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TRABAJO DE FIN DE GRADO

James Wadsworth's *The English Spanish Pilgrim:*  
An anti-Catholic attack on Jesuits

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## **Abstract**

From the sixteenth century onwards, anti-Catholicism was at the heart of the tensions between Spain and England. With the foundation of the Company of Jesus in 1534, anti-Catholic criticism focused on the Jesuits since they were the main representatives of Catholicism. The following dissertation assesses how James Wadsworth contributed to anti-Catholicism with his pamphlet *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems* (1629). To achieve this purpose, it examines the author's portrayal of the Jesuits in connection with the arguments commonly used by other anti-Catholic authors, and with the vocabulary or expressions accompanying these arguments. This graduate dissertation proves that it is a Jesuitical criticism heaped with negative connotations that influence the reader's perception about the Jesuits.

## **Key Words**

James Wadsworth, anti-Catholicism, anti-Jesuitism, Jesuit criticism, English Colleges, pamphlets.

## **Resumen**

Desde el siglo dieciséis en adelante, el discurso anticatólico ha estado en el centro de las tensiones entre España e Inglaterra. Con la fundación de la Compañía de Jesús en 1534, la crítica anticatólica se centró en los jesuitas por ser los principales representantes del catolicismo. El presente Trabajo de Fin de Grado analiza el modo en que James Wadsworth contribuyó al discurso anticatólico con su panfleto *The English Spanish Pilgrime, o A New Discoverie of Spanish Papery and Jesuitical Stratagems* (1629). Para lograr este propósito, se examina la descripción que el autor realiza de los jesuitas, relacionándolos con los argumentos comúnmente utilizados por otros autores anticatólicos, y el vocabulario o expresiones que acompañan a estos argumentos. Este trabajo, pues, demuestra que se trata de una crítica jesuítica cargada de connotaciones negativas que influyen en la percepción que el lector tiene sobre los jesuitas.

## **Palabras clave**

James Wadsworth, anticatolicismo, anti-jesuitismo, crítica jesuita, Colegios ingleses, panfletos.



## Table of contents

<b>1. Introduction .....</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>2. Religious confrontation: Catholicism, Protestantism and anti-Catholicism...</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>3. The Company of Jesus .....</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>4. The role of the pamphlet in anti-Catholicism .....</b>	<b>11</b>
<b>5. James Wadsworth, between Catholicism and Protestantism.....</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>6. Jesuitical criticism in <i>The English Spanish Pilgrim</i> .....</b>	<b>15</b>
6.1. Structure .....	15
6.2. Arguments set out for anti-Jesuit criticism .....	17
6.2.1. Hierarchy and education .....	17
6.2.2. Personal enrichment .....	22
6.2.3. Seducers.....	24
6.2.4. Deceitful, dissimulating and unreliable .....	25
6.2.5. Idolatry .....	27
6.3. Narrative technique and vocabulary.....	28
<b>7. Conclusion .....</b>	<b>31</b>
<b>8. Bibliography.....</b>	<b>32</b>

## 1. Introduction

From the beginning of the sixteenth century, the religious tensions in Europe between Catholicism and Protestantism resulting from Henry VIII's schism coincided with the spread of Martin Luther's ideas about the Reformation of the Church in Germany. However, the English Reformation followed another course, alternating between Catholic and Protestant principles in accordance with the political necessities of Henry VIII.

The publications carried out by both sides arose as a powerful weapon in the religious confrontation. Thus, literature became essential in the dissemination of critical ideas and debates against the opposite religion. These publications ranged from official texts published by the government to pamphlets and unofficial texts. From 1445, and thanks to the printing press, these publications had a wider dissemination, becoming more accessible to a varied audience of all social classes.

Anti-Catholicism was strongly connected with Spain, since it was the main representative of Catholicism, and the first European Catholic power. For this reason, anti-Catholicism was often related with Spain, but also with the Jesuits, since they had been the main representatives of the Catholic faith with the foundation of the Company of Jesus in 1540. Consequently, Jesuit criticism has been an essential part of anti-Catholicism. As we shall see throughout the following pages, anti-Catholicism was a propagandistic movement spread during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which not unfrequently overlapped with what has been later known as "Black Legend," a negative image of Spain.

The aim of this graduate dissertation is to analyse James Wadsworth's anti-Catholic criticism through his pamphlet, *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems* (1629), and in particular the author's portrayal of the Jesuits. To achieve this purpose, in the pages that follow, it will be analysed the arguments that Wadsworth employed to create this type of criticism, which have been already employed through history by other anti-Catholic authors. In addition, this study examines the vocabulary of these arguments and its negative connotations. Although the pamphlet presents elements of the anti-Spanish discourse as well, this

graduate dissertation will focus on anti-Catholic discourse, more specifically on the anti-Jesuitical, due to practical constraints.

## **2. Religious confrontation: Catholicism, Protestantism and anti-Catholicism**

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was a general atmosphere of religious tensions throughout Europe.<sup>1</sup> Martin Luther's ideas about the reform of the Church in Germany were already in England. In 1521, Henry VIII wrote *the Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* in response to Luther's treaty *De Captivate Babylonica* (1520), in which he defended papal supremacy, the indissolubility of marriage and condemned the schism. In 1529, moved by his desire to annul his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, Henry VIII appealed to the Church of Rome, but it was denied. After his disagreements with the Church of Rome, Henry VIII took advantage of the anti-clerical sentiment that was present in a great sector of the English society thanks to Luther's thoughts and began schism from Rome. From then on, Henry VIII rejected papal authority and moved towards the reformation of the Church of England. In 1534, he became the head of the Anglican Church after he signed the Act of Supremacy.

The progressive deterioration of the Catholic Church at spiritual and institutional level since the Middle Ages and the growing number of critical voices demanding a profound reform of the Church were decisive factors in the disintegration of Catholicism in England before the Reformation and the religious confrontation between Catholicism and Protestantism. The circumstances that led to the collapse of the papal power and Catholic unity point to a series of factors and causes that, together with Luther's intervention, may explain the success of the Protestant Reformation. The first factor was the corruption and the vices of the ecclesiastical community, although Rome was aware of this moral and spiritual weakness. The second factor was the growing estrangement between the English monarch and the papal hierarchy, and the implantation of a national church in England, which marked a turning point in the European history. Therefore, the need to justify the separation from the Church of Rome arises, together with the anti-Catholicism as a mechanism to control a nation with a Catholic past.

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<sup>1</sup> The historical background is based on Álvarez Recio (2006) and Maltby (1982).

Notwithstanding, in order to understand why anti-Catholicism was established in such a deep way in England, we must understand the events that took after the death of Henry VIII. From 1547 till 1553, England continued to be Protestant with Edward VI, but in 1553 Mary Tudor ascended to the throne. Mary Tudor was a fervent Catholic who decided to re-establish Catholicism in England, but she remained on the throne just a few years until her death in 1558. Finally, in 1558 Elizabeth I assumed the throne and restored Protestantism in England. Those constant changes of monarch and religion gave rise to religious instability, coinciding with the concern of the nation for the lack of a male heir and an imminent change of dynasty after Elizabeth's death. After her death in 1603 without a successor to the throne, James I inherited it and in 1604 he signed the peace with Spain. In 1605, he started the negotiations to marry his son Charles (later Charles I) with Infanta Maria Anna of Spain (the daughter of Philip III of Spain). As a result, England was expected to begin a policy of tolerance towards the Catholics until the Parliament approved the Oath of Allegiance in 1606, in the aftermath of the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.<sup>2</sup> The Oath of Allegiance was an act that required that all English subjects must be denied the Pope's authority over the English Monarch. In the practice, James proved to be lenient and tolerant with Catholicism, but the Gunpowder Plot caused a revival of anti-Catholic sentiments.

The evidence presented by authors such as William S. Maltby or Leticia Álvarez Recio, suggests that anti-Catholic literature was fundamental to revive those anti-Catholic sentiments. The literature of this period substitutes the theological controversy and doctrinal elements of previous years with descriptions of the Catholic cruelty, to favour a collective action of rejection. Thomas Ridgedell (2017) maintains that evidence seems to suggest that this Catholic cruelty was focused in particular on the religious Company of Jesus, due to the role of the Jesuits in the English mission and tensions between Catholic clerics and laymen rejected by other Catholic collectives. Those tensions gave rise to the Archpriest Controversy, a dispute that took place after the Pope Clement VIII appointed an archpriest to oversee the missionary priests of the Roman Catholic Church in England between 1598 and 1602. England decided to support the "appellants" or

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<sup>2</sup> The Gunpowder Plot, known also as the Jesuit Treason, was a failed attempt to assassinate James I and restore Catholicism in England, carried out by a group of English Catholics.



opponents of this measure alleging "a serious ideological breach between the Jesuit faction and the Appellants" (Ridgedell 561).

As a consequence of the substitution of theological controversy and doctrinal elements with the descriptions of the Catholic cruelty, the Inquisition became the object of anti-Catholic criticism, together with the Company. The Inquisition was the institution in charge of suppressing heresy within the Catholic Church. The Spanish Inquisition was one of its main representatives and an international symbol of the Catholic faith, since it was the one spread throughout Europe and the New World with the support of the Hispanic Monarchy. In addition, it played an important role in the fight against Protestantism when Philip II of Spain and Mary Tudor married. This institution employed miscellaneous methods to combat heresy,<sup>3</sup> which gave rise to the production of relevant anti-Catholic literature focused on Catholic cruelty. The first one, *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church* (1563), popularly known as the *Book of Martyrs*, was written by the Protestant historian John Foxe. He gave a detailed account of the tortures that English Protestant martyrs suffered under the control of the Catholic Church from the fourteenth century until the reign of Mary Tudor. Several researchers such as John E. Drabble (1982) or David Loades (1999) have assessed the efficacy of Foxe's work in the reconstruction of England's national history. In the same vein, William Haller points out that thanks to this work the English population developed a disproportionate aversion to the Church of Rome, but also that they were able to embrace a powerful sentiment of national identity. The Spanish literature of that period did not contribute to mitigate that representation of the Catholic cruelty with *La Brevisima Relación de la Destrucción de las Indias* (1552). Through this work, Bartolomé de las Casas attempted to fight for the rights of the native population, but he provided such a detailed account of the atrocities committed in the New World by the Spanish colonizers, in order to convert native people to Catholicism, that it ended up being an anti-Catholic key work. Furthermore, John Patrick Thaddeus Barrington holds that just a few analysts tried to provide an accurate study of the arguments employed in anti-Catholic literature, suggesting that this lack of studies may be related to historians' understanding of anti-Catholicism as "a set of prejudices with little intellectual content" (3). A similar perspective had been adopted by John Miller

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<sup>3</sup> The information about the Inquisition has been extracted from Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus (1567).

who stated that anti-Catholicism was "in no way a coherent ideology, but consisted of a succession of images, mostly lurid" (70-71).

### 3. The Company of Jesus

Since its foundation in 1534, The Company of Jesus was the institution most subject to anti-Catholic opinions, being object of criticism within the Catholic Church itself. Ignatius of Loyola founded the Company in Rome, with the approval of Pope Paul III,<sup>4</sup> as a mechanism to prevent the spread of the Protestant heresy through Europe and disseminate the Catholic message. But this led into anti-Catholic criticism directed against Loyola, who had faced several inquisitorial processes, and against the Company. There was a significant correlation between Loyola's military background and the spread of the Company throughout the world, since one of the aims of the Company was that members were expected to spread Catholicism anywhere, even in extreme live conditions.

One of the key figures in the development of the Company in early modern England was Robert Persons,<sup>5</sup> an English Jesuit priest and one of the most representative figures in establishing the English Mission during the sixteenth century. In 1588, he was sent to Spain to reconcile the Company with Philip II of Spain, since he was previously offended by Claudio Acquaviva.<sup>6</sup> Once he was established in Spain and after the reconciliation, thanks to the favour of Philip II, he founded the seminaries of Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, Sanlúcar, apart from the seminaries abroad of Lisbon and St Omer.<sup>7</sup> In his later years, he became the rector of the English College in Rome until his death in 1610. For Persons, the education was a mechanism to fight against heresy, since during Elizabeth's reign Catholics were not allowed to receive religious education in England. At the same time, he considered that the production of pamphlets was a mechanism to fight against the Reformation, as well as the accommodation of English Catholics in

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<sup>4</sup> Pope Paul III published the first *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (1559), known also as List of Prohibited Books, which was a list of books classified as heretical by the Catholic Church.

<sup>5</sup> The information regarding Robert Persons has been extracted from Edwards (1995).

<sup>6</sup> Claudio Aquaviva (1543- 1615) joined the Company in 1567 and was the fifth and youngest General of the Society of Jesus. The information regarding Claudio Aquaviva has been extracted from Mostaccio (2014).

