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Argument in the archives: a microcosm of early modern confessional conflict in the Three Kingdoms and Europe within the collections of the Old Library of the Irish College Paris



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Conventions

All dates before 1582 are common across Europe. After 1582, and the adoption or non-adoption of the Gregorian calendar, dates will adhere to the local system then in practice in each location.

Quotations retain their original spelling except where doing so would substantially detract from clarity or confuse meaning.

Introduction

Located within the books and manuscripts of the Old Library of the Irish College in the *Centre Culturel Irlandais* are significant numbers of important works, that featured in the intense intellectual battle, an argument in the archives, for hearts, minds and, above all, souls in the Three Kingdoms of Ireland, England and Scotland during the confessional conflict of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, c.1530-1700. As Roman Catholicism slowly retreated from much of the Three Kingdoms in the face of the success and expansion of the Protestant Reformation, exile colleges established abroad (with Paris playing a central role) assumed the mantle for believers of preventing complete extinction of their faith within the islands – but also for disseminating the perspectives emanating from a process of internal change, the Counter Reformation or Catholic Reformation.

As the Catholic Church itself debated and eventually reacted to the criticisms of Martin Luther, John Calvin and many other ‘Protestant’ critics with reforms drawn up by the Council of Trent, colleges such those in Paris, whether Irish, Scots or English, recognising that the fractured parts of Christendom could not and would not be reconciled, began preparing for an ongoing effort to re-evangelise and re-establish the Catholic Church in all three countries according to Tridentine principles. The process was envisaged as being lengthy and far from unopposed. Stout resistance would be expected to be manifested by Anglican and Presbyterian divines and lay writers who as fervently believed in their position in matters of faith as did their Catholic contemporaries.¹

The legacy of this discourse of divine disputation remains in the Old Library. Specifically, a sequence of seminal, and celebrated, public clashes in print across Europe and subsequently the Three Kingdoms has left a rich corpus of material in the Irish College Collection. This is of great research interest and value to scholars of the history and theology of seventeenth and eighteenth century Ireland and Britain, and indeed of Europe more generally, in terms of both how and why the collection came to be formed, developed over time and why it exists in its present location today, as well as the exceptional intrinsic value of the items themselves

¹ Catholic Church is used here as a shorthand term for the Roman Catholic Church; likewise Anglican and Presbyterian will be used as general encompassing terms denoting the major reformed Churches in the Three Kingdoms during the historical period under examination. The use of these terms should not be taken to indicate support for or denial of any claims made or doctrines held by individual religious groups.

in the context of European intellectual history, including many significant titles that were seminal works of scholarship at the forefront of and foremost importance during the religious and political debates of the Reformation period.

Together, this corpus of works from major figures and influential voices, as well as lesser known exponents and related works, represents a significant research resource offering valuable insights into key political and religious developments throughout the course of a crucial and formative period of early modern confessional conflict in the history of Three Kingdoms and Europe. To fully appreciate this corpus of works in the Old Library and its value to scholars requires an overview of what volumes constitute the corpus, and why, a contextualisation of the works in the history of the period, and reference to other supporting works of contemporary history and theology within the collection. This project aims to produce a comprehensive report meeting this need.

Structure of the Report

The report will examine, analyse and discuss the history of a discrete sub-collection of works that exists as a legacy of the Library of St Gregory's English College, Paris. The College and its buildings are now entirely destroyed and these books are the only tangible remnant of an institution with a unique and exceptionally interesting history.

To understand these works, establish where they originate and why, ascertain by whom they were written and with what intention, will tell us a great deal about particular aspects of the early purpose and activities of the English College. It will equally cast light on its sister institutions, the Irish College and Scottish College. Unlike the Irish College, they are no longer extant (the physical fabric of the Scottish College remains) but both were once close neighbours who shared to a great degree in the aims and rationale of their Irish colleagues and co-religionists gathered within the walls of the *College des Irlandais*. A major point to note is that a significant number of the works in the Library are also of major importance in a European historical context, an important reminder that the history of the Irish, Scottish and English Colleges cannot and should not be divorced from the momentous transformation underway in wider European history between the sixteenth century and the early eighteenth. The books in the Old Library are a truly European patrimony.

A very direct connection exists between the collection of the Old Library of the Irish College and what was the Library of the onetime English College - or the College of St Gregory as it was formerly and formally known in the latter period of its existence. The great majority of the works examined during this research project and which form the core source materials for this report were originally books purchased by and in the possession of the English College. Many, but by no means all, display a graphic reminder of their provenance by being marked with the English College's bookplate insignia of an image of St Gregory. This symbol was selected for very specific reasons which will be discussed in section one of the report.

Surprisingly little has been written on the history and activities of the English College in Paris to date, or indeed English Colleges elsewhere, unlike the Irish or Scots establishments which in recent years have been the subject of extensive research. This report will examine and contextualise the history of the English College in so far as it enables and accords with

providing a clearer and deeper understanding of the collection of works, now housed in the Old Library of the Irish College, that owe their origin to the people and processes that gave rise to St Gregory's College. These volumes today represent vital evidence of and insight into the foundation, operation and legacy of that institution - other physical or documentary sources relating to the English College are extremely scant.

To an extent the current incarnation of the Irish College as the *Centre Culturel Irlandais* shares and reflects an aspect of the original purpose of the Irish, English and Scots Colleges - the curation and dissemination of cultural identity and heritage, albeit to different ends. The Centre today propagates and promotes Irish culture in the form of Irish music, literature, art, language, drama and of course History.

An important element in this in this mission is education and communication - bringing an awareness of Ireland and Irishness to a wider audience in Paris and other areas of France. Crucial to this function today are the collections and activities of the Library - the Mediatheque, Old Library and Archives. This reflects and maintains an ongoing common thread linking the Institutions past and present - via the medium of books.

Central and crucial to this report is a sub collection of approximately some 400 books. The physical volumes themselves are the tangible aspect of the project; other elements concerned are the more metaphysical but equally important phenomena and legacies of knowledge and information - the purpose and practical use that the works were intended to enable. The Old Libraries (both the Irish and the English) were concerned with the production and communication of ideas - weapons in an arsenal deployed in an intellectual, and by extension, spiritual, war which dominated and transformed the continent of Europe from east to west over the course of some two hundred years.

The main body of this report consists of two major sections, the first of which will provide a background to and contextual information on why the 'argument in the archives' existed in Europe and the Three Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland. In keeping with the origins of the vast majority of the volumes under consideration, the first part of this section will concentrate firstly on events in Europe, where the genesis and impetus of the religious and political upheaval, the Reformation, that leads to the ultimate *raison d'être* of these

books lies, as do the roots of the equally important emergence of innovatory technology that allows new physical form and widespread impact to intellectual arguments. Without this context and background most of these works of scholarship and polemic in history and theology would not exist. Neither of course would there ever have been a need for the English, Irish and Scottish Colleges. Equally, if the books produced and utilised for debate and persuasion had been ultimately more successful, the history of the Colleges would have been much shorter; perhaps they might be entirely forgotten today, lost and obliterated by the sands of time as a brief aberration from normality.

Having placed the overall collection of works in their broad historical, geographic and intellectual background, the next section of the report will narrow in focus to examine the impact and unfolding of these related processes in England, referring in so far as is possible to the works themselves. Given the number of volumes which can be regarded as contributing to the ‘argument in the archives’ over the course of two hundred years, some 400 volumes at an estimate, it is not feasible to write in detail on each individual book; nor indeed would such an approach produce much more than an elongated inventory or annotated catalogue.

Two case studies, however, dealing respectively with Scotland and Ireland will adopt the approach of using a single book or manuscript to trace the main phrases of the religious and political transformations in both countries. The process of creation of both the work itself and the formation of its author will be situated within the developing social, political and cultural environment responsible for shaping experience and expression in each country in a distinctive fashion. This detailed level of analysis will complement the previous two sections and highlight similarities and disparities, change and continuity within the Three Kingdoms.

The two case studies are followed by a conclusion, after which appendices giving a detailed chronology of events, a glossary of terms and an annotated list of monarchs and dynastic succession are provided and the report is completed by a bibliography of works examined and relevant secondary sources.

Further research and publications to be based upon the report and Old Library materials

This report concentrates on the origin, intended use, significance and historical contextualisation of a subgroup of works formerly belonging to the Library of St Gregory's English College, Paris.

For reasons of space, time and coherence of the present report, it is intended to prepare and submit further findings and analysis derived from, and enabled by, the present *Centre Culturel Irlandais* Old Library Research Fellowship, in the form of articles to scholarly journals and public history magazines.

The foundation and functioning of the English College in Paris is poorly understood and little documented at present. Undertaking the current report has demonstrated the grave lack of adequate study of both the people and the processes that gave rise to a 'House of Writers' in Paris, its important correlation with the creation of Chelsea College in London and the crucial role played in the inception of both by King James VI & I's deep interest in intellectual and scholarly endeavours and seeming openness to debates in religion. An article examining these aspects will be submitted to *Recusant History: A Journal of Research in Post-Reformation Catholic History in the British Isles*.

Articles focusing on the English Colleges on the continent, with particular reference to St Gregory's, and their forgotten status from the perspective of history and memory in England today will seek to analyse and interpret the reasons for this neglected state of affairs within the comparative context of the history of England's ambiguous political and cultural relationship with the Continent - and contrast this legacy with the very different experience of Irish and Scots in Europe. Focusing mainly on the political and foreign policy frame of reference, an article will be submitted for consideration to *Britain and the World: Historical Journal of the British Scholar Society*. An article dealing more centrally and at greater length with the related research theme of 'memory and remembrance', and the almost complete absence of any awareness of, and until recently at least, interest in the English Colleges within collective memory in England will be submitted to *History and Memory*.

The remarkable history of the Irish College Paris and the Old Library Collections in more general terms, reflecting as they do facets also of the patrimony of the Scots and English exiled colleges, equally lends itself to and merits more widespread communication in public history media, especially the myriad themes and topics raised and illuminated by the richness and rarity of the items in the collections. *History Today* in Britain has had a very small number of references to the English Colleges in Rome and Douai and the London Library has exhibited a copy of William Allen's *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges* (Henault (Rheims), 1581)² as one of its Library Treasures but neither St Gregory's nor the wider history of the English, Irish and Scots exile colleges has yet been the subject of an in-depth article. Perhaps more surprisingly *History Ireland* has also almost no reference to such an important aspect of Irish history. Two articles addressing these deficiencies will also be submitted for consideration.

² William Allen, *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges* (Henault (Rheims), 1581), Old Library CCI, A 46 [Ex-libris Scots College Paris].

Section I

*"Knowledge is of two kinds. We know a subject ourselves, or we know where we can find information upon it. When we enquire into any subject, the first thing we have to do is to know what books have treated of it. This leads us to look at catalogues, and at the backs of books in libraries."*⁸



(i) Argument in the Archives: Religion and reform and politics and print in Europe, 1450-1521

"Either the pope must abolish knowledge and printing, or printing must at length root him out'. 'God hath opened the press to preach, whose voice the Pope is never able to stop with all the puissance of his triple crown'.....'the excellent arte of printing, most happily of late found out, and now commonly practised

⁸ James Boswell, *The life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D; comprehending an account of his studies and numerous works, in chronological order; a series of his epistolary correspondence and conversations with many eminent persons; and various original pieces of his composition, never before published. The whole exhibiting a view of literature and literary men in Great-Britain, for near half a century, during which he flourished* (Edinburgh, 1791), p. 487.

*everywhere to the singular benefite of Christes Church, [is] a providential gift from God to the Reformation cause”.*⁴

English Protestant writer John Foxe (1516/17-1587) wrote these words in the midst of a war; an ideological war every bit as bitter and bitterly fought as the Cold War of the twentieth century. Religion rather than economics was the divide which had Europe sundered into rival blocs in the 1500s and 1600s. The battle was waged with might and main – and minds. Deeds wrought in steel and blood were mirrored, and perhaps surpassed, by words crystallised by iron and ink.

Foxe in his own contemporary words highlights the perceived power of the printed word – and highlights also how people even then saw the printing press as an important weapon of mass conversion in the armoury of religious combat. Books were a means of making an argument and persuading people to accept it in many places at once, across vast distances. Foxe was writing in the 1560s, when the printing press was still a relatively new technology and immensely disruptive innovation within sixteenth century European societies. Richard Dawkins has coined the term ‘meme’ to describe the ability of ideas and cultural concepts to be ‘contagious’ in similar fashion to diseases.⁵ Writers and scholars such as Foxe were aware of this infectious potential of intellectual insights and were determined to argue persuasively and vociferously that their own particular claims were correct. The central focus to these endeavours was religion and religious belief. Hotly disputed, closely interlinked with politics and economics, religion provided meaning, morals and morale for the vast majority of Europeans in the period. To some extremist minds it also motivated and justified murder and massacre in the name of salvation and Reformation.

Acts and Monuments of the Christian Martyrs was Foxe’s most famous book and a hugely influential on what we know today as the Reformation.⁶ Unexpected by most, unthinkable to some and unwelcome to many, Reformation of the Catholic Church was for others an urgent and obvious necessity. What started, and might well have ended, as a relatively minor academic controversy became something much more transformative. From that

⁴ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Domme Preachers?’ Post - Reformation English Catholicism and the Culture of Print’ in *Past & Present*, No. 168 (Aug., 2000), p. 72; quoting John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. S. R. Cattle, 8 vols. (London, 1853-9), iii, 720; and his preface to *The Whole Workes of W. Tyndall, John Frith and Doct: or Barnes* (London, 1573, STC 24436), sigs. A2r-3r.

⁵ Richard Dawkins, *The selfish gene* (Oxford, 1989), p. 192.

⁶ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days touching matters of the Church....*(2 volumes, n.p., n.p.), in the Old Library of the Centre Culturel Irlandais (herein after denoted as Old Library CCI), E 68.

transformation would eventually emerge the Irish, English and Scottish Colleges - and no less importantly, their libraries. Print would be a powerful factor in the process that bequeaths to us the works now housed on the shelves in the Old Library - and print was in many ways the progenitor bringing about the 'argument in the archives' that these books now represent.

Today Reformation Day is celebrated in Germany, or at least in some regions by some people, on the 31 October - a date taken to denote the start of the Reformation in 1517. On that date a Catholic clergyman and university professor, Martin Luther (1483-1546), made public a list of issues relating to practices he found questionable in the Catholic Church. Tradition holds that he nailed these *Ninety Five Theses* to the door of Wittenberg church; guilty or not, the doors in question were burned by a later invading French army for their alleged role in the precipitating the Reformation - evidence of the depth of rancour still surrounding events after 400 years; evidence too of the perennial interconnection and interplay of piety and politics, a theme central to the creation and utilisation of the collection of works and authors studied by this report.

Whether Luther did actually wield a hammer and tacks on 31 October, his intent was clear - he was calling for a debate

‘Out of love for the truth and the desire to bring it to light, the following propositions will be discussed at Wittenberg, under the presidency of the Reverend Father Martin Luther, Master of Arts and of Sacred Theology, and Lecturer in Ordinary on the same at that place. Wherefore he requests that those who are unable to be present and debate orally with us, may do so by letter.’⁷

Central to these ninety five theses, and indeed Luther's main objection, was the concept of indulgences - indeed the formal title of his work was *Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences*. These were 'remissions of penalties' for souls in purgatory in the form of 'letters of pardon'.⁸ In the early 1500s indulgences were being sold, in part, to fund the building of St Peters' Basilica in Rome. Pope Julius II (1443-1513) had developed elaborate plans for a monumental structure to be built on the site - monumental in size and expense. His successor Leo X (1475-1521) continued with the building but also

⁷ Adolph Spaeth, L.D. Reed, Henry Eyster Jacobs, et al., (Trans. & Eds.), *Works of Martin Luther* (Philadelphia, 1915), vol.1, pp 29-38.

⁸ Ibid.

spent enormous sums on other projects; to rectify the deficit the sale of indulgences was one measure employed much more vigorously. Among the most vigorous of all in promoting the sales was a Dominican friar Johann Tetzel, commissioned by the papacy, and active in Luther's region of Saxony. Tetzel's alleged marketing 'jingle' to increase purchases by penitents and thus papal profits was quoted in Luther's twenty seventh thesis 'so soon as the penny jingles into the money-box, the soul flies out [of purgatory].'⁹

In Luther's eyes such ideas were irredeemably flawed on numerous levels; each of the ninety five points he set out emanated from this basic disagreement and identified a weakness or incompatibility in logic, evidence, authority, legitimacy or, most often, morality surrounding the phenomenon. Most controversially he questioned the power of the papacy to intercede for the dead in this fashion, to interpose in the direct relationship between sinner and saviour. Charging money for something that was neither possible, necessary nor permissible for the purposes of earthly and profane profit moved Luther to his action in calling for a disputation.

This was the standard method of resolving interpretative differences of theology (or indeed any other subject) in scholarly circles. Need for such mechanisms of analytical assay had increased greatly since the fall of the great city of Constantinople in 1453. Capital of the Eastern Roman Empire, its libraries had held immensely important collections of Greek and Latin manuscripts gathered from all over the Middle East - including some of the earliest sources on early Christianity. These were largely unknown in Western Europe until the conquest of the city by the Ottoman Empire saw a wave of migrant scholars arrive in Italy, bringing with them their knowledge and at least some of what proved a treasure trove of material - original ancient documents.¹⁰

In the midst of Renaissance Italy, already the site of a new spirit of humanist re-examination of accepted and atrophied 'truths', the manuscripts acquired from East alongside those rediscovered after being long overlooked and forgotten in the West were grist to the mill of sceptical questioning and source criticism. '*Ad fontes*' (back to the sources) became the watchword and dominant mentality. Previously authoritative translations of texts relating to Christian history and doctrine were found wanting when compared to older and more authentic documents. Desiderius Erasmus (1466-1536) especially drew attention to the

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Judith Herrin, *Byzantium: the surprising life of a medieval empire* (London, 2008), pp 329-333.

deficiencies in existing work with his with his own brilliant new translations.¹¹ The foundations of many existing practical aspects of Christian organisation and belief were disputable or difficult to find at all in newly unearthed and retranslated scriptures. Confusion grew and controversy arose over what truly was or was not orthodox belief.

Of course deciding what should or should not be the basis of Christian faith was an exceptionally difficult question to answer. Even identifying and accepting who or what body was entitled to decide on such questions was hugely complex and further complicated by political considerations. The Papacy's (claimed) role as the ultimate Christian authority was not proven, accepted or endorsed by all Christians - indeed it had led to schism with the Eastern Orthodox Church in 1054. European rulers also contested the Pope's claims to jurisdiction, usually in the temporal realm but occasionally even in matters religious.

The Kings of France, long at loggerheads with the papacy, supported and agitated for the rights of Ecumenical(or General) Councils of the entire Church as the ultimate arbitrary body in Christianity rather than the pope. At issue was the concept of a collective and consultative form of church governance and decision making, especially on urgent issues of reform, consiliarism, as opposed to a system based on papal supremacy - in effect whether the Church would be ruled by a participative representative assembly or the principles of papal princely absolutism. Many temporal rulers were very much in favour of a conciliar constitution governing the church, reducing the influence of and interference by the Pope, while at the same being much less enamoured of any such concept in their own realms.¹² Consistency has never been a very valued attribute in international power politics. In the same vein, France also used effective manoeuvring within church political circles to occasion a situation where there were two (and at times three) competing popes from 1328 to c.1417 - an outcome that also effectively hobbled the growth of Papal power at the same time as casting the institution into disrepute.¹³

By the early sixteenth century all of these factors combined to create an environment familiar with and conducive to questioning of many elements of Christian belief and practice - to degrees that might previously have been unthinkable. The idea that reforms were necessary

¹¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Des. Erasmi... operum... primus (decimus) tomus* (10 vols, Basle, 1540), Old Library CCI, D402.

¹² Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation* (London, 2003), pp 20-23.

¹³ D. Williman, 'Schism within the Church: The Twin Papal Elections of 1378', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 59, (2008), pp 29-47.

in many areas was widely accepted but the nature of those reforms was not. This was to prove the stumbling block which would lead to debate, dissent and division. It would be these arguments, in essence, that the books now in the Old Library would continue to argue over and the details of the development and progression of these disputes that are contained in their pages.

In this context therefore, as a doctor of theology and a member of a university faculty Luther was following a course of action that was not radical or unprecedented; the vast majority of participants in the religious controversies of the period, on all sides and of all shades of opinion, were intimately familiar with this process of intellectual testing of arguments and ideas from their own theological training and formation. Assertion and arguments from authority were not enough. Crucial to the process of convincing and persuading an opponent to the rightness of one's own view was the ability to draw on and cite relevant texts in support of key points made

When [Andreas] Carlstadt, then a professor at the university of Wittenberg, went to the fighting debate with Johann Eck at the Leipzig Disputation in 1519, he could not rely that books which he might need would be found either in the city or the university library at Leipzig. He must carry what he might want, and throughout the journey from Wittenberg he needed to sit among a wagon-load of books¹⁴

Lengthy written texts often accompanied oral contestation. These works expounded in detail on the case being made and the evidence being presented and many were printed in the form of books and pamphlets in an effort to reinforce a case made and persuade more widely.

Many of the authors and books discussed in more detail in the next section of the report follow exactly this method; it is indeed the very basis and core principle underlying the concept of an 'argument in the archives'.

A further new and what would prove a, if not the, crucial factor in raising awareness and broadening the impact of these, previously rather esoteric rituals, undertaken by fusty and largely ignored and irrelevant academics, were printed reports of Luther's challenge to a debate which were widely read by those who could read, and read aloud to those could not.

¹⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The early Reformation on the continent* (Oxford, 2001), p. 5.

In this sense his action while entirely legitimate and quite run of the mill was most certainly provocative if not seditious from a practical point of view: although many of the issues in dispute were not new, they now proved much more inflammatory than ever before. Central to this change was Johann Gutenberg's innovation in 1455 in developing one of the most significant inventions ever devised - an effective and efficient mechanical printing press.

He and his assistants set to work with concentrated precision and speed, the compositors setting and securing the type in place, then passing it to the printers, who inked it up, swung the frame of taut paper over it, slid the whole into the press and forced the press plate down, removed the freshly printed sheet and began the process of inking again; a copy every 20 seconds.¹⁵

Perhaps not coincidentally this also occurred in Germany. The printing press and the revolutionary medium of books helped to turn what would under previous circumstances have been a minor internal church debate into a full scale Europe-wide theological civil war within Christianity - employing words as weapons.

Luther himself set the pattern and the pace. Engaged in a number of these public disputations - most noteworthy with Dr Johann von Eck (1486-1543) - he continually had occasion to reflect upon and revise his arguments, and over time they became much more radical. And they entered print. In rapid succession Luther published *Liberty of the Christian Man* (1520), *Address to the Christian nobility of the German Nation* (1520), and *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church of God* (1520). Now in open and clear confrontation with the Pope, he was excommunicated as a heretic on 3 January 1521. In April 1521 Luther was summoned to Worms to defend himself in front of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V (1500-1558) - the evidence ranged against him was his own books. He refused to recant his belief as set forth in his writings

I am overcome by the Scriptures I have quoted; my conscience is captive to God's Word. I cannot and will not revoke anything, for to act against conscience is neither

¹⁵ Lucien Febvre and Henry-Jean Martin, *The coming of the book: the impact of printing, 1450-1800* (London, 1997), pp 61-7.

safe nor honest*Hier stehe ich. Ich kann nicht anders.* [Here I stand I can do no other]¹⁶

Luther was now in a very precarious position indeed. Not only was the religious leader of European Christianity imposing penalties for impugning sacred laws but the Emperor, who claimed pre-eminence as the temporal equivalent of the Pope, at least in Germany (or the Holy Roman Empire) now also condemned Luther as a heretic and an outlaw. What saved him were the internecine rivalries within the Holy Roman Empire - and its unique complicated structure - it was far from being a unified state. Instead it was an assembly of some hundreds of small and large territories, seven of whom elected the Emperor to his position for life.

