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TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

Celebrating a religious journey to the Spanish  
Catholic Haven: English Recusants in  
Valladolid in 1592

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## ABSTRACT

During the sixteenth century, Protestants and Catholics had many confrontations that tensed the situation in Europe. Catholics were marginated from society and even recusants (Catholics that remained in England refusing to go to Church because it meant to be excommunicated) were forced to leave England and find safe places in order to fulfill their education as seminary-priests. Saint Alban's College in Valladolid was one of these safe harbors where recusants lived. This dissertation is centered on an account attributed to Joseph Creswell, *A Relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid, and in the English College of the same towne, in August last part of this yere*. It discusses Philip II's and his family and Court visiting this College. Moreover, it analyzes a recusant's situation as well as the College's history. At the end of it, the journey back to England is discussed as an important point of the account.

Keywords: Recusants, Saint Alban's College, Anglo-Spanish Relations, Early Modern Period, Valladolid, Jesuits.

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Durante el siglo XVI, protestantes y católicos tuvieron varios enfrentamientos que hicieron tensa la situación en Europa. Los católicos estaban marginados en la sociedad y los recusantes (o católicos que se negaban a asistir a la iglesia porque significaba ser excomulgado) fueron expulsados de Inglaterra, obligados a buscar lugares seguros para completar su educación. El Colegio de San Albano en Valladolid fue uno de estos lugares seguros donde los recusantes vivieron. Este trabajo se centra en el relato atribuido a Joseph Creswell "*A Relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid, and in the English College of the same towne, in August last part of this yere,*" en el cual se analiza la visita del Rey Felipe II, su familia y su corte al Colegio. Además, se examina la situación de estos recusantes, así como la historia del Colegio en sí. Al final de este Trabajo Fin de Grado, el viaje de vuelta a Inglaterra es expuesto como punto importante del relato.

Palabras Clave: Recusantes, Colegio de San Albano, Relaciones Anglo-Españolas, Edad Moderna Temprana, Valladolid, Jesuitas.



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Protestantism has been one of the most controversial topics inside religion in the past centuries. During its first years, Protestantism implied a lot of problems and confrontations. One of them was the situation of Catholics when it reached its point of greatest influence. What happened to those Catholics who were forced to abandon their own country? And what is more, what about Catholic priests and seminary-priests? Recusants (Catholics that remained in England) played an essential role in this, and they were forced to leave England. They travelled to other places in Europe, and Spain was seen as a safe harbor for them. With Father Robert Persons and other Jesuit's help they travelled across the sea to arrive to Spain.

This dissertation examines the situation and development of these recusants and priests in Spain during the years of persecution and Reformation in England. It follows an account of Philip II's visit to a Jesuit College in Valladolid, with an in-depth analysis of the context, the visit itself and the consequences it had in history. The text analyzed is *A Relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid, and in the Inglish College of the same towne, in August last part of this yere*, attributed to Creswell for different reasons that will be explained in the study.

This relation thus shows how the King was received in an official visit to the College, as well as how this confrontation between Catholics and Protestants was lived in Spain. It has several parts: in the first pages I will expose the context of England and Spain during the Early Modern Period while I direct it into the religious situation of both countries.

The first part of the text itself describes the role of recusants and the role of the King in this fight against heresy. Then, the author comments the College's origins as well as the situation of recusants there. Afterwards, we find the proper account of the visit, the activities and daily life of recusants commented by the author. The last part of the account deals with the thanksgiving ceremony and the reading of a Psalm in different languages. The poems composed for the event and the emblems that were hanging in the walls are the last part of the account.

The purpose of my analysis is to offer some important insights into the symbolisms and the relations in the journey they made, the things they learnt and the main effects of this visit. Moreover, I will analyze their lives in the College, which will help to understand Jesuit's policy in education. Also, I will comment the Recusant's journey back to England after their instruction in the last pages of the dissertation.

Relations about later visits and further information can be found in the edition where I have obtained this paper: *"The Fruits of exile: Emblems and Pamphlets from the English College at Valladolid"* by Berta Cano Echevarría and Ana Sáez Hidalgo in 2009. This book contained the account in which I have been working on and it has been very useful in order to analyze and write this Trabajo Fin de Grado.

All these topics are related to the cultural side of the degree "Estudios Ingleses" and they reflect the situation in England during one of the most important periods in its history. This cultural aspect had been an important part of the instruction I have received during the last years in University and they are part of the instruction and knowledge I have learnt during the experience. This Trabajo Fin de Grado has allowed me to complete my knowledge in what cultural and historic education refers, as well as improved my writing and reading skills. Also, it has completed the education related to my degree of "Estudios Ingleses".

## 2. SITUATION IN ENGLAND

If we are asked to think about the Early Modern history of England we are inclined to associate it with battles, supremacy and colonies. Furthermore, if the question is narrowed down to its religion, the answer will be indeed, Protestantism. England is recognized for the schism from Rome since the times of Henry VIII. He had several confrontations with Roman Church due to his marriage with the Spanish princess Catherine of Aragon. Years after her husband Arthur (Henry's brother) died, she remarried with the successor to the Tudor throne, Henry. For years, Catherine was unable to give birth to a male child so Henry started to believe that he had a curse on him. The King asked Rome for the divorce but the Pope denied it.

For this reason, in 1527 the origin of the Schism in England began. Henry was excommunicated and he dissolved monasteries and sold the lands that belonged to the Church at a very low price as revenge. Most of the society at the moment supported the King since they thought that the Church did not deserve to have such an unlimited power. Besides, the behavior of some bishops or religious men was not appropriate in several ways and it triggered this support. It is not very accurate to think that the Reformation was only an effect of the demand of divorce by Henry VIII denied by the Pope, but the combination of some events and situations that provoked this irreconcilable enmity.