<sup>7</sup> The information regarding the English Colleges has been extracted from Schwickerath (1903).

these Colleges (Wadsworth calls them "English fugitives"). According to Xavier Cacho Vázquez in his article "La ratio studiorum de la Compañía de Jesús y los valores" (1993), the most important work that the Company produced to fight against heresy was not a pamphlet, but rather the *Ratio Studiorum* (1599), a document with the official education plan of the Jesuits. As Maltby asserts, whenever a work with this impact in the society was published, a literary trend arose with the aim of discrediting it (17). This argument illustrates the purpose of the publication of Wadsworth's pamphlet.

#### **4. The role of the pamphlet in anti-Catholicism**

The production of pamphlets played one of the most important roles in the spread of anti-Catholicism. In 1529, the beginning of a Protestant literary tradition was evident with Henry VIII. However, the real scope of the pamphlets was not fully developed until 1559, when Elizabeth I entrusted to the Archbishop and the Bishop of Canterbury the supervision of the entire press to try to avoid any type of anti-Protestant literature in England, but also to have the control over anti-Catholic literature.

In 1445, Johannes Gutenberg conducted a revolutionary mechanization of the printing process with the use of metal stamps of single letters.<sup>8</sup> This mechanization of the process, together with the decrease in cost of raw materials, allowed the production of cheaper pamphlets. Joad Raymond affirms in this book *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (2004), that the word pamphlet has its origins in a Latin poem from the fourteenth century called *Pamphilus seu de Amore*. The diminutive suffix "-et" was added to "Pamphilus" through the time, becoming the term employed for any small work (7-8). In 1998, Peter Matheson suggested that the final scope of the pamphlets is to manipulate reader's perception about the issue they are dealing with (146), adopting the same point of view of the author which will be demonstrated in section six that was Wadsworth's intention, but Kenneth A. Strand provides a more accurate definition of the pamphlet in terms of purpose, subject matter and presentation style. In terms of purpose, pamphlets must "give evidence of a propagandistic function; their obvious intent must be to influence thought and/or to incite the readers to action for certain

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<sup>8</sup> The information regarding the printing process has been extracted from McDaniel (2015).

causes or on certain issues, theological or practical" (178-179). In terms of subject matter, after the Reformation pamphlets dealt with theological and ecclesiological issues, together with political, economic, commercial, and social matters. Finally, in terms of presentation style, pamphlet literature "could take a variety of forms- from theological argumentation, to historical narrative, to imaginary accounts, to polemical diatribe and lampoons" (179). They could be written in prose or poetry, or they could be "raucous ridicule and invective" (179). Pictorial representation, dialogue, drama and "open letters" were also allowed in Reformation pamphlets.

Historically, pamphlets had been associated with the idea of defamation and lower social classes; regardless they were a great element of dissemination approachable to all the sectors of society due to its size, price and simplicity of content. In addition, pamphlets reached its peak with the increase of literate population. As Raymond states, most of the works printed had a religious nature, which confirms the closeness between the pamphlets and the doctrinal discussion between Protestants and Catholics.

Taking into account the abovementioned definitions, Wadsworth's pamphlet fulfils the requirements established by Strand in terms of purpose, subject matter and presentation style. It was written in prose, presents an "open letter", and incites the reader to take part in anti-Catholicism issues. In addition, it deals with theological argumentation and ecclesiological issues.

## 5. James Wadsworth, between Catholicism and Protestantism

James Wadsworth was born in 1604 in the bosom of a Protestant family. His father, James Wadsworth (1572-1563), was an English clergyman converted into Catholicism after confessing in a letter that his religious views had been confused a few years before his arrival to Spain, in 1605.<sup>9</sup> He served as chaplain of Sir Charles Cornwallis in the embassy of Spain, but after studying theology in Alcalá de Henares he started to work for the Inquisition and the Spanish Crown. In 1610, his family moved to Spain, including his youngest son; the author of the pamphlet.

His son, also called James Wadsworth, the author of the text analysed in this dissertation, attended different Catholic colleges in Spain from 1610 to 1618, date in which he enrolled the Jesuit English College in St. Omer, France.<sup>10</sup> After spending four years in St. Omer, Wadsworth enrolled a trip to Sanlúcar with other students, but on their way to the south of Spain, they were captured by Moroccan pirates and detained near Rabat. Finally, he arrived to Seville where his uncle paid a ransom for his release. Wadsworth was also granted with a commission by Philip IV, but after his father's death in 1623, he decided to return to England in 1625. According to Loomie, in England "he denounced popery and offered his services as a spy to the privy council" (2), so he was sent to Paris and Calais as a spy, but he ended up in prison in both cities. Consequently, he was not able to work as a spy for his country anymore, but he found an alternative way to contribute when he started to write. In 1629, he published a memoir of his adventures as a pilgrim, *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems*. The distribution of Wadsworth's pamphlet was successful because the printing and distribution process was carried out in the countries in which the pamphlet was going to be distributed and he was already in England under the protection of William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of his Majesty's household, and the Chancellor of Oxford University when he published the pamphlet. It was so profitable that he prepared a third printing to keep up with the demand, in which he added new preliminary material establishing his Protestant views and criticizing Spain and St. Omer. In addition, in 1630, Wadsworth

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<sup>9</sup> The information regarding James Wadsworth (1572-1563) has been extracted from Murphy (2004).

<sup>10</sup> The information regarding James Wadsworth (1604-?) has been extracted from Loomie (2004).

published a second part of the English Spanish Pilgrim: *Fvrther Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime, Concerning Spain*. He also translated the following works: *The Present State of Spayne, On the Nature and Quality of Chocolate* and *The European Mercury*.

Loomie described Wadsworth as “a pursuivant, or messenger, of the court of high commission and the privy council. Armed with their warrants, he arrested for a fee recusants and priests, several of whom he knew from his years overseas with Catholic students” (2). As I will explain in the next section (Jesuitical criticism in *The English Spanish Pilgrim*), Wadsworth was able to give a catalogue of the Colleges and Monasteries run by the Jesuits and provide to his country useful information about the English fugitives under the King of Spain, the pension they received, their financial situation, and the injustices they committed. Some of those fugitives were Jesuits from St. Omer, and thanks to the information he provided, they ended up in prison.

Already in the preliminary material, Wadsworth states his intentions against Catholics with the publication of his work, when he asks William Earle, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to protect his work since it will not please everybody but he will expose the truth about the Company and their Colleges:

protect and fauour these rude lines, not looking vpon the meane vnderstanding of the Authour, but the good will and affection wherewith I haue written them; to wit, for the honour of God, and good of my Countrey: wherein I doe especially discouer diuerse subtilties and policies, of the English Iesuites, Fryers, Monkes and other Seminary Priests beyond the seas, as likewise our English fugitiues vnder the King of Spaines Dominions, and the wrong I receiued in turning to mine owne true Religion. (Wadsworth, A3r-v)<sup>11</sup>

He assures that his words are full of truth and that his intention from the first moment in which he decides to write this pamphlet is to defend God and uncover the corruption permanently present within the different religious spheres of the Church of Rome. Wadsworth points out: “yet in it selfe the worke is religiously disposed to the discovering of truth, and that all which are any whit inclined to the Sea of Rome, may

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<sup>11</sup> Wadsworth’s text has been transcribed from the 1629 edition maintaining all its original graphological features.

see the vaile vnmaskt wherwith they were hoodwinkt” (A3), to warn about his real intention.

## 6. Jesuitical criticism in *The English Spanish Pilgrim*

The following section analyses Wadsworth’s portrayal of the Jesuits, identifying the critical anti-Catholic content of the pamphlet, the arguments employed against the Jesuits and the vocabulary or expressions accompanying these arguments. It will be divided into three main parts. In the first one, I will provide an analysis of the structure and explain how the content is organized. In the second one, I will carry out an analysis of the arguments employed in the Jesuitical criticism as part of anti-Catholicism. Finally, in the third one I will analyse the narrative technique and vocabulary employed by the author to support anti-Catholicism.

### 6.1. Structure

As it has been mentioned before, James Wadsworth's pamphlet is a seventeenth-century autobiographical work which contains the personal experiences, as well as the thoughts of the author. Through James Wadsworth’s perception of the Jesuit Company, their Colleges, and the methods they employ within these Colleges to spread Catholicism and educate their students, this work could be considered a criticism toward this religious community. Although he published the work for the first time in 1629, the action takes place between 1604 and 1629, and in 1630 he went into a second part entitled *Further Observations*. In the first section of the dedication of the 1629 edition, he assures that he already left “the Sea of Rome”, and explains the motives why he has been converted to the Church of England. The rest of the preliminary material contains a poem of Thomas Mottershead<sup>12</sup> and a dedicatory epistle to William, Earl of Pembroke.<sup>13</sup> From the

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<sup>12</sup> Wadsworth’s friend.

<sup>13</sup> William Herbert, Third Earl of Pembroke (1580-1630), was an English nobleman and Chancellor of the University of Oxford. He stood out for being the Maecenas of most of the literary authors of that period, such as Shakespeare or John Donne. The information regarding William Herbert has been extracted from O’Farrell (2011).

preliminary material, it can be seen that he asks Earl of Pembroke to protect his work from the adversaries, as it contains the truth of the English Jesuits, Fryers, Monks and other seminar Priests, but also the truth about the English fugitives under “the King of Spain's Dominions”. The evidence here seems to suggest the intention of the work, warning the reader about the "rude lines" he will be able to read below.

After the preliminary material, the overall structure of the pamphlet takes the form of eight chapters as follows:

I. His father’s studies in Protestant institutions before he moved to Spain and how he became Catholic, including the techniques employed by the Jesuits to convert his mother until she also moved to Spain.

II. Their journey to Spain where he spent eight years in Madrid and Seville before he moved to St. Omer.

III. The educational system of St. Omer; a further description of the internal functioning and the discipline imposed by the Jesuits.

IV. His journey to Spain when he left St. Omer.

V. The hardships he suffered when he was sold as a slave.

VI. His last period in Spain when he recovered his freedom, and the death of his father.

VII. A detailed denounce of the injustices committed in the Colleges or Monasteries of the Jesuits, along with information about the English fugitives under the King of Spain; their pension, their financial situation, or how they committed treason against their country and their religion.

VIII. In the final chapter he gives an explanation of why he left the service of his Catholic Majesty and returned to England.



The author follows a chronological first-person narration. The space in which the work takes place is divided into three main sceneries: Spain, France (St. Omer) and England. Spain represents a period of transition, France represents a period of education and England represents his home. As this dissertation analyses Jesuit criticism in Wadsworth's work, the data in this graduate dissertation is drawn from three main chapters: I, III, and VII.

## 6.2. Arguments set out for anti-Jesuit criticism

### 6.2.1. Hierarchy and education

The first argument of the criticism carried out by Wadsworth is the hierarchy of the Jesuit College at St. Omer. He divides the Jesuits into three groups according to the power or responsibility of each member within the institution: "the Machiavellians", "the envious", and "the simple ones". The first group, "the Machiavellians", is guided by a series of commandments that represent the Machiavellian behaviour which can be summarized as "all for me, and nothing for thee" (Wadsworth 30). He includes Joseph Creswell in this group, who was Robert Parsons's successor as rector of the English College in Rome, but also a key figure in the Spanish Court. The Real Academia de la Historia, places Creswell within the group of advisers of Philip III, taking part in international problems such as the succession of Elizabeth I. According to the Real Academia de la Historia, he had an "offensive and not defensive attitude" (unnumbered) in matters of State.

Historically, the term "Machiavellian" derives from Niccolò Machiavelli's work *The Prince* (1532), which established the idea of what is a "Machiavellian" character. In addition, we should bear in mind that some members of the Catholic Church, such as the Cardinal Reginald Pole in his *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum* (1539) considered *The Prince* (1532) a malignant satire "written by the finger of Satan" (Chadwick, unnumbered). Daniel N. Jones states that "the gist of his advice for maintaining political control is captured in the phrase the end justifies the means" (93). According to Machiavelli, a ruler should be open to each and every of the effective tactics, including

manipulation strategies such as flattery or lying. Commenting on the Machiavellian character, Richard Christie (2013) describes it as the one who “views and manipulates others for his own purposes” (1). In a considerable amount of literature, including Shakespeare's plays, the term has been employed to describe characters who display an amoral behaviour in favour of their political interests. The study carried out by Eduardo Olid Guerrero in 2013, suggests that the use of this terminology already predisposes the reader, glimpsing the anti-Catholic behaviour of the first group of Jesuits. Wadsworth describes this group as the ones in charge of matters of State related to the Pope and the Catholic Majesty, and affirms that most of them are atheists or very bad Christians but remain being Jesuits due to their political interests (29), which makes them perfectly suitable for the role of the “Machiavellian”. In my opinion, this is the reason why Wadsworth mentioned Creswell on several occasions, because he was a famous Jesuit already in the political sphere, so Creswell then becomes an accurate example of a Jesuit with political ambitions.

In 2013, Román Álvarez Rodríguez published a paper in which he demonstrates that in literature there are numerous associations of Jesuits with the character of Machiavelli. For example, the poet John Donne in *Ignatius his Conclave* (1611) performed a dialogue between Ignacio de Loyola and Machiavelli in which they exchange a series of arguments in the presence of Lucifer to demonstrate who leads the stand as "an agent evil on earth" (qtd. in Adams 241).

The term “Machiavellian” is not only employed to designate the Jesuits throughout the pamphlet, but also to refer to Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, the Count of Gondomar. He was ambassador of Spain in England between 1613 and 1622, and had a prominent role in maintaining the peace between England and Spain during the reign of James I of England, leading the Catholic faction in the English Court. According to Fernando Bartolomé Benito in his work *Don Diego de Sarmiento de Acuña, conde de Gondomar: El Maquiavelo español* (2004), the Count of Gondomar was historically known as the "Spanish Machiavelli", which is a significant outcome since with the term “Machiavellians”, Wadsworth establishes a close relationship within the Jesuits and a historical figure that was already recognised as “Machiavellian”. In the case that the negative connotations of the use of this term were not enough, the author even adds

“wickedness” to the term, which is a characteristic already implicit in the concept of “Machiavellian”. But the most striking result to emerge from the analysis is that in the third chapter Wadsworth associates Father Baldwin, the rector of the College in 1622, with Gondomar, who released Baldwin from the Tower of London, where he was imprisoned for seven years on charges of suspicion of high treason. Thanks to the intercession of Gondomar, he was released and became the first English Rector of St. Omer (Wadsworth 27).

Taken together, these results suggest that the author employed this term in order to associate the “Machiavellian” character with the most powerful Jesuits inside the College, the Count of Gondomar and the “Machiavellian” origins of the College. Finally, the last way in which he employs the term is when he refers to Gondomar's nephew. Wadsworth calls him this way, instead of with his real name, to associate him with an act of cowardice against the Rochellers (Wadsworth 8). His nephew was a Jesuit, so it is evident that the aim of Wadsworth is to blacken the name of the Jesuits by means of his nephew, but also associate the “Machiavellian” character of Gondomar with the “Machiavellian” character of the Jesuits.

The second group of Jesuits identified by Wadsworth is “the envious”, whose members are described as those “who preach, confess, and teach youth, and envy each other for the number of their schoolers and ghostly children” (Wadsworth 30). We have to bear in mind that envy was considered a capital sin within the Catholic Church, and is directly related with the description of the third group. Finally, the third group is classified as “the simple ones”, which he accused of enriching themselves at the expense of other Jesuits (the argument of personal enrichment will be analysed in section 6.2.2.). The envy that the second group handles, is carried out by the third group, enriching themselves at the expense of other Jesuits.

There seems to be another type of classification according to the duty that the Jesuits performed in the College. The first group is composed by those who hold a higher position such as the Rector whom he compares with a Vice-God, the Vice-Rector who holds the position of minister, and finally the “Praefects” or “ouer-seers”. By naming them in that way, the author seeks to produce an antonomasia with the intention of placing them in the most important areas: religion, politics and security. The second

group is composed by the masters of poetry, syntax, grammar, figures, and print-house. According to the author they were respected by their own students due to their teaching labour, and it is true that he does not employ any negative or pejorative terminology to describe them. As Robert Schwickerath argues in his analysis of the Jesuit education (1903), the educational labour of the Jesuits was debated in England, Germany, France and the United States (4), but it was effective despite the methods employed in the Colleges. Much of the knowledge that was preserved until the nineteenth century was thanks to the meticulous study that was carried out in these Colleges, especially in the areas of knowledge previously mentioned (ch. XIII). It is important to bear in mind that for Wadsworth it would be more effective to carry out a criticism against the methods employed than a criticism against the knowledge imparted, since it was the tendency which carried out other educational institutions such as the Sorbonne. In the anonymous pamphlet *The Legend of the Jesuites* (1623), the author relates how the Sorbonne University considered those Colleges as potential competitors due to the free education they offered to the upper social classes. This free education was one of the key elements that compose anti-Catholicism, due to the fact that the best way to discredit that free education was arguing that they just want those students because of their noble blood, the connection with the social classes of the high spheres and even their inheritance.

One of the aspects that Wadsworth criticises of the education in St. Omer is the use of Latin, or the punishment when students speak in English, since Protestants avoided the use of Latin, especially in religious contexts. According to Claire Cross (2000), in 1549 the main objective of Thomas Cranmer and the Parliament of England was to substitute the Latin by the vernacular language so that the use of Latin was not interpreted as pro-Catholic. Schwickerath (1903) demonstrates that this argument is related to anti-Catholicism since the use of Latin in the Law Code was indispensable for England, while the use of Latin in the Catholic Colleges was an argument for the criticism. Despite the evidence that the linguistic argument is part of anti-Catholicism, Schwickerath supports the criticism to the educational methods employing the terminology: authority, punishment or discipline, which are exactly the same terms that Wadsworth employs. This terminology is exemplified in the work with Father Thunder who “exercises many of his claps upon their breeches” (Wadsworth 14) or with the discipline which is “rather barbarous than civil” (Wadsworth 12), but it is not the only

example that the author provides. For example, he narrates the physical abuses against a student in which they employ the “disciplines”. The author defines this instrument as a “stucke with wyery prickes” (21), and indicates that their intention when they employ this instrument of penance was to make him turn Jesuit. Some of the words which the author employs when he describes the educational method of the Jesuits are: tricks, promises, captive, incitement, snares, barbarous precedents, punish, etc. The present examples are significant to conclude that his description of the educational method implies abuse of power by the Jesuits.

Christopher Carlsmith (2002) highlights the educational influence of confession, together with the study of Latin, in the study he carried out of the Jesuit education in Italy between 1540 and 1600. Indeed, another aspect that Wadsworth criticises of the education in St. Omer is the confession technique. Actually, the intention of Wadsworth could be to make a reference to the Inquisitional technique in this context: “As for the Interrogatory and confession of their ghostly Fathers, I referre you to *Peter de molin*, which is intituled *Novaute du papisme*, where you may at large read those abhominable abuses committed in their Interrogatories” (Wadsworth 20). Wadsworth compares the confession with an interrogatory, the main technique employed by the Inquisition, according to Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus in his book *Inquisitionis Hispanicae Artes: The Arts of the Spanish Inquisition* (1567). At the same time, Wadsworth makes reference to the “abhominable abuses” (21) committed in the interrogatories, which coincide with the descriptions that Montanus gave of an Inquisitorial interrogatory. Other techniques, such as tortures, became more famous thorough history, but in most of the interrogatories these were not necessary. Prisoners confessed without being tortured due to the fear.

