James Salgado´s Epistolary Network: Patronage, Politics, and Survival in Restoration England

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Introduction

Among the corpus of seventeenth-century Protestant polemics written by Spanish exiles, the works of James Salgado occupy a distinctive position. A former Catholic priest and Dominican friar who converted to Protestantism and fled Spain to the Low Countries, France, and England to escape the Inquisition, Salgado produced a remarkable body of work between 1679 and 1684—at least twelve publications, seven of which were strategically dedicated to different patrons representing various spheres of power in Restoration England. His literary output ranges from theological treatises to cultural observations, from anti-papal polemics to descriptions of Spanish bullfighting, unified by a consistent epistolary strategy of seeking patronage and material support.[1]

As an exile in London (where he could have arrived ca. December 1678), Salgado´s position was very fragile and he had to resort to patronage and the beneficence of several Protestant groups for his survival. This article examines Salgado's epistolary network through the analysis of his various dedications and letters: formal theological dedications to Oxford University and the Earl of Nottingham, political addresses to Parliament and Charles II, a dedication to Prince Rupert, and intimate charity appeals to the Dutch Church in London

[1] For a complete study of Salgado´s works within the context of 17th-c. Europe´s religious wars, see Cortijo 2017. For more information on Salgado, see Cortijo 2015a and 2020, López Muñoz, and Menéndez Pelayo (Ustoz). The list of James (Jaime, Jacobo, Santiago, Jacobus, Jacopus) Salgado´s works includes de following:
• 1. *The Fryer: or an Historical Treatise wherein he idle Lives, Vitiousness, Malice, Folly and Cruelty of the Fryes is described. In two parts: Tragical and Comical, collected out of sundry Authors, and several Languages, and caused to be translated into English, by James Salgado a Spaniard, formerly a Romish Priest* (London: Printed for the Author, 1679 [1680]). • 2. *The Romish Priest turn'd Protestant, with the Reasons of his Conversion, wherein the true Church is exposed to the view of Chris-tians and derived out of the Holy Scriptures* (London: Printed for Tho. Cokerill, 1679). • 3. *Carmen in Serenissimae Reginae Elisabethae Natalitia, Classem Hispanicam ab ipsa devictam, et conspirationem Papisticam antiquam et modernam* (London: s.n., 1680). • 4. *A brief Description of the Nature of the Basilisk or Cockatrice* (London: s.n., 1680?). • 5. *A confession of faith of James Salgado, a Spaniard, and sometimes a priest in the Church of Rome dedicated to the University of Oxford* (London: Printed for William Marshall, 1681). • 6. *Symbiosis Papae et Diaboli ut et Cardinalis et Moronis cum adnexa utirusque effigie, et brevi eius Explicatione. Opera et Studio Jacobi Salgado Hispani Conversi Presbyteri*. Londin: Typis T. Snowden, M.DC.LXXXI [*Συμβίωσις, or the intimate converse of Pope and Devil attended by a Cardinal and Buffon, to which is annexed The Pourtrait of each, with a brief explication thereof. By James Salgado Spaniard and converted Priest* (London: Printed by Thomas Snowden. 1681 [London: Printed by T.B. for the Author, 1681]). • 7. *The true church of Christ exposed to the view of all sober Chris-tians, from the Word of God, sound reason, and the ancient fathers / by James Salgado, a Spaniard, a converted priest* (London: Printed by T.B. for the Author, 1681 [London: Printed and are to be sold by William Marshall, 1683]). • 8. *The Slaughter-House* (dedicada a Carlos II de Inglaterra) (London: Printed by T.B. for the author, 1682 [London: Printed for William Marshall, 1683]). • 9. *An Impartial and Brief Description of the Plaza, or sumptuous Market Place of Madrid, and the Bull-fighting there... As also a large scheme, being the Lively Representation of the Order and Ornament of this Solemnity. By James Salgado a Spaniard* (London: Printed by Francis Clarke for the Author, Anno Dom. 1683). • 10. *A short Treatise of the Last Judgement. «Qui moritur antequam moritur, non moritur quando moritur...» By James Salgado a Spaniard* (London: Printed by T. B. for the Author, 1684). • 11. *The manners and customs of the principal nations of Europe gathered together by the particular observation of James Salgado, a Spaniard, in his travels through those countries; and trans-lated into English by the authors care, anno 1684* (Edinburgh: Re-printed by Josua van Solingen and John Colmar, 1685 [London: Printed by T. Snowden for the author, 1684]). • 12. *Retorsio horridae, blasphemae et diabolicae detorsionis orationes Dom. Symboli et Decalogi in Protestantes directae, post brevem refutationem in impios illius Authores Papistas reflexa a Jacobo Salgado Hispano. Presbytero Converso* (mss. copy, owned by Usoz, according to Menéndez Pelayo).

(preserved as Letters 3829 and 4395 in Hessels's *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*). Together, these texts reveal how a Spanish Protestant exile navigated multiple patronage networks simultaneously,[2] constructing different identities for different audiences while maintaining the core persona of converted priest, learned theologian, and suffering refugee.