Henry performed numerous reforms: some of them were very radical (about the power of the Pope in Rome); others less violent (about the irregularities in the Church). The most famous role in this story was played by Martin Luther. He had followers all over the world and his ideas entered into England thanks to the printing press. With this insertion of ideas in England, a question of debate was the language of the Holy Bible. It was in Latin, but English people wanted to understand what it said because they did not speak Latin. They refused having a Catholic priest saying things they did not comprehend. As a result, Bible was translated into English, but the Roman Church did not agree because it was considered heresy. According to Rome, the priest was the only one to give an interpretation of the Bible, of course, written in Latin.



One of this reforms that made things even tenser was the order by Henry VIII to erase the name of the Pope Julius II from liturgical and prayer books in order to substitute it for the name of the King. “In 1535, the government ordered the name of the Pope to be obliterated from all liturgical books where it appeared; in modern discourse, Henry VIII tried to *disappear* the Pope” (Shagan 2005:50). This was the moment when two types of resistance arose: the pacific and the radical resistance. The former dealt with saving the images that were in monasteries and churches from being burnt. Also, they celebrated mass in secret places for the few people that remained brave enough to contradict Henry’s orders. The latter, the radical resistance, was formed by some priests who were against the King. They denounced him in public for being a heretic in some books and documents. They eliminated Henry’s name instead of the Pope’s, which caused fury in the King and triggered the first punishments.

The schism overstepped the doors of the country, creating a conflict that affected not only England but also Spain, France and Germany. “In the 1530s, of course, Cardinal Pole had argued that Henry VIII’s break with Rome was not merely schismatic but heretical” defends Shagan (2005:63). However, not only in England but in other countries like Germany some other currents of thought like Lutheranism were putting Europe out of order.

With Henry’s death and after Edward VI’s Protestantism, Mary Tudor brought peaceful times for Catholicism in England. As Mary was young, there was toleration with the Protestants, but as she grew older and after her marriage to Prince Philip (later, Philip II), there were many troubles such as plots against her life to make her half-sister Elizabeth the new Queen. Mary restored Catholicism as the official religion of England. However, this restoration turned into the burning and imprisonment of Protestants. Shagan also states that “Nothing displayed this problem more starkly than the difficulties encountered by the Marian regime when it attempted to rebuild ‘traditional’ Catholicism” (Shagan 2005:61). All these attempts gave Mary her famous nickname: Bloody Mary.

Elizabeth continued with his father’s religious, Anglicanism, during the years she was Queen. Those years, most part of the Catholics was faithful to her. They accepted Elizabeth as the legitimate Queen but after several issues, this situation changed. When

Pope Pius V issued *Regnans in Excelsis* in 1570 excommunicating Elizabeth for being against Catholics, it was said that recusants were born. Nowadays some historians still base these facts on myths and think that Elizabeth's reign was not as radical as it seems. Haigh emphasizes that: "More radical proposals were made (...) by militant majorities, again, the Queen (...) promoted campaigns to enforce conformity" (Haigh 1998:38).

Elizabeth did not want her population to be divided, so at first she allowed people to profess Catholicism. However, within some years she decided that people had to pay a penalty for being loyal to the Pope's side. Sometimes it was money, but other punishments were the confiscation of lands and social marginalization. Elizabeth changed her opinion about Catholics during her reign. In her very first years as Queen she was patient and tolerant, but after some plots against her figure and some confrontations with countries like Spain or France, she changed her mind. This was the moment when the persecutions and repressions began. Haigh confirms it: "So Elizabeth made tolerant virtue out of political necessity. But later, the balance of advantage changed with the inflow of Catholic seminary-priests (...) and the arrival of Jesuits" (Haigh 1998:43).

In this dissertation, I will explain more about the exile of Catholics and the possible options they had meditated, including several countries in Europe, Jesuits colleges in Netherlands or Saint Alban's College itself.

### 3. SITUATION IN SPAIN

But, what was the situation in Spain at those times? From the middle of the fifteenth century, Isabella and Ferdinand had wanted to restore the religious unity in the country. This was the reason for Jews and Muslims to be expelled in order to give religious homogeneity in Spain. In addition, they encouraged people to be proper Christians and reporting suspicious activities that were against the official postulates of Church. Their grandson, Charles the Holy Roman Emperor was worried about the Reformation coming from Central Europe.

For this reason, the Council of Trent was called in 1545. Convoled against the supposed mistakes of Protestantism and Lutheranism, the Council achieved to clarify ambiguous concepts and secure Catholic truths. In 1556, Philip II reached the head of the Spanish monarchy. For some years he was the husband of the English Queen Mary Tudor and they fought against Protestants together during their alliance. Philip II was also sovereign of Netherlands by birth and family, which made easier for recusants to escape to this land.

During Philip II's reign learning and arts advanced in a great, amazing way. The clergy and the nobility, as well as the King himself acted like patrons of painters, sculptors and artists. Valladolid, Toledo, Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares were the centers of this artistic blooming. This would be probably one of the reasons that encouraged Robert Persons to found a college in Valladolid. But at a religious level the institution that was developed the most was the Inquisition. At first, its task had been the cleaning of blood in order to maintain Jews and Muslims out of the society. For this reason, it would become an instrument of persecution of heresy and there was even a list of books that should not be read.

Confrontations between England and Spain were frequent in the sixteenth century as a consequence of religious disagreements. As an example, during the Cadiz Raid in 1587, some military forces came to Spain. Images, churches and paintings were burned to ashes. The reason was the iconoclastic character of Protestantism that believed in austere Churches and the absence of sculptures or paintings. In 1596, during the Sack of Cadiz, an image that represented "La Virgen de los Ángeles" was massacred and almost destroyed. The image was taken to Saint Alban's College and called "La Vulnerata". However, "after the outrage this remnant of the statue became the object of a particular devotion" (Williams 1986:61). One of this devotees that helped with the reconstruction of the image was Luisa de Carvajal, a very influential figure.

Prince Philip III (Philip II's son) became King after his father, but he delegated the royal tasks to the "Validos" like Sandoval y Rojas or Lerma. During five years (1601-1606) he established the Royal Court in Valladolid, a city already visited by him in 1592 when the *Relation* took place. In 1605, Valladolid was the place chosen to ratify the Treaty of London (signed in England the year before) that confirmed the end of the

Anglo-Spanish war. This treaty influenced the relations between both countries and affected recusants. Some years later, in 1609, Philip III signed a pact with the Netherlands in order to stop the fight and being independent of the Spanish crown. This would have strong consequences for the history of the College because it was no longer related with the ones in Rheims.

