this book I took a warm interest in the Spanish Reformers. In Halle, in Francke's Orphan-House library, I got Valdés' commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*, and his *Considerations* in Italian; this latter work could not be found, but at last I discovered the volume which had fallen behind into another row. In the next year I introduced de Castro's history to the German public by an article in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, founded by J. Müller, Neander and Nitzsch, nos. 13 and 14. The winter from 1852—53 I passed in Italy. At Florence I interested an English friend for Juan Valdés, especially for the *Cento e dieci divine considerazioni*, which I wished to get reprinted, and as he fell in with my idea, I got a manuscript copy from Halle, the copyist being paid by Count Adolphus von Arnim-Blumberg. This manuscript, however, has neither been printed, nor has it been sent back to us. In 1855 a friend of mine tried in vain to find me an English publisher for new editions of the Italian *Considerations*, of the *Due dialoghi* and of the two Spanish commentaries by the same author. In the spring of 1858 I had the pleasure of making at Cadiz the personal acquaintance of Don Adolfo de Castro. Soon afterwards I bought at Madrid the volumes I. III. VI. IX. X. XI. XII of the series of *Usóz' Reformistas Españoles*. The bookseller, whom I asked whether he perchance had old or new editions of Spanish Reformers books of the sixteenth century, at first did not seem to care anything about such literature, but when I showed him his address written by the hand of a certain friend of his, whose name, however, was not mentioned between us, he remarked, that he might perhaps satisfy me the next day. Accordingly he sent me the above mentioned volumes to my hôtel.

It was in the notes to the Spanish translation of Valdés' considerations, that I read, while still at Madrid, for the first time in my life, the name of B. B. Wiffen, together with his address: Mount Pleasant, Woburn, Bedfordshire.

When returned from my journey, I wrote to him from Halle, specially wishing to know, where to get the reprint of the Valdésian *Dos diálogos*, which the Madrid bookseller had not got and could not readily procure. This my first letter was written September 15. 1858*); Mr. Wiffen answered on the 27th "Esteemed friend. Your letter dated Halle Sept. 15th reached Woburn on the 17th while I was absent in London. I did not receive it until late, on my return, the 27th... And now I may say that the receipt of your letter has given me the liveliest satisfaction. Because, I had heard a year ago that you had written a Biography of Juan de Valdés, and, believing that you could give or procure some information about him for myself, I had wished for a long time to write to you on this subject; but I was restrained by too much diffidence, which your very acceptable letter has now removed." Touching my wish, to make a new edition of Valdés' Considerations, he said: "It gives me great pleasure to learn from you that you think to print this precious religious work..." As for the *Dos diálogos*, "I think", he said, "a copy in Spanish can be procured from Mess^{rs} Asher & Co., Berlin."

In one of my next letters I asked: "Do you object to my mentioning publicly your editions? I do not see why you should." He replied (10 mo. 6): "I do not object to your quoting with due care and prudence the modern reprints of Valdés' books. But I request you, not to mention them as mine, nor to mention them as a *series* of reprints. I have no objection to your mention of my name in a quiet way as an admirer etc. of these books. *Wisdom is profitable for all things*. And *He that believeth maketh not haste*... I thank you", he says with reference to another point of my last letter, "most truly, for your kind and generous offer to make over to me all your materials, if I think of writing a Biography of these worthies [the brothers Valdés], or to send me the finished piece, if I would add to it and publish it. Alas, my friend, I dare not undertake to avail myself of the treasure, my physical powers and health are so deficient, that I can only

*) On the 29. of the same month I wrote again, in order to tell him not to write to Heidelberg, as I first had asked him to do, thinking I should go there, but to Halle. My second letter crossed Wiffen's first. This explains his error, above p. 51. I have Mr. Wiffen's letters to me and my letters to him now before me, these having, at my wish, been kindly transmitted to me by his executors. Mr. Wiffen has always marked the day of receipt. Some inexact statements on the Halle edition of Valdés' Considerations, in my friend's notices, which were dictated from memory and without preparation, will be found rectified by the following extracts from our correspondence.

live on, as it were, from day to day. If you thought proper to send me the facts, dates, editions etc. and Authorities, very briefly stated on a sheet, I would examine and say how far I know them to be true or not, and make my remarks. In this way we should at least understand each other upon the chief points of the subject, and I think you would take a far more general and popular view than I can, although I may be more exact upon some few points." "Your idea," he adds, "of reprinting the Italian of the CX Considerations is one of the highest importance..." Some months later (3 mo. 15. 1859), being anxious, that the reprints of the works of Spanish Reformers should not be mentioned as a series, he wrote to me: "Thou wilt readily conceive that I have great fear of attracting the notice of jesuits and prelates of Spain to them, and that these should think that the works are promoted by some rich English or Scotch propaganda Society as a means of proselyting. This is not the case; they are not promoted by any Society or Association, yet if they thought so, it would move them to opposition against a series, which they might not employ against a single book standing by itself." Although not of my friend's opinion as to the usefulness of making such a mystery, which was so easily penetrated by anyone seeing the series-title in any of the volumes, still of course I complied with his desire. Returning to my intention to print Valdés' Considerations, he adds: "Perhaps I may be allowed also to say, I think it not desirable to seek the help of any association or Society, and that such work is best done by an individual mind acting under strong individual conviction." After I had explained, that I could not think of publishing the work at my expense, he wrote (6 mo. 10): "I should like to know what the printing and good paper, 300 copies, of the *Cento e dieci considerazioni*, in 8°, including a short preface or memoir of Valdés would cost." I sent an estimate, mentioning the necessity of getting a transcript of the printed copy of 1550, and volunteered to correct the proofsheets myself, not to make the undertaking dearer. After several other letters between us, he took up this question, writing (12 mo. 14. 1859): "I think the bookseller should have some share in it, thou shouldst have some share in it, the labour etc., and I think I could get some money to set it forward. But I cannot undertake the burthen of the work and all the expences. Think what plan will be best. And, my esteemed friend, let me candidly say: if it be for fame or pecuniary gain, do not think about the affair, but if for the pure love of Valdés and his principles, then I think the work may prosper." I answered (Decemb. 18): "I think, I have let thee see several times that I did not consider this work as a money business for me. Nor is it for fame, I long to see it executed. I am rather too proud to be ambitious. And if I wished for fame, I knew to find it in better ways than this one which is not much

promising. In my country scarcely half a dozen persons will now read the book, not even all those, to whom I think to present it. And besides I don't see any reason to mention my name in the publication, as I only shall have to make some remarks at the end on the corrections the editor introduced. I do not think of joining a life of J. Valdés to it, as I am afraid the book would get too big. In order, however, not to appear too disinterested, I ask for twelve copies of the edition, which I wish to present to some libraries and persons." Benjamin replied (12 mo. 23): "A summary notice of Valdés is necessary, and I should like it with thy name. I think, thou understood my remarks about fame and gain in too strict a sense, I only meant, that a love of Valdés and his writings should be our motive. I think, thou shouldst have not 12, but 20 copies, and more if wanted, and that a copy should be put into all the great libraries of Germany and Switzerland."

The printed copy of Valdés' Considerations in possession of the Orphan-House at Halle was now copied by a young German (not an Italian). The revision of the Italian text of my edition, the proofs of which I corrected, comparing the printed copy of the first edition, was exclusively my own work. A notice of mine on the twins Valdés was appended. Frederick Seeborn of Hitchin Herts. collected the money for the copyist and the printer; also a considerable outlay for postage and parcels was reimbursed to me. I accepted 19 copies, which I presented to friends of mine. In the names of my English friends and in my own name, copies were presented to persons who had assisted our undertaking by various kindnesses, and about fifty copies to public libraries in different countries. The store for sale was divided between Mount Pleasant, Genoa and Halle; here the bookseller Anton has sold the copies for the furnishers of the printing-fund.

While the printing of the Considerazioni and of my appendix was going on, as soon as a sheet or two was done, it was sent to Wiffen. In July 1861 the work was finished.

Two years later Wiffen wrote to me (7 mo. 24): "I fully appreciate thy disinterested work on the CX Considerations of Valdés: being the same that prompts myself and others who have taken in hand to revive his writings. Indeed, in doing this I hope we are all animated with a portion of his own generous mind. I may acknowledge that I have yet found no book which so truly accords with my mind: I wish it to become more extensively read by people: I do not expect, that preachers and theologians will read it for the love of it, although they may, from curiosity, perhaps."

Our correspondence extended itself from beginning over the other Spanish Reformers as well as Juan and Alfonso Valdés. When I had written him that I had got the passage relating to the brothers Valdés in Enzinas' Historia in

Latin from a manuscript at Altona (see my *Cenni* 519), Wiffen in his next letter (11 mo. 18. 1860) said: "The information is of great interest to me. I wish to know 1. In whose possession? 2. Whether it is a complete copy of all the work? 3. And how I can obtain a copy of it? I have long sought to find it in Latin." Half a year later (6 mo. 9. 1861) he mentioned: "I have obtained from Altona a copy of the *Historia* of F. de Enzinas, M S., by the favour of Professor Lucht. I owe the knowledge of this M S. at Altona to thee." No doubt Wiffen's copy was sent to Madrid, like other manuscript copies and tracings and books I got for him or ceded to him.

On July 17. 1861 he wrote to me: "The death of thy aged Mother brings back the tender recollections of my own, who died aged about 80 in 1842. I sympathize with thee, for (with all the pains of humanity) what can replace the loss of a Mother, unless it be a wife, which I have not. Old as I was, I felt like a child, left again alone." In beginning of 1864 he felt himself, as he wrote me (3 mo. 9), "under a weight of affliction." "My sister, my only companion, who lived with me, was taken away by death. She was my life-long associate, with short intermission from infancy. I was with her at the minute and she departed — with her hand in mine. Weak, and aged, I confess, that I have, in the frailty of nature, dropped many tears. I know, this is not like a christian believer, who ought to receive his divine Master's messages, not merely with resignation, but with cheerfulness. Other trials have affected me, in my household, and the death of friends. Now I remember the Lord's saying: thou, when thou fastest [or sorrowest] anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, and thy Lord, who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. I receive his consolation, yet, as to this life, I am alone. Thou doest well to marry and thus to help another and to be helped thyself, in the cares and afflictions of this life." In my answer I almost only wrote out the passage Hebrews 5, 7. 8., underlining several words. On 10 mo. 29th he said: "I have read again thy consolatory lines on the death of my sister and feel them to be very true and appropriate. I am all alone! Last Sabbath, or Sunday, 23 of Oct. completed full ten years of Sundays of my frail existence: that is, it was the 3,650th sunday of my life."

I had no opportunity to make Mr. Wiffen's personal acquaintance. At the end of 1868 Mr. Theodore Harris took me to the Friend's meeting which Mr. Wiffen had used to attend, and we stood at our friend's simple grave.

EDW. BOEHMER.