Several of the larger states retained a distinct sense of independence and their own ambitions for power and influence. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick III, arranged for Luther to be 'kidnapped' as he was taken from Worms and brought to the security of Wartburg Castle. From there Luther spent the summer writing a number of new works clarifying what he saw as the problems and abuses within Catholicism - a term we can now employ as the depth of disparity and the breath of divergence between traditional beliefs and what Luther and his followers was espousing now constituted a separate strand of Christian belief - what crystallised and solidified after many revisions and additions as Lutheranism in the years ahead.

Communities across Saxony and then in other areas of Germany adopted Luther's new ideas. Other reformers who had read and been inspired by Luther's works developed their own perspectives on what a reformed church should look like - names that were to become as familiar as his: Phillip Melancthon,¹⁷ Andreas Osiander,¹⁸ John Calvin,¹⁹ Huldrych

¹⁶ Norman Davies, *Europe: A history* (Oxford, 1997), Kindle edition, location 11764. There is some dispute concerning whether Luther actually uttered the last sentence of this statement, or whether it was added later.

¹⁷ Phillip Melancthon, *Loci communes theologici collecti a Philippo Melanctone...*(n.p., 1573), Old Library CCI, B 1718. One of the most important books of the Reformation setting out the closest to a comprehensive and systematised schema of Protestant theology, Luther said of it "“You cannot find anywhere a book which treats the whole of the theology so adequately as the *Loci communes* do... Next to Holy Scripture, there is no better book”. Melancthon revised the work from 1521 into the 1550s.

¹⁸ Andreas Osiander, *Papa non papa, hoc est, papae et papicolarum de praecipuis christianae doctrinae partibus* (Tubingen, 1606), Old Library CCI, A 16 [Ex-libris English College Paris]

¹⁹ Jean Calvin, *Institution of the Christian Religion* (n.p., n.d), Old Library CCI, B 702; Jean Calvin, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione... consensus pastorum Genevensis Ecclesiae a Jo. Calvino expositus* (Geneva, 1552), Old Library CCI, A 211 [Ex-libris English College Paris]; Jean Calvin, *In librum psalmorum Johannis Calvinii commentaries* (Paris, 1557), Old Library CCI, D 133; Jean Calvin, *Calumniae nebulonis cuiusdam, quibus... gravare conatus est doctrinam Ioh. Calvinii de occulta Dei providentia Johannis Calvinii ad easdem responsio*

Zwingli,²⁰ Martin Bucer,²¹ Theodore Beza²² and Heinrich Bullinger²³, among many others. Once a fracture had opened in European Christianity, fault lines ran in all directions and widened well beyond Luther's initial ideas and far beyond anyone's control.

No-one was quite sure what reformed Christianity would look like. Virus-like, countless mutations of mentality appeared and kept on diversifying. Among the myriad of alterations and adaptations included changes to the Mass, or its abolition; the end of clerical celibacy and the advent of married ministers; the closing of monasteries and nunneries; reinterpretation and reduction of sacraments; and above all an emphatic emphasis on the 'Word' as being the core and the key to a Christian life, death and afterlife – a personal relationship between the believer and the Bible, with little or no place for priestly intermediaries, grave doubts on bishops and absolutely no role at all for the Papacy. What came centre stage now was the person and his or her printed copy of the 'Good Book'. It might be read at home in private or communally, or it might be read or preached in church, or chapel or meeting house – but reading was key and crucial.

From this flowed one of the few agreed precepts and priorities that almost everyone could agree upon in what was now being called 'Protestantism': the need for copies of sacred

(Geneva, 1558), Old Library CCI, A 178 [Ex-Libris English College Paris]; Jean Calvin, *Joannis Calvinii Commentarii in Isaiam prophetam* (Geneva, 1559), Old Library CCI, D 90; Jean Calvin, *Response de Jehan Calvin et Théodore de Besze aux calomnies et argumens d'un qui s'efforce par tous les moyens de renverser la doctrine de la providence secrète de Dieu traduit nouvellement* (Geneva, 1559), Old Library CCI, A 5 [Ex-libris English College Paris]; Jean Calvin, *Harmonia ex tribus evangelistis composita Matthaeo, Marco et Luca : adjuncto seorsum Johanne quod pauca cum aliis communia habeat, cum Joannis Calvinii commentariis* (Geneva, 1560), Old Library CCI, D 446; Jean Calvin, *Soixante cinq sermons de Jean Calvin sur l'harmonie ou concordance des trois évangelistes S. Matthieu, saint Marc et S. Luc recueillis... par feu M. Denys Ragueneau à mesure qu'on les preschoit* (Geneva, 1562), Old Library CCI, B 1299; Jean Calvin, *Commentaire de M. Jean Calvin sur les epistres de l'Apostre S. Paul et aussi sur l'epistre aux Hebreux, item sur les epistres canoniques de S. Pierre, S. Jean, S. Jacques et S. Jude* (Geneva, 1562), Old Library CCI, D 414; Jean Calvin, *Sermons de M. Jean Calvin sur le livre de Job, recueillis fidelement de sa bouche selon qu'il les preschait* (Geneva, 1563), Old Library, CCI, D 483; Jean Calvin, *Institutio christianae religionis* (Geneva, 1612), Old Library CCI, B 560; Jean Calvin, *Johannis Calvinii... Institutionum christianae religionis libri quatuor editio postrema... praemissa est vita ejusdem Calvinii auctore Theodoro Beza* (Leiden, 1654), Old Library CCI, D 287.

²⁰ Huldrych Zwingli, *De Vera et falsa religione Huldrychi Zwinglii commentarius...*(Zurich, c.1530), Old Library CCI, B 1009 [English College Library marking]; Huldrych Zwingli, *Opus articulorum sive conclusionum a... Huldrycho Zwinglio in vernacula lingua conscriptum nunc... a Leone Judae in latinam versum... nunc primum impressum...*(Zurich, 1535), Old Library CCI, B 1554 [English College Library marking].

²¹ Martin Bucer, *Martini Buceri Scripta Anglicana fere omnia...*(Basle, 1577), Old Library CCI, D 239 [English College Library marking].

²² Theodore de Beze [Beza], *A briefe and pithie summe of the christian faith* (London, n.d), Old Library CCI, A 153 [Ex-Libris English College Paris]; Theodore de Beze [Beza], *Epistolae theologicae* (n.p., n.d.), Old Library CCI, B 924 [Ex-Libris English College Paris].

²³ Heinrich Bullinger, *In sacrosanctum Evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi secundum Marcum* (Zurich, 1554), Old Library CCI, D 472 [Ex-Libris English College]; Heinrich Bullinger, *Repetitio et dilucidior explicatio... de inconfusis proprietatibus naturorum Christi Domini in una indivisa persona permanentibus* (Zurich, 1564), Old Library CCI, A 111 [Ex-Libris English College Paris].

scripture in vernacular languages that people actually understood rather than esoteric Latin, and flowing from this the obvious and urgent need, or mission, to educate as many souls as possible to be literate. Again, the printing press and books would be at the heart of both of these foundational, fundamental and formative enterprises within the Reformation world.

At first the printed book was too expensive to get into the hands of teenagers at school or undergraduates except through the university library as in the same way they learnt in the days of manuscripts. But even before the end of the fifteenth century people concerned with education noticed a difference, that learning with the eye was easier and learning with the ear not so indispensable. More people could teach themselves instead of sitting at the feet of a master. And the range of knowledge open to a scholar turned from a sea to an ocean [...]

The Protestant desire for educated clergy meant a drive for better libraries. Big parish churches put books into the vestry or into the unused house of a canon and made these books accessible to everyone - though mostly it was clergymen or schoolteachers who used them. [...] In all these libraries a majority of books were about theology because in response to buyers printers published more books in theology than in any other area of knowledge (except books like almanacs). But they also contained classical texts, and slowly a few books of history and still more slowly a few books on science.²⁴

On the other side of the increasingly bitter argument, the Catholic Church would soon engage in its own response - the Counter or Catholic Reformation - to the challenges posed by the new communities of believers and the new methods of worship and devotion - and here again education and printing would be increasingly important and significant in what one might say was now a free and competitive market in and for the salvation of Christian souls.

Overall however there was no stable and set series of changes, no detailed systematised 'Lutheranism' or 'Calvinism' as yet. Instead Luther had set in motion a situation and a period of great change where everything previously relatively static was now unsettled and unsettling. In 1517 virtually everyone in Europe beyond the Ottoman Empire was Catholic - born and baptised in the same fashion, marrying and dying in a community of believers sharing in the same ceremonies in the languages with the aid and under the care of the same

²⁴ Owen Chadwick, *The early Reformation on the continent* (Oxford, 2001), pp 3-5.

priests and monks and nuns, overseen by the Pope, recognisably the same, or catholic in its sense of universality for a thousand years. And, then, suddenly, unaccountably, unbelievably, everything was different. With a shocking rapidity to those who lived through it, what had been a religiously unified and homogenous continent of shared belief from Portugal to Lithuania, and from Sicily to Norway was shattered. And as it proved, shattered beyond repair. But the effort to heal and reconstitute the lost unity underpins the existence of these 400 or so volumes in the Old Library - and indeed the colleges themselves which emerged not directly from these momentous transformations on the continent but ironically from a more complex, confused and confusing process of incremental, spasmodic and contradictory flux in what seemed to be the only region of Europe where change might have a very difficult time.

From the perspective of England, Ireland and Scotland [an awkward geographical area to describe in this period - the various changes in political organisation and dynastic successions are set out in an appendix] in the early 1520s it appeared at first that this distant dispute would have little if any impact. The region had already it might appear been inoculated having experienced and suppressed a mild and apparently limited form of questioning of religious orthodoxy over a century previously.

John Wycliffe (1320-1384) was an academic and theologian educated at Oxford who came to question many aspects of Christian doctrines.²⁵ Primarily he came to question what he regarded as the errant emphasis on materiality in the institutional church - the ambition for and expense of benefices, the importance accorded to and vast ownership of buildings and lands, the rules and strictures describing a path to salvation which cited not scripture but earthly requirements, and growing desire of the papacy for political and temporal power. All this to Wycliffe's view served to distract and detach people from the vital essence of what he and his small number of followers believed should be the prime focus of Christianity - the Bible.²⁶

Wycliffe and his Lollards, as his followers were contemptuously known, understood their greatest endeavour to be the translation of the Bible into English so that the greatest number of people possible could be made aware of its contents, without need of specialised

²⁵ See G.R. Evans, *John Wyclif: Myth and reality* (Oxford, 2005).

²⁶ Mary Dove., *The first English Bible: the text and context of the Wycliffite versions* (Cambridge, 2007).

intermediaries - the task was completed in 1384. The response to the Lollard dissent was underwhelming; few adherents and little political support materialised - two vital factors in the later survival and expansion of Lutheranism. Equally, they were without an effective means of circulating and broadcasting their message beyond their immediate circle; also in the absence of a means of relatively rapid reproduction their greatest work and achievement, the translation of the Bible into English, had much less impact than it might otherwise.²⁷

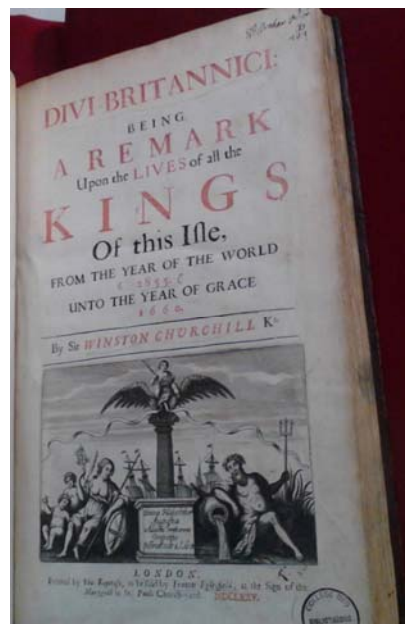
Such actions were outlawed in the ensuing crackdown on the movement and, without the ability and technology to print copies instead of laboriously and slowly copying by hand, suppression and censorship were remarkably effective. Small numbers of Lollards remained and retained their beliefs but they were tiny in number if not entirely without impact.²⁸ The English Church was regarded as one of the most well ordered in Christendom while politically the English monarchy regarded the papacy as an important diplomatic ally in the dangerous and constantly shifting world of European politics. It was hard for contemporaries to see how this would ever change but change it would.

²⁷ Juliet Barker, *Agincourt: the king, the campaign, the battle* (London, 2005), pp 50-53.

²⁸ K.B. McFarlane, *John Wycliffe and the beginnings of English non-conformity* (London, 1952), pp 60-69.

(ii) Argument in the archives: Religion and reform and politics and print in
England 1500-1660

“There was nothing so dangerous to a king or an emperor as a book. Yes, a great library—a library as magnificent as this one—was a dangerous arsenal, one that kings and emperors feared more than the greatest army or magazine.”²⁹



In November 1501 Londoners awaited the imminent arrival of Princess Catherine of Aragon in the English capital. King Henry VII of England and his ministers had secured a diplomatic and dynastic triumph in negotiating a marriage alliance between the Spanish princess (or technically Castilian and Aragonese, joined only in the marriage of Catherine’s parents Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon – Spain would not exist as a formal centralised collective entity beyond the sum of its parts until 1714, however the term will be used as a convenient shorthand) and the king’s eldest son and heir, Prince Arthur. Catherine’s parents had recently completed the reconquest of Iberia, funded Columbus’ discovery of the ‘New World’ and made Spain one of the leading powers in Europe – remarkable achievements and viewed as such by other rulers. Contrasted with this list of

²⁹ Ross King, *Ex-libris* (London, 2002), p.57.

admirable accomplishments the family and the kingdom she was about to marry into was modest indeed.

The Tudors were new to the throne of England. Though claiming an illustrious pedigree, in reality Henry Tudor had been king less than twenty years. Instead of inheriting the crown by right of dynastic succession, something which England had not witnessed in nearly a century, he had ended a long civil war in England by defeating and seizing power from the troubled Edward VI in 1485. To some old established families the Tudors were upstarts, unworthy, illegitimate, no better than Welsh peasant interlopers and hopefully soon to be reduced to their rightful station and removed from power.

There were no shortage of potential claimants with as good or better a claim than Henry VII himself had had when he came to the throne, and by the early 1500s Henry was a sick man. His time was short, his legacy far from assured. He was though, if not esteemed or respected, immensely rich having instituted a virtual reign of extrajudicial terror in the latter years of his reign, eliciting vast quantities of lands and largess from his wealthier subjects in exchange for a measure of safety from further harassment. Conversely, the Spanish monarchy might have been replete with pedigree and pride but it was sadly lacking in profits. Catherine and Arthur's match might not have been made in heaven but it was a match that united mutual interests - and that in the harsh arena of international politics was all that mattered.

Sealing an alliance with Spain (and its military machine) through shared interests and fused bloodlines offered some security against rebellious lords for the new Tudor dynasty. Firmer foundations still could be created by the birth of a son and heir to Prince Arthur and Princess Catherine - the sooner the better for stability and a semblance of longevity. Unfortunately, Arthur was dead within the year, Catherine a widow at the age of 16.³⁰ In a double blow to Henry VII, his heir apparent was dead and, it appeared, the Spanish alliance finished. Then the King's advisors had an ingenious notion and potentially a viable solution to the both the problems at hand. King Henry VII's younger son, also Henry, now stepped into his brothers' shoes as next in line to the throne; could he not also take on the matrimonial mantle of his brother and marry Catherine in his own right and maintain the viability of Anglo-Spanish cooperation? There was one major stumbling block. In the

³⁰ Thomas Penn, *The winter king: the dawn of the Tudor dynasty* (London, 2012), pp 41-43, 57-63; Arthur died of 'The English Sweat', a rapid ailment which may have been a form of hantavirus pulmonary syndrome; see Eric Bridson, 'The English 'sweate' (*Sudor Anglicus*) and Hantavirus pulmonary syndrome', in *British Journal of Biomedical Science*, vol 58, no 1 (2001), pp 1-6.

Church's eyes, canon law, its own body of religious regulations, forbade a man from wedding his dead brother's wife, but there might be a way around the problem. Skilled negotiation and judicious deployment of financial resources were known to be effective in securing dispensations from the Pope.

Citing non-consummation as grounds invalidating the first (non)marriage, the appeal to Rome was successful – Pope Leo X overlooked Henry VII's involvement in the illegal alum trade undercutting a papal monopoly and granted the annulment. Unknown to the unwitting Pontiff, his decision would prove momentous. Catherine and Henry VIII were themselves married on 11 June 1509, shortly after the death of Henry VII. Henry VIII was 18 and Catherine 24. They had known each other for 10 years would be man and wife for the next 20. Thus were sown the unsuspected seeds of an unlikely Reformation in England – one of the most ardently Catholic countries in Europe. And, ultimately, via an extremely circuitous and convoluted route sprang forth also the origins of the Irish College in Paris and the portion of the present collection of the Old Library which is the subject of this report.

Henry VIII set an example he hoped would spread knowledge of his faith, erudition and Catholic orthodoxy across Europe by (partially) writing a book condemning the 'heresy' of the troublesome German monk Martin Luther. *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* was presented to Pope Leo X in October 1521 just shortly after Luther had been excommunicated by the Church and outlawed by the Emperor.³¹ He was rewarded with the title of 'Defender of the Faith' by the Pope.³² The irony of this action in light of Henry's own later arguments with the Catholic Church (and indeed the Emperor's successor, Catherine's nephew Charles V) is rich indeed. In 1521 though, Henry VIII was still a dutiful son of the Church, and, indeed, a fervent one, eager to be its champion – 'rich, ferocious and thirsting for glory' as Machiavelli described him.³³ It is worth noting that print was the mechanism Henry employed – in a very real way he was wielding a literary lance as his weapon in a metaphysical joust with the 'mad monk'. Clerical luminaries close to Henry such as John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who had known the king since childhood, who was an acetic and pious Catholic who loathed abuses within the Church but loathed Luther more added support to the monarch's blast against heresy with his own *Assertionis Lutheranae*

³¹ Catherine Fletcher, *Our man in Rome: Henry VIII and his Italian ambassador* (London, 2012), p. 101.

³² This is origin of the inscription 'Fidei Defensor', still proudly emblazoned on British coins to this day.

³³ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Lettere Familiari*, ed. E. Alvisi, (Florence, 1883), p. 293.

confutatio.³⁴ Unforeseeable to anyone, least of all to Henry, a few short years later his ferocity would be unleashed on the Pope and literary jousting over religion would be the order of the day in his kingdoms for nearly 200 years.

The happy nuptials of Henry and Catherine in 1509 promised to bear fruit for the relationship between England and Spain. As the years passed however the marriage failed to produce the one thing these unions were expressly designed to provide – a son and heir and a commingling of blood and interest between the English and Spanish realms. After over twenty years of marriage, with his time growing shorter and his need growing greater Henry had had enough of waiting – and enough of his wife. If, indeed, she had ever been his wife.

Determined to father a son who would outlive him, he sought to have his marriage to Catherine annulled. This spurning and very public humiliation of ‘the Spanish Lady’, as she was known by many of her English subjects, infuriated Spain. Rendering her and Henry’s daughter Mary illegitimate, as an annulment would do if successfully obtained, added more salt to the already deep wound. The bitterness fostered by the episode would poison Anglo-Spanish relations for many years to come; the mutual rancour between England and Spain during Elizabeth I’s reign owed not a little to this earlier insult to Spanish honour – demonstrating how the most personal of feelings can lie beneath what appears the most impersonal of politics. More immediately, Henry and England collided directly with the most powerful man in Europe, indeed arguably the most powerful man in the world, Charles V who also happened to be Catherine’s nephew. Charles von Habsburg was simultaneously King of Spain, and its worldwide empire, as well as Holy Roman Emperor – in effect he ruled a vast portion of Europe, as well as North and South America. Using his immense wealth and political influence, backed by intimidating military resources, Charles did everything in his power to stymie his erstwhile uncle Henry VIII’s attempts to procure an annulment from the Pope.

Unable to out threaten or out bribe the pope, from the outset Henry VIII’s struggle with Rome revolved around written arguments; opinions and stances solicited from leading scholars in universities across Europe.³⁵ His closest advisors were highly educated – scholars

³⁴ John Fisher, *Assertionis Lutheranae confutatio* (London, 1523), Old Library CCI B1093. This was one of the most important Catholic works against Luther, and was subsequently reprinted frequently. It contributed much to the Catholic understanding of Luther(anism) at the Council of Trent and thus to the shape of the Catholic Reformation/Counter Reformation.

³⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: a life* (New Haven, 1998), p. 45.

and clerics formed in and governed by the procedures of formal disputation and debate used to good effect in university contestations. This early reliance upon the written word and the power of documents to resolve a tangled argument failed to bring about the divorce Henry sought but the important link between print, polemic, persuasion was fashioned in this early period.³⁶ The ‘word’ in all its forms would be a central part of all the battles to come.

England was about to embark on a thirty year period in which its monarchs and thus its people would veer wildly across the religious spectrum. With an annulment or divorce unobtainable through normal channels, the previously unthinkable became thinkable. Unbeknownst to the king a number of his closest advisors such as Thomas Cromwell (1485-1540), effectively chief minister and Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury from 1532, held Protestant sympathies – Cranmer was actually secretly married to the niece of German Protestant Reformer Andreas Osiander, a detail which he neglected to mention to Henry VIII. The new plan to free Henry VIII from Catherine

[...] was terrifyingly simple. In all matters of faith save one, England was to be held within the strictest bounds of traditional Catholicism³⁷

If Pope Clement VII as head of the Church would not grant Henry’s wishes, then Henry would dispense with the Pope. England, and its Church, would be an ‘empire’ – separate unto itself from any other intermediary power, temporal or spiritual.

Where...it is manifestly declared and expressed that this realm of England is an empire, and hath been accepted in the world, governed by one supreme head and king having the dignity and royal estate of imperial crown of the same, unto whom a body politic, compact of all sorts and degrees of people, divided in terms and by names of spirituality and temporality, be bounden and ought to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience.³⁸

Albeit the king’s majesty justly and rightfully is and ought to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and so is recognised...yet nevertheless for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ’s religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirpate all errors, heresies and other enormities and abuses....be it enacted....that the king, our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and

³⁶ Norman Davies, *The Isles: a history* (Oxford, 1999), pp 390-91.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 387.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 388.

successors....shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, called Anglicana Ecclesia³⁹

Indeed, it always had been – as Thomas Cranmer’s and Thomas Cromwell’s researches in the archives soon made very clear – at least to their and Henry’s satisfaction.⁴⁰

[...] the King, his most noble progenitors, and the nobility and commons of this said realm, at diverse and sundry parliaments as well as in the time of King Edward I [1272-1307], Edward II [1327-77], Richard II [1377–99], Henry IV [1399-1413], and other noble kings of this realm made sundry ordinances, laws, statutes and provisions for the entire and sure conservation of the prerogatives, liberties, and pre-eminences of the said imperial crown of this realm, and of the Jurisdiction spiritual and temporal of the same, to keep it from annoyance as well of the see of Rome as from the authority of other foreign potentates, attempting the diminution or violation thereof, as often, and from time to time, as any such annoyance or attempt to be known or espied.⁴¹

Theoretically and rhetorically nothing had changed – in reality much had, and drastically, though this had to appear not to be the case. The need for written justification and the endorsement of historical precedent underlined how keenly aware, and afraid, Henry VIII and his counsellors were of adverse reaction from a conservative and convinced Catholic country – the king himself ironically being counted among them, even if circumstances required the royal conscience to cede some ground to pragmatism. Pragmatism duly brought Henry his new wife – Archbishop Cranmer, cutting out the middleman in Rome, decreed the king’s annulment from Catherine divinely sanctioned – Catherine was banished to a nunnery and Henry’s daughter Mary rendered illegitimate. Henry now married to Anne Boleyn in 1533. Their daughter Elizabeth was born later in the year.

The ‘Reformation’ Parliament made the ‘ancient truth’ that Henry VIII was head of the Church a modern fact by passing the *Act of Supremacy* in 1534.⁴² Church and State now answered to and were governed by one man. Further acts reinforced this new dispensation and completed the break with Rome: the *Act of Restraint of Appeals* (1533), the *Act for Ecclesiastical Appointments* (1534), the *Act Concerning Peter’s Pence* (1534) placed clerical

³⁹ Ibid., p. 389.