The Confession of Faith: Academic Legitimation (1680-1681). Dedication to Oxford University

Salgado's *Confession of Faith* (1680 in Latin, 1681 in English) opens with an elaborate dedication "To all the Singular Members of the University of Oxford." The full letter demonstrates Salgado's classical learning and his understanding of academic patronage conventions:

> [A2] To all the Singular Members of the University of OXFORD. To the Reverend, and most Excellent, Mr. Vicechancellour. To the Reverend and Eminent Heads of Colledges. And to the Worthy Fellows of the fame. James Salgado, A Spaniard, wisheth Felicity, / both Temporal, and Eternal.
>
> I should be very Injurious to your bounty Liberally bestowed upon me; O ye Men, every one famous according to his Title and Degree, unless according to the Old Custom of the Romans, I should Crown that Fountain with Laurel, from whence I drew Water: For 'tis a great Sign of Inhumanity, to receive a benefit, and not to return it again. The Heliotrope must conform it self according to the Suns motion; because, as it cannot avoid its Light, so it ought not to decline its influence. But this acteth so effectually upon it, that it is forced to turn its Head to the Course of the Sun.
>
> You have relieved my Misery, O ye Gentlemen of the University, and that so effectually, that you have invited me to a Publick acknowledgement of your benevolence toward me; which I am now willing to do, left by an longer delay, this good purpose of mine should lose its reward. This little Book therefore I lay before your Feet, expecting what Censure you'll please to bestow upon it. You'l[l] take my Endeavours I hope in good part, and pardon [A3] this my temerity. (If taking a little pains in this exercise, as Sylla the Roman Dictator was wont to carry a little Image of Jupiter in his bosom); so I presume to bear your Portraicture in my heart; and this I will do beyond the reach of all envy; and shall account if among the Number of the greatest Vertues to be found guilty of such a fault; neither because you have done me a kindness therefore shall it be lawful for me to be ungrateful. With Cyrus therefore, favourably receive me as a genuin, and true Persian; and do not disdain to enlighten me with the bright raies of your further Benevolence, who desires to borrow some splendor from your shadow. Fare ye well, most worthy Gentlemen, and be entirely favourable, to one that admires your dignities, and is,
>
> Your Servant, James Salgado.

[2] For a comprehensive bibliography of patronage and brockerage in England (and Europe) during the Rennaisance and Restoration, see Thomson. According to her, "broadly speaking, however, patronage can be described as 'the action of one person with some sort of power or influence using that influence to aid another party.'85 This aid might be material, or take the form of protection, endorsement, or preferment. It was a system fundamentally built on reciprocity.86 The client received assistance, of whatever kind, and in return the patron gained social, political and/or spiritual capital, bolstering their prestige and gaining (or maintaining) the loyalty of those they sponsored. Crucially, patronage also offered the patron opportunities to shape, variously, the political, social, economic, cultural and religious life of their communities. The patronage system also depended on the efforts of intermediaries, often referred to as brokers" (20-21). See also MacCaffrey and Patterson.

The letter employs classical imagery throughout. The heliotrope that "must conform it self according to the Suns motion" represents Salgado's proper response to Oxford's illuminating influence. The Roman custom of crowning fountains with laurel provides the metaphor for honoring intellectual sources. References to Sulla carrying Jupiter's image and Cyrus receiving true Persians demonstrate Salgado's command of classical precedents. This elaborate classicism serves multiple purposes. It displays Salgado's education, marking him worthy of academic patronage despite his refugee status. It positions Oxford as the source of intellectual and material sustenance ("You have relieved my Misery"). It transforms gratitude into obligation—having received Oxford's charity, Salgado must publicly acknowledge it, while simultaneously appealing for continued "further Benevolence."

Political Dedications: Parliament and the Crown. To Both Houses of Parliament (1679)

Published in 1679 at the height of Popish Plot hysteria, *The Romish Priest Turned Protestant* bears the telling subtitle "Humbly Presented to Both Houses of Parliament."[3] By addressing Commons and Lords jointly, Salgado positioned his theological work as political intervention. The timing was impeccable—Titus Oates's fabricated conspiracy had created intense anti-Catholic sentiment, and Parliament was actively passing exclusion legislation to prevent Catholic succession.

The Parliamentary dedication transformed Salgado from religious refugee into political asset. His testimony about Catholic perfidy and Inquisitorial brutality served the Protestant political agenda. His status as Spanish ex-priest lent authority to claims about Catholic conspiracy. The dedication established him as contributor to national security, not merely supplicant for charity.

The Autobiographical Letter to Dr. H.S.

The second part of the *Confession* consists of "An Account of My Life & Sufferings Since I Forsook the Romish Religion; In A Letter to Dr. H.S."[4] This personal narrative validates the theological positions articulated in the first part. Salgado traces his conversion from discovering dissension among Catholic theologians, through encounters with Protestant ministers in France (particularly Charles Drelincourt at Charenton), formal renunciation of Catholicism in 1666, capture and return to Spain, imprisonment by the Inquisition, galley slavery, and escape through affliction with leprosy until final arrival in London. The letter's power lies in its forensic quality. Salgado invites verification: "If any doubt be made of these things, you, or any others, that have Correspondent about Murcia, may please to satisfie your selves as to a considerable part of them." This gesture transforms personal testimony into documentable history, strengthening his credibility as both witness and theologian.

Royal and Aristocratic Patronage. To Prince Rupert: Military and Political Connections (1681)

Perhaps Salgado's most elaborate dedication addresses Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland (1619-1682), in *Symbiosis, or the Intimate Converse of Pope and Devil* (1681). The dedication opens with conventional self-deprecation—acknowledging it is "manifest

[3] The Popish Plot was a fictitious conspiracy invented by Titus Oates that between 1678 and 1681 created a period of anti-Catholic hysteria and public fear in England and Scotland. Oates alleged that there was an extensive Catholic conspiracy (involving especially Jesuit priests; Bossy) to assassinate Charles II, which led to the executions of at least 22 men (Aveling, Bainton, and especially Pollock) .

[4] D.H. remains unidentified in the letter. Given that Andrew Sall wrote a certificate of recommendation for Salgado in December 1678 (see below, Conclusion) and was at Christ Church, Oxford from 1675, Dr. H.S. might be someone in Sall's Oxford network who facilitated Salgado's introduction to the university. Salgado could have partially obscured the name for discretion, or to create a composite or strategic addressee designed to lend authority to the autobiographical account.

impeach" to prefix Rupert's "Illustrious name (a name celebrated above the Stars)" to "so mean and inconsiderable a Pamphlet." Yet this humility serves to highlight the dedicatee's magnanimity in accepting such tribute.

Salgado justifies the brevity of his work with contemporary aesthetic arguments: "Voluminous Opera's are not for the genius of this present age, who being more taken with succinctness." The dedication presents the work as "a Homer shrunk up into a Nut-shell," transforming potential criticism of inadequate length into virtue of modern conciseness. The dedication's substance links Pope and Devil, arguing that Rupert's "deep, and most acute Judgment" will perceive the justification for this conjunction. Crucially, Salgado appeals to Rupert's personal history: "Your Highness has been throughly instructed in the verity of the Proposition, as well by those manifold dangers your Princely Person underwent, as the sad and miserable calamities that befell your Royal Father and his Family, from the Hellish Malice and Tyranny of that cursed Romish Crew."

This reference to the English Civil War and Charles I's execution brilliantly positions Salgado's anti-Catholic polemic within English political memory. Prince Rupert, son of Frederick V of the Palatinate and Elizabeth Stuart (Charles I's sister, eldest daughter of King James I), had fought for the Royalist cause and witnessed his family's suffering.[5] By connecting papal tyranny to Rupert's family tragedy, Salgado made his anti-Catholic message personally resonant to his dedicatee.

The dedication concludes with an appeal for "Patronage and Protection," explicitly linking intellectual approval to material support: "It would further please you to beam down on your unworthy Supplaint, the warm blessings of your Princely Favour, as may best suit with your innate and known generosity, and his Condition."! The final phrase—"his Condition"—subtly reminds Rupert of Salgado's material need without explicitly begging.[6]

[5] As a further reason to seek his patronage, Prince Rupert had fought alongside Dutch forces against Habsburg Spain during the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648), and against the Holy Roman Emperor in Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). He also served under King Louis XIV of France against Spain, and then as a Royalist privateer in the Caribbean Sea, once again fighting againt Spanish interests. He later served as the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[6] The full text of the letters is as follows: "The Author wisheth a Success proportionable to his high Valour. IT is a manifest impeach (most glorious Prince) both to your Highness's Authority and Candidness; to have your Illustrious name (a name celebrated above the Stars) prefixed to so mean and inconsiderable a Pamphlet. My presumption had been more excusable, had it been to some weighty Volume, the product of long pains and most accurate politure. But since voluminous Opera's are not for the genius of this present age, who being more taken with succinctness, will not reckon brevity amongst my crimes, but having long since renounced all prolixity, may value this Compendium as a Homer shrunk up into a Nut-shell. The more delicate Stomacks of these times loath that flesh (as rightly they may) that being often hash'd and stew'd, retains neither tast nor vertue in itself, but has lost it in such abundance of swashy broth. And if your Highness be delighted with such a brevity; I humbly presume, that this small Tract (may I use the vanity to say), this small body consisting of its due Members and Arteries will not be exposed as a new born Orphan, altogether destitute of your most noble Patronage. I have endeavoured to expose to publick view the Pope of Rome, that true Apocalyptick Beast, in his own proper and genuine Colours. I have deservedly linked him with the grand Devil, that sworn Enemy of Mankind, and universal Parent of all Disorder and Confusion: Not in the least doubting, but your Highness's deep, and most acute Judgment, will quickly perceive the reasons of that Conjunction. And if I do not evince (tho briefly) the description fully and in every part to answer the Frontispiece, I will ingenuously confess my self to be carried sheer from my Design; or must loudly confess, that the truth of History is very questionable. But to the truth of these Premises, 'tis an unparallel'd rudeness to doubt of your Highness's Assent, who has been throughly instructed in the verity of the Proposition, as well by those manifold dangers your Princely Person underwent, as the sad and miserable calamities that befell your Royal Father and his Family, from the Hellish Malice and Tyranny of that cursed Romish Crew; besides what you have added by your long and constant experience of their unwearied pursuit after Royal and innocent blood. So that nothing remains for me now, but to cast these unworthy Papers at your Highness's feet for Patronage and Protection: earnestly praying in the lowest posture of an humble suppliant, that it would please your Highness, according to your wonted Gallantry to give them a kind and curteous receiption. And that it would further please you to beam down on your unworthy Supplaint, the warm blessings of your