One of the reasons of the survival of Saint Alban's College is exactly this independence from other countries which made the students able to run the College in a different way apart from the official orders that came from the King or the Pope.

#### 4. RECUSANTS

All these historical events lead us to focus on the religious issues in both countries. In England, Catholics were persecuted, while in Spain they were received as religious heroes. Recusants were the protagonists of these confrontations, so it must be clear what were recusants and their roles in the *Relation*.

According to Shagan, recusancy “denied the legitimacy of the King’s authority in spiritual matters, and it implicitly defined the headship of the Church as a spiritual matter despite the insistence of conformists like Gardiner that it was no such thing” (2005:51). In other words, recusants were Catholics that remained in England refusing to go to Church because it meant to be excommunicated by the Pope in Rome. These Catholics were not common believers, but seminary-priests forced to escape to other countries due to the repression they suffered.

William Allen and Robert Persons were the leaders of the repressed Catholics. Allen exiled himself from England. He started what was called the English Mission founding some colleges, and Robert Persons was his collaborator establishing English colleges in Spain.

Persons was a member of the Society of Jesus that studied in Oxford and was companion of Edmund Campion (an important Jesuit priest and martyr) helping Catholics in England after the Reformation “by preaching and administering the

Catholic sacraments” (Shagan 2005:71). Persons was known for writing propaganda against Elizabeth and her policies with Catholics. He even drew some illustrations about the abuses on Catholics made by the English sovereign.

As already mentioned, Persons also founded several colleges like the ones in Valladolid and Seville. “They were opened after those at Douai and Rome, and once established they quickly developed their own distinctive character” (Williams 1986:12). These colleges were part of this English Mission and they were Jesuit institutions founded to be an instrument against this religious Reformation (education was seen as the main pillar for this fight against heresies). These colleges had taken an important role in the history of English Catholics because they hosted some important characters in the Catholic resistance. Some of the students that were in those colleges came back to their homeland to spread the ideas of the Catholicism. These colleges were not for all Catholics, but for seminary priests who would be priests in England after this education.

The relation these Colleges had with the ones in Rheims (Netherlands) was very important because they were organized in a similar way. Recusants lived in the colleges with the hope of being there for a time and then return to England to convert heretics. They thought that, by doing this, Elizabeth would reconsider her opinion about Catholicism. After the training they received, recusants had to go back to England disguised as millers or soldiers in order not to be discovered.

Shagan comments that “it should be no surprise that historians have been unable to agree on how many Catholics there were in early modern England” (Shagan 2005:15) which means that the number of recusants that came to Spain (as well as to other countries in the continent) was significant. Saint Alban’s College hosted almost 330 students between its foundation in 1589 and 1613. They came mainly from England, as I have mentioned, but also from other places like Rheims (Low Countries).

Recusant’s escape from England was seen as a suffering, so it is not surprising that they were related with martyrdom. Martyrs were those first Christians that were killed because of their beliefs; recusants were similar to those martyrs because they defended their religion above all. Catholics wanted to justify themselves saying that this was the true religion, the one closer to the origins of Christianity, whereas Protestantism was

not. Marotti explains it in the following way: “Although they represented only a minority of a minority, the English Catholic martyrs loomed large not only in the Catholic subculture of early modern England but also in the wider national and international spheres” (Marotti 2005:93).

Continuing with this topic, Marotti divided martyrdom accounts into several sections that were much related to the different parts we can find in this account. First, the cruelty of the brutality of their aggressors was explained and compared with the kindness of the Christian (or Catholic if we were talking about the post Reformist era) followers. Cruelty and inhumanity of Protestants is repeated through the whole account. Second, there were references to the reconciliation attempts between the martyrs and the jailers and captors. The relation with our text is obvious. There are many parts in the text where the author tells the reader how Christians have tried to convince and put the Protestants “in the right path”. The next two parts were very similar and they deal with the prayers and ironic words said by the martyrs who were executed or burnt. The act of the martyrdom itself occupies the next part of the martyr’s account, which also appears in the *Relation*. The last part reflects some supernatural events that involves God or some saints. The representations of these powers in the account are the relics, an essential part in religious faith (Marotti 2005:78).

Relics were deeply related to this idea of martyrdom. Characters like Doña Luisa de Carvajal, mentioned before as one of the most important relic-hunters of the century. Redworth states: “No one knew better than Luisa the transcendental importance of bodily relics for promoting a counter-reformation vision of the world” (Redworth 2008:187). This is one of the major differences between Catholics and Protestants. Marotti defends that “Relics, of course, were one of the strong makers of difference between Catholicism and Protestantism” (2005:16), which makes evident this distinction between them. They even had pieces of wood from the Holy Cross housed in Santa Espina’s Monastery (few kilometers away from the city) shown to the Royal Retinue. The text says that when the Prince and the Infanta kissed the relic, they demonstrated they were true Christian princes because the heretic princes and kings did not do that with the relics of their saints (Creswell 1592:21).

Marotti also comments that “[i]n England the late Henrician assault on shrines and relics was part of a power contest between the state and the papacy” (Marotti 2005:16). This was related to the proclamation that obliged priests to erase the Pope’s name. These proclamations, as Marotti tells us, were dealing also with the destruction of relics and figures that could resemble in any way to Christianity or Papacy.

## 5. SAINT ALBAN’S COLLEGE

It was founded in 1589, after several negotiations that had taken place the previous year, 1588. The King contributed to the foundation of the College and decided the funds for it, because “finances did not come from Rome” (Williams 1986:11). As we will see in later pages, it was an important issue for recusants and they honored the King in order to conserve these funds. Williams also explains the main reasons for the election: Valladolid was chosen because it was a large city with an excellent system of transport and communications. Not only was it the see of the Inquisition and Supreme Court, but it also had many churches and monasteries (1986:4).

The first years of the College were not easy. Due to the 1591 Proclamation, letters with threats came from England because Protestants knew they were losing power. Williams assured that “[i]n Elizabeth’s proclamation of 1591 against seminary priests the College of Valladolid was mentioned and this publicity helped the recruitment (...)” (Williams 1986:11). The Proclamation, thus, caused the opposite effect from Elizabeth’s will: to encourage people to make this dangerous journey into the sea in order to arrive to the College. Moreover, the Inquisition was not very sure about this foundation and even politicians thought that these recusants that came from England were spies sent by Elizabeth to win this religious war. “[There were] Suspicions about their “Englishness,” something that in Spain a priori classified them as potential heretics and spies” (Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings 2008:3).

The College was founded by Father Robert Person. But, as Williams explains (1986:8) despite this, Persons did not become the Rector nor the superior. He put this responsibility on Spanish Jesuits, who occupied positions as Rectors and Directors, but the post of Father Minister was occupied by an English priest. This was an important

issue because it shows us how the College maintained its national identity. English recusants did not come here to become Spanish subjects; they wanted to maintain their “Englishness”.

The main objective of the Jesuit community was to train Christian soldiers that could be able to fight at a global level; with both mind and body. In the text there is a reference to this military objective: recusants received the baton of the fight against the heresies. It is metaphor of a battlefield where older men were substituted by young people (Creswell 1592:17). One of the features that was related with this Jesuit fight was the learning and teaching of languages. Not only Spanish and English, but also Greek, Latin, Italian, Hebrew and Flemish were taught.

They wrote poems and recited Psalms in all these different tongues but they also studied other disciplines as history. “St Alban’s students could obtain degrees in Arts, Theology, and Philosophy similar to those granted in Oxford or Cambridge, but they took their tuition together with Spanish students at the Jesuit college of San Ambrosio” (Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings 2008:3).

The *Relation* situated the visit in 1592; but when the King, the Prince and the Infanta came to the College, it was not finished yet in its totality. As the author tells us in the first pages, he was the one in charge of the building, and due to the lack of money in some cases and workforce in others, the construction of the building was postponed.

The building had a refectory (where recusants prayed) and a library containing not only religious works but also some others about history or languages (something very important for Jesuits as I have said). Education has been mentioned as an important issue for Jesuits, and it was seen as something that will differentiate them from Protestants. Knowing about the life of saints or about Christian history will made them capable and prepared for fighting heresy.



## 6. RECUSANT'S JOURNEY

This seminary-priests living in the College thought their stay was going to be temporary and believed they could go back to England in a short period of time. Recusants were persecuted and with this College, they saw an opportunity to accomplish God's mission in a safer way. But this journey to Spain was not easy; it was not a pleasure trip.

The journey was difficult, long and tedious. They came to Spain disguised as soldiers or dressed as merchants in order to be unnoticed. They had little money, and it came from charity and religious orders. Some of the recusants died because of illnesses during the trip, and even when they were in the College the first days. The author of the pamphlet refers that sickness with their past in England, a country where lies and heresies were making people to be ill and die. Coming to Spain means sanctity, health, clear mind..."eight or nine died here, of the common diseases, which their former past very extraordinarily brought here" (Creswell 1592:13).

The journey was related to the religious belief that life was a trip, a temporary voyage with Heaven as destination. Recusants saw their lives similar to this journey, something that was dangerous, tough and cruel but also something God would compensate with a treasure that was the second life, the second coming. In this case, the harbor was Philip and he was compared with God, a person that will take care of them when the trip will finish. For this reason recusants saw this journey as an act of purification, a transit. In the text there are some relations between recusants' journey and some biblical figures and characters. For instance, the case of Aquila and Priscila (Creswell 1592:6), from Saint Luke's text in the Acts of the Apostles, was mentioned. They hosted Saint Paul and accompanied him to Ephesus (Hahn 2009:62). The symbolism with the College hosting seminary-priest is obvious. Aquila and Priscilla were the antecessors of these Spanish Jesuits that hosted exiled Catholics in difficult times.

Other relation with Biblical characters is the one with Lazarus, Mary Magdalene and Martha that "were inforced by the persecution of their enemies" (Creswell 1592:10). They also had to escape from their country in a ship (as recusants) because they were persecuted. The ship is a symbol of the travel they had to suffer with dangers, illnesses and tough conditions (Hahn 2009:2422).

As Hahn also declares, the symbolism with Joseph in Egypt is equally important: “when himself fled to Egypt for fear of Herod, to leave there the first beginnings of his benedictions” (Creswell 1592:9). He was far from his home and hoping that God allowed him to come back with his family (Hahn 2009:2431), as recusants expected to do (as said before, they thought their presence in Valladolid was temporary).

Saint Philip, “who recurring to his country converted” (Creswell 1592:10), was also important as one of the figures that instructed Catholic morals and lessons; as it was the name of the King, Spain and Philip II were seen as a place where education would be conferred, a harbor where they would be able to learn things and teach them back in England when the Reformation would be suffocated. The relation with the College is obvious; both Saint Philip and Saint Alban’s College were dedicated to educate and form people in the religious faith.

All these symbolisms were used in the text and they were useful for Catholics in order to establish a relation between those biblical characters, known by recusants and seminary-priests. Recusants would compare their situation with important figures through Christian history. This resemblance was made in order to encourage them in their journey.

## 7. INTRODUCTION AND ANALYSIS TO THE TEXT

The foundation of Saint Alban’s College, recusants’ situation and the historical context of England and Spain are basic for the text that I am going to analyze in this dissertation: *A Relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid, and in the English Collee of the same towne, in August last part of this yere* by Creswell<sup>1</sup>. As commented by Cano, Sáez, Redworth, and Hutchings, for the years, the text was attributed to Robert Persons, but in the account there are some evidences that point to Joseph Creswell as the original writer. In the text, the writer says that he was in Valladolid only for a few months and Persons was already in Court when the College

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<sup>1</sup> In the following references to this relation I will mention Creswell as the author despite of the numerous debates about his authorship.

was to be founded. Moreover, there were constant mentions to Persons by the writer in third person, so we can conclude that he was not the author, but Creswell. He was the person who controlled the construction work at Saint Alban's during the time in which it was built. (2008:36)

The event of the royal visit is the context where we can find the account this study analyses. It was about the royal visit by Philip II and his son and his daughter (Philip and the Infanta) to the English College in Valladolid in 1592 (Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings 2008:37). It was written in order to get more information and serve as propaganda for the College. Moreover, this account of the visit was translated into Spanish, published soon after the English version.

The Spanish translation of the relation was longer than the English version and contained more poems and emblems about the visit. It is well explained in Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings's article: "[t]he same year as Creswell's English text was published, a Spanish version was printed in Madrid. [It] was based on the previous text [and] is clear from the title page where it is said to have been translated" (2008:39).

However, there are some differences between the two versions; for instance they do not agree in the date the visit took place, despite they all say it was in August. Another difference is the intended reader of the accounts, while in Spanish the reader would be the common people; in England the text would be banned and introduced secretly in the country to be read as an educational paper. The readers would be instructed about the situation in Spain and encouraged to do the journey to this presumed utopia recusants were living in. The Spanish text also tries to change the perspective of the inhabitants of Valladolid about the recusants and Englishmen since they were considered spies (Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings 2008:40).

Although there will be some references to these Spanish version indicating the differences I have shown, the focal point of my dissertation will be this English version by Creswell.

Moving into the form of the pamphlet it has an epistolary form and it was composed by a letter in response to another one sent by someone in Flanders. As already mentioned, Flanders belonged to Spain and there were English colleges founded there as well. I will

explain the main motifs of the correspondence between Creswell and the receiver in the next section of my dissertation.

### ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT

The account of the visit is divided into several parts that I will analyze in this dissertation. As I have mentioned before, they are connected with the form of the martyrdom accounts. In the first pages of the account, the motif of the letter and some indications about the College are given. Then, the visit and the context are explained and related with much detail. To finish, Creswell included the emblems and poems that were hanging on the walls.

Starting with the analysis of the text itself, one of the crucial aspects in the text is the way the King was represented. Philip II was considered a chivalrous, faithful figure in society, preoccupied by culture and education. He was a religious man who went to Church and read the Book of Prayers every day. In the text, the solemnity and glory of the King is constantly repeated: “great pity of his Majesty” (Creswell 1592:13). This was because the King acted kindly visiting the College and both the students and the author honor him as compensation. He was also considered a guardian, a host for the English recusants that were forced to leave the country. In the celebration, there was even a student that recites a poem about the gentleness and affection expressed to the College and its inhabitants (Creswell 1592:33).

This propaganda the author used talking about Philip II in such an excellent way has a purpose. As I have mentioned, Philip II cared about the College and also was responsible for the funds for it. With this elaborated language, the author was trying to gain the King’s favor and money for the recusants’ journey back.

As I have pointed out before, the letter (whose response was the *Relation*) was sent to inform Creswell that the receiver sheltered a Catholic priest in his house. It was because of the persecution they were suffering both in England and in the Low Countries. Williams explains the situation: “during the reign of Elizabeth I the number of Catholic exiles on the continent increased. “Many of the English foundations of religious orders (...) found refuge in the Low Countries” (Williams 1986:1). Priests were the basis of

the religious faith, the pillars and transmitters of the doctrine; they kept faith alive and maintained the link between the high charges in the Church and the large group of Catholic believers. In this sense, they were compared with Saint Paul's account in his Epistle to Philippians, where he had to go into exile by himself in order to avoid being imprisoned. Hahn (2009:247) adds that Saint Paul explained this event: "the world [is] alienated and corrupted by sin", concept that Creswell applied in the text to Protestantism. It was corrupting the world, increasing sin and chaos.

This confrontation between Catholics and Protestants was the main motif of the receiver of the letter to act and contribute to the Catholic cause sheltering a priest in his house. But to shelter and give food to a priest was not only a privilege that meant certain comfort to the hosts. Priests could celebrate mass in hosts' house, and the landlords received the sacraments without the danger of being imprisoned. As a result, we can say that hosts had direct access to the Catholic sacraments.

However, this access could lead to risks for the hosts, as Shagan explains: "To some men and women who lived through the English Reformation, it clearly seemed better to live to fight another day (...) rather than risk their lives for a lost cause" (2005:65). England was persecuting Catholics in their celebrations of masses or sacraments, so hosting a priest involved dangers and persecution for the hosts too.

Despite of the receiver of this letter was delighted to be the host of a priest; this was not the main purpose of the letter. The receiver wrote Creswell asking about the College in Valladolid: its foundation and the negotiations that made it possible and the facts of the royal visit (Creswell 1592:8).

Creswell informs the receiver about the foundation of the College (as mentioned previously) and about the visit itself. Although this visit to the College was in August, the King was in Valladolid since the 27<sup>th</sup> of June. The journey he made was accounted in a progress. Progresses constitute a genre and deal with the description of the journey of a public and important person, as a King or a Queen. Elizabeth also had some accounts of her progresses.

Progresses try to represent the politic power of the Monarch, the proximity of the monarch that makes this journey in order to know his vassals in several places of his

lands. However, this proximity is forgotten in some parts of the progresses when the King expresses his solemnity, grace and power, making clear the differences between him and the commoners. Elizabeth has her own progresses accounts in which she tells her vassals how close she was with the country. Haigh comments that “she travelled short distances, kept away from towns, and made no real attempt to mix with her people” (Haigh 1998:172). To sum up, progresses were a display of royal power.

Festivities are also a way to reflect this power. The festivities made by the English students in Saint Alban’s College were not much related to the English tradition, but as they were having access to Spanish life and culture, they adapted themselves exceptionally to the Spanish tradition. Celebrating royal visits, coronations or weddings was a tradition born in the Renaissance period as a way to set people closer to monarchy but, at the same time to exult the power royalty had. We can see the relation between these ceremonies and the progresses: both were an instrument to approach monarchy to the population, but also a display of monarchy’s power and their transmission as I have pointed out before. They wanted to demonstrate their higher position in society with this apparitions and visits. There were also poems and illustrations in these ceremonies and festivities, as we will see in the account of the events.