⁴⁰ Virginia Murphy, ‘The literature and propaganda of Henry’s divorce’, in Diarmaid MacCulloch (ed.), *The reign of Henry VIII: Politics, policy and piety* (Basingstoke, 1995), pp 135-158.

⁴¹ Norman Davies, *The Isles: a history* (Oxford, 1999), p. 389.

⁴² Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s house divided 1490-1700* (London, 2003), p. 199.

discipline, hierarchy and funding directly under royal control – little more than ten years after Henry’s vigorous defence of Papal authority, he was the first European monarch fully to break away from obedience to Rome.⁴³ Most English people noticed little difference in their traditional devotions due to these (seemingly) legalistic changes, but that was about to change.

The *Act for the Dissolution of the Monasteries* in 1536 brought Henry VIII wealth and thus a means to retain the support of important courtiers. It also ‘abolished [...] the greatest network of social and educational welfare that England had ever known.’⁴⁴ People may not have cared overly, yet, who was or was not Archbishop of Canterbury, or whom he answered to, but many did mind when already meagre access to alms for those down on their luck, rudimentary medical care for the ill and what basic provision of learning that there was largely disappeared with the monasteries. Growing discontent with these practical blows to already difficult lives blended in with increasing doubts concerning the direction of religious (and with that political) policy. Much of northern England rose in rebellion in 1536 and 1537. The ‘Pilgrimage of Grace for the commonwealth’

The risings expressed popular fury with at the evangelical leadership and their policies, and most northern notables allowed themselves to be drafted in as figurehead leaders for the rebels: the whole ‘commonwealth’ of the north was making known its hatred for religious change⁴⁵

The rising of 1537 was suppressed but the need to ‘sell’ and ‘spin’ the new ideology resulted in a concerted propaganda enterprise undertaken by among others, Bishop Stephen Gardiner⁴⁶ and, particularly effectively, by a former Carmelite friar, John Bale.⁴⁷ Bale would become most famous as the mentor and sometime roommate of the previously mentioned John Foxe (and fittingly editions of some of both Foxe and Bale’s works are still found today on the shelves of the Old Library).⁴⁸ Allied to this publicity campaign in support of the changes in religion was the introduction of the Bible in English from 1537, ironically employing the version largely developed by early English religious radical reformer William

⁴³ Norman Davies, *The isles*, p. 389.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Reformation: Europe’s house divided 1490-1700* (London, 2003), p. 200.

⁴⁶ Stephen Gardiner, *A detection of the devils sophistrie, wherewith he rolleth the unlearned people, of the true byleef in the most blessed sacrament of the aulter* (London, 1546), Old Library CCI, A 241.

⁴⁷ John Bale & Robert Barnes, *Scriptores duo anglici... De Vitis pontificum romanorum... quos a tenebris vindicavit... et usque ad Paulum quintum...*(n.p., 1615), [English College], Old Library CCI B 831.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*; John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days touching matters of the Church....(2 volumes, n.p., n.p.)*, Old Library CCI, E 68; John Foxe, *Rerum in ecclesia gestarum, quae postremis et periculosis his temporibus evencrunt... pars prima* (Basle, 1559), Old Library CCI, D 407.

Tyndale (1492-1536), who had been hunted and harried across Europe until finally strangled on Henry's orders in Brussels.⁴⁹ Tyndale died voicing exhortations for the king of England to open his eyes; paradoxically it seems Henry VIII never did realise that Tyndale's work was the basis for 'the Great Bible' that appeared on Henry's order in every Church in England.⁵⁰

Besides persuasion a new and harsh treason law now fused religious dissidence with political sedition – since the king was the church and the church was the king, could it be otherwise? Men like Sir Thomas More and Bishop John Fisher came to grief in not clearly supporting the king's brave new world. More, a figure of European stature for his humanist writings,⁵¹ and Chancellor of England until 1532, had prevaricated and equivocated, and then finally refused to swear an oath denying the Pope's supremacy in England. He was beheaded on the 6 July 1535. Fisher, a man apparently very aware of mortality – he invariably carried a skull with him and placed it before him on the altar during services and on the dinner table during meals – had been Chancellor of Cambridge University for ten years, chaplain to Lady Margaret Beaufort, King Henry VIII's grandmother, and well regarded and favoured by King Henry VII; he had preached at both their funerals in Westminster Abbey and been one of the people instrumental in the smooth succession of Henry VIII to the throne.⁵² None of it mattered when, like More, he refused to take the oath denying Papal supremacy and was beheaded on the 22 June 1535. Both More and Fisher are commemorated by the Church of England on 6 July and were declared saints by the Roman Catholic Church (22 June) in 1935.

When Henry VIII died in 1547 any doubts about the religious changes he had caused to be introduced or hopes for a return to the traditional manner of worship soon faded. His successor, Edward VI, the son in search of whose birth Henry VIII had desperately upended religion and politics and the lives of millions of people, oversaw a far more thoroughgoing 'Reformation' in a much more straightforwardly Calvinist mould.

Central to this was the introduction via the 1549 Act of Uniformity of the *Book of Common Prayer* created by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1498-1556), 'a thoroughgoing destruction

⁴⁹ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity*, p. ; William Tyndale, *The practyse of prelates whether the kinges grace maye be separated from hys quene because she was his brothers wife* (n.p., 1530), Old Library CCI A 433.

⁵⁰ Patrick Collinson, *The Reformation*, pp 27, 37.

⁵¹ Thomas More, *The pittfull life of king Edward the fifth* (London, 1641), Old Library CCI A 437; Thomas More, *The tragicall historie of the life and reigne of Richard the third* (London, 1641), Old Library CCI, A 437; Thomas More, *The pittfull life of King Edward the fifth* (London, 1641), Old Library CCI, A 437.

⁵² Thomas Penn, *Winter King*, pp 335, 349.

of the traditional devotional world in England.⁵³ Services in church were to follow the liturgy strictly and mandatorily as laid out in the Prayer Book. Cranmer himself had written much of the Prayer Book, and is undoubtedly his greatest legacy - revised slightly in 1552, again in 1559 and more radically in 1662 it has had a crucial formative role in the development of a distinctive Anglican Church in England: it became and remains the official prayer book of the Church of England and the Anglican Community worldwide.⁵⁴ It was now a crime to adhere to the Roman Catholic form of the Mass - any priest caught doing so risked fines for the first offence followed by life imprisonment for further infractions. Further pronouncements ordered the radical alteration of the physical fabric and layout of churches. In an age where parish structures and organisation fulfilled key functions and decisively shaped social relations in local communities this was no less than a revolution - and in a country still to a great degree Catholic, shockingly disruptive.⁵⁵ Imposed and dictated from above rather than emanating from any overwhelming and widespread popular desire for reform, unlike the genesis of comparable changes of confession on the continent, reaction soon followed.

1549 saw outbreaks of violent rebellion in as many as twenty five English counties, the most serious being in the south west and East Anglia. Factors such as economics and local political issues played their part in each case but religion was a prime motivation also. The Western rebels of Devon and Cornwall emphasised a return to traditional Catholic religious practice in their demands - the Mass in Latin, Communion, infrequently, of bread alone rather than with wine, and the end of the Prayer Book. Conversely, among the insurgents of Norfolk and Suffolk agitating against land enclosures were indications of a worrying (for the royal government) tendency toward Anabaptism - a sect viewed as dangerously radical in terms of reform, especially it was believed in the political sphere where respect for authority was regarded as subversively weak. Uniquely, both Catholic and mainstream Protestant regions (Lutheran and Calvinist) persecuted (suspected) Anabaptists as heretics. There were echoes

⁵³ Diarmaid MacCulloch, *Christianity*, p. [Kindle]

⁵⁴ [Thomas Cranmer], *The book of common prayers and administration of the sacraments... according to the use of the Church of England together with the Psalter of psalms of David* (London, 1678), Old Library CCC, B 709; [Thomas Cranmer], *The book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments... of the Church, according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland, together with the psalter... of David* (Dublin, 1810), Old Library CCI, A 410. Even opponents adopted similar structures and titles, including an English Jesuit preacher, Peter Gandolphy in his *Liturgy, or a Book of Common Prayer, and administration of Sacraments, with other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. For the use of all Christians in the United Kingdom* (Birmingham, 1815), Old Library CCI, B 2674.

⁵⁵ Eamon Duffy's *The voices of Morebath* (New Haven, 2003) gives an excellent and truly revealing insight into how policy decisions made in the realm of high politics impacted on the people of one rural parish in Devon.

here of a division that would move centre stage in religion and politics in the future. First, however, a wholly unexpected turn of events occurred.

In 1553, Edward VI, England's first Protestant king, at the age of fifteen, died. Unmarried, with no children, the succession by right according to established tradition now devolved unto Edward's Catholic half-sister Mary - the eldest surviving child of Henry VIII. Surviving an attempted coup, Mary I was crowned on 1 October 1553. Despite all Henry VIII's toil and trouble, it seemed as if all his efforts and excesses since setting aside Queen Catherine of Aragon had gone for naught - their only child had inherited the throne after all. Catholicism was, it appeared after all, to be the religion of England. Mary I restored Roman Catholic doctrine, liturgy and practices, although this was not just a simple return to the Church as it existed before the Henrician alterations. Instead, as the first country 'reclaimed' for Catholicism from Protestantism, England was a laboratory for some of the important changes brought into being at the Council of Trent - the internal process of reform within the Catholic Church.

Central to these was an emphasis on close and active oversight by resident bishops, high standards of discipline including visitations (inspections) of dioceses and universities, and not least strong efforts to have an educated clergy and to facilitate this, the establishment of dedicated seminaries for training. This last point was precocious, pre-dating decrees from the Council of Trent, and placing formal educational institutions as a central focus within English Catholicism. In concrete terms the physical institutions in England would be of very short duration, but the concept would be at the heart of the eventual creation of the English (and Irish and Scots) College. Contextualised in these terms, the books of the Old Library today contain works which were, at once, the catalyst for as well as the result of such institutions' existence.

Central to the revival and reform of Catholicism in England was Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500-1558). Pole, an Englishman (and the King's cousin) who had come within two votes of being Pope, had been in exile since breaking with Henry VIII in 1536 having presented Henry with a double danger - being a grandnephew of Kings Edward IV and Richard III he had a potentially strong claim to the throne and in refusing to support the annulment of Henry's marriage to Catherine he greatly angered Henry. To compound disobedience by several degrees of magnitude Pole had written a long public condemnation of Henry, denounced his attack on the Church and called for him to be overthrown by other Christian

Princes.⁵⁶ His book was read widely across Europe and was exceptionally influential. Incensed by Pole's very public assault on his reputation and the notoriety aroused by the work, several members of Pole's family were executed on the Henry's orders, including Pole's mother. Pole returned to England as the Papal Legate, or personal envoy of the Pope, in November 1554 and was welcomed in a prominent demonstration of the changed nature of the religious settlement in England by the Archdeacon of Canterbury, Nicholas Harpsfield.⁵⁷ Full relations between England and the Papacy were restored on 30 November 1554.

The next phase in Mary and Cardinal Pole's re-Catholicisation of England was and still is controversial. What might have been forgotten as an aberrant intermission in England's religious history instead came to be seen and presented, and continually represented, as a period of brutal and bloody persecution - long held forth as the supreme example and warning of all the dangers and depredations that would occur should England be ruled again by a Catholic.⁵⁸ Many of the clergy and bishops were willing to return to the orthodox fold, in so far as they had ever left it, or were willing to admit now that a new regime was in the ascendant. Stephen Gardiner, the Archbishop of Canterbury disavowed his previous oath recognising the supremacy of Henry VIII as head of the Church of England with a brusque 'Tush, tush, that was Herod's oath...I have done well in breaking it: and (I thank God) I am come home again to our mother to the Catholic Church of Rome.'⁵⁹ Others of greater conviction, sincerity or fanaticism refused to recant their previous espousal of Protestantism of various shades, views that were, now, again, considered heretical beliefs. Revived laws against heresy were used in processes involving to various (degrees), Cardinal Pole, Bishop Gardiner, Bishop Edmund Bonner (1500-1569), and Juan de Villagarcia (d. 1564), Pedro de Soto⁶⁰ (1493-1563) and Bartholemew Carranza (1503-1576),⁶¹ three eminent Spanish

⁵⁶ Reginald Pole, *Reginaldi Poli, Cardinalis Britanni ad Henricum VIII, Britanniae regem, pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione libri quatuor* (Ingolstadt, 1587), Old Library CCI, B 511.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Harpsfield, *Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticae vitae...* (Paris, 1566), Old Library CCI, B 182; Nicholas Harpsfield, *Historia anglicana ecclesiastica a primis gentis...*(Douai, 1622), Old Library CCI, D 213.

⁵⁸ Anon., *The days of queen Mary: or, Annals of her reign ; containing particulars of the restoration of romanism, and the sufferings of the martyrs, during that period* (London, 1843), Old Library CCI, B 2817. Even three hundred years later in the context of full emancipation and restoration of civil rights for Roman Catholics in the United Kingdom in the 1830s, the spectre of where such actions had led in the past was employed in opposing any such concessions.

⁵⁹ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days touching matters of the Church...*(2 volumes, n.p., n.p.), Old Library CCI, E 68, p. 1520.

⁶⁰ Pedro de Soto, *Assertio catholicae fidei circa confessionis nomine illustrissimi ducis wirtenbergensis oblatae per legatos ejus Concilio Tridentino XXIII januarii anni Mdlii* (Antwerp, 1557), Old Library CCI, B 266;

theologians who did much to further the Catholic Reformation having who accompanied Mary I's new husband, also her cousin, Phillip of Naples (son of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V and later Phillip II of Spain) to England.

From February 1555 those accused, arrested, and arraigned in relation to heresy faced a gruelling death if found guilty - burning at the stake. On the 4 February 1555 John Rogers (, charged as a seditious preacher and translator of Protestant works into English - including three of Phillip Melancthon's books - was the first to be burned. Three more followed in the next two days. In October Bishops Nicholas Ridley (1500-1555) and Hugh Latimer (1487-1555) were burned in Oxford for failure to recant; Archbishop Thomas Cranmer due to burn with them, recanted and readopted Catholicism - By the end of Mary I's reign the generally accepted estimate for 'heretics' burnt is just under 300. Some 800 English Protestants chose exile on the continent rather than conformity at home, joining local churches or establishing their own places of worship - a precursor of the action soon to be emulated by their Catholic fellow subjects.⁶²

In a display of similar sisterly harshness, approximately the same number of Catholics would die during the reign of Elizabeth I - but over the course of nearly fifty years rather than the much shorter timeframe of Mary's five. For this reason Mary I is rarely referred to, even today, without her sobriquet 'Bloody' - a reputation that John Foxe's work did much to create and maintain through the centuries. Mary, her advisors and her government were not unaware of the power of print but even with as much effort as they made they could not completely control what books and pamphlets appeared or the influence they had on those

Pedro de Soto, *Defensio catholicae confessionis et scholiorum circa confessionem... ducis Wirtenbergensis nomine editam, adversus prolegomena Brentii* (Antwerp, 1557), Old Library CCI, B 266.

⁶¹ Bartolomè Carranza, *Summa omnium conciliorum et pontificum collecta per F. Barth. Carranzam...* (Paris, 1677), Old Library CCI, B 1051.

⁶² Exile communities consisted, in broad terms, of clergy and clerical students, merchants and artisans and nobility and gentry - quite similar to the profile of later Catholic exile communities. John Foxe was a prominent example and his time in exile gave a distinct edge to his 'Book of Martyrs' (though he vehemently denied ever calling *Actes and monuments* by this name). Disputes arose over what system of belief or confession to follow - those of the Edwardine Church in England, and the Prayer Book, or of the more Reformed Presbyterianism of John Calvin and his Scottish follow John Knox - an argument that was to continue through to the late seventeenth century and contribute to the Civil Wars of the mid-16600s; see Dan G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to puritanism: History and theology of the Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1555-1560* (New York, 1999); Ronald J. Vander Molen, "Anglican against puritan: Ideological origins during the Marian Exile," in *Church History*, vol. 42, no. 1 (March 1973), pp 45-57. One positive outcome was the exiles creative contribution in the realm of psalms - much of their work went into the production of John Day's *The Whole Booke of Psalmes, Collected into English* (1562). This came to be printed separately as well as alongside many editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* - as is the case with the copy in the Old Library CCI, *The Whole book of psalms collected into English meter* (London, 1680) B 709.

who in conscience could not or would not conform to the new religious arrangements.⁶³ Her sister Elizabeth would also experience problems with religion during her reign.

Mary I and Cardinal Pole's enterprise to bring England and the English back into Communion with Roman Catholicism was successful to a great degree. The diminishment of the number of burnings in the latter years of the reign was a sign that resistance to the changes had reached the high watermark and that such actions were no longer necessary now that compliance had been achieved. At this point however, just as they seemed on the verge of success, both principals were taken from the stage - on 17 November 1558 Mary I died of what may have been cancer and on the same day, separated only by hours, Cardinal Pole died from influenza. Her half sister Elizabeth succeeded to the crown of England, only (officially) the second woman to do so but her (long) period as monarch would be momentous.

Unlike Mary, Elizabeth's religious views were, mostly, in the same mould as her mother Anne Boleyn's - Protestant. To what extent however and where precisely on the spectrum of the various denominations of Protestant belief and church structures that now existed forty years after Martin Luther had first set about his disputation was very unclear. Queen Elizabeth I set about change slowly, mindful that after her sister's endeavours and by dint of the actual sympathies of the majority of English people, Roman Catholicism was strongly positioned. She had learned that religious alteration was a difficult business fraught with danger - her father and her brother had both provoked major popular rebellions with their reshaping of the Church of England while her sister had had to employ the severest possible means to compel the recalcitrant who opposed her decision to bring England back to Rome.⁶⁴ Elizabeth's challenge was to find a compromise that could encompass as many people within her preferred religious framework as possible without eliciting violent reaction and significant prolonged opposition. The scale of the challenge was demonstrated by the fact that even finding an appropriate clergyman to conduct her coronation service was difficult - the Archbishop of Canterbury was dead, the office vacant and potential candidates with the requisite views in harmony to Elizabeth's own outlook few, the Archbishop of York declined, while all of the bishops of England also refused to participate - testimony to how

⁶³ Eamon Duffy, *Fires of faith: Catholic England under Mary Tudor* (New Haven, 2010), p. (Kindle location 1359).

⁶⁴ Peter Heylen, *Ecclesia restaurata, the History of the reformation of the Church of England... from the first preparation to it by King Henry the VIII untill... Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1674), Old Library CCI, D 268.

thorough Mary I's Catholic Reformation had been, and how successful. Eventually, the Bishop of Carlisle Owen Oglethorpe (d. 1559) was prevailed upon to cooperate, and on the 15 January 1559, the new Queen of England was crowned in Westminster Abbey.⁶⁵ Even this was not a happy or straightforward occasion – the newly enthroned monarch walked out of the service when Bishop Oglethorpe insisted, contrary to clear instructions from Elizabeth, on raising the communion host above his head in a key moment signifying the 'real presence' of Christ in the ritual, and signifying also that the service was a traditional Catholic Mass – and thereby anathema to those with a different perspective theologically. The episode gains more importance and long term significance from the fact that it encapsulates how religious issues could did meld into wider issues of loyalty, trust and obedience, vital factors for any ruler – Oglethorpe may well have infuriated Elizabeth more by disrespecting, publicly, royal authority in performing an action she had explicitly commanded him not to do, rather than in nature of the statement of confessional belief which he made. In any case he was deprived of his see a few short months later. But this conundrum of conflicting or confused loyalties calling at times and in some cases for diametrically opposed actions would prove exceptionally divisive. Elizabeth's own efforts would show that in matters of religion and reformation, as was the case for her contemporaries, there was very little that was absolutely hard and fast, black and white – everything was open to debate and doubt, to redefinition and recasting.⁶⁶

Elizabeth's changes came relatively slowly and with the sanction of parliament carefully secured. First was a bill to declare her, rather than the Pope, head of the Church of England – this was passed in the House of Lords and in May 1559 the *Act of Supremacy* gave her the designation of Supreme Governor rather than Supreme Head of the Church – a subtle distinction but perhaps an important one that could allow some Catholics (and Protestants) a path to accepting the change as it claimed only stewardship under God. Required as part of the act was an oath from all office holders – ecclesiastical and civil – swearing loyalty to the Supreme Governor:

I A. B. do utterly testify and declare in my conscience, That the Queen's Highness is the only Supream Governor of this Realm, and of all other her Highness

⁶⁵ Francis Sandford, *A Genealogical history of the Kings of England and monarchs of Great-Britain... from the Conquest anno 1066 to the year 1677 in seven parts or books containing a discourse of their several lives...*(London, 1677), Old Library CCI, D 162.

⁶⁶ George Touchet, *Historical Collections, out of several grave protestant historians concerning the changes of religion... in the reigns of King Henry the eight, Edward the sixth Queen Mary and Elizabeth* (London, 1674), Old Library CCI, B 378.

Dominions and Countries, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Things or Causes, as Temporal; and that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm; and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign Jurisdictions, Powers, Superiorities and Authorities, and do promote, that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true Allegiance to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and lawful Successors, and to my Power shall assist and defend all Jurisdictions, Preheminences, Privileges and Authorities granted or belonging to the Queen's Highness, her Heirs and Successors, or united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm. So help me God, and by the Contents of this Book.⁶⁷

Much more contentious was the proposal to reintroduce a mainly Protestant mode of worship using again the *Book of Common Prayer* - celebrating the Mass in the old established fashion would now be illegal and punishable by imprisonment. This measure was vigorously opposed by all of the bishops in the House of Lords and many of the lay members - in the end it passed as the *Act of Uniformity* by only three votes; less than a resonantly ringing endorsement.

As 1559 progressed practical changes to services and physical changes to buildings and furniture occurred in parish churches - images and shrines were removed, the Prayer Book was reinstalled and required to be purchased and used, ceremonies in English recommenced - and personnel also altered: all but one of the existing bishops refused the new Oath of Supremacy and thus were removed from their positions. Those who refused to attend the new services on a Sunday were liable to fines of twelve pence.⁶⁸ Initially there was little overt resistance beyond complaints and objections from some Catholics that these were chances that they could not accept and indeed some unhappiness from more 'advanced' Protestants hoping for a 'purer' version of a reformed church. Both groups would feature more prominently and more forcefully later but overall though the early years of the new reign were remarkably unperturbed by 'commotions'.⁶⁹ This might have seemed too good to be true and lasting. And so it proved.

This may in part have been because no-one as yet was quite sure how permanent were these recent changes. No one was quite sure whether anything was permanent and lasting in the context of the previous thirty years. For those who had disagreed with, or were disgusted by

⁶⁷ Henry Gee and William John Hardy (eds), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (New York, 1896), p. 449.

⁶⁸ Willaim Camden, *The History of the most renowned and victorious princess Elizabeth late queen of England* (London, 1688), Old Library CCI, C 166, pp 29-31.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

some or all of the new dispensations in recent years it had been proven that the best strategy to follow had been largely a matter of waiting patiently for circumstances to change again. Now however Elizabeth was in a unique situation, possibly, at once, both a difficulty and an opportunity - virtually the entire upper echelon positions of the Church of England were vacant. Accordingly, she thus had an unusual chance to refashion the leadership extremely rapidly, virtually in one round of appointments, something largely denied to her predecessors. Many of the appointees were former exiles on the continent during Queen Mary's rule, who had returned home.⁷⁰ The new Archbishop of Canterbury was Matthew Parker (1504-1575), who, after Thomas Cranmer, whom he was good friends with, had played a major part in the drafting of the Book of Common Prayer and also, influenced by the work of his friend Martin Bucer, the English Ordinal of 1550; he had also been close to Anne Boleyn and chaplain to the young Princess Elizabeth, a relationship which did his prospects no harm whatsoever. He was also close to John Foxe, as well as being a dedicated book and manuscript collector and avid historian - influences which impelled in him a strong desire to defend the stance, justify the beliefs and prove the antiquity of the Church of England. To this end he encouraged Bishop John Jewel () to publish the first sustained defence of the Church in 1562,⁷¹ and later oversaw the publication of the magnum opus in the same field, *De Antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae* which traced the history of the Church in England back to the first century AD.⁷²

As one set of exiles returned, another set began to depart in increasing numbers. It was obvious from the extensive reformatting of the religious establishment in England by Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker⁷³ that a return to the 'old religion' was now unlikely in the extreme. Combined with this were the new demands now regarded as being standard after reforms brought in by the Council of Trent in regulating the formation and education of Catholic clergy in formal seminaries - something that was increasingly impossible to effect in England. Generations of English students had already spent all or part of their studies in universities abroad - the name of the *Rue des Anglais* in Paris, for example, denotes this long connection, stretching back to the earliest days of the University of Paris, this area being

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 30.