To the Earl of Nottingham: Legal and Political Authority (1681)

Salgado's *The True Church of Christ Exposed to the View of All Sober Christians* (1681) opens with a dedication to "the Right Honourable Heneage, Earl of Nottingham, Lord Chancellour of England." Heneage Finch, first Earl of Nottingham (1621-1682), represented the pinnacle of legal and political authority in Restoration England.

Finch's career traced the restoration of royal power: Solicitor-General at the Restoration (1660), Attorney-General (1670), Keeper of the Great Seal (1673), he was created Baron Finch of Daventry (1673), and finally Earl of Nottingham (1681). As Lord Chancellor, he served on Charles II's Privy Council and held the kingdom's highest legal office. His reputation as "favourer of all that is virtuous and worthy, especially of religion and the ministers of it" made him ideal patron for theological works.

The dedication to Nottingham served multiple functions. It associated Salgado's theological arguments with England's chief legal authority, lending institutional legitimacy to his Protestant positions. It connected him to the Privy Council and thus to royal governance. It aligned him with a patron known for supporting religion and clergy, potentially opening access to ecclesiastical patronage networks. The fact that he played an active part during the Popish Plot in the interrogation of witnesses and preparation of the Crown's evidence might have played a role in Salgado´s dedication.

Nottingham also attracted dedications from other prominent authors—Isaac Barrow's theological works bore his name, establishing a pattern of scholarly dedications to the Lord Chancellor. By following this pattern, Salgado positioned himself within established conventions of learned authorship, not as exceptional refugee but as legitimate member of England's intellectual community.

To King Charles II: Two Dedications (1682-1683)

By the end of 1682, both Prince Rupert and the Earl of Nottingham had died. This might possibly explain why Salgado dedicated two works to Charles II (r. 1660-1685), despite the king's well-known Catholic sympathies and his brother James's open Catholicism. *The Slaughter-House, or, A Brief Description of the Spanish Inquisition* (1682) offered the king firsthand testimony of Inquisitorial cruelty, emphasizing that Salgado "beareth in his Body the Prints of their Inhuman rigors." This dedication cast Charles as "Defender of the Faith"—Protestant faith—and implied royal duty to protect subjects from Catholic persecution.

More surprising is *An Impartial and Brief Description of the Plaza, or sumptuous Market Place of Madrid, and the Bull-fighting there* (1683), also dedicated to Charles II. This work moves from religious polemic to cultural observation, describing Spanish bullfighting customs. The dedication promises the king entertainment ("buenos ratos leyendo"), suggesting Salgado recognized the need to provide variety in his productions—not all patronage appeals needed theological weight.

These dual dedications to Charles II reveal sophisticated strategy. Despite the king's Catholic leanings, he remained head of the Church of England and thus theoretically a defender of Protestantism. By dedicating both serious anti-Catholic polemic and lighter cultural observation, Salgado presented himself as versatile author capable of serving multiple royal interests—political propaganda and courtly entertainment.

Princely Favour, as may best suit with your innate and known generosity, and his Condition. This if your Highness please to vouchsafe, it will vastly add to those Obligations, whereby I am bound to be for ever Yours, intirely to admire and serve. Long and happy may you live (most Illustrious Prince) a Comfort to your self, the Church, and State; as it shall be the daily and hearty Prayers of, Great Sir, your Highness's most devoted humble Servant, JAMES SALGADO, A Spanish Priest Converted."

The Dutch Church Letters: Material Reality Behind Formal Dedications

While the formal dedications to Parliament, Oxford, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Nottingham, and Charles II present Salgado as learned author worthy of aristocratic patronage, two letters to the Dutch Church preserved in J. H. Hessels's *Epistulae et Tractatus cum Reformationis tum Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Historiam Illustrantes: Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum. Tomi Tertii. Pars Secunda* (Cambridge, 1897) reveal the precarious economic reality beneath these grand associations.

The Dutch Church at Austin Friars (Nederlandse Kerk Londen), founded in 1550 as England's first nonconformist chapel, served as crucial support network for Protestant refugees.[7] Its consistory administered poor relief and its archives preserve numerous appeals from exiles. For Spanish Protestants like Salgado, this community provided both spiritual home and material sustenance. Salgado might have established contact with the Dutch Church through contacts he had developed while in the Low Countries. In particular, he had been close to Samuel des Marets (Maresius), a French Protestant theologian and polemicist (from Picardy) who studied in Paris under Gomarus and in Geneva during the Synod of Dort. He was ordained in 1620 and preached in Laon, until, as a consequence of various controversies with Catholic priests and fearing for his life, he moved to the Academy of Sedan (1625) and then as a pastor to Maastricht (1632), from where he went to serve as a professor in Hertogenbosch (1636) and Groningen (1643), the city where he died in 1673. Among his numerous works, notable are polemics against the Pope, the religious orders (*Disputatio theologicae de clericorum, uti vocantur, iurisdictione temporali*, Groningae, 1657) and the Jesuits, treatises on the eucharist, original sin, grace, the Virgin, the feast of the Epiphany, etc., and especially his *Systhema theologiae* (1645, 1673) and *Theologiae elenchticae nova sinopsis, sive Index controversiarum fidei ex Sacris Scripturis* (1648) (Greengrass).