This was one of the main differences between the festivities in England and in Spain. “(...) while English triumphal processions and academic royal entertainments gave a central space to theater (...) in Spain an important emphasis was put on the display of verse and visual poetry” (Cano, Saez, Redworth, Hutchings 2008:19). Haigh adds: “The pageantry of the Court was also focused upon Queen’s qualities, making elaborate metaphorical statements of her glory” (Haigh 1998:99). In Spain things were much more into decorated and elegant ceremonies where poems and emblems were the highest honors. These had a symbolic aspect that was important for the transmission of ideas.

This symbolism is also used during the relations made between Recusants and martyrdom. The text mentions Saint Alban (the first British Catholic martyr) and Saint Stephen (the first martyr of Christianity). It is a very interesting association because recusants were identified with this first martyrs. Hahn states that both Saint Alban and Saint Stephen’s inspired accounts contained the main parts of the martyr’s accounts

explained before in this dissertation and they are crucial in the account (Hahn 2009:2830). The date when the King visited the College and the chapel was the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August that coincided with the festivity of both martyrs. This symbolism was due to the relation made between the recusants like these martyrs, as I have explained before. Moreover, the name of the College is Saint Alban's, a clear reference to martyrdom. These references and relations were remarked in the relation, "the third of August being the day of the invention of the sacred body of Saint Stephen the proto martyr" and "the relation it had with Saint Alban first martyr of England to whom this house is dedicated" (Creswell 1592:28).

The Prince had also a symbolic aspect. As I have said before, the Infanta and the Prince were companions of the King during the visit. The Prince was seen as his father's substitute in the fight against heresy. This was not related to monarchy, but with the succession in religious terms. It means the Prince was the replacement of Philip II as a column in Christianity, as a pillar: "he is prepared for a pillar to all Christianity after his father, that now fulfilled the fame" (Creswell 1592:20). So, he was very expected by people and they were excited about seeing him in the royal retinue so, he went in an independent car on his own and apart from his father. Once again, we return to the idea of putting monarchy closer to the people but at the same time, clarifying their position in society.

As the text recurrently mentions the Prince we can pose a question. What was the role of women at the visit? The answer is complicated to give. The text is eminently masculine, references to the Prince and the King are constant, but the only mentions of female characters are Elizabeth and the Infanta. Not positive references of Elizabeth are present in the text, but condemnations for her role in this fight. She is seen as the destructor of Christianity and the oppressor of innocent Catholics. However, the Infanta was relegated to a second position during the visit, merely mentioned and doing everything her father and her brother ordered to her. Also, Person's intentions were interesting. He wanted the Infanta to be Elizabeth replacement in England's throne and he thought the Infanta would play an important role for Catholics. As we all know, this did not happen.

Further references to the Infanta's role are given in the text at the moment the Prince and the King kissed the relics they had in the College. She was connected with the figure of Saint Helen, mother of the Constantine Emperor and the one that inculcated him the Christian faith. "The Infanta seemed to resemble not only the pity of Constantia but even the very real wisdom (...) of S.Helena herself" (Creswell 1592:22). Constantine was considered to be English, so she was considered one of the first women to fight for Christianity and the one that convinced the Emperor to convert into it. Saint Helena model and of course, Virgin Mary, are very representative and important for Catholics. However, the role of women is not important in the text, marked by a patriarchal society and a masculine tone. There is not importance given to females, and it is interesting the lack of presence of women taking into account this models I have commented.

Starting with the account of the visit itself, in the first place some King's men came to the College some days before by themselves before in order to see what the everyday routine was. These men were García de Loaysa (the Prince's tutor in Madrid), Don Juan and Don Martin de Ideaquez (both ambassadors and King's counselors) and Doctor Valesius (the King's confidant). They were showed some charts about the organization and labors, the distribution of the places, rooms and libraries... Creswell claimed that the King's men "were much more contented and satisfied with the same, and gave great recommendation (...) unto his Majesty and the whole court" (Creswell 1592:24).

The King came some days after his men. He came with a royal retinue. In this royal retinue, the text mentions the huge number of important people that came to the Court in Valladolid to see the Monarch and his family. Not only commoners or priests, but also some people from the government were present. As the King was a very influential person in culture and arts, some employers in the University as teachers or directors went to meet Philip II. Moreover, officers of the Inquisition and Supreme Court (whose see was in the city), arrived to the King's entrance. All these encounters were described by Creswell: "All his judges, lawyers (...), all sorts of doctors and licentiates with their ensigns (...)" (Creswell 1592:18).

As in Valladolid the number of churches, convents and monasteries was high, the retinue and the King visited the most part of them with a great solemnity and praying



for recusants in each of them. As pointed out before, the enormous religiosity of the Monarch and his humility were crucial topics in the text. Being a common person among common people while the mass was celebrated is often commented and praised by the author. In fact, the author uses the words “with great devotion and solemnity” (Creswell 1592:22) to describe the attitude the King had in the visit of the religious sees.

Later on, the royal retinue visited the University of Valladolid. It was one of the first universities founded in Spain. The King enjoyed the visit due to his interest in culture and literature. University’s libraries contained several documents about these topics that interested the Monarch a lot. Moments after this visit, they walked to Saint Alban’s College.

When the King entered the College the 3<sup>rd</sup> of August (Creswell 1592:28), he refused to take a guardian with him, but the Rector of the College asked some soldiers to be at the door to control the people waiting outside for him. This was a sign of humility, regarding himself as one more of the students who had not had protection during their journey. The first place where the King went in the College was the chapel. There, he prayed for the students and was told the reason why the College was named after Saint Alban (as I pointed out previously: “[f]irst, because he was the first martyr of Christ in that Island, and secondly for that his cause of Martyrdom was the same for which men at this day suffer in England” (Creswell 1592:28). As we see in this quote, Creswell was going back to the relation previously mentioned of recusants related with martyrs, suffering from punishment and pain.

Later on, the rector presented the Book of Prayers, an important piece for the students and their daily prayers (Creswell 1592:26). They saw some poems and emblems in several languages, showing the linguistic diversity taught in Saint Alban’s. This was, as I have commented at the beginning of this dissertation, related to the Jesuit’s educational program. Then, students uttered a prayer of gratitude to the King. In it, they thanked him for being so marvelous and delicate with them. They additionally showed gratitude because of the reception they had in Valladolid (despite of being suspects of spying and betrayal). There was a speech made by some students and the director about the humility, kindness and religious faith of the King, the Prince and the Infanta coming

to the College (Creswell 1592:29). One more time, this propaganda made for the royal family had the intention of gaining the King's favor.

To keep with this courting to gain his favor, some students delighted the King with poems and Psalms in diverse tongues. A very special ceremony was the reading and explanation of the 13<sup>th</sup> Psalm, interpreted by Catholics as a prophecy of what Jesus was going to be and it is related to Christ's sufferings. Connecting the Psalm and the situation lived by recusants we can say that they asked God for strength and robustness in order to overtake those difficult times. They expressed their respect and praised the King by reciting this Psalm which was divided into several parts. Each part was recited by a student in a different language, or as the author defined "as in the variety of verses and compositions which hang on these walls" (Creswell 1592:34). With this, they extract each verse of the Psalm that belonged to the liturgical act, and made an exercise of explanation and relation with the situation they were living. This was made in order to give strength to recusants and show the King they were putting Jesus as a role model for them.

The first part of the Psalm dealt with the Majesty of the King, comparing it to Jesus' kindness and glory. It was made in Hebrew by an English student who learnt that tongue in the College. Greek was also present, spoken by a qualified student that read the second verse of the Psalm. In this second part, the main topic was God's protection over his creatures, as well as God was protecting the students, and so the King was safeguarding recusants in the College. Thirdly, the verse in Latin expressed some features about the Catholic religion and the colleges that were training students in order to fulfill the mission God entrusted them. Creswell added that it was "somewhat longer than the rest for that both Majesty and the Prince and divers other of the Courte and noble men there present understood him" (Creswell 1592:37).

English was present in the Psalm too, more precisely in the fourth part. (Creswell 1592:38). It was considered a vulgar language but the part assigned to this language talked about the Catholic Church and its greatness compared with the Protestant ideology. As similar to English, Welsh and Scots occupied the two next verses of the Psalm. Welsh was spoken in the 7<sup>th</sup> verse by a Catholic Priest and Doctor, a very remarkable person. Scots, on the other hand, took the 12<sup>th</sup> verse about the cruelty and

oppression suffered by Catholics (Creswell 1592:42). It is interesting that this verse was made in Scots, because Scotland was a land where Catholics were always the predominant belief, defended mainly by Mary Queen of the Scots. She meant a problem for Elizabeth, and the Queen tried to neutralize and decrease Mary's power by trying to marry her with Elizabeth's confidants. Mary did not accept any of those marriages and became a threat for Elizabeth's Protestantism. The English Queen started an offensive against her and Mary was processed and executed in 1587. This was one of the crucial points of the confrontation between Catholics and Protestants and ended with the oppression against Catholics that I have explained in the first pages of this dissertation.

Not only English was included, but also Mediterranean languages as French, Italian or Spanish (Creswell 1592:43-50) were present in the last verses of the Psalm. French was supposed to be understood by everyone because French was spoken in Court as well as Spanish. This was the language of the 13<sup>th</sup> verse, related to compassion. There was a metaphor in it; an eagle protects its son under her wing. God also protects students under his Majesty and highness preserving them from horrible events. Italian took the 14<sup>th</sup> verse talking about oppression and tyranny. "These are effects that Christ himself [suffered] (...) oppression of infernal tyrants" (Creswell 1592:47). However, it explained that there were some benefits of being prosecuted, as being part of God's mission and earning a place in Heaven: "made their name honorable in his presence, which was contemptible before, as also there are benefits" (Creswell 1592:47). These ideas were part of the student's expectations after their training, to go back to England to convert heretics.

Spanish was the language of the 18<sup>th</sup> verse, which contained the conclusion. It talked about the Savior God who knew everything about the suffering they were passing through. Also, the Royal Majesty of the King was mentioned, as a supportive figure that encourages recusants to be under his protection: "your Royal Majesty, towards us persecuted and banished English Catholics" (Creswell 1592:49)

The last part of the Psalm and the introduction of the Thanksgiving act were made in Flemish. It was the tongue of the Low Countries, and the one spoken in other colleges founded by Allen and Persons in Rheims. Until the independence of Holland, the two colleges were very close and related as I have mentioned in the first pages.

The thanksgiving ceremony was the last part of the account. It was a part of the text in which the students thanked the visit of the King, saying that they were not brilliant enough to receive King's grace. Also, courtiers and noblemen reached the College in order to say thanks also to the King and the Prince in their name. Clergymen prepared a special speech for them as well (Creswell 1592:53). This was the moment when the emblems started to be shown to the royal family, as they were hanging on the walls. The connection between visual and textual appeared here again with these emblems, making clear that coherence in the Spanish court culture.

These emblems were hieroglyphs with symbols related to the visit, and they contained a religious meaning related to Catholicism. The heraldic element in them was very obvious, mentioning castles, lions...all related to Castile. It is in this part when the two versions of the text differed: in the Spanish version there were more emblems than in the English version, the one being analyzed in this dissertation. Therefore, I will explain only the emblems and symbols that were present in the account, five.

The first emblem has a lion fighting against another one of its kind because they were tearing a man into pieces. The lion was a symbol of fierce and ferocity, and it was related to the lion corresponding to the territory of León in Spain. This symbol explained the fight with England in terms of religion, but also the warlike character of Spanish people. Recusants were brave for fighting heresy; all humans were lions that had to survive against others from their own specie. Creswell added "it was easy to be understood what was meant thereby, yet for more explication there were Latin verses written under" (Creswell 1592:55). This fight can be seen in the poem that accompanies the emblem:

King Philip dothe in sheild a lion beare,  
The English armes of Lions three depend  
Whose countries children they with pawes do teare,  
The other dothe them with his pawes defend.  
One lion dothe them from the other free,  
One lion then more stronger is then three.

The second figure deals with a castle, symbol of Castile that means the strength of Spaniards (and especially, Kings and Queens) in order to defend the true religious faith. The text explained with much detail "all kind of variety of weapon, armor, and other

furniture of war, and round about it were painted (...) ladders and many youths” (Creswell 1592:55). This referred to the religious war that was taking place in Europe and how it was prepared for the confrontation.

Thirdly, the next emblem leads to the coat of arms of Valladolid together with two ships. Ships and recusants had much to do because this was the way they had to come into the country. Ships represented also a religious symbol, as Jesus mentioned in the Bible in several times. Hahn described ships and water as “used as a rite of purification” (Hahn 2009:3660). Recusants’ journey was seen as an act of purification that will have a reward (as previously said) and is related to this purification Hahn depicts.

The fourth hieroglyph has the coat of arms the Habsburg’s (Creswell 1592:57). The meaning of this emblem was to make a tribute to the King and to the country. Students knew that Spain was very helpful for them, and they wanted to homage the royal family in the Thanksgiving Act:

Castilia which renowned is of Spaine  
And feates of armes extoleth far by fame  
That savage people the wsandes didst restraine  
And to the heavens advanced hath thy name.  
Far stronger foces now throw hast prefard,  
Of learning, virtue, and of sacred zeale:  
And English youths that therewith are preparad,  
Seeke to advance thereby our Christian weal.

The last symbol showed sheep surrounded by wolves and Jesus as the shepherd who guides them into the right road. References to this metaphor were very frequent in the Bible as Hahn explains “was often depicted as the self-sacrificing caretaker of sheep who was dedicated to their well-being, brought back strays, and kept them safe from the many dangers in the world (Hahn 2009:3471). Jesus was that good shepherd, the one that guides Christians into the right path. This task was not easy, as recusants’ trip, but it will give them benefits only imagined in their minds. Heaven was the enclosure, the fold where we are going to live our eternal lives by Jesus and God. This was the emblem that liked the King the most because of its religious message: recusants corrected heresy and led as Jesus led Christians.

There were also poems hanging on the walls<sup>2</sup>. To show the symbolic aspect of them, I have included one of them in this dissertation.

De laxas tierras a encender venimos  
Las hachas en las llamas celestiales  
Para volver después donde salimos,  
Y consumir los fuegos infernales.

Esta firme esperanza concebimos  
En llegando de España a los umbrales  
Pues insignias de llamas las primeras  
Hallamos (Pintia ilustre) en tus banderas.

This poem is in Spanish and it has symbolism between hell and fire related to this fight against heresy. It is also included in the text its translation to English, and once again, we go back to the differences between the translation and the original. The author explains in the English version that he had only copied some of the poems. However, the Spanish version contains all the poems recited for the King and the Prince in several languages. In this version, the author only includes the Latin and English versions of them, making some references to the Spanish tongue in order to explain the translation to the reader. (Creswell 1592:54).

As they were written both in Spanish, the Prince's tutor ordered to have a copy of every emblem in his residence, to give the Prince force and strength and as a reminder of the College's task. "at the King's departure (...) the Prince gave order that all the verses, emblems and other compositions that were on the walls should be referred and sent to Garcia de Loaysa" (Creswell 1592:55). As mentioned, Garcia de Loaysa was in charge of the Prince's education.

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<sup>2</sup> They are collected in the *Epigrammata* (Epigrams) section in Cano and Saez's *Fruits of exile* (2008).

## 9. THE JOURNEY BACK

Until this point, I have discussed some aspects of the English Mission carried out by Allen, Persons and Recusants through the text. They came to Spain and stayed in these colleges mentioned. But, what happened when this education was finished? What did recusants do when they fulfilled this education?

When the students had received the proper education and, obviously, the situation was safe enough to be sent back to England, they made the journey back. This journey was even more dangerous than the first one because in England they did not know how they will be received. “The journey to England was often long and hazardous” and “there was always the risk of being captured at sea by enemies of the country” (Williams 1986:20). Some of them were not allowed to enter in England if it were not in disguise. Some others stayed in other places like Amsterdam to make a stop before returning and they received more information about this journey back.

The trip to London was easier than the one from Spain and Persons helped them finding some safer ships to travel: “[Persons] had just received news that another ship sailing direct to London was available” (Williams 1986:20). So, Person’s help, as well as Jesuit’s intervention, were seen as crucial for recusants. One of them was William Warford, who wrote to Persons in order to be informed on how the trip was and how was the situation for those recusants that went back to England after the religious confrontation. Williams comments: “Warford gave Persons useful information to pass on to priests returning to England this way in the future” (1986:20). This information was the source needed in Spain to prepare the students.

These students were in Spain temporarily, as I have pointed many times in this study, so their final aim was going back to England to fulfill the English Mission converting heretics into Catholicism and searching for new people to compromise the Catholic mission. It is also mentioned that they thought Elizabeth would change her mind and convert herself also into Catholicism, rejecting Protestantism.

The words they dedicated to the King through the text, the metaphors Creswell mentions in the whole text (Saint Paul, Joseph in Egypt) and the relations Recusants made between their situation and the martyrs were a way to maintain the funds from the

royal family and the King. As a result, Philip II paid the trip to England in order to make it easier for them going back to their homeland.

All in all, this dissertation has defined recusants' situation in England when Protestantism appeared. I have centered my focal point on how they lived in Spain, talking about their journey and also the journey back. As well, the history of the College played a significant role in this essay. This study has been conducted in the form of an analysis of a text, with data being gathered via Creswell's *A Relation of the King of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid, and in the English College of the same towne, in August last part of this yere*. During the account of the visit, the situation of recusants in the College has been analyzed and comments, as well as the proper account of the King's visit. During this analysis, the symbolisms with biblical characters have been established. Moreover, the role the Prince played in this account along with the role of women in the text have been examined. To finish with the dissertation, emblems and poems related to the visit at the same time as their commentary occupied the last part of this study.



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