⁷¹ John Jewel, *A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England* (London, 1605), Old Library CCI, D 525.

⁷² Matthew Parker, *De Antiquitate Britannicae ecclesiae et nominatim de privilegiis ecclesiae Cantuariensis, atque de archiepiscopis ejusdem LXX historia* (Hanover, 1605), Old Library CCI, D 203 [Ex-Libris English College].

⁷³ John Strype, *Annals of the reformation and Establishment of Religion... in the church of England during the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's happy reign* (2 vols, London, 1725), vol. 1., Old Library CCI, D 212.

already so named in fourteenth century.⁷⁴ It was thus not unusual for scholars to live and train abroad.⁷⁵ Post- Tridentine requirements however made it much more urgent that formal and more structured institutions be available to provide rigorous and suitable training for clergy intended for minority Catholic communities. This was especially the case for English, Scots and Irish – unlike German or Dutch Catholics for example who could travel relatively easily to receive suitable training in an appropriate cultural and linguistic context, there were now few options available as the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were integrated ever more closely into the new Elizabethan religious settlement. Logistically, logically and locationally the best solution to the problem was the creation of dedicated institutions that could fulfil the needs of clerical students as close as possible to what was now being seen more and more as ‘mission’ territory in England.

William Allen (1532-1594) a graduate, MA (along with Thomas Harding⁷⁶ on the same day) and fellow of Oriel College Oxford, had become principal of St Mary’s Hall in 1556 as well as university proctor. With the new religious environment in the reign of Elizabeth I signalling the end of his career at Oxford – Allen was a man with few doubts and it appears little sympathy for the indecision of others, describing Thomas Cranmer in far less than glowing terms as a ‘notorious perjured and oft relapsed apostate, recanting, swearing, and forswearing at every turn.’⁷⁷ - he resigned his post and in 1561 went to the Low Countries, where he was associated with the University of Malines. Returning to recuperate in England after a severe illness he was shocked to discover the headway he believed he saw the Elizabethan Reformation making among Catholics, even in the rural parts of northern England where he had been born.⁷⁸ In particular he was

⁷⁴ William J. Courtenay, *Parisian Scholars in the Early Fourteenth Century: A Social Portrait* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 37.

⁷⁵ The Scots College could trace its roots back to 1325, and existed in a variety of incarnations thereafter, discussed in more detail in the next section of the report; see Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College, Paris 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997), p. 1; Thomas McNally, ‘The Scots College Paris, 1652-81: a centre for Scottish networks’ in *Journal of Irish Scottish Studies* (2008), vol. 2, no. 1, pp 13-28; J. L. Carr and George Dickson, *Le Collège des Ecossais à Paris (1662-1962)... étude suivie du Compte rendu de la célébration du Tricentenaire* (Paris, 1962), Old Library CCI, B 1901.

⁷⁶ Thomas Harding, *An answer to maister Juelles Chalenge* (Antwerp, 1565), Old Library CCI, B 137 [Ex-libris English College]; Thomas Harding, *A confutation of a booke intituled An apologie of the Church of England* (Antwerp, 1565), Old Library CCI, B 196.

⁷⁷ William Allen, *A true, sincere and modest defence of English Catholiques that suffer for their faith both at time and abroad* (Ingolstadt, 1584), Old Library CCI, B 215 p. 104 [Ex-libris English College].

⁷⁸ E. Duffy, ‘William Allen, 1532-1594’, in *Recusant History* (April 1995), pp 265-90; Eamon Duffy, ‘Allen, William (1532-1594)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/391>].

horrified to discover that many Catholics in Lancashire were attending prayer-book services, some even communicating, and also that some priests celebrated both mass and the communion service on the same day. Though still a layman, he launched a vigorous propaganda campaign against attendance at the parish churches, travelling from one gentry household to another, in order to prove ‘by popular but invincible arguments that the truth was to be found nowhere else save with us Catholics.’⁷⁹

From this less than positive experience, Allen became convinced of the urgent need to counter both the practical and propaganda aspects of developments in England.⁸⁰ Returning to the continent, he set to work on a book defending one of the key doctrines of the Catholic Church - *A defence and declaration of the Catholike Churches Doctrine touching Purgatory and prayers for the soules departed* (1565).⁸¹ This work brought Allen to the attention of the English authorities, and marked him out as a turbulent and problematic opponent of the prevailing regime.⁸² Richard Bristow later followed up the themes raised in Allen’s book with his own *A reply to Fulke in defense of M. D. Allens scroll of articles and booke of Purgatorie* (Louvain, 1580)⁸³ as part of an ongoing and energetic disputation involving Bishop John Jewel and William Fulke.⁸⁴ Nicholas Sanders also weighed into the argument in support of Allen and Bristow in what became a multisided and wide-ranging war of words across the channel - the Elizabethan Church of England was still in its early stages of formal gestation which made the debate all the more important.⁸⁵ Adding fuel to the fulminatory fire was the

⁷⁹ Eamon Duffy, ‘Allen, William (1532-1594)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/391].

⁸⁰ Felicity Heal, ‘Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past’, in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1-2 (March 2005), pp 109-132.

⁸¹ William Allen, *A defence and declaration of the Catholike Churches Doctrine touching Purgatory and prayers for the soules departed* (Antwerp, 1565), Old Library CCI, A 438.

⁸² Eamon Duffy, ‘Allen, William (1532-1594)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/391].

⁸³ Richard Bristow, *A reply to Fulke in defense of M. D. Allens scroll of articles and booke of Purgatorie..*(Louvain, 1580), Old Library CCI, B 184.

⁸⁴ John Jewel, *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae* (Cambridge, 1683), Old Library CCI, A 272. John Jewel, *A Sermon made in latine in Oxenford; A Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England; A View of a seditious bull sent into England from Pius Quintus... whereunto is added a short Treatise of the holy scriptures* (London, 1611), Old Library CCI, D 525. William Fulke, *A Confutation of a treatise made by William Allen in defence of the usurped power of Popish priesthood to remit sinnes* (Cambridge, 1586), Old Library CCI, B 978. William Fulke, *A Reioynder to Bristows replie in defence of Allens Scroll of articles and booke of Purgatorie, also the cavils of Nicholas Sander about the supper of our Lord* (London, 1581), Old Library CCI, B 262.

⁸⁵ Nicholas Sanders, *The Supper of our Lord, in seven books* (Louvain, 1565), Old Library CCI, B 1644; Nicholas Sanders, *A treatise of the images of Christ and of his Saints... with a confutation of such false doctrine as M. Iewel hath uttered in his replie concerning that matter* (Louvain, 1567), Old Library CCI, A 64. Nicholas Sanders, *De Origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani, libri tres* (Rome, 1586), Old Library CCI, B 161 [Ex-Libris Scots College Paris]; Christopher Highley, “A Pestilent and Seditious Book”: Nicholas Sander’s

fact that many of the participants were from very similar backgrounds and had indeed been colleagues and fellow students at Oxford and Cambridge before taking different sides in the great divide that now existed in religion and politics.

Allen recognised that he and his and his fellow writers were at a serious disadvantage compared to their erstwhile colleagues turned challengers in England who had access to the immense resources of Oxford and Cambridge college libraries and archives and the benefit of a collective collegial atmosphere within which to make use of the resources to further the promotion of their points of view in relation to salvation and damnation. Endeavours were set in train to create a more secure and stable environment amenable to the requirements and demands of the very specialist scholarship now being undertaken, while Allen was also determined to organise and take advantage of increasing numbers of exiled scholars and academics continuing to arrive and already in the Low Countries and to provide ‘regiment, discipline, and education most agreeable to our Countymens natures, and for prevention of all disorders that youth and companies of scholars (namely in banishment) are subject unto.’⁸⁶ These were to form the central tenets of the many colleges – English, Irish and Scots – that were to follow.

A promising avenue of advancement of the exiles’ idea for a new scholarly foundation lay with the relatively recently founded University of Douai which was still in a formative stage of development in the mid 1560s. A university in need of experienced staff welcomed an association with seasoned scholars and academic refugees like Allen, Bristow, Sanders and Thomas Stapleton. In a process something similar to the founding of Cambridge University in 1209, by a group of students and staff who had been forced to flee violent discord in Oxford, this latest group of educational exiles soon established the English College at Douai, helped not a little by the fact that the Chancellor of the University of Douai, and Professor of Theology, was another ex-Oxford academic and Catholic exile, Richard Smith (1500-1563).⁸⁷ Smith had been appointed to his role directly by King Phillip II of Spain, who, as Mary I’s widower, still maintained an interest in affairs in England. This Spanish connection would both help and hinder the English College and the work of its residents – in financial terms it

Schismatis Anglicani and Catholic Histories of the Reformation’, in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Vol. 68, No. 1-2 (March 2005), pp 151-171.

⁸⁶ Willaim Allen, *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeavours of the two English colleges* (Henault (Rheims), 1581), Old Library CCI, A 46 [Ex-libris Scots College Paris], p. 19.

⁸⁷ This Richard Smith is not to be confused with the Richard Smith (1568-1655) who founded the later Arras College in Paris. See Andreas Loewe, ‘Richard Smyth and the Foundation of the University of Douai’, in *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, vol. 79, no. 2 (1999), pp 142-169.

was a positive benefit, in international relations decidedly a negative on those occasions when Spain and England, or Spain and France were at war.

The founding of the English College at Douai was followed by other similar institutions in Rome, Valladolid, Seville, St Omer (for lay students) and Lisbon. Irish Colleges were soon created in Douai, Leuven, Paris, Salamanca and Rome, and Scots Colleges in Pont-à-Mousson/Douai, Paris, Rome, and Madrid. Many other such institutions were founded in later years.⁸⁸ Douai's signal achievement in the realm of print and proselytisation was the creation of an edition of Bible in English, the Douai-Rheims Bible of 1609.⁸⁹

The need and utility of such institutions grew appreciably as the battlelines of fractured faith became ever more distinct; differences of opinion hardened into something altogether sharper as it became all too apparent that no reconciliation was possible between Catholicism and the various denominations of Protestantism. Instead, much of Europe began to feel the effects of violent division in its literal manifestation. For many it was a time of grave crisis and for some of great suffering and, as in all times of uncertainty, works appeared claiming to explain why such calamities were befalling the world – Archbishop Parker's personal librarian, Stephen Batman (d. 1584) proffered the slowness of the Reformation's spread as the reason why 'doom' was poised to consume Europe.⁹⁰ France was riven by wars of religion in ongoing cycles for thirty years,⁹¹ the Habsburg Netherlands saw mounting tensions and the beginnings of the eighty year 'Dutch Revolt' in the seventeen

⁸⁸ There is an extensive and well developed literature on the Irish Colleges and their impact, much of it emanating from the Irish in Europe Project directed by Dr Thomas O'Connor and Professor Marian Lyons at NUI Maynooth, see Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001), Thomas O'Connor & Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1820* (Dublin, 2003), Thomas O'Connor & Mary Ann Lyons (eds), *Irish communities in early modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006), Thomas O'Connor & Mary Ann Lyons, *The Ulster earls and Baroque Europe* (Dublin, 2012); in relative terms the Scottish Colleges have had fewer works devoted to their history, see David Worthington (ed.), *British and Irish emigrants and exiles in Europe, 1603-1688* (Brill, 2010), Raymond McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College Rome 1600-2000* (Edinburgh, 2000) and Brian M. Halloran, *The Scots College, Paris 1603-1792* (Edinburgh, 1997); least well served of all historiographically from all of the exile colleges of the Three Kingdoms are those of the largest element in the archipelago, England, see Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011) and Christopher Highley, *Catholics writing the nation in early modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford, 2008).

⁸⁹ *The holie Bible faithfully translated into English out of the authentical latin... with arguments... tables... by the English College of Doway (Douai, 1609), Old Library CCI C 34 [Ex-libris English College].*

⁹⁰ Stephen Batman, *The Doome warning all men to the Judgement: Wherein are contayned for the most parte all the straunge Prodigies hapned in the Worlde, with divers secrete figures of Revelations tending to mannes stayed conversion towards God: In maner of a generall Chronicle, gathered out of sundrie approved authors* (London 1581), Old Library CCI, B 998.

⁹¹ Henri-Catherin Davila, *The Historie of the civill wartes of France* (London, 1647), Old Library CCI, D 369; Nicholas de Neufville de Villeroy, *Mesmoires d'Etat par Monsieur de Villeroy, conseiller d'Etat et secretaire des commandemens des roys Charles IX, Henry III, Henry IV et de Louys XIII presentement regnant* (Paris, 1623), Old Library CCI, B 487.

provinces,⁹² and Scotland experienced tumult in religion and politics which had profound effects well beyond its own borders.

Deeply involved in all of these affairs to a greater or lesser extent was Mary Stewart (1542-1587), Queen of Scots since her father had died when she was six days old.⁹³ Her relatives on her mother's side, the powerful Guise family, were semi-independent magnates holding strategically important territory between France, the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire, including control of a stretch of seacoast granting easy passage to Scotland - or England. Through her grandmother (Henry VIII's sister Margaret Tudor) Mary had a claim on the English throne, and in the absence of children for Edward VI or Elizabeth I, she was the expected successor. More disruptively, in the eyes of some English Catholics, by whom Elizabeth was considered illegitimate, Mary was already the rightful Queen of England. To add fuel to an already combustible mix, in 1558 Mary married the heir to the throne of France (where she had lived for her own safety since 1548), who became Francis II in July 1559. Though the new king died the following year, Mary was now Queen of Scotland, Queen Dowager of France and, to some minds at least, the true monarch of England. Her mother, Mary of Guise, who had acted as Regent of Scotland had died in June 1560. In August 1561 Mary, Queen of Scots returned to rule Scotland. It was to be anything but a successful homecoming.

Mary had been born and raised a Catholic, and time spent with her Guise relatives, leaders of the Catholic League in France during its civil wars, reinforced her sense of destiny and ambition but also taught her the virtues of skilful politics.⁹⁴ Affairs in Scotland however were even more difficult and treacherous to negotiate than French politics. The country had been the subject of a political tug of war between England and France for decades, spending time as a 'sphere of influence' of both the larger neighbouring realms, with both sides having at various times provided military support to its own favoured party. Just shortly before Mary

⁹² William Temple, *Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands* (London, 1705), Old Library CCI, B 661; William of Orange, *Apologie ou deffense de tres illustre prince Guillaume par la grâce de Dieu prince d'Orange* (Delft, 1581), Old Library CCI, B 1176 [Ex-Libris English College]; Guido Bentivoglio, *The Compleat history of the warrs of Flanders written in italian by... Cardinall Bentivoglio, englished by... Henry, earle of Monmouth* (London, 1654), Old Library CCI, C 128 & Guido Bentivoglio, *Historicall relations of the United Provinces of Flanders, written originally in italian by Cardinall Bentivoglio, and now rendred into english by... Henry, earle of Monmouth* (London, 1658), Old Library CCI, C 128; Guido Bentivoglio, *Les relations du cardinal Bentivoglio* (Paris, 1642), Old Library CCI, B 457.

⁹³ John Spotswood, *The History of the church and state of Scotland beginning the year... 203* (London, 1677), Old Library CCI, D 233, Book II, p. 71.

⁹⁴ Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers: the Guise family and the making of Europe* (Oxford, 2011), pp 51-120, 265.

arrived back in Scotland, the Treaty of Edinburgh had removed English and French troops from Scotland; however the country was far from being peaceful.

Religion increasingly intermixed with political divisions, with Scottish reformers looking for support to England and Catholic conservatives appealing to the centuries old 'Auld Alliance' with France. John Knox (1514-1572) was the best known and most influential of the Scottish advocates of radical alteration in the religious affairs of the kingdom. Reformation in Scotland differed very much from changes south of the border - it had originated from an active and wide-ranging popular agitation in contrast to a more elitist confessional change by command in England, the reforms sought in Scotland and the belief underlying them, as exemplified and propagated by Knox, were from the very beginning starker and less open to any compromise or doubt, rendering resultant debates and disputations far harsher and vituperative in nature.

Full blooded Calvinism in the style of Geneva⁹⁵ where he lived for a number of years rather than the milder and rather befuddled erastian framework adopted in England characterised Knox's objectives, epitomised in his statement of what was and what was not orthodox:

All worshipping, honouring or service invented by the brain of man in the religion of God, without his own express commandment, is Idolatry: The Masse is invented be the brain of man, without any commandment of God: Therefore it is Idolatry.⁹⁶

Along with numerous references to 'wicked princes' and 'tyrannous rulers'⁹⁷ Knox's earlier *The first blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women* (Geneva, 1558)⁹⁸ ensured far from harmonious relations with Mary of Guise, Regent of Scotland, her daughter Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth of England. As a leader of a revolution in religion in Scotland in the 1560s however he was far more successful. In roughly the same space of time, Mary, now Queen of Scots, experienced a sequence of intertwined personal and political debacles, in ordinary times perhaps surmountable but amidst a nation in extreme

⁹⁵ John Calvin, *The institution of Christian religion* (n.p.,n.d), Old Library CCI B 702; John Calvin, *De aeterna Dei praedestinatione... consensus pastorum Genevensis Ecclesiae a Jo. Calvino expositus* (Geneva, 1552), Old Library CCI, A 211.

⁹⁶ John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland containing five books, together with some treatises conducing to the historie* (London & Edinburgh, 1644), Old Library CCI, B 692, p. 533.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp 150, 163, 310, 314, 332, 374, 388, 399, 428, 458, 461.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 339. Knox, rarely a diplomat, on this occasion attempted to backpedal on his diatribe, suggesting that while he had suggested that all women were unfit to rule according to scripture, 'divine providence' might lead to exceptions - such as Elizabeth. This did nothing to assuage her anger while his backsliding annoyed his own followers.

religious flux and civil war between 1568-73, she was forced to abdicate and flee Scotland in 1568. Leaving her two year old son, James (1566-1625) in Scotland, she crossed the border to what she presumed was the greater safety of England, ruled by her fellow monarch and cousin, Elizabeth I.

Perhaps the last thing Elizabeth needed was a viable Catholic claimant to her throne. Ten years after her succession she was in many ways an exceptionally successful ruler. Her very success though augured poorly for those Catholic subjects still unreconciled to the new dispensation; the period of Catholic resurgence under Mary I had been thoroughly reversed, with Elizabeth's longevity resulting in a Church of England purged of overt conservative or crypto-Catholic elements, the universities for the most part in the stewardship of reliable administrators and staff and her government composed of dependable and largely able members. It appeared that the Reformation in England was secure and Protestantism established, with little prospect of further change in the near future.

Mary, Queen of Scots' arrival upset this state of affairs and offered a rallying point and new hope on many levels to a range of disaffected, ambitious and opportunistic interests creating in the process a combustible mix of politics, religion, social status. The seizure in December 1568 of a fleet carrying payments for the Spanish army combating insurgents in the Netherlands raised tensions in foreign policy. Mary was determined to reclaim her rightful throne, but it was difficult to know whether she regarded this true inheritance as Scotland or England. Out of favour Catholic magnates, Charles Neville (1542 - 1601), 6th earl of Westmoreland and Thomas Percy (1528-172), 7th earl of Northumberland mustered their considerable military forces in the north of England and attempted to rescue Mary during the Northern Rebellion of November and December 1569. Though defeated it marked the beginning of a much more turbulent period in Elizabeth's reign, marked by conspiracy, sedition and war.

William Allen engaging in some adroit diplomacy helped to secure a formal excommunication of Elizabeth in the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsiis* in April 1570

Elizabeth, the pretended queen of England and the servant of crime ... with whom as in a sanctuary the most pernicious of all have found refuge ... She has followed and embraced the errors of the heretics ... We declare her to be deprived of her

pretended title to the crown ... We charge and command all and singular the nobles, subjects, peoples ... that they do not dare obey her orders, mandates and laws.⁹⁹

This placed English Catholics in an extremely difficult and invidious position,¹⁰⁰ whether they accepted the Bull or not (and many Catholics had doubts about its veracity)¹⁰¹ – the Queen might be excommunicated and imagined as null and void in the theoretical and mental environs of Rome but in reality Elizabeth's standing and power was entirely unaffected

among the English Catholics (the bull) served only to breed doubts, dissensions, and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by an incompetent authority; others that it could not bind the natives till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power; all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a presence to brand them with the name of traitors.¹⁰²

She and her government soon demonstrated to any parties in doubt. The carrying or possession of any Papal publication was declared to be high treason punishable by death.

Thomas Howard (1536-1572), 4th duke of Norfolk, the most powerful nobleman in England, and a Catholic, had been imprisoned in 1569 for involvement in a murky court conspiracy centred on a plan which was hatched for him to marry Mary, secure his right of succession and depose the highly unpopular William Cecil, Lord Burghley from his position as Elizabeth's chief minister. He was soon implicated in another plot with a (reputed) Papal agent Roberto di Ridolphi intended to, it was alleged, assassinate Elizabeth I and make Mary Queen of England with the aid of a Spanish invasion. Howard was executed in 1572.¹⁰³ In

⁹⁹ Thomas Barlow, *Brutum fulmen, or the bull of pope Pius V concerning the damnation, excommunication and deposition of Q. Elisabeth, as also the absolution of her subjects of their oath of allegiance... with some observations* (London, 1681), Old Library CCI B 747.

¹⁰⁰ Andrew J Muldoon, 'Recusants, Church-Papists, and "Comfortable" Missionaries: Assessing the Post-Reformation English Catholic Community', in *The Catholic Historical Review* (Apr., 2000), vol. 86, no. 2, p. 251.

¹⁰¹ John Lingard, *A history of England from the first invasion by the Romans* (14 vols, Paris, 1826-31), Old Library CCI, B 2364, vol. 5, p.120. Lingard (1771-1851) was from a recusant English family and a graduate of Douai College, one of the last students to complete studies there before the French Revolution brought an end to its existence in 1793. Lingard's work is regarded as impressive because of his emphasis on the use of primary sources and a strenuous effort to interpret events as impartially as possible. His contribution to reassessing the impact of the Reformation was important and influential in the context of efforts to undo many of the measures still in force and affecting Catholics in England, Ireland and Scotland through the campaign for full Emancipation, finally successful in 1829. Coincidentally another leading figure in the Emancipation movement for full civil rights, Daniel O'Connell also attended the English College in Douai at the same time.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ William Camden, *The History of the most renowned and victorious princess Elizabeth late queen of England* (London, 1688), Old Library CCI, C 166, pp 170-177.

retaliation for Spanish involvement, Elizabeth and her ministers adopted a policy of supporting the Protestant Dutch rebels in the Netherlands. The arrival in England of the first qualified priests from the English College at Douai, not only located in the territories of King Phillip II of Spain but partially funded by him, melded sectarian antagonism with xenophobia to raise suspicions of the activities and political loyalties of English Catholics, and underpin conceptions of the English Catholic community as a 'fifth column' conniving with foreign powers such as the Papacy, Spain and France in a vast 'popish' conspiracy. An escalation of tensions and (unfounded) fears of widespread treason ended the relative tolerance that had been maintained in the first years of Elizabeth I's rule. Following long years of intelligence work on the part of Elizabeth's Secretary of State Sir Francis Walsingham and his operatives, Mary Queen of Scots was finally executed in 1587 when letters testifying to her involvement in a plot to oust Elizabeth were intercepted - Walsingham was not in essence anti-Catholic, his application and persistence stemmed at least in part from having witnessed in Paris the massacres of 24 August 1572, St Bartholomew's Day,¹⁰⁴ precipitated by unchecked religious discord and political uncertainty. He was aware too of Mary's close relationship to the Guise family, and in another, and possibly more dangerous, French connection that quantities of Catholic books were being smuggled into London by staff in the French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau's, house - Paris was at this time one of the greatest centres of print publication in Europe, its presses as dangerous as any other weapon, if not more so for their ability to be infiltrate and affect in secret.¹⁰⁵ A spy reported that the embassy cook and butler were engaged in the operation

This involved the clandestine import of Catholic books into England from France, and the export of surplus items of Catholic church furniture picked up for a song in London. [...] It was, he claimed, a large and valuable business, and at the moment those engaged in it were extremely worried that government searchers were going to investigate an inn called the Half Moon, across the river in Southwark, where they had arranged to land a large consignment of books shortly to arrive. They had spent

¹⁰⁴ Stephen Budiansky, *Her Majesty's spymaster: Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I and the birth of modern espionage* (London, 2005), pp 1-22.