Finally, the third group of the second classification that Wadsworth establishes is dedicated to the lay brothers who carried out the most humble and manual services. Wadsworth suggests that the Jesuits consider them second-class members with the sentence “the disrespect they giue them themselves” (Wadsworth 14). Taken together, these classifications support the notion of a clear internal hierarchy within the Jesuits that could be interpreted as a reference to the internal breach within the Catholic Church

between the Jesuit and the Appellants,<sup>14</sup> but in case this correlation was not clear, the author states that “Jesuites endeauour to demollish all Orders and places of eminency aboue them” (Wadsworth 32). The evidence obtained from this classification suggests that Wadsworth’s strongest argument employed in the criticism is the internal hierarchy within the Company.

### 6.2.2. Personal enrichment

In the previous section of the dissertation we already mentioned that one of the arguments which Wadsworth employs is that the Jesuits were looking for personal enrichment with their behaviour. In anti-Catholic literature the most representative author that wrote about this issue was Walter Lynne. In his pamphlet, *The Beginning and Endyng of all Popery, or Popishe Kyngedome* (1548),<sup>15</sup> he projected the traditional image of a corrupted cleric pursuing the personal enrichment. This projection can be seen in the next example: “when they smelled ryches, and daylye coueted more and more, then was goddes worde laide aside” (Unnumbered).

The first texts against the enrichment and power of the ecclesiastical hierarchy appeared in the fourteenth century. Marsilius of Padua in his work *The Defender of Peace* (1324), already advocated the necessity to return to evangelical poverty.<sup>16</sup> It seems curious that in section 6.2.1., Wadsworth classifies the third group of Jesuits as the ones who enrich themselves at the expense of others, since they represent the group with less power within the College. The aim of this argument is to manipulate the reader's perception. If they enrich themselves at the expense of their peers, they would do it at the expense of their students. This characteristic takes us directly to the classification of the students and the real reasons why they are selected, according to Wadsworth: their noble blood, since they will receive a greater wealth.

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<sup>14</sup>The information regarding the Appellants has been extracted from Bossy (1975).

<sup>15</sup> This pamphlet is based on the German translation *Vaticinia* from Joachim of Fiore (1130-1201). He was a theologian and biblical commentator whose ideas had a great influence in diverse religious communities almost until the nineteenth century. The information regarding Joachim of Fiore has been extracted from Reeves (1998).

<sup>16</sup> The information regarding Walter Lynne has been extracted from Spiers (1974).

Let vs now descend to the Students: their chiefest quality is noble blood for the most part, to make such a Proselite the Fathers compass sea and land, perswading them that such a calling addes to their Nobility. Of others lesse eminent by birth, it is required they should at least equall, if not transcend in eminency of parts & wits, which in time would purchase better portions then men more nobly descended would haue afforded from inheritance. (Wadsworth 14)

The case of M<sup>r</sup>. Inglefield is the most representative example of the interest that the Jesuits had in a student just because of his wealth. The author makes the following statement: "their intent was to make him one of their owne order, and so get his meanes away from him" (Wadsworth 50), and explains the meticulous plan they carry out to achieve their purpose. This plan consists of not leaving him alone, persuade him every day to take the habits, and force him to lead a life of meditation.

As I explained in Wadsworth's biography, he worked as a spy for England's Government. In chapter number seven, he provides a detailed and elaborate compilation of all "English Fugitiues vnder the King of Spaine his Dominions and else where, with a Catalog of the Colledges and Monasteries belonging to our English Iesuites, Monkes, and Seminary Priests beyond the Seas "(Wadsworth 62). At a time in which Catholics were persecuted in Europe, the English Catholic Church decided to found several colleges in Europe to cover the necessity of spreading God's faith through the world, to transmit the Catholic faith to their students, but also to serve as a shelter for the fugitives from England. It is clear that Wadsworth's intention was to reveal all the knowledge he had about the English colleges and monasteries for persecution purposes. He talks about the College of Douay, a Scottish Seminary, the College at Valladolid, the College at Seville, the Residence at Madrid, the Residence at Sanlúcar, the Residence at Lisbon, the College at Salamanca, the College of Rome or the College of Brussels. In his comments about these institutions, the argument of enrichment is connected to Jesuits' corruption, giving examples such as the founder of the Scottish Seminary: Colonel Simple, who betrayed a town in Holland and received 250,000 crows for his betrayal (25). To support the argument of personal enrichment, the author employs the term "pension" up to twenty-one times to talk about the money that the English fugitives receive from the Spanish Crown for betraying England, portraying the corrupted character of those protected by the Company. In addition, in some of the examples he illustrates how the Jesuits keep the pensions of the fugitives. In relation to



the corruption of the Church of Rome, one of the most representative examples could be the Jesuit Hill, who donated his wealth obtained from piracy to the Pope when he became Jesuit in order to obtain the forgiveness of his sins (57). Taken together these results, it is evident the criticism of personal enrichment as well as the corruption within the Company.

### 6.2.3. Seducers

Almost every study that has been written on Jesuits points that this image of "seducers" can be understood in two different ways in anti-Catholic literature. According to Eric Nelson in "The Jesuit Legend: Superstition and Myth-Making" (2002), the first interpretation is the strategy of seduction as a method to attract people to Catholicism. For example, Wadsworth appeals to this one when he explains the conversion of his mother who "was at length seduced by one *Kelly* a Iesuite" (Wadsworth 5) or when he narrates how the Jesuits tried to convert a student: "went about to seduce to them one M<sup>r</sup>. Henry Challoner, sonne to Sir Thomas Challoner, late Tutor to Prince Henry" (Wadsworth 51). The second interpretation deals with the seduction of women from the Court, although Nelson explains that this interpretation is part of the "myth-making" that surrounds the figure of the Jesuits. The main connection between the Company and the nobility was women from the Court, but the nature of their relationship was not based on seduction, it was a matter of power and politics. Despite this clarification, in Protestant literature, women are represented as victims of the Jesuits persuasion, as happens in the anonymous text *The Downfall of the Jesuits* (1623). The Jesuits were spiritual advisers of those women from the Court, whereas those women were the protectors and benefactors of the Company. However, Wadsworth did not employ this argument of seduction since he was a student so he did not have contact with women from the Court or the Jesuits who were in contact with those women. At the beginning, Wadsworth employs just the term seduction, but gradually, he employs synonyms such as "allure", "entice", or "persuade".



