

# The 1611 English Translation of St. Teresa's Autobiography: A Possible Carmelite-Jesuit Collaboration

Kathleen T. Spinnenweber

## Abstract

*The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography attributes the first English version of the Vida of St. Teresa to Michael Walpole. This article does not dispute that claim, but shows that the claim is recent and that little documentation has ever been brought forward in actual support of it. This article makes that argument through an examination of the correspondence of persons centrally and marginally involved, showing why a differing claim of attribution, more widespread and pervasive, is erroneous. In addition, the study identifies the possible involvement of Spanish Carmelite associates of Teresa in the project.*

In 1611, the first English translation of St. Teresa of Avila's autobiography was published by Henry Jaye in Antwerp. Its full title was *The lyf of the mother Teresa of Iesus, foundresse of the monasteries of the descalced or bare-footed Carmelite nunnes and fryers of the first rule. Written by her self, at the commaundement of her ghostly father, and now translated into English out of Spanish. By W.M. of the Society of Iesus. Very profitable for all vertuous and deuout people, and for all those that are desyrous to be such, or at least do not obstinately depriue themselues os so great a benefit.* Who was W.M.? The most reliable conjecture is the English Jesuit Michael Walpole (1570–1624?). Another line of attribution has identified the Irish Jesuit William Malone (1586–1656) as the holder of these identifying markers. The purpose of this article is to supply new supporting evidence for the Walpole attribution from Spanish documents. As such, its objectives are threefold. First, this study aims to highlight the fact that there actually are two lines of attribution, and that their respective histories merit an examination. Second, it strives to strengthen the Walpole conjecture based on correspondence by the Spaniards Luisa de Carvajal, missionary to England, Ana de Jesús, a member of Teresa's order and longtime companion, and Jerónimo de Gracián, Teresa's confessor and spiritual advisor. Third, the study proposes that the translation under discussion might have had significant input from these three Spaniards, two of whom were Discalced Carmelites who were personally close to the saint. While the translation bears the Jesuit insignia, it might have been a more collaborative product than was possible to acknowledge at the time.

At first glance, it would appear that there might not be much to discuss. In 2004, while this study was in preparation, the newly revised Oxford *Dictionary of National Biography* published the claim that the translator was the English Jesuit Michael Walpole (Milward, revising Jessopp). The mere mention of such an authoritative source would seem to close the door on any further discussion, but such is not the case. Any electronic library database also names Walpole, but if one looks closely, there is a note: "W.M. = Michael Walpole?" The note implies he is the *probable* or *possible* translator by placing a question mark in parentheses after his name. The question mark indicates that there is still room for further discussion of the matter, and that the issue is not entirely settled.

Let us examine the Milward *DNB* article first. It makes the Walpole claim though no evidence is brought forward in support. Such is not the purpose of an encyclopedia article, but it should be noted that none of the sources cited in either the original Jessopp *DNB* or the revised

Milward *DNB* articles (Foley 2:235, 265-269, 6:182, 528; Gerard 17-23; Jessopp, *One Generation*; Loomie; McCoog 74-75; Milward, *Religious Controversies* 120-121, 131-133) actually supports, or even refers to, Walpole's authorship of the translation in question. As for electronic library cataloguing information, the entry is based on the *ESTC*, and one can probably safely assume it is following A.F. Allison's surmise about Walpole's probable authorship in his *English Translations from the Spanish and Portuguese to the year 1700* (172) as well as in his *Contemporary Printed Literature of the English Counter-Reformation Between 1558 and 1640*, written with D.M. Rogers (2:154). One can assume Allison based his conjecture on his extensive bibliographical research on the primary texts of early modern English Catholicism. Milward, in the preface to his 1976 *Religious Controversies of the Jacobean Age*, mentioned his friendship and collaboration with both Allison and Rogers; it is quite sensible to assume that Walpole's possible authorship of the translation might have emerged in conversation among these three scholars. While Milward does not quote them, they are most surely the source.

Let us recognize a differing but also fairly recent statement on the issue: In 2001, three years before the appearance of the revised Milward *DNB* article, one can find the claim that William Malone was the translator (O'Donoghue, 3:2487). This reference is in the *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús*, a Spanish encyclopedic history of the Jesuits, neither a lightweight nor easily dismissible source. As with the Milward *DNB* article, a claim is put forward; like the *DNB*, the sources on which the article is based do not address the issue (Gillow 4:399-401; Oliver 258; Sommervogel 5:443-444). This scholar's attribution to Malone is more likely than not following a conjecture made over one hundred years previously by the Carmelite historian Benedict Zimmerman (241n), a conjecture repeated by other credible scholars (Peers 49; Kavanaugh and Rodríguez 1:48).

Though for some time these two differing claims of authorship have been made, neither side has acknowledged, nor indeed has appeared to be aware of, the claims of the other. While the discrepancy may be owing to something as mundane as being led astray by otherwise reliable sources, it reveals that the question remains to be settled and poses a problem worth investigating, in spite of the Milward *DNB* assertion.

Let us begin by noting that the attribution of authorship to either Malone or Walpole is relatively recent. Zimmerman was the first to record such attribution to Malone in his *Carmel in England* in 1899. He did so in a footnote, formed as a statement but concluding with a question mark, indicating his statement was guesswork, not an actual claim (241n). Zimmerman cited the Foley *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus* (7:481) as his authority; however, an examination of the Foley entry on Malone yields absolutely no reference to Saint Teresa nor to any translation activity on the part of Malone. Regardless, the question mark in the footnote has somehow not been seen, for the conjecture has surfaced as settled fact in several influential sources such as the E. Allison Peers introduction to his own translation of the complete works of Teresa (49) and the introduction to the most recent English translation of the Teresa autobiography by Kieran Kavanaugh and Otilio Rodríguez (1:48). As authoritative editions of the work of St. Teresa, the translations of Peers, as well as those of Kavanaugh and Rodríguez, have a wide reach. Peers' writings have the potential to be even more extensive in perpetuating the idea of Malone as the 1611 translator, since his general introduction to the works of St. Teresa is now digitized on the World Wide Web. Peers' remarks are accessible on sites such as

*Catholic First* (www.catholicfirst.com), *Catholic Spiritual Direction* (www.jesus-passion.com) and the popular *Eternal Word Television Network*, in its Documents Library section (www.ewtn.com). As mentioned earlier, a Spanish encyclopedic reference as recent as 2001 also named Malone as the original translator (O'Donoghue, 3:2487), but Peers, by virtue of the power of the internet, currently has the greatest power in perpetuating the name of William Malone in bibliographic references.

Seventy-five years after Zimmerman tentatively pointed out Malone, A. F. Allison proposed Walpole as the probable translator of the Teresa autobiography (172). This attribution was also conjecture, but with a firmer foundation. Knowing whether Allison had noticed Zimmerman's conjecture concerning Malone would be of great interest. Allison was certainly aware of Zimmerman's *Carmel in England* because he cites it as an authoritative reference for information on the 1642 English translation of the life of Saint Teresa authored by Tobie Matthew (172). It is therefore unlikely that Allison simply overlooked the information in the footnote regarding the earlier 1611 translation. Rather, he appears to have politely ignored it. In their *Contemporary Printed Literature*, Allison and Rogers noted the silence of the early Jesuit bibliographers with regard to the identity of W.M. and attributed it to the fact that the work was published in Antwerp instead of the more customary St. Omer (2:154). Furthermore, Allison and Rogers, whenever differing with previously held attributions, had a modus operandi of not calling attention to their claims, as stated in their *Catalogue of Catholic Books in English Printed Abroad or Secretly in England 1558-1640* (ii). This may explain why two parallel claims have co-existed so unproblematically, each one seemingly unaware of the other, for as long as they have. Allison based his claim on Walpole's relationship with the Spanish noblewoman Luisa de Carvajal y Mendoza (1566–1614). Carvajal, along with other Spaniards, may well be the collective key to the involvement of Walpole in the translation under discussion. Evidence from correspondence authored by Carvajal supports the Allison and Rogers attribution to Walpole. Carvajal most likely participated in the distribution of the 1611 translation as well.

Brief biographical sketches of Malone and Walpole will provide a more comprehensive view of why one translator should be eliminated from consideration and the other more deeply embedded within the niche of probable authorship.

William Malone was born in 1586, entered the Jesuits in 1606 in Rome, and died in Seville in 1656 (O'Donoghue, 3: 2487). Foley, following the older Jesuit historians (Alegambe, Ribadeneira and Southwell), declares William to be "a native of Dublin" (Foley, 7:481). Alegambe listed "Guilielmus Malonius" as "Dublinen" under "Hiberni" (817). Some historians have argued, however, that Malone was English-born, raised in Manchester. Gillow insisted he was from Manchester, citing a contemporary Manchester source (4:399). Oliver categorically rejected any possibility of Malone being English, supporting Alegambe (258). The most recent Jesuit source, O'Donoghue, follows his Jesuit predecessors in also accepting Malone as Irish (3:2487). What can be determined with some certainty is that William Malone, whether of Manchester or Dublin, either identified himself as Irish or was identified as such by others. The Jesuits, who most certainly identified him as Irish, appointed Malone to key positions within the Irish mission. He spent most of his career in Ireland itself or as rector of the Irish College in Rome. The last years of his life were served as rector of St. Gregory's College in Seville.

Malone was credited with fluency in English, French, Italian, Spanish, and Latin (Foley, 7: 481–82; Oliver, 258; O’Donoghue, 3:2487.) It is this command of languages that might have spurred the hypothesis by Zimmerman that Malone authored the first English translation of the Teresa autobiography. However, mastery of several languages was a common accomplishment for a Jesuit. For some Catholic historians, the fact that Malone died in Seville may have permanently associated him with Spain. His 1621 and 1627 publications are anti-Protestant polemics. In the latter work, he uses the initials “W. M.,” which may have been the most influential factor in his connection to Teresa’s work. The strongest argument against the involvement of Malone in the translation of the subject autobiography is that, according to all sources, in 1611, he would have been completing his study of philosophy in Rome in preparation for his theology studies in Evora. It would seem highly impractical for him to be immersed in such a complex and lengthy translation as that entailed in the story of Teresa’s life while under the pressures of a transition as major as that of a novice preparing for the priesthood.

It can be surmised that Zimmerman made his suggestion of Malone as the first translator of the Teresa autobiography based upon two or three of the following possible factors: (a) Malone’s command of languages, (b) his association with Spain, and (c) his use of the initials W.M.. If competency in several languages is not a convincing argument, the association of Malone with Spain is even less so. He was there in the 1650s, almost forty years after the translation was published. As for his use of the W. M. initials, consideration should be given to Walpole’s adoption of these same identifying markers.

Michael Walpole was a brother of the English Jesuit martyr, Henry Walpole. Fluent in Spanish, Michael was an administrator and theological lecturer at the English Jesuit College of St. Alban’s in Valladolid, where he met and became chaplain and confessor to Luisa de Carvajal (Milward; Williams, 61-70). He later accompanied her to England and remained in contact with Carvajal during her sojourn there from 1606 through 1614. Carvajal was a Spanish noblewoman who, although not a member of any specific religious order, made a formal consecration of her life in service to God. She left Spain to live and eventually die in England. She took it upon herself as a personal mission to revert English Protestants to the ancient faith and provide moral and material support to embattled and imprisoned English Catholics. The English government imprisoned her twice for these activities (Rhodes, 1-30).

Carvajal was born sixteen years before Teresa of Avila died. While there is no evidence she ever met Teresa personally, she eventually corresponded with individuals who knew the saint well—Ana de Jesús (1545–1621), who eventually became prioress of the Carmelite convent in Brussels, and fray Jerónimo Gracián de la Madre de Dios (1545–1615), spiritual advisor and confessor to Teresa. Carvajal’s correspondence can be found in her *Epistolario y poesías*; a reference to her correspondence with Gracián can be found in her letter to her brother, Alonso de Carvajal, 22 November 1609 (294); in the same work can be found her letter to Ana de Jesús and the other Discalced Carmelite sisters in Brussels, 14 November 1613, (413–14) and letter from Ana de Jesús 13 November 1613 (462).

Gracián, who was expelled from the Discalced Carmelites in 1592, lived in Brussels from 1606 through to his death in 1614. In spite of his status with respect to the order, he continued to be involved with Carmelite efforts. During his time in Brussels, in 1610, he published Teresa’s *Libro de las fundaciones*. In 1611, he was deeply involved in preparing the case for Teresa’s beatification,

writing a testimonial account of Teresa's life, titled "La perfecta vida y virtudes de la Beata M. Teresa de Jesús" (Álvarez, 33). Álvarez's account of Gracián's missionary sensibility would make it perfectly plausible that he would want to be involved in translations for an English-speaking population. He cites Gracián's own words, written about himself in the third person: "Ever since Fr. Gracián took the habit, he always desired that the Discalced Carmelites would be employed in the conversion of infidels..." (qtd. in Álvarez, 36, this and all translations my own). Although by "infidels" Gracián was referring primarily to non-Christians on the African, Asian and American mission fields, the term could also have applied to any non-Catholics, i.e. Protestants. More importantly, it shows Gracián's concern for saving lost souls. In addition, during the first decade of the 1600s, there was an effort within the Spanish Carmel by its new General, Alonso de Jesús María, to question Teresa's status as the founder of the male branch of the order. Gracián, on hearing of this, wrote in distress to the Carmelite convent in Consuegra, "They wrote me from Rome that our Spanish [male] Discalced don't want Mother Teresa to be called the founder of the friars, but rather [that it be] Friar John of the Cross..." (qtd. in Álvarez, 48). Gracián was most outraged that one of the phrases the male Discalced were looking to remove from the "Rótulo" or certificate for beatification, was a passage referring to Teresa's "celo de las almas"—a "zeal for souls" (Álvarez, 48). As a response, Gracián edited a short book ("librito") in Latin titled *Vita et mores, spiritus, zelus et doctrina servae Dei Teresiae de Iesu...per fratres Ioannem a Sancto Hieronimo et Ioannem a Iesu Maria... in compendium redacta* published in Brussels in 1610. Gracián's efforts in this editing project, accomplished only a year before the publication of the first English translation of Teresa's *Life*, was not only to defend Teresa's status as founder of the Discalced of both sexes but also to give evidence of her concern for the missionary aspect of Carmel. He wrote that he had already sent off the "librito" to Germany, Poland and England. Revealing a desire for Teresa's virtues being known in all the earth, we have this passionate declaration about the further destination of the "librito": "and from Krakow in Poland, where it will be translated and printed in Polish, it will go to Moscow; and by way of Portugal, to the East Indies; and by way of Sevilla, to the West Indies, so that the whole world will learn of the Holy Mother in every language." (Álvarez, 48). Could Gracián's personal affection, zeal and intimate knowledge of Teresa's vision for the Discalced reform have been an impetus behind the 1611 English translation of Teresa's work?

Ana de Jesús was one of Teresa's spiritual daughters and, following the death of Teresa, continued the project of expanding the Discalced reform by founding convents in Paris and Brussels. Ana was in Brussels from 1608 until her death in 1621. In addition to founding convents and performing all the duties of prioress, she was involved in translating Teresa's works into French and Flemish (Torres, 38-40). Her drive toward this end was strong. Consequently, it is conceivable that she also would have seen the need to extend the sphere of Teresa's influence by serving the burgeoning exiled community of English Catholics with English translations.

Ana and Gracián were both concerned with Teresa's written legacy. They resided in Brussels during the same year the English translation of Teresa's work was published in Antwerp. Both were connected to Carvajal through social and religious ties in Spain. As Michael Walpole left no correspondence, it is impossible to confirm any relationship with Ana or Gracián; however, he was in Brussels during the same time period. It is conceivable that the Spaniards and the Englishman, with similar concerns and passions, not to mention a mutual acquaintance in Luisa de

Carvajal, would have contacted each other. The most significant aspect of the Carvajal-Gracián connection may be the testimony Gracián left related to their association. As Carvajal sent him “heretical” (i.e., Protestant) books, along with information for Gracián to distribute to Spanish government officials, the manuscripts were crossing his own mailings to Carvajal of Catholic literature from Flanders. Such is the testimony appended by Gracián, in his own hand, to Carvajal’s letter to Ana de Jesús and the Carmelite sisters, 14 November 1613 (Carvajal, 414-415). It is quite possible that these two Spanish devotees of Saint Teresa teamed up with the English Jesuit to produce the original English translation of her autobiography.

The relationship between Carvajal and Walpole began at St. Alban’s in Valladolid. Walpole had considerable expertise in Spanish, no doubt perfected by his Spanish sojourn. In 1616, he published his English translation of Ribadeneira’s Spanish biography of Ignatius. The title page states explicitly that it is translated from the Spanish, removing any question regarding whether the Latin edition was its basis. In this work, Walpole uses the initials W. M., which also appear in the 1611 translation of Teresa’s autobiography. Additionally, Walpole left a manuscript written in Spanish about the life of Carvajal, whose short title is *La Vida de doña Luysa de Carbajal y Mendoça*. The Jesuits have no record of the 1611 translation. As stated earlier, Allison and Rogers claimed this was due to the place of publication, the printing press at the English College at St. Omer being the usual outlet for the dissemination of Jesuit works (*Contemporary Printed Literature*, 2: 154). Because it was not channeled through an official Jesuit enterprise, the book easily could have been overlooked in the Jesuit records. One could wonder, however, if the Carmelites Ana de Jesús and Gracián might have pressed for the publication to be done in Antwerp, for reasons of their own. This is pure speculation, and does not rule out the possibility that the Antwerp imprint might be misleading, the book possibly being printed in England in secret.