¹⁰⁵ Michel de Castelnau, sieur de Mauvissiere, *Les Mémoires de Messire Michel de Castelnau... auxquelles sont traictées les choses les plus remarquables qu'il a veües et négociées en France, Angleterre et Ecosse sous les rois François II et Charles IX* (Paris, 1621), Old Library CCI, C 53.

a lot of money paying the landlord of the Half Moon and the searchers in Rye and elsewhere, and were looking for salesmen for the books in England.¹⁰⁶

Such secretive avenues of evasion using bribery and corruption to suborn agents of the state could be put to many uses – including subverting the state itself. This aspect of the seeming rather innocuous trade in religious books was never far from the minds of the Queen and her principal counsellors and influenced much of the punitive policy measures that followed. Fines for recusancy, the failure to attend mandatory Sunday services in the Church of England, began to be rigorously enforced. Oaths of Supremacy and Uniformity were also administered to potential office holders with a thoroughness not previously seen, and also administered to a far broader range of applicants. In effect this gradually forced English Catholics into choosing between their religion or ‘self imposed apartheid’.¹⁰⁷ Although most Catholics had no involvement in or knowledge of any plots and plans, all were affected by the new climate of hostility and aggressive enforcement of laws.¹⁰⁸

On foot of a much more aggressive security policy in relation to the infiltration of Papal agents (as any and all Catholic clergy were regarded) Cuthbert Mayne, one of the first graduates of Douai to arrive in England, was arrested for possession of a papal document and executed for treason (being adjudged guilty of a political rather than religious crime) in Cornwall in 1577.¹⁰⁹ Matters deteriorated further with the arrival of Jesuit missionaries, who, as an order with strong Spanish connections and under the direct authority of the Pope, were regarded as even more dangerous than the seminary priests in terms of proselytisation and conversion, and therefore potent underminers of the State Church, and by extension the

¹⁰⁶ John Bossy, *Giordano Bruno and the embassy affair* (New Haven, 1991), p. 19. Information and details on these networks enabling the transport and circulation of controversial and banned books and printed matter can obviously be quite difficult to locate because such illegal enterprises make a determined effort not to keep records, rendering this account particularly valuable.

¹⁰⁷ John Cooper, *The Queen's Agent: Francis Walsingham at the court of Queen Elizabeth I* (London, 2011), Kindle loc. 2473; John J LaRocca, ‘Time, Death, and the Next Generation: The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy, 1558-1574’, in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Summer,1982), pp 103-117; Alexandra Walsham, *Charitable Hatred: Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester, 2000), p. 142.

¹⁰⁸ Peter Lake and Michael Questier, ‘Puritans, Papists, and the “Public Sphere” in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context’, in *Journal of Modern History* (2000), vol. 72, no. 3, p. 588; John J. LaRocca, ‘Time, Death, and the Next Generation: The Early Elizabethan Recusancy Policy, 1558-1574’ in *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2 (Summer,1982), pp 103-117.

¹⁰⁹ Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of missionary priests as well secular as regular, and of other catholics of both sexes that have suffered death in England, on religious accounts from... 1577 to 1684* (2 vols, London, 1742), Old Library CCI, B 1687, vol. I, pp 7-11.

state itself.¹¹⁰ Edmund Campion (1540-1581) seemed to present a case in point. Campion had been a promising student at Oxford, welcoming Elizabeth to the university in 1566, and developed close contact and patronage links with Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester and favourite of the Queen; ahead of him seemingly was a glittering career as an academic and Anglican Churchman. Instead he suffered a personal crisis of conscience, spent time in Ireland while weighing up what course of action to take, and finally renounced his posts at Oxford, recanted his Oath of Supremacy and entered the English College at Douai, where he was among several other defectors from Oxford. From Douai he travelled to Rome and joined the Jesuit order. Enlisted for the first mission of Jesuits to England by William Allen and the General of the Jesuit order, Everard Mercurian (1514-1580), Campion accompanied fellow Jesuit Robert Parsons (1546-1610) to England in 1580.¹¹¹ Both travelled extensively around the country making the case for Catholicism, seeking to maintain those who still professed and reclaim those who had lapsed. Crucially, and perhaps most threatening for the government who had been forewarned of their imminent arrival during a period of intense conflict with the Papacy (which was supporting an extensive military rebellion in Ireland),¹¹² Parsons and Campion had access to a printing press in Oxfordshire. From there printed versions of their main arguments were distributed, their words impacting, insidiously as far as the government was concerned, far far wider than the men themselves could ever hope to encompass in terms of geographical or mental spaces.

From this period onwards, what had been for the most part a low level if intensely fought conflict of ideas became much more urgent. In the words of a recent study of the impact of religious controversy within the context of a political and cultural ‘public sphere’

¹¹⁰ M. Carrafiello, ‘English Catholicism and the Jesuit mission of 1580-1581’, in *Historical Journal* (1994), vol. 37, pp 761-74.

¹¹¹ Thomas M. McCoog, ‘“The Flower of Oxford”: The Role of Edmund Campion in Early Recusant Polemics’, in *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (Winter, 1993), vol. 24, no. 4, pp 899-913.

¹¹² Nicholas Sander had landed in Ireland earlier in 1580 as Papal nuncio, or official representative in Ireland. His presence and the direct involvement of Spanish, Italian and Papal troops during a rebellion in Munster and Leinster signalled, in the eyes of Queen Elizabeth and her Council, a grave threat not just in Ireland but potentially an invasion of England. In this context, Campion and Parsons were seen as enemy agents of hostile political powers, though they themselves actually largely unaware of and unconnected with developments in Ireland. The rebellion in Ireland was defeated militarily in 1583 and Sanders died in the aftermath. His most important work as an author was *De Origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani* (Rome, 1586), Old Library CCI, B 161 [Ex-libris Scots College Paris]. This continued to be updated for many years after his death and attracted a rejoinder by William Whitaker, *Ad Nicolai Sanderi demonstrationes quadraginta in octavo libro visibilis monarchiae positus... responsio Guilielmi Whitakeri* (London, 1583), Old Library CCI, B 833, [Ex-libris English College Paris].

the very nature of the state's confrontation with Catholicism committed it to a series of public arguments and a succession of inherently contestable and open-ended demonstrations and counterdemonstrations of its case, each statement of which allowed and invited, indeed demanded, a Catholic response. Given the nature and importance of the issues involved, the subsequent exchanges could not be other than "politically" charged. For no matter how exclusively "religious" the claims, gestures, and actions involved may have been, what was at stake was nothing short of the legitimacy of the Elizabethan state in its dealings with its Catholic subjects and, beyond that, the whole structure of the English monarchy as the English Reformation had recreated it.¹¹³

This accounts for the harshness - hanging, drawing and quartering - meted out to Campion when he was caught in 1581 and his fellow Jesuit and seminary priests who followed in his wake.

Equally though such a policy of stern reaction to the physical and immediate element of the threat also required equally if not more effective pre-emptive and inoculatory countermeasures to the metaphysical and ongoing peril of printed propaganda. King James I's (who succeeded Elizabeth I in 1601) sponsoring of a specialised institution to spearhead this figurative fight for faith saw moves afoot to create Chelsea College, or as it was formally known the 'College of King James in Chelsea'.

Whereas his Majesty, of his most Royal and Zealous Care for the Defense of true Religion now established within this Realm of England, and for the refuting of Errors and Heresies repugnant unto the same, hath been graciously pleased, by his Letters Patents under the great Seal of England, to found a College at Chelsea near London, and therein to place certain learned Divines, and to Incorporate the same by the Name of The Provost and Fellows of the College of King James in Chelsea, near London, of the Foundation of the same James King of England; and hath of his most gracious Bounty and Goodness, not only endowed the same with certain Lands, Privileges, and Immunities; but hath also for their further Maintenance and Sustentation, given unto them a Capacity and Ability, to receive and take from his Majesty, or any of his loving Subjects, any Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, Gifts, Benefits, and Profits whatsoever, not exceeding in the whole the Yearly Value of

¹¹³Peter Lake and Michael Questier, 'Puritans, Papists, and the "Public Sphere" in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context', in *Journal of Modern History* (2000), vol. 72, no. 3, p. 589.

Three Thousand Pounds, as in and by the said Letters Patents doth more at large appear.¹¹⁴

More informally but accurately it was referred to as the ‘Controversy College’. Founded from an idea put forward by the prolific and aggressive counter-Catholic author Dean Matthew Sutcliffe,¹¹⁵ it was intended to have a Provost and fellows who

should devote themselves to the Study of Polemick Divinity, to vindicate the Reformation of Religion from time to time against all Popish Writers, who were bred up in Colleges abroad, for this very Purpos, to asperse this excellent Church, and to draw away the Members of it. That so we, having Men bred up in these Controversies, as well as they, might stand upon equal Ground with them. In this College also were to be maintained two Historians, to record and publish all Matters worthy of Remark in this Church and State: A most noble and worthy Design of the said Sutcliff, who while he lived had earnestly employed his Pen in the behalf of Religion against Parsons the Jesuit.¹¹⁶

The inclusion of two historians (including William Camden)¹¹⁷ as fellows is an interesting detail, revealing how the college was intended not solely to focus on sometimes arcane theological debates but also to ensure that the recounting and assessment of those debates, which often and increasingly had more impact in wider society than the debates themselves, and the very history, the causes and consequences of the Reformation, would be narrated

¹¹⁴ John Strype, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (London, 1720), p. 148.

¹¹⁵ Walter H. Godfrey (ed.), ‘The Royal Hospital: King James’s Theological College’, in *Survey of London: volume 11: Chelsea, part IV: The Royal Hospital* (London, 1927), pp 1-4; Matthew Sutcliffe, *Matthaei Sutlivii De Catholica, orthodoxa et vera Christi ecclesia, libri duo* (London, 1592), Old Library CCI, B 244, [Ex-Libris English College Paris]; Matthew Sutcliffe, *Matthaei Sutlivii adversus Roberti Bellarmini de purgatorio disputationem* (London, 1599), Old Library CCI, B 876; Matthew Sutcliffe, *De Turcopapismo, hoc est de Turcarum et Papistarum adversus Christi ecclesiam et fidem conjuratione* (London, 1599), Old Library CCI B 876; Matthew Sutcliffe, *A Briefe replie to a certaine, odious and slanderous libel lately published by a seditious Jesuite calling himselfe N. D* (London, 1600), Old Library CCI, B 782; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Supplication of certaine mass-priests falsely called catholickes directed to the Kings... majestie* (London, 1604), Old Library CCI, B 876; Matthew Sutcliffe, *An abridgment or survey of popery... opposed unto Matthew Kellisons Survey of the new Religion as he calleth it and all his malicious invectives* (London, 1606), Old Library CCI, B 755 [Ex-libris English College Paris]; Matthew Sutcliff, *The Examination and confutation of a... treatise entituled The Survey of the newe Religion published by Matthew Kellison* (London, 1606), Old Library CCI, B 876; Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Subversion of Robert Parsons his confused... worke entituled A Treatise of three conversions of England from paganisme to christian religion* (London, 1606), Old Library CCI, B 876; Matthew Sutcliffe, *A Threefold answer unto the third part of a certaine triobolar treatise of three supposed conversions of England to the moderne romish religion published by Rob. Parsons under the continued maske of N. D* (London, 1606), Old Library CCI, B 876.

¹¹⁶ John Strype, *A survey of the cities of London and Westminster* (London), p. 148.

¹¹⁷ William Camden, *The History of the most renowned and victorious princess Elizabeth late queen of England* (London, 1688), Old Library CCI, C 166.

and interpreted in its proper framework – history might be written by the victors but the right history might also decide the victors.

In this dual religious-historical mission to fashion a polity and political nation whose contours suited and served King James I, it was no coincidence that many of the original fellows also had something else in common

The establishment of the College consisted of a Provost, 17 Fellows and two Historians. The first names, selected by King James, were as follows:—

Provost: Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter.

Fellows: John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's; Thomas Morton, Dean of Winchester; Richard Field, Dean of Gloucester; Robert Abbot, Chaplain to the King and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; John Spencer, President of Corpus Christi, Oxford; Miles Smith, one of the translators of the Bible and afterwards Bishop of Gloucester; William Covitt (fn. 3) ; John Howson, who later held the Sees of Oxford and Durham; John Layfield, Rector of St. Clement Danes and one of the translators of the Bible; Benjamin Charrier; Martin Fotherby, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury; John Boys, one of the translators of the Bible; Richard Brett, another translator of the Bible and Rector of Quainton, Bucks.; Peter Lilly, afterwards a brother of Savoy Hospital, Prebend of St. Paul's and Archdeacon of Taunton; Francis Burley; John White; William Hellier (treasurer of the College), Archdeacon of Barnstaple.

Historians: William Camden, *Clarencieux*, author of *Britannia*; and Sir John Hayward, Kt., author of a number of royal biographies and other historical works.¹¹⁸

King James is today remembered more for his role in the process which saw the creation of the Authorized, or 'King James' version of the Bible completed in 1611. The crossover in these two projects can be seen in the number of names in common, and demonstrates the King's determination to influence as many elements and aspects of the presentation of faith and fealty in print as possible. If the nature of what constituted a proper church was a matter of contention, as it clearly was and continued to be, then the argument had to be joined just as vigorously as any other combat.

This argument in the archives entered a new phase when in response to Dean Sutcliffe and King James' innovation of Chelsea College, exiles on the continent led by Richard Smith (1568-1655) who secured Papal approval for the venture, set up a centre for higher studies and a house of writers in Paris. Contacts within Douai may account for the initial location of the new institution – in the existing College d'Arras in Paris. This had been founded in 1332

¹¹⁸ Walter H. Godfrey (ed.), 'The Royal Hospital: King James's Theological College', in *Survey of London: volume 11: Chelsea, part IV: The Royal Hospital* (London, 1927), pp 1-4.

by Nicolas le Canderlier, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Saint Vaast in Arras, to allow poor scholars from Arras in Northern France to study in Paris. The upheavals of the French Wars of Religion caused immense disruption to all areas of French life; as a result the College d'Arras buildings were seriously damaged and its usual operations suspended. Saint Vaast also supported a college in Douai and generously supported the establishment of an English Benedictine seminary there, where Richard Smith and his companions, Anthony Champney (1569-1643), Matthew Kellison (1560-1642), Richard Ireland and William Bishop may have encountered news of the possibility that now arose in Paris. In 1612, Smith and number of other English priests took up residence in the vacant College d'Arras in Paris and began their studies and writings designed and intended to allow them to answer and argue with Matthew Sutcliffe and the fellows of Chelsea College.¹¹⁹ The large number of books now housed in the Old Library of the Irish College bearing the accession date of 1617 indicates an institution in the throes of gathering the necessary intellectual resources, of stocking its academic arsenal to prosecute the intellectual conflict between Anglican Englishmen in London and Catholic Englishmen in Paris. This conflict continued despite the fact that by the mid 17th century the Church of England was to all intents and purposes securely established

It is a puzzle why Catholics and the clergy of the Established Church were so fascinated with one another for most of the seventeenth century. When the Catholics constituted less than 2% of the English population and the non-conformists were growing, the main opponents of the writers of the established church were the Catholics. Even during the 1650's, when the *Ecclesia Anglicana* faced its darkest hours, the Laudians in exile took care to leave no Catholic book of controversy unanswered¹²⁰

The English presence at the College of Arras continued until 1642 when the building reverted to its earlier function.¹²¹ A House of Writers fulfilling the same mission and maintained by the English foundation survived and continued to operate, moving to a new location on the Rue des Postes, within a stone's throw of the present location of the Irish College/*Centre Culturel Irlandais*.

¹¹⁹ Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic exiles in late sixteenth century Paris* (London, 2011), p. 145.

¹²⁰ Thomas H. Clancy, 'A content analysis of English Catholic Books, 1615-1714', in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 86, no. 2 (Apr., 2000), p. 10

¹²¹ Charles Lefeuvre, *Les auciennes maisons de Paris. Histoire de Paris rue par rue, maison par maison* (5 vols, Paris, 1875), vol. 5.

St Gregory's College Paris as it was formally known became what is now usually termed the English College Paris, a location which allowed access to the great and varied resources of the University of Paris. In its own right, it functioned as a small and very specialised institution, supporting some of the most skilled English Catholic exile writers and debaters, such as John Sergeant,¹²² who, in the same vein as their predecessors in the original rue d'Arras location, endeavoured to answer and refute the claims and charges issuing forth from Chelsea College and other establishments such as Oxford and Cambridge. As a centre dedicated to dealing in and with information, its creation and dissemination, the library and its contents were the crucial feature of the institution. The College d'Arras and St Gregory's have been ill served by history and remain under researched; however the books formerly from the College, its most prized possessions as well as the reason for its very existence, do provide some information on and insight into the ethos and operations of the institution and reveal much of the mentality, thought processes, intellectual reference points and not least the aims of the men who founded the renewed college in Paris.

Naming the later English College in Paris after Pope Gregory (the Great) was a very deliberate act in itself redolent at once with symbolism of past success and hope for future renewal. The original Pope Gregory, it was believed, had been central to the restoration of Christianity in Britain after the invasions of the 'pagan' Anglo-Saxons had severed links with Rome and threatened the religion's very existence on the island. Recalling this episode in English history, even many centuries later, highlighted a valuable example of how even the

¹²² John Sergeant, *Schism dispach't, or A Reioynder to the replies of Dr. Hammond and the Ld. of Derry* (Paris, 1657), Old Library CCI, B 337; John Sergeant, *A vindication of the doctrine contained in pope Benedict XII his bull and in the general Council of Florence... concerning the state of departed souls* (Paris, 1659), Old Library CCI; John Sergeant, *Reason against raillery, or A full answer to Dr. Tillotson's preface against J. S., with a farther examination of his grounds of religion* (n.p., 1661), Old Library CCI A 136; John Sergeant, *Reason against raillery, or A full answer to Dr. Tillotson's preface against J. S., with a farther examination of his grounds of religion* (n.p., 1672), Old Library CCI, B 628; John Sergeant, *Sure footing in christianity, or rational discourses on the rule of faith, with three appendixes relating to Dr. Pierce, Mr. Whitby and Mr. Stillingfleet* (London, 1665), Old Library CCI, B 377; John Sergeant, *A letter of thanks from the author of sure-footing to his answerer Mr. J. T. (illoteau)* (Paris, 1666), Old Library CCI, B 355; John Sergeant, *Methodus compendiosa quâ recte pervestigatur et certo invenitur fides christiana, authore J. S* (Paris, 1674), Old Library CCI, A 307; John Sergeant, *Appendix seu Querimonia Joannis Serjeantii adversus M. Lominum exhibita Sacrae Congregationis... contra haereticam pravitatem generalium inquisitorum* (Douai, 1677), Old Library CCI, B 305; John Sergeant, *Declaratio Joannis Serjeantii circa doctrinam in libris suis contentum exhibita Sacrae Congregationis... contra haereticam praviatatem generalium inquisitorum* (Douai, 1677), Old Library CCI, B 305 [This appears to have been donated by the author himself]; John Sergeant, *Vindiciae Joannis Serjeantii tribunalibus Romano et Parisiensi... in librorum suorum defensionem exhibitae.* (Douai, 1678), Old Library CCI, B 305; John Sergeant, *Of devotion* (London, 1678), Old Library CCI, A 135; John Sergeant, *The method to science* (London, 1696), Old Library CCI, B 219; John Sergeant, *Raillery defeated by calm reason, or the new cartesian method of arguing and answering expos'd in a letter to all lovers of science, candour and civility* (London, 1699), Old Library CCI, B 654.

most overwhelming odds and disheartening situation could had been overcome previously with persistence and tenacity of belief.

We can now understand the motivation inherent in calling the revived college on the Rue des Postes St Gregory's - a name shared with the English College in Rome. In keeping with the evocation of the 'Great' Pope's deeds, the adoption of an image of St Gregory as the main element of the English College's bookplate denoting the ownership of many of its volumes also acted in the role of constant reminder, recalling the past achievements to be emulated by present readers. Each volume opened was thus freighted with a latent symbolism as well as an overt message within the contents, enjoining and exhorting the seventeenth century reader to make all possible efforts in the service of the College's mission, to match or surpass the achievements of those who had gone before. The collection for readers and visitors today, even in its present manifestation where we must be always cognisant of the important fact that we cannot know what other works may have been part of the original library or what proportion the present volumes represent of the entirety of that library as it once existed, is in itself a material and intellectual artefact illuminating the history of the origins and unfolding of the process of reformation and religious change, as this report has attempted to demonstrate.

The books acquired for the original English College Library, and emblazoned with that institution's, at once, proprietary and providential marking, were bought for a purpose and for definite use, not for idle contemplation or nostalgic reveries - this was a library with and for a mission.

This first section of the report has concentrated on England, as the vast majority of the books included in the study originate in the Library of the English College in Paris, and were sourced or written as weapons in a long drawn out contention between Englishmen over religion. Remarkably rapid change and change about had commenced during a bewildering twenty year period when the England was ruled in quick succession by four monarchs: the last days of Henry VIII (1509-1547), the brief interval of Edward VI (1547-1553), the short reign of Mary I (1553-1558) and then the long rule of Elizabeth I (1558-1603). Religion, religious policy and rites of public and personal devotion had veered wildly from standard Roman Catholicism during most of Henry VIII's rule to uncertain fluidity after Henry's formal break with Rome through advanced Calvinism under Edward VI followed by a return to orthodox Roman Catholicism with Mary I (and her Spanish husband Phillip II), and then

the gradual emergence in fits and starts of an 'Anglican' Church that very slowly became a recognisably different reformed phenomenon to both Calvinism and Lutheranism.

The lack of stability and seeming lack of long term fixity of tenure for any denomination highlighted the very real and achievable possibility of effecting wholesale change, of winning the hearts and minds of the population - what had changed before could change again. England had once been Catholic - and could be again. England had also been Calvinist - and could be again. England was neither of these things - but what would it be? For people of faith, the question of what faith that should be was almost continuously open to contention - and led to the argument in the archives that gave rise to the rich legacy of history and theology volumes that now grace the shelves of the Old Library Paris.

This is the central and crucial history of the religious and political context which the books listed in this report, as a discrete subset of the broader collection of the Old Library of the Irish College in Paris, make a valuable contribution in elucidating and clarifying. Conversely, this very history of religious change and alteration in the Three Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland has also revealed much about and many insights into this collection in the Old Library - shedding lights on aspects of their intended purpose, readership and authors. The next section of the report will continue in this vein and will consist of two detailed case studies using works from the Old Library collection to examine events in Scotland and Ireland. Religious change and reformation was to happen later in each and effect each country in very different ways and to very different extents. Each would follow their own path to a religious settlement over time; and over time these religious settlements would lead to violence and turmoil. Resolution of these differences would, ultimately, take many decades, indeed centuries.