Finally, the author provides us with an example of homosexual seduction together with the narration of an encounter he has with a monk on his way to Madrid: "on the way the Fryer well observing the comelynesse and ingenious lookes grew forthwith inamoured with him, insomuch that he desired to be his bed fellow, and in condition thereof he promised him a nights lodging with his sister" (Wadsworth 52). According to Andreu Navarra Ordoño in his work *El anticlericalismo. ¿Una singularidad de la cultura española?* (2013), the Spanish bibliographer, scholar and writer Bartolomé José Gallardo includes the term "sodomy" in his critical-burlesque dictionary as one of the main criticisms against the Jesuits in the previous three centuries. To support the argument of sodomy together with the seduction, the author employs vocabulary such as "unnatural desires", "abused" or "enticement". Moreover, Sebastián Cabrera Padilla explains in his study *Discursos de la sodomía en la guerra hispanomapuche: Entre prácticas e identidades nefandas en los siglos XVI y XVII* (2020), that the term sodomy was a narrative resource employed in the evangelization of the native population. That seems to be the case of Jesuits such as Luis de Valdivia and Diego de Rosales, who employed the term sodomy in the biblical accounts of "Sodom and Gomorrah" to persuade the native population to abandon their "vices" (Cabrera Padilla 15). By contrast, in my opinion, anti-Catholic authors like Wadsworth misrepresented the use of the term "sodomy" in order to make the reader believe that the Jesuits are the ones who commit sodomy.

#### 6.2.4. Deceitful, dissimulating and unreliable

In the work, Wadsworth employs the term "spy" several times to associate the Jesuits to this role. Throughout history, some of the characteristics attributed to the figure of the spy were deceitful, dissimulating or unreliable, turning this character into a figure that the reader cannot trust. In the following example of the description of Father Fitz Herbert, who was "the Rector, who had beene before a pensiuner, and spye to the King of *Spaine* in *France*" (Wadsworth 69), Wadsworth associates the Rector with those negative characteristics implicit in the character of the spy, to discredit the image of a Catholic representative. One of the most representative anti-Catholic authors from the sixteenth century to address this topic was Thomas Bell, an English Catholic priest, who

became Protestant after being arrested in London. I have selected this author, not only due to the repercussion of his work, but also because, as Wadsworth did, he studied in the English College at Rome. Thomas Bell wrote several works, trying to describe the spying political nature of the Jesuits and the Company. In his work *The Anatomie of Popish Tyrannie wherein is Conteyned a Plaine Declaration and Christian Censure, of all the Principall Parts, of The Libels, Letters, Edictes, Pamphlets, and Bookes* (1603), we can find this representation of the Jesuits:

The old saying was, let the shoemaker meddle with his slipper, the smith with his anuill, and the priest with their prayers; but the Jesuites... are in at all (...) Matters of state, titles of princes, genealogies of kings, right of succession, dispoting of scepters, and such affaires are their chiefe studies. (qtd. in Álvarez Recio 173)

This association questioned the fidelity of the Company, as happens in the next cite from the same author:

The Jesuites will be Spaniards or Frenchmen, or whatsoever, if opportunitie be offered thereunto... the Iesuites change and rechange their rules and lawes, at their own good will and pleasure... [they are] fit for all times, all places, and all companies. (qtd. in Álvarez Recio 173)

In this sense, it can be asserted that Wadsworth's intention with this argument is not only to question their commitment to Catholicism and their God, but to imply that they are not reliable and they can betray other Catholic nations if they have the opportunity, just to improve their lifestyle. Furthermore, to support this argument of the spying role of the Jesuits, he frequently employs vocabulary such as plots, tricks or baits, with the term spy. In the example, "I might discover the plots and stratagems of our aduersaries, and so doe my Countrey farre greater seruice. Whereupon I straight made my repaire to the Court of the Archduchesse, where being suspected as a Spy" (Wadsworth 83), Wadsworth associates the Archduchess with the spy role with the terms "plot" and "stratagems", but at the same time, in section 6.2.3, I have indicated that women from the Court were in contact with the Jesuits. With this example Wadsworth associates the Jesuits with spies and even if he does not qualify them as spies, this association implies the deceitful, dissimulating and unreliable character of the Jesuits.

### 6.2.5. Idolatry

Finally, the last argument associated to the Jesuits is the practice of idolatry. Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary & Thesaurus defines idolatry as “the act of praying to a picture or object as part of a religion” (Unnumbered). Henry Ainsworth explains in his book *An Arrow against Idolatry Taken out of the quiver of the Lord of Hosts* (1690) how this practice had become a widespread Catholic vice even if it is forbidden in the Old Testament. He associates the veneration of images with the weakness of the new Catholicism and how it strays from the original Catholic Biblical tradition (ch.3). As this practice was condemned by Protestants, it became one of the strongest anti-Catholic arguments, together with the reaction against the worship of relics, also strongly criticized in idolatry. Ainsworth defines the term relic as a vestige that remains to a past era or thing (ch.3), which is directly connected with the first example of idolatry that Wadsworth provides when "the holy Crucifix (...) & giue to Noblemen as holy reliques, I iudge it a thing incredible, & thereby all their pretended miracles to be but meere Impostures" (Wadsworth 79). Wadsworth considers the relics an imposture: "and infinite other miracles and reliques which they haue, I haue found to be meere cheats and cosenages" (Wadsworth 79).

But the most significant example of idolatry is when the author expresses that for them it was a privilege to: “have graces, rosaries, and beades, Indulgences, Meddals and hallowed graines from his holiness" (Wadsworth 19). In 1563, the Church of Rome declared in the Council of Trent that Catholics should avoid superstition in the veneration of saints, relics and sacred images. Schroeder affirms that at first, the pamphleteers ignored this argument to avoid common topics between both doctrines, but finally they employed it to demonstrate their necessity of this type of resources in order to venerate their false God (216).

### 6.3. Narrative technique and vocabulary

From a narratological point of view, and besides the credibility resulting from the autobiographical account, the main technique that contributes to the effectiveness of anti-Catholic criticism in this text is the contraposition of good and evil. On the one hand, in this contraposition we will see that he uses certain pejorative, derogatory or negative vocabulary to represent Catholicism, which symbolises evil. On the other hand, he uses a completely different terminology to represent Protestantism, which symbolises the good, although it is true that he employs it just a few times, since the essence of the pamphlet is a criticism of the Church of Rome and its representatives. Historically, according to Herbert Zamora Rodríguez and his study “El bien y el mal como principio estructurador del entorno Amighettiano” (2003), the contraposition of good and evil has been one of the most recurrent themes, but especially in the religious area, with the biblical scene of Adam and Eve (95). Most of the Protestant characters that appear in the pamphlet are associated with acts of kindness with positive connotations, such as the example of M<sup>r</sup>. Peter Wiche, who helped him: "who clad both my back and my purse" (Wadsworth 10). The example of his father is another good illustration of this association. When he was still Protestant, Wadsworth employs the term “wisely” (3), but once his father was converted to Catholicism, Wadsworth employs the term “perverted” (unnumbered, preliminary material) or the phrase: "Proselites to their iugling Religion" (Wadsworth 4). As David A. Kerr explains in his study “Chrystian Understandings of Proselytism” (1999), in English literature of the Reformation the use of the term “proselytism” denotes obligation and represents “an act or process of inducing someone to convert to another faith.” (Kerr 8). In my opinion, Wadsworth employs the term proselyte with the negative connotations to define the conversion of his father, in the example “the young Lord and my Father became Proselites to their iugling Religion” (4). There is the possibility that with this correlation Wadsworth considers his father a convert for convenience without all the rights within the Jesuit community.

Going back to the narrative technique of the contraposition, it can be appreciated from the beginning of the pamphlet if we analyse the following statement: "Composed by James Wadsworth Gentleman, newly converted into his true mothers bosome, the

Church of England."(Title) We can distinguish that when he makes a reference to the Protestant Church, he employs the term "true" (Title). Nevertheless, when he makes a reference to the Catholic Church, he uses the term "perverted" (Title), creating the contrast between the negative and the positive. In a closer inspection of the title, it can be appreciated that Wadsworth employs the term "Popery", and through the work, the expression "Popish Idolatry" (Wadsworth 3) or several references to the Pope. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, Popery is a derogatory and archaic term used to refer to "the doctrines, practices, and ceremonies associated with the Pope or the papal system; Roman Catholicism" (Unnumbered). This type of terminology was widely employed by Protestants or those religious groups which did not accept the Papal authority over the Christianity. Historically, one of the best examples to understand the negative connotations that the term Popish carries, is the Popish Plot. In 1678, the Anglican ecclesiastic Titus Oates disseminated a false accusation against some English Catholics of conspiracy to murder the King Charles II of England and replaced him with his brother of Catholic confession: James II.<sup>17</sup> In addition, Barrington asserts in *Studies in the anticatholic origins of the Anglo-American self* (1997), that the term "antipopery" has been used in literature to describe the anti-Catholicism in early modern England from its origins in the sixteenth century, until the American Revolution.

According to Miller (1973), the connotations of the term "papist" changed after the Reformation, giving a distorted image of the Catholics in Elizabeth's reign and creating the myth of the "bloodthirsty Papist" (67). The reformists employed the term "papist" for the Roman Catholics, representing them as "slaves to the pope, whose greatest ambition was to root out Protestantism with the maximum of bloodshed and cruelty" (Miller 67). So at the beginning, the term was for bloody or aggressive Catholics, but it ended up being extrapolated to make reference to Catholics in general. In one of his sermons at the Chapel of Harvard-College, Jonathan Mayhew defined "Popish Idolatry" as:

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<sup>17</sup> The information regarding the Popish Plot has been extracted from Abbott (1910).

So that popish idolatry, in this respect, approacheth nearer to that of vulgar Pagans, than to that of the more enlightened among them. And in deed, none of them were ever so brutal and savage, as to eat what he took for a deity: at least we read of no such sect as that of God-eaters, even in the most barbarous nations and ages. (Mayhew 18-19)

Going back again to the contraposition of good and evil ideas through the vocabulary, more words which are associated to the discipline of the Jesuits are: obedience, exhorting, senseless, cheating, etc. For example, their method to convert his mother is named “Jesuitical stratagems”, a recurrent terminology that appears in the title and throughout the work. Instead of the election of a neutral vocabulary, Wadsworth uses the term “stratagem” that denotes deceptive actions, which are accompanied with terms such as: grief, sorrow, sighs, or lamentations, to express the pain that produces these stratagems. In addition, we can find terms from the same semantic area as the term “stratagems”, such as seduced, allured, mislead, entrapped or enticements. He even suggests that their plot methods included the “Chyromancy” in order to “bring their young Students in believe that they are well seene in Chyromancy, and can tell them their fortunes” (Wadsworth 25). From the Middle Ages, Chiromancy was considered an occult science and was classified as one of the seventh forbidden arts suppressed by the Catholic Church (Gernert 36). Other pejorative terms used to describe the Jesuits include: Machiavellians, perverted, entrapped, treacherous, or entice.

On the contrary, the terminology that he employs for any argument related to Protestantism has always positive connotations: true mothers bosom, honourable, discover of truth, eminency of virtues, or glory. This combination of findings provides support for the hypothesis that it can be considered a Jesuit criticism as part of his anti-Catholicism.

## 7. Conclusion

This graduate dissertation shows how James Wadsworth contributed to anti-Catholic literature through his pamphlet *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems* providing an analysis of the arguments employed in the Jesuitical criticism. Above all, it proves that the figure of the Jesuit has been essential in the dissemination of anti-Catholicism.

Probably, the fact that the author was a Catholic later converted to Protestantism, together with the analysis he carried out about the internal functioning of the most important English College, turns this pamphlet into an essential work of anti-Catholicism, but also into a propagandistic instrument against the Company of Jesus.

This analysis proves that the internal division of the Company can be considered one of the main arguments, together with the image of seducers, personal enrichment or idolatry, and the deceitful, dissimulating and unreliable character. I have been able to verify that these arguments are similar to the ones from other anti-Catholic authors, so the pamphlet follows the same trend and techniques. As it was previously explained, when this work was written, anti-Catholic literature had already abandoned the theological controversy, substituting the doctrinal elements for descriptions of the Catholic cruelty. However, it is important to mention that he did not criticise the education received in areas such as poetry, grammar, syntax, figures or print-house, he focuses his criticism on the methods employed within the College. Nonetheless, the description in such a detail that Wadsworth provides of a corrupted religious institution allows to grant certain veracity to the pamphlet.

In this sense, it can be asserted that the vocabulary and the contraposition narrative technique, also played an essential role in the influence of reader's perception, making him take part in favour of the Protestant side.

To conclude, it can be asserted that *The English Spanish Pilgrime, or, A New Discoverie of Spanish Popery and Jesuitical Stratagems* reinforced the negative image that English literature gave of the Jesuits by representing the Jesuits as cruel people moved by their economic and political aspirations.

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