Letter 3829: April 14, 1679

The first letter (Letter 3829), dated April 14, 1679, accompanied the presentation of *The Romish Priest turned Protestant* (Hessels III, 2623).[8] The letter reads:

> Honoured Sirs, This inclosed book I present unto you, and beseech you most humbly to accept of it according to your accustomed goodness. My condition may be very well known unto you, where upon what you should be pleas'd to have a respect, I must humbly accept. Gentlemen you are sett as overseers of them, which, as well in manner of religion, as in the way of their condition are to be considered. I have forsaken all for Christ, therefore you who being in Christ, have richess ought to consider my poverty. The Lord be with you all, which is the earnest desire, Sirs of your most humble servant, Jacobus Salgado Hispanus Presbyter conversus.

[7] It became the first official nonconformist chapel in England under its Polish-born superintendent John a Lasco (Jan Łaski) who had founded a preaching house for a group of Protestant refugees mainly from the Low Countries. These refugees were mostly Dutch- and French-speakers and were granted a royal charter on 24 July 1550 that allowed them to establish a Stranger Church, and this was incorporated by letters patent from King Edward VI.Upon incorporation, the church was named the "Temple of the Lord Jesus" and had four pastors: two for Dutch (Marten Micron among them) and two for the French-Walloon who by the 1580s had begun using St Anthony's Chapel in Threadneedle Street. The first large wave of Dutch emigrees had arrived by 1570 and represented the largest group of expatriates in London, numbering 5,000 out of the 100,000 total population of the time. About half of the Dutch in London were Protestants who fled the Flemish Low Countries due to religious persecution. A century later, by Salgado´s time, the arrival of William of Orange brought a second wave of Dutch emigrants to London, a group that (for the purposes of patronage) included noblemen, bankers, courtiers, merchants, architects and artists. See Lindeboom and Hessels 1887, 1889, 1897.

[8] I wish to thank Andrés Messmer, Rector of the Theological Seminary of Sevile, for bringing to my attention Salgado´s letters in Hessels (mitto tibi gratias…).

This letter reveals several strategic rhetorical moves. First, Salgado presents himself using his Latin name "Jacobus Salgado Hispanus Presbyter conversus" (James Salgado, Spanish converted priest)—a formal self-identification that emphasizes his clerical background and conversion status. Second, he appeals to the elders' pastoral responsibility as "overseers" charged with considering refugees 'as well in manner of religion, as in the way of their condition'—linking spiritual and material care.

Most significantly, Salgado employs the language of Pauline sacrifice: "I have forsaken all for Christ, therefore you who being in Christ, have richess ought to consider my poverty." This scriptural echo (recalling Paul's statements in Philippians about counting all as loss for Christ) frames his request within a theological economy of suffering and obligation. Those who possess material resources within the body of Christ bear responsibility toward those who have sacrificed materially for faith.

The church's response appears in the endorsement: "Door ordre der Broeders 20 Aprii 1679 desen Persoon betaelt 20 sh." ("By order of the Brothers, April 20, 1679, this Person paid 20 shillings"). The six-day interval between Salgado's letter and the payment suggests deliberation by the consistory. The amount—20 shillings—represented substantial assistance, roughly equivalent to two weeks' wages for a skilled craftsman in 1679.

Letter 4395: 1684

The second letter (Letter 4395), dated 1684, addresses "the RR. and Hon'd Consistory of the Dutch Church, London." Written five years after the first appeal, this letter accompanied Salgado's presentation of *The Manners and Custom of the Principal Nations of Europe* (in Latin and English, London, 1684), a substantial folio volume. The letter reveals both Salgado's continued dependence on Protestant charity and his evolving rhetorical strategy (Hessels III, 2931):

> RR. and Hon'd Sire. I cannot understand how I come to be so unfortunate not only with such as are Bishops really, but with the nominal Bishops also: But passing by this I must confess that as the bloud stagnats without circulation, so I must be utterly undone without a circular motion through the veins of my charitable Benefactours: and it's the same thing to give to a man that has been somtimes with you, as to one you never saw before, since he comes always as a new man with new pressures, and therefore stands in need of new supplys whereby God will be well pleased, our neighboure being edify'd, and the afflicted relieved. But, since I blush to appear before my Benefactours without some present, I presume to give you this account of my observations in my travels, and am Your most humble servant, James Salgado a Spaniard.

This letter's tone differs markedly from the 1679 appeal. Where the first letter emphasized theological sacrifice, this one acknowledges the awkwardness of repeated supplication while deploying sophisticated metaphors to justify continued requests. The opening reference to being "unfortunate not only with such as are Bishops really, but with the nominal Bishops also" suggests Salgado had sought patronage from church officials—both Catholic bishops in his past and Protestant church leaders—without success. This oblique complaint frames his continued reliance on the Dutch Church as necessity rather than choice. The extended metaphor of blood circulation brilliantly addresses the potential objection that he has already received assistance. Just as blood must circulate continuously to sustain life, charitable giving must flow repeatedly through the body of Christ to sustain its afflicted members. Salgado argues that "it's the same thing to give to a man that has been somtimes with you, as to one you never saw before, since he comes always as a new man with new pressures."

This reasoning transforms repeated appeals from shameful importuning into justified requests—circumstances change, needs recur, and the obligation to assist remains constant. Notably, Salgado acknowledges shame ("I blush to appear before my Benefactours without some present") while simultaneously justifying his approach. The presentation of his book functions as reciprocal exchange—he offers intellectual product in return for material support, maintaining a relationship of mutual benefit rather than pure dependency. This strategy preserves dignity while acknowledging need. The letter concludes with a theological frame that elevates the transaction beyond mere economics: charitable giving pleases God, edifies neighbors, and relieves the afflicted. By this logic, the Dutch Church benefits spiritually from assisting Salgado—an argument that recurs throughout early modern charity appeals but which Salgado articulates with particular eloquence.

The Web of Patronage. Multiple Audiences, Calibrated Appeals

Salgado's epistolary network reveals sophisticated understanding of Restoration patronage structures. Each dedication targets specific power centers. Oxford University provided intellectual credibility and scholarly community, essential for a self-educated Spanish exile claiming theological expertise. Parliament and Charles II represented governmental power and could position Salgado as contributor to national Protestant interests during anti-Catholic crisis. Prince Rupert, member of the royal family and Privy Council, offered potential access to court patronage and military-aristocratic networks. Legal-administrative authority: The Earl of Nottingham, as Lord Chancellor, controlled legal patronage and ecclesiastical appointments, with established record of supporting religious scholarship. The Dutch Church provided practical poor relief and spiritual community, sustaining Salgado materially while he pursued aristocratic patronage.

This multi-pronged strategy distributed risk. No single patron's favor guaranteed survival, but multiple patronage sources created overlapping safety nets. The Dutch Church provided immediate material relief; aristocratic dedications sought larger rewards and stable positions; royal dedications aimed for highest prestige and potentially permanent support.

Rhetorical Adaptation Across Contexts

Each dedication deploys appropriate rhetoric for its audience. For Oxford, the author uses classical allusions, elaborate metaphors from Roman custom, and his presentation as grateful student honoring intellectual fountainhead. For Parliament, he utilizes political language, emphasis on national security, positioning himself as an insider witness to Catholic conspiracy. For Charles II, he makes use of a dual approach—serious anti-Catholic polemic appealing to royal duty as Defender of Faith, lighter cultural observation offering courtly entertainment. For Prince Rupert, he resorts to personal history of family suffering under Catholic persecution, military valor, and connection between papal tyranny and English Civil War trauma. For the Earl of Nottingham, he uses legal authority, established pattern of scholarly dedications, and reputation for supporting religion and clergy. For the Dutch Church, he prefers the use of Pauline theology of sacrifice, biblical language of communal obligation, and the blood circulation metaphor of continuous charity.

This rhetorical versatility demonstrates Salgado's education and adaptability. He mastered multiple registers—classical, political, theological, courtly—and deployed each strategically. The sophistication rivals his theological argumentation, suggesting he understood patronage appeals as seriously as doctrinal disputation.

Across all dedications, Salgado maintains a core identity while emphasizing different facets: He is always a Spanish ex-priest, converted to Protestantism, survivor of Inquisition persecution. Nevertheless, for academics (Oxford, Nottingham) he emphasizes his being a learned theologian, master of classical and patristic sources; for politicians (Parliament, Charles

II), he is a valuable witness and provider of intelligence on Catholic tyranny; for aristocrats (Rupert), he portrays himself as a worthy recipient of noble patronage, capable of producing works befitting aristocratic association; finally, for the religious community (Dutch Church), he appears as a fellow member of Christ's body, deserving of communal support according to biblical principles.

This multiplicity was not duplicity but strategic emphasis. Refugee status required presenting different aspects of identity to different audiences while maintaining authentic core. Those who succeeded in exile mastered this balance; those who could not disappeared from history.

The Gift Economy of Protestant Patronage

Salgado's publications functioned within a gift economy. Each book presented to patrons obligated counter-gifts of financial or social support. Thus, *The Romish Priest turned Protestant* (1679) offered the Parliament and Dutch Church an anti-Catholic polemic serving Protestant political interests. *Confession of Faith* (1680-1681) provided Oxford with a theological exposition establishing scholarly credentials. *Symbiosis* (1681) gave Prince Rupert an anti-papal polemic. *The True Church of Christ* (1681) provided the Earl of Nottingham with systematic Protestant ecclesiology, as *The Slaughter-House* (1682) served Charles I as an eyewitness account of Inquisition brutality and *An Impartial Description of the Plaza* (1683) served again the monarch as a cultural observation of Spanish bullfighting. Finally, *The Manners and Custom of the Principal Nations of Europe* (1684)offered the Dutch Church several anthropological observations across Europe.

This productivity is remarkable—at least seven substantial works in five years (1679-1684), each dedicated strategically. The range demonstrates versatility: theological polemic, systematic doctrine, cultural observation, anthropological analysis. Salgado positioned himself as polymath capable of serving multiple patron interests.

The gift economy benefited all parties. Patrons gained propaganda (anti-Catholic polemic), cultural knowledge (bullfighting, European customs), or theological exposition (ecclesiology, confession of faith). Salgado gained material support, social legitimacy, and potential for permanent position. Protestant institutions strengthened their ideological arsenal against Catholicism while demonstrating charity toward persecuted coreligionists.

Historical Significance. The Economics of Exile

Salgado's epistolary network illuminates the material conditions of religious exile. Flight from Spain meant total loss—property, position, family, livelihood, homeland. Refugees arrived possessing only education, testimony value, and whatever skills might interest Protestant hosts. Survival required convincing multiple patrons of one's utility. A single patron's death or displeasure could prove catastrophic. Salgado's strategy of cultivating diverse patronage sources—academic (Oxford), political (Parliament, Charles II), aristocratic (Prince Rupert, Earl of Nottingham), religious (Dutch Church)—created redundancy protecting against individual patron loss.

Yet even this sophisticated strategy proved precarious. Letter 4395's complaint about unfortunate relations with bishops suggests that aristocratic patronage remained unreliable. The Earl of Nottingham died in 1682, shortly after receiving Salgado's dedication. Charles II died in 1685. Prince Rupert died in 1682. The grand dedications secured temporary favor but not permanent positions. Only the Dutch Church seems to have provided consistent, if modest, support. The 20 shillings paid in 1679 represented immediate, tangible assistance. Whatever the aristocratic dedications yielded—and we have no records of payments—the church's humble charity sustained Salgado materially while he pursued grander patronage.

Protestant Propaganda Networks

Another important aspect of Salgado´s work is its possible contribution to Protestant propaganda during a crucial period. The Popish Plot (1678-1681) created intense demand for anti-Catholic testimony. Salgado's publications provided useful material: eyewitness accounts of Inquisition torture, theological arguments against papal authority, connections between Catholicism and tyranny.

The strategic dedications amplified propaganda value. Works addressed to Parliament and Charles II received official attention. Dedications to Prince Rupert and Earl of Nottingham associated anti-Catholic arguments with respected authorities. The Oxford dedication legitimized theological positions academically.

This system created symbiotic relationship. Protestant institutions gained authoritative testimony from Spanish insider. Salgado gained material support and social legitimacy. Both advanced shared interest in combating Catholic influence in England. Nevertheless, we, as readers, might question the validity of some of the anti-Spanish assertions in Salgado´s works as we are aware that he needed to please his audience in order to receive monetary support from them.

Refugee Agency and Strategy

Salgado's epistolary network demonstrates refugee agency despite precarious circumstances. He was not merely passive recipient of charity but active strategist cultivating multiple patronage sources. His rhetorical sophistication—adapting appeals to different audiences, maintaining consistent identity while emphasizing different facets, deploying appropriate registers—reveals considerable skill. The productivity is equally striking. Seven substantial publications in five years, ranging across theological polemic, systematic doctrine, and cultural observation, demonstrates remarkable industry. Salgado was not content to produce single confessional work but continually generated new material serving different patron interests.

This strategic approach to patronage cultivation likely characterized successful refugees generally. Those who survived exile mastered these skills; those who could not disappeared from history. Salgado's survival in the archival record reflects both his rhetorical skill and the fortunate preservation of his Dutch Church letters alongside published dedications.

Conclusion

James Salgado arrived to England via France. Probably as early as December 1678 he was already seeking employment in Oxford. At the end of that month, we document the certificate written on his behalf by Andrew Sall at Christ Church, Oxford, in which he testifies to his good behavior at the University and writes a letter of recommendation for his employment. We can suspect that the latter played a special role in Salgado's arrival in England, based on the English and Spanish connections of this person, in addition to his condition as a Jesuit priest converted to Protestantism, like Salgado. Sall was a famous Irish Jesuit who lived between 1612-1682, rector of the Irish College of Salamanca from 1652-1655, where he taught moral theology, and professor in Pamplona, Palencia and Tudela. He is documented in Valladolid (1657 or 1658) and Nantes (1659) before appearing as superior of his order in Ireland in 1664. In 1674 he abjured the Catholic faith in the church of Saint John, Cashel. After a brief residence at Trinity College Dublin (where he published a thesis defending that there was salvation outside the church of Rome and that the Anglican church offered a safer path to salvation than that of Rome, ideas close to those that Salgado expounds repeatedly in his writings), he moved to Oxford in 1675. There he published his *True Catholic and Apostolic Faith*, "Sall's apology for himself, and also a vigorous but temperate statement of the case for the church of England against Rome" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 50). In 1680, he

returned to Dublin as a Protestant pastor and royal chaplain, and collaborated on Robert Boyle's project to translate the Bible into Irish (Hunter; Ford).

Sall's certificate about Salgado, included in the latter's *The Romish Priest Turned Protestant*, is noteworthy. Although we do not know to whom it is addressed, it is a letter of recommendation on behalf of James Salgado so that he might find employment, either as a teacher of Spanish and/or Italian, or in other occupations.[9] It certifies his difficult situation, as well as the calamities he has suffered, making clear how unusual the case is: a Spanish Catholic priest who has arrived no less than in England as a Protestant convert:

Chr(ist) Ch(urch) Oxon(ii), Dec. 26, 1678

> I am to give you thanks for the occasion you gave me if acquaintance with the bearer hereof, Mr. James Salgado, whom I find by his discourse to be a right Spaniard, born of a good Family, and of very good parts; and to have suffered very much by the Inquisition of Spain for embracing the Truth of our Protestant Religion. This consideration, and the great bounty and charity I saw used by his Countreymen towards ours, when found in distress among them, makes me think him an object singularly well deserving our common charity and benevolence, especially considering how very rare a case it is to see a Clergyman of his Nation come to us. They have been civil to him in this University, and I hope good men will be so to him with you. To such as may desire to learn the Spanish or Italian tongue, he may be serviceable, having good skill in both, but in the former he is eminent, as born and bred in Madrid. I will presume to beg the continuance of your goodness to him, affording him your instruction and commendation to good men there; for some employment he may be capable of, by which you shall oblige much.
>
> Reverend Sir, Your very affectionate Humble Servant,
> Andr. Sall

James Salgado's epistolary network—encompassing dedications to Parliament, Oxford authorities, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Nottingham, Charles II (twice), and the Dutch Church—reveals the complex reality of Spanish Protestant exile in Restoration England. Between 1679 and 1684, he published at least seven works strategically dedicated to different power centers. This remarkable productivity and strategic diversity illuminate both the possibilities and precariousness of refugee existence. As already indicated in Cortijo 2017, Salgado might have played an important role in keeping alive anti-Spanish sentiment in England and in the further development of the Spanish black legend (Alvar; Cortijo 2018, 2010; Maltby). His being a Spaniard, an ex-priest, and subject of persecution of the Spanish Inquisition gave remarkable credence to his autobiographical writings. The context of the Papish Plot and the anti-Catholic hysteria that followed serve also as backgrounds for his writings.

Nevertheless, this major context of state politics does not obscure the intricacies of the religious refugee who must seek a living under precarious conditions in England. The formal dedications present Salgado as learned author worthy of aristocratic association— valuable political witness (Parliament), master of classical allusion (Oxford), worthy recipient of noble favor (Prince Rupert), legitimate theological scholar (Nottingham), provider of useful intelligence (Charles II). The Dutch Church letters (3829 and 4395) reveal the economic reality behind these grand associations—continued material need, repeated appeals for charity, complaints about insufficient aristocratic support.

[9] Salgado had to leave The Haye because of his inability to speak Dutch. He confesses in *The Slaughter House* that he left "thro' want of skill in the Dutch Tongue; my skill lay lonely in the Spanish, Latin, Italian and French Tongues".

This gap between public persona and private struggle characterizes refugee experience. Maintaining credible claims to respectability and utility required sophisticated self-presentation while acknowledging material need. Salgado's rhetorical skill—deploying appropriate registers for different audiences, emphasizing different identity facets, justifying repeated appeals—enabled navigation of this challenge.

The epistolary network also documents Protestant patronage systems. Multiple overlapping networks— political (Parliament, Crown), academic (Oxford), aristocratic (Prince Rupert, Earl of Nottingham), religious (Dutch Church)—sustained religious refugees while extracting ideological value from their testimony. This gift economy benefited both parties: refugees gained material support and social legitimacy; Protestant institutions gained propaganda and theological scholarship.

Salgado's productivity demonstrates the creative output this system enabled. His publications represent a substantial contribution to Protestant polemic and cultural knowledge. Yet the precariousness remains visible—complaints about bishops, repeated charity appeals, deaths of patrons (Nottingham 1682, Rupert 1682, Charles II 1685) that disrupted patronage networks.

For modern readers, Salgado's epistolary network offers multiple insights. It documents material conditions of intellectual production—showing that theological works emerged from contexts of economic struggle. It reveals the sophistication required for successful exile—rhetorical skill rivaling theological knowledge. It illuminates refugee agency—strategic cultivation of diverse patronage despite precarious circumstances. The letters preserve a human voice across four centuries. Through Salgado's appeals— political arguments for Parliament, elaborate classical allusions for Oxford, family history for Prince Rupert, biblical obligation for the Dutch Church, blood circulation metaphors justifying repeated requests—we encounter not merely historical documents but living testimony to exile, survival strategies, and determination to maintain dignity despite dependence.

These letters offer us a remarkable window into Restoration patronage culture, Protestant-Catholic controversy (Chadwick, Dickens), refugee experience, and the material conditions enabling theological production. By examining how one Spanish ex-priest navigated multiple patronage networks simultaneously, we gain insight into broader dynamics of religious exile, intellectual production, and the gift economies sustaining religious controversy in early modern Europe.

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