II Case studies

(i) Scotland

Gilbert Brown, 'Welsch's Forged Lyes', Old Library CCI Archives Ms. 63



Scotland's Reformation, as referred to in the previous section, was a very different phenomenon to England's. Despite, or perhaps because of, the country's geographic closeness to its southern neighbour Scottish links with Europe in the shape of personal, political and commercial connections ensured religious changes in Scotland had much in common with similar processes in Central Europe. The smuggling and dissemination of Lutheran books, despite attempted suppression, raised awareness and created a base of support upon which to build. In contrast with England (and Ireland), the Scottish monarchy actively attempted to curb and stifle such sentiments (and was rewarded by the Papacy for

doing so) but failed to prevent the growth of an indigenous and organic movement agitating for 'reform'.¹²³ James V's early death in 1543 left his kingdom with a six day old female heir, Mary, and a French widow, Mary of Guise - and an English cousin, Henry VIII, very interested in Scottish affairs. Only with French military and financial support was an English gambit for control and recognition of overlordship defeated. Elements in favour of the Reformation had some support - the most senior Catholic clergyman in Scotland, Cardinal Beaton was murdered in 1546 and some of his killers were among a party that seized St Andrew's Castle in 1546. In 1547 a French force successfully retook the castle and sentenced prisoners to confinement in France or to serve as crew on the French convict galleys. Among these was John Knox (1514-1572).¹²⁴

Knox was a former Catholic priest and protégé of George Wishart (1513-1546), another former Catholic priest who had attended Louvain. Called for an examination of his views and orthodoxy in 1538, and mindful of the burning for heresy of Patrick Hamilton (1504-1528) who had encountered and adopted Martin Luther's ideas while studying at the University of Paris and been convicted of upholding beliefs found in Philip Melancthon's *Loci Communes*,¹²⁵ Wishart, described by John Foxe as of 'Melancholye complexion ... blacke heard, long bearded ... well spoken after his countrey of Scotla[n]d', fled to England.¹²⁶ Almost immediately he was caught up in further troubles in Bristol during a conservative turn in Henry VIII's oscillating religious policies and seems to have spent time in Reformed communities in Switzerland, until returning to study at Cambridge in 1542. He returned to Scotland in the entourage of an English embassy in 1543 negotiating for a marriage between Princess Mary of Scotland and Prince Edward of England, anticipating more tolerant circumstances for reformist preachers because of the English connection. Wishart led an itinerant life for three years preaching from the scriptures in English. Circumstances politically changed, however, the projected alliance with England broke down and Wishart fell afoul of Cardinal David Beaton for continuing to preach in defiance of his orders. Charged with heresy, Wishart was burned in March 1546. His efforts though had not

¹²³ James Kirk, 'The religion of early Scottish Protestants', in Kirk (ed.), *Humanism and reform: the Church in Europe, England and Scotland, 1400-1643. Essays in honour of James K. Cameron* (Oxford, 1991), pp 361-411.

¹²⁴ Jean de Beaugue, *L'Histoire de la guerre d'Escosse traitant comme le royaume fut assailly et en grande partie occupé par les Anglois et depuis rendu paisible à sa reyne...* (Paris, 1556), Old Library CCI, B 1030.

¹²⁵ Phillip Melancthon, *Loci communes theologici collecti a Philippo Melanchtone* (n.p., 1573), Old Library CCI, B 1718.

¹²⁶ John Foxe, *Actes and monuments of these latter and perilous days touching matters of the Church....* (2 volumes, n.p., n.d.), Old Library CCI, E 68, pp 1267-72.

been in vain – many individuals and small groups had moved along the religious spectrum from Roman Catholicism to embrace a form of Swiss reformed theology.

Wishart's death motivated Knox to carry on his work, even in the French galleys. Released in 1549 he sought refuge in northern England, gathering a small group of like-minded Scots exiles around him. After Mary I's succession, Knox left for further exile in Europe, and largely remained there until 1559 having regular contact with exiled English Protestant congregations. He also spent time in Geneva with John Calvin and was deeply influenced by him. Knox returned to a changed Scotland in May 1559, a country embroiled in a bitter civil war centred on religion intertwined with foreign relations and personal ambitions. The growth in the number and influence of those favouring a Calvinist-type Church doctrine and organisation, greatly helped by the energetic preaching of Knox and his colleagues, combined with resentment at great offices of state being held by Frenchmen, frequent taxes being exacted and fears of eventual and complete absorption into France created a body of resistance, but little prospect of outright or quick victory. Mary of Guise's death in June 1560 emboldened the reformers led by the Protestant 'Lords of the Congregation' faction and enabled dramatic and drastic action. English intervention sanctioned by Queen Elizabeth I to combat French troops already operating in Scotland led to a treaty in July 1560 to withdraw all foreign troops, an agreement brought about in part because internecine religious strife between Catholic and Huguenot Frenchmen undermined France's military power while the Scottish Protestant reformers' connection with England, now ruled increasingly surely and securely by Elizabeth I, greatly buttressed and hastened the progress of the rebel efforts.¹²⁷ Legislation in a 'Reformation' Parliament held in August 1560 outlawed the mass, banned papal jurisdiction and abolished all legislation passed in the last 150 years which conflicted 'with the word of God'. Having swept away the prevailing framework of worship, the Parliament introduced a new Confession of Faith, featuring a very strong Calvinist influence, as was natural given the number of Protestant reformers who had links with Central Europe, but also distinct tinges of English and French conception.

In much of Scotland the situation remained unsettled, people's acceptance, adherence and profession of faith fluid and in flux, and would remain so for many years. An exceptional contemporary insight into events, a glimpse at one small personal experience in the overall picture of a chaotic and shifting mass of ideas, beliefs and loyalties in a society rend asunder

¹²⁷ Stuart Carroll, *Martyrs and murders: the Guise family and the making of Europe* (Oxford, 2011), pp 119-121.

fiercely with old and well worn rituals replaced in some parts, and at least in a number of areas with great violence, is provided by the life of the author of Ms 63 in the archives of the Old Library.

The manuscript is the work of Gilbert Brown (d.1612), a man whose place in the overall scheme of the European Reformation was relatively minor but who, in the context of the Scottish Reformation in its various phases, acts as a very important example of actions and attitudes manifested on a local and human(e) scale. Brown's life reflects very well the confused and complicated fashion in which people adopted and modified their values and adapted to changing cultural and social circumstances. Accounts of the Reformation in Scotland can convey a sense, for the very necessary reasons of space and clarity, that after the events of 1560 all outstanding questions of religion had been determined and Scotland was securely Protestant. People alive at the time however had much less certainty. For these reasons Brown and his work are an excellent example of what it was like to actually live and survive in a society undergoing change to an unprecedented degree. His life is in places surprising erratic, his beliefs complex and malleable in a way that reflects the uncertainty and fluid nature of the circumstances - a reminder that concepts such as 'Catholic' or 'Protestant' were still far from concrete in most people's minds and many in Scotland, in the same way as people all over Europe, struggled to arrive at a conclusion and remained open to persuasion as the 'argument in the archives' sought to win over hearts and minds to their views and convictions.

Gilbert Brown was born in Carsluith in Galloway - his family resided in Carsluith Castle, a tower house built in c. 1554. In a happy coincidence of timing and location for researchers but an unfortunate embarkation point for Brown, he became a Cistercian monk at New Abbey, or Sweetheart Abbey as it was also known,¹²⁸ in 1559/60 as the Reformation Parliament was outlawing the mass and abjuring obedience to Rome. Brown's profession at Newlands was not in any way an accident. His family had a long and close connection with the abbey and had provided a lengthy sequence of abbots and administrators - it was not quite a family estate but the Browns were regarded, at the very least, as having a special relationship with the monastery in a form that was common and accepted in Scotland.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ P. H. M'Kerlie, *History of the lands and their owners in Galloway; illustrated by woodcuts and notable objects with historical sketches of the district* (Edinburgh, 1879), pp 4-10.

¹²⁹ Mark Dilworth, 'Brown, Gilbert (d. 1612)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3610>].

Unlike the rapid dismantling of the monasteries in England, policy and practice in Scotland was designed to let the system wither and die over time. Gilbert Brown adapted to the new reality of a life now much more complicated, and lived in more complicated circumstances, than he might have ever have expected by attending St Andrew's University. Graduating in 1565, Brown had accepted Protestantism while at St Andrews.¹³⁰ He emerged into a world with increasing tensions since the return of Mary, Queen of Scots from France although Mary had proved quite pragmatic in her views of and actions towards the new prime position of Protestantism in Scotland. Brown may have had some influence and contacts at court since he was given a 'royal gift' of New Abbey in 1565, which effectively transferred the abbey and lands from his cousin John Brown to Gilbert.

Any prospect that Gilbert Brown may have had of living quietly at New Abbey evaporated with the onset of civil war in Scotland in 1567. Queen Mary's ill-starred marriages to Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley and then, following his murder, to the Earl of Bothwell, one of the assassins, aroused political and religious discord once more – two *coups d'états* in six weeks provoked a six year civil war that ended with Mary's flight to England. Amidst the confusion and disorder which saw alliances of varying religious and political interests form and reform, Brown lost and regained New Abbey, as well attending the Scottish Parliament in 1571 and 1573. The post-war settlement brought a consolidated and more clearly defined version of Presbyterianism to the fore in an attempt to replace the previous muddle of ideas and confessions. Brown however had moved back to Catholicism, and back to a more activist role, determined to make the case to believers in the Dumfries and Galloway region for maintaining and retaining the old faith. Apparently an effective force in the area, he was sanctioned by the General Assembly of the new Kirk of Scotland for his persistent prosletyisation. Brown was not alone in his actions at this time, as a full blooded debate in print continued to be waged between advocates of different paths to and methods of reform – Ninian Winzet¹³¹ and Nichol Burne¹³² wrote works in defence of (reformed) Catholicism

¹³⁰ Mark Dilworth, 'Abbot Gilbert Brown: a sketch of his career', in *Innes Review* (1989), vol. 40, pp 153–8.

¹³¹ Ninian Winzet, *Flagellum sectariorum qui religionis praetextu seditioes jam in Caesarem... excitare student... Accessit velitatio in Georgium Buchananum circa dialogum quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos*. (Ingolstadt, 1582), Old Library CCI, B 245.

¹³² Nicolas Burne, *The disputation concerning the controversit headdis of religion... Betvix the pretendit Ministeris of the deformed Kirk in Scotland and Nicol Burne... Dedicat to his Soverane The Kingis M. of Scotland King James the Sixt* (Paris, 1581), Old Library CCI, B 149.

while the main counter arguments for Protestantism were promulgated by George Buchanan¹³³ and John Knox.¹³⁴

On foot of this continuing controversy Brown was denounced by the privy council of Scotland for failing to answer charges and was deprived of his interest in New Abbey in 1585. He made his way to the Scots College in Douai, and was ordained as a priest in Paris in 1587, following up his ordination with a journey to Rome. By November 1587 he was back in Scotland and employing his training as a seminary priest to (re)convert large parts of Dumfries and Galloway to Catholicism. Rumours and allegations about his connections with Ireland and Spain raised fears that his locale could provide a base of operations and support for an invasion in the wake of the Spanish Armada of 1588 – ‘the authorities considered he had corrupted the whole district with Roman Catholicism.’¹³⁵ He was also accused of sheltering renegade Englishmen, wanted by the administration of Elizabeth I. It proved difficult for the local Scottish authorities to arrest Brown because of the overwhelming support he had in and around New Abbey – a strange echo of John Knox’s ability to move large crowds to action.¹³⁶

Brown was a particular difficulty for the authorities because of his stout and on the whole successful maintenance of a Catholic enclave in the face of strenuous attempts by reformers to bring the area into conformity with the Protestant Kirk of Scotland. The fact that he was a ready and capable participant in an intellectual duel that took on some of the ferocity of a personal feud only increased his notoriety further. His opponent, or ‘cozener and malicious impostor’ in Brown’s eyes and rhetoric was John Welsh (1568/8-1622).¹³⁷

Welsh was also born in Dumfries and Galloway, near Dunscore – not much more than 30 miles from Brown’s birthplace of Carsluith. This geographic closeness seems to have embittered their clash all the more, but is in itself a good example of how a relatively small area could be the focus of rival and competing proselytisers – and also a valuable example of how the Scottish Reformation continued to be contested for a long period after the formal declaration of a Protestant state by Parliament in 1560. Many people were unsure and

¹³³ George Buchanan, *Psalmorum Davidis paraphrasis poetica nunc primum edita... psalmi aliquot in versus item graecos nuper a diversis translate* (Strasbourg, 1566), Old Library CCI, A 396.

¹³⁴ John Knox, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of Scotland containing five books, together with some treatises conducing to the historie* (London & Edinburgh, 1644), Old Library CCI, B 692.

¹³⁵ Mark Dilworth, ‘Brown, Gilbert (d. 1612)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3610].

¹³⁶ Brown had been able to buy back the abbey from the previous owner

¹³⁷ Gilbert Brown, ‘Welsch’s forged lyes’, Old Library CCI Archives Ms. 63 f.2v.

remained to be persuaded of which path among those they were being told to follow was the right one.

Welsh was a graduate of Edinburgh University; this had been granted a royal charter in 1583 by James VI with a definite purpose to ensure that the Kirk of Scotland would have a cohort of properly trained ministers – a mirror image in many ways of Catholic efforts at the Scots Colleges in Douai and Paris. Welsh had the distinction of being among the first graduates of the new college and he was very much aware of his mission as one of these new style ministers to combat ‘popery’ wherever it survived and draw people into the Kirk. His standing, and the expectations accorded to him, is further demonstrated by the fact that another element of his responsibilities was to “‘to visit and try the doctrine, life, diligence and fidelitie’ of ministers and to plant clergy in areas with no presbyteries.”¹³⁸ Marriage to Elizabeth Knox, John Knox’s daughter, raised his prestige and authority still further, and added extra motivation and fortitude to uphold and complete the enterprise his father-in-law had been so instrumental in beginning.

The clash between Brown and Welsh in the late 1590s then was very much a direct confrontation between two different systems of belief, two versions of religious reform, a local skirmish in a European conflict involving two men who were trained specifically as, one might say, confessional commandos – Brown in Douai, Welsh in Edinburgh. At issue in Dumfries were the doubts of a man who was unsure of whether he should remain Catholic or become a Protestant. His name is unrecorded but he confided in John Welsh about his quandary and his uncertainties, and asked for Welsh’s insights and views to help clarify his decision. Welsh responded with a written list of points highlighting, with quotations from the scriptures, his conviction that all right thinking people should adopt the tenets of reformed religion. This ‘small scroll’ came to the attention of Gilbert Brown, who, equally convinced his beliefs were the correct path to salvation, responded with a longer written work of his own – which appears eventually to have been copied in manuscript or printed. Welsh then in a further response to Brown’s challenge upped the ante again by writing a full scale and formal answer to Brown, critiquing in detail each of Brown’s claims, as well as his selection and use of evidence. These first three salvos in the disputation are now contained in Welsh’s printed volume published in Edinburgh in 1602. The full title of the work is worth quoting for a sense of the tone and extent of the debate between the two clerics:

¹³⁸ Alan R. MacDonald, ‘Welsh, John (1568/9–1622)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28979>].

A reply against M. Gilbert Browne priest Wherein is handled many of the greatest and weightiest pointes of controuersie betweene vs and the papists, and the truth of our doctrine clearely proued, and the falset of their religion and doctrine laide open, and most euidentlie conuicted and confuted, by the testimonies of the Scripture and auncient fathers; and also by some of their owne popes, doctors, cardinals, and of their owne writers. Whereunto is anexed a seuerall treatise, concerning the masse and Antichrist. By M. Iohn Welsche, preacher of Christs Gospell at Aire (Edinburgh, 1602)

The full work runs to some 400 pages of closely argued, and closely printed, theological argument.

Stung by Welsh's foray into print Brown set to work on a fitting reply. His 'Welsch's forged lyes' is 500 pages long in the form of manuscript 63 in the Archives of the Irish College in the Old Library. Most of the contents as one would expect are concerned with the complexities and nuances of theological contention and the nature of scriptural evidence for contemporary forms of faith and church organisation and reform in the late 1590s and early 1600s. Reflecting the bitterness encapsulated in this particularly vicious period in inter-Christian denominational strife, Brown amid the Biblical verses and commentary showed an acidic turn of phrase and tendency towards blunt and unflattering descriptions of reform and reformers that must have contributed to the urgent and concerted nature of attempts to arrest and imprison him. His opening lines get straight to the point and set the tone, speaking of 'all protestant and puritans' as 'false prophets, ravening wolves and killers of men's souls'.¹³⁹ Soon after setting out the reason for writing the book Brown describes Welsh as a 'cozener and malicious imposter', clearly associating his rival with the false prophets, ravening wolves and killers of men's' souls. Not content with that he went further to squeeze out any shred of doubt as to his views of Welsh

[...] not only a shameless jester and impudent imposture to deceive with craft the unlearned readers, but also an malicious detractor and forger of lyes against the Catholique Romains in such a fashion that if Satan would have abandoned hell and transformed himself in the shape of an minister to preach in an pulpit, he could not have degorged so many lyes and evident untruths as [...] M Welsh hath done without conscience before God or shame to be accounted an forger of lyes by the judgement of wisemen¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Gilbert Brown, 'Welsch's forged lyes', Old Library CCI Archives Ms. 63 f.2r.

¹⁴⁰ Gilbert Brown, 'Welsch's forged lyes', Old Library CCI Archives Ms. 63 f.3r.

The sharpness of the language gives an insight into what the population of Dumfries' villages and countryside were to witness on a regular basis in the theological tug-of-war for adherents - well educated, respected clerics vividly putting forth stark but diametrically opposed cases for who had the right interpretation of religion and the true message for those who wanted to save their souls. Well might we forgive many people for being confused and uncertain as argument and counterargument sallied back and forth - and well might no church or denomination sit on its laurels with too great a sense of security. The competition for souls between the various factions of faith would continue and spread globally for the next 300 years; Brown's colourful language would be replicated many times in many contexts, but his polemic stands out as noteworthy for being written at a time when so much was still at stake, or thought to be, in the religious configuration of Dumfries, Scotland and Europe.

Brown makes clear what he thinks of Luther and his 'heretique' followers (he includes Protestants of any denomination in this context, rather than strictly 'Lutherans' in a more narrowly confessional context) in typically robust terms.

Luther is blasphemous in the highest degree, a shameless railer, a furious man, bestraited in mind, possessed with a devil, a blockhead fellow, a foul loathsome swine, invading the glory, honour, omnipotent power, purity and divine essence of God by manifest fury and extreme blasphemy, a heretique incorrigible, a false imposture and deceiver of the world [...]

This the concord which is between Luther and Zwinglius, two who were taught in the night by two spirits, which as you may easily see were two devils stirring up these two pillars of this new religion by contrarous heresies and manifest contradictions¹⁴¹

This is an excellent example, in microcosm, of how a difference of opinion in an intellectual and philosophical dispute, a seemingly innocuous and esoteric matter, could escalate into a corporeal chasm, on each side of which entire communities and ultimately countries and an entire continent will be ranged against one another. Gilbert Brown's manuscript shows us the circumstances and personalities involved in process which unfolded in one small part of Scotland - and therein lies its value to researchers and readers as an exemplar of the Reformation in miniature.

¹⁴¹ Gilbert Brown, 'Welsch's forged lyes', Old Library CCI Archives Ms. 63 ff 250r, 250v, 251r.

In 1605, Brown, perhaps not surprisingly given the incendiary and provocative nature of his words, was finally taken by force of arms and conveyed to Edinburgh.¹⁴² However, an unexpected problem now emerged in meting out punishment, and demonstrated that politics nearly always trumped religion. King James VI, who had succeeded his mother Mary I, at least technically in 1567 following her forced abdication and in actual fact in the years following 1584, and in 1603 having also succeeded to the English throne after the death of Elizabeth I, he was eager to show the General Assembly of the Kirk (Church) of Scotland that he and not they were the ultimate power in the land. To make this point clearly and communicate the message in a fashion that could not be mistaken, James was remarkably lenient with Brown, exerting his monarchical authority not only to have him released from prison, but to have his expenses paid and have his religious effects returned. Brown sailed for France but was back in south west Scotland shortly afterwards. In 1608, with James VI now safely ensconced in far away in distant London as king of both Scotland and James I of England, Brown was again arrested and far less gently treated. Upon release on this occasion he sailed again for France in 1609 – this time never to return. He spent the next three years of his life in Paris and died there, most likely in the Scots College, in 1612.

Ironically perhaps his old adversary John Welsh also ended up falling foul of King James by the use of some sharp language of his own in 1605, just as Brown was locked up in Edinburgh for his invective against Welsh. Intervening in an ongoing dispute between the Kirk of Scotland and the King concerning who ultimately answered to whom, Welsh argued that the General Assembly of the Kirk had no need of the King's permission to meet, and they were entirely correct in convening a meeting wherever and whenever the needs of the church required; previously Welsh had gone so far as to say from a pulpit as to “‘ellegeing that his Majestie was possest with a devill’ and for suggesting that, just as sons may restrain an insane father, so subjects might ‘bind his Majestie’”¹⁴³

In July 1605 he was jailed in Blackness Castle for refusing to acknowledge the monarch's rights to regulate ecclesiastical affairs, and, along with others, was tried for treason in January 1606. Welsh warned the “‘jury that they were usurping the jurisdiction of Christ, and thus,

¹⁴² P. H. M'Kerlie, *History of the lands and their owners in Galloway; illustrated by woodcuts and notable objects with historical sketches of the district* (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 7.

¹⁴³ Alan R. MacDonald, 'Welsh, John (1568/9-1622)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28979>]

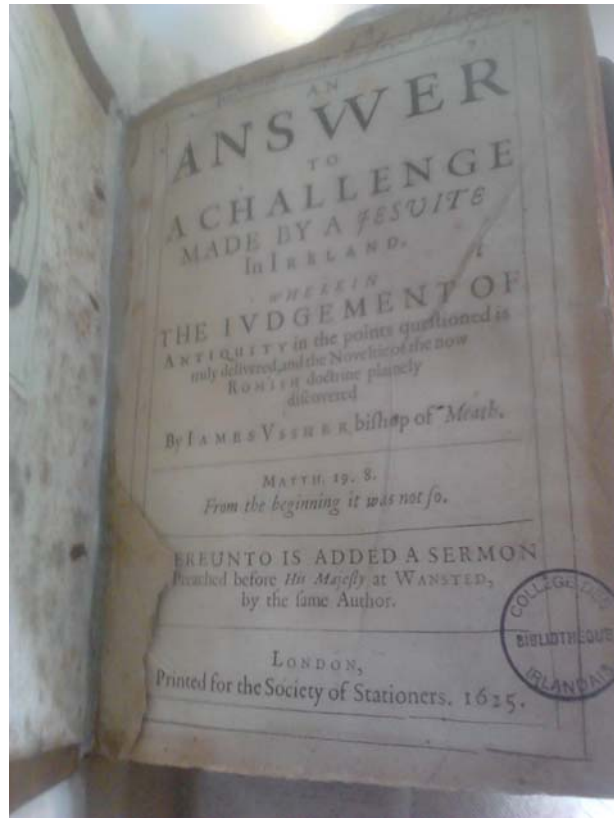
he said, ‘yee ... bring upon yourselves ... the guiltines of our innocent blood.’”¹⁴⁴ Refusing to submit, apologise or compromise in any way, King James ordered he and his companions be banished from his dominions. Ironically, John Welsh sailed for France in November 1606 three years before his nemesis Gilbert Brown also left Scotland forever. By 1610 Dumfries and Galloway were bereft of both of their renowned and outspoken controversialists. The lives of the two old foes were remarkable in their parallels but Welsh outlived Brown by ten years, and while never returning to Scotland did receive permission to travel to England, dying there in 1622.

¹⁴⁴ Alan R. MacDonald, ‘Welsh, John (1568/9-1622)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/28979>]

II Case studies

ii Ireland

Henry FitzSimon, *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* (Rouen, 1608)¹⁴⁵



Of all of the Three Kingdoms Ireland stood out as very different in terms of religion. Neither Martin Luther nor Henry VIII's endeavours (despite upgrading his title from Lord to King of Ireland in 1541) impacted to any major extent on Ireland. To a great degree the majority of the population of the country remained within the fold of the traditional Roman Catholic Church during the turbulence of 1500s. Remaining completely isolated from or unaffected by events in the rest of the Three Kingdoms and Europe was however impossible. As England and Scotland became steadily, if sporadically and each in its own

¹⁴⁵ Henry FitzSimon, *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* (Rouen, 1608), Old Library CCI, B 194.

form, Protestant, Ireland became ever more of an anomaly in religion, a problem in politics and a conundrum in international relations. The country had already been used as a base of support and operations by pretenders to the English crown during the reign of Henry VII - both Lambert Simnel in 1487 and Perkin Warbeck a decade later had landed in Ireland to initiate their putative rebellions.

Attempts at consolidating royal control by extending the effective remit of the Dublin administration throughout Leinster and bringing under its sway the large parts of the provinces of Ulster, Connacht and Munster still almost entirely beyond the bounds of its direct civil and military power resulted in a long series of wars. After Elizabeth I's excommunication by the Pope in 1570, and amid the ceaseless plots and rumours of invasion in England stoked by the presence and ambitions of Mary Queen of Scots, the actual landing of Spanish and Papal troops in Kerry in 1580 was shocking, and, notwithstanding its complete lack of success, a potential harbinger of greater threats to come. After the narrow escape from the Spanish Armada the Nine Years War (1596-1603) involving Hugh O'Neill, earl of Tyrone in a long drawn out conflict with the Elizabethan state was a pivotal point in Ireland's history. Victory, just as James VI & I became the first shared ruler of all Three Kingdoms of England, Ireland and Scotland, coincided with a move to greater centralization and control throughout states in Europe.¹⁴⁶ James VI & I as king in each country had three separate states with three different religions, cultures and economies rather than one to administer, though in reality London and its institutions came to assume (in all senses of the word) pre-eminence and predominance. Attempts to promote or impose ill-fitting 'one size fits all' style government and bureaucracy led to further trouble.

In Ireland, religion, economics and post-war colonisation and land settlement, most especially in Ulster after 1607 created immense tension. The creation of the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Queen Elizabeth (better known as the University of Dublin, or Trinity College today), Ireland's oldest university, on the grounds of a dissolved Augustinian Priory in 1592 to train ministers of religion for the Protestant Church of Ireland further complicated an already complex religious situation. With access to English, Scottish

¹⁴⁶ Hiram Morgan, 'Hugh O'Neill and the Nine Years War in Tudor Ireland', in *The Historical Journal*, vol 36, no. 1 (Mar., 1993), pp 21-37. After O'Neill and Hugh O'Donnell left Ireland for the continent in 1607 in the 'flight of the earls', they were welcomed and aided by the Irish colleges on the continent, see James McEvoy, 'The Sojourn of the Ulster Earls at Louvain (November 1607 until February 1608): Movement, Meetings and Partings', in *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, vol. 22, no. 1 (2007/2008), pp 1-38.

and the only Irish university for theological studies now closed to prospective Catholic clergy on one hand and strict seminary training decreed by the Council of Trent required on the other, combined with an ever narrowing window of opportunities for all Catholic education lay and religious, Irish Colleges were established on the continent in response to these manifold challenges and changes - the beginning of the long tradition of intertwined educational and cultural connection with Europe which continues today with a different form and focus in the Centre Culturel Irlandais.

Graduates of colleges such as those in Paris, Douai and Leuven, all founded in the early 1600s, came back to a strained situation Ireland. As in England and Scotland, the returnees from the continent were energetic and vigorous in seeking to make their case for Counter Reformation Catholicism. Henry FitzSimon (1566-1643) was perhaps one of the most effective and controversial, and his life and activities are illustrative of religious and political conditions in Ireland in this period. He also engaged in one of the most high profile public disputations in Dublin between Catholic and Church of Ireland divines. FitzSimon was born into a prosperous Dublin family of Old English origins, a description used of those non-Gaelic 'English of Ireland' whose ancestors had arrived in Ireland during or after the Norman invasions of the 1170s. Most such families were and remained Catholic despite the upheavals in religion across all three kingdoms.

This presented problems as in terms of political loyalties something similar to those faced by English Catholics in England. Religious recusancy came to denote a suspicion of untrustworthiness at best, and latent treachery at worst. Further complicating matters for the Old English was the fact that they now shared a religious belief which also continued to be held by the vast majority of Gaelic Irish who had not adopted a form of Protestantism. This left the 'English of Ireland' in an uncomfortable and uncertain position - ethnically they retained an identification with England, while their religion tended to classify them among the 'Catholics of Ireland'. Politically they were increasingly seen as unreliable by Protestant 'New English' arrivals in Ireland, both official appointees from London who dominated the administration in Dublin and those settlers granted estates from confiscated Irish Gaelic lands. Because they were unwilling to swear the oaths of Supremacy and Uniformity, Old English Catholics were disqualified from holding office and gradually shut out of government and power, areas which had been their traditional preserve. In sense they were alienated

from both the worlds of the Protestant English and the Catholic Gaelic Irish, neither of which they could entirely fit within.¹⁴⁷

Henry FitzSimon's life displays some of the quandaries inherent in the Old English community. He became a Protestant at the age of 10 and received much of education in England, attending grammar school in Manchester. In 1583 he commenced studies at Hart Hall Oxford and moved to Paris in 1587 to study at the University of Paris. While there he encountered Thomas Darbyshire (1518-1604), a Jesuit scholar who had graduated from Oxford during the reign of Queen Mary I in 1556. Darbyshire was the nephew of one of Mary's most important and ardent directors of the renewal and restructuring of the Catholic Church in England, Bishop Edmund Bonner.¹⁴⁸ Shortly after Elizabeth I's accession in 1558, Darbyshire departed for the continent and became an influential figure among the exile communities from the Three Kingdoms in Paris - among his other activities he organised the smuggling of Catholic books and pamphlets to England.

Inspired by this encounter, FitzSimon converted to Catholicism and travelled to the Jesuit university at Pont-à-Mousson in the Duchy of Lorraine. Perhaps not coincidentally the chancellor of the university in 1587 was another Dubliner, Richard Fleming (d. c.1590), also from an Old English background and related to the Barons of Slane.¹⁴⁹ Not least though of the influences that drew FitzSimon to Lorraine may have been that the first graduate in theology from the university in 1583 was an Irishman, Patrick Sedgrave, who was very likely a relative of FitzSimon through his mother, Anna Sedgrave. The Sedgrave family were strongly Catholic in outlook and very active in Dublin.¹⁵⁰ These connections and tendencies aptly demonstrate the intricate web of influences and potential pathways open to the Old English, but also the difficult choices that many faced in deciding which direction to pursue.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁷ On the intricacies of Old English identity see Colm Lennon, 'Richard Stanihurst (1547-1618) and Old English Identity', in *Irish Historical Studies*, vol. 21, no. 82 (Sep., 1978), pp 121-143.

¹⁴⁸ Katy Gibbons, *English Catholic Exiles in late sixteenth century Paris* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp 79-87.

¹⁴⁹ Francis X Martin, *Friar Nugent: a study of Francis Lavalin Nugent (1569-1635), agent of the Counter-Reformation* (Rome, 1962), pp 13-14.

¹⁵⁰ Terry Clavin, 'Sedgrave, Walter', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7968>.

¹⁵¹ B. Jackson, 'The construction of argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and religious controversy in Dublin, 1599-1614', C. Brady and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 98.

After FitzSimon completed his studies in Pont-à-Mousson, he spent time in Louvain before returning to Ireland in 1597. In common with Edmund Campion in England and the redoubtable Gilbert Browne in Scotland, FitzSimon soon made his presence felt in Dublin. Defying the law, he openly performed Catholic ceremonies in the city and strove at every opportunity to contest the doctrines and scriptures of the Established Church of Ireland. FitzSimon himself as a recent re(convert) to Catholicism was a particularly dangerous example of Counter Reformation success, and a man of whom the government was especially wary. That a man who had been schooled in England, had largely been formed within the Protestant religion, had enjoyed success and educational achievement at Oxford with the prospect of great accomplishments and rewards to come, and had seemed no different from any of his colleagues, could become not just a Catholic but an active, convinced and sincere Jesuit raised the appalling (from the authorities point of view) prospect that almost anyone could be susceptible to the same transformation. This fear, along with uncertainty in relation to how many Catholics there actually were – if one could know and include all those who were crypto-Catholics, people who to all intents and appearances conformed but only as a mask for their true belief, a particularly fearsome spectre that haunted Protestant imaginations for generations, giving rise to the question, how many were there really? – led to FitzSimon's arrest and imprisonment in 1599.

Even incarceration in Dublin Castle failed to silence FitzSimon. He issued a challenge to a formal disputation, echoing the type of challenge that Luther had made in 1517, to Church of Ireland clergymen. Ironically, one of those who responded was James Ussher (1581-1656), recent graduate and fellow of Trinity College Dublin, and future Archbishop of Armagh – and FitzSimon's own cousin. Perhaps because of this family link, or perhaps because of Ussher's youth and lack of seniority, FitzSimon refused the encounter – though this was not to be the end of the family debate as we shall see. Instead FitzSimon engaged with John Rider (1562-1632), another experienced and learned graduate of Oxford.¹⁵² Rider was a seasoned scholar and in 1589 had published a long lived and much reprinted Latin-English/English-Latin dictionary, *Bibliotheca scholastic*, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth I's secretary of state and chief spymaster. Rider was Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin when he commented upon six articles written (allegedly) by

¹⁵² Brian Jackson, 'The construction of argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and religious controversy in Dublin, 1599-1614', C. Brady and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), pp 97-115.

Catholic priests who doubts about aspects of their confession.¹⁵³ The core of the problems centred on the nature of the early Church and what evidence existed in scriptures and how it should or could be interpreted.¹⁵⁴ Initial face-to-face meetings and private debates were conducted in a friendly spirit but became increasingly acrimonious and bitter as FitzSimon, very aware of the power of the printing press, was blocked from having his material printed and circulated in Dublin while Rider's arguments appeared in pamphlet form as *A Friendly Caveat to Irelands Catholickes* (Dublin, 1602) - the first work of theological controversy published in Ireland. In 1604 Rider published another work which was again printed and which cast the blame on FitzSimon for the failure of a public disputation to take place.¹⁵⁵ To aggravate his opponent further, the work also claimed the early church in Ireland had essentially been Protestant in nature.

At this point FitzSimon had replied to all of Rider's contentions but was restricted to handwritten manuscript.¹⁵⁶ Similar to James VI & I's temperate treatment of Gilbert Brown in Scotland, FitzSimon was ultimately dealt with by deportation - in June 1604 he was taken from Dublin Castle and put on board a ship bound directly for Spain. He swiftly made his way back to the Spanish Netherlands and set to work belatedly on printing his reply to Rider's works. In 1608 his *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* was finally published in Rouen.¹⁵⁷ FitzSimon's writing clearly displayed his frustrations at how he had been treated and at what he regarded as the purposeful unfairness of the debates in Dublin. He takes direct aim at Rider for his behaviour and unleashes what can only be termed as a carefully crafted stream of vitriol against his erstwhile opponent, decrying his ignorance, low birth, underhand methods, and inability to defend and vindicate his religious stance - even

¹⁵³ N. J. A. Williams, 'Rider, John (1562-1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23619]

¹⁵⁴ Terry Clavin, 'Sedgrave, Walter', in James McGuire and James Quinn (eds), *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (Cambridge, 2009), <http://dib.cambridge.org/viewReadPage.do?articleId=a7678>.

¹⁵⁵ John Rider (also Ryder), *Rescript* (Dublin, 1604) - this is now lost as an independent work but is contained within FitzSimons' own reply.

¹⁵⁶ Joseph Th. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fionn-Ghael: Studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam, 1986), p. 294.

¹⁵⁷ Henry FitzSimon, *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* (Rouen, 1608), Old Library CCI, B 194. This also contains the only remaining details of John Rider's *Rescript* of 1604 and significant portions of Rider's other works.

with the help of a very unfair playing field.¹⁵⁸ Still evidently a very angry man and perhaps also writing to some degree in an exaggerated vein for effect and to win support for his position, FitzSimon claims cannot be accepted uncritically. Significant though may be the fact that he also criticises Rider's 'foreignness' and portrays his Englishness as a parasitic condition,

they being foreigners [i.e. Englishmen] and very flesh-worms in Dublin, such as neither bear cess nor press, watch nor award, toll nor custom, and in the meantime suck the juice of the City into their private purses under the warmth of your [Rider's] wings, to use your own phrase, and in the protection of your liberties.¹⁵⁹

Religion for FitzSimon informs his attitude more than ethnicity – his worldview fractures on the point of faith. Thus his work denoted, and contributed to, an important alteration, gradual but perceptible, in the idea of what and who constituted the 'nation' of Ireland. FitzSimon's troubles in Dublin began when he raised the question of how the English came to have title to Ireland. One of the other guests responded

We conquered it and won it by the sword and after it was confirmed by the pope to the king, but to what king he knows not, but he heard him speak of King John and he thinketh he meant him, and that the people of the kingdom yielded up their lands to the king, and take it of him again, and so we hope we shall hold it forever.¹⁶⁰

Another and more detailed version of the same table talk reported by another witness has FitzSimon making an interesting and controversial response that worried some of the other guests present at the dinner

The said Henry having talked of the state of the country uttered that the rebels had won a great part of the country. No said the said George, I thank God that they have not won any part of the English Pale, though they have wasted a part of it and I hope in God the Queen's Majesty with her force will soon put them down. Said Mr FitzSimon, how came the English to the possession of this land, the said George answered by conquest. FitzSimon answered, every conquest is not lawful, the said

¹⁵⁸ Henry FitzSimon, *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* (Rouen, 1608). Old Library CCI, B 194, pp 10, 21, 62, 210.

¹⁵⁹ Henry FitzSimon, *A Catholick confutation of Mr John Rider's claim to antiquity, and a calming comfort against his caveat ... and a reply to Mr Rider's rescript* (Rouen, 1608). Old Library CCI, B 194, p. 286; N. J. A. Williams, 'Rider, John (1562-1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23619>]

¹⁶⁰ Brian Jackson, 'The construction of argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and religious controversy in Dublin, 1599-1614', C. Brady and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 98.

George said, that soon upon the conquest it was allowed by the clergy, and as I have heard confirmed by the pope and all the lords and chief men of the land did give up their titles and government unto Henry the second and to sundry other kings since. Mr FitzSimon said, well you see how the Irishry prosper notwithstanding, whereunto the said George answered, those questions are not good, nor to be reasoned upon, give them over, for I love them not these discourses. So taking my leave I departed home.¹⁶¹

FitzSimon was evidently straying into extremely uncomfortable territory, perhaps not so much to be avoided for reasons of potential treachery or political ramifications (though those pitfalls certainly existed as FitzSimon's five year captivity testify) but for questioning the very right of the Old English position in Ireland. If not all conquests were lawful, and the prospering of the 'mere'¹⁶² Irish, or more bluntly the success enjoyed, despite their ultimate surrender, by Hugh O'Neill and his forces during the Nine Years War, suggested to FitzSimon that Providence was not at work in the English Protestant cause, then why were the Old English elite of the Pale (the area including Dublin and its hinterland) on the wrong side in the conflict? Even if the case was accepted that conquest had been accorded legitimacy by the pope, then breaking with the papacy, or cooperating as willing accomplices of, if not true believers within, the church and polity which had resulted from abandoning fealty to Rome, surely rendered what had happened previously invalid?

On both grounds, FitzSimon seemed to be suggesting, did not the true interests of the Old English Catholics, the people to whom FitzSimon himself belonged and was so intimately related, reside with aiding the other Catholics on the island, the Gaelic Irish, to foster and further their shared religion? It was these seditious sentiments which so worried the administration and lead to FitzSimon's arrest - and to the facilitation of the debates and discussions which were intended or at least hoped to win over many more of the wavering recusants of the capital and maybe more widely. FitzSimon may not in fact have had the overwhelming triumph which he later claimed in his work but he did enough to lay important foundations and a precursor to more radical shifts in Irish politics and what

¹⁶¹ Brian Jackson, 'The construction of argument: Henry Fitzsimon, John Rider and religious controversy in Dublin, 1599-1614', C. Brady and J. Ohlmeyer (eds), *British interventions in early modern Ireland* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 99.

¹⁶² Mere used in the sense of pure and unmixed rather in a straightforwardly derogatory way.

constituted 'Irishness' itself which soon emerged and again involved significant contribution by members of the Old English community.¹⁶³

By the 1620s concerted efforts to incorporate the majority of the Irish population within the belief system of the Protestant Church of Ireland had largely abated. This acceptance of the *status quo* mirrored events more generally in Europe where schemes and plans, hopes and dreams to reunite Christianity within one all embracing confession of faith dissipated and gave way to a recognition that division and competition would remain a seminal part of European society. FitzSimon's later career brought him into the midst of the most violent emanation from this polarized religious situation - the Thirty Years War which devastated Germany and neighbouring areas between 1618-1648.¹⁶⁴ This was a conflict not simply caused by nor solely concerned with religion but one in which religion was a hugely significant and influential factor. From the epicentre of the conflict FitzSimon wrote accounts of events in Bohemia where as a military chaplain he ministered to those unfortunate enough to be caught up amidst the horror of war.¹⁶⁵

The Three Kingdoms official involvement in the continental conflict was limited, but unwise and unsubtle political, economic and religious policies pursued by Charles I aroused fear, trepidation and violent reaction in Scotland with a radical Protestant rebellion by Covenanters that in Ireland stirred a pre-emptive coup attempt by Gaelic Irish aristocrats in Dublin which spiralled out of control and ignited sectarian massacres in Ulster. These dual shocks to the English body politic and royal standing precipitated civil war between Parliament, who no longer trusted their King, and a monarchy determined to uphold its authority. From the late 1630s England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales descended little by little into a maelstrom of violence, with all areas and regions at some point convulsed by sustained and widespread conflict at some point - the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.¹⁶⁶ On

¹⁶³ Joseph Th. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fíor-Ghael: Studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp 294-95.

¹⁶⁴ William Watts, *History of the present wars in Germany* (also known as [*Swedish Intelligencer*], *The Continuation of the German History*) (6 parts, London, 1632-37), Old Library CCI, B 1249 [Ex-Libris Scots College Paris]. See Peter Wilson, *Europe's tragedy: a new history of the Thirty Years War* (London, 2010).

¹⁶⁵ Candidio Eblano [Henry FitzSimon], *De Praelio Pragaeqai Ditione* (Prague, 1620), and a second edition Constantius Peregrinius [Henry FitzSimon], (Vienna, 1621); David Worthington, *British and Irish experiences and impressions of central Europe c.1560-1688* (Farnham, 2012), p. 103. Even in the middle of a war FitzSimon managed to cause pandemonium - accidentally (?) insulting the Holy Roman Emperor and receiving a public penance, see Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War: Kings, courts and confessors* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 48.

¹⁶⁶ Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *The History of the rebellion and civil wars in England begun in the year 1641, with the kings... restauration and return... in the year 1660* (5 volumes, London, 1712), Old Library CCI,

30 January 1649 King Charles I was executed in London - leaving England a republic by default.¹⁶⁷ Ireland was already a *de facto* independent state across the majority of its territory, with a new breakaway government established by the 'Confederated Catholics of Ireland' - exactly the alliance of Old English and Gaelic Irish that Henry Fitzsimons had desired to refashion Ireland as a Catholic nation repelling English Protestant encroachment.

The new configuration of Irishmen melded together in the service of religion still held its fractures and divergent interests. Despite strenuous efforts to create, maintain and project a united front, old fault lines still resurfaced, for example over where one's prime loyalty lay - to the King or to the Pope - pitting factions based largely, but not exclusively, on cultural and ethnic origins on opposing sides of strategic and tactical arguments and foreign policy deliberations.¹⁶⁸ Long after Ireland had been reconquered by Oliver Cromwell and a Parliamentary army, arguments raged to and fro and recriminations concerning where the blame lay for defeat kept printing presses busy - two notable examples being the works of Nicholas French and Peter Walsh (1616-1688).¹⁶⁹ French, although of Old English stock, attacked what he regarded as the duplicity and perfidiousness of another scion of a long established and immensely powerful Old English family, James Butler, duke of Ormond both during the Civil Wars and after the Restoration of Charles II in 1660 - the *Unkinde deserter of loyal men and true friends* in the title of one of works referring acidly to how he regarded Ormond by the 1670s. Peter Walsh on the other hand, also with Old English origins, strongly supported Ormond's actions and not surprisingly his own - Walsh had been at the centre of attempts to promote a 'remonstrance', a formal swearing of loyalty to the monarch of London in return for at least a measure of toleration. The works of French and Walsh - both the later editions held by the Old Library are collected volumes of their major

B 414; Trevor Royle, *Civil War: The Wars of the Three kingdoms, 1638-1660* (London, 2005); Jane Ohlmeyer, *Ireland from Independence to Occupation, 1641-1660* (Cambridge, 2002).

¹⁶⁷ John Nalston, *A True copy of the journal of the high court of Justice for the tryal of K. Charles I* (London, 1684), Old Library CCI, D 34; John Nalston, *An Impartial collection of the great affairs of state from the beginning of the scotch rebellion in the year MDCXXXIX, to the murther of King Charles I* (2 vols, London, 1682), Old Library CCI, D 116; John Gouden, *The pourtraicture of his sacred majesty king Charles I in his solitudes and sufferings, together whith a character of the royal martyr* (Dublin, 1706), Old Library CCI, B 813.

¹⁶⁸ Joseph Th. Leerssen, *Mere Irish and Fior-Ghael: Studies in the idea of Irish nationality, its development and literary expression prior to the nineteenth century* (Amsterdam, 1986), pp 297-299.

¹⁶⁹ Nicholas French, *The historical works... now for the first time collected with an introduction... notes... of the Irish colleges of Louvain. vol. II, containing the Unkinde Deserter of loyal men and true friends* (Dublin, 1846), Old Library CCI, A 550; Peter Walsh, *Four letters on several subjects to persons of quality, the fourth being an answer to the lord bishop of Lincoln's book intituled Popery, etc* (London, 1686), Old Library CCI, B 804.

writings - are important sources for the events, mentality and intellectual currents of the 1640s to 1670s in Ireland.

Further adversity eventually fused Henry FitzSimon's Old English community and his Gaelic Irish compatriots together into one collective grouping as Irishmen. The period between 1660 and 1700 united both groups in political decline, material diminishment and ultimate estrangement and exclusion from power as the pen and the press, however dexterously wielded, proved far less mighty than the sword.

Conclusion

“You want weapons? We’re in a library. Books are the best weapons in the world. This room’s the greatest arsenal we could have. Arm yourself!”¹⁷⁰



English, Irish and Scots of all religious confessions (and a few of none) gravitated to Paris during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms and the post-war administrations of Oliver Cromwell. Members of the exiled royal family relied on the generosity and loyalty of the exiles while they hoped for a means of regaining the thrones of the Three Kingdoms. Ideas and suggestions, plots and plans surfaced on a regular basis – few had much impact or success, though this fertile and febrile atmosphere of debate and theorising did give rise to a lasting work of political science – *Leviathan* by Thomas Hobbes.¹⁷¹ Hobbes may have taken the name for the wielder of supreme power governing his autocratic political system from the

¹⁷⁰ Russell T. Davies, *Dr Who: Tooth and Claw*, BBC, 2006, DVD.

¹⁷¹ Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the matter, forme, and power of a commonwealth ecclesiasticall and civill* (London, 1651), Old Library CCI, C 158. This copy of Hobbes work, one of the first editions published, was closely read as indicated by copious marginalia and underlining – and a number of cartoons depicting a human face. Hobbes' *Elementorum philosophiae, sectio tertia, de cive* (Paris, 1642) is also in the collection located at B 1555 and his translation of Thucydides, *The History of the grecian war in eight books written by Thucydides, faithfully translated... by Thomas Hobbes... with maps describing the country* (London, 1676), Old Library CCI, D 131.

Bible¹⁷² but his concept received little support from churchmen or courtiers in 1650s Paris – alleged satanic and crypto-Cromwellian overtones rendered him and his ideas unpopular.¹⁷³

Instability in the wake of Cromwell's death in 1658 finally accomplished what was beyond the exile community – the return of the monarchy and the restoration of Charles II in 1660. Despite hopes of and calls for a strong monarchy among some of more ardent Royalists,¹⁷⁴ Charles was forced to bow to the reality of his position – a sovereign by default rather than either normal inheritance or military victory. Many of his supporters, especially Catholics and most especially Irish Catholics were extremely disappointed by his action or rather lack of action. Massive confiscation of lands in Ireland remained largely unaltered – a Court of Claims in Dublin throughout the 1660s returned a tiny minority of estates. The percentage of land in Ireland owned by Catholics fell to less than 20%.

Religious tensions rose again when Charles II attempted to institute a formal Toleration Act in 1673, and ratcheted up to murderous levels during a convoluted and entirely concocted 'Popish Plot' hysteria between 1677-1683. Of central importance to both these events was the fact that Charles II's brother, and heir, James duke of York had converted to Catholicism. So unpopular was this with many people, politicians and churchmen that an early version of political 'parties' formed around the controversy – Whigs calling for James 'exclusion' from the succession via an act of Parliament and Tories asserting the 'divine' nature of kingship could not and should not be altered. James eventually did succeed his brother in 1685 as King James II & VII.

Attempts to 'modernise' the monarchy along the lines of the French model of Louis XIV and introduce religious toleration for Catholics and Non-Conforming Protestants, intertwined with dynastic tensions within the Stuart family and ramifications of the rapidly growing commercial and military resources of Three Kingdoms falling within the sphere of influence of France resulted in an invasion by James' Dutch nephew and son-in-law William of Orange in November 1688. James fled England for France at the end of the year, before leading an attempt to win back his thrones in Ireland supported by French troops. Defeat at

¹⁷² Book of Job, chapter 40 & 41; Book of Isaiah, chapter 27 – Douai Rheims version: *The holie Bible faithfully translated into English out of the authentical latin... with arguments... tables... by the English Colledge of Doway* (Douai, 1609), Old Library CCI C 34 [Ex-libris English Colledge]

¹⁷³ Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon, *A Brief view and survey of the dangerous and pernicious errors to church and state in Mr Hobbes's book intituled Leviathan* (London, 1676), Old Library CCI, B 761.

¹⁷⁴ Edward Bagshaw, *The Rights of the Crown of England as it is established by law* (London, 1660), Old Library CCI, B 1086 – Bagshaw was a strong opponent of Hobbes's theories that in certain circumstances a monarch could be removed; he instead advocated complete submission to the king in all circumstances.

the battles of the Boyne in July 1690 and Aughrim in 1691 led to the confirmation and consolidation of Protestantism as the formal and favoured state religion in the Three Kingdoms, and also as a key component of British identity formation. Conversely of course Catholicism became a marker of potential disloyalty and attended by continual suspicion as a ‘foreign’ allied fifth column.¹⁷⁵

From 1688, and especially 1691, tens of thousands of James II & VII’s supporters – referred to as *Jacobites* from the Latin form of James name – sought refuge in France, where the exiled King and his family, including his son James and daughter Louisa,¹⁷⁶ were granted the palace of Saint Germain en Laye just outside Paris by Louis XIV.

Jacobitism remained an active, if diminishing, ideology and political cause until the death of the last Stuart claimant, Cardinal Henry Stuart (Henry IX in Jacobite terms) in 1788. Paris and the Irish, English and Scots Colleges assumed a key place in the lives and activities of the exiled communities, even when the royal court itself moved outside of France, forming a nucleus and useful contact point in one of the principal cities in early modern Europe. Continuing exclusion of observant Catholics from many if not most educational opportunities, military careers, social integration and political power underlined the ongoing necessity of exile and efficacy of the colleges as mediating institutions that fulfilled many functions and provided numerous services for émigrés.

The Colleges, inevitably closely associated with both Catholicism and Royalism, equally inevitably entered dangerous waters with the advent of the French Revolution and the tainted perception of all the ‘British’ institutions aroused by such unpropitious connections. Revolutionaries and Republicans had few reasons to view the traditionally religious and monarchical Irish, English or Scots as anything other than hostile to their new political, social and religious dispensation. With the outbreak of war between Revolutionary France and the reactionary European powers, including Britain, the situation in Paris for émigré Britons (with the Irish often included in the collective grouping) deteriorated further. In such difficult conditions, the administrations of the English and Scots Colleges accepted British diplomatic assistance and protection as shared culture, politics and ideology trumped confessional

¹⁷⁵ Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, 1994).

¹⁷⁶ Francis de la Sales, volume inscribed with handwritten dedication by James III identifying the book as having been the personal property of James II during his life, with the volume then inherited by Princess Louisa in 1701; the lines were written by James III in June 1712 after the death of his sister. De Sales spiritual work is regarded as an important catalyst in King James II’s conversion to Catholicism in the 1670s, and this work is thus exceptionally valuable in historical terms.

differences. At a time however when agents and representatives from the United Irishmen revolutionary and (proto)nationalist group were actively canvassing French military support to create an Irish Republic separate from England, the Irish College staff and students made determined efforts to demarcate themselves from their sister institutions. Ultimately these national aspirations lost out to political ferment, internal turmoil and rampant paranoia – the Irish College was occupied and used as a jail for some years, in the same fashion as both the English and Scots Colleges. The major difference was that neither of these sister institutions would successfully re-establish themselves – the Irish College would defy the odds and make good use of some close connections with the Bonaparte family to stage its own resurrection.

Much had changed when the Irish College gradually began to seek to return to normal functioning after the lengthy disruption of the Revolution and Napoleonic War years. Indeed it was now clear there could be no simple reversion to the ways of the past, no straightforward return to normal, after such a protracted hiatus. On many levels and in many spheres conditions were now altered beyond almost anything that could have been imagined in the pre-war period. Impacts on politics, religion and society in Ireland, Britain and France, and connections and relations between them, were profound; equally stark had been the concomitant practical effects on the Irish College – most significantly on the book collection now housed in the Old Library.

Altered most radically was the religious situation in Ireland (and Britain) itself. St Patrick's College, Maynooth had been established in 1795 as the main Roman Catholic seminary – the second such institution in Ireland after St Patrick's College Carlow opened in 1793. What made these institutions unique was the formal recognition extended by the British Government. Centuries of penal laws enacted as an accretion of various measures on an *ad hoc* basis over each reign since Henry VIII were circumvented, but not as yet, fully undone. Perceiving themselves to be facing the same insidious enemy in the shape of the radicalism of the French Revolution, the British Government and the hierarchy of the Irish Catholic Church reached an historic accommodation: to prevent possibly Revolutionary-tainted views from impinging upon the formation of new Irish Catholic clergymen the first officially sanctioned places of training for Irish priests would be permitted to open in Ireland. Moreover, some government support would be forthcoming.

The Irish Roman Catholic Church was itself very wary of the new environment pertaining in France – ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity were viewed as being subversively and

dangerously prevalent, despite the Restoration of the Bourbon monarchy. Training students for the future priesthood in such circumstances was now no longer in any way a necessity given the much changed situation in Ireland. After 200 years the need and motivation for exile had ended. Complicating matters however was the fact that the buildings of the Irish College in Paris were now back in Irish hands – as were the various financial bursaries to support students during their education, funds which were very valuable but non-transferrable almost in their entirety.

It proved rather a quandary for Irish Church authorities – the physical fabric and financial wherewithal was intact in Paris, testimony to a lengthy and rich legacy of the Irish in Europe. Balanced against these factors were the concerns already mentioned relating to the metaphysical and intellectual milieu in Paris, and more practical worries about safety and stability. This inherent tension surrounding the impact, sacred and profane, of physical and mental distance from an Ireland soon to experience a ‘devotional revolution’ versus the opportunities and resources that could be availed of in Paris would remain a factor in the history of the Irish College for many years – and impacted directly on the Old Library and its collections.

It is no exaggeration to say that the Revolutionary period wrought elemental change in the Library. Almost every volume of the original books disappeared – only a handful remains clearly marked as originating from the pre-Revolutionary War collection. Confiscated when the Revolutionary authorities commandeered the College as a prison, the collection that was subsequently assembled at the behest of a more sympathetic regime was very different. Selected from stocks in an official central impound depot, for reasons not entirely clear in the context of current research, the books which were brought back to the Old Library comprised not the volumes taken from the College previously but, in an irony of history, thousands of works from the Library of the neighbouring *English College* in Paris.

The English College staff and students that unlike their Irish counterparts had sought diplomatic protection from the British Government ultimately sought leave to depart from France. With Britain at war with France this was a logical decision for enemy aliens, the status they were clearly regarded as occupying – and significantly one which they also seem to have identified with themselves. With the old anti-Catholic laws to a large degree eroded, English Catholics returned home – in a fashion the political aspect of the politico-religious rift that opened at the Reformation was over. English Catholics and English Protestants

might continue to disagree over theology but their loyalty now lay unquestionably with the same government.

Perhaps this accounts to a large degree why the former books of the English College were absorbed with evidently little complaint on the part of the former owners. It was true that the Irish College was now technically the site of the unified 'British Foundations' encompassing the previously separate Irish, English and Scottish institutions in Paris. However the Scottish Catholic Church later recovered some of its former works contained in the Irish College Library and transported them back to Scotland. The English College and associated authorities appear to have been much less motivated and much less interested in their sojourn in Paris. Surprisingly perhaps this remains the case today – the history of the English College in Paris is largely still unwritten, as indeed is the history of the English Colleges on the Continent more generally.

The new collection of books in the Old Library – so many of which still bore the bookplate markings of the English College – proved increasingly unsuitable for what was no longer a House of Writers engaged a battle of print and polemic but instead a regular seminary with a very different purpose. Problems soon arose from this disparity and disjunction between students and books. Some of the volumes bear witness to a misunderstanding of the origin and history of the English College and its books, and indeed of the details of the Jacobite migration more generally. A book bearing the arms of Mary of Modena, wife of King James II epitomises this less than sophisticated grasp of the past among residents of the College by the mid 19th century – the Irish harp forming part of her arms after marriage to James has been crudely cut from the cover of the volume.¹⁷⁷ Other works also suffered vandalism or disappeared from the collection entirely, resulting in the total closure of the Library for over a decade.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Anon., *Discours chrestiens sur les principales festes de l'année, tome quatrième contenant une octave sur le tres-saint Sacrement* (Paris, 1699), Old Library CCI B 925.

¹⁷⁸ See the work of Cormac Begadon on the later Irish College.



From this point onwards the works being studied in this report no longer had a practical function to serve in the Irish College. The College itself experienced further change in keeping with events in Ireland, Britain and Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries. War again saw Irish involvement in the College diminish until the 1990s when the foundations of the current *Centre Culturel Irlandais* were laid. With the opening of the *Centre* in 2002 and the rejuvenation and restoration of the Old Library and its Collection in the intervening period, these works now fulfil a new purpose of shedding light on aspects of the history of the Irish, English and Scots Colleges, the context of their founding and operations as well as the individuals and communities instrumental in this history. This report has sought to examine one facet of that history via the medium of the books themselves.

Ruling Monarchs of England, Ireland, and Scotland: c.1500-1720

- ❖ Ireland was formally declared a kingdom in 1541.
- ❖ England and Ireland were ruled by the same monarch but remained separate kingdoms.
- ❖ England and Scotland (and Ireland) shared a monarch from 1603 but remained separate kingdoms until 1707.
- ❖ England and Scotland fully unified in 1707 to form Britain. Britain and Ireland shared a monarch but remained separate kingdoms until 1801.
- ❖ C = Catholic P = Protestant

Kings & Queens of England (House of Tudor)

		<u>Ireland</u>
Henry VII (1485-1509) [C]	=	Lord of Ireland (1485-1509)
Henry VIII (1509-1547) [C]	=	Lord of Ireland (1509-41)/King of Ireland (1541-47)
Edward VII (1547-1553) [P]	=	King of Ireland (1547-1553)
Jane Grey (1553-1553) [P]	=	[Disputed]
Mary I (1553-58) and Phillip (1554-58) [C]	=	Queen & King of Ireland (1553/54-1558)
Elizabeth I (1558-1603) [P]	=	Queen of Ireland (1558-1603)

Kings & Queens of Scotland (Stuarts)

James V (1513-42) [C]
Mary I (1542-67) [C]
James VI (1567-1625) [P] **Succeeded to the English and Irish thrones in 1603**

Kings and Queens of England, Ireland, and Scotland (Stuarts)

James I [Eng] & VI [Scot] (1603-1625) [P]
Charles I (1625-1649) [P]

[Interregnum: Republic & Protectorate 1649-1660

Oliver Cromwell (1653-1658) [P]

Richard Cromwell (1658-c.1659) [P]

Charles II (1660-1685) [P/C]
James II [Eng] & VII [Scot] (1685-1688) [C]
Mary II (1689-1694) and William II [Scot] & III [Eng] (1689-1702) [P]
Anne (1702-1707) [P] **Union of the England & Scotland in 1707.**

Kings and Queens of Great Britain, and Ireland (Stuart/Hanoverians)

Anne (1707-1714) [P]
George I (1714-1727) [P]

Chronology of relevant events: c.1400-1720

- 1380s John Wycliffe, English theologian, questions the nature of the Christian Eucharist and oversees the translation of the first Bible in English. Condemned for heresy (after his death) but his ideas remain influential in England and Europe
- 1415 Jan Hus, a Czech follower of Wycliffe's, critical of indulgences and Church governance, condemned and burnt at the stake by order of a Council of the Catholic Church meeting at Constance
- 1428 Wycliffe's bodily remains exhumed and burned
- 1453 Fall of Constantinople and end of the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire; migration of scholars and manuscripts to Italy initiates retranslations of the Bible from Greek and Hebrew
- 1455 Johannes Gutenberg uses his newly developed printing press to produce around 180 copies of the Bible in Mainz, Germany. He also prints thousands of indulgence certificates as another aspect of his business
- 1470 Printing press set up in Paris by Ulrich Gering, Martin Crantz and Michael Friburger
- 1476 William Caxton establishes a printing press in London
- 1485 Henry Tudor wins the battle of Bosworth to end the (civil) Wars of the Roses in England; crowned Henry VII of England. First of the Tudor dynasty (Aug)
- 1486 Henry VII's first son Arthur is born (Sept)
- 1490s Professions of bookseller, printer and typesetter emerge as publishing develops rapidly. Commercial printing revolutionises the dissemination of knowledge and information - the availability of books and other printed matter increases massively and costs fall equally dramatically
- 1491 Henry VII's second son Henry born (Jun)
- 1500 At least 10,000,000 books are estimated to have been printed since 1455. Some 200,000,000 volumes are printed between 1500-1600.
- 1501 Henry VII's heir Prince Arthur marries Princess Catherine of Aragon (Nov)
- 1502 Prince Arthur dies (Apr)
- 1503 Henry VII's daughter Margaret marries James IV of Scotland (Aug)
- 1505 Clandestine but hugely profitable involvement in the alum trade provides Henry VII with valuable revenue but antagonises the Pope who claims a monopoly on the trade
- 1507 First printing press in Scotland established in Edinburgh
- 1509 Henry VII dies (Apr); succeeded by his surviving son, Henry (VIII)
- 1509 Henry VIII marries his brother's widow Catherine of Aragon (Jun)

- 1516 Catherine gives birth to a daughter Mary (Feb)
- 1517 Martin Luther issues his 95 theses and begins break with the Catholic Church
- 1521 Henry VIII receives title of 'Defender of the Faith' from Pope Leo X for publishing a book, *Assertio septem sacramentorum*, attacking Martin Luther
- Luther excommunicated and declared a heretic
- 1520s After nearly 20 years of marriage and many dashed hopes, Henry and Catherine had no surviving son and, as both approached their forties, little prospect as long the marriage endured. Henry, unwilling to accept his daughter Mary as his successor, and his advisors begin to discuss other options
- 1525 Henry VIII draws close to 26 year old Anne Boleyn
- 1527 Henry VIII tells Catherine he believes their marriage was invalid and should be dissolved; Catherine refuses to retire to a nunnery
- 1528 Henry VIII begins efforts to have his marriage annulled by the Pope; a long drawn out and ultimately unsuccessful process ensues
- 1533 An impatient and frustrated Henry VIII marries Anne Boleyn; Thomas Cranmer, secretly married and with Protestant sympathies, appointed Archbishop of Canterbury; Cranmer, without reference to Rome, declares Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine void; Catherine of Aragon removed from court to seclusion in the countryside
- Anne Boleyn crowned Queen of England (Jun)
- Anne gives birth to a daughter Elizabeth (Sept)
- 1534 Parliament of England passes the Act of Supremacy -
- Ignatius Loyola founds the Society of Jesuit, or Jesuits; reports directly to the Pope and undertakes a mission to 'reclaim' territories now Protestant
- 1547 Henry VIII dies; succeeded by Edward VI, aged 9
- 1553 Edward VI dies; succeeded by his sister Mary I (Jul). Catholicism revived in many of its traditional features; Counter-Reformation/Catholic Reform changes recommended at the Council of Trent also introduced by Cardinal Pole
- 1554 Mary I marries Phillip of Spain (Jul)
- 1558 Mary I died of cancer, childless. Succeeded by her sister Elizabeth.
- 1551 First printing press begins to operate in Ireland
- 1588 The Spanish Armada sails and ends in disaster
- 1603 Elizabeth I dies
- 1604 Efforts to create Chelsea College, London.

- 1605 Gunpowder Plotters, all Catholic, attempt to blow up James I, the English Parliament and much of the English political nation at Westminster (Nov)
- 1609 Douai-Rheims English translation of the Bible
- 1611 'King James' Authorized version of the Bible
- 1612 First establishment of English scholars at Arras College
- 1620 The Mayflower set sail for America, carrying 'puritans' who believed the Church of England was not sufficiently reformed.
- 1625 James I dies; succeeded by Charles I
- 1633 William Laud appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by Charles I
- 1649 King Charles I beheaded - England, Ireland and Scotland become a *de facto* republic
- 1653 Oliver Cromwell assumed the office of Protector - the first and thus far only non-royal head of state in England.
- 1651 Thomas Hobbes finished *Leviathan*, a seminal work of political theory, in Paris and published it in 1651. [Annotated copy in the Old Library, C158]
- 1658 Oliver Cromwell dies
- 1660 Charles II reclaims the thrones of the Three Kingdoms
- 1673 Proposed Act of Toleration fails.
- 1685 Charles II dies (Feb); succeeded by his brother James II - the first official Catholic monarch since Mary I in 1558; James II crowned in Westminster Abbey (Apr)
- James II's Protestant nephew, James, duke of Monmouth lands in Dorset and raises rebellion (Jun); Monmouth and his army defeated at the battle of Sedgemoor (Jul)
- 1687 James II issues a Declaration of Indulgence suspending all prohibitions on Catholics and Dissenters
- 1688 William of Orange lands in Dorset with 25,000 soldiers (Nov); James II & VII leaves England (Dec)
- 1689 James' daughter Mary proclaimed Queen, with her husband as King William III
- 1690 Battle of the Boyne (Jul)
- 1691 Battle of Aughrim; 'Wild Geese' leave for France
- 1700 King James II dies in France
- 1702 James II's daughter Anne succeeds William III as Queen of England; her half-brother continues to claim from Paris the throne as James III & VIII - his claim is recognised by Louis XIV
- 1714 Queen Anne dies; George I succeeds to the throne

Glossary of historical terms and concepts

Alum

A chemical vital to cloth dyeing operations. Tolfa, the only mine in Western Europe, was under Papal control. Imports from the Ottoman Empire were formally banned by Papal edict but illicit trade was undertaken by Venice, Florentine bankers and Henry VII to the fury of the Pope

Council of the Church

General or Ecumenical (of the inhabited world) Councils of Christian Church(es) were intended to include representatives of all varieties of Christians, although they seldom did. Regarded in the early church as the only legitimate decision making body, they were later supplanted by the papacy.

Church of England

Established state church in England as created during the reign of Elizabeth I. Protestant and Reformed in beliefs and outlook but neither recognisably and indisputably Lutheran nor Calvinist

Church of Ireland

Established state church in Ireland; similar to the Church of England in much of its profession and practice

Church of Scotland

Dominant Protestant denomination in Scotland by 1600

Disputation

Formal debate on a contested issue. A method long used in university scholarship and teaching which featured prominently during the Reformation. The vast majority of participants in the religious controversy of the period, on all sides and of all shades of opinion, were intimately familiar with this process of intellectual testing of arguments and ideas from their own theological training and formation. Crucial to the process was the ability to draw on and cite relevant texts in support of key points made; lengthy written texts often accompanied oral contestation. These works expounded in detail on the case being made and the evidence being presented. A crucial factor in raising awareness and broadening the impact of these, previously rather esoteric rituals, undertaken by fusty academics, were printed reports of debates which were widely read by those who could read, and read aloud to those could not. In this way a theological civil war proved much more inflammatory although many of the issues in dispute were not new.

Dissenters

Those Protestants who refused to conform to the doctrine, practices and ceremonies of the Church of England

Indulgence

In the belief systems of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches, the idea that punishment (penance) for sins committed and absolved can be reduced. The concepts, and especially financial abuses, were highly controversial during the Reformation

During the reign of Charles II and James II in England (and Ireland) the formal suspension of penal laws against Catholics and Dissenters

Ink-horne tearmes:

‘Gentlemanly term of abuse’ for pedantic and flowery flourishes of foreign words

“The phrase “inkhorn term” came into English in the early to middle sixteenth century, with the first attested usage dating from 1543. It was from the outset a term of gentlemanly abuse, referring to words which were being used by scholarly writers but which were unknown or uncommon in ordinary speech. (The word derives from the then standard name for the container in which ink was stored, originally made from a real horn; later, when this term had itself become obsolete, it was sometimes rendered as *inkpot term*).

Knights of the Post

‘Knights of the post, frequently attacked by satirists throughout the Tudor and Stuart periods, were professional perjurers. They were regular hangers-on about the Inns of Court and Westminster Hall, where cases were tried, and for bribes they were willing to furnish false evidence or forge documents. Why they were called “knights of the post” is not certain, but one reasonable conjecture is that the name was bestowed in reference to their habit of loitering about the posts to which sheriffs’ proclamations were affixed.¹ These proclamations, of course, gave perjurers hints where to obtain employment. Another conjecture, by the New English Dictionary, is that the name may have been applied in reference to the whipping post or pillory where detected perjurers were punished.’

Polypragmon

Greek term, ‘tending to meddling and plotting...whether planning a revolt or interfering in another man’s plans’.

Purge of Scammony

Syrian bindweed plant. Used as a purgative since ancient times.

Quacksalver

Someone who loudly proclaims their own remedies and effectiveness.

“an abbreviation of an old Dutch word that in the modern language is spelled *kwakzalver*. It comes from *quack*, an early modern Dutch word meaning a person who chatters or prattles (probably connected to the English word for the noise a duck makes), and *salv*, essentially the same word as our *salve*. So a *quacksalver* was somebody who boasted about the virtues of his remedies, so it later became attached to a person who claimed to have miraculous medications. The longer form was common in the sixteenth century, but it was abbreviated later. The similarity of the full-length word to *quicksilver*, or mercury, and the once common use of that element in medicine (especially to treat diseases such as syphilis), falsely suggests a link with the name. But there’s no connection.”

Rakeshame

A vile, dissolute wretch; A disreputable or dissolute person; a rogue.

Tare

From the Bible, Matthew 13:24-30, ‘the Parable of the Tare’ -> referring to the difficulty of telling the ‘faithful’ from the ‘heretics.’ Biblically such differentiation only occurs with the final end of the world. Tare has been linked (on no firm evidence) to modern ryegrass. Used often in an agricultural country such as England, such allusions were immediately understandable. The passage was an important element in debates surrounding religious toleration, and separation of Church and State. Thesis no 11 in Martin Luther’s *95 Theses* uses the word tare.

Wars of the Roses

Series of conflicts approximating to a very long drawn out if sporadic civil war in England between c.1455-1485; They involved factions whose leaders all claimed descent from sons of King Edward III (1312-1377) of England: the House of York represented by a White Rose and the House of Lancaster displaying a red rose. Theoretically the dispute centred on seniority and closeness of blood to Edward III, in reality military force was paramount. Finally settled by the accession of Henry Tudor as Henry VII in 1485, it left a dynasty that was quite new and precariously established. This accounts, in part, for the obsession and urgency with which Henry VIII sought a male heir and thus his complex matrimonial career - he feared renewed counterclaims to the upstart Tudors and a revival of conflict.

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