In any case, Michael Walpole’s efforts to cover up his tracks helped to keep his connection with the translation shrouded for a long time. The letters of Luisa de Carvajal are remarkable in their attempt to avoid mentioning Walpole by name. In a letter to Magdalena de San Jerónimo, dated 12 April 1606, Carvajal writes from London that no priest should ever be mentioned by name, making special reference to Walpole: “As for the rest, do not mention Michael by name . . . never call the priests by their names in your letters” (Carvajal 169). Such reticence would not have been considered excessive. Henry, Michael Walpole’s aforementioned brother, endured a gruesome martyrdom for his faith. He was “hanged, cut down alive, disemboweled, and quartered, after having been tried and convicted of high treason, for taking Holy Orders abroad and returning to England to preach the Catholic faith” (Foley 2:235). This occurred in 1595 when Michael would have been approximately twenty-five years of age and an ordained Jesuit for nearly two years. The fear of such an eventuality still does not explain why history has been unable to link Walpole to the 1611 translation of the life of Teresa of Avila. His output was prolific, comprising both original works and translations from the Latin, as well as the Ignatius biography from the Spanish. Works definitively attributed to Walpole were published during the period spanning from 1608 through 1616, with the exception of a 1622 reissue of the 1616 translation of the life of Ignatius on the occasion of the Spaniard’s canonization (Allison and Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature* 2:153-155). To be specific, Walpole published at least one book per year in the years 1608, 1609, 1610, 1613, 1614, and

1616. The year under discussion, 1611, falls almost at the halfway point of this nine-year period, filling a gap in an astonishing record of accomplishment. In these works, Walpole used the initials M. C. P. or I. T. He also wrote under the pseudonyms of Michael Christopherson, Michael Christoferson, and Martin Becanus. His use of W.M.—a definite attribution in the case of the Ignatius biography—could have been a special identity he reserved for works he translated from the Spanish, specifically the lives of Ignatius and Teresa. His record can be termed “astonishing” because of the conditions of harassment, persecution, arrest and exile Walpole endured in this decade, as is attested in various secondary sources (Milward, *DNB*; Jessopp, *DNB*; Allison and Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature*, 2:154). Eyewitness accounts are also available, such as Carvajal’s letter to Joseph Creswell, 7 June 1609 (285), and to Inés de la Asunción, dated 4 June 1610; in the latter Carvajal exults that Walpole was rescued dramatically by force from “the hands of the heretics” (297) and was now safely in Flanders; in another letter to Inés de la Asunción on 23 October 1610, she rejoiced that “Fr. Michael is in Flanders” (310, this and all translations my own). These two letters confirm Walpole’s presence within the Low Countries during 1610. He was appointed Superior of the English Jesuits in Brussels during 1611, confirming his presence in that country the following year (Allison and Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature*, 2:154). As noted earlier, barring the possibility of a specious publisher’s imprint, the 1611 translation of St. Teresa’s life was published in Antwerp. Antwerp is closer and more easily accessible to Brussels than is St. Omer. This mundane reality might explain why, unlike many English Jesuit publications of the period, the 1611 translation was not published in St. Omer and, as a result, was excluded from the Jesuit records.

Another indirect though the strongest piece of evidence in support of Walpole as the translator of the 1611 translation of the Teresa of Avila autobiography can be found in a letter written by Carvajal, dated 3 September 1611, to Fr. Joseph Creswell. She wrote, “Tenemos el libro que escribió la Santa Madre Teresa de su *Vida*, en inglés, muy bien traducido.” (“We have the book written by the Holy Mother Teresa, in English, very well translated” (331)<sup>1</sup>. She does not name the translator. The omission might only indicate lack of a need to do so, because Creswell, a fellow Jesuit to Walpole and mutual associate from St. Alban’s in Valladolid, might have been well informed of the project. The omission might also relate to the caution described earlier with respect to naming priests, especially where “Padre Miguel” was concerned. The tone of satisfaction expressed by Carvajal in her mention of the completed translation, as well as her praise of its quality, suggests personal involvement and effort expended in bringing the work to fruition. In that light, her silence with regard to the translator may have spoken volumes.

An unpublished letter to Carvajal, in the Carvajal Papers at the Real Monasterio de la Encarnación, Madrid, dated February of 1612, is telling. In it, Joyce Smith, an English Catholic exiled to Portugal, wrote to Carvajal to ask for English translations of the works of Spanish spiritual writers, especially those of “Mother Teresa”, citing the scarcity of such works (qtd. in Rhodes, 21). Smith was looking to Carvajal as a source for the English translation of the autobiography of Saint Teresa. Although Walpole did not make his role in translating the work of Teresa public, it might have been common knowledge among many within the Catholic community. The close association between Carvajal and Walpole would explain why such a request would be made to Carvajal. She was instrumental in distributing English-language

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Anne J. Cruz for bringing this to my attention.

Catholic literature throughout England and to English Catholics living abroad. The minimal use she was able to glean from books written in Spanish was often noted in her letters, along with the dire necessity for English translations, especially for women. In a letter to Joseph Cresswell, 3 August 1612, (354) she laments that few in England are able to benefit from books in Spanish in her possession. In a letter to Mariana de San José, 19 October 1612, she mentions that a certain Spanish work, title unmentioned, is being translated into English, since there were so few women who could understand Spanish ( 374). English Catholics looked to Catholic countries on the continent as sources for supportive devotional literature. The fact that Luisa de Carvajal was instrumental in not only importing and distributing such literature, but also might have been connected to the project of translating such works, points to the possibility that she, with Walpole, was also connected to the project of translating the autobiography of Teresa of Avila into English.

To recapitulate the arguments in favor of Walpole as the first translator of the Saint Teresa manuscript under study, during 1611, the Irish Jesuit William Malone was nowhere near the publication location. However, Michael Walpole can be placed in Brussels during this time, and not far from Antwerp, the place of publication. Additionally, he had a proven connection to Luisa de Carvajal. Carvajal corresponded with Jerónimo de Gracián and Ana de Jesús, close associates of Saint Teresa who were involved with the translation and publication of Teresa's work in Spanish, French, and Flemish. Because Ana de Jesús, Gracián, and Walpole were all living within the same city and enjoyed mutual acquaintanceship, it is conceivable that their association included collaboration on the publication of the English translation. It might also be prudent to consider the evidence presented by Tobie Matthew in his preface to his 1642 translation of Saint Teresa's life. He refers to his predecessor in translation as "an eminent and worthie man of our nation" (Matthew A5r). Malone's Irishness would exclude him from this reference to "of our nation". Whether he was "Dublinen" or a Manchester resident, he appears to have identified and/or been identified as Irish. It is likely that Matthew knew to whom he was referring, and that he was referring to the English Michael Walpole, not the Irish William Malone.

In conclusion, not only can Michael Walpole be placed in a key location during publication of the first English translation of the Teresa of Avila autobiography, but he also had the Teresian Carmelite connections, and proven interest in Spanish language and spiritual works, to make him the most credible contender for the position of translator of Teresa's *Vida*. Additionally, his translation of the biography of Ignatius independently proves his capabilities for the field of translation, whereas Malone, excluding the erroneous attribution described, has no such record of accomplishment. It is therefore unlikely that William Malone had any involvement in the work of Saint Teresa. On the contrary, available evidence points to Michael Walpole much more convincingly. While this cannot be determined with absolute certainty, it seems far more likely than any other possibility.

To recapitulate: This study concurs with attribution of the first English translation of Teresa's *Vida* to Michael Walpole. However, this conclusion was reached by adding epistolary evidence to conjectures made by Allison and Rogers; it does not merely repeat the conjecture as settled fact. One of the aims of this study was to show that, though the sheer weight of the 2004 Milward *DNB* article suggests that there is little to discuss, that the case is essentially closed, the truth is that very little case has ever actually been made. While Walpole's connection to Carvajal



has long been known, his possible connection to the Carmelites in the effort to translate Teresa's *Vida* into English has not been remarked upon.

Allison and Rogers provided brief support for Michael Walpole as the translator of the 1611 translation of the Teresa of Avila autobiography (*Contemporary Printed Literature* 2:154). It is possible that these authors were aware of at least some, if not most, of the connections described herein. The aim of this current work was simply to present the argument they would have undoubtedly advanced given freedom from other pressing matters. Furthermore, it is my hope that Luisa de Carvajal and the Carmelites Ana de Jesús and Jerónimo de Gracián might be recognized as possible participants in the heroic task of providing spiritual consolation to embattled English Catholics through their efforts to support the internationalization of Teresa's work. Long unsung, Walpole, Carvajal, Ana de Jesús and Gracián are overdue for such recognition.

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