

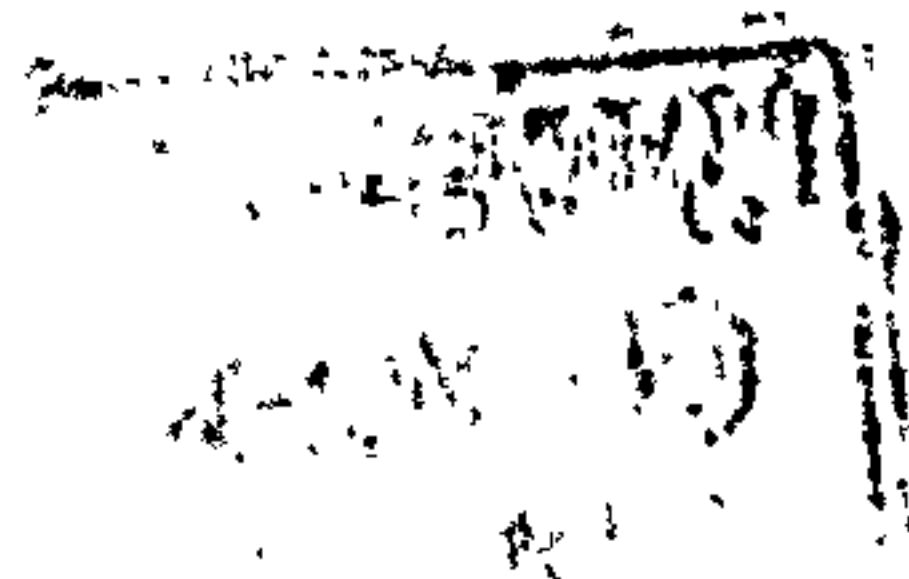
THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT LISBON FROM 1622 TO  
1761: A MISSIONARY COLLEGE FROM THE  
REFORMATION TO THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT.

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## ABSTRACT

The English College at Lisbon was established in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV as a missionary foundation to serve the English Mission. The foundation represented an important victory for the recently established Bishop of Chalcedon, Ordinary of England and Scotland and represented a new venture in English ecclesiastical government. The Bishops of Chalcedon were charged with the College's government by the Congregation of Propaganda representing an important departure from Robert Persons' so called 'Spanish Strategy.' When Richard Smith, second Bishop of Chalcedon died in 1655, the College's government fell to the English Chapter erected by Chalcedon to govern the English secular clergy *sede vacante*. The anti-Jesuit tendencies of the co-founders, the Portuguese aristocrat Dom Pedro de Coutinho and the English secular priest William Newman, ensured that the College remained under secular government from its inception in 1622 to the Expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Portugal in 1759 and to the College's closure in 1971. The presence of the College at Lisbon held long term significance for both the English Catholic community and the Kingdom of Portugal. The social, political and cultural links between the College and the Portuguese communities have been examined with reference to the College as a Catholic institute of education, a missionary college and an English Catholic institution in exile.

This thesis examines the College's history from its inception in 1622 to the dawn of the *Catholic Revival* in 1761. The former presents a natural point of departure; the latter, the prelude to Bishop Richard Challoner's superintendence of the College. The historical account presented here focuses on the College's administrations, led by men exclusively from the English secular clergy. The central argument to this thesis revolves on that constitution. The College at Lisbon, though slight in comparison to the College at Douai, represented a consolidation of the secular hopes of ecclesiastical government held by the Appellants and their successors. The College remained the only English college exclusively without Jesuit interference either in its administration or management. Established at the peak of the *Pax Hispanica*, Lisbon represented what the other colleges did not. Lisbon had neither the social or cultural baggage of the age of martyrdom nor was it associated with the aggressive foreign policy of Philip II. This was a fresh venture in the government and direction of the English Mission.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Annals* Michael Sharratt (ed.) *Lisbon College Register, 1628 – 1813* (CRS Publications 72, London, 1991).
- A1 Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a dictionary of the secular clergy of England and Wales, 1558 – 1850, I Elizabethan 1558 – 1603* (St. Edmunds College, Ware and Ushaw College, Durham, 1968).
- A2 Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a dictionary of the secular clergy of England and Wales, 1558 – 1850, II Early Stuarts 1603 – 1659* (Great Wakering, 1975).
- A3 Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a dictionary of the secular clergy of England and Wales, 1558 – 1850, III 1660 – 1715* (Great Wakering, 1976).
- A4 Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests: a dictionary of the secular clergy of England and Wales, 1558 – 1800, IV 1716 – 1800* (Great Wakering, 1977).
- CRS Catholic Record Society.
- CSP Martin A.S. Hume (ed.) *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved in, or originally belonging to the Archives of Simancas* (4 vols. London H.M.S.O., 1892 - 1899).
- LC Lisbon Collection.
- RH Recusant History.
- Tierney-Dodd (1 – 5) M.A. Tierney (ed.) *Dodd's Church History of England from the Commencement of the Sixteenth Century to the Revolution in 1688. With notes, additions and a continuation by the Rev. M. A. Tierney* (5 vols. London, 1839 – 43).
- TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- UCA Ushaw College Archive.

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Author's Declaration: Note on the Text

Thanks to the foresight of the last President of the English College at Lisbon (as a missionary college) Mgr. James Sullivan, the Lisbon Collection is now readily accessible to scholars. The Collection is housed in the Library Wing of Ushaw College, Durham, transferred from Lisbon in 1974. The cataloguing of the Library Collection by Mgr. Bernard Payne (College librarian, 1930 – 77) and the Book and Sheet Archive by Dr. Michael Sharratt, the current custodian of the Collection, has made this study possible.<sup>1</sup> Reference to the Book and Sheet Archive are taken from Sharratt's, 'Handbook.'<sup>2</sup> For a full analysis of the Collection see Sharratt's 'The Lisbon Collection at Ushaw'.<sup>3</sup> The majority of the material used in this thesis is from the Book and Sheet archive. Material from the latter is marked by the sub-sections found in the Bibliography (e.g.) 'Correspondence Papers' and from the former, cited as BA followed by the number ascribed the text by Sharratt (e.g.) BA215 refers to the *Liber Missionis*.

All translations are my own unless otherwise stated. I have retained the original orthography where possible. I have noted in the footnotes if modernisation has been applied or not. Personal names are given as cited in Sharratt. Those priests not found in Sharratt (e.g. non-Lisbonians) have been cited according to Anstruther. I have not used aliases, unless needed for descriptive purposes, as this can prove confusing. I have tended to avoid William Croft's *Historical Account* and the *Register* of alumni given by Gillow. Sharratt has highlighted the dangers of using Gillow as a source and I would recommend those interested in Gillow should consult Sharratt. Croft is largely a re-print of Kirk and one must see the former as a reproduction of the latter; I have used the term Croft-Kirk where I have cited Croft.<sup>4</sup>

I have used the Gregorian calendar in referring to dates unless otherwise stated. I presume that correspondence from Lisbon is in the new calendar and from England (until 1752) in the old. All errors and omissions are my own.

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Lisbon College Catalogue of Archives: Part 1, Correspondence' (Durham, 1986); *Lisbon College Register 1628 – 1813* (CRS Publications 72, London, 1991).

<sup>2</sup> This work was aided by Mr. Paul Boscher and Miss Elizabeth Culling who summarised a substantial section of the Correspondence Papers. Sharratt also paid tribute to the exhaustive work of Prof. David Loades and Dr. Jan Rhodes for their assistance in the cataloguing.

<sup>3</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'The Lisbon Collection at Ushaw', *Catholic Archives* (1981), 36 – 39 [1620 – 1918]; 'Lisbon Collection' *North West Catholic History* 11 (1984), 22 – 26.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Sharratt (ed.) *Lisbon College Register, 1628 – 1813* (CRS Publications 72, London, 1991), Introduction. William Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (London, 1902); John Kirk, 'Historical Account of Lisbon College' *Catholic Magazine* (1834 – 35).

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My sponsors have been a source of generosity and inspiration to me. I would like to thank the Lisbonian Society for their continued support and for investing in me as they have done. Particular thanks go to His Eminence Cormac, Cardinal Murphy-O'Connor for agreeing to the project in the first instance and His Lordship Thomas, Bishop Williams for his support. Thanks are due to Monsignor Michael Williams for his continued advice and encouragement; I have benefited greatly from his direction.

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*Dedication of St. Michael the Archangel*

*Vanbrugh College, York 2006*



## INTRODUCTION

In 1607, news reached Secretary Robert Cecil of the appointment of the Jesuit priest, Henry Floyd, as Rector of the English Residence in the city of Lisbon. English Protestant authorities had long expressed concern of the increasing number of English Catholic clergy congregating in the city from the colleges of Seville and Valladolid. The Jesuit headquarters of São Roque formed a nucleus for these Catholic exiles which, after Robert Persons' decision to establish a Residence for exiled clergy in 1594, increasingly provoked the English consular authorities in the city.<sup>1</sup> The formal establishment by Persons marked the beginning of an English Catholic institutional presence that continued until 1971. The internecine war between secular and regular clergy that had plagued the English Mission since the Appellant Controversy was late to express itself in the exile communities of Portugal. In England, the Appellant Controversy, the Gunpowder Plot (1605) and the crises surrounding the Oath of Allegiance had served to fracture the English Catholic community, particularly its clergy. These divisions were not immediately clear in the exile communities of Portugal where Jesuit and secular relations remained amicable.<sup>2</sup> This united front, under a hostile Catholic power, represented a grave threat to the English Protestant mercantile community in Lisbon (and the institutional presence of the English crown.) Under Castilian rule, the previously pro-Albion Kingdom, under the House of Avis, had turned against its former ally. Even after the dawn of the *Pax Hispanica* between James I and Philip IV, Lisbon remained a dangerous place for Englishmen, both Catholic and Protestant, despite guarantees in several treaties protecting the rights of the English communities of Portugal. Hugh Lee, the English consul representing James I in Portugal, informed Cecil of this in 1608:

Floyd and his associates have lately given out that they propose to erect an English College here, to train youths [to serve as Roman missionaries]. If their purposes be not prevented, it will be very dangerous for his Majesty's subjects to frequent this place.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan Commerce in Spain', *Catholic Historical Review* 50, (1964 – 5), p. 36. Robert Persons, English Jesuit and Prefect of the English Mission, was working in the Iberian Peninsula from the summer of 1588 to 1592. His purpose there was to secure patronage from the Castilian crown for the service of the English Mission and a source of English priests, independent of the colleges at Douai and Rome.

<sup>2</sup> E.L. Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England 1580 – 1773* (London, 1901), pp. 130 – 154.

<sup>3</sup> Montague Spencer Giuseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marques of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire* (24 vols, London, 1883 – 1976), vol. 20, p. 81.

English priests working from the Residence provided pastoral support to exiles and merchants. They reconciled Protestant Englishmen to Catholicism; provided access to the colleges at Valladolid and Seville for Catholic youths and regulated heresy within the community on behalf of local ecclesiastical agencies. The Dukes of Bragança, the Archbishops of Lisbon, the Portuguese Holy Office, and the Habsburg Viceroy guaranteed the independence of the Residence and the work done by its priests through financial contributions. In this Portuguese microcosm, Jesuit and seminary priests worked together amicably to fulfil the vision Persons had had for the Residence in 1594: an auxiliary house between the Mission and the Iberian colleges and as an English Catholic institution in Lisbon. Throughout its history the Residence confined itself to working within the city to meet the pastoral needs of compatriots. The Residence had no missionary faculties and its existence was a means to an end; there was no external role to the establishment as regards the Mission.

This thesis is a history of the institutional presence of English Catholicism in Portugal from 1622 to 1761. Lisbon has been neglected by English Catholic historiography as a centre of exile despite having an established Catholic institutional presence from at least 1594. Chapter One sets the scene for this thesis by examining the condition of the English communities in Lisbon from the 1580s through to the establishment and colonisation of the English College in 1628. Redeveloping the work of Michael Williams the study suggests the breakdown of cordiality between the regular and secular clergy on the Mission was in fact one of the principal motivating factors behind the projected college that ultimately superseded the Residence in 1622, under secular administration.<sup>4</sup> The material I have examined demonstrates a clear detachment from the Spanish Strategy of Robert Persons through to a wholly new venture for the English Mission. If Chapter One had one thing to say it would be that the development of the Residence to a College from 1594 to 1628 represented a new direction for English Catholic ecclesiastical government, reflecting the position of the secular clergy under the authority of the Archpriests through to the Bishops of Chalcedon. After the Treaty of London of 1605 Castilian ambitions represented no imminent threat to the English crown. Though the *Pax Hispanica* was a fragile peace, particularly after the Gunpowder Plot, the period from 1605 through to the 1620s represented a hopeful period for English

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<sup>4</sup> Michael Williams, 'The Origins of the English College, Lisbon', *RH* 20 (1991), 478 – 492; 'O Colégio dos Missionários ingleses', (Congresso Internacional de História Missionação Portuguesa e Encontro de Culturas Actas; vol. IV, *Missionação Problemática Geral e Sociedade Contemporânea*, Braga, 1993), 107 – 120.



Catholics and the exile communities in the Iberian Peninsula. Though the English consulate in Lisbon kept details of English Catholic exiles working at the Residence from the 1590s, Hugh Lee's request to have members of the community returned to England were refused by the Viceroy. Unlike his predecessor, James I did not request the return of exiles in Lisbon even after the Gunpowder Plot of 1605.<sup>5</sup>

The inclusion of the extensive material detailing the transition from Residence to College is a fundamental one. The English Catholic institutional presence in Lisbon moved from one dependent on the patronage of Portuguese Jesuits at the headquarters of São Roque to one virulently against any form of Jesuit involvement in its government; a similar move was made by President Kellison at Douai, although to a lesser extent, shortly after the crises surrounding the Oath of Allegiance. This chapter highlights issues of continuity and discontinuity. The College at Lisbon was, first and foremost, a daughter of Douai: a satellite foundation of the Mother College. Though this was the result of the lengthy negotiations surrounding the College's foundation this was far from a foregone conclusion. Likewise the Residence kept close links with local Portuguese agencies, the Holy Office and the Archdiocese, which the College continued. The discontinuities are equally as important. The early administrations of the College did not share the hostile approach towards English Protestant merchants in Lisbon which previous Rectors of the Residence had, nor did later administrations actively seek to undermine agencies of the English crown in Lisbon. Chapter One argues that the unusual alliance between English, Roman and Portuguese agencies in the establishment of the College demonstrated that the initiative was more representative of wider issues, not merely an English one. The Founder, Dom Pedro Coutinho's personal dislike of the Jesuit order, must be seen in the context of the secular agents at Rome, heirs of the Appellant Controversy, and their call for an English Bishop. The establishment of the Congregation of Propaganda under the missionary-orientated Papacy of Gregory XV was critical in advancing the Tridentine notion of the secular seminary under a sovereign Bishop, although the modifications to that model are examined with reference to the missionary College at Lisbon. The joint Prefectures of Cardinals Ludovisi and Sauli and, perhaps most importantly, the influence of Monsignor Francisco Ingoli should be seen against the traditional narrative that the Papacy saw the English Mission as an arm of the Jesuit Order. The Jesuit takeover of the English College of Madrid under Joseph Cresswell's Prefecture demonstrated that the

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<sup>5</sup> Elizabeth made repeated requests to the French King Henri III to have English Catholic exiles in Paris returned to England. See C.M. Gibbons, 'The Experience of Exile and English Catholics: Paris in the 1580s' (Unpublished PhD thesis, York, 2006), p. 12.



secular clergy were not immune from the influence the Society exerted over the infrastructure of the English Mission. The case of Madrid highlighted the poor leadership of the Jesuit Prefect of the Iberian missionaries, John Blackfan, in the 1620s; it was his lack of foresight which ultimately lost the College at Lisbon for the Jesuits. Chapter One explores why, with the Jesuits excluded from the College's governance in 1622, the early administrations persisted in their paranoia towards the Society. The narrative is taken to the administration of President Thomas White: it charts the negotiations between Coutinho and the English Chapter; the appointment of a high ranking member of the English Chapter, Joseph Haynes, as first President in 1626; the colonisation from Douai, Kellison's involvement with the Chapter and Bishop Smith's personal support for the fledgling College.

Chapter Two charts the history of the College from President White's resignation in 1633 through the Anglo-Portuguese marriage alliance (1660 – 62) to the administration of President Mathias Watkinson from 1671. This period was one of crisis and conflict. The collapse of Bishop Smith's authority in England left the College's governance to the English Chapter who, after 1655, did so without consultation with any episcopal authority. The Chapter claimed to exercise legitimate canonical authority over the College even when, from as early as the 1650s, attacks were made on the validity of that jurisdiction from English secular and Roman curial authorities. The Portuguese local ecclesiastical authorities recognised the authority of the Chapter as representative of the Bishop of Chalcedon as late as the 1720s. The growing opposition to the Chapter left the College exposed to charges of exercising illegitimate authority. A cabal of English secular clergy, led by the College's former President, Thomas White (better known by his alias of Blacklow), sowed the seeds of discord that later College administrations would reap after his death. Though the history of the College is not a history of the English Chapter the relationship remained a crucially important one. Crucial to any understanding of the College from 1633 to 1671 is the relationship between the Chapter, as Bishop Smith's representative in England, and the College's administrations. President Hargrave (1634 – 37), an appointee of the Chapter, was sent on Smith's recommendation to complete the reforms of White and codify the constitutions and rules. The Chapter was therefore instrumental in consolidating the foundation's management with the Dominican Protector and Inquisitor General of Portugal and crucially, to turn the College into a fully operational missionary college.

The College's government received, largely perceived, threats to its authority from without and the administration underwent continued turmoil from within. The death of the Founder and later William Newman, Rector of the Residence and co-Founder of the College, preceded a period of instability that threatened the reforms of White. The collapse of Habsburg control of Portugal in 1640 nullified the Chapter's agreements with the crown and, crucially, valuable revenues from royal authorities that needed renegotiation at a necessitous time in the College's early history. Despite these early crises the succession of the Braganças to the crowns of Portugal and the Algarve saw the College enter a period of continued growth and prosperity under the administrations of Presidents Pickford (1642 – 48) and Humphrey Whitaker (1648 – 54). Ultimately it was the administration of Thomas Tilden (1654 – 1662) and the meteoric rise of several alumni in Bragança and Stuart royal-circles that marked the beginning of the College's meridian day. The Anglo-Portuguese marriage alliance elevated the English College into spheres of influence both in royal-circles and the Chapter that previous administrations could not match. The careers of several alumni both in Portugal and England had direct repercussions, both on the reputation of the College on the Mission elevating the College to a status far exceeding its size.

Chapter Three looks into the College as a missionary institution, an educational establishment and a centre of English Catholicism. The thirty-five year administration of President Watkinson (1671 – 1706) permits a detailed study of the College's interaction with ecclesiastical and civic elites in the city of Lisbon and the Portuguese and English political authorities. This section uses the administrative records of the College to examine the internal governance of the missionary foundation, the structure of the Council of Superiors and the state and routine of collegiate life. The College's nineteenth century chronicler, William Croft, using the material collated by Kirk called Watkinson's administration 'purely academical.' Further examination of the archival material permits an insight into the teaching and learning at the College, the structure of its teaching staff, the emphasis placed on controversy and the theatricality of the public defence. Portuguese patronage networks are examined particularly those from the Bragança crown and the aristocracy attached to College confraternities. Chapter Three builds upon the material relating to the Protectors of the College in Chapter Two. Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, Cardinal Protector of the College under Watkinson imitated the role of his predecessor Dom Ferdinando de Castro in his ability to understand the changing nature of the Mission and the needs of the English Catholic community. Lencastre's



Protectorate served to show that the model proposed by the secular agents in Rome, finalised in Madrid by President White, was one that benefited the College, protecting it from threats within and without. Dominican Protectors continued to guarantee the College from interference from the Portuguese crown and the Jesuits. The second section of this chapter shows that the greatest threat to the College's independence came not from the Portuguese crown or the fabled bogey-men, the Jesuits, but from the inner heart of the English Chapter. The Blacklowist stirrings of the 1650s had, by the beginning of Watkinson's administration, grown into a very real and present danger to the continued independence of the College; this was in part due to the influences of alumni working within the Chapter, notably John Sergeant. The dispute over the direction of English ecclesiastical government, one between a return to the Bishop of Chalcedon model or to a Dutch style Vicariate Apostolic model, controlled by Propaganda, divided the Chapter. Those who supported the Chalcedon model, largely Blacklowists, found their hero in the Lisbonian alumnus John Sergeant supported by fellow alumni, most notably two former Presidents, Edward Pickford and John Perrot (1662 – 71); Perrot assumed the Deanery of the Chapter from 1676 – 1714. Those who supported the Vicariate Apostolic model found their leader in the former President of Douai, George Leyburn and after his death, by his nephew John. The third section of this chapter examines a series of letters from the Lisbonian Bishop Richard Russell to President Watkinson from 1671 – 1685. This correspondence sheds light on an important episode in the College's history which has largely been overlooked. The quarrels between Blacklowist and the Leyburn parties in the Chapter boiled over between 1674 – 76; the episode placed Watkinson's administration of the College into jeopardy after charges arose attacking the College's orthodoxy. Sergeant, supported by other Lisbonian clergy, attracted the condemnation of the exiled Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, and in so doing, the orthodoxy of Watkinson's administration. Correspondence between Russell and Watkinson shows that the College's enemies could make use of division within the Chapter to threaten the independence of the government of the College. The final section of this Chapter examines the work of alumni on the Mission, what a former College Procurator called 'the final end and perfection of an Apostolic life.'<sup>6</sup> An examination of the College's missionary ethos shows that the Salesian spirituality that had permeated seventeenth century France and Italy remained one of the most fundamental styles of literary and catechetical devotion at the College. This is clear from one of the chief apostles of the

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<sup>6</sup> Taken from UCA, Durham, LC Book Archive 215, Liber Missionis, part 5, Henry Shirley's *Monita* 'How to treat with heretics, schismatics and Catholics of England good and bad', p. 1. See Michael Sharratt's transcription in, 'Commentary' *Mount Carmel* (Spring, 1977), 44 – 52.



Salesian style of active catechetics, John Gother. The gradual shift from an emphasis on controversy to the catechetical after 1688 showed that the College at Lisbon was at the vanguard in meeting the changing needs of the Mission. Lacking the martyrological and political baggage of the other colleges, with their catalogues of alumni-martyrs, Lisbon sat easy with and quickly adapted to the sedate domesticity that came to dominate missionary activity after the political and ecclesiastical defeats of 1688.<sup>7</sup>

The fourth and final chapter is based on correspondence from the two men who led the administration at Lisbon from 1706 through to 1755: Edward Jones (1706 – 29; 1732 – 37) and John Manley (1729 – 32; 1739 – 1755) to the College agents in London. The change in English Catholic ecclesiastical government in 1685, with the imposition of John Leyburn as Vicar Apostolic, represented a defeat for the Blacklowist vision of the Church. The confirmation of this model in 1688, along with the collapse of James II's government dealt a harsh blow to those secular clergy who had championed the Chalcedon model of ecclesiastical government from the 1630s. This chapter shows that Presidents Watkinson and Jones refused to acknowledge the authority of the Vicars Apostolic over the government of the College. Watkinson cut communication between the new ecclesial regime after requests were made for his removal after 1700. Jones refused to recognise the Vicar Apostolic of London's claims to act as Superintendent of the College. The College's constitution made provision for the absence of a Bishop in the proviso that should ordinary authority fall in England, the 'secular clergy' would govern the College. For Jones and Watkinson that referred to the English Chapter and not the Vicars Apostolic. This led to a crisis in authority exacerbated by financial privations and student insubordination. Jones' correspondence with the College's agent in London showed that Jones maintained the rights of the English Chapter over the College, referring matters to the Vicar Apostolic only where it concerned his injured reputation in England. The first administration of Jones was therefore one of conflict; the rights of the administration were protected from what were perceived as hostile threats from a regime that several prominent Lisbonians, including the autocratic Jones, had found hard to swallow. Despite Jones' display of strength, the Council of Superiors' minutes and proceedings show that Jones' administration was racked with internal discord, exacerbated by the War of the Spanish Succession.

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<sup>7</sup> I have demonstrated in Chapter Three that though Lisbon did have alumni who suffered for the Catholic religion and, in the case of William Lloyd, died in captivity on account of his faith. I have shown that this was never a guiding influence behind the College and was in fact dismissed by successive administrations as unimportant.

From 1706 through to 1761 the College was plagued by a litany of troubles: student rebellion, problems of staffing, financial woes and, to quote the College's London agent John Vane in 1726 'no great hope[s] of submission or regularity.'<sup>8</sup> Despite continued adversity both from Providence, hostile fortune and human mismanagement, Jones set about the rebuilding of the College, expanding the school of Humanity to cater for a growing Lisbon based international market for a liberal education amongst the mercantile communities of Lisbon. Charges of extravagance from England and the Protector concerning the rebuilding of the College ultimately led to Jones' dismissal as President in 1729. One of the aims of this thesis has been to rehabilitate several clergymen who have been consigned to the dustbin of English Catholic history largely thanks to Anstruther. Jones, alongside his predecessors White, Hargrave and Pickford is a further President this thesis has sought to rehabilitate. Although Lisbon remained, in President John Manley's words, a daughter of Douai the relationship between the secular colleges suffered under Jones' first administration. The College's administrations from President Tilden's through to Jones' struggled to varying degrees of success to remain wholly independent from a reliance on Douai for its staffing and management needs. The Portuguese crown objected to Douatian appointments and the College, particularly under Watkinson, prided itself on its independence. This policy became untenable during Jones' administration, Manley's interim Presidency of 1729 – 32 and throughout Jones' second, from 1732 – 37. Manley's second administration saw a reluctant acceptance of the authority of the Vicars Apostolic, especially under Richard Challoner's co-adjutorship of the London District (1741 – 58) which shadowed Manley's tenure as head of the administration at Lisbon. The return to a dependence on Douai, and the secular College at Paris, showed how far adversity and events had overshadowed the College since Jones' election in 1706. This sometimes onerous account of collegiate adversity should be seen in the context of the Mission and the wider English Catholic community. Despite Jones' mismanagement and his coldness towards the ecclesial regime he succeeded in distancing the College from Jacobitism which proved so problematic to the Iberian colleges, Douai and Rome. This should be seen as a continuation of those Lisbonians on the Chapter who championed the Holden/White model of English ecclesiastical government. The Letter Books of Manley allow a detailed examination of that Hanoverian Loyalism and the warming of relations between the College and Challoner; the attempts made by Manley to repair the relationship between his own

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<sup>8</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 21 January 1726.



administration and that of Thornburgh's at Douai, and of Beare's at Paris, represented a marked change in policy than that of his predecessor's.

The decision to take the narrative beyond Manley's death in the Great Earthquake of 1755 to 1761 was taken for the following reasons. Firstly, the correspondence from John Shepperd, the College's London agent terminated in 1761 with his death: this correspondence covers the period following Manley's death, the interregnum of Dr. Bernard and, crucially for the College, the Expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Portugal. The English College at Lisbon was the only English missionary college that never closed its doors either during the Suppression of the Jesuit Order, the Napoleonic Wars or the nineteenth century crises of nationalism and liberalism. This represents a problem in continuity and discontinuity that is not evident in the other colleges. The decision to take the thesis to 1761 therefore seems a suitable one. The College's fortunes improved after the succession of Challoner to Petre as Vicar Apostolic of the London District in 1758 and the co-adjutorship of James Talbot in 1759. It was Challoner's reforms of the College and his decision to send President James Barnard in 1776 to Lisbon that led the College into the so-called Catholic Revival (e.g.) the Catholic Relief Act of 1778. I have reiterated throughout this thesis that the sources can only provide an examination of the English Chapter or the English Catholic community where they interact directly with the College: the cases of Blacklow and Gother provide two such examples. The decision to terminate the thesis in 1761 continues that policy, some might question leaving the history of the foundation at its nadir. It was Challoner and his close associations with Gother that persuaded me to end in 1761. The reforms of Challoner and the administration of Bernard and Barnard belong in the context of the Catholic Revival that led both to toleration and ultimately Emancipation for the English Catholic community.



## CHAPTER ONE

### A Daughter of Douai: 'Foundations so slowly laid.'<sup>1</sup>

#### 1.1. Strange people, these Portuguese.<sup>2</sup>

Michael Williams noted in his study of the College at Valladolid that any consideration of the English Catholic exile community in Lisbon would be incomplete without a study of the Spanish colleges in general.<sup>3</sup> It is equally true that any study of the English Catholic community in Lisbon would be incomplete without reference to Robert Persons. His work within the community at Lisbon built the foundations (continued some twenty years later by two English secular priests, Nicholas Ashton and William Newman) in establishing the English College at Lisbon. The two colleges founded by Persons in Castile (Valladolid) and Andalusia (Seville) represented a powerful display of Jesuit hegemony within the infrastructure of the English Mission. Both colleges were under Jesuit government and proved valuable recruiting schools for the Society. However, the success of the colleges at Valladolid and Seville has overshadowed Persons' role in the foundation of the English Residence at Lisbon, the precursor of the English College.

Despite the presence of a large number of English Catholic exiles, no formal college existed in Lisbon until 1626.<sup>4</sup> Lisbon was a city unique amongst the Iberian foundations for its well-connected English Catholic resident mercantile community that had been in existence since the twelfth century.<sup>5</sup> These communities established

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<sup>1</sup> I am grateful to Mgr. Michael Williams and his, 'The Origins of the English College, Lisbon' *RH* 20 (1991), 478 – 492 which I have quoted throughout this paper. The title-quote is from UCA, Durham, LC, BA 217, President John Manley: Letter-Book, October 1739 – March 1748. A copy of a letter sent to Dr. Thornburgh, President of Douai College, 17 May 1740.

<sup>2</sup> Philip II at San Lorenzo, 27 June 1577. Biblioteca Zabálburu, Madrid, manuscript collection, 144 f. 158. See Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (Yale, 1997), p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Williams, 'The Origins', p. 478.

<sup>4</sup> William Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College*, (London, 1902), pp. 3; UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, Anon (possibly William Day *alias* Talbot) *Plantatio et Progressus Collegii Anglorum Cleri ex Duacena Missione Ulyssiponem in Portugallia translati* (Lisbon, c. 1632/3) hereafter *Plantatio* [The Colonisation of the College at Lisbon by a mission from Douai.] See Michael Sharratt in Chapter Two: 'Douai to Lisbon I - III' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), 7 – 24, (June, 1976), 30 – 41 and (December, 1976), 22 – 34.

<sup>5</sup> Robert Persons noted the strategic importance of Lisbon to the English Mission early on. Two years after the foundation at Seville of the English College of St. Gregory's (1592), Persons founded a house (Residence) of English secular priests in the heart of the old city. Williams believed the Residence was located adjacent to São Roque, the Jesuit headquarters in Lisbon. The Russell Correspondence examined in Chapter Three disputes that evidence, placing the Residence

guilds and confraternities to protect their commercial interests notably that of St. George, established under Henry VIII. Why Persons did not establish a college at Lisbon when he was active in the city (sometime between 1591 and 1592) remains a mystery. In many respects, the point is not important, particularly when seen in light of the later College's wholesale detachment from Persons' Spanish strategy and its anti-Jesuit ethos. Research into Persons' reasoning has resulted in nothing more than creative speculation bordering on the pedantic. There is insufficient material available to draw a satisfactory conclusion, though several plausible conjectures exist within the limited historiography of the College. Williams, who provided the most convincing argument, suggested that the recently established Irish College of St. Patrick (1590) was adequate for the time and circumstances.<sup>6</sup> A letter to King Philip's Secretary of State, Juan de Idiaquez, supported Williams' conclusion. The letter concerned Habsburg preparations for the invasion of England via Ireland. Writing from Valladolid, Persons indicated the importance of the Irish College at Lisbon in order to produce native Irish priests for the expedition. It is therefore clear that any blueprint for a missionary college in Lisbon relied on the outcome of Habsburg military policy. Though Persons despatched a delegation of English priests to the Lisbon Residence in 1596 he felt that their landing on Irish soil with a foreign invading army would not be helpful to the success of Philip's Enterprise. Persons sent Gonzalo del Río's deputy (the Vice-rector of the College at Valladolid) to Lisbon with a view to boarding the convoy of Martín de Padilla, Adelantado of Castile, to Ireland.<sup>7</sup> Six priests accompanied him from Valladolid and Seville. This small party had no role in the expedition to Ireland of 1596. The leader of the delegation had orders from Persons to 'direct the rest, in case the opportunity occurs of their going in the Armada.'<sup>8</sup> The invasion failed (defeated by yet another Protestant wind) and the party never left the docks of Lisbon.<sup>9</sup> Should the invasion have been successful it is

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near the church of Santa Catarina. See Michael Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London, 1986), p. 38. For an excellent account of the work of the Jesuit Order in Portugal and its imperial possessions, see Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its Empire and Beyond, 1540 – 1750* (Stanford, 1996).

<sup>6</sup> Patricia O'Connell, *The Irish College at Lisbon, 1590 – 1534* (Dublin, 1997). The year of the foundation of the Irish College of St. Patrick recorded as 1593; O'Connell found evidence that this date is incorrect and stated the year 1590 as being more accurate, thereby preceding the date of the English Residence by some four years.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits, 1555 – 1650*, (2 vols. CRS Publications 74 – 75, London, 1994 – 95), vol. 1, p. 91. Geoffrey Parker, *The World is not Enough: the Grand Strategy of Philip II* (Yale, 1998), pp. 307 – 09.

<sup>8</sup> Robert Persons to Juan de Idiaquez, 2 September 1596, CSP Spanish 1587 - 1603, vol. 4, p. 634.

<sup>9</sup> Francis Edwards, *Robert Persons: the Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit* (Saint Louis, 1995), p. 191.



highly plausible that Persons would have founded a college at Lisbon for the service of the English Mission on the Valladolid model. Persons agreed on the viability of a missionary college at Lisbon as early as 1594 when he established the Residence. If the Habsburg invasions of England had been successful, the colleges at Douai, Rome, Seville and Valladolid alone would have been unable to meet the demands that the conversion of England would provide. Persons confirmed this perception in his manuscript of the *Memorial for the Reformation of England* written in Seville in 1596.<sup>10</sup> Lisbon would have been an instrumental part of that enterprise had Habsburg arms proven victorious.<sup>11</sup>

The failure of a military solution to the English problem made the necessity for further colleges a matter of limited concern to the leadership of the Mission. Events closer to home persuaded Persons that the elevation of the Residence at Lisbon to a college would provide more difficulties than he cared to engage with at the time. Persons' own concerns over national rivalries between a proposed English College and the large Irish community in Lisbon had proved to suspend what little hope remained for the project. After the Earl of Tyrone's abortive rebellion in Ireland, Anglo-Irish relations were at an all time low. Lisbon had large English and Irish communities, which made the possibility of hostilities between the two factions within the city all the more palpable. Williams conjectured that the national internecine struggle at the English College at Rome persuaded Persons not to go ahead with the foundation of a college at Lisbon in 1596 for fear of a similar situation erupting in the city. Militant representations of national affinity had resulted in the student walkouts of 1579 at Rome and the sometime violent divisions between Saxon and Welsh students.<sup>12</sup> This was a problem Persons did not want repeated elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> It was because of the disruption in the College at Rome that Persons left Valladolid in early 1597 to assume the Rectorship, never to return to the Peninsula. The events that disrupted the College at Rome caused great scandal in both England and the court of

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<sup>10</sup> The *Memorial* was not put into print for a further ninety-four years. Edward Gee printed it in 1690 after the collapse of James II's government in England and Ireland to remind good Whiggish Protestants that King William had saved England from the despotism of Popery. See Edward Gee [Robert Persons], *The Jesuits' Memorial for the Reformation of England under their first Popish Prince published from the copy that was presented to the late King James II* (London, 1690).

<sup>11</sup> Parker *The World is not Enough*, pp. 24n, 276 – 279. After the failure of the Armada of 1588, several smaller invasion forces were sent against England in 1596, 1597 and 1599.

<sup>12</sup> Jason Nice, *Bordering on Nationalism: sacred history and historiography in Brittany and Wales, c. 1550 – 1650* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2004).

<sup>13</sup> Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome* (London, 1979), p. 5.



Rome thereby undermining the success of the English Mission.<sup>14</sup> Persons' decision to keep *national* colleges, as other nations such as the Empire had done with the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome, suggested that by 1597 Persons had concluded that the English Mission required a purely English solution.<sup>15</sup> Recent work by Mark Netzloff on England's 'Internal Colonies' supported that thesis, as did Persons' desire not to stoke the flames of national discord in Lisbon or Rome.<sup>16</sup>

The English government found the English mercantile and exile communities on the Iberian Peninsula a subject of great irritation (particularly in times of war) often unable to control nominations to the consulate, particularly after the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Pius V in 1570 (*Regnans in Excelsis*).<sup>17</sup> English priests attached to the Jesuit church of São Roque called for Philip II (Philip I of Portugal after 1580) to nominate the consul on behalf of the English nation. The Castilian crown maintained the right to approve candidates though Philip did not have *de jure* rights of nomination. This dispute between Spain and England, at a time of war, was a crucial catalyst in the establishment of the English Residence as an institutional centre of English Catholic exile. The creation of the Residence represented a coup for English Catholic merchants who found a means of expressing protest against the Elizabethan regime with the backing of a friendly power eager to encourage and exploit such division. The Elizabethan regime was powerless in establishing religious conformity in its colonies abroad, particularly within the realms of hostile powers. Likewise, Habsburg obligations to protect English Protestant authorities in Lisbon went un-honoured leading to harassment and widespread intimidation. Those largely Catholic merchants who remained under Habsburg rule during the war had a free hand in disposing of their confraternities' wealth and property, including that of their former brethren and colleagues who had conformed and been expelled as a consequence. In January 1591, the rump of the confraternity of St. George at Sanlúcar de Barrameda (near the great port of Seville) proposed that their buildings and chapel should convert into a hospice for English sailors, students, priests and merchants who required shelter during Anglo-Habsburg hostilities. The confraternity later voted for three English Catholic chaplains to minister there. This

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<sup>14</sup> Edwards, *Robert Persons*, p. 198.

<sup>15</sup> Louis Pastor, *History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages* (40 vols. London, 1936 – 53), vol. 20, p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: class, capital and the literature of early modern colonialism* (New York, 2003).

<sup>17</sup> Godfrey Fisher, 'The Brotherhood of St. George', *Atlante* 1 (1935), 31 – 40. The Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* had been effectively put on ice due to the opposition it received from those who were supposed to be subject to it.

was only possible because the Protestant merchants who might have prevented the vote within the exile community were in exile or in the custody of the Holy Office.

### 1.2. The Establishment of the English Residence.

The Residence at Lisbon had a similar purpose to that of the establishment at Sanlúcar; their foundation and growth suggested that they formed part of the same blueprint as auxiliary foundations to the colleges of Seville (Sanlúcar) and Valladolid (Lisbon.) The confraternity at Lisbon owned buildings near São Roque and used the chapel of São Domingo for Mass. The Catholic merchants were less numerous and less influential in Lisbon than their co-religionists in Sanlúcar. A sizeable and influential community of English Protestant merchants refused to depart Lisbon as their compatriots had done elsewhere during Anglo-Habsburg hostilities.<sup>18</sup> Consequently, the Catholic mercantile community's opposition to English Protestant authorities was less effective. In contrast to the community at Sanlúcar, the English Protestant regime had a stronger institutional presence in the city of Lisbon.

Sir John Taylor was the first recorded consul representing English merchants in Lisbon. The English Catholics of the city held Taylor in 'bad opinion' for his close association with Secretary Cecil and the Elizabethan regime. In 1593, Persons (who had actually left Lisbon for Rome) had a particular bout of good fortune, though no doubt he would have called it Providence, which secured the establishment of the Residence. Consul Taylor and twenty English merchants, including the organist to the King's chapel-royal, found themselves expelled from Lisbon on charges of espionage. This unfortunate diplomatic blip paved the way for Persons to consolidate his plans for a Residence. One year later, a further fifteen men of the community, who professed they were all Catholics, found themselves arrested for espionage, smuggling, harbouring and consorting with heretics. The *alcalde* (chief judicial administrator of Lisbon) Dom Valladares ruled that they were not Catholics but heretics, transferring them to the custody of the Holy Office for further interrogation.<sup>19</sup> With most of the Protestant members of the confraternity rotting in the dungeons of the Holy Office or in exile, the remaining members petitioned Philip's nephew the Cardinal-regent Albert of Austria, for a change in the charter of their confraternity. The neutralisation of the Protestant merchants led to the appointment of a Catholic merchant, Edward Baines, as chief consul representing the

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<sup>18</sup> Hume, *CSP Spanish 1587 – 1603* vol. 4, p. 601.

<sup>19</sup> Hume, *CSP Spanish 1587 – 1603*, vol. 4, pp. 612 – 13.



English regime. Baines had aided the Habsburgs during the war and had a reputation for being a creature of Philip's Viceroy. Taylor loathed him and accused his successor and the re-constituted confraternity of being the puppets of the Holy Office who had a hand in the former's election and held the purse strings of the latter.<sup>20</sup>

An undated address (c. late 1594) from the English Catholic exiles in Castile, Andalusia and Portugal to King Philip II noted the exiled English Catholic priest Thomas Stillington, as a doctor of theology (STD) and 'Provost of the English Catholic clergy in Lisbon.'<sup>21</sup> The office of Provost suggested that Stillington presided over a collegiate structure of priests, even though the English Residence was not a college with training faculties like that at Valladolid. The elevation of the position from Provost to Rector under Persons represented a change in status and emphasis for the exiled clergy in Lisbon and the manner of their organisation. The letter to King Philip, which supported the claims of the Infanta to the English throne, contained the name of William Seborn, a future Rector of the Residence at Lisbon.<sup>22</sup> Persons continued to send priests to the Residence, even as Rector of the English College at Rome, showing that, despite the continued military defeats of the late 1590s Persons still saw Lisbon as a strategic centre for the Spanish colleges.<sup>23</sup>

The Residence had benefactors of the highest ecclesiastical and noble pedigree: the Duke of Bragança and the Archbishop of Lisbon had supported the exiles in Lisbon from the early 1590s.<sup>24</sup> The support of Archduke Albert suggested that the crown continued to recognise the utility of an English foundation in Lisbon both for the good of the English Mission and for its own reasons of statecraft. It was not for want of patronage that a college did not materialise in the 1590s. Besides those reasons mentioned above, the issue of English espionage continued to afflict the English Catholic community in Lisbon where a large Protestant community, with a mature institutional presence, remained entrenched. The flow of English merchants in and out of the port made Lisbon a dangerous place for the training of students. Rome and Douai suffered from the infiltration of English spies within their walls and

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<sup>20</sup> Mary Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny: Prisoner of the Lisbon Inquisition* (London, 1947), p. 45.

<sup>21</sup> At Sanlúcar, he assumed the name Thomas Stillingfleet.

<sup>22</sup> Hume, *CSP Spanish 1587 – 1603*, vol. 4, pp. 636 – 7.

<sup>23</sup> Williams, *St. Alban's*, pp. 38 – 39.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Morrissey, 'The Irish Student Diaspora in the Sixteenth Century and the Early Years of the Irish College at Salamanca', (CRS Publications 14, London, 1977), 242 – 260. See also Geoffrey Parmiter, 'Plowden, Englefield and Sandford: II 1585 - 1609', (Catholic Record Society Miscellanea 14, London, 1977), p. 11.



students' families suffered recriminations back in England. Despite the search of alien ships by the Holy Office in Lisbon, a task later given to the administration of the Residence, spies sent by Secretary Cecil and the English Protestant regime continued to operate freely in the city.<sup>25</sup> One such pursuivant, Thomas Spark, a double agent and employee of Secretary Cecil used his position 'in a monastery' (probably São Roque) to spy on Henry Floyd, later Rector of the English Residence, and one of the first documented as proposing an English College in Lisbon, presumably with Persons' support in Rome.<sup>26</sup>

The Residence at Lisbon formally opened in 1594, with William Seborn chosen by Persons as first Rector. It is clear an establishment of English Catholic exiles existed before Persons' reforms kicked in, prior to his departure to Rome, as Stillington's description in correspondence to Philip II indicated. Seborn came from Rheims, having previously worked at Sanlúcar as a member of the administration (1591).<sup>27</sup> His assistants were John Richards and Henry Floyd. Richards accompanied Seborn from Rheims.<sup>28</sup> Anstruther, who noted Floyd leaving Seville for the Mission in 1593, did not mention Floyd's work in Lisbon despite evidence found in other sources.<sup>29</sup> However, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. The Jesuit scholar Thomas McCoog wrote that Floyd was in Lisbon from 1607 and attached to the English Residence. It is clear from the correspondence from Hugh Lee (1605 – 19), the consul appointed by Secretary Cecil, that a 'Henry Fludd' was a member of the Residence from 1607 onwards.<sup>30</sup>

The Residence at Lisbon soon established itself as the centre of the English communities within the city. Within Lisbon, there were three English communities. Firstly, there were the exiles that formed the majority of the English Catholic

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<sup>25</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, p. 26.

<sup>26</sup> Williams, 'Origins', p. 479. Anstruther made no mention of this. See A1, p. 120 and McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits* vol. 1, p. 172. Katy Gibbons has demonstrated that the Jesuit Francis Edwards' assertion that though Jesuits working in England should be exonerated from accusations of political activity it is clear from Floyd's career in Lisbon (as in Paris) that several English Jesuits, including Floyd himself, were engaged in seditious activity against royal authorities in their respective exile locations. See C.M. Gibbons, 'The Experience of Exile and English Catholics: Paris in the 1580s' (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of York, 2006), p. 17.

<sup>27</sup> A1, p. 305. The College returned to Douai in 1593.

<sup>28</sup> A1, p. 288.

<sup>29</sup> A1, p. 120.

<sup>30</sup> Montague Spencer Giuseppi (ed.), *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Most Honourable The Marques of Salisbury Preserved at Hatfield House Hertfordshire* (24 vols, London, 1883 – 1976) vol. 20, pp. 67 – 70.

community in the city. This body largely consisted of English priests, who found a home at the Residence. As well as exiled clergy, a congregation of Bridgettine nuns established a convent in Lisbon after many unsuccessful settlements on the continent.<sup>31</sup> A popular tract appeared soon after the settlement by a self-fashioned 'disgruntled Bridgettine friar' who exposed and denounced supposed abuses in the convent with all the added bitterness of an old colleague. The tract, published in London (1622) as *An Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugal* demonstrated that the English Protestant and Catholic residents of the city lived an uneasy coexistence.<sup>32</sup> The English Catholic exiles were not all in religious orders. Catholic gentlemen such as Sir Francis Tregian and John Rolles fled England for the safety of Habsburg protection in Lisbon.<sup>33</sup> Prominent Catholic families such as the Throckmortons and the Dorias also found refuge in the city. The second section of the English community was the Catholic and Protestant resident merchants. The loss of the powers of the Consul over the confraternity during Anglo-Habsburg hostilities made this group increasingly fractious. The Catholic merchants helped with the maintenance of the English Residence in return for spiritual support; pastoral and liturgical provision passing from the Dominicans at São Domingo to a national clergy of English priests housed at the Residence. John Coplan, a gentleman exile and member of the confraternity of St. George, was one such benefactor.<sup>34</sup> The final section of this community was the human traffic that came in and out of the maritime city. This group contained men with business connections in Lisbon, travellers to Madrid, or merchants' sons seeking an education in Portugal for reasons of commerce. The English Residence had to work within and alongside all three sections of this disparate and quarrelsome community. To do this it required revenues and patronage. Though funds from the Duke of Bragança and the Archbishop of Lisbon helped the Residence make ends meet, cash was always in short supply. This forced Seborn and successive administrations to cast out nets further ashore in an attempt to make good the adversities of exile.

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Williams, 'Actas do Colóquio Comemorativo do VI Centenário do Tratado de Windsor' *Instituto de Estudos Ingleses: Faculdade de Letras do Porto* (Porto, 1988), p. 242. See also J.R. Fletcher, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey*, (South Brent, 1933); F.R. Johnson, 'Syon Abbey', *South Western Catholic History* 5 (1987), 20 – 32.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Robinson, *The Anatomie of the English Nunnery at Lisbon in Portugal* (Lisbon, 1622).

<sup>33</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, pp. 48, 49, 55, 56.



### 1.3. The Residence and the Inquisition.

Exiled English priests were dependent on the royal authorities and friendly benefactions from local civic and ecclesiastical elites for their subsistence. One important means of securing valuable revenues for the maintenance of the Residence was working for a third agency, namely the Portuguese Holy Office. Successive administrations of the Residence found employment in the regulation of heterodoxy within the English community of Lisbon: work that made them particularly odious to their Protestant compatriots. The Residence worked amicably with the Holy Office who gave them a valuable role in the control and regulation of potential threats to the English Catholic community in Lisbon (those who posed a threat to the work of the Mission back home in England and those who supported it). One of the responsibilities of the Rector of the Residence was the searching of English ships for possible sources of heresy. The Rector, as an officer of the Holy Office, took note of subversive literature and kept profiles on English Protestants who constituted a threat to cultural and religious heterodoxy. Nicholas Ashton assumed this unpopular occupation from 1597 when appointed Rector of the Residence in succession to Seborne.<sup>35</sup> Ashton's career, somewhat glamorised in the work of Mary Brearley and Rose Macaulay, was well documented and provided an insight into the mission and purpose of the English Residence at Lisbon at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>36</sup>

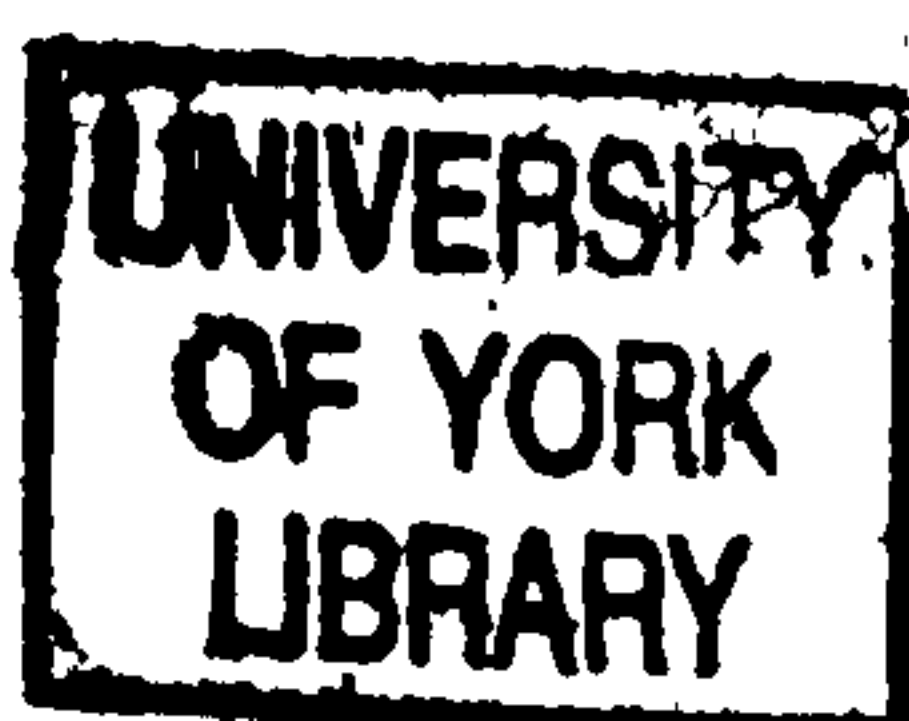
Foreign ships (particularly those from Protestant England) were obliged to unload their goods in the docks of São Paulo where Ashton operated in his capacity as an officer (*visitador*) of the Holy Office. Ashton's brief was to protect the English Catholic community from heretical print culture and to ensure that English Protestants had no access to spiritual and devotional material considered unorthodox. Ashton ordered that all vernacular bibles and Common Prayer books onboard English vessels remained locked up on-board so as not to infect the English community in the city.<sup>37</sup> Consul Lee had great difficulty in protecting merchants from the officers of the Holy Office: the relationship between the two became particularly hostile after

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<sup>35</sup> A1, pp. 11 – 12.

<sup>36</sup> Rose Macaulay, *They Went to Portugal*, (London, 1946), pp. 190 – 202.

<sup>37</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, p. 18. It remains unclear whether Gregory Martin's (ed.) *The New Testament of Jesus Christ, Translated Faithfully into English* (Rheims, 1582) was ever banned by the Portuguese Holy Office. Martin's name is not mentioned in F.M. Mascarenhas, *Index Auctorum Damnatae Memoriae Tum etiam Librorum Editus Auctoritate Ill. Domine Ferdinandi Martins Mascarenhas* (Lisbon, 1624).





1588.<sup>38</sup> This relationship, exacerbated by the close co-operation that existed between English exile clergy working from the Residence and the Holy Office, damaged previously amicable relations between the English and Portuguese communities. The English crown had raised several grievances the community had against their treatment at the hands of the Holy Office within the Iberian Peninsula at the Conference of Boulogne of 1604. The grievances fell into three categories. Firstly, the English delegates pushed for permission for nationals to use the Book of Common Prayer in Habsburg territories with freedom to worship privately according to the rubric of 1559. They called on the Habsburg authorities to excuse English Protestants from obligatory attendance at Mass. Secondly, the petitioners called for the Holy Office to cease its campaign of harassment towards the English mercantile community, especially the searching of alien ships. Finally, they called for the full recognition of the English consuls by the Habsburg crown and a restoration of their powers in accordance with the original statute granted by Henry VIII. The discussions fell apart and (even after the *Pax Hispanica*) the Holy Office did not see itself bound by the terms of the peace of 1605. Worship according to Protestant rite remained illegal whilst attendance at Catholic ritual remained compulsory throughout the Iberian Peninsula.

The grievances of the English Protestant merchants escalated under Hugh Lee's consulship with the arrest of three merchants in Lisbon on a charge of heresy in 1608, the same year Rector Floyd proposed an English College in the city. Thomas Jennings and Hugo Gurgyeny were two men whom the Consul was seeking to have released from the Holy Office. The third merchant, John Howe, whose brother was a messenger between Catholics in Lisbon and in England, was unlikely to return home for, 'religious reasons.' Howe's conversion to the Catholic religion secured his release from captivity: the other two merchants did not receive such clemency. Hugo Gurgyeny's case provided a useful insight into the condition of the English Protestant mercantile community in the city and their relationship with the Residence. Gurgyeny is an attractive figure not least for the fact that Brearley turned his story into a work of fiction. English Catholic priests working from the Residence enjoyed complete autonomy in their operations. Their close working relations with the Holy Office meant English priests could have Protestant merchants up before the Holy Office with little interference from the Consul.<sup>39</sup> Lee had no effective power to curtail the Residence's work. His correspondence with Whitehall, which consistently exposed

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<sup>38</sup> L.C. Taylor, *Rose Macaulay: They Went to Portugal Too* (Manchester, 1990), pp. 95 – 116.

<sup>39</sup> Macaulay, *They Went to Portugal*, pp. 190 – 202.

his inability to control the work of the Residence, informed Secretary Cecil that the Holy Office, at the instigation of informers working from the Residence, had arrested Gurgeny on a trumped up charge of heresy. Lee went on to protest to Secretary Cecil that a subject of the English crown (Gurgeny) had been compelled to answer the charge at the *Casa do Despacho* (the Holy Office's house of dispatches). Lee reported that, 'Hugh Gurgny [sic] remains prisoner here and only by Fludd's [sic] malicious practices'.<sup>40</sup> The charge relied on the testimony of the English priests, Henry Floyd and Joseph Saludor (the English father-confessor to the convent of Bridgettine nuns of Lisbon) who testified against him. Gurgeny found himself on trial for his life after members of the Residence gave testimonies against him, reporting him to have failed to genuflect before the exposed Blessed Sacrament in procession and for his failure to observe the Angelus by removing his hat.<sup>41</sup>

#### **1.4. An Uneasy Co-existence: Consul Hugh Lee and Rector Henry Floyd.**

The Treaty of Peace, concluded in 1605, between James I and Philip III led to a return to Seville, Sanlúcar, and Lisbon of many English merchants who had fled the ports when hostilities broke out. A.J. Loomie noted that after the war Protestant merchants returned to find their confraternities in the hands of English Jesuit and seminary priests and they were powerless to do anything about the fact. The properties of Sanlúcar remained under the protection of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, despite protests from the pre-war owners.<sup>42</sup> King Philip III, on the advice of his *valido* (Secretary of State) the Duke of Lerma, refused to confirm Consul Lee's position as James' representative in Lisbon thereby dealing a fatal blow to the authority of English Protestant institutional representation in Lisbon. Correspondence from Lee to Secretary Cecil demonstrated that the relationship between the Consul and the English Catholic community was particularly tense after 1605 when Protestant merchants returned to find a cabal of Jesuit and seminary priests had taken their possessions with the active support of the civic authorities.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 156.

<sup>41</sup> For an explanation of what the Rector of the English Residence would have done for the Holy Office of Portugal see UCA, Durham, LC, Newman Papers, William Newman: Confessional Faculties, 1 August 1624; n.d. 1630; 6 June 1631; n.d. 1632; Gurgeny later renounced his alleged crimes at the Church of São Lourenço before the Reverend Senate of the Holy Office.

<sup>42</sup> Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan Commerce in Spain', p. 51.

<sup>43</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, pp. 43 – 46, 67 – 70, 80 – 81, 154 – 156.



An important part of the Residence's mission was the reconciling of English Protestants to Catholicism. This became a great concern to the consul who reported his fears to Secretary Cecil. Henry Floyd, a disciple of Robert Persons and Jesuit *confessarius* to the Residence (later Rector), was a thorn in the Consul's side.<sup>44</sup> Floyd's whereabouts are difficult to locate because of the conflicting evidence as to his missionary life. McCoog related that Floyd worked from the Residence from 1608 to 1612 in the capacity of *confessarius*.<sup>45</sup> According to Williams, he then became Rector of the English Residence in succession to Seborne but McCoog does not relate this fact. There is some discrepancy as to who succeeded Seborne: potential candidates included Ashton, Floyd and even Stillington.<sup>46</sup> This reference appears to be the second appointment of Floyd as head of the Residence. Williams, referring to Macaulay, noted Floyd's appointment as 'Provost' in 1594 presumably as successor to Stillington; however the records surrounding the appointment remain contradictory. Lee referred to the head of the Residence's administration (there is some conflict between the terms Rector and Provost) as 'the malicious Floudd [sic]', who 'ceases not to labour to draw from their obedience such of his Majesty's subjects as he can'.<sup>47</sup> The English Protestant merchants universally despised Floyd; such was his notoriety amongst the community. Gurgyeny, in his deposition to the Holy Office noted that, 'human nature move[d] me to give him a blow every time I saw him'.<sup>48</sup>

Despite governmental attempts to prevent Catholic children from leaving England to seek a Catholic education abroad this did not prevent cases such as that of George Bacon. Legislation against the English Catholic community targeted those who sought to remove from the Kingdom for confessional reasons. Bacon, a merchant's apprentice from Lynn, left for Lisbon under the pretence of aiding his master in a trade deal in Andalusia. It came to Consul's Lee's attention that Bacon had instructions from his father to seek admittance to the College at Valladolid via Lisbon. Lee noted on 13 February 1608 that, '[t]he youth [George Bacon] in his being here is become a disciple of Henry Fludd [sic], who has undertaken to place him in a school of the Jesuits'. Lee referred to 'an elder brother which is likewise a scholar in

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<sup>44</sup> Floyd was one of the students of Theology sent by Persons to advance the foundation of the English College at Valladolid in 1589.

<sup>45</sup> McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits* vol. 2, p. 172.

<sup>46</sup> Seborne was Rector of the Residence from 1593. J.H. Pollen, 'Fr Robert Persons S.J., Annals of the English College at Seville, with accounts of other foundations at Valladolid, St Lucar, Lisbon, and St Omers. Catalogue of the alumni Correspondence 1588 - 1595', (CRS Publications 14, London, 1914).

<sup>47</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 44.

<sup>48</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgyeny*, p. 28.



France'. Bacon had two brothers training for sacred orders, one at St. Omers (propædeutic) and one at the English College, Rome.<sup>49</sup> All three brothers John, Nathaniel and Thomas later became Jesuits.<sup>50</sup> Lee used Bacon's case as an example to James of the endemic problem within the city of children travelling through Lisbon, using the Residence as an intermediary, for a Catholic education in Valladolid. He singled out Bacon because of his close links with Floyd, whom he wanted expelled from Lisbon. Lee wrote to Secretary Cecil on 24 February 1608 that Bacon was 'likely to prove a very dangerous viper by the instigators of his animators, Fludd [sic] and others'.<sup>51</sup> The English Protestant authorities in Lisbon had access to information about Valladolid and knew of those involved in trafficking letters and students from Lisbon. This information Lee passed on to Secretary Cecil. One such trafficker, a pupil of Floyd and the brother of the John Howe who had been arrested alongside Gurgeny, being 'employed in going and coming between England and this place for conveyance of letters', found himself monitored by the consulate. The information that passed between Secretary Cecil and Lee endangered those who travelled through Lisbon on their way to England or to the colleges. Despite nominal monitoring of several exiles, the Residence continued to operate freely and unmolested: the English Protestant authorities remained powerless to interfere by any legitimate means. Lee mentioned in correspondence to Secretary Cecil that Floyd, who boasted he would rid Lisbon of the Consul, undermined his authority before the Habsburg Viceroy. The Viceroy continually refused to recognise Lee's letters of recommendation from the English Ambassador in Madrid. This incident highlighted the ongoing dispute between the Habsburg authorities and England on the right of the King of Portugal to approve the commission of the consul. As Philip III (Philip II of Portugal) had not approved the appointment of Lee, the Viceroy refused to recognise his authority or the English Protestant institutional presence in Lisbon.<sup>52</sup>

The Residence continued to operate according to the blueprint Persons had designed in 1594. The formula worked well. Lisbon remained a popular destination for exiles that sought refuge in the city or used the Residence as a point of departure

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<sup>49</sup> For a comprehensive account of Catholic education in exile, see A.C.F. Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic education from the Reformation to the fall of James II, 1547 – 1689* (London, 1963). Several works charting the history of the Jesuit school of St. Omers exist. The best account is that of Hubert Chadwick, *St. Omers to Stonyhurst; a history of two centuries: St. Omers, 1593; Bruges, 1762; Liege, 1773; Stonyhurst, 1794* (London, 1962).

<sup>50</sup> Edwin Henson (ed.) *Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589 – 1862*, (CRS Publications 30, 1930), pp. xxix – xxxi, 117, 123.

<sup>51</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 69.

<sup>52</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 69.



for the Iberian colleges. Catholic families sent children to Lisbon under the pretence of securing business contracts or learning Portuguese for trade purposes. The administration of exile priests at the Residence (as Floyd's case with Bacon demonstrated) secured them safe passage and provisions to carry out their real intentions at the colleges in Castile and Andalusia.<sup>53</sup> Lee was acutely aware of this. He cited Bacon's case as one such example of this abuse to Secretary Cecil on several occasions. Bacon, placed by Floyd in the patronage of the Condesa de Fearas, the wife of the Portuguese Viceroy to the East Indies, worked as a page at her palace in Lisbon. Floyd made it known to the consulate that Bacon would join the Viceroy's household in the Indies as one of six pages. This piece of Jesuit casuistry did not wash with Lee who had information to the contrary. A convoy left for the East Indies from Lisbon at this time, but Bacon did not join the Viceroy as his page, instead he removed to the College at Valladolid with the assistance of the Residence. It was a perfect cover and an example of how the Residence used its Iberian networks to transfer students to the colleges at Seville and Valladolid. This is further demonstrative of the Residence's mission as a half way house. Lee knew of this particular incident, no doubt besides many others. His grasp on containing the work of the Residence remained tenuous. Lee pleaded with Secretary Cecil to alleviate his difficult position as Consul, writing of the increased threats to his office and his problems in maintaining control over the community. Though Lee knew of Floyd's designs on Bacon from the beginning, he was powerless to prevent its success. His correspondence to Secretary Cecil noted his inability to 'come by his [Bacon's letters to his father in England] letters, their coverers are so many, and the place dangerous'.<sup>54</sup>

Lee had his enemies within the English Catholic community and his position was far from secure. The previous consul, Peter Baines, worked with Floyd to undermine Lee's role as consul both within the community and at the court of the Viceroy.<sup>55</sup> Lee's letters to Whitehall reflected this nadir in relations between the Protestant authorities and the Viceroyalty. Lee's situation as Consul, unrecognised by the Habsburg authorities and undermined by the Residence, reached desperation in May 1608, when Lee wrote to Secretary Cecil 'I beseech you to respect my safety in this dangerous place.'<sup>56</sup> Lee repeatedly stressed to James and Secretary Cecil the dire

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<sup>53</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, p. 19.

<sup>54</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 80.

<sup>55</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 155.

<sup>56</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 156.



state of English consular authority in Lisbon. This, he believed was due to the work of the Residence operating freely in the area with the assistance of the Holy Office and the tacit encouragement of the Viceroy. Lee noted in correspondence to Whitehall that, 'so long as remain any Jesuits, especially English, in Court or port town of Spain or Portugal, the causes of his Majesty and his subjects shall never receive due proceedings without cross.'<sup>57</sup>

The Consul had problems besides over-zealous English Jesuits. Sir Francis Tregian, a West Country knight incarcerated by the Elizabethan regime, found exile in Lisbon through Philip's ambassador the Conde de Zúñiga.<sup>58</sup> Lee did not find Tregian's presence in the city comforting. He accused the aged and incapacitated knight of transporting letters between the Residence and England 'with small purpose of any good for the commonwealth of England'.<sup>59</sup> Tregian died in September 1608, seven months after Lee wrote his letter to the King so the threat, perceived or otherwise, was hardly long lived.<sup>60</sup> It seems implausible that a man imprisoned for twenty-seven years and sent to Lisbon for reasons of ill health was capable of causing such trouble. Lee's protestations were more representative of an increased paranoia caused by his personal inability to control the influence of the Residence (and its sustained programme of undermining his position) than any genuine belief of threats to his person. Tregian did however represent a threat to the authority of the Consul as the embodiment of Catholic suffering at the hand of Elizabeth within the Portuguese imagination, particularly after his death. Tregian remained a publicity coup for the Residence and helped to unite Iberian and English Catholic alike against the authority of the Consul who stood for the forces that had afflicted Tregian for so long. A cult soon developed to Tregian, interred upright in the Jesuit church of São Roque as representative of his refusal to 'lie down' to the forces of Elizabethan conformity.

Lee's correspondence sought to worry James and Secretary Cecil, not to console them. Lee wanted something done about the situation in Lisbon and at times his correspondence to Secretary Cecil seems exaggerated and often hysterical. Lee

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<sup>57</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 44.

<sup>58</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 162, Francis Plunket, *The Mirror of Heroes: of the life of Master Francis Tregian* (Lisbon, 1655); printed by Lawrence Cressback, the royal printer who issued the College Constitutions in 1635 under President Hargrave; Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica 1598 – 1621: the failure of Grand Strategy* (Yale, 2000), pp. 99 – 114.

<sup>59</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, p. 69; for an example of an extreme case of the traditional genre of English Catholic hagiography see Raymond Francis Trudgian, *English Recusant: a truly Catholic Cornishman* (Alpha Press, 1999).

<sup>60</sup> See P.A. Boyan, *Life of Francis Tregian. Written in the Seventeenth Century by Francis Plunkett, Cistercian Monk*, (CRS Publications 32, London, 1932), pp. 3 – 33.

knew Tregian was not as dangerous as Floyd was but feared what the former represented, particularly concerning his ill treatment from the Elizabethan regime.<sup>61</sup> The existence of the Residence in Lisbon and the correspondence from the consulate to Whitehall clearly irritated the English government. The failure of the Habsburg authorities to contain the mischief created by Floyd and the Residence contravened the articles of peace (though it was hardly grounds to refuse to ratify the treaty). Jesuit and seminary priests operated freely in the city reconciling English youths, aiding dissatisfaction with the English authorities in Lisbon and contributing funds, patronage and valuable information to fellow missionaries and the missionary colleges. Lee's state of paralysis was, in the face of the work of English priests in the city, demonstrated by his letter of 24 February 1608. The correspondence concerned the threat that Catholic exiles in Lisbon posed to English interests on the Peninsula, criticising the aggravated hostility of the English exiled clergy towards subjects of the English crown:

But if his Majesty's love towards the King of Spain were requited with like integrity, then in my poor opinion he [Philip III with reference to Tregian] would not plant his Majesty's disloyal subjects, or rather such as are known to be public rebels and traitors to his Majesty, in places where they may give most annoyance to his Majesty and his loyal subjects. But verily, I rather think it the work of the English Jesuits in Spain than the will of the King of Spain. Howsoever, it is to be wished that it might be reformed by providing for such within the land and not in the sea ports.<sup>62</sup>

Persons had been acutely aware of the importance of Lisbon as a centre for retrieving information from England for the benefit of the missionary infrastructure, principally for its accessibility.<sup>63</sup> Though Lee was clearly troubled with the activity of the Residence, outside of Lisbon the notoriety gained by some members of the Residence would render any missionary work in England at the least inappropriate and at worse highly dangerous. Persons' early objections to erecting a formal college appeared to have been justified. He had raised concerns about the inherent dangers missionaries leaving Lisbon would face on the Mission from their notoriety within the English community. Persons had disapproved of sending priests working in Lisbon to

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<sup>61</sup> Lee's worst fears were realised when Tregian died in 1608. The cult, which remains alive today, became a focus of the English Catholic community attracting aristocratic patronage. His body remained allegedly incorrupt. A case remains open for his beatification by the diocese of Plymouth: [www.plymouth-diocese.org.uk/organisations/francis\\_treg.htm](http://www.plymouth-diocese.org.uk/organisations/francis_treg.htm). Raymond Francis Trudgian, 'Tregian, Francis (1548-1608)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed, 17 Oct 2006: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27682>]; Simon Ditchfield, 'Martyrs on the Move: relics as vindicators of local diversity in the Tridentine Church', *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993), pp. 283 – 94.

<sup>62</sup> Giuseppi, *Salisbury Papers*, vol. 20, pp. 67 – 70.

<sup>63</sup> Williams, *St. Alban's*, p. 12.



the Mission for that very reason: Seborn, the first Rector, never set foot on the Mission throughout his priesthood.<sup>64</sup> Persons knew that sending Jesuit or seminary missionary priests from Lisbon in the 1590s was tantamount to sending them to their death. Brearley sardonically raised this issue in her work in reference to Ashton in 1596, who '[a] Jesuit, moreover [...] would have found himself in Newgate before you could say knife, if this had been the Thames instead of the Tagus'.<sup>65</sup>

### 1.5. John Blackfan: from Residence to Missionary College

Though Lee found himself continually harassed by English Jesuit and seminary clergy who scorned his authority, Lisbon was still a dangerous place to be an English priest. Men like Floyd enjoyed a celebrity-like status within the community; liked or loathed, he was always notoriously one or the other.<sup>66</sup> This issue of notoriety continued to prove problematic in the history of the Residence. A letter from William Newman to John Blackfan, Superior of the missionaries of the Spanish seminaries and Vice-Prefect of the Mission from 1615, indicated that this problem was still affecting the Residence as late as 1621.<sup>67</sup> Appointed caretaker Rector in 1610 by Joseph Cresswell in succession to Ashton, Newman managed the administration of the Residence from Persons' death in 1610 for the remainder of its existence.<sup>68</sup>

Despite Persons' reluctance to send priests attached to the administration of the Residence to the Mission Blackfan recalled Newman from the Residence to serve on the Mission. Newman had been condemned to death in England in 1601 with Anne Line. His death sentence commuted to banishment, he worked at Seville until 1609 when he received his viaticum to Lisbon on Persons' orders. Newman spent the next thirty-one years in Lisbon and realised the establishment of an English College in 1622 on a very different model to the one Persons had intended. His notoriety however made him incapable of ever serving the Mission again; he was a fugitive in England Newman wrote to Blackfan on the unsuitability of sending priests from the Residence to the Mission because of their exposure amongst English Protestant

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<sup>64</sup> A1, p. 305.

<sup>65</sup> Brearley, *Hugo Gurgeny*, p. 18. Ashton was not a Jesuit though he was educated at the Jesuit administered College at Valladolid. See A1, pp. 11 – 12.

<sup>66</sup> Alice Hogge, *God's Secret Agents; Elizabeth's Forbidden Priests and the Hatching of the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 2005).

<sup>67</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Newman Papers, Newman's Account of the Residence, 1621.

<sup>68</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, Joseph Cresswell to William Newman, 1 June 1610.

merchants. He pointed out that this had been the opinion of Cresswell and that of Blackfan's former mentor, Robert Persons:

It would altogether disable me to go over upon the mission of England, by reason of my dealing so publicly with such an infinite number of all sorts of people, as that it would afterwards be impossible to live in any place of England, but that either by traveller, or merchant, or mariner, I must needs be discovered and known.<sup>69</sup>

Blackfan, having assumed responsibility for sending priests to England in 1615, saw the Residence as a suitable foundation to utilise for the Mission. This suggested that the Jesuits had acknowledged the importance of Lisbon and were prepared to use the Residence exclusively for serving the Mission on a model similar to that of Valladolid, elevating its status from a Residence to a College. Floyd raised the issue of establishing a college as early as 1608. Ashton purchased property before 1605 for this same purpose, presumably with orders from the English Jesuit authorities in Madrid.<sup>70</sup>

The most remarkable aspect of the early history of the English College at Lisbon is how it came to be founded at all. The foundation was in marked contrast to those colleges established in Castile and Andalusia by Persons and Cresswell from 1589 – 1611. The second part of this chapter charts the failure of Blackfan to carry out Persons' blueprint to turn the Residence into a College on the model of Valladolid, under Jesuit administration. Lacking Persons's skills of persuasion Blackfan lost control of the foundation to a Portuguese aristocrat, Dom Pedro de Coutinho and the English secular clergy led by Newman.<sup>71</sup>

The early history of the College is that of its foundation.<sup>72</sup> Despite existing as a college *de jure* from 1622 no college *de facto* existed for a further six years. The material that survives for this period charts the foundation's prolonged birth-pangs, frail infancy and melancholy childhood.<sup>73</sup> There is extensive correspondence for the years 1622 – 28 but thereafter surviving material is scarcer. Central to the

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<sup>69</sup> Tierney-Dodd 3, p. cclii – ccliii.

<sup>70</sup> A2, pp. 11 – 12.

<sup>71</sup> Victor Houlston, 'Persons [Parsons], Robert (1546-1610)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed, 17 Oct 2005: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21474>].

<sup>72</sup> The only comprehensive biography of this enigmatic character is Beverley Southgate's, *"Covetous of Truth": the life and work of Thomas White, 1593 – 1676* (London, 1993).

<sup>73</sup> This chapter uses three collections from the Sheet Archive of the Lisbon Collection as the basis of the narrative: the Coutinho, Foundation and Newman Papers.



foundation's historical account is the *College Annals*: an account of alumni, common to all the continental colleges, a part-diurnal and part-historical account of notable events.<sup>74</sup> It is of critical importance to the early history, though its limitations have been acknowledged by Sharratt.<sup>75</sup> An anonymous document entitled *Plantatio et Progressus* contains an account of the Douatian odyssey to Lisbon in the summer of 1628; followed by a series of diurnal entries (probably) written by William Day, a student of the foundation, concerning the parlous state of the early College.<sup>76</sup> This is critical in understanding the disputes over the College's administration that plagued the administration of the early College from 1622 to the resignation of Thomas White in 1633.<sup>77</sup>

### 1.6. 'Prelude to a Stir': the College of St. George, Madrid.

The College at Lisbon emerged against a background of division in the English Catholic community over the Oath of Allegiance. Whilst the flames of internal division threatened to scorch the harvest of the Mission, the colleges of Douai and Rome were flourishing. In Castile, the Jesuits enjoyed the patronage of the Habsburg crown and wealthy Iberian benefactors. Though Jesuit influence on the Mission was disproportionate when considering numbers, the English Jesuit company never succeeded in controlling its continental infrastructure. President Matthew Kellison of Douai (1613 – 1641), ejected the College's Jesuit *confessarius* and withdrew students from Jesuit schools in the city, making Douai the only secular college serving the English Mission.<sup>78</sup> The foundation of the College at Madrid

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<sup>74</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 4, Register of the English College, Lisbon, compiled from the *Annals* and other documents, 1628 – 1821.

<sup>75</sup> I have used the transcribed version of the *Annales Collegii* edited by Michael Sharratt, *Lisbon College Register 1628 – 1813* (CRS Publications 72, London, 1991), vii – xiii hereafter *Annals*. The standard form of names used by Sharratt has been adopted throughout this thesis.

<sup>76</sup> The original is in UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, (47): *Plantatio et Progressus Collegii Anglorum Cleri ex Duacena Missione Ulyssiponem, 1632 – 33*. For the account of Joseph Haynes's imprisonment (later first President from 1626), the journey from Douai and other information see: Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon', *Ushaw Magazine*, (December, 1975, pp. 7 – 24; June, 1976, pp. 30 – 41; December, 1976, pp. 22 – 35). Sharratt noted that this document was a draft for an early history of the College that was never written up. This series of articles charts the colonisation of the College at Lisbon by President Haynes and his band of Douatians across France, Catalonia and Castile into Portugal. Entitled *Plantatio et Progressus* it is accompanied by a diurnal account of events in the college which take the narrative up to the end of September 1633 most likely authored by a founding student, William Day.

<sup>77</sup> I have not sought to repeat the work of Michael Sharratt with reference to the colonisation of the College at Lisbon from Douai.

<sup>78</sup> David Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Ushaw, 1964), p. 6.

served to illustrate how detached the company were, following Persons' death, from the secular clergy and their fellow continental Jesuits.

The Madrid College originated from a bequest made by Caesar Bogacio, an Italian physician to Philip III.<sup>79</sup> Joseph Cresswell (as Prefect of the English missionaries) maintained the right of nomination to the Rectorship of the foundation at Madrid but the powers of administration of the property and rents were the preserve of the Rector, guaranteed by the Apostolic Nuncio.<sup>80</sup> John Thompson, a secular priest, was appointed as the College's first Rector: Cresswell was oblivious to the difficulties of jurisdiction this move would entail. Subject only to the Holy See, the Rector could resist all attempts by Vitelleschi (General of the Jesuit Order) to place the College under the governance of the Society which remained Bogacio's intention from the start. The presence of a secular Rector with powers of administration over the College's management displeased the Society in Madrid.<sup>81</sup> Pending the advice of Vitelleschi the English Jesuits were instructed to leave the College in the hands of the secular Rector. Taking note of the large sum of money Cresswell had already committed to the College at Madrid Vitelleschi agreed to accept the foundation on the same basis as Seville and Valladolid. The difficult transition from a series of houses in the *Calle del Principe* to a Tridentine missionary college represented a prelude for the disastrous negotiations the English Jesuit company experienced a decade later at Lisbon.

### **1.7. Growing Confidence of the English Secular Clergy, 1622 – 28.**

The secular agencies of Thomas More and John Bennett, veterans of the Appellant Controversy, were proving more influential at the court of St. Peter than ever before. The securing of a Bishop for England, from the Congregation of Propaganda in 1623, was a great *coup* for the secular clergy.<sup>82</sup> Fortunately for the secular agents in Rome, there was no member of the English Jesuit company with Persons' skills at court to replace him following his death in 1610. The foundation at

<sup>79</sup> See *Resumen de la Fundacion, y Sucessos del Seminario de Inglesses de S. Jorge* in Edwin Henson (ed.) *The English College at Madrid* (CRS Publications 29, London, 1929), 1 – 77. Williams', 'Origins', p. 482. Henson, *Records of the English College Madrid*, p. 78.

<sup>80</sup> Henson, *Records of the English College at Madrid*, p. 88.

<sup>81</sup> Henson, *Records of the English College at Madrid*, p. 93.

<sup>82</sup> A series of secular agents represented the English clergy in Rome from the early seventeenth century. Bishop Smith ordered negotiations to proceed with Coutinho. John Bennett (whose name appears on the Apostolic Breve) *De Ereptione et Fundatione Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* (Lisbon, 1622), succeeded in convincing Propaganda to grant Coutinho's wish in excluding the Society.



Madrid served only to reveal the inadequacies of English Jesuit leadership of the Mission in Madrid.<sup>83</sup> Blackfan was left a healthy legacy by Cresswell, despite the latter's botched beginnings at the English College, Madrid. The colleges at Valladolid, Seville and Madrid were well endowed, colonised with students and serving the Mission with a zeal Persons would have been proud of.<sup>84</sup> Blackfan's greatest inadequacies were exposed in his handling of the Residence at Lisbon. The Residence remained under the direction of the English Jesuit company and enjoyed good relations with the Prefects in Madrid who maintained control over the nomination of the Rector. This cordiality broke down in the summer of 1621.<sup>85</sup> Ordered to return to England for the service of the Mission, Newman, who had expressed his reticence to leave Lisbon on a previous occasion, sent a candid reply to Blackfan declining the offer. The dispute began as a misunderstanding as to Newman's office as Rector. Though it was not unusual to send English secular clergy to the Mission from the Jesuit colleges abroad, Newman noted Blackfan's motives were not wholly innocent. It was unusual to send clergy attached to the administration of the Residence to England and, as Persons had realised, it remained highly dangerous. Blackfan appears to have been unaware of the Portuguese aristocrat, Dom Pedro de Coutinho's plan to establish a college in the city in 1621 with Newman and the English secular clergy. Further correspondence suggests that Blackfan heard news of the venture from Valladolid after his first request had already reached Newman. Newman wrote to the Archpriest, William Harrison, in May 1621 relating Coutinho's offer of patronage for a college for the use of the English secular clergy. Newman's correspondence to the Archpriest indicated that the secular agent at Rome, Thomas More, had been in negotiations with the secular clergy since March. John Colleton, who had succeeded Harrison as acting-Archpriest in 1621, moved quickly in securing Coutinho's favour.<sup>86</sup> In correspondence addressed to the *Cabido* of Lisbon (Chapter of the Archdiocese), Colleton recommended Newman as procuratorial agent of the

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<sup>83</sup> Blackfan was Prefect of the English missionaries on the Iberian Peninsula from November 1615. McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, vol. 1, pp. 93 and 121. [Joseph Cresswell (Prefect) 1598 – 1613; Anthony Hoskins (Prefect) 1613 – 1615; John Blackfan 1615 onwards: Francis Forster (Procurator) 1618 – 1626]. UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Blackfan to William Newman, 7 October 1620.

<sup>84</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Newman Papers, Account of the English Residency in Lisbon, 1621.

<sup>85</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Blackfan to William Newman, 7 October 1620. This correspondence indicated conviviality between the Rector and the Prefect. Blackfan thanked Newman for his kindness in maintaining the Residence on the Society's behalf.

<sup>86</sup> A1, 82 – 85. Colleton began negotiations with Coutinho and Newman on behalf of the Archpriest's regime and continued as the Bishop of Chalcedon's first Dean and Vicar General.

English secular clergy in Lisbon and instructed the local ecclesiastical authorities to communicate with the Rector on their behalf.<sup>87</sup>

Whether this was a prelude to an English Jesuit foundation remains unclear: the Jesuits had resurrected plans for building a college as early as 1608.<sup>88</sup> General Vitelleschi elevated the English Mission to a Vice-Province in July 1619; the Vice-Province was healthy and solvent, so the time for the Society to build further colleges was favourable. Newman's reply to Blackfan, however, did not suggest holy obedience.<sup>89</sup> Having been sent by Cresswell (not by Persons as Blackfan believed) Newman had been in Lisbon for some sixteen years. His position was not dependent on the Mission and though he had taken the Missionary Oath at Seville, Newman's were extenuating circumstances. As an officer of the Holy Office, Newman had accepted, as his predecessors had done before him, employment to supplement his meagre allowance as Rector.<sup>90</sup> Cresswell readily understood that the post of Rector disqualified the incumbent to work on the Mission, his notoriety would have undoubtedly exposed himself and English Catholics to unaccustomed dangers, as his letter admitted. The clash of jurisdictions that plagued the English clergy is clear in this correspondence.<sup>91</sup> Newman's work in England would be, by his own admission, dependent on the Archpriest regime, his Superior in England but, having taken the Oath at Seville, Newman was legally under the jurisdiction of Blackfan who was entitled to dispose of him as he saw fit.<sup>92</sup> Blackfan did not see Newman's reasoning: whether Cresswell or Persons had placed him in Lisbon was inconsequential. Writing from Valladolid, Blackfan rebuked Newman for his disloyalty and questioned his motives with regards to his negotiations with Colleton and the Archpriest:

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<sup>87</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to the Cabido of Lisbon, 19 November 1621. The letter's signatories indicated the makeup of the Archpriest's Council. Of the twelve representatives, nine put their name to Newman's letters of procuration: John Bennett and Joseph Harvey are worthy of note; the former for his work as secular agent for the foundation and the latter who assumed the Presidency of the College under Bishop Smith in 1626.

<sup>88</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Blackfan to William Newman, 7 August 1621. Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclii – ccliii.

<sup>89</sup> The reply Newman gave to Blackfan is in UCA, LC, Durham, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to John Blackfan, 14 August 1621. For a transcript see Tierney-Dodd 4, ccliii – cclv.

<sup>90</sup> Newman's administration included pastoral work on behalf of the Archdiocese. UCA, Durham, LC, Newman Papers, 6 June 1631. President Kellison of Douai was one subject Newman had to deal with relating to his duties at the Holy Office: Newman was in the process of prosecuting regulars who possessed replies to his *A Treatise of the Hierarchie and Divers Orders of the Church against the Anarchie of Calvin* (Douai, 1629) which had been banned by the Holy Office.

<sup>91</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to John Blackfan, 14 August 1621. See also Martin Murphy, *St. Gregory's College, Seville, 1592 – 1767* (CRS Publications 73, London, 1992), p. 86.

<sup>92</sup> Release from this Oath would have required Papal authority.



For, whereas we have been negotiating, many years, to have an English seminary in Lisbon, and, for that end, first procured and established that residence there, that it might be an introduction thereto, now that the business began to grow to a head, you have been so ungrateful, so unmindful of the education you had under us [*at Seville*], and of the confidence we reposed in you, that you have endeavoured to turn it over to secular priests.<sup>93</sup>

Though Newman's reasoning was unsound, his actions were not malicious. Like many seminary priests, he had come to resent Jesuit involvement in the Mission. Blackfan further informed Newman that his position remained under review; the objections of the Holy Office (raised by Newman in his defence) not being an issue that would persuade him otherwise.<sup>94</sup> Newman's own denial at spreading calumnies within the Council of the Viceroy against the Society did little to placate Blackfan, who had lost trust in the Rector. Like Thompson at Madrid, Newman, in his capacity as Rector, was administrator of certain properties set aside for the foundation of a college: holding the properties in trust for the Society. The desire to exclude the Jesuits from all government, of which Blackfan was aware, originated with Coutinho *after* Newman had already accepted his patronage.<sup>95</sup> The Coutinho Correspondence suggests that Dodd's assertion that the desire to establish a missionary college originated from Newman is mistaken. The notion of founding a college, independent of the Residence and the patronage of the English Jesuit company at São Roque, was Coutinho's and his alone.<sup>96</sup> Newman's success in gaining favourable audiences within the Escorial was through Coutinho's own court influences, not his own. The involvement of the secular clergy in the projected College came comparatively late in the day; the guiding hand behind the earliest foundation negotiations was that of Coutinho.

This correspondence between Newman and Blackfan did not represent a breakdown in relations between the English Jesuit company and the secular clergy. Dodd's representation of this correspondence is characteristically anti-Jesuit and bears a tendency to the sensational that is unwarranted. In Portugal relations between the two parties remained largely amicable: Francis Forster, later Procurator of the Mission for English missionaries in Iberia wrote favourable letters to the *Cabido* after hearing the news of Newman's intentions to give the properties over to Coutinho and

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<sup>93</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, cclv – cclvi: John Blackfan to William Newman, 21 August 1621.

<sup>94</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, London, Chapter Papers 131, John Blackfan to William Newman, 21 August 1621.

<sup>95</sup> Coutinho wanted the College to have a secular government. See Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives London, A XXVII, no. 57, William Clifford to Richard Smith, 14 May 1633.

<sup>96</sup> H. Tootell, (*vere* Charles Dodd), *Dodd's Church History* (3 vols. Wolverhampton, 1737 – 1742), part 5.1.4, p. 345.

the seculars, for a missionary college, and Newman was still receiving faculties from the *Cabido* for confessions after the Blackfan dispute.<sup>97</sup>

### 1. 8. Dom Pedro de Coutinho.

What little is known of Dom Coutinho derives from his secretary António Soares de Albergaria. An account left by him charted Coutinho's genealogy and his part in the foundation of the College. Written in 1660 it charted Coutinho's ancestry, his social and familial links in Iberian aristocracies and his positions at court.<sup>98</sup> Coming from an illustrious Portuguese noble house, outside of the Braganças, his was one of the most illustrious Portuguese families in the Kingdom.<sup>99</sup> As a member of the cadet branch of the Coutinho dynasty (the Marialvos) Dom Pedro was able to trace his lineage back to Dom Afonso Henriques, who was given the title, 'Coutinho' for his capture of Couto de Leomil from the Moors.<sup>100</sup> Coutinho's father fell with King Sebastião on the battlefield of Alcácer-Qiubir and his three brothers died serving in the Portuguese colonies: all without issue. As commander of the garrison of Ormuz during the Luso-Persian wars, Coutinho was consulted by Philip's *Estado* on how to defend the Portuguese colony in the early 1620s.<sup>101</sup> An unusually sycophantic and implicitly treasonous letter from Colleton assured Coutinho of the English clergy's prayers for the success of the expedition to recapture the fort from the infidels and the heretical English.<sup>102</sup> Another correspondence expressed Coutinho's personal disappointment at the failure of the Anglo-Habsburg alliance: he had long desired

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<sup>97</sup> UCA, LC, Durham, Correspondence Papers, Francis Forster to Antonio Suarez, 18 March 1622. Forster had been involved with Bogacios's foundation at Madrid so may not have seen Newman's intentions with Ashton's bequest as detrimental to the Society; UCA, Durham, LC, Newman Papers, Confessional Faculties, 1 August 1624.

<sup>98</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, 'A Genealogia de Dom Pedro Coutinho e o motivo que teve para fundar o colegio', 16 February 1660/1. His pro-Habsburg leanings were illustrated in his opposition to the Portuguese pretender, Antonio, Prior of Castro: Fortunato de Almeida, *História de Portugal, 1580 – 1816* (vol. 4, Coimbra, 1926), p. 15.

<sup>99</sup> The ill fated attempt to take on the Moroccan King Sherif Muley Abdelmalik at Alcácer-Qiubir in 1576 led to the massacre of most of the Portuguese nobility; the mortal blow for the House of Aviz and ultimately for the independence of the Kingdom of Portugal.

<sup>100</sup> His coat of arms which was adopted by the English College of SS. Peter and Paul represented this capture. The five stars representing the five Moorish kingdoms of Portugal surmounted by a coroneted military visor crowned by a lion breathing flames into a laurel wreath of victory.

<sup>101</sup> Raymundo António de Bulhão Pato (ed.) *Documentos Remittidos da India, ou Livros das Monções* (4 vols., Lisbon, 1880), I, pp. 51 – 52, 79 – 80; II, pp. 223 – 224, 304, 408; IV, pp. 174, 479.

<sup>102</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, John Colleton (Dean) to Dom Pedro de Coutinho, 7 April 1623.



better relations between Castile and her former enemy, disappointed at the breakdown of the Anglo-Spanish marriage negotiations.<sup>103</sup>

Coutinho's interest in the college had been a stroke of luck for the secular clergy, who were keen to capitalise on his enthusiasm. Newman agreed to negotiate with Coutinho without the authority of the Prefect and defended his actions as follows:

I cannot see what fault may be laid to my charge, nor what want of any honest correspondence, or wherein I have broke my fidelity, or any kind of trust that was committed unto me; having done nothing else than only accepted of an alms, and procured to help therewith my poor country out of heresy; which otherwise would not have been given unto it, and neither the fathers [*Jesuits*] nor any other English, have gotten thereof one single penny.<sup>104</sup>

As Rector of the Residence, Newman's responsibility did not stretch to seeking financial help from wealthy benefactors. The Procurator, Francis Forster was delegated for that task; however, Newman noted that Forster raised no objections to his own deliberations with Coutinho.<sup>105</sup> Correspondence from the Archpriest defended Newman's protestations and commended the project. Having gained Chapter support Coutinho instructed Archpriest Harrison (who had been dead three weeks when the letter left Lisbon) to send procurators to aid Newman with the foundation deliberations.

Two factors persuaded Blackfan to back down on the matter of sending Newman on the Mission: firstly, as an officer of the Holy Office Newman required permission from the authorities to leave which the Dominicans were likely to refuse. The breakdown in relations between Newman and Blackfan was on an independent basis: this was not a repeat of the English situation at the peripheries. Newman's correspondence with Harrison related once more how the idea to give the foundation to the English secular clergy originated with Coutinho and him alone.<sup>106</sup> In a letter to the *Cabido* of Lisbon, Colleton used his position as titular head of the secular clergy

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<sup>103</sup> See UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, 1 July 1623 and 16 July 1623. This matter arose once again in correspondence dated 9 September 1623.

<sup>104</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclvi – cclvii: William Newman (Madrid) to John Blackfan, 28 August 1621.

<sup>105</sup> Several months after relations between Blackfan and Newman had broken down Forster was still commending Newman as a good priest to the Lisbon *Cabido*. See UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Francis Forster to Antonio Suarez, 18 March 1622.

<sup>106</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to William Harrison (Archpriest), 1 May 1621.

to appeal for Portuguese civic and ecclesiastical support. The *Cabido* was not as anti-Jesuit as many of the Castilian chapters were. The Cardinal-King Dom Henriques had given generously to the Society before the Succession and the Jesuits were popular amongst the Portuguese aristocracy. The Society enjoyed privileges in Portugal that were not granted them in Castile. Colleton was unaware of these sympathies; his letter recommending Newman as agent for the seculars asked the *Cabido* to support the wishes of Coutinho not to allow the regulars to seize control of the negotiations. In a separate copy of this same correspondence in Castilian, Newman's credentials from Cresswell are attached in an addendum supporting his claims against Blackfan's jurisdiction.

Colleton's correspondence reads as though the dispute between Blackfan and Newman had turned into a battle between the Jesuit Order and the secular clergy of England.<sup>107</sup> This remained a misconception representative of an embattled secular clergy, on the Mission at least, set on one side by the state and on the other by the Society with an outlook which was, understandably, insular. Though the Jesuit vs. secular dichotomy later became a fashionable interpretation of the Mission (particularly its historiography) it is not useful or appropriate when seen in exile. No greater an authority than the General of the Order himself provided that conclusion. Vitelleschi's correspondence to his Provincial in Madrid maintained that this dispute was a local one, not indicative of a full scale breakdown in relations.<sup>108</sup>

**1.9. 'I assure you that by now I am losing hope of this business ever getting started.'<sup>109</sup>**

Coutinho's and Newman's fears of a local Jesuit backlash against the proposed College were well grounded. Coutinho's project had first been considered by Philip's Viceroy at the *desembargo do Paço* in Lisbon where doubts were raised

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<sup>107</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton and Assistants to the Lisbon Chapter, 19 October 1621.

<sup>108</sup> This issue is related below: Jesuit attempts to take control of the College were not always phoney. It is clear from President White's later administration that there were real attempts made by the English Jesuit company to make life very difficult for the fledgling College. This paranoia finds itself in a copy of Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (n.p., 1548). A member of one of the early administrations procured this text and, though the hand is not recognisable, wrote '*non prohibetur*' on the flyleaf. Perhaps this was for fear of the Holy Office, whose General was also Protector of the College (though Day's account of the first Protector is too endearing to be fearful); it is more likely a response to the fear of a Jesuit takeover as happened in Madrid. How a text written by the founder of the Society of Jesus would offend the orthodox sensibilities of the Jesuits is another question.

<sup>109</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 20 November 1621.



by the Council. Coutinho insisted these were ungrounded and could easily be overruled:

Their Excellencies on the Council will see it that this being a work of charity that does not involve the upkeep of anyone, rather a licence is asked for an English seminary and nothing is being asked for its establishment. The Society who are involved are very serious in their petition and we don't know what the *desembargo do Paço* or the viceroy's reply will be.

The Viceroy's consent for the case to proceed to Madrid was duly secured and Coutinho appointed Newman his agent at the Escorial. An *alvara* from Philip IV was necessary before issues of governance and protection could be raised at the Lateran. Newman's agency correspondence is the only clear indication of the mind of Coutinho with regards to the foundation settlement. As a kinsman of the Conde-Duque de Olivares, Coutinho was no stranger to the workings of the Escorial and his familial links ensured speedy progress through Habsburg bureaucracy.<sup>110</sup>

Some confusion arose as to the progress of the *provisão* (the formal document conferring office on the secular clergy). Coutinho's belief that it had progressed to the *mesa* (table) of Alfonso Soares was mistaken.<sup>111</sup> The anxiety which resulted was unwarranted and characteristic of Coutinho's growing impatience. Without formal recognition from the King, Coutinho was intent on pushing ahead, thinking the matter of gaining licences from Madrid nothing but a formality.<sup>112</sup> The breakthrough came in January 1622 when the Court of Chancery approved the foundation.<sup>113</sup> With the *provisão* in hand Coutinho reminded Newman that they could negotiate further upon his own return to Lisbon.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> On his maternal side Dom Pedro inherited the blood of the Dukes of Medina Sidonia of the powerful Guzmán clan; on his paternal side he could boast lineage from the Counts of Abrantes. Dom Pedro's great-nephew received the title of 9<sup>th</sup> Conde of Redondo. Dom Pedro's line came from Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, Senhor of the Court of Leomil.

<sup>111</sup> It was in the house of Pedro Sanches Farinha, a public notary attached to the Viceroy's palace at Lisbon. Coutinho's paranoia may have been warranted; it is more probable that administration between the Viceroy and the Escorial was not proceeding quickly as Coutinho had hoped.

<sup>112</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Lisbon) to William Newman (Madrid), 1 January 1622.

<sup>113</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Lisbon) to William Newman (Madrid), 4 January 1622.

<sup>114</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Lisbon) to William Newman (Madrid), 22 January 1622.

Though the King's *alvara* had been granted, the *provisão* required further concrete ratification before the project could proceed further. Coutinho noted that the final documents should contain reference to the *Rules and Constitutions* that Kellison's administration at Douai would be asked to formulate on their behalf. Coutinho recalled Thomas More to Lisbon so that they could seek his advice: the new ecclesial regime's support from England was necessary for the running of the foundation once negotiations had been concluded at the Escorial. The need to secure a favourable response from Colleton was, as Coutinho realised, integral to the project getting off the ground.<sup>115</sup>

The slow progress of the *provisão* gave Coutinho much cause for concern. The reason for the delay lay in the matter of the King's annual subsidy, a meagre sum in comparison to the royal subsidies given to Valladolid.<sup>116</sup> Jesuit opposition to the project was not the only factor that concerned Coutinho, who was growing increasingly infirm. Coutinho had informed More privately that he should seek President Kellison's support to 'declare to His Majesty and his ministers that we will not come to found it [the College] if in any way a Jesuit should be involved, whether in terms of temporal or spiritual jurisdiction.' The matter of a Protector, a man of sufficient stature to keep out the Jesuits, was pressing as the negotiations continued. Philip would not agree to the project unless a suitable Protector was found. Coutinho provided express instructions to More and Newman in Madrid against caving in to the Jesuits. Coutinho informed Newman that the King should be made aware that he 'would neither wish [his] money be spent nor managed except by the secular English clergy to whom I give it.'<sup>117</sup> The Dominican preacher Domingo dos Rosario informed Coutinho that if the College was subject to the Dominicans the necessary royal permissions would be obtained sooner. There was no doubt about Dominican influence at court; Philip II's trusted confessor, Sotomayor, had been a Dominican and his son, Philip III, a man described by Stradling as the 'religiously fanatical and suggestible sovereign', continued to support the Dominicans and the English Mission though without the military aggressiveness of his father.<sup>118</sup> Philip IV's confessor was

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<sup>115</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Lisbon) to William Newman (Madrid), 18 December 1621. Not in Coutinho's hand. Coutinho's protestations in this letter refer to an accident that affected him badly; this may have made him more desirous of action.

<sup>116</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Lisbon) to William Newman (Madrid), 3 July 1621.

<sup>117</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 20 November 1621.

<sup>118</sup> R.A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621 – 1665* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 7.



Dominican, Luis de Aliaga was a kinsman of Olivares and thus indirectly of Coutinho.<sup>119</sup>

Habsburg policy towards the English Mission had, with the exception of the College at Madrid, been consistent. The colleges at Seville and Valladolid were agreed upon by Persons and Philip II on the condition that native Jesuits governed as Rectors. This condition (under the Duke of Lerma) was waived for Madrid which enjoyed English Jesuit Rectors until 1667. A Habsburg foundation for the English Mission without a Jesuit administration seemed anomalous. Lisbon was therefore a test case so far as Habsburg policy towards the Mission was concerned. Coutinho had informed his kinsman, the Conde-Duque, that the exclusion of the Society from his foundation was non-negotiable. Olivares informed Coutinho that he could have his college if he would agree to the Dominican Inquisitor General acting in the office of Protector.<sup>120</sup>

The Inquisitor General, one of the most powerful clerics in the Kingdom of Portugal, represented royal authority and social orthodoxy.<sup>121</sup> Rosario noted the success of the Irish Dominicans in the city at Corpo Santo and urged Coutinho to seek their help in procuring permits from Madrid and Rome. Coutinho instructed Newman to propose the idea to Olivares whilst in Madrid. Newman was advised to seek the advice of the Viceroy in examining whether the plan was feasible. It is unlikely that Philip, being a boy of sixteen, was ever consulted over the original *alvara* which was at the dispensation of Olivares; though Coutinho's letters indicated the boy-King and his confessor were influential in securing the Inquisitor's consent to act as Protector. The matter of protection was of great concern; in light of Jesuit hostility, Coutinho argued that the advice of Rosario should be taken. Coutinho's gambit paid off; the

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<sup>119</sup> See A.D. Wright, *Catholicism and Spanish Society under the reign of Philip II and Philip III* (Lewiston, 1991).

<sup>120</sup> This development goes against those in England, including those within the secular clergy, who saw the Habsburgs as protectors of the Society. Philip II had seen them as little more than Basque separatists; his grandson Philip Dominic Victor de la Cruz (Philip IV) continued to see the Dominicans as instruments of religious and state orthodoxy. The Jesuit support for the rebellion of the Braganças in 1640 proved him right. The Habsburgs did not see the English Mission as an exclusive preserve of the Jesuits as Vitelleschi demonstrated to Forster above.

<sup>121</sup> The revisionist, largely sympathetic account of this relation remains Henry Kamen's *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 1965). A revised account was published in 1997 which stressed the Holy Office's role in maintaining social orthodoxy, disputing its role as representative of Catholic centralisation of power. Helen Rawlings' published MA thesis *The Spanish Inquisition* addresses some of the issues concerning social conformity. Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain* (New York, 2002); *The Spanish Inquisition* (London, 2006).

*alvara* was granted later that summer and the crown agreed to the Protector in principle, giving leave to the seculars to petition the Inquisitor.<sup>122</sup>

Thomas More's acumen at the Escorial rivalled that of Persons; aware of the Habsburg monarchy's trust in the Dominicans, More petitioned the Inquisitor Mascarenhas for his patronage.<sup>123</sup> More's correspondence to Mascarenhas clearly demonstrated that the Habsburg *alvara* depended on the Inquisitor's personal acceptance of the offer to take the College's Protectorship. More used the example of Douai to convince Mascarenhas of the need for a college governed by seculars. Douai's reputation within Iberian elites had been founded on its catalogue of martyrs; the hagiographical importance of the College attracted popular devotion and displays of charitable works from the court and aristocracy.<sup>124</sup> In Madrid Olivares failed to understand why the Holy Office was refusing the Protectorate of the foundation and demanded a swift answer, insisting it was the will of the King that the General accepted the office. Although Mascarenhas' successor, Francisco de Castro, expressed doubts over the foundation from the start, however, he did not accept the Protectorate should be attached *in perpetuum* to the Portuguese Holy Office. Coutinho stipulated in the negotiations with the King that the Protector's remit should extend to financial management and visitations of collegiate life and learning, but that he was not to reside in the College or have any role in the appointment of the President.<sup>125</sup>

The protection of the Holy Office remained a prerequisite for the *alvara* to take the case to the Lateran. Aid from England was also pressing: however, accusations that support from the secular clergy was wanting in the early days of the foundation are groundless. Colleton wrote to Coutinho recommending Newman as President months after More had raised the issue at the Escorial; the speed of the

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<sup>122</sup> Williams, *O colégio dos Missionários ingleses* (Braga, 1993), p. 111. UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 20 November 1621. Coutinho's financier, Walter Yates, later secured 5000 crowns for the purchase of a house and land within the Bairro Alto with an additional 500 crowns *p.a.* for the maintenance of the Superiors and alumni.

<sup>123</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Thomas More to Ferdinando Martinez Mascarenhas, 24 October 1621.

<sup>124</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Thomas More to Ferdinando Martinez Mascarenhas, 24 November 1621.

<sup>125</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 20 November 1621.



response did not denote lack of interest.<sup>126</sup> Whilst engaged in matters concerning the office of Protector at Madrid, More's colleague at Rome, John Bennett was working on the assumption that Mascarenhas would accept the office and the *alvara* would be forthcoming. Bennett had secured a meeting with Pope Gregory XV and discussed the proposal with him during a personal audience.<sup>127</sup> The matter had been referred to Cardinal Sauli, Prefect of the newly founded Congregation for Propaganda (co-President with the Cardinal Nephew Ludovico Ludovisi).<sup>128</sup> The deliberations at Madrid and Rome convinced Colleton that the need to keep Coutinho interested in the project was pressing: sent via President Kellison at Douai, Colleton informed Coutinho of the Chapter's full satisfaction in Newman, creating him agent for them in all matters relating to the foundation.<sup>129</sup>

The King's securing of the protection of the Holy Office did not satisfy Coutinho who demanded further concessions. The Protector was to be prohibited from delegating his authority to anyone outside the Holy Office or the Dominicans: thus excluding the Jesuits. How Coutinho developed such anti-Jesuit sympathies that were in marked contrast to the majority of Portuguese aristocrats is unclear.<sup>130</sup> His characteristic ebullience, which he channelled at Kings and priests alike, is easier to explain through his correspondence.<sup>131</sup> Newman's own correspondence showed a gradual development of anti-Jesuit tendencies that Coutinho's letters demonstrated from the start. The condemnation of Blackfan's alleged attempt to move Valladolid to Lisbon represented one such characteristic outburst (Persons had earlier considered moving Valladolid to Salamanca, only to reject the idea as being impractical). Coutinho wrote to Newman that:

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<sup>126</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 14 May 1622.

<sup>127</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclx – cclxii: John Bennett to unknown, 31 July 1622.

<sup>128</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Bennett to Edward Missenden, 13 June 1622.

<sup>129</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Matthew Kellison to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 30 September 1622.

<sup>130</sup> Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, pp. 35, 87, 97, 109.

<sup>131</sup> Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise*, pp. 51, 94, 174. Coutinho's position as Governor of the garrison at Ormuz may have led him into some dispute with the Jesuit house there; though this remains conjectural.

My intention is that no Jesuit should under any circumstances enter this seminary, nor should anyone have anything to do with its running except the English themselves who will be responsible to the Inquisitor General for its government, so that he may allow and reprove what he sees fit in the income and expenses as well as in the customs and way of life. And likewise in the choice they make of Rector and other posts in the House [...] It has also come to me that the Jesuits do want the secular lecturers to have licences, because they wish to be the [only] ones who have them, but if this is not a point which concerns His Majesty the Holy Father will grant them [...] I see a great deal of work in the business because they will be that the priests are determined to move to this city the seminary from Valladolid.<sup>132</sup>

There is little to support the claim that Blackfan, who had negotiated Valladolid's foundation in 1589, ever intended to move the College to Lisbon. It seems more representative of an attempt to threaten and cajole than a practical course of action, which Persons had previously rejected as impractical.<sup>133</sup>

The ease in which the case for a secular college passed through the Escorial relied on Coutinho's position as privy councillor. The secular agents had access to the King himself, and more importantly, the royal confessor Aliaga, a *de facto* member of the *Estado*. Coutinho's court connections ensured the swift approval of the *alvara*. Some mention is made of Jesuit complaints against the whole proceeding but this appears to be related to harassment encountered by Newman, rather than a concerted attempt to block the *alvara* which the Society never had any realistic hopes of doing. Coutinho had already received a draft of the Douai constitutions from President Kellison. More was despatched to Rome to secure constitutions and privileges, the former similar to Douai and the latter to those of the English College at Rome. Newman returned to Lisbon to continue negotiations with the Founder.<sup>134</sup>

On his return to Lisbon, Newman found that Blackfan had been busy in his absence. Newman had been deprived of his chaplaincy at the Castle of St. George given him by Martín Gonçales de Camara. His revenues from the Archbishop and the Duke of Bragança had likewise been withdrawn. Critically Newman had been dispossessed of Ashton's bequest.<sup>135</sup> More wrote to Thomas White to petition the

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<sup>132</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 20 November 1621. Sharratt's translation from Portuguese into modernised English.

<sup>133</sup> Valladolid's unique position as a Royal College made it one of the most difficult foundations to amend; a position which it retains to this day.

<sup>134</sup> The properties left to Newman by Ashton for the building of a missionary college seemed to have disappeared; perhaps Coutinho sold them to raise more funds for the College. The site, in the parish of Santa Catarina of the Bairro Alto district, was one of the most desirable areas of the city. Coutinho wrote to Newman informing him that he was aware Philip IV had signed the *provisão*. See UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, 4 January 1622. Thomas White's role in these negotiations remains unclear.

<sup>135</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, 2 January 1623.



Nuncio to restore the properties to Newman and the secular clergy.<sup>136</sup> Aggrieved by these animosities Coutinho petitioned the Cardinal Protector of England (also Protector of Portugal) Cardinal Farnese to instruct the Jesuits to cease their interference.<sup>137</sup> Having received the *alvara* from the King, Coutinho provided a synopsis of his intentions and the progress of the project so far. Chief in Coutinho's report were the criticisms he levelled at the Jesuits, whom he accused of obstructing his pious work for the good of souls: an argument Propaganda could not dismiss lightly, bearing in mind their jurisdiction. In the strongest words Coutinho condemned Forster for mounting an organised opposition in Madrid and Lisbon to the secular clergy. He emphasised the importance of the English secular authorities to the English Mission.

### 1.10. The case before Propaganda.

The two most powerful congregations in the Tridentine papacy were the Holy Office and De Propaganda Fide. Coutinho had argued from the start for the need to secure the Holy Office's protection; having done so, the case required the approval of Propaganda. Coutinho's foundation under the protection of the Portuguese Office presented a strong case to Propaganda Fide. The Inquisitor General's rights of visitation and protection proved satisfactory to both parties. Coutinho instructed Newman to inform Cardinal Sauli to sugar the pill with an initial 5000 *cruzados* for the project and a further 500 *cruzados p.a.* for the upkeep of Superiors and Alumni. Crucial to the success of More's case at Rome was the securing of a copy of the Douai constitutions from Kellison. These were required to persuade the Congregation that Coutinho's project was viable and had the support of the administration at Douai. Coutinho's doubts over the success of the case before the Lateran and Propaganda were well grounded.<sup>138</sup> He had petitioned Aliaga to put a stop to Jesuit interference in Lisbon but his assistance was of no use at Rome where Jesuit influence was well entrenched, particularly in relation to mission.<sup>139</sup> Correspondence from Coutinho to

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<sup>136</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A16 n. 103. The Apostolic Nuncio represented the Holy See at Madrid. His sub-nuncio, the Apostolic Collector represented the Pope at Lisbon. A problem caused by the union of the two crowns.

<sup>137</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclviii – cclx: Dom Pedro Coutinho to Cardinal Farnese, 19 March 1622.

<sup>138</sup> Further research in the archives of Propaganda might shed light on the matter of the Apostolic Breve.

<sup>139</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 5 June 1622.

Newman noted that the Society was obstructing the progress of the College within the Papal curia.<sup>140</sup>

Jesuit opposition at Rome represented the greatest threat to the securing of the Apostolic Breve.<sup>141</sup> Gregory XV, the Pope who placed Loyola and Xavier on to the altars of the Universal Church, did not seem the likeliest contender to agree to the terms of the foundation as presented by the English secular clergy. Ludovisi, writing on behalf of his uncle and Propaganda, informed the Apostolic Collector of Portugal (Bishop of Bisceglia) to support Coutinho's plans in any way he could. Fearing that the project would receive its ultimate blow at the Lateran, Coutinho petitioned Sauli to settle the dispute between the English Jesuit company and the secular agents in Rome. Sauli informed Coutinho that the Apostolic Collector had been despatched to settle the matter. The Bishop of Albergante, head of the commission, travelled to Lisbon to investigate Coutinho's appeals.<sup>142</sup> In the letters of recommendation from Albergante, Newman regained the bequest of the property and houses left to him by Ashton (post-dated 6 April 1610). The Society was ordered to cease their obstructions and surrender their claim to the disputed property in Lisbon.<sup>143</sup> In Rome Sauli did not understand Coutinho's reasoning: the Jesuits were highly regarded by the Papacy for their missionary work.<sup>144</sup> To accept Coutinho's project as it stood would have been a step out of protocol for the English Mission, throwing caution to the wind. The role of Francisco Ingoli in this case, Secretary to Propaganda, has been overlooked. The English College at Lisbon suited Ingoli's plans for the missionary territories. His aim, to make the missions independent of the colonial powers, under secular priests aided by a native clergy, increased the seculars' hope of success at Propaganda. It was Ingoli who later persuaded the Congregation of the need for a Bishop for the English

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<sup>140</sup> See also a MS appendix entitled *Copy of Dodd's 'Secret Policy'* (1715) charting the foundation of the College at Lisbon, UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue, no. 546.

<sup>141</sup> Reservations over the College's Protector were still being made in 1632 by Cardinal Borgia to the Apostolic Collector in Lisbon, see Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclxvii.

<sup>142</sup> The Apostolic Collector, an ancient position unique in application to the Castilian dominions acted as Apostolic Nuncio to Portugal. UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Cardinal Sauli to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 23 July 1622; Cardinal Sauli to Albergante, Apostolic Collector, 23 July 1622.

<sup>143</sup> Williams, 'Origins', p. 490 fn.

<sup>144</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Cardinal Ludovisi to the Apostolic Collector of Portugal, the Bishop of Bisceglia, 10 December 1622. The same letter ordered the Collector to override Jesuit claims on the College and the Residence.



Catholic community and that canonical colleges should make up the backbone of the missions, both in the Old and New worlds.<sup>145</sup>

Michael Williams has not represented Coutinho as the avid anti-Jesuit that he has at times been portrayed as. He noted that in the letter to Propaganda Coutinho did not criticise the Society's missionary or educational methods; this was however *his* college and he demanded an exception. Farnese's recommendations highlighted the dangerous game Coutinho was playing. Farnese refused to exclude the Society from the governance of the College and gave the Inquisitor and the Collector joint powers of visitation.<sup>146</sup> At this point the English seculars seized the initiative fearing the whole project would fall through. Bennett (aware of Coutinho's threat to pull out of the project) persuaded Ludovisi that the Collector should only have the rights that any Nuncio would have in common and ecclesiastical law. Ludovisi overruled Sauli's reading of the project. Whether Ludovisi saw an opportunity to curtail Jesuit influence in Portugal, curtailing the *padroado*, is a matter for conjecture; it is however a plausible one.<sup>147</sup> Bennett's second attempt secured Coutinho's wishes and the breve of foundation was granted by Pope Gregory XV dated 22 September 1622.<sup>148</sup> Bennett secured a decree excluding the Jesuit Order by name in December.<sup>149</sup> The breve failed to mention Newman; the man who perhaps worked the hardest for the foundation.<sup>150</sup>

The taking of the hypothetical college of Lisbon (for no such institution yet existed) did little to settle disturbances between the English Jesuit Company and Newman. Bennett accused Vitelleschi of covert attempts to influence the Inquisitor to relinquish authority over the foundation in an attempt to seize control: a point

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<sup>145</sup> Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vol. 27, pp. 132 – 5, 152. UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Bennett to Edward Missenden, 13 June 1622. Bennett noted in this correspondence of his audience with Pope Gregory XV and the continued difficulties that curial officials were placing in the path of securing a Bishop for England.

<sup>146</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, 20 June 1622; Tierney-Dodd 4, p. 130n, cclx[n]. Bennet's view can be seen in Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A16, nos. 116, 117, 118.

<sup>147</sup> Edward Gaylord Bourne's *The Demarcation Line of Pope Alexander VI* (Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Yale, 1892), though outdated, remains an insightful account into the Renaissance Papacy's grant of the powers of *padroado* and *patronato* to the Iberian crowns.

<sup>148</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclxiii – cclxiv.

<sup>149</sup> Tierney-Dodd 4, pp. cclxv: John Bennett to unknown, 18 December 1622.

<sup>150</sup> Bishop Smith made continued protests against Jesuit interference into the College's government from Paris in 1631. See Tierney-Dodd 4, cclxvi – cclxvii.

Vitelleschi later denied.<sup>151</sup> What is clear from Vitelleschi's correspondence on the matter of Jesuit involvement in the Mission is that the Society was not the enemy. In a letter to Pedro de Alarçon, regarding the College at Madrid, Vitelleschi noted the Society should use its influence to help the Mission not to turn the foundations committed to them into Ignatian *casas professoas*. Forster's attempt to turn the College of Madrid into a training house for English Jesuits was scuppered by Vitelleschi's own intervention. In making this point clear he reprimanded Forster, whose oversight with Newman cannot have endeared him to the General:<sup>152</sup>

If your Reverence had recognised the fault you have committed, in having treated of and carried so far forward the proposal that the foundation of the English Seminary [*Madrid*] should be for students of the Society, without giving me an account beforehand of a matter like this and awaited my determination, as you should have done, it would not seem to you that we have used you harshly, but that we have treated you with much kindness, for you have not been given the penance you deserved.<sup>153</sup>

### **1.11. Joseph Haynes appointed President.**

The securing of the royal *alvara* and apostolic breve had exhausted Newman, whose interest in the whole project petered out (to judge from his own letters) The sense of urgency that had kept the deliberations going from 1620 relied on keeping the foundation out of Jesuit hands; once that had been achieved the need for urgency waned. By Coutinho's own admission the constant trips between Lisbon and Madrid were taking their toll on his health. One letter noted a seizure which incapacitated Coutinho so much that his secretary, Albergaria, had to write his letters to Newman which had previously been in his own hand. Coutinho left his agent Walter Yates to keep him informed of the College's development as he convalesced at his residence at Sintra.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> See Henson, *Registers of the English College at Madrid*, pp. 205 – 212.

<sup>152</sup> McCoog, *English and Welsh Jesuits*, vol. 1, p. 93. Francis Forster was procurator for the English Mission 1618 – 1626. He had been a member of the *casa professa* at São Roque.

<sup>153</sup> Transcripts of these two letters can be found in Henson, *Records of the English College at Madrid*, pp. 212 – 214: i) Vitelleschi to Pedro de Alarcon, Rome 25 February 1623; ii) Vitelleschi to Francis Forster, Rome 28 May 1625. Forster was summarily dismissed from office in favour of William Gunter who succeeded him as Procurator.

<sup>154</sup> Yates belonged to the English Catholic mercantile community of Lisbon. He may have been related to Sir Francis Tregian whose eldest daughter married a Thomas Yates.



News of Richard Smith's election as Bishop of England and Scotland in June 1624 reached Coutinho via the Habsburg emissary at London, Carlos Colonna.<sup>155</sup> Coutinho had left the choice of President of the administration open to the secular clergy. Candidates were not readily forthcoming. Newman refused the post outright on several occasions over the four years since it was first offered to him.<sup>156</sup> Joseph Haynes, a veteran of the secular clergy and familiar with the workings of the Iberian colleges, acted as Smith's agent to Coutinho, having had the rights of President conferred upon him and sanctioned by Smith in 1626.<sup>157</sup> The *Annals* noted Haynes as a respected archdeacon who had 'suffered valiantly for the Catholic religion'.<sup>158</sup> Haynes was the nephew of John Bennett whose intervention at the Lateran secured the College for the secular clergy; he had also served on Archpriest Harrison's Council. Coutinho received the news of Smith's nomination of Haynes as President in September 1626, informing him of the latter's forthcoming delegation to Lisbon to complete the discussions on the Bishop's behalf.<sup>159</sup> The account of Haynes' mission is provided in the *Third Douai Diary*:

On June 12<sup>th</sup> [1627] the Revd. Mr. Joseph Haines, a priest and archdeacon in England, who last year was sent to Lisbon in the Kingdom of Portugal by the most Revd. Lord Bishop of Chalcedon, Richard Smith, to the most illustrious Pedro de Coutinho to treat with him about erecting a College there for the English Clergy, came here to treat with the Rt. Revd. President about the same business.<sup>160</sup>

Finding no objection to Haynes, Coutinho rubber-stamped the choice and letters patent bearing the seals of Smith and prominent members of the Chapter were sent appointing the Archdeacon of Essex, as President of the first administration with Newman as his assistant administrator.<sup>161</sup> Under Haynes' Presidency events moved

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<sup>155</sup> UCA, LC, Correspondence Papers, Carlos Colonna to Cardinal Mellino, 1 June 1624.

<sup>156</sup> UCA, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 14 May 1622.

<sup>157</sup> Edwin Burton and Edmond Nolan (eds.) *The Douai College Diaries: the seventh diary, 1715 – 1778* (CRS Publications 28, London, 1928), pp. 10, 96; 30, 81 – 2. Haynes was an alumnus of Valladolid.

<sup>158</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 84.

<sup>159</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Richard Smith to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 5 September 1626. In his brief period as Bishop, William Bishop had neither the time nor the inclination to spend any thought on the College, having more pressing concerns at home. Negotiations were however well under way under his regime.

<sup>160</sup> Burton and Nolan, *Douai College Diaries*, p. 252.

<sup>161</sup> Godfrey Anstruther, 'Historical Letters' *The Lisbonian* 30/2 (December, 1966), pp. 45 – 52.

quickly; writing from Douai he informed Newman that the process of selecting staff and students was progressing well.<sup>162</sup>

The breakdown of the Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance led to a partial resumption of the statutes against the Catholic community in England. These troubles affected communication and travel, accounting for much of the delay in correspondence. Though Haynes' appointment marked the point where Smith and the Chapter took control of the foundation it did not represent the opening of a fully functioning missionary college.<sup>163</sup> The buildings were there and the college existed in canon and civil law though no students would arrive for a further two years. Haynes' mandate from Smith was clear: Coutinho's patronage must be sought and secured with all speed for the English secular clergy. Haynes found in Coutinho a man who shared many of the secular priests' views on the Society's work in England. He secured an agreement that would establish an English college on the model of Douai under secular authority and with a secular President leading a council of Superiors.<sup>164</sup>

Having secured Smith's terms with Coutinho, Haynes returned to England via a meeting with Kellison at Douai to report his negotiations back to Smith. His correspondence with Newman indicated that the attacks on Smith had forced the Bishop into internal exile making him hard to find.<sup>165</sup> At Douai Haynes sought the advice of Kellison in composing a constitution and set of rules for the College: on his return, he informed Smith and the Chapter of progress in Lisbon. Houses were purchased on the Rua da Rosa in 1626. Coutinho corresponded with the General of

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<sup>162</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 17 June 1627.

<sup>163</sup> Bossy mistakenly sees this date as that of the foundation of the College. The original, with the seals of Bishop Smith and the Chapter is in the Lisbon Collection at Ushaw College Library. The Letters Patent of the Bishop of Chalcedon appointing Haynes as President are not in the archive of the English Chapter. It is possible Bossy took this date from *De fundatione et progressu Collegii 1627 – 1661* which is in the archive of the Chapter: see *The Old Brotherhood of the English Secular Clergy: Catalogue of Part of the Archives* (London, 1968), p. 44 no. 137. See also John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570 – 1850* (London, 1976), p. 62. It is possible that Bossy procured the source from Bradley or Dodd; the latter would have had access to the Chapter Papers of Harvington Hall, Worcestershire. As the Lisbon Collection did not move to Durham until 1973, after all three publications, the Chapter Papers were the only source of reference beyond Rome and Lisbon.

<sup>164</sup> Presidents Kellison and Haynes negotiated the foundation blueprint whilst at Douai in the Spring of 1627. Transcripts of this correspondence taken by Godfrey Anstruther can be found in *The Lisbonian* (December, 1966), pp. 45 – 46.

<sup>165</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 29 June 1627.



the Order of São Carlo in procuring two houses in the area for the College.<sup>166</sup> Further correspondence suggested that in the following year the *Confraria das Chagas* sold Coutinho buildings in the Rua São Boaventura; the main site of the College on the west side of the Bairro Alto.<sup>167</sup> Newman's papers make note of labourers undertaking work on the buildings in preparation for the students' arrival from Douai. An *alvara* was granted allowing Newman to shut off part of the Rua São Boaventura, accounting for the peculiar shape of the College to this day.<sup>168</sup>

### 1.12. 'New Stones for the Tower of David'.<sup>169</sup>

The original donation of land and property by Coutinho was catalogued in correspondence to Philip IV.<sup>170</sup> Far from being an actual index of properties and named locations it is a confusing document which does little to shed light on the original donation of Coutinho. Work by Raúl Hestnes Ferreira and Manuela Rêgo has done something to remedy that situation. Several houses were granted by Coutinho to the College's administration in the parish of Santa Catarina; a separate donation was made by Ashton (via Newman) to that same institution.<sup>171</sup> These were on the Rua de Valverde in the parish of Santa Catarina.<sup>172</sup> It is clear from the College's Account Books that these houses were used to supplement the College's income through rents.<sup>173</sup> Another *alvara* provided a compulsory purchase order for Coutinho to buy

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<sup>166</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to Father General of the Order of St. Charles, November 1626. The monastery of St. Charles does not appear to have survived the Great Earthquake of 1755.

<sup>167</sup> See *Plantatio et progressus*; Lisbon, Archive National Torre de Tombo, Cancellaria Felipe III vol. 16 f. 171; vol. 17 f. 124 vol. 31, 20 also 'mandado e Auto de Posse das casas que tomou O Padre Guilermo Numan', 26 August 1630.

<sup>168</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue, Original Alvara enabling Dom Pedro Coutinho to buy the ground whereon the College is built, nos. 246 – 47. Properties were purchased on the Travessa dos Inglesinhos, Calçada dos Caetanos (also known as Travessa das Bruxas), Travessa Cruz de Soure (formerly known as Travessa das Parreiras), Rua Nova do Loureiro (formerly known as Rua do Loureiro), Rua da Vinha, Rua de S. Boaventura, Calçada do Cabra, Calçada do Tijolo and the Travessa do Conde de Soure (formerly known as Travessa D. João da Costa.)

<sup>169</sup> President Kellison's speech to President Haynes and the Lisbon Mission: see Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), pp. 22 – 23.

<sup>170</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to Philip IV, 1620s.

<sup>171</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, William Newman to the Apostolic Collector, 2 January 1623; UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, William Newman, 26 August 1630.

<sup>172</sup> The street today is known as the Rua 1º de Dezembro. The Valverde is where the Avenida da Liberdade now stands. The church of Santa Catarina was demolished by the Great Earthquake (1755) in Alto de Santa Catarina or Belvedere.

<sup>173</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, Account Books, pp. 19, 27 and 188; UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds Papers, Philip IV to College Superiors, 15 April 1627.

out residents around his own properties to extend the College lands: one of these houses belonged to Doña Violante Coronel.<sup>174</sup> The College's chapel was built on land purchased through the *alvara* on the Rua de Boaventura.<sup>175</sup> A further account entitled *Title Deeds of the houses and grounds which were purchased by Coutinho* dated 29 March 1627 expands on the correspondence to Philip and the Account Books, providing a detailed picture of the College's urban landscape.<sup>176</sup> It contains the deeds of sale from properties largely belonging to Doña Violante Coronel; much of the manuscript is in Coutinho's own hand. The *Title Deeds* served to demonstrate that the purchase of lands and houses for the College was a confused affair.<sup>177</sup> Clearly the

<sup>174</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Anon, 2 November 1626.

<sup>175</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Confraria das Chagas to Philip IV, 8 January 1627.

<sup>176</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Title Deeds, 29 March 1627.

<sup>177</sup> I am grateful to Senhor Raúl Hestnes Ferreira for his assistance in this matter. Ferreira is currently engaged in a project charting the development of the Bairro Alto district of the city from medieval to modern times which (in collaboration with work from the Lisbon Collection) includes a section on the Convento dos Inglesinhos. The following synopsis of the *Title Deeds* is given below: Deed of sale, obligation and acquittance dated from 29 March 1627: Testimonies: D. Vi[o]lante Coronel, D. Fernando de Ataíde's widow; and on the other side, Sebastião da Fonseca, D. Pedro Coutinho's servant, designated D. Pedro Coutinho's solicitor. D. Vi[o]lante's real estate: "some imposing, big houses, with backyard water well, in Rua de S. Boaventura, quarter of S. Roque, above the Church [Fiéis] de Deus, bordering one side with Rua de S. Boaventura and with Rua da Vinha along the wall, and the other, which is Rua da Vinha from inside, bordering with a backyard and houses belonging to Luís Nunes Coronel and the other side with houses belonging to Maria de Araújo and the other with houses belonging to Confraria das Chagas de S. Francisco de Lisboa". There is reference to a certificate of purchasing from Manuel de Araújo de Carvalho and his wife, Ana da Câmara. Deed of sale dated from 2 November 1626. There is a shop and two houses with backyard in Rua de S. Boaventura. (...) and 600 réis from houses with backyard which belong to Manuel de Araújo de Carvalho, beginning in Rua de S. Boaventura and Rua da Vinha. As well as 100 réis from a shop on the ground floor of these houses, rent to João Rodrigues, confectioner, and 1500 réis from other houses (rent to Simão da Fortuna) located in Rua de S. Boaventura, which beginning is in the same street, close to other houses from Manuel de Araújo de Carvalho. Coutinho bought them from António Rodrigues and D. Beatriz de Almeida, his wife, for his debts, according to a contract dated from 29 August 1626. (...) big houses, with entrances, exits, belongings, passages, grounds, and rights (...) Deed of sale to D. Pedro Coutinho: Total amount: 374,000 réis in silver coins, payed fully. Testimonies: Manuel de Ornellas e Travassos, the seller's servant, and Diogo Barros de Sousa, the buyer's servant. Written by Francisco Tavares. (...) 29 August 1626 (page 35) Letter of sale of rights and acquittance (an amount of 3000 réis): António Rodrigues, resident close to Portas de S. Catarina, in Rua Direita, from inside. (nowadays called Chiado.) In his name and his wife's, D. Brites de Almeida. On behalf of the other part, Manuel d'Ornellas Travassos, a nobleman and His Majesty's knight and D. Violante Coronel's solicitor. Coronel was D. Fernando de Ataíde's widow. The houses are located from one side in Rua de S. Boaventura and from the other side, in Rua da Vinha, which ends with a plantation, belonging to Luís Nunes Coronel, D. Vilante's brother. And 600 réis from other houses located in the same street, with a backyard, belonging to Manuel de Araújo. Those houses are close to those two streets mentioned above. João Rodrigues, a confectioner, pays from the houses. Simão Dias Fortuna pays 1500 réis, from other houses where he lives, in Rua de S. Boaventura. Those houses are located in the same street and close to other houses belonging to Manuel de Araújo. António Rodrigues and D. Beatriz de Almeida, his wife. Fernão Rodrigues de Carvalho and D. Maria de Almeida, his parents and parents-in-law, left them by will their properties more than 40 years ago. *Title Deed*, Certificate of belonging (page 58): "Manuel de Araújo de Carvalho and his wife, Ana da Câmara, have those houses by certificate of belonging. There is a deed, dated from 02 November 1626". [Document 1] They pay the houses and shops'



*alvara* was not fully enforced, as later papers concern a law suit between the College and Francisco Ferreira de Andrade, a property owner in the area who refused to sell his house to the College.<sup>178</sup>

The Bairro Alto/Chiado district of the city in the early seventeenth century was a desirable area of Lisbon. The names from the Account Books confirm that impression. The early College literally was an *ad hoc* series of buildings centred on a cluster of houses on the Rua de Boaventura with satellite houses in the parish, the Rua de Lambas and the College's bounds limited on its western frontier by the Rua de Vinha.<sup>179</sup> The College was purchasing properties throughout from 1626 – 1640. The sources provide no indication as to the extent of the original donation from Coutinho.<sup>180</sup>

### 1.13. *Plantatio et Progressus*: 'Behold we have left everything.'<sup>181</sup>

Coutinho's knowledge of the state of the English Catholic community in early Stuart England was impressive, though at times inflated. However it was events closer to home that had their part in delaying the College's colonisation. In 1626 a dispute between the Protector and the Apostolic Collector resulted in a clash between the Church Universal and local which ignited 'to the great scandal of all.' The Apostolic Nuncio, Gian Battista Palotto (Collector of the Kingdom of Portugal) excommunicated the Inquisitor General, and Protector of the College, Francisco de Castro. In a triumph of the local over the Universal, Pope Urban VIII recalled his ambassador to Lisbon and although this ecclesiastical dispute was not a result of any College business, it cannot have been beneficial to the early administration.<sup>182</sup> It did not help matters concerning the College's colonisation. Tired of the continued delays in populating the College from Douai, Coutinho made Edward Missenden, one time

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rights. Testimonies: Manuel d'Ornellas Travassos, a nobleman and His Majesty's knight, as D. Violante Coronel's solicitor, buyer of the rights.]

<sup>178</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Francisco Ferreira de Andrade: title deeds, 23 August 1640; UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Andrade to Peter Clarence, 8 January 1641.

<sup>179</sup> See Map One.

<sup>180</sup> Known in modern Lisbon as the Travessa da Laranjeira in the Belver area of the city.

<sup>181</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), 7 – 24; 'Douai to Lisbon II' *Ushaw Magazine* (June, 1976), 30 – 41; 'Douai to Lisbon III' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1976), 22 – 34; Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I', p. 11.

<sup>182</sup> Palotto later rebuked those Catholics in the Peninsula who were threatening the authority of the Apostolic Collector informing them of Sir Francis Tregian's loyalty to the Holy See when England was racked with schism and heresy. Williams, *Valladolid*, p. 491.

agent of Douai College, his procurator at Madrid. A strong supporter of secular authority and the Anglo-French marriage, Missenden joined the throng of secular clergymen who shared a strong anti-Jesuit feeling along with a desire to keep Lisbon for the secular clergy.<sup>183</sup> President Haynes left Coutinho sometime in the summer of 1627. As the situation in England continued to deteriorate the President remained with Kellison at Douai to await further instructions from the Chapter.<sup>184</sup> Though wearied from travel, Haynes informed Newman of his joy gained from the success of his delegation to Coutinho.

The desire I have to set this business of ours in good order does animate and arm me against all dangers whatsoever, and I am daily more comforted and encouraged for to labour in it by reason of the good success it has pleased our good God hitherto for to give us, who has afforded me health and strength to perform this long journey, and will hope still assist to finish and perfect this good work.<sup>185</sup>

President Haynes noted the enthusiasm and determination of Kellison to help the Chapter in aiding the College, using what resources he had at Douai. According to correspondence of June 1627, Kellison presented Haynes with some of his finest students, whom Haynes had interviewed for himself and expressed great satisfaction in their merits. The author of the *Plantatio* noted that Kellison's administration 'took care [in the selection of the students] lest obscure birth and poor pedigree should debase nobility of conduct.'<sup>186</sup> Refusing to go any further without hearing from the Chapter, Haynes instructed Newman to inform Coutinho of the good news:

Three of the students have taught syntax, poetry and rhetoric here and are excellent in humanity, Greek etc. We may also have now or hereafter a Hebrew Master, who is of very good sufficiency and has taught it in Douai. He is able also to read Philosophy, which he may there be employed in, if we be able to set up a course the next year, so that you may be confident and satisfy our noble patron in this point, that there will be no want of able and sufficient men such as will purchase reputation and fame to the cause and College.<sup>187</sup>

The situation in England remained bleak for the restored ecclesial regime and Smith's position was becoming increasingly untenable. He had gone into hiding and

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<sup>183</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A20, N 11; see Edward Maddison, or Missington, or Missenden in A2, p. 207 and Williams', *Valladolid* p. 45. Anstruther noted a text by A.R. Maddison entitled, *History of the Maddison Family; Lisbonian* (n.p., 1966), p. 47. This appears to be a mistake as Maddison had no dealings with the College besides his agency work for Coutinho.

<sup>184</sup> The letter is addressed to Gregorio de Albania, 'assistente en el ospital del Castillo que Dios guarde encomendado al Cura del dicho ospital en Lisboa.' William Newman acted as curate to the Royal City Hospital and to the Castle of St. George.

<sup>185</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 15 March 1627.

<sup>186</sup> Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I', p. 13.

<sup>187</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 29 June 1627.



Haynes, trapped at Douai, had no means of seeking the instructions of the Chapter. Haynes instructed Newman to inform Coutinho of these present difficulties, regrettably Haynes' fears were realised on his return to England. Missenden expressed his regret that the President had been captured at Dover and imprisoned: he was kept not as a priest but for refusing the Oath of Allegiance.<sup>188</sup> Missenden quoted at length the protestations made by the secular agents in Rome who complained of the delay in populating the College, a project which had left the desk of Propaganda five years before. Haynes' imprisonment compounded Thomas White's own fears (now secular agent to the Holy See) that the College would never get off the ground if Kellison didn't provide immediate assistance. White recommended to Missenden that he should persuade Coutinho to send for the students from Douai. Missenden berated Newman for failing to seize the opportunity that Douai was able and willing to offer. Kellison had made known his intention to send a mission to the College in an earlier correspondence: Newman, unaware of Haynes' imprisonment, awaited the decision of the Chapter before acting.<sup>189</sup>

In a letter to Newman dated November 1627 Haynes confirmed that, having escaped his confines at Dover, he would be in Lisbon before midsummer. Events had proceeded quickly since his imprisonment. Haynes had secured the backing of the Chapter and petitioned Smith to send favourable correspondence to Pope Urban VIII and White in Rome. Funds had been secured from the clergy for the College though Haynes expressed concerns (echoed by White in Rome) that Propaganda remained reticent in granting approval.<sup>190</sup> In the same correspondence Haynes instructed Newman to advise Coutinho that the constitutions of Douai were to be adopted (with modifications) by the College's administration.<sup>191</sup> Keenly aware of Coutinho's temperament Haynes instructed Newman to keep the Founder up to date with his progress in the expectation that he would be accompanied by the first mission. Haynes' letter to Newman provided some explanation for the delay in the

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<sup>188</sup> Sharratt's account of the President's escape can be found in, 'Douai to Lisbon I', pp. 9 – 11.

<sup>189</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Edward Missenden to William Newman, 25 August 1627. The letter has not survived well and consequently is difficult to interpret. Written from Douai to Newman at Lisbon, Missenden quoted a letter Douai had received from White in Rome and questioned the continued delay in getting the College off the ground: 'You [Newman] should have kept those whom you had for scholars, and masters might have procured even as well by letters.'

<sup>190</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 20 November 1627.

<sup>191</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 10 November 1627.



colonisation of the College, noting extensive reference to the difficulties Smith was labouring under from challenges to his authority from the regulars and the laity.

The first mission left Douai for Lisbon on 25 August 1628.<sup>192</sup> The party consisted of the President, one professor (Mark Harrington STB) and ten Douatian scholars.<sup>193</sup> The ten scholars were men of considerable aptitude and learning. The account given by the author of the *Third Douai Diary* provided a representation of their background. Haynes had been given orders from Bishop Smith to procure from Kellison what students of Philosophy and Theology he could spare. Kellison gave leave that Mark Harrington could act as professor of Philosophy. For a professor of Theology, Kellison suggested Henry Mayler licentiate of the Sorbonne who had been professor of Sacred Theology at the English College at Douai.<sup>194</sup> Haynes met Mayler in Paris in the winter of 1627; in Paris Mayler had promised to teach for the length of one class (four years.)<sup>195</sup> Orders were sent for Mayler's recall from the service of the Prince-Bishop of Metz (King Louis XIII's bastard brother). Nicholas Fortescue, one of the scholars selected for the mission from Douai, went ahead of the party to secure Mayler for the administration.<sup>196</sup> The account of the odyssey through war torn France, from Nantes to Bordeaux, San Sebastian, Passejes to the city of Lisbon is related in a series of articles by Sharratt. The party separated at the Galician port of El Ferrol where four Douatians continued the journey by foot via Compostella.<sup>197</sup> With Fortescue moving to the front of La Rochelle, the remaining party set off by sea.<sup>198</sup> The *Annals* relates the calibre of these men in glowing terms: Edward Pickford had

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<sup>192</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, pp. 270 – 71, 294. See Appendix 1: President Kellison's Speech to President Haynes and the Lisbon Mission, i – ii.

<sup>193</sup> The first mission represented the strong bonds that Douai and Lisbon would have throughout their long relationship; despite Lisbon's proximity to the Jesuit foundations across the frontier, relations with Valladolid, Seville and Madrid were non-existent.

<sup>194</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 270.

<sup>195</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 17 June 1627. The author of the *Plantatio* indicated that Mayler persuaded Charles, Prince of Wales, to genuflect towards the exposed Blessed Sacrament, see Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I', p. 15.

<sup>196</sup> Educated at the court of the Archdukes in Brussels, Fortescue was the first to arrive in Lisbon 7 November 1628. He had completed his orders at Douai up to tonsure and minors, leaving Douai as an acolyte: Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 233; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 56.

<sup>197</sup> The four students were the brothers Humphrey and William Waring, Anthony Morgan and Richard Charnock. They arrived at the College in November 1628.

<sup>198</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 80. See also Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon III', pp. 22 – 34. The party lost their course books and Harrington lost his teaching notes on Aquinas' *Prima Pars* prepared as a Superior at Douai. These were allegedly thrown overboard in 1628 by a Captain fleeing from a pursuing English frigate somewhere off Gascony. For Harrington's fraught relationship with the Founder see Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1977), 16 – 25 and (June, 1978), 18 – 26.



been ordained the year before his departure from Douai. Pickford received particular praise *magna cum laude docuit* for his Humanity classes.<sup>199</sup> Francis Pavier had taught Syntax for a year. The brothers William and Humphrey Waring were convictors having studied theology for one year. Peter Metcalfe, Martin Biddlecomb and William Day were convictors (paying students) having studied Philosophy. Richard Charnock and Anthony Morgan, who had completed their Philosophy at Douai (and recently returned from England), decided that together they would join the mission to Lisbon.<sup>200</sup>

Exhausted and troubled, the sea party arrived in the Bairro Alto on 14 November 1628. Fortescue had arrived a week before, having secured Mayler's consent to teach at La Rochelle.<sup>201</sup> Mayler arrived on Christmas Eve following the fall of the city to Cardinal Richelieu.<sup>202</sup> The chapel of SS. Peter and Paul was opened on the feast of St. Peter's Chair in Rome; Solemn High Mass was sung by João da Silva, chief chaplain to Philip IV, alongside the King's own *real capella*. João de Vasconcellos the Provincial of the Dominicans preached the sermon. Haynes' administration was short lived. Within four weeks of the opening Mass, he was dead, leaving Mayler as Regent:<sup>203</sup>

Upon the 18<sup>th</sup> of January, the day of the Chair of St Peter in Rome, we opened our new church with very great solemnity and a general applause. But some few days after, Mr Haynes fell sick of a burning fever and so continued in bed for some 20 days. Visited by four principal physicians and upon taking of a purge fell into such a profound lethargy and disposition to sleep that upon the sixth day after (and after he had taken all the Sacraments), being the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February and the eve of St. Mathias, about four o' clock in the morning he rendered his soul to Almighty God and so made a pious and religious end of this miserable world

After Haynes' death Newman took his place as administrator of the College's management alongside Mayler.<sup>204</sup> Correspondence from Newman to Bishop Smith in

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<sup>199</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 146 – 148. Pickford's career as President is related in Chapter Two; his controversial thesis *De Peccato* is related below.

<sup>200</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President Joseph Haynes to William Newman, 17 June 1627; this correspondence detailed the work of Kellison in procuring students for the first mission.

<sup>201</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 84.

<sup>202</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 123 – 124; Bishop Smith appointed Mayler as Regent from 24 May 1629. Signed and sealed by the Chapter, Newman was appointed his acting Vice-President. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 124.

<sup>203</sup> Haynes left 800 crowns for the support of the College; 400 went to Mayler who, noting the penury of the College, donated his half for the use of the administration.

<sup>204</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to Bishop Smith, 3 March 1629; Newman related to the Bishop the difficulties Coutinho was causing the College's administration



March 1629 explained these unfortunate birth-pangs of the early College, and can not have filled the Bishop with hope. Haynes had been President of the College for just over two years; the foundation negotiations had exhausted him, leading to his premature death. Not only was this a significant blow to the development of the fledgling College, dispiriting to Bishop Smith and the Chapter but Coutinho also began to doubt whether his project was destined to succeed at all. Newman, acutely aware of the depression that threatened to engulf the Founder persuaded Bishop Smith to act quickly in providing a successor:

That which remains for us that survive is that every one of us do our best endeavour to carry this good work on unto the intended end, wherein my part seems to remain to procure Dom Pedro to remain firm in his purpose.<sup>205</sup>

Bishop Smith accepted Newman's reservations. He gave comfort to Newman and Mayler beseeching them to stand firm in their administration. The want of a replacement President concerned Smith greatly; the men available and competent for the task were few and far between. Smith recommended Thomas White, the secular agent in Rome, as successor to Haynes.<sup>206</sup> Smith informed Newman that he would attempt to secure White for Lisbon. This was not the first time that Lisbon had suffered from the critical situation that in which the secular clergy found themselves in England. Betrayed by the Society, who encouraged key members of the recusant gentry to seek Smith's removal, letters from Bishop Smith confirming Mayler and Newman in their respective posts never arrived:

If I cannot send you Patents as soon as you desire, marvel not, for because that two proclamations are against me by name and great reward promised to him that takes me, I am where no one of my brothers comes to me, neither can I send or receive letters without danger of being discovered.<sup>207</sup>

Haynes' uncle, the secular agent John Bennett, failed to persuade Newman to take up the Presidency permanently. Bennett's suggestion that Mayler assumed the Presidency with Newman as his Vice-President fell on deaf ears: neither Mayler nor Newman wanted to be members of the administration on any permanent basis.<sup>208</sup>

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in considerable depth indicating that the relationship between the co-Founders was not always amicable; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to Dom Pedro Coutinho, 3 March 1629.

<sup>205</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to Bishop Smith, 3 March 1629.

<sup>206</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Smith to William Newman, 22 May 1629.

<sup>207</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Smith to William Newman, 12 May 1629.

<sup>208</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Smith to William Newman, 22 May 1629.



With his situation deteriorating daily Smith concluded his letter to Newman with some element of hope. Smith had sent a significant amount of money in the name of Haynes for the administration via an English merchant *en route* to Lisbon. His only fear was that should the merchant discover that Haynes was dead he would give the sum to another or keep it for himself. Coutinho did not share Smith's optimism.<sup>209</sup> Coutinho became anxious over his obligations at court: his expertise on colonial matters with relation to Persia and Portuguese possessions on the Indian sub-continent prevented him concentrating on matters relating to the College, leaving his agent Walter Yates as his chief negotiator and procurator. This put undue pressure on Newman and risked the success of the already delayed foundation. The same correspondence revealed that Coutinho had not been aware of Haynes's death until mid-March. Until news was received from Smith, Coutinho placed Newman and Yates in control of the administration which was far from satisfactory. Coutinho's order that Yates should pay the President 250 *milreis p.a.* was superficial as there was no actual head of the administration. Coutinho supported his agent's worries about the money Haynes had borrowed for the College on the promise of funds from the Chapter. Yates noted that his failure to provide adequate funds for Mayler's regency was not born of malice but a care for his master's finances.<sup>210</sup>

In a later correspondence to Newman (now resident in Lisbon) Coutinho feared that his foundation did not have God's favour:

In my opinion God is so contrasted to my gift and of my work that in other respects I doubt if God will preserve this seminary or the purpose of its foundation. I am saddened by the contemptible treatment you have received in my absence<sup>211</sup>

The reference to the contemptible treatment was an indication of the growing difficulties Newman encountered with the Jesuits who were displaying increased hostility to the College and he had pressing pastoral work on behalf of the *Cabido* and the Holy Office. Coutinho acknowledged the pressure Newman laboured under and

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<sup>209</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman (Lisbon), 14 March 1629.

<sup>210</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman, 10 March 1629 (2). Newman's protestations to Coutinho regarded the latter's desire for the former to depart to England to negotiate finances with the Chapter. Clearly Coutinho had learnt nothing from the Blackfan dispute of 1621 – 22.

<sup>211</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 14 March 1629. Sharratt's translation into modernised English.

noted that he would look into finding a replacement for him within the College.<sup>212</sup> Coutinho asked his chaplain Paulo Nunez, resident at the newly consecrated collegiate chapel, to say several Solemn Masses for the success of the College against the adversities it was struggling with. With Smith effectively under house arrest in London, Newman continued his correspondence with the Chapter who exercised jurisdiction over the College in Smith's absence. Mayler struggled on to open the school of Theology in April, having persuaded Coutinho and the Chapter to increase their funding.<sup>213</sup>

Coutinho continued his correspondence with Newman whilst engaged in court business at Madrid where he described himself as *conselheiro de Estado*.<sup>214</sup> At Madrid the Founder had greater access to information from England than Newman had at Lisbon. The failure of Coutinho's agent to the College, Walter Yates, to provide sufficient funds sometime after 1630 for the management and administration angered the Founder who assured Newman of his assistance. The author of the *Plantatio* complained of Yates' negligence where he noted the previously generous benefactor had 'later abandoned his early charity.'<sup>215</sup> Though Coutinho protested against having to direct the foundation of the College in person from Madrid, he lost no time in securing the revised Douai constitutions from Missenden. Having secured the rules from President Kellison Coutinho instructed Newman to proceed with requesting their ratification from the Protector.<sup>216</sup> From Madrid Coutinho berated the English Chapter for their failure to come to a conclusion as to finances. He accused the Chapter of not caring for the foundation, and preventing it from purchasing further properties. He instructed Yates not to hand over any further funds to the administration of Mayler except for living expenses.<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>212</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman, 10 March 1629 (1).

<sup>213</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 123.

<sup>214</sup> As a member of a *grandeza* family Coutinho would have had the right to consult the King on issues of State in the highest council of Castile, the *Estado*. Coutinho was elected to the Privy Council in January 1629 alongside the Conde de Linhares and Dom Fernando Dalveri. See UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 28 January 1629.

<sup>215</sup> Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon III', p. 33.

<sup>216</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman, 28 January 1629.

<sup>217</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 26 March 1629.



Coutinho had been relieved from court business in early May 1629 where he noted that he had made his formal farewell to the King and the Conde-Duque. He had been eager to leave the Escorial to oversee his foundation since March but continued pressure from Olivares forced him to remain in Madrid.<sup>218</sup> No news had been received in Madrid from the Chapter or the Bishop with regards to a successor to Haynes. Coutinho commended Mayler's success in opening the schools as regent. He noted that if the Chapter kept its word with regards to funding, with continued demonstrations of Christian fortitude the project would continue to prosper.<sup>219</sup>

#### 1.14. Thomas White arrives as President.

Thomas White arrived in Lisbon in May 1630, 'on Smith's request, to assume the Presidency. White's administration (not without incident) has been overshadowed by his later political writings which gave much cause for concern not only to the College in later administrations but to the English secular clergy in general. White's first action as President was to gain a measure of independence for the administration from the overbearing Coutinho. White drew up rules for collegiate life, introduced the distinctive habit and purchased property adjacent to the College in order to prepare it for new scholars. White gained the Founder's assurance that he would endow the College to the secular clergy on his death. A decade after the Holy Office had been approached for protection it seemed no Protector had yet been nominated: from August 1631 to January 1632 White spent six months negotiating with Olivares to persuade the Inquisitor General to accept the Protectorate suggesting that earlier negotiations were inconclusive. The Bishop of Castro, Ferdinando de Castro, Grand Inquisitor for the Kingdom of Portugal, accepted on Low Sunday 1632. In return White demanded from the Founder more money and the endowment of the properties to the English secular clergy.<sup>220</sup> The *Annals* related that White led the foundation through the transitional phase, building on Haynes and Mayler's administrations, into

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<sup>218</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman, 1 March 1629.

<sup>219</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho (Madrid) to William Newman (Lisbon), 6 May 1629. Further correspondence in this series of papers dated 19 April 1631 indicated that the Founder was in Madrid to give advice to the *Estado* on the matter of Castilian possessions (former Portuguese colonies ceded to the Castilian crown in 1581) in India. Coutinho's role as governor of the garrison of Ormuz would suggest that this armada led by the Conde de Val de Reis was bound for Persia as opposed to the Indian subcontinent. Goa was not under English attack at the time; Colleton's letter to Coutinho [7 April 1623] indicated that English privateers had been engaged in a policy of harassing Castilian possessions in Persia for some years; UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 28 January 1629 related that the fleet was lost against the rebels.

<sup>220</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 219.



a recognisable collegiate structure. White secured for the administration a further £155 *p.a.* from Coutinho and £12 from the rents of Santa Catarina's residences. According to the *College Annals* the properties were valued at £1, 800 with furniture and cash totalling some £500 in the early 1630s.<sup>221</sup> This should be compared against Hestnes Ferreira's findings in the synopsis of Coutinho's *Title Deeds* above.

The constitutions from Douai were almost ready to be accepted but with important modifications. The Superiors of the College were commenting on the Inquisitor's amendments to the draft constitutions by 1632. The document (in Portuguese) gave the Superiors' comments on the Inquisitor's questions on the draft constitution as amended by President White. The Inquisitor's copy recorded further amendments.<sup>222</sup> Two months later the Superiors returned the constitutions with their amendments back to the Inquisitor. The changes made by Castro appear to be those which prefaced White's printed *Constitutions* of 1635 entitled *De Protectore Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* which summarised the role of the Protector in the College's internal management. The matter was settled by the winter of 1634 and the Protector observed his obligations, visiting the College from October 1635.<sup>223</sup> White's *Constitutions* were printed by his successor President William Hargrave in 1635 by the royal printer in Lisbon, Laurence Cressbeck.<sup>224</sup> The rulings made by Castro on his first three visitations concerned the poor financial condition of the College; the crown was for one not observing its financial obligations.<sup>225</sup> The Protector succeeded in aiding the College through a time of great adversity. It was to White (and his predecessor as agent to the Holy See John Bennett) that the College owed the Holy

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<sup>221</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 218.

<sup>222</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Constitutions and Rules, Superiors on Inquisitor's comments on Draft Constitutions. See also UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue nos. 297 and 322.

<sup>223</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Constitutions and Rules, Visitations, 2 October 1635, 27 July 1637 and 1639. Copy in Portuguese giving the results of Dom Francisco de Castro's first, second and fourth visitations as Protector of the College.

<sup>224</sup> There are several drafts of this text alongside the printed version. UCA, Durham, LC, Constitutions and Rules, English College, Lisbon, 1630s, c. 1639 and c. 1640. The first is a transcript in Latin entitled, *Regimina circa omnem gubernationem domesticam* a transcript of which survives in the hand of Thomas Caton from 1780. The second is a translation of the Latin into Portuguese. The third is a copy taken in 1778 of the *Regimina studiorum* found in BA 116 by John Billington (see BA 46, 28). The last is a Latin copy of the *Regimina circa victum*.

<sup>225</sup> UCA, LC, Constitutions and Rules, Visitations, 2 October 1635, 27 May (sic) 1637 and 9 July 1638. President Barnard (1776 – 82) provided an abstract of the Protector's rulings: dates in parenthesis indicate rulings: September 1635 (2<sup>nd</sup> October), September 1636 (27<sup>th</sup> May 1637), April 1638 (9<sup>th</sup> July 1638), July 1639 (14<sup>th</sup> July 1639), 1640 and 1641 (27<sup>th</sup> August 1643), June 1644 (18<sup>th</sup> June 1644), 1645 and 1646 (no date). See also UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue, no. 292.



Office's patronage; secular agents had secured the protection of the Holy Office but it is clear that this remained unsettled when White assumed the administration in 1630.

Pickford noted an incident in the *Annals* concerning a misunderstanding between Coutinho and President White which led to the latter's eventual replacement. Coutinho asked White to return to England to appeal for more help from the Chapter. Extracted from the Chapter Papers, the incident related the final act of White's short administration. White left for England in May 1632 with a series of demands from the Founder which he protested would not be agreed upon by the Chapter. John Southcot (Secretary to the Chapter) noted White's negotiations with the secular authorities in correspondence with Peter Biddulph, secular agent to the Holy See.<sup>226</sup> A year later Southcot complained to Biddulph that the issue was causing great concern to the secular clergy in England and that the Chapter was overwhelmed with business emanating from the Coutinho foundation negotiations.<sup>227</sup> Coutinho's first demand concerned an allowance of £180 *p.a.* for nine alumni for the lifetime of Coutinho; the second, a sum of £500 to enlarge the College compound and the third to return with a second mission of theology scholars. Coutinho in return promised to provide sufficient revenues for twenty scholars and Superiors and that he would give the administration £500 *p.a.*, all after his death. White, having informed Coutinho before his departure that his demands were impractical, the news the College received from London came as a surprise. Newman asked for clarification from Vice-President William Clifford on White's intention to turn Lisbon into a replica of Douai by admitting students for the junior courses of Humanity. This was not the intention of the Founder who desired a foundation specialising in Philosophy and Theology as Caesar Bogacio had planned for Madrid. The ten students who had left Douai in 1628 had read Humanity and were completing their training in Philosophy and Theology in readiness for the Mission. White was accused of securing this change without Coutinho's consultation, which was entirely true. Newman argued that the President's plans to expand the College seemed absurd in the light of a decade of constant adversity. The letter White sent the College from London expressing his deliberations with the Chapter noted that the grammarians were already on their way to Lisbon: Newman noted that his protestations would now be useless, but his desire to question this judgement before the Chapter was none the less relevant:

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<sup>226</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVI, no. 98, John Southcot to Peter Biddulph, 20 July 1632, pp. 273 – 274.

<sup>227</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVII, no. 60, John Southcot to Peter Biddulph, 14 June 1633, pp. 173 – 176.

I would hereby give to understand unto your Reverend selves and endeavour to make it appear both unto present and all future times that I was neither acquainted with the resolution nor will [in any way] concur to the execution of this change of students and state of the College as aforesaid, and therefore remit both the good and ill consequences thereof unto the authors and actors, humbly beseeching Almighty God to give them means and ability effectually to repair the innumerable and invaluable damages which too late repentance and so dear experience will shortly [I fear] show to follow of the same.<sup>228</sup>

Newman's remonstrance to the Chapter went on to demand the recall of White to explain these changes. Writing on behalf of the Founder (and seemingly the Protector who expressed his own concerns over White's independence of action) the correspondence to the Chapter was unusually threatening. Newman cited concerns he had received allegedly from notable persons from Portugal, Castile, Rome, France, Flanders and England with regards to White's actions. If these eminent parties did express their concern then their letters have not survived. It is more probable that Newman exaggerated the importance of the action to a Chapter weakened by the banishment of Smith. Newman went on to threaten the withdrawal of the students from Lisbon should White not return to explain his actions; a tactic used often by Coutinho suggesting this letter was a protestation from the Founder rather than from Newman himself. The letter indicated that the development of the College was growing faster than the Founder had anticipated and in a direction which no longer saw Coutinho as integral to the administration and management. The letter delivered by Clifford to the Chapter left Coutinho and Newman in the same position they found themselves just four years before; without a coherent administration and with an uncertain future.

The author of the *Plantatio et Progressus* charted the journey of the founder colony from Douai to Lisbon. An addendum shed light on the growing dispute between Coutinho and White over the administration of the College. This second section of the *Plantatio* began with several paragraphs of peripatetic adversities largely related to the journey of 1628. What are most revealing are the diurnal entries of one of the founder members and College chronicler William Day.<sup>229</sup> The entries, translated and published by Sharratt, dealt with events surrounding the prolonged

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<sup>228</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Newman to the English Chapter, 13 May 1633.

<sup>229</sup> Day studied Humanity and Philosophy at Douai upon which he entered 28 October 1624: Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 232. Day was a member of the first mission of 1628. Having studied Theology for three years he aided the Superiors by agreeing to become a *cursans*; after two years in this post he returned to England (Aug, 1634) to settle an inheritance matter promising the Protector that he would return. He did so 23 February 1636; ordained 20 April and sent on the Mission 10 Mar. 1637. Day returned to Douai to teach philosophy where he died (1639).



vacancy of the Presidency by White and the objections of Coutinho.<sup>230</sup> Day's account is lucid and edifying: he remained critical of White, his administration and his theological views. Well versed in theological controversy himself, Day was one of the first to express misgivings regarding White's orthodoxy, a shadow which came back to haunt the College in a later administration.<sup>231</sup>

### 1.15. 'There was a shortage of everything except poverty.'<sup>232</sup>

In 1631 White became embroiled in a dispute with the Holy Office and the College's Protector over a public defence of a thesis he was to preside over.<sup>233</sup> His student Edward Pickford, part of the first mission and White's successor as President, (1642 – 48) had his public defence *De Peccato* suspended by the Inquisition on the calumnies of the Jesuits.<sup>234</sup> If Pickford shared White's theological views on Purgatory then the Inquisition's misgivings were well grounded.<sup>235</sup> The *Annals* noted that the disputation, which as professor White was obliged to preside over, was all ready to go ahead; it is unlikely that White's arch-enemy George Leyburn was hiding in the shadows as later controversies suggested, though he later made much out of this misunderstanding with the Holy Office in his campaign against the Blacklowist party of the English Chapter, related below.<sup>236</sup>

John Bossy styled White as the only first class intellect produced by the secular clergy in the seventeenth century; Sharratt, following Aveling's lead, went one step further in calling him the most original thinker as yet produced by modern

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<sup>230</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1977), 16 – 25; 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 II' *Ushaw Magazine* (June, 1978), 18 – 26.

<sup>231</sup> White's story is told elsewhere. Beverley Southgate remains the leading expert in this field. His influence on the College and on its alumni, particularly John Sergeant, is examined in Chapter Three.

<sup>232</sup> Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon III', p. 34.

<sup>233</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148.

<sup>234</sup> A2, pp. 244 – 45. Anstruther noted, '[Pickford's] orthodoxy was vindicated and in October 1633 he became professor of Philosophy and Confessor.'

<sup>235</sup> Thomas White, *The Middle State of Souls: from the hour of death to the day of judgement* (London, 1659).

<sup>236</sup> Pickford would not have been held responsible as the student giving the defence; the Lector would be held responsible before the Holy Office.

English Catholicism.<sup>237</sup> Newman and Day's account of White do not paint such a favourable picture: both were disappointed that the Chapter had given them a man who, as secular agent in Rome, was not used to working within a council and more prone to acting independently. This is unfair as White was instrumental in procuring the government of the College with a President and a Council of Superiors whom the President had to consult. The second mission arrived, unannounced by White in July 1633, much to the anger of Newman.<sup>238</sup> Coutinho was enraged by White's actions, and the Protector voiced his concerns: Coutinho had agreed with Castro that the College would be an exclusively fast-track missionary college for the good of the English Mission. In this he shared Bogacio's belief that the Mission was a temporary problem that their foundations would help end, particularly in light of the *Pax Hispanica*. This represented Coutinho's militant ideal of the Mission: his foundation was for scholars of Philosophy and Theology, to educate gentlemen for the Mission. It was not a school for boys to learn their alpha to omega or their Ovid and Horace. Day's later entries, though critical of White's administration, vented his frustration on the Founder whose intransigence was beginning to grate on the original mission from Douai. Day's praise for Castro was abundant. It was White's foresight that secured his protection; a point Day skilfully overlooked.<sup>239</sup> White's own justifications for his actions at Lisbon suggested that accusations that he was an incompetent President are unfounded. Neither was he alone in his caution towards Coutinho: the Chapter itself noted to Newman that they found Coutinho a difficult man to deal with.

### 1.16. White and the Chapter.

By 1633, White's return to Lisbon was impossible, thus he did not return for the public disputation of Pickford despite it being passed by the Holy Office. Coutinho may have persuaded the Protector to remove White in any case should he

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<sup>237</sup> Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 62; Hugh Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: the Catholic recusant in England from Reformation to Emancipation*, (London, 1976), p. 115; Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho, 1633 – I', pp. 16 – 25, cited from p. 16.

<sup>238</sup> Edward Pickford, Humphrey Waring and William Day remained from the first mission on 1<sup>st</sup> October 1633 the end of the diurnal entries; alongside these three from the first mission; William Britton arrived on the second mission with Thomas Powell, Humphrey Price, John Skinner, Francis Victor, John Hawkins and John Keeling (4 July 1633) possibly chosen by White whilst at Douai on his journey to England, Britton then studying Logic, Hawkins studying Rhetoric; Robert Charnock, another from the second mission, arrived by sea 1 September 1633. William Clifford had arrived with White in May 1630. Peter Metcalfe, ordained 17 July 1633 alongside Francis Pavier was still resident in 1633 prior to his appointment as secretary to Bishop Smith later that year. Metcalfe, Pavier and William Waring left on 8 September of that year and had left by 1 October.

<sup>239</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, *Plantatio et Progressus*, 1632 – 33 (anonymous: the diurnal entries appear to emanate from the hand of William Day).



have returned. Day's diurnal entries for 1633 noted that the letters from White arrived at the College informing the Superiors that he was sending two schools of Humanity scholars. In truth one was already on its way when this entry was penned. White had instructed Vice President Clifford to prepare the College for the new students before he left.<sup>240</sup> Coutinho and Newman accused White of having the intention to transform the College at Lisbon into the Douai model (in the education of lay students in the schools of Humanity) before he had even departed Belem. White's own defence denied this foreknowledge.

Clifford was appointed Vice President and Procurator of the College by the Chapter, accompanying White to the Bairro Alto, arriving in May 1630. He had presided over the College during the turbulent summer of 1631 when White was in Madrid negotiating with Olivares over the Protectorate of the College. During what Pickford described as the 'great tribulation of 1631' the city was struck with a plague that left two in the College dead. The convicts Anthony Morgan and Richard Charnock had been colleagues on the first mission: Morgan died 'a very holy death,' on 11 August and Charnock 'contracted a most painful disease and died a very holy death on 26 September 1631.'<sup>241</sup> Though he contracted the disease himself Clifford was later praised by Pickford for his care of the College during the outbreak.

Besides the controversies of White, Clifford was the first Lisbonian to provide an indication as to contemporary varieties of individual and communal spirituality within the College. J.D. Crichton noted that Clifford's spirituality was internal and aesthetic, suited more to a contemplative than a missionary. His spiritual writing confirmed that Clifford had an intensely individual piety with an emphasis on eschatology and self discernment. Clifford's theology was (as Crichton has shown) more medieval and Thomistic, failing to grasp the spirit of *vita activa* that Trent had encouraged in missionary enterprise.<sup>242</sup> Geoffrey Scott, noted that Clifford's spiritual text, *The Little Manuel of the Poor Mans Daily Devotion* was a form of spirituality fostered at Lisbon and recorded from discourses he took down whilst chaplain to a hospital for incurables in Paris. Clifford's late medieval piety, a tendency Crichton noted as a failure to grasp the Counter Reformation which the secular clergy in

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<sup>240</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 32 – 33.

<sup>241</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, 29 – 30; 127.

<sup>242</sup> James Crichton, *Worship in a Hidden Church* (Blackrock, 1988), p. 54; William Clifford, *A Little Manuel of the Poor Man's Daily Devotion* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Paris, 1670).

England were not great devotees of, was found in the catechism.<sup>243</sup> This scant material is all the evidence available when considering the spiritual and devotional influences on the early College. This has been overshadowed, at least in the material that has survived, by the conflicts surrounding White's administration.

In correspondence written some weeks before the news that the mission of Humanity scholars had arrived, White wrote to Newman informing him of the change: Newman immediately replied with the aim of preventing the mission from setting off. His fear of Coutinho's response encouraged him to protest in the strongest terms possible. Bishop Smith however intervened on White's behalf from Paris, informing Coutinho that the Chapter had agreed to his demands and was pleased to be able to send such a large second mission from Douai. White wrote a similar letter to Coutinho stating the reasons behind his decision; schools of Humanity being instrumental in keeping colleges financially afloat.<sup>244</sup> White argued that it was a position that Coutinho had privately consented to before: a point Day denied. Day and Pickford were instructed by White that they would teach the scholars when they arrived.

Coutinho's anger was evident; he had never desired to turn his missionary college into what he saw as nothing more than an aggrandised *escola*. Day's account of his reaction makes unhappy reading: Coutinho renounced God and refused to take his place in heaven. The meeting between the Superiors and Coutinho at his Alfama residence proved to be an uncomfortable event for all involved. Coutinho threatened to throw the students out of his College. Day's hope that this blaze would peter out before the mission's arrival was ill judged. The Protector condemned White's actions and several alumni condemned their President for, 'more reasons than were generally known.'<sup>245</sup> Day listed some of the grievances against the President which deserve attention. It was clear to all those who were involved in the protracted foundation that Coutinho would never have approved a school of Humanity. White's failure to bring that to the attention of the Chapter was seen as malicious by some of the alumni. White's failure to return to defend his actions confirmed Coutinho's belief that he

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<sup>243</sup> I am grateful for a transcript from Dom Geoffrey Scott, abbot of Douai Abbey on his paper, *The Poor Man's Catechism* given at the Ecclesiastical History Conference at Liverpool (July, 2004). This is now published in Geoffrey Scott, 'The Poor Man's Catechism' *RH* 27 vol. 3 (May, 2005), 373 – 82.

<sup>244</sup> White had worked himself in Kellison's revised Humanity schools as a professor at Douai in 1617 when the then President was shaking up the schools in a policy to rid the College of Jesuit interference.

<sup>245</sup> Sharratt, 'Blackow and Coutinho I', p. 18.



took the occasion to escape; put by Day 'to draw his neck out of the halter.' Whether it would have been sensible for White to return to Lisbon is uncertain; the theses which had been passed by the Holy Office still demanded public defence not least for the College's honour and reputation. White's failure to return may have attracted agitation from the College and the Holy Office; his failure to do so meant, as Day remarked, the College lay a-bleeding as the conclusions could not be cleared and defended as orthodox in public. This stain of implicit heresy needed whitening.<sup>246</sup>

White spent the final months of his Presidency administering the College from England. He instructed the Protector that Bishop Smith would back him in his choice of a new President, chosen from one of the three Superiors on the current administration.<sup>247</sup> Newman did not approve of White poaching members of the administration for his own devices as Day noted with Harrington's later recall to England, possibly at the instigation of White.<sup>248</sup> Whilst White was in England forging the future of the College with the Chapter (the best place to secure scholars and money rather than Lisbon) the situation was not as dire as Newman recorded in his letter to the Chapter. Harrington obtained leave from the Protector to ask the *Cabido* to ordain Day, Metcalfe and Pavier which was agreed by Castro.<sup>249</sup> The first examination took place under the presidency of Castro in his capacity as Protector, a *cônego* (canon) from the *Cabido* and Harrington acted as examiners. This first examination (taken on points of speculative divinity) needed to impress, particularly in the light of White's disputed defences; the Protector agreed to allow the *cônego* to attend as the *Cabido's* support would be needed were the College to succeed within the ecclesial landscape of the city.<sup>250</sup> The examination was impressive and a success; Martin Biddlecomb and Francis Pavier, examined on the first day, so impressed Castro that he joked they knew too much. Metcalfe, Waring and Day were examined the morning afterwards for minor orders. Long before 1633 leave had been obtained from Rome to grant all four minor orders on the same day by the secular agents.<sup>251</sup> This was a bold step for the Protector to take in the presence of the *cônego*: one

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<sup>246</sup> Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', p. 19.

<sup>247</sup> They were Clifford, Harrington and Newman.

<sup>248</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 79 – 80.

<sup>249</sup> Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', p. 19. All three were ordained 17 July 1633.

<sup>250</sup> Moral theology; Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', pp. 19 – 20.

<sup>251</sup> These privileges were granted the College at Douai and it seems Lisbon received the same grant during the negotiations of 1621 – 22. See UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue, No. 167: Authenticated copy of a Bull of Pope Gregory XV granted to the College of Douai: licence to take the four minor orders on the same day. [30 September 1621].

which demonstrated his commitment to the College. Under his mandate Castro was only delegated to ordain students, not to examine them which remained the responsibility of the Archbishop. Day explained that Castro assumed this privilege on the grounds that as Protector he had papal authority to do so: Douai having a similar privilege at the time.

### **1.17. Clifford's Interregnum.**

The first ordinations of the College community took place on 3 July 1633. A letter from Diego Velho, a notary of the Holy Office, which has not survived but featured in Day's diurnal, informed Clifford of the Protector's wish to present students with orders. Clifford, as Vice President summoned the students into the chapel in the dead of night, presenting them with orders of alumnus (presumably the College Oath) and, excepting Pickford who was already ordained, all took a missionary oath, agreeing to go on the Mission for the re-conversion of England. The first ordinations took place the morning afterwards at seven; the alumni were on their own, there were no Portuguese ordinands put forward for that day. Castro bestowed the orders on the candidates: White's absence was noted.

Whether the Protector knew of the imminent arrival of the second mission is uncertain; Clifford delivered letters of recommendation to Castro from Presidents Kellison, White and Bishop Smith. Secretary Velho's letter to Clifford does appear to have come out of the blue. In what might have seemed a providential move, the mission arrived the same day as the ordinations. The seven students of the second mission were accompanied by a priest whose name remains unknown. White had seen the mission off from Douai on 9 May and left for England two days later.<sup>252</sup> The College was in no fit state for the new mission, despite Clifford's best efforts to carry out White's instructions. The irregular payments from Coutinho and the crown did not help matters. The gulf between the Founder and the College administration grew under Clifford's interregnum. Nunez, Coutinho's chaplain, beseeched Harrington to ask Coutinho should the College ever want for anything. Harrington felt he had to go it alone as Coutinho's interest in the College waned considerably during White's administration. Harrington protested to Nunez that the College's growing lack of confidence in the Founder was far from unfounded; Coutinho's offers of loans and donations were not forthcoming and, in the words of Day, the College Superiors found negotiating with him 'so hard a stone we have to work.' Coutinho was not a

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<sup>252</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 313.



figure that attracted much affection; his antipathy towards the young scholars of Humanity was both as hard as it was cold. Vice President Clifford, a man of gentle character and ill health complained to Coutinho about his attitudes towards the second mission, informing him that his words could 'break a heart of diamond.' Harrington delivered the letters to Castro who (as was now expected from this unlikely source of warmth and affection) received them with, 'a thousand benedictions.'<sup>253</sup>

The Chapter's reply bemoaned its relations with Coutinho and expressed regret over Newman's refusal to assume the Presidency. Sharratt noted that the Presidency must have been offered to Newman as he replied on 15 December (o.s.) that he would refuse the offer. Newman received the Chapter letter in February 1634; the Chapter noted the extreme difficulty it laboured under in England due to the continued attacks on Smith and its own authority. Colleton thanked Newman for the continued efforts he undertook to continue the work of the College despite continued adversities. The refusal of Newman to assume the Presidency for the second time saddened Colleton, who argued that no man was more suited nor committed to the College. The most damning part of the letter is revealed below. The Chapter, perhaps influenced by White, was far from amused at the constant problems it encountered with Coutinho from whom they expected 'more help and comfort:'

such were his [Coutinho's] continued delays and new demands of contribution upon fresh pretences, a thing which sounds very harsh to be exacted at the hands of those who can hardly struggle with present necessities, being only sustained with the pure voluntary alms of Catholics groaning under the burden of persecution.

News came through of the conclusions of White's negotiations with the Chapter late in the summer of 1633. The clergy would match the 5000 *cruzados* set by the Founder if he met Mayler's petition of a pension of 240 *cruzados p.a.* for a further seven years. The Chapter informed Coutinho, who made it clear that he would contribute no more funds, that they would increase the pension to 360 *cruzados* to support nine alumni for the rest of Coutinho's life. The Chapter would run the administration's finances; this done on the understanding that Coutinho would raise his obligations to support a community of 24 upon his death. Coutinho refused, so the amount remained at 240 *p.a.* White's building work was also rejected by the Chapter, who could not afford such a request though no doubt it would have pleased the Founder. In this work, 'everyone found themselves pressed beyond their ability.' Colleton ended the letter with criticism towards the Founder; with the condition of the

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<sup>253</sup> Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', pp. 22 – 24.

Church in England the Chapter was more fit for receiving charity rather than to be engaged in such expenses.

The Chapter recognised that no man wanted the poisoned cup that was the administration of the College. Smith's desire for Harrington to take the Presidency was proposed but never came about. Colleton ended his correspondence with a message of hope as well as a criticism of Coutinho:

[We] hope in the mean you will persist in your good offices to that family, as well by satisfying Don Pedro that these storms of persecution do not licence us to dispatch business so speedily as he may perhaps presume possible; as also by encouraging the students who, we confess, have cause to droop amidst these perpetual demurs and so long vacancy of the Presidentship.<sup>254</sup>

Coutinho's demanding manner of engagement with the Chapter authorities gained him enemies within the English clergy; perhaps only Newman supported the Founder in the last years of his life. The later entries of Day's diurnal turn on the Founder with sharpness untypical of all the other entries. Praising the Protector Castro for his free and comfortable countenance towards the community Day did not know how to describe the countenance of the Founder, who remained uninterested and cold. The second mission of Humanity scholars angered Coutinho so much that he refused to release more funds until his death; his sense of betrayal was remarkable. Coutinho's failure to pay the Superiors their allowances caused great strife for Clifford, who remained acting regent in White's absence.

Coutinho founded the College on a shoestring and expected blind love and unswerving sycophancy in return.<sup>255</sup> Nunez remained unable to persuade Clifford of Coutinho's love for the College nor Harrington of his need of Coutinho for money. The Founder instructed Harrington to borrow money from elsewhere, which he was loath to do as it would damage the credit of the College within the city; a fact repeated by Newman in his letter to the Chapter. The dire relations between the College Superiors and Coutinho, which Newman appears to have stayed out of, were remedied when Harrington found an English Catholic merchant who was willing to

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<sup>254</sup> UCA, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to Dom Pedro Coutinho, August 1633.

<sup>255</sup> It was not unusual for aristocratic pious bequests to come at substantial cost. Coutinho's demands for his soul, three quotidian Masses to be said daily *in perpetuum* is little when seen in the light of Caesar Bogacio's demands from Madrid. Leaving 100 ducats for funeral expenses he required a vault in the chapel of the college at Madrid followed by 100 masses for his soul. Students were to recite one half hour meditation for the Founder; two masses were to be offered daily for the benefit of his soul until it had passed, through Purgatory. See Henson, *English College at Madrid*, p. 81.



lend the College money.<sup>256</sup> So keen was the merchant that he suggested he could be sole lender to the College, thereby saving it the reputation of poor credit. Harrington petitioned the Protector on the matter of money at the forthcoming ordinations. Day's account of the meeting revealed the strenuous effort and heavy cost the Chapter had gone to in establishing the College.

Biddlecomb, Pavier and Waring were ordained deacons on the 10 July 1633 followed by festivities provided by the Protector, who related to Harrington his own misgivings surrounding the College's initial foundation; he had consulted members of the *Suprema* and several learned friends with his objections (though what these objections were remains uncertain.) Castro suggested a conference to take place at the College with Coutinho in attendance to settle the disputes surrounding White's non-resident administration. Coutinho agreed but insisted he visit the Protector at the residence of the Inquisitor. In his preoccupation with Coutinho, Day omitted to note the first ordination to the priesthood a week later on 17 July 1633 (of Pavier and Humphrey Waring).

The respect alumni at the College had for Protector Castro was substantial; Waring offered his first Mass to the Protector who refused the offer noting that England needed its offering more than he. Pavier said his first Mass for Coutinho, who characteristically did not refuse the offer. The prayers seemed not to have worked, Coutinho gave the two priests a meagre salary of 20 *milreis* a month; Harrington was spending over four times that amount due to the costs of receiving the second mission sent by White. With the arrival of the second mission's luggage came a Douai priest, Edward Kinsman, along with correspondence from White. White endorsed Harrington as a potential President and conversation with Kinsman made it clear that White would not be returning to Lisbon. White's correspondence to Coutinho apologised for the sending of the Humanity scholars which was, he protested, against his own will as much as it was the Founder's. Harrington noted that this did not appease Coutinho, who expressed his sense of betrayal.

Harrington's own desires to leave for England were denied outright. Day noted, supported by Newman in his letter to the Chapter, that Coutinho was ready to pull out and wished for the students to leave. Desperate for funds, Harrington asked the Provisor of the *Cabido* to renew his licences to hear confessions to Englishmen in Lisbon (work usually attributed to the Residence) duties that the administration could do on the Archbishop's behalf. The first priests left the English College at Lisbon via

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<sup>256</sup> Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', p. 22. The merchant was Mr. Wakeman.



Setubal on 10 September 1633 destined for the English Mission. The alumni, Biddlecomb, Metcalfe, Pavier and Waring, were joined by Jerome White, brother of the former-President, who had been sent by Thomas to transfer the first missionaries to England. The party left Lisbon, the first two for the Mission and the latter two for Flanders (presumably Douai). Day complained that Coutinho contributed nothing towards the viaticum of the onerous journey 'nor Negro to know how they did after their troublesome land journey'. This is contradicted by a later statement where Pavier and Waring visited the Founder before they departed: Pavier's offering of his first Mass to Coutinho gained him a substantial donation for his viaticum. Day noted Pavier remained Coutinho's favourite; Waring received four milreis and the other three alumni. Coutinho dictated a letter to Pavier to deliver to the Chapter. Newman gave them all a *pistole* (gold coin) as he promised to do with every student upon their leaving.<sup>257</sup>

### 1.18. White's vindication.

The College remained in a state of penury unusual even for a Portuguese religious house. The backlog in payments from Coutinho plunged the administration into a period of prolonged debt. White's instructions to add a school of Humanity did not ease the situation. Newman did his best to help out where he could financially. He paid the College substantial funds from his posts at the Royal Hospital and the Castle of St. George to supplement the income of the College when these posts were restored to him.<sup>258</sup> Records of the College's early finances have not survived; later accounts dating from 1639 indicated that the penury Harrington complained about continued into successive administrations. The Procurator's Account Books survive from 1639. The King's donations remained sporadic and usually backdated; the first noting that the King's ministers in Lisbon owed the College 125 *milreis* out of the annual 500.<sup>259</sup> A later entry recorded the King as debtor for 75 *milreis* which the Procurator of the *contos* took away in the final quarter session of 1639. The College administration accused the Procurator of refusing to grant the money, 'for pretended debts of our founder to his Majesty.' In the year of the Braganças declaration of

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<sup>257</sup> Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho I', p. 23.

<sup>258</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, Account Books, p. 1. Two entries survive putting Mr. Newman as creditor of 30 *milreis* on 12 August 1643 and 35.06 *milreis* on the 22 January 1644.

<sup>259</sup> Coutinho's funding from the *Casa dos Carnes* allowed for a community of 15: five Superiors and ten students. Bishop Richard Russell's Report into the College in 1671 provided the following indication as the Founder's foundation settlement: 'Hi[c] redditus eo tempore quo institutum est collegium, sufficientes habiti sunt ad quindecim, quinque videlicet superiores, et decem Alumnos sustentandos', UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, A Report into the College written by Russell and sent to the Papal Nuncio Francisco Ravizza, 8 June 1671.



independence, Philip IV owed the College 185, 922 *reis*. With the loss of Philip as patron financial matters continued to deteriorate; João IV's promise to match the payments of Philip was slow to materialise because he had more pressing engagements to attend to than funding English exiles. The payments were later administered by Paulo Suarez, treasurer of the *Moradias* in 1640. The sum was paid 15 years later through the intercession of the Archdiocese on the new King's behalf.

White's administration consolidated and built upon the work of Ashton, Mayler, Newman and Coutinho. White's success in securing the patronage of the Chapter and the protection of the Holy Office set the College on a firm foundation. His limited incumbency of the Presidency has been overshadowed by later controversies which have consequently blighted his reputation. White's defence (published some thirty years after his Presidency) did much to defend his administration in Lisbon. In 1661 White issued a defence of his actions as President of Lisbon to the secular clergy. His arch-enemy within the Chapter, George Leyburn, (President of Douai from 1652 – 70) accused White of heresy and of having corrupted the Chapter for his own ends; an allusion no doubt to John Sergeant, White's protégé, defender and fellow Lisbonian. In his *Muscarium* White defended himself against Leyburn's charges. There are elements in this lengthy tract which refer to his administration of Lisbon.<sup>260</sup>

White protested on several occasions that he had not asked to go to Lisbon but was forced from Douai against his will at the command of Bishop Smith. As President of what he called 'the as yet insufficiently established College', White noted the difficulties he encountered with the Holy Office over his student's public treatise *De Peccato*. Having been scrutinised five times the defence went ahead as planned. Prior to its commencement 'in the assembly of many learned Portuguese men,' the chief officer of the Inquisition banned the deliberation. White was ordered to answer these objections which, his defence argued in 1661 he had done. White's own account states that he and Coutinho *did* get on; the latter seeing the Holy Office's interference as representative of a plot fomented by Jesuits to stop the whole College represented a common fear the whole community had; Newman having gained the disapproval of the Society over his deliberations with Blackfan. So much did Coutinho trust White that he sent him on College business to Madrid where he was graciously received by the Conde-Duque, and the account of White's leaving Portugal is quite different from that given by Newman and thought by Coutinho.

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<sup>260</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1977), 16 – 25; 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 II' *Ushaw Magazine* (June, 1978), 18 – 26.

White argued that Coutinho sent him to England to have the *College Rules* and *Constitutions* finalised; he left with the Holy Office's authority and defended his actions in asserting that he did not flee Portugal nor was he banished by the Protector.

White accused his detractors and malefactors (both in England and Portugal), of betraying him in his intentions to satisfy Coutinho's demands. White claimed that Leyburn had unfairly persuaded the Chapter that his theses in Lisbon had not been cleared and were highly suspect; thus the Chapter was not keen on adding further funds to what might damage its own reputation. White's theses *had* been cleared; they only required him to return to have them publicly defended. In his response to Leyburn's accusations against him, White's defender, (who may have been John Sergeant [1657]) noted that the theses were put before the Holy Office maliciously by the Jesuits who had accused the College's administration of unorthodoxy. There is no evidence directly implicating the Jesuits. The University of Coimbra approved the texts; White's departure was not in response to fear from the Holy Office but upon the orders of the Founder to clear some business with his kinsman the Conde-Duque. Coutinho had after all instructed White not to return from England unless he was successful in gaining his requests.<sup>261</sup> In not returning White had the legitimate excuse that he was, after all, only obeying orders.

The Chapter meeting of 1633 gave White leave to gather divines from Kellison at Douai, though according to the pamphlet Kellison was not informed that White required only divines. Leyburn wrote to Kellison noting that the Chapter would be happy if he gave White only scholars for Humanity which was not the intention of the Chapter or the mandate White had been given by Coutinho. In what became the most celebrated case of enmity among the English secular clergy in the seventeenth century it appears White's actions in turning Lisbon into a model of Douai were not intentional and represented a defeat for him as much as a disappointment for Coutinho. The former was imitating Bishop Smith and the latter remained, as it was, quite unrealistic.

Perhaps disheartened, perhaps glad to be out of Lisbon, according to the pamphlet White turned to Chapter affairs 'to the greatest offence and sorrow of the Founder who respected and liked the man.'<sup>262</sup> Sharratt noted Newman and Coutinho

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<sup>261</sup> George Leyburn wrote to Bishop Smith in May 1638 that Blacloe (Thomas White) was acting as the Chapter's agent in Paris: he was engaged in business concerning the House at Arras. See Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXIX, no. 58, George Leyburn to Bishop Richard Smith, pp. 203 – 04.

<sup>262</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 219.



were consistently unrealistic in their demands; Haynes had died from exhaustion and White was unable to meet the extensive demands of a Founder whose energy and enthusiasm far surpassed White's. The Founder's wish for the College to remain a school for divines was always impractical. If the English College at Lisbon was to establish itself as a centre of learning then, as a Douatian himself, White saw the need to emulate the Mother College. His administration, overshadowed by his dispute with Coutinho and his later controversies, guaranteed the survival of the College at Lisbon whose foundation, so slowly laid, White had secured.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Conflict and Crisis: the English College at Lisbon under the Chapter: 1633 – 1671

#### 2.1. Reform.

From its inception in 1622 Coutinho's foundation muddled on from one misfortune to the next. Though a number of Kellison's original mission had received sacred orders from the College's Protector by 1633 they were those men, Francis Pavier, Martin Biddlecomb and Humphrey Waring, who had received the bulk of their education from the schools of the English College at Douai.<sup>1</sup> The College at Lisbon continued as a daughter, albeit a poor relation, of Douai: a satellite foundation on the periphery of Europe struggling against adversity to become a College in its own right. White's predominantly non-residential administration did little to alleviate the condition the College continued to labour under. It was however White's reforms as President which laid the foundations that successive administrations would build upon. The reforms of White's Presidency had not yet come to fruition, and were left to his successors Presidents William Hargrave (1634 – 37) and Peter Clarence (1638 – 42) to implement and consolidate.<sup>2</sup>

White's resignation left a vacuum in the College's administration that came at a particularly necessitous time. In response the Chapter appointed Harrington as President in December 1633.<sup>3</sup> Harrington had taught Philosophy at Douai and whilst awaiting the first mission to leave for Lisbon in 1628 he assisted the administration as College Confessor.<sup>4</sup> Whilst at the College in Lisbon Harrington taught Theology (despite Kellison's recommendation he taught Philosophy) and carried on his duties as Confessor to the first mission. Under Clifford's prudent management as Vice President, Harrington and Newman had picked up the reins of government left by White in May 1632, related above. White may have recommended his former teaching colleague at Douai to Colleton during the doomed negotiations between the Chapter and Coutinho, which would explain Harrington's nomination by the Chapter

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<sup>1</sup> Sharratt *Annals*, pp. 140, 210 – 11.

<sup>2</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 77 – 79, 31 – 32.

<sup>3</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to William Newman, 25 December 1633.

<sup>4</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 80.



to lead the administration.<sup>5</sup> Pickford noted in the College's *Annals* that Harrington's appointment to the Presidency in 1633 had been made by the Chapter authorities despite Coutinho's explicit proviso that he wanted someone from the Mission (possibly from the Chapter itself) to head the administration left vacant by White. Harrington's was a curious appointment considering he had returned to England earlier in November, and correspondence from George Leyburn to Bishop Smith demonstrated that Harrington remained in England some years after.<sup>6</sup> Harrington's election depended on the confirmation of Bishop Smith in Paris, a confirmation which does not appear to have been given.<sup>7</sup> This reticence may have been in recognition of Coutinho's reservations about appointing someone to the Presidency from within the Council.<sup>8</sup> Harrington refused the nomination from Colleton having been informed that Coutinho wanted someone new and that, to quote Anstruther, he was not *persona grata* with the Founder.<sup>9</sup> Coutinho's objection to Harrington's nomination rested on his desire to procure a man of greater stature who could provide for his extravagant designs.<sup>10</sup> Harrington was however more than qualified for the appointment: he had taught on the same staff at Douai as White and had spent considerable time studying at Louvain and Paris.<sup>11</sup>

After the Chapter's decision to send a colony of students to study Humanity to the College in 1632 (a decision that had originated with Bishop Smith in Paris) Coutinho's intransigence became more pronounced; a position reflected in his attitude to the Chapter in England. However, Coutinho's decision to seek the appointment of fresh stock from the Chapter was not just born of hostility to the current Council of Superiors. The College was sorely in need of a period of stability were the reforms of White's administration ever to bear fruit. Coutinho, acutely aware of this necessity, desired a man with more administrative experience to take the College through what was a critical period of transition. Colleton, acting on the authority of Bishop Smith

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<sup>5</sup> E.H. Burton (ed.) *The Douay College Diaries: third, fourth and fifth, 1598 – 1654* (2 vols., CRS Publications 10 – 11, London, 1911), p. 217; Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A XXVI, no. 98, John Southcot to Peter Biddulph, 20 July 1632, pp. 273 – 74.

<sup>6</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 134, George Leyburn to Bishop Smith, 3 July 1636, pp. 455 – 456; A2, pp. 191 – 95.

<sup>7</sup> A2, p. 147.

<sup>8</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 77 – 79, 80.

<sup>9</sup> A2, p. 147.

<sup>10</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 79 – 80. The entry is in Pickford's hand who accompanied Harrington and the first mission from Douai to Lisbon in the autumn of 1628.

<sup>11</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, pp. 131, 133, 190, 194, 231.



pleaded with Newman on several occasions to accept the Presidency. Newman continually rejected the Chapter's pleas, despite being the most able man for the task in hand. His close relationship with Coutinho would certainly have eased the transition, but Newman remained insistent that he would not take on the task possibly because of his extensive pastoral and administrative duties for the Holy Office and the Archdiocese. Harrington, despite capable management of the College (with Newman and Clifford) in White's absence, had been overlooked by the Founder, was not, either from his own admission or Coutinho's, the man for the job. What was equally puzzling was the decision by the Chapter not to appoint Vice President Clifford as White's successor. Clifford had managed the College's administration in White's absence (Madrid, 1631; London, 1632) according to Pickford with a prudence and gentleness which, 'established and guided the House very well.'<sup>12</sup> These oversights suggest that it was Coutinho's personal desire to have someone sent from England to head the College rather than someone from within the Council of Superiors.

## 2.2. Dom Francisco de Castro, Protector of the College.

In these circumstances Coutinho's desire for an administrator sent from England remained best policy for the continued growth of the College. Behind Coutinho's unusual display of measured reason was the hand of the Inquisitor General whose capacity as Protector, so lauded by Day in his *Diurnal*, continued to benefit the College's earliest administrations.<sup>13</sup> Alongside Castro's civic and ecclesiastical commitments the Protector's care for the College remained exemplary particularly when seen in contrast to that of his successors.<sup>14</sup> Inquisitor General of the Kingdom and Dominions of Portugal and member of Philip IV's Council of State, Castro remained an influential and powerful defender of the early administrations. According to the College's Visitation records Castro presided over twelve visitations of the College from 1635 – 1651 and took his role as Protector very seriously.<sup>15</sup> As Protector he recognised the authority of the English Chapter as representative of the Bishop of Chalcedon, and crucially Smith's authority as ordinary of England and

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<sup>12</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 32 – 33.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I - III', *Ushaw Magazine*, (December, 1975, pp. 7 – 24; June, 1976, pp. 30 – 41; December, 1976, pp. 22 – 35).

<sup>14</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>15</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 130, Visitations of the College: 1635 – 1742. Protector Castro made the following visitations of the College: 1635, 1636, 1638, 1639, 1643, 1644, 1645 – 46, 1647 and 1649, 1650, 1651. The records also stipulate that Protector Dom Verissimo de Lencastre made one visitation in 1678 and Protector Nuno de Ataíde da Cunha, one in 1742.



Scotland, as appointed by Pope Urban VIII.<sup>16</sup> Castro accepted the Chapter's appointments made on Smith's behalf and communicated with the Dean on matters concerning the College's administration. The *Constitutions* stressed the Protector's role as *Inquisitor General*, appointed guardian of the College by the Apostolic Breves of Popes Gregory XV and Urban VIII.<sup>17</sup> This was the basis of the agreement between Philip IV and Coutinho indicating the former's reliance on the Dominican order to maintain religious and social orthodoxy in the realms of Spain.<sup>18</sup> The *Constitutions* attached the office of Protector to the Holy Office of Portugal, subject to the aforesaid Breves with a jurisdiction independent of Bishop Smith and the Chapter. This represented the peculiar nature of the exile foundations of English clergy on the Continent which was subject to the universal authority of the Papacy in general but to the local jurisdiction of the Holy Office in particular. The office of President was an appointment of the Bishop of Chalcedon, under whose authority he exercised the powers granted him by the authority of Rome subject to local jurisdictions. What was unique in the case of the College at Lisbon was that the President and Superiors were directly under Chalcedon's authority as *ordinarius Angliæ et Scotiæ* and could be appointed and removed at will.<sup>19</sup> Coutinho's refusal to appoint a new President from within the ranks of the Council indicated that neither Smith (in exile in Paris) nor the Chapter were prepared to interpose in either Coutinho or Newman's management. The later intervention of the Protector against President Hargrave's administration in 1637, when Castro removed Hargrave for financial irregularity, demonstrated that the Protector was not averse to exercising his authority even over Smith's episcopal appointments.

This curious alignment of local and universal jurisdiction functioned sufficiently in the College's early history without causing a conflict of authority. The Chapter remained reticent at interfering with decisions made by local ecclesiastical authorities in Lisbon; the Protector rarely interfered with appointments made by

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<sup>16</sup> For the finest scholarship on the Portuguese Holy Office see Francisco Bethencourt, *La Inquisición en la época moderna: España, Portugal, Italia, Siglos XV – XIX* (Madrid, 1995).

<sup>17</sup> See *De Protectore Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulae* and *Brevia Summorum Pontificum Gregorii XV et Urbani VIII pro Ereptione et Fundatione Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensi*.

<sup>18</sup> See R.A. Stradling, *Philip IV and the Government of Spain, 1621 – 1665* (Cambridge, 1988), ch. 1; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence, Thomas More (Archpriest's Agent at Madrid) to Ferdinando Martinez Mascarenhas, 24 November 1621.

<sup>19</sup> A2, p. 26; See Patrick Gauchat (ed.) *Hierarchia Catholica* (vol. 4, Regensburg, 1935), p. 147; Michael de la Bedoyere, *Francois de Sales* (London, 1960); That other champion of secular episcopacy Francis of Sales preceded Bishop and Smith as titular bishop of Chalcedon, the latter granted *facultas exercendi in regnis Angliæ et Scotiæ* by Apostolic Breve over the English Catholic secular clergy and community.

Smith and his Chapter. The work of the secular agents in Rome and Madrid, of John Bennett and Thomas White, had secured this settlement for the Chapter and for English episcopacy making the College in the words of Eamon Duffy, 'a fully Tridentine seminary in its dependence on the Bishop.'<sup>20</sup> That dependence relied on Smith's ability to select and procure able men for the College's governance from the Mission; to find suitable funds for the College's maintenance (particularly for alumni) and to act on its behalf in legal and juridical matters. That is however where Duffy's interpretation ends: if the College had been fully Tridentine it would have fallen under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lisbon and not a titular Bishop of what was a missionary territory without episcopal or parochial structures. Though students were entered into the *Annals* according to their county of origin the College's finances were not provided for by diocesan donations. Bishop Smith was (albeit disputably) ordinary of a *national* church; the Chapter had divided the country into loose territorial deaconries but the College remained, *contra* the decrees of Trent, rather than diocesan, national in procuring benefactions: Lisbon like its partner foundations remained proudly English in its exile status, staffed by English nationals and funded by diverse sources both domestic (English), local (Portuguese) and independent (Founder's benefaction). This unusual compromise for the English exile community of Lisbon undermined the Tridentine thesis of a diocesan seminary funded by the Bishop and the archdeacons: the colleges remained non-diocesan in where they received their revenues, patronage and consequently, their outlook.<sup>21</sup>

Though the appointment of William Bishop in 1623 represented an important victory for the English secular clergy and the legacy of the Appellants, Smith's own authority was far from universally recognised and remained ambiguous as to the extent of its jurisdiction.<sup>22</sup> Having more authority than a Vicar Apostolic but less than an ordinary Tridentine diocesan prelate Smith's position in England remained something of an ecclesiastical anomaly which was manipulated by his enemies on the Mission. Smith's position in the College's government had been secured by the negotiations led by Bennett and White with Rome and Madrid. Smith held no authority *intra muros* beyond appointments, patronage and procuring students (the latter two not wholly dependent on his episcopal authority.) Douai and Lisbon were

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<sup>20</sup> Eamon Duffy, 'The English Secular Clergy and the Counter-Reformation', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 34 (April, 1983), p. 225; A1, pp. 31 – 32; A2, pp. 349 – 354.

<sup>21</sup> This position remained unchanged until 1971 when the College dispersed its last students. After the Restoration of the Hierarchy in 1850, English and Welsh Bishops had the right to nominate ordinands to the College regardless of their territorial jurisdictions.

<sup>22</sup> J. Waterworth (ed.) *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Ecumenical Council of Trent* (London, 1848), Twenty-third session: pp. 170 – 92; A1, p. 37.



both colleges not strictly in accord with the *zeitgeist* of active spirituality propounded by the Council of Trent and fostered by the new orders such as the Jesuits and the Oratorians. Unlike the English College at Rome, Douai and Lisbon had schools of Humanity and did not focus wholly on ecclesiastical studies in training for the Mission despite Coutinho's earliest intentions.<sup>23</sup> Considering the unique political and social situation of the English Catholic community within Tridentine Catholicism the path the administrations at Douai and Lisbon took was both practical and beneficial, particularly when the persecution of seminary priests declined after the succession of the House of Stuart to the English throne in 1603. The spirit of the English Mission had changed from one of active militarism to a more sedate domesticated one. Lisbon was more at the forefront of this paradigmatic shift than Douai; founded at the height of the *Pax Hispanica* and the Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance Lisbon lacked the cultural and political baggage of the persecutions of the 1580s and 90s and the legacy of Philippine foreign policy.<sup>24</sup> Lisbon College was therefore not tainted in the same way as the foundations at Valladolid, Seville, Madrid and even Douai as being nurseries of rebellion supported by the Castilian crown against perfidious Albion.<sup>25</sup>

The English College at Douai did not see itself as a Tridentine institution; neither did Lisbon; its virulent anti-Jesuit ethos and the implementation of the school of Humanity tended more to the Douai model than the colleges in Rome and Spain. Though Douai's origin was irrevocably tied up with the foundation of Douai University (a model of Counter Reformation education patronised by Pope Pius V and King Philip II) the College resisted attempts by the Society to become an exclusively Tridentine College like, for example the *Collegium Germanicum* in Rome.<sup>26</sup> Douai's school of Humanity did not use the *Ratio Studiorum* like St. Omers, but offered an alternative to those recusant gentry who preferred to keep their children away from the Society. In the 1620s President Kellison of Douai expelled the

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<sup>23</sup> Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome: a history 1579 – 1979* (London, 1979), p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Paul C. Allen, *Philip III and the Pax Hispanica 1598 – 1621: the failure of Grand Strategy* (Yale, 2000), pp. 99 – 114.

<sup>25</sup> Thomas Robinson, a disgruntled self styled ex-Bridgettine brother described the Bridgettine English Convent in Lisbon as, 'the handmaid of the whore of Babylon' in 1622, the year of the College's foundation. Though the exiled foundations still had their malefactors and detractors the College never received the vilification from English authorities (even from Consul Lee) that the Jesuit colleges in Castile and Andalusia suffered. See Thomas Robinson, *Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon* (Lisbon, 1622), iv (verso).

<sup>26</sup> Francesco C. Cesareo, 'The Collegium Germanicum and the Ignatian Vision of Education', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 24/4 (1993), 829 – 41.

final vestiges of Jesuit influence at the College, let in by William Allen.<sup>27</sup> The schools of Humanity, both at Douai and Lisbon proved valuable recruiting grounds for the Mission, the colleges that served it and for those clergy willing to defend the Chapter and its continued pursuit of ordinary episcopal authority in England.<sup>28</sup>

The administrative and managerial jurisdictions of Bishop Smith and the College's Protector existed in a harmony that stood in marked contrast to continued conflicts between Coutinho and the English Chapter. Castro did not see his role as interfering or making demands on a sovereign bishop and his college of canons, but the Founder refused to acknowledge his own role as being so impartial. The correspondence between the Chapter and the Founder from the winter of 1633 following the resignation of White and his refusal to return to Lisbon suggests that the Chapter grew weary of Coutinho's intransigence. White's report to the Chapter on the condition of the new administration has not survived, but it does not seem implausible to suggest White informed them of the Founder's erratic temperament and unrealistic designs for the fledgling College. Colleton had informed Coutinho himself that his building plans could not be supported by the Chapter; a point White had informed him of even before he left the Bairro Alto. The Chapter accused Coutinho of lacking sufficient sympathy and understanding for the miserable condition of the secular clergy on the English Mission, who were in no position to be dispensing charity.<sup>29</sup> The Chapter had agreed to a donation of 120 *cruzados* towards the maintenance of nine students during Dom Pedro's lifetime provided he settled sufficient funds in his will to maintain twenty-four students and Superiors after his death. The collapse of this agreement, along with the building plans, convinced Colleton that Coutinho was not a man the secular clergy could continue to do business with. When Colleton wrote to the Founder commending White's successor as President, he addressed the letter

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<sup>27</sup> Milburn noted that this represented a reversion to a former practice prior to Jesuit involvement in the College's administration. See David Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College* (Durham, 1964), p. 6.

<sup>28</sup> For an illustration of the syllabus taught at Douai see P.R. Harris (ed.) *Douai College Documents, 1639-1794* (CRS Publications 63, London, 1963). This includes a full account of the Prefect of Studies' notes from 1750 – 94. See also, Michael Sharratt, "Excellent Professors and an Exact Discipline": Aspects of Challoner's Douai" in Eamon Duffy (ed.) *Challoner and His Church: a Catholic Bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981), pp. 112 – 125; John Bossy's 'The End of a Chapter' in his *The English Catholic Community, 1570 – 1850* (London, 1975), pp. 60 – 76 is the best account to date charting the eventual destruction of those secular clergy desirous for a successor to Bishop Smith.

<sup>29</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to Dom Pedro Coutinho, August 1633.



not to Coutinho, but to Newman, demonstrating the nadir in relations between the Founder and the Chapter authorities.<sup>30</sup>

The collegiate community of Superiors and students numbered twenty-three at the end of White's Presidency, confirming that some agreement had been made to keep the College at the agreed size. The breakdown in White's negotiations centred on the proposed building work and not on the proposed expansion of the community.<sup>31</sup> The Chapter had agreed before White arrived in England on the transformation of Coutinho's foundation into that of the Douai model with a school of Humanity. According to the extant remaining evidence, this appears to have been approved without White's knowledge, though he made no protestations against the proposal when he met the Chapter authorities in the summer of 1632. The change was a natural progression. The Chapter was in dire need of new missionaries free from the controls of the Society in order to support ordinary ecclesiastical authority and its work in England. Most of the secular clergy had accepted that the walls of Jericho were not to be breached with one blast of the golden trumpet: the Enterprise of England was to be a long laborious process. The collapse of the Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance negotiations, in which several secular clerics had featured prominently, served to confirm that the restoration of the Catholic faith through Habsburg aid, military or otherwise, was no longer possible.<sup>32</sup> Though influential elements of the Chapter, led by the Blacklowist cabal of White (later John Sergeant), continued to endorse a restored Marian style episcopacy, secular priests grew more accustomed to serving an elite clique of landed gentry. Both factors are demonstrative of Smith's difference of opinion on the nature and projected future of the Mission, one which stood in marked contrast to the Founder's. The Anglo-Spanish marriage alliance had convinced men of the political and diplomatic class of Coutinho that Catholicism in England would be tolerated under any political alliance between the two former enemies. The collapse of that alliance in favour of a French alliance convinced Smith and the Chapter that the dawn of a Catholic revival remained a long way off: colleges under the secular clergy's control had therefore to prepare men for the long haul whilst providing Catholic education at the lower schools for the English Catholic community. Smith was closer politically and personally to the Valois and

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<sup>30</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Colleton to William Newman, 26 August 1634.

<sup>31</sup> The College Population from 1636 – 1642: (1636) 23; (1637) 23; (1638) 22; (1639) 20; (1640) 27; (1641) 24; (1642) 30.

<sup>32</sup> Henry Mayler (Regent: 1629 – 30) had himself participated in the negotiations between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta in 1623. Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I', 7 – 24.



later Bourbon regimes under Richelieu and was therefore under no illusion that French foreign policy favoured a policy of Catholic toleration in England at any cost. The colleges at Douai and Lisbon continued therefore to serve a dual purpose which, at least in Lisbon's reform of 1632, remained the brainchild of Smith.<sup>33</sup>

The Chapter relied on the colleges at Douai and Lisbon to populate its canonries and defend the authority of a resident bishop with ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction: a position under attack from the regulars and laity since 1628. Three years later with Smith in his Parisian exile as a creature of Cardinal Richelieu, the secular cause received a further blow to its integrity from Rome itself. The publication of the Apostolic Breve *Britannia*, criticised Smith's government of the Mission and supported regular and lay attacks on the Bishop's powers of approbation.<sup>34</sup> Two declarations for Smith's arrest were issued that same year, forcing him to flee to Bourbon protection leaving the Chapter without a resident episcopal head.<sup>35</sup> The cause of English secular episcopacy (a result of twenty-five years of petitioning Rome) was in grave threat from enemies without and within. Coutinho's own correspondence demonstrated that he remained blissfully ignorant of these difficulties, and the repercussions for the College's government. The first mission of students, hand-picked by Kellison and Haynes, had been made up of men whose family names echoed throughout English Catholic historiography for their eminence in social and political life. The College, under Haynes' administration had been emblematic of a school for gentleman rather than a fully operational English missionary house on the model of Douai. This demonstrates Coutinho's misunderstanding of the position of the English secular clergy in 1630s England. The persecutions of Elizabeth and James had abated under Charles; the English Catholic community was not in need of heroic martyrs but of missionaries and ministers, which Smith was eager to provide and endorse as his *Monita* concerning mission suggested.<sup>36</sup> Coutinho's intention had been to keep the English College as a house of aristocratic exiles; a vision which satisfied his conception of the English Mission and

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<sup>33</sup> John Bossy, 'The Heart of Robert Persons', in Thomas McCoog (ed.) *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits: essays in celebration of the first centenary of Campion Hall, Oxford (1896 – 1996)* (Woodbridge, Boydell, 1996), p. 141.

<sup>34</sup> A printed copy of the Brief can be found in Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A, XXIV, no. 93. Michael Questier, *Newsletters from the Archbysbyterate of George Birkhead*, (Camden 5<sup>th</sup> series: vol. 12, Cambridge, 1998), p. 43.

<sup>35</sup> The two broadsheets, *A Proclamation for the Apprehension of Richard Smith, a Popish Priest, styled and calling himself the Bishop of Chalcedon* (London, Bonham Norton [1] and John Bill [2], 1628) were proclaimed 24 March and 11 December 1628 respectively.

<sup>36</sup> Richard Smith, *Monita quaedam utilia pro Sacerdotibus Seminaristis praesertim, Quando primum veniunt in Angliam* (Douai, 1630).



his charitable endeavours towards it, it was one which lacked both substance and practical realism.

### 2.3. Our Man from the Chapter: President William Hargrave, 1634 – 37.

William Clifford led the administration of the College as Vice President and Regent in the interregnum between White's departure in May 1632 and the arrival of his successor William Hargrave in September 1634. In effect Clifford should be recorded in the College's history as President for this interregnum and (albeit without official appointment) he was head of the administration in all but name. Whilst acting as regent Clifford carried out White's orders from England to prepare the College for the arrival of the second mission of students for the school of Humanity.<sup>37</sup> Coutinho's indignation at the proposal matched with Clifford's tacit complicity with White's orders may have soured the relationship between the two men, thereby explaining Coutinho's opposition to his formal appointment as successor to White. Hargrave arrived at the College with the new Procurator Henry Shirley in August 1634 to lead the administration.<sup>38</sup> Hargrave's administrative experience was far from exemplary. Whilst a Superior at Douai he had acted as Prefect of Studies but he had no experience of leadership; despite this, Coutinho made no objections to Smith's appointment.<sup>39</sup> Hargrave's two year stint would however prove useful in the codification of the College *Rules and Constitutions*. Clifford relinquished his authority as Regent upon Hargrave's arrival, leaving Lisbon for Rome to take up his post as a representative of the Chapter at the Holy See.<sup>40</sup> Hargrave presented his letters of recommendation from Smith to the Council of Superiors, Coutinho and the Protector over a year after White's resignation. Colleton sent separate communications pleading with Newman to aid Smith's appointment as the real *éminence grise* behind Coutinho and the only man capable of dealing with his volatile temperament.

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<sup>37</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 32.

<sup>38</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 217.

<sup>40</sup> For William Clifford's literary works particularly on his *Little Manual of the Poor Man's Devotion* (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1670; 5<sup>th</sup> edition 1705) see J.D. Crichton, *Worship in a Hidden Church* (Dublin, 1988), ch. 4. 'From the Baroque to the Age of Reason.' For his period of office at Lisbon see Michael Sharratt, 'Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 I - II', *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1977), 16 – 25; (June, 1978), 18 – 26.

In correspondence with Bishop Smith, George Leyburn praised Hargrave for his defence of secular episcopacy and the rights of the Chapter on the Mission.<sup>41</sup> Hargrave came from that strand of secular clergy described by Questier as the, 'intellectual and ideological heirs of the Appellants.'<sup>42</sup> Though Hargrave's sturdy defence of the current ecclesial regime in England commended him to the exiled Bishop, the post of President was not the most enticing of the English continental foundations even for the most resolute supporter. Hargrave's suitability was aided by his own personal links within Lisbon: this made him a credible candidate for a position that was fast becoming seen as one of the least desirable of the Mission.<sup>43</sup> Hargrave, like his predecessors Haynes and White, received his education in a series of Ignatian foundations.<sup>44</sup> He arrived at Valladolid four years after White removed to Seville before taking office at Douai. Hargrave was an administrator as opposed to a missionary, as his career in the missionary college demonstrated.<sup>45</sup> He had spent his

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<sup>41</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A, XXIV, George Leyburn to Bishop Smith, no. 207, pp. 749 – 752.

<sup>42</sup> Michael Questier, 'Arminianism, Catholicism, and Puritanism in England during the 1630s' *Historical Journal* vol. 49 no. 1 (2006), p. 65.

<sup>43</sup> For Hargrave see Gillow's *Register* in William Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (London, 1902), pp. 167 – 275: Hargrave, under 'Hargreaves' pp. 208 – 09; UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, William Newman to King Philip IV, 1631(?) Newman had to explain to Philip IV why he had sent three of his relatives to the convent whilst working for the *Cabido*, placing financial burdens on the community it could not afford. Like Newman, Hargrave had several relatives resident at the English Bridgettine convent of Sion. Sion had moved from the Franciscan convent of Esperança to the Sitio de Mocambo under the patronage of Doña Isabel de Azevedo. Gillow noted a Lady Elizabeth Hart (an alias Hargrave used himself) as the first Abbess of the community when it removed from Rouen to Lisbon. Another aunt, Margaret Hart died at Sion in the summer of 1628. John Fletcher, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey* (Bristol, 1933), pp. 113 – 119. Fletcher, *Bridgettines of Syon Abbey*, p. 166. Fletcher noted a Mary Harnage in the list of Abbesses but this appears unrelated to the new President.

<sup>44</sup> The term *Ignatian* is a useful one when differentiating between those seminary priests at the Jesuit foundations and those from Douai and Lisbon. Hugh Aveling popularised the term in his *The Handle and the Axe* (London, 1976). The term was in the popular contemporary canon. Lewis Owen used the term to describe those seminary priests from Madrid, Valladolid and Seville in his *The Running Register* (London, 1626).

<sup>45</sup> Hargrave studied Humanity at St. Omers 1611 – 16: Geoffrey Holt (ed.) *St. Omer's and Bruges Colleges, 1593 – 1773*, (CRS Publications 69, London, 1979), p. 126 though Edwin Henson noted in, *Registers of the English College at Valladolid, 1589 – 1862*, (CRS Publications 30, 1930) that he learnt, 'the rudiments of grammar', in various locations in England. Henson incorrectly attributed Henry Foley (ed.), *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus... in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, (London, 1875 - 1877, 1883), series vi, p. 283 to Hargrave. Though the *Responsa* of the English College Rome noted Hargrave had a Jesuit brother see Anthony Kenny (ed.) *The Responsa Scholarum of the English College, Rome*, (2 vols., CRS Publications 54 – 55, London, 1962 – 63), p. 389, it appears neither Hargrave nor his brother is that of Foley's. Ralph Sherwin was executed in 1581 which was before Hargrave and his brother were even born. Hargrave left St. Omers for Valladolid in 1616 but was removed to the English College at Rome for being troublesome. Wilfrid Kelly (ed.) *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe* (2 vols. CRS Publications, 37 and 40, London, 1940 – 43), pp. 185; 54, 309 – 10 gave no indication as to the nature of this. At Rome Hargrave completed his studies and was ordained. Hargrave served on the administration of Douai College from June 1623 – August 1634 where John Southcott noted he sailed to Lisbon with the new Procurator Henry Shirley see Burton,



first eight years at Douai as a Superior teaching Philosophy before his teaching abilities were recognised by President Kellison who appointed him Prefect of Studies. Unlike Haynes and White, Hargrave had little knowledge of the Mission: he had been chaplain to Henry Parker, Baron Lord Morley and Monteaule but his work was free from molestation and he left for Lisbon soon after his chaplaincy ended in 1634.<sup>46</sup>

The first years of Hargrave's administration were concerned with consolidating the work of his predecessor Thomas White. One of Hargrave's earliest acts as President had been the codification and printing of the *Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* based on the codified *Constitutions* of Douai (1600), revised by White and Castro. The mission of the College was stipulated as to train English men, *ad fidei Catholicæ propagationem spiritualem animarumque ducatum*.<sup>47</sup> The College's Protector confirmed the text; the draft was rushed through Portuguese royal and municipal authorities between January and March 1635 before its submission to the royal printer Laurence Craessbeck in 1635. The Superiors appointed in the *Constitutions* for the College's internal governance were those offices of President, Vice President, Lector of Sacred Scripture, two Lectors of Scholastic Theology and as many Lectors of Philosophy as the time and condition of the College necessitated. The College's internal structure was headed by a Council of Superiors, who governed in consultation the Alumni, Convictors and the domestic staff (familiaris). Castro retained the right of the Protector to interfere in College affairs for the spiritual progress of the English clergy and the promotion of the Catholic faith.<sup>48</sup> The College habit and the administration of the College Oath for alumni commenced from the feast of SS. Peter and Paul the same year. The College Oath (as opposed to the Missionary Oath) was the oath taken by alumni, those who were sponsored in some manner by the College's administration. The taking of the habit was for those students who received a small stipend towards their education: unlike Douai which received a papal subsidy, Lisbonian alumni were funded not from Rome but from home. The taking the Oath represented the student's understanding that he would take the habit of the College and consequently subscribe to the

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*Douay College Diaries*, pp. 210, 217 and 307; Nicholas Sanders (ed.) *Miscellanea I* (CRS Publications 1, London, 1905), p. 108. At Douai Hargrave took classes in Rhetoric as Prefect of Studies in the Humanity school and Philosophy (1632) where he knew Robert Duckett the martyr. Hargrave was on the same staff as White and later went on to succeed him as professor of Theology. He was a colleague of Harrington and would have taught several of the first mission.

<sup>46</sup> Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, pp. 42 – 43.

<sup>47</sup> Castro and White in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* (Lisbon, 1635), fol. 1.

<sup>48</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis*, fol. 1 – 4. See Caput 1: *De Superioribus Collegii in Genere*.

*Constitutions and Rules* that governed the whole collegiate community.<sup>49</sup> The College habit had been introduced by White, but it is likely that it was the second mission of Philosophers who began wearing it upon taking the College Oath. The uniform of the Lisbonian would not have been out of place anywhere in Catholic Europe; it was clerical standard issue, a cassock of black lustrous material, girdle and biretta.<sup>50</sup> The only emblem of association was a stole which incorporated the sword of Paul at one end and the oar of Peter on the other in honour of the College's patronal saints.<sup>51</sup>

All alumni were obliged to take the College Oath. Even those who came to read Philosophy were obliged to take the Oath even if they failed to progress through to Theology. The College's *Annals* do not permit a clear picture as to what stage in a seminarian's life the Oath would be administered. Traditionally the Oath should have been taken before entering the school of Divinity but the *Annals* is littered with examples of those who took it before or during Philosophy. All students, even those entering the school of Humanity, were obliged to make the profession of faith and take an oath against infamy as stipulated in Pickford's rubric of 1638.<sup>52</sup> Alumni seeking ordination were obliged to take the habit upon entering the College. The *Forma dandi Habitum et Juramentum Collegii* as codified in the *Liber Missionis* asked the student why he sought entry into the College, whereupon the ordinand responded his desire to serve on the Mission *in Angliam revertar ad Proximorum animas lucrandas*.<sup>53</sup> The College Oath bound the student to the President (acting *in loci episcopi*) in the direction of the Mission: students at Madrid, Seville and Valladolid would swear to recognise the authority of the Jesuit superior of their respective college in a similar Oath. The promise to take sacred orders and help preserve the Catholic community and propagate the Catholic faith throughout the Kingdom of England was a simple contract effectually binding the student to the

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<sup>49</sup> See Sharratt, *Annals*, xii. The College's *Constitutions* were clearly in a very advanced state of composition (they may have already been written at the time White and Clifford set up the school of Humanity). Consequently the *Rules* did not stretch to the school of Humanity which was to cause friction between the alumni and Superiors in later administrations (see Chapter Four).

<sup>50</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, Old Brotherhood Archive, Book 3, part 2., no. 133, Harte Danby to John Hammond, 11 November 1634.

<sup>51</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 9.

<sup>52</sup> Pickford was Regent of the College after Hargrave's removal in November 1637 to President Clarence's arrival in June 1638. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 78; viii.

<sup>53</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 125, *Liber Missionis*, p. 1.



authority of the President and the Chapter and guaranteeing a source of missionaries directly answerable to ordinary ecclesiastical government as it stood under Smith.<sup>54</sup>

After the collapse of Smith's effective ecclesiastical government as resident prelate in England the President exercised a *de facto* power of appointment to the missionary territories that was enjoyed by Tridentine bishops throughout Europe and the New World. The *Constitutions* gave the President the authority to place his students wherever he pleased, usually in consultation with the ecclesial regime in England. There is no indication in the *Annals* or the work of Anstruther that administrations favoured one area of the nation above another; students were usually returned to their parent diocese; but the power to send Lisbonians to certain areas resided ultimately with the President. For practical purposes they were sent where there were funds and revenues, often under the patronage of fellow Lisbonian benefactors or the Chapter itself. Those priests sent on the Mission took a further oath, the Missionary Oath, before being granted their viaticum. The *Formula Juramenti Sacerdotum in Angliam mittendorum* found in the *Liber Missionis* ruled that the Lisbonian priest would work according to Chalcedon's authority and, most importantly for the position of the Chapter in the 1630s, *[et] successoribus Ordinariis Angliæ*.<sup>55</sup> As distinct from the generic College Oath, the Missionary Oath bound the student to the College whilst on the Mission. The Missionary Oath obliged the Lisbonian priest to promote the interests of the College and the community at every opportunity; subject to the Bishop and his Chapter, each priest swore to act according to the instructions of the secular clergy in his missionary activities. The text of the oath was written in 1640 during a period when, though Smith still lived on in Paris, there was no effective residential head of the secular clergy in England. A separate formula was taken, the rubric noted in a different hand, when the Bishopric fell *sede vacante* (from 1655). Lisbonian priests from William Sutton onwards swore to be obedient to and observe the jurisdiction of the Dean and the Chapter as representative of Smith's authority until a successor was appointed by Propaganda.<sup>56</sup> Sutton noted in his own hand his willingness to accept the authority of the *Capitulum Londonensis* in the *Liber Missionis* from 26 February 1655 which was an accurate reading of the situation as Smith died less than a month later.<sup>57</sup> The written oaths from the first

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<sup>54</sup> The Oath, translated into English, can be found in Williams, *Venerabile*, pp. 243 – 4. The series of Oaths in the Lisbon Collection follow a standard pattern: they are written by the Oath taker and usually signed.

<sup>55</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 125, *Liber Missionis*, p. 37.

<sup>56</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 194 – 95.

<sup>57</sup> A1, p. 322.

mission led by Haynes have not survived, however Clifford instructed the first students for ordination to take an oath before the morning they were to receive orders, as related in Chapter One, however these oaths were largely generic.<sup>58</sup> The College Oath as instituted and codified by Hargrave can be traced back to 1635; the first signature was that of Francis Victor who, with six other entrants, took the Oath on the College's patronal feast day.<sup>59</sup>

#### 2.4. Higher Studies and the Seven Orders.

The English colleges under Jesuit direction (Rome, Valladolid, Seville and Madrid) subscribed to the curriculum codified in the *Ratio Studiorum* for the schools of Humanity, Philosophy and Theology.<sup>60</sup> The syllabus was not dissimilar from what students at Douai or for that matter at Lisbon would have followed. Scholastic Theology was based on Augustine, Aquinas and his *Summa*; Philosophy focused on Aristotelianism and Sacred Scripture was taught in a fashion that would have been familiar to Douatians and Lisbonians.<sup>61</sup> The *Ratio* formulated in 1599 came late to all the Jesuit governed English colleges excepting Madrid (c. 1610) and was adopted accordingly by all the English exile colleges under Jesuit government. The College at Lisbon followed a separate syllabus imitative more of Kellison's Douai after 1616 than any other of the English continental foundations. The students of Humanity read the seven liberal arts: grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy. The eighth chapter of the *Constitutions* gave some indication as to the teaching and learning of the higher studies though a detailed analysis of the College's curriculum should be sought elsewhere. The extant archival material presents no indication as to innovation or deviation from that line.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> The Missionary Oath was distinct from the College Oath. See UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 125, Liber Missionis: 14 April 1640 – 27 April 1830: [1] Oath for admitting alumni; [2] Directions for conferring missionary facilities; [3] List of missionary facilities; [4] Form of letter for faculties; [5] *Monita* based on Bishop Smith's *Monita* (Douai, 1630); [6] Letter on the ideals and practice of secular missionaries in England by Henry Gilmet (*alias* Shirley), 23 August 1641 [7] Form of Oath for priests leaving for England; [8] Signatures of Oath takers: 14 April 1640 – 27 April 1830. The College Oaths from 1635 – 1772 have been transcribed from Sharratt's annotated text UCA, Durham, LC, College Oath Collection. For a transcript of Shirley's *Monita* see Michael Sharratt, 'Commentary' in *Mount Carmel* vol. 25, no. 1 (Spring, 1977), 44 – 52.

<sup>59</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 204 – 05.

<sup>60</sup> Claude Pavur (ed.) *The Ratio Studiorum: the official plan for Jesuit education* (St. Louis, 2005.)

<sup>61</sup> Pavur (ed.), *Ratio*, see H7 – 17; H19 and 23.

<sup>62</sup> The only noted indication of deviancy was the defence of Pickford under White in August 1631. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148; A2, p. 352 and Roger Pugh's *Blacklo's Cabal Discovered in Several Letters Clearly Expressing Designs Inhuman against Regulars, unjust against the Laity, schismatical against the Pope, Cruel against Orthodox Clergymen and owning the Nullity of the Chapter, their opposition of Episcopal Authority* (London, 1680). For seminarian training in early



The main syllabus was outlined in the *Constitutions* formulated by Kellison, White and Protector Castro. The Master of Sacred Scripture recited extracts from the sacred texts *quotidie mediam horam*. The method of learning the text of the Bible was through dictation; a method of exposition familiar to all the seminarian colleges throughout occidental Europe. The Master would dictate the given passage with the students responding antiphonally and commentaries would be taken by the student. Few dictate books from the College survive.<sup>63</sup> The dictate began with a contents page where the lessons and the verses studied were codified in an indexed format for ease of future reference, designed to act as a *vade mecum* for the priest on the Mission.<sup>64</sup> Whilst students took commons the Master (or according to the College's definition of lesser officers, the Prefect) recited the *Libri historici*. Passages were recited from the Pentateuch and the twelve historical books of the Old Testament from Joshua to Ruth. This was followed by dictation from the six books from Samuel to the Captivity followed by three books from Ezra to Esther charting Israel's restoration. The canonical books of Machabees, namely the *liber primus et secundus Machabæorum* were then recited. From the New Testament the Synoptic Gospels, John and the *Acta Apostolorum* were recited in Latin by the Master (Prefect) who would comment on certain passages according to the liturgical calendar or the instruction of the President. The student would note the commentary for private use and reflection.

The *Constitutions* allowed for as many lectors as was deemed necessary for the provision of teaching Philosophy to the students. In practice there were two professors: one led a Matins class and the other Vespers. The syllabus was Aristotelian with his *Physics* studied in the morning class and his *Organum* and *Disciplina Topicorum* in the evening. The second year students engaged in the morning with Aristotle's *tres libros de Anima* and in the evening the seventh and eighth volumes of his *Physics*, *Secundum de Generatione et Corruptione* and the four books *De Coelo*. In the third year of Philosophy the Matins session was reserved for

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modern Europe there is not a great amount of secondary material available in English especially for the English missionary colleges. Comerford's analysis of the diocesan college at Fiesole, Italy is useful: Kathleen M. Comerford, *Ordaining the Catholic Reformation: Priests and Seminary Pedagogy in Fiesole, 1575 – 1675* (Florence, 2001); Wim Janse and Barbara Pitkin's (eds.) *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden, 2005) is likewise illuminating if not a little dense.

<sup>63</sup> The first commentary of a student (on Sacred Scripture) that has been preserved was taken in September 1698. It was a commentary on the Epistles, Apocalypse and the Gospel of St. John. The student was John Manley (College President from 1729 – 32 and 1739 – 55); the lecturer remains unknown as the *Juramenta Superiorum* did not note the lectors in Sacred Scripture, despite the post having the status of a Superior.

<sup>64</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 239, Lisbon Dictate: 1698 – 99, De Sacra Scriptura, Commentary on Epistles, Apocalypse, and the Gospel of St. John by John Manley.

Aristotle's *Metaphysics* and his works *De Analogia Entis*, *De causis in genere*, *De Prædicamentis*, *De inventione Primi Entis*, *Attributis naturalibus* concluding with his *De Intelligentiis*. For the third year of Vespers class students concentrated on Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics*.

The office of Lector of Theology was taken by the President as first professor assisted by a second Superior. White and Hargrave both taught Theology whilst acting as President. The *Constitutions* noted that the syllabus was centred on Scholastic Theology and Patristics based on Augustine and Aquinas. An overview of the course was provided for the Master in the *Constitutions*: a syllabus not alien to any Catholic seminary in Europe or the New World and a detailed analysis of which is unnecessary in the parameters of this thesis.<sup>65</sup> However, in order to make sense of the College's *Annals*, particularly the collegiate and public defences given by students, some discussion of the *Constitutions* is necessary. The first Master in the first year taught the *Prima Pars* of the *Summa Theologica* to the end of *Quæstio* 119: students learnt the main corpus of the *Summa* from *De Sacra Doctrina* [Q1]; *De Infinitate Dei* [Q7.] through to *De Locutione Angelorum* [Q107] to *De Propagatione Hominis Quantum ad Corpus*.<sup>66</sup> Having completed the first volume of Aquinas, students proceeded to the third and the study of the three theological virtues: Faith, Hope and Charity. The second year was devoted to the study of predestination, *De Actibus Humanis in Universali* and the mysteries of the Trinity. After this, following the *Summa* the students made an examination of the third part *De Christo, qui, secundum quod est Homo* which completed the second year. Having completed the study of the Incarnation students of the third year studied the nature of Angels; the Beatitudes; the Sacraments and the Church. The final year completed the study of the *Summa* with modules on Sin, Grace and the Holy Sacraments of Confession and Matrimony.<sup>67</sup>

Public defences of Philosophy and Theology were coordinated between the professors of both schools and the Prefect of Studies. Public defences were advertised throughout Lisbon, open to clerics from the religious houses, the Archdiocese and other interested parties. Sharratt's translation of Pickford's account of his own

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<sup>65</sup> Neither Williams nor Milburn addressed these issues in their historical accounts of the English colleges at Rome and Valladolid and the College of St. Cuthbert at Ushaw respectively. See Williams, *Valladolid; The Venerable English College, Rome* and Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College*. The titles of all the dictates are taken from Sharratt's rubric.

<sup>66</sup> Joseph Pecci (ed.) *S. Thomæ Aquinatis: Summa Theologica* (5 vols., Paris, 1887).

<sup>67</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constituiones*, ch. 8, 'De Officio Magistrorum et Materiis Legendis.'



disputed defence under President White in 1631 provided an insight into the appeal and audience: Pickford noted that '[the] Jesuits never attend College's exercises, though other religious come in great number.'<sup>68</sup> These defences were important opportunities for the College to prove the merits of its finest students before other colleges. Often they took on national rivalries with other exile foundations such as the local national Irish College of St. Patrick and the Irish Dominican house of *Corpo Santo*. According to Pickford students from the Jesuit *casa professa* of São Roque never attended the College's public defences. Public defences were chaired by the professor in charge of the school and dedicated to a benefactor or civic dignitary, making both the advertisement and the quality of the defence important agencies of seeking patronage and increasing the College's prestige in ecclesiastical and civic circles.<sup>69</sup> The dedication of public theses to members of the Portuguese royal family and aristocracy suggests that audiences included the laity. Outside of these public defences the College remained an enclosed institution. Interaction between sacred and profane life being strictly limited in accordance with the twenty-third session of the Council of Trent on the reform of seminaries and priestly formation.<sup>70</sup>

The first full set of orders conferred on a student was granted to Martin Biddlecomb, Francis Pavier and William Waring by the Protector in July 1633.<sup>71</sup> Waring was the first student to receive all his orders whilst at the College.<sup>72</sup> All three men accompanied Haynes on the first mission from Douai in 1628.<sup>73</sup> The mandate signed by Castro authorised Waring to receive his tonsure, the four minor orders of porter, lector, exorcist and acolyte; the sub-diaconate, diaconate and priesthood in a succession of weeks beginning 3 July 1633 and ending two weeks later *ad sacrum præsbyteratum*. The College had rights to confer all four minor orders on a student in one day, following the model exercised at Douai.<sup>74</sup> The formula of the patent illustrated the authority Castro was exercising: he styled himself Inquisitor General of

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<sup>68</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148.

<sup>69</sup> See Chapter Three.

<sup>70</sup> Waterworth, *Canons and Decrees*, pp. 170-92; for the Council of Trent's reforms on the priestly life and seminarian training see the eighteen chapters of the twenty-third session of the Council in H.J. Schroeder, *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (Rockford, 1978), 160 – 179.

<sup>71</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 211.

<sup>72</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates, Faculties, Francis Pavier, 29 August 1633 and William Waring, 29 August 1633.

<sup>73</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 140, 210 – 11.

<sup>74</sup> See Manlio Sodi and Achille Maria Triacca, *Pontificale Romanum: Editio Princeps 1595 – 1596* (Vatican City, 1997): tonsure 22 – 25; minor orders 25 – 37; sub-diaconate 37 – 47; diaconate 47 – 60; priesthood 60 – 82.

the Kingdom of Portugal and Protector, by Apostolic authority, of the *Collegii Anglicani Ulyssiponensis*. Waring's fellow Douatian Francis Pavier received similar orders from the Protector, though he had already received minors at Douai.<sup>75</sup> The two patents of Waring and Pavier have survived: William Waring of Coventry and Lichfield and Francis Pavier of the diocese of York.<sup>76</sup> Despite the continued difficulties of social acculturation the ordinations represented an important success for the legacy of Haynes and White: Coutinho's foundation was, as it were, fully operational as a missionary college serving the English Mission. It was only under Hargrave, the third President, that the College could be said to be operating as a missionary foundation.

The gap of eleven years between the College's foundation and the first ordinations illustrates the adversities the first administrations laboured under. The ordinations did however mark an important point of departure in the College's history. Pavier and Waring received praise for their early missionary activities, painted by Pickford (who knew the two men intimately) as doyens of the new missionary foundation. Sharratt noted that Pickford recorded Pavier as a successful missionary who, 'soon brought several back to the faith.' Pickford acknowledged Pavier's work in London, noting that he 'Worked hard as College Agent, especially in securing its stipend.' Either way he remained loyal to the *alma mater* that had partially raised him. Pickford saw him as a potential candidate for the council but his premature death attending the sick at Marston Moor in 1644 put an end to any hopes of his recall. Waring received similar praise from Pickford in the *Annals*. Sent on the Mission in July 1633 Waring 'Reaped a great harvest among his relatives in England, where he is still working now [in 1639.]'<sup>77</sup>

With White's reforms completed and the College had actually despatched its first missionaries Hargrave petitioned the Chapter for a further mission of students who, having completed Humanity at Douai, might begin a second Philosophy class at the College. Pickford noted in the *Annals* that Hargrave succeeded in convincing Coutinho to give (a somewhat meagre sum) of 100 milreis *p.* for the maintenance of the class and the new alumni.<sup>78</sup> Mention was made of procuring further students in

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<sup>75</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 140.

<sup>76</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Francis Pavier *alias* Oglethorpe 29 August 1633; Edward Waring *alias* Ellis, 29 August 1633. Both patents are signed by the Protector.

<sup>77</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 211.

<sup>78</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 78.



correspondence between John Southcot a (trustee of the Chapter's treasury) and President Hargrave in May 1635, suggesting that there was some involvement from the Chapter, probably of a financial nature. A further reference was made to a third mission who arrived for Michaelmas Term 1636.<sup>79</sup>

### 2.5. The Original Mission of 1628.

Those men who had left Douai in the autumn of 1628 to populate the fledgling college at Lisbon came of age during Hargrave's administration. Haynes had of course died before the schools had opened in 1629.<sup>80</sup> Mayler had returned to England shortly after White's arrival in July 1630 having taught the first mission less than two years of a four year Theology course.<sup>81</sup> Harrington, after refusing the Chapter's nomination to the Presidency, began an ambitious and powerful career within the Chapter. Bishop Smith elected Harrington his Vicar General in 1638 just five years after his return from Lisbon; he exercised vast powers over the Midlands as subdean of the Chapter *sede vacante* and for that matter *sede vacante* without a Dean.<sup>82</sup>

Towards the end of Hargrave's administration five of the first mission from Douai had been ordained.<sup>83</sup> Pickford was already ordained when he arrived at Lisbon having received the priesthood at Douai in 1627.<sup>84</sup> Of the remaining three Nicholas Fortescue acquired a teaching position in the household of the Duke of Lennox, taking charge of the Duke's son. Fortescue left the College as early as August 1631 having completed his Theology without taking major orders.<sup>85</sup> Metcalfe had not taken

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<sup>79</sup> A2, p. 305. Waring taught Philosophy for two and a half years to the third mission from April 1636 holding three (presumably public) defences. He was commissioned to teach Theology under Pickford's Regency in 1638, see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 210 – 11. Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 22, John Southcott to President William Hargrave, 26 May 1635, pp. 105 – 06.

<sup>80</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 84 – 85.

<sup>81</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 123 – 24.

<sup>82</sup> Anstruther noted that Harrington effectively governed the Chapter in the absence of the Dean, then in Florence. See A2, p. 147.

<sup>83</sup> Martin Biddlecomb, Francis Pavier and William Waring [17 July 1633]; Humphrey Waring [24 August 1635] and William Day [20 April 1636].

<sup>84</sup> Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 260. Pavier and Waring were both ordained in July, 1633; Humphrey Waring August, 1635 [Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 210 – 11].

<sup>85</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 56. Fortescue received minors from Douai before he arrived at Lisbon. See Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, p. 233. This appears to be a reference to James Stuart later fourth Duke of Lennox and first Duke of Richmond. See David L. Smith, 'Stuart, James, fourth duke of

major orders prior to his departure to Paris to serve in the retinue of the exiled Bishop Smith.<sup>86</sup> Charnock and Morgan died from the plague of 1631. Morgan became one of the College's earliest benefactors when he left an annuity of £24 and a lump sum of £325 to support one priest to say Requiem Masses for the repose of his soul.<sup>87</sup> Hargrave capitalised on Kellison's first mission, men chosen for their abilities in both learning and in some cases teaching, by elevating Pickford and Humphrey Waring to teaching posts to supplement his administration. Pickford taught Philosophy to the second mission from October 1633, providing two public defences every academic year. Waring taught Philosophy to the third mission from 1636 through to 1638, providing three public defences for the College's schools.<sup>88</sup> Pickford continued to teach Philosophy for the duration of the second mission until President Peter Clarence's arrival in 1638. According to Pickford's account of his own life at the College he presented students of the second mission to defend their theses publicly twice annually. Pickford's account gave some indication as to the problems White encountered when he presided over his own public defence *De Peccato*.<sup>89</sup> Pickford's own defence as Philosophy Lector on Aristotle's *Physics* was disputed but Pickford noted that 'truth prevailed thanks to the protection of the Inquisitor.'<sup>90</sup>

## 2.6. A Year of Discontent.

Despite the success of the first mission two episodes gave Hargrave's administration great cause for concern. The first concerned the continued foundation negotiations between the English Chapter and Coutinho. The second issue, charted in the *Annals*, demonstrated a crisis of authority in Hargrave's own office of President as formulated in the newly codified *Constitutions* of 1635. The first issue concerned Walter Yates. Yates had shown Clifford and Harrington considerable favour by lending the College money when Coutinho's volatile moods forced the administration to look elsewhere for financial assistance.<sup>91</sup> According to Coutinho's own

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Lennox and first duke of Richmond (1612–1655)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 53, pp. 159 – 61.

<sup>86</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 124 – 25.

<sup>87</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 127; UCA, Durham, LC, Wills, Anthony Morgan, 7 August 1631.

<sup>88</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, 146 – 48; 210.

<sup>89</sup> The author of the *Plantatio* (probably William Day) made reference to this dispute. See Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon II', pp. 36 – 37.

<sup>90</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 146 – 48.

<sup>91</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 32 – 33, 79 – 80.



correspondence Yates had acted as the Founder's agent from July 1623 but in what capacity remains unclear. It appears he acted as an intermediary between Coutinho at Lisbon and Newman at Madrid during the foundation negotiations with Philip IV.<sup>92</sup> The dispute between Yates and Hargrave's administration centred on an annual grant of 250 *milreis* for the College (ordered by Coutinho from Madrid) to be lent on the funds set aside by Bishop Smith to the deceased Haynes.<sup>93</sup> There is no evidence in the Account Books that this money ever reached the College. Yates began to worry about the funds Haynes had borrowed on the Chapter's credit. Yates refused to grant further funds from Coutinho for anything beyond the College's living expenses, forcing Clifford and Harrington to seek subsidies from elsewhere and risk damaging the College's credit. The dispute between Yates and Hargrave's administration reached the courts shortly after Coutinho's death in April 1638. Yates felt unable to prosecute with Coutinho still alive. Before his death Coutinho had made a second endowment to be honoured by successive administrations, much as Cesare Bogacio had negotiated with Cresswell at the English College at Madrid before his own death. Unlike Bogacio, Coutinho's requirements, in return for a modest benefaction, were intended to be eternal as opposed to Bogacio's determinate measures. In return for his patronage in death Coutinho required a perpetual obligation of three quotidian Masses for the repose of his soul.

George Leyburn, the secular agent at Rome, informed Bishop Smith at Paris that the Founder had left the House well provided for 'which will be of some ease to our friends.'<sup>94</sup> However, less than five years later the Council of Superiors sent a petition to the Chapter concerning the financial difficulties arising from the Mass obligations they were required to carry out for the Founder.<sup>95</sup> There is no mention in this correspondence of the dispute with Yates, though Leyburn may have included it in the matters awaiting the Chapter's 'common concern.' Hargrave lost the case with Yates but, as Pickford noted in his defence, he succeeded in forestalling the execution of the verdict for a further two years, a fact which gave some relief to the College's finances. In October 1641 Hargrave's successor, President Peter Clarence was

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<sup>92</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 1 July 1623. Yates was sent to Madrid to inform Newman of progress and notify him of the Conde de Portalegre's convoy leaving Lisbon in the spring.

<sup>93</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 10 March 1629.

<sup>94</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, A XXIX, no. 58, George Leyburn to Bishop Smith, 10 May 1638, pp. 203 – 04.

<sup>95</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Superiors to the English Chapter, 23 March 1643(?)

ordered to pay compensation to Yates for debts dating back to 1628.<sup>96</sup> The Account Books noted Yates as creditor on four instances from January to October 1639 amounting to a total of 305, 245 *reis*, owed largely from Hargrave's tenure as President.<sup>97</sup> The case against the College concluded with three charges: the first of 226, 645 *reis* for charges and expenses laid upon buildings and the House; a further 22 *milreis* for Yates' legal costs and 12, 600 *reis* for the maintenance of the first mission.<sup>98</sup> The Account Books state that the payment was made in 1639, soon after the court case; but Pickford in the *Annals* disputed that, noting that the money was not released for a further two years.

Despite the inauspicious start to Hargrave's administration the reforms put in place by his predecessor were beginning to bear fruit. The school of Humanity was fully functional despite the misgivings of Coutinho and Newman, and a second mission of Philosophers had arrived for Michaelmas Term. From September 1636 Hargrave assumed the post of first professor of Theology alongside his duties as President, it being standard practice for the Rector or President of a college to teach Scholastic Theology. Despite Hargrave's experience at Douai as Prefect of Studies, Pickford noted that the President's competence in teaching was wanting. Hargrave proved incapable of completing even a third of the treatise *De Fide* from Aquinas. Pickford himself was forced to pick up the pieces of Hargrave's Theology class in 1638 with the students having examined only one of the three Theological virtues, thereby putting them over a year behind schedule.<sup>99</sup> Pickford's account of Hargrave's administration, found in the *Annals*, provided a damning account of his three year Presidency. Despite the growing debt the College found itself in, the laborious foundation negotiations and the legal dispute with Yates, Hargrave pushed ahead with extravagant building plans. A series of pillars was set up in the grounds and a domestic oratory built to meet the devotional needs of the students and staff. Pickford noted that Hargrave ruled badly, proved a poor example to the students and the Superiors, and neglected collegiate discipline. These were heavy charges and Pickford provided little to support these accusations apart from slow progress on the *Summa*. Leyburn remarked, in contradiction to Pickford, that the Chapter was pleased with Hargrave's conduct and no mention was made of the dissensions between the

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<sup>96</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Coutinho Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to William Newman, 26 March 1629.

<sup>97</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts 1639 – 1667, p. 2 entries 7, 13, 15 – 16.

<sup>98</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts 1639 – 1667, p. 2 entry 10.

<sup>99</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, Juramenta Superiorum (Lisbon, 1638), p. 37.



President, the Protector and Founder.<sup>100</sup> It is clear from Day's *Diurnal* that the first mission was not averse to backing Newman and the Founder against the President. Pickford related that the students of the second mission petitioned the Dean and Chapter in London with complaints against the mismanagement of President Hargrave, a matter which should have been dealt with by the Protector, whose mandate made him responsible for this area of collegiate discipline. From Pickford's own account it would appear that Castro's knowledge of intra-mural dissatisfaction only came to light when Hargrave demanded a visitation of the College to defend his actions, before the College community. The Protector's visitation did not rule in Hargrave's favour; the students informed Castro of the complaints they had made against Hargrave's management to the Chapter. The visitation reported the students' grievances; the mismanagement of Hargrave and the dire state of the College's finances.<sup>101</sup> Relations between the President and the College collapsed. Feeling unmoved by the Protector's powers over his office Hargrave refused to keep Castro informed of the College's financial state, which Coutinho's stipulations obliged him, and in return suffered threats of excommunication.

This was the first test of the *Constitutions* of White. Coutinho had himself stipulated that the Protector would have no power to remove the President. This supposes that Castro was working with some mandate from either Bishop Smith or the Chapter in London. Hargrave consistently saw himself as an appointee of Smith, a sovereign Bishop under whose authority he exercised powers set out in the *Constitutions* guaranteed by the Habsburg crown and the Holy See. Castro did not see the matter in the same light: his mandate being to preserve the College from misgovernment and ensure it continued to function. The matter came to a head when Castro informed Coutinho of the President's apparent disobedience in refusing to forward financial reports to the Protector. Coutinho instructed Castro to move against Hargrave. Whether the latter incurred excommunication is uncertain: if he did it was temporary. The Chapter, belatedly made aware of the crisis, informed Castro of their decision to remove Hargrave in favour of Newman or Pickford. This supports the belief that Castro was acting with the authority of Smith, though that remains an assumption.

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<sup>100</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 154, John Southcot to Edward Hope, 26 August 1636, pp. 515 – 18.

<sup>101</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 139, Visitations of the College: 1635 – 1678.

Hargrave's censure represented a substantial failure by the Chapter in asserting its authority over the College against local ecclesiastical governance. Hargrave was the Chapter's man and agent in Lisbon. As such he had been appointed by a sovereign Bishop whose right of nomination and appointment was guaranteed in the *Constitutions*. This represented a *volte-face* on the Chapter's position: Leyburn had not expressed concern at Hargrave's administration either in correspondence to Smith or to the President himself. These two letters from the Chapter, the first from the start of Hargrave's term of office, the second to Bishop Smith towards its conclusion, provided a different representation of Hargrave's administration than that painted by Pickford in the College's *Annals*. Two years into his administration Hargrave was still engaged in negotiations with Coutinho as to the College's eventual transferral to the Chapter's control. White had opened negotiations with Coutinho; however the Founder gave the President no concrete assurance that upon his death the College properties would transfer to Bishop Smith and the Chapter. The issue was raised once more upon Gregorio Panzani's nunciature to the court of Charles I. Hargrave had written several letters to Propaganda concerning the College that passed through the Chapter's hands and headed to Rome via Panzani's agency. There is no mention of dissonance or misconduct in any of the correspondence.

Continued molestation of the English Catholic ecclesial regime continued to hinder the Chapter's capacity to deal effectively with correspondence from Lisbon. In separate correspondence Southcott wrote to Edward Bennett that a lack of communication between the Chapter in London and the vicars and archdeacons in the counties resulted in poor financial contributions for both the College at Lisbon and the secular agency in Rome.<sup>102</sup> Southcott acknowledged to Hargrave that the Chapter was finding it difficult to meet in common and the lack of a permanent Secretary (Southcott was described as 'clerk') hindered Chapter deliberations even further.<sup>103</sup> In further correspondence Southcott assured President Hargrave that the Chapter was pleased with his progress and that a speedy resolution to the negotiations over the College's fabric was preferable to the ecclesial regime in England.

Pickford's evidence, however, cannot be discounted as white washing. As a founding member of the College his first hand account is the best narrative that survives in terms of intra-mural relations, but does need to be seen alongside the view

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<sup>102</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 154, John Southcott to Edward Bennett, 26 August 1636, pp. 515 – 18.

<sup>103</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 22, John Southcott to President William Hargrave, 26 May 1635, pp. 105 – 06.



from the centre: the letters of Leyburn and Southcott are far from condemnatory. Hargrave's refusal to provide Castro with detailed accounts of the College's finances suggests that his demise rested not on complaints made by the alumni and convictors (though that did not help matters) but on the continued problems with Yates and the law-suits the College found itself engaged with. In this, Hargrave was merely completing the work of his predecessors and found the Herculean task too much; he was not the first President to have suffered from the insufficient provisions Coutinho had put in place since 1628. The College's Procurator, Henry Shirley, gave Southcott a favourable report of Hargrave's administration when he returned to England in 1636.<sup>104</sup> Southcott communicated Shirley's recommendation to Bishop Smith, informing him that the College was flourishing under Hargrave's administration and the President was, 'respected there as an oracle.' The continued failure to secure revenues promised by Coutinho and the Chapter remained a cause of concern to Southcott. He persuaded Smith to push the issue on Hargrave's behalf noting that, 'our rents for the present are not able to spare it nor to afford [the College] half the money.'<sup>105</sup> Further correspondence to Bishop Smith in Paris related by Leyburn noted that, 'I never knew us in a worse estate for moneys. Little comes [sic] in and that [which does] Lisbon does devour.' A general collection was ordered by the Chapter in the autumn of 1636 for the archdeaconries of Essex and Suffolk to provide subsidies for the College. Southcott personally promised £5 *p.a.* The same correspondence makes mention of the £180 promised by the Chapter during Coutinho's life, which still remained to be paid.<sup>106</sup>

In preparation for Hargrave's ejection the Protector persuaded Pickford to remain a further year at the College after he had completed *Prima Pars* as a substitute professor of Theology. Before the President had left the confines of the College compound he suffered the added indignity of Castro appointing Pickford as Regent. Hargrave reluctantly provided his account of his brief administration, resigned his office and was recalled to England, leaving Belem, with debts of over 670 *milreis*. The Chapter was aware of the dire state of the College finances and provided Hargrave with the authority to dispose of certain properties in the parish of Santa Catarina. Whether this was done during the lifetime of the Founder is uncertain, there being insufficient material remaining to permit certainty, but the substantial debts

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<sup>104</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 179 – 80.

<sup>105</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVIII, no. 154, John Southcott to Edward Bennett, 26 August 1636, pp. 515 – 18.

<sup>106</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XVIII, no. 156, John Southcott to Edward Farrington, 2 September 1636, pp. 521 – 22.

suggest that this was not carried out.<sup>107</sup> Pickford noted of Hargrave and his administration that he, 'left himself a bad history:' on the contrary, it was Pickford who left Hargrave the bad history. It was an account that has remained unchallenged for almost four hundred years.<sup>108</sup>

### 2.7. The death of the Founder.

Hargrave's removal from office by the combined efforts of the Portuguese Founder and Protector represented a defeat for Smith's authority as Bishop and head of the government of the College. An episcopal appointee had apparently been removed without his consultation. The Chapter struggled to defend its jurisdiction at home; it failed to do so abroad. Coutinho, assisted by his associations with the Protector and supported by the ever loyal Newman, proved the greatest obstacle to the independence of the administrations of Haynes, White and Hargrave. Haynes had died from exhaustion; White could not meet the impractical demands of the Founder and Hargrave's authority had been undermined by Coutinho's interference over an issue that fell under the President's jurisdiction. The Chapter's own decision to support Hargrave's removal from office was irrelevant, as the matter had already been concluded by the parties in Lisbon. Coutinho outlived Hargrave's dismissal by a mere five months. The Chapter, whose own position was becoming increasingly untenable in England, changed tack in providing a successor to Hargrave. A man less used to the academic environs of his predecessor and more familiar with the labours of the Mission was appointed to take control of the fledgling College. Peter Clarence, who according to Pickford *post multos laborum annos in Anglia*, heard the news of his election in Newgate prison.<sup>109</sup> After Clarence's release he set sail for the College arriving at the Bairro Alto on 24 June 1638. Clarence assumed the Presidency of the administration two weeks later.<sup>110</sup> Pickford, who continued in his capacity as Prefect of Studies and second professor of Theology noted that, on Clarence's arrival he found 'all in turmoil.'<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, John Colleton to President William Hargrave, 17 July 1634.

<sup>108</sup> A2, p. 146.

<sup>109</sup> Croft, *Lisbon College*, p.187.

<sup>110</sup> 8 April 1638; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 41.

<sup>111</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 31 – 32.



The transition from Hargrave's to Clarence's administration was an uneasy one, exacerbated by the Founder's death. During the interregnum that preceded Clarence's arrival, on the Protector's instructions, Pickford acted as Regent with the support of Newman.<sup>112</sup> The first test of Pickford's Regency occurred at the onset of his appointment. Student politicking had become a feature of the early College; the sons of increasingly independent recusant gentry in England caused Presidents White and Hargrave much distress. The year 1638 marked both Coutinho's death and a high point in collegiate disturbance: the centre of agitation originated not within the alumni but amongst the staff. It is too simplistic to suggest that the death of Coutinho unleashed a torrent of suppressed dissatisfaction amongst the convicts and alumni. Though student dissatisfaction had marked the early history of the College, Coutinho's death did not mark the catalyst that led to the events of 1638. The general discontents of the College population did however boil over when a suitable vehicle for the community's dismay appeared in the person of the newly elected Procurator. Edward Elrington had arrived as a member of President Hargrave's third mission with a brief to teach Philosophy. Upon his arrival he found that Humphrey Waring had commenced the course, Elrington agreed to accept the office of Procurator until the former had concluded his lectures.<sup>113</sup> Hargrave appointed Elrington Vice President, an appointment which was shortly revoked by Castro who considered the Procurator unsuitable for high office. Castro secured the revocation of Elrington's appointment in 1637.<sup>114</sup> Under Pickford's regency, Elrington refused to acknowledge the powers of the acting-President, believing himself (as Procurator) not to be subject to Pickford. Pickford recorded in return that Elrington became, 'disliked by all.' Castro acknowledged Pickford's fears over this disgruntled Superior and removed Elrington from the Procuratorship, forcing him to leave the College in February. Elrington fled to Coimbra in search of patronage, but returned destitute in 1639 begging for aid. There is no indication in the Account Books that he received a *viaticum* from Pickford; however the *Annals* noted that he found himself imprisoned on his arrival in England having been betrayed by the ship's captain.<sup>115</sup> In the *Annals* Elrington was recorded as one of the foundation's earliest, *Martyres seu confessores* having been incarcerated for the Catholic religion. His conduct on the Council of Superiors

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<sup>112</sup> Appointed regent 30 November 1637; surrendered his powers, 24 June 1638.

<sup>113</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 47.

<sup>114</sup> Questier mistakenly noted that the 'Cardinal Protector' removed Elrington from office. See Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, p. 283n.

<sup>115</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 47.

however hardly marked him out as a worthy subject for Challoner and Butler.

### 2.8. 'All in turmoil'.<sup>116</sup>

Clarence's first act as President was nothing short of a baptism by fire.<sup>117</sup> Upon his arrival in Lisbon he dismissed a further member of staff, John North, for insubordination and allegedly leading a student revolt against the President's authority. North, a nobleman from Lancashire, inadvertently led the first student protest against Clarence's administration in September 1638, some few months after Coutinho's death and two years after similar disturbances erupted at Valladolid.<sup>118</sup> After Hargrave's dismissal, North took up the post of Prefect of Studies.<sup>119</sup> North had proven himself a student of great aptitude at Douai, continuing his studies at Arras where he read for his STB. Bishop Smith encouraged North to travel to Lisbon to form part of the teaching staff, giving him leave to teach as a junior professor of Theology. Arriving in April 1637 North rose quickly through Hargrave's administration from the rank of fellow through to Master (or professor) in less than two weeks. Pickford noted that North began to teach *De Ipso Incarnatione Mysterio*, half-way through Theology starting at Michaelmas, but the *Annals* record that North reneged on these teaching commitments to the chagrin and frustration of the Protector and Council. North defended his actions before the Protector who referred him to Smith's jurisdiction. Clarence arrived with no news for North from the Chapter and failed to convince him to stay and teach. The Protector refused to grant a degree to North and the College had as yet no faculties to do so. The *Annals* recounted that North left the College unannounced and destined for Coimbra to await the Chapter's decision. A party of five students used his leaving to draw attention to their own grievances and followed North in what could be seen as the first student walk-out, representing over a fifth of the College population. North's case was dealt with severely by George Gage, recently appointed Secretary to the Chapter under Champney.<sup>120</sup> Gage strongly rejected Elrington's claims that the Chapter had

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<sup>116</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 31 – 32.

<sup>117</sup> Appointed President 8 April 1638 by Bishop Smith and Anthony Champney, Dean of the Chapter. See Croft, *Lisbon College*, pp. 187 – 88. His work on the Chapter included an appointment as Canon and Treasurer. On the 4 January 1661 he was elevated Vicar *in solidum* and elected Secretary to the Chapter in an interim after the fall of his fellow Lisbonian John Sergeant (1667).

<sup>118</sup> Williams, *Valladolid*, pp. 43 – 46.

<sup>119</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 133.

<sup>120</sup> A2, pp. 121 – 24. Gage signed the, 'Attestation in favour of Bishop Smith, July – November 1631' Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, 24, nos. 139 – 183; 25, nos. 19 and 25. Gage was



promised to fund his studies denying him the money needed to secure his degree from Coimbra.<sup>121</sup>

The four students mentioned in the *College Annals* who fled the College compound were Thomas Blount, John Robinson, Anthony Smith and Henry Starkey. Sharratt noted that a fifth student, Thomas Short, also fled with the seditious party. What motivated the students to follow their Theology professor is open to conjecture. The College's dire financial state may have been a factor. It seems unlikely this was some student folly born out of a misplaced sense of activism: the average age of the students was 23. All excepting Henry Starkey were in minor orders. This was not a youthful party longing for hearth and home. The *Annals* noted that all, excepting Anthony Smith, were '*nobilis*' which suggests the poor standard of living may have proved an issue, a fact which was attached to North's more private grievances against the Chapter. The Protector made it palpably clear that he lacked sympathy for their plight. Castro had previously accepted the complaints of students against Hargrave. Student grievances had contributed to two of Clarence's predecessors being removed from office, and the party may have been emboldened by these past successes in the demonstration of student power. Using his authority as Inquisitor General, Castro issued a *carta de familia* to seek out and return the students to the custody of the College Superiors. This was executed the day after the rebellion: all repented and agreed to carry on with Philosophy and major orders, with the exception of Starkey who had not yet taken minors. Starkey refused to apologise for his insubordination and boarded ship for England determined to fight his case before the Chapter. The Chapter came down strongly on the side of the Protector: Starkey apologised for his

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elected Secretary to the Chapter on 1 May 1642 (noted in Chapter correspondence to the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, Cardinal Antonio Barberini [1632 – 71] concerning the need for a Bishop.) See Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, 29, no. 95. During the Commonwealth Gage lived with the Portuguese ambassador to the Court of St. James, Dom João de Sá Menezes, Conde de Penaguião (where he may have made the acquaintance of the Lisbonian, Richard Russell.) Anstruther related a trade off between Protector Cromwell and King João IV in 1651 which resulted in the seizure of Gage by the Commonwealth and in return João arrested two English merchants in Lisbon, Beare and Bushell in retaliation. A deal was later reached between the Council and the Bragança which resulted in the liberty of both parties. See *State Papers* 1651/16 no. 83. The embarrassment caused by this incident resulted in Bishop Smith reprimanding Gage after consulting President William Hyde of Douai. Hyde was ordered, through Habsburg influence, imposed on the Internuncio at Brussels to, 'withdraw George Gage from the territory of the King of Portugal and that henceforth the President should have nothing to do with him.' See Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, col. 1, p. 242 and Appendix D in vol. 2, pp. 571 – 73. The Chapter archives reveal a further letter where Smith urged Gage to cease his activities for the Bragança, which was causing the College at Douai considerable problems under Castilian rule. Smith referred to the danger of the College being handed over to the Jesuits. This appears to be a reference to Douai but it is unclear. See Westminster, Old Brotherhood Archive 1, no. 174, 1 April 1651.

<sup>121</sup> Anstruther noted that he was still working for the Chapter in 1661 for he signed the, 'Concurrence with Chapter c. 1661' see A2, p. 233; Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, XXXII, nos. 1 – 8.

conduct by letter 'asking pardon of all.'<sup>122</sup>

Clarence's first threat to his authority had been dismissed by a combined resolve from the Chapter and the Protector to stabilise the volatile situation the College found itself in. North's revolt had been suppressed through the intervention of the Protector, whose continued support for the College proved beneficial to the exercise of the Chapter's own authority. The collapse of secular authority in England sent tremors throughout the court of the exiled Bishop of Chalcedon and the secular agents at the Holy See. The government of the College at Lisbon had been agreed between Rome, Madrid and Bishop Smith to be under the rule of the Superior of the secular clergy of England. Smith wrote to Peter Biddulph (then agent at Rome) that he feared his own exile would convince Propaganda to remove the Presidency from the Chapter's administration and hand it to the Society. Similar fears had been expressed to Biddulph by Southcott over an English nunnery at Brussels under secular authority. Rather than fall into the hands of the Jesuits, Southcott urged Biddulph in the latter case to secure either the Borromean Oblates of St. Ambrose or the Oratorians: any form of authority being preferable to that of the Society.<sup>123</sup>

This fear, of a Jesuit takeover of the administration of the College, remained unfounded but the absence of a secular Superior of England had repercussions beyond the confines of the Mission. The protection of the Inquisitor General convinced Propaganda that the College should remain under secular control. Likewise it represented that continued resolve of the secretary of Propaganda, Francisco Ingoli, that the basis of Tridentine missionary policy should remain one based on a model of secular seminaries under the authority of a secular Bishop.<sup>124</sup> Castro's decision to support Clarence represented a victory for the Presidency whose office had, until Clarence, been one frequently undermined by interference from outside agencies. Clarence would know that he could rely on the Protector to defend his authority as President. Yet Castro had a great respect for Coutinho and considered him to be the primary governor of the College. Coutinho composed poetry for the Protector before

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<sup>122</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 191 – 92.

<sup>123</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, A XXVII, no. 60, John Southcott to Peter Biddulph, 14 June 1633, pp. 173 – 76.

<sup>124</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, B XXVII, no. 124. See Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, p. 233n; Joseph Metzler, 'Foundation of the Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' by Gregory XV', in Metzler (ed.) *Sacrae Congregationis De Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum: 1622 – 1972* (2 vols. Rome, 1971) and R.M. Wiltgen, 'Propaganda is placed in charge of the Pontifical Colleges', *Sacrae Congregationi de Propoganda Fide Memoria Rerum* 1/1, (Rome, 1971), 483 – 505.



his death, suggesting the relationship was close.<sup>125</sup> Clarence never actually met the Founder. Coutinho had died on 6 April 1638, six weeks before Clarence arrived in the Bairro Alto. Coutinho bequeathed to the College properties and revenues allotted to its upkeep under the patronage of the *Misericórdia*, a state board of mercy, responsible for the maintenance of buildings used for charitable purposes. As a foundation of English exiles training in Humanities, Philosophy and Theology to return to the Mission for the good of souls, the College fell under *Misericórdia's* remit and the buildings and their maintenance were placed under its care. This was in spite of the earlier requests of White and Hargrave to give the Chapter those rights.

### 2.9. The Declaration of João, Duke of Bragança.

The death of Coutinho served to strengthen the position of the President within the administration of the College but it did little to solve the financial problems related to his last testament. Clarence succeeded in gaining the judicial and royal approval for the securing of diverse revenues left to the College by Coutinho. The Founder's death released further funds of 150 *milreis p.a.* for Clarence's administration.<sup>126</sup> This sum does not appear to have been paid regularly in the Account Books, but absence of evidence is not evidence of absence and the Books are at times misleading. There are five entries in the Accounts from 1639 to May 1640 citing Philip IV as creditor and debtor to the College. Dom João, Duke of Bragança, declared himself King of Portugal and the Algarve six months later. The College Procurator, Thomas Woodward, named the Castilian king as debtor for 125 and 75 *cruzados* from the *juros* (interest) of Coutinho's bequest, kept on the College's behalf at the *Casa dos Carnes* (the payment house) from his *moradias* (houses) left to the College.<sup>127</sup> The first amount of 125 *cruzados* concerned what the King owed the College from Michaelmas 1639 which the *Annals* concur with. The sum was the interest made on the money the Founder left: the entry noted that, 'the said king took away that said quarter.' The *Annals* provided no date as to when Clarence successfully gained the funds left to the College: two further entries (one for 1639 and the second for 1640) cited the Procurator of the *Contos* (the counting house) as

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<sup>125</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Foundation Papers, Dom Pedro Coutinho to the Protector Francisco de Castro, n.d. [1630s?]

<sup>126</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148; Pickford noted on p. 2\* regarding Dom Pedro's donation, 'centum quinquaginta milres priori annuæ pensioni... [with regards to further building works] sedecim circiter millia aureorum quæ in manibus Ill. Protectoris ad novam ecclesiam aliasque fabricas deposuit.'

<sup>127</sup> The *Juros* were bonds issued by the Crown with small fixed interest rates with dividends which, as the accounts clearly illustrate, were subject to interference from the *Casa dos Carnes*. Stradling, *Philip IV*, p. 356.

having taken the Michaelmas quarter 'for pretended debts of our Founder to His Majesty' though the Procurator thought he himself was owed 75 *cruzados*. The problem came to a head in 1640 where, in what appears to be Clarence's hand, he having taken over from Woodward in November 1639 as Procurator, Philip IV was noted as debtor for 185, 922 *reis*. This money was due the College from Coutinho's *moradias*. Instead, the money went to the royal authorities. Paulo Suarez was noted as having released the money to Clarence but that was disputed by the President. A fraction of the said revenues appeared in the Accounts, where Philip was noted as creditor of 10 and 75 *cruzados* on 10 March and 30 April 1640 respectively. These meagre sums were acquired through Clarence's influence with the Archdiocesan authorities, the Protector and the local aristocracy. Suarez, the treasurer in charge of the *Casa dos Carnes* was obliged by the Marques de Gouveia to hand over 20 *cruzados*: ten arrived, Suarez protesting that he had paid Elrington 10, though Clarence disputed that.<sup>128</sup> The last payment from the King of Castile was ordered by Bentos de Lima, a civic judge to pay the sum of 75 *cruzados*, claimed by the King for expenses to the College. As part of the final settlement Coutinho had deposited sixteen-thousand *cruzados* with the Inquisitor General. The money was marked for a new chapel and several other buildings planned by the Founder: Coutinho provided in death what he refused to pay for in life.

The dispute surrounding Coutinho's legacy and the *Contos* occupied much of Thomas Woodward's Procuratorship. Woodward had gained experience working for the Chapter on secular business. His skills were noted and he was duly dispatched to Lisbon (arriving in June 1638) to address the College's continued financial problems: Clarence appointed him Vice President in recognition of his skills. The *Juramenta Superiorum* noted Woodward in a third office, namely that of Confessor; he was appointed to the post soon after his arrival. Pickford noted in the *Annals* that Woodward's talents were put to better use in England where he acted as College agent, charged with negotiating between the College and the Chapter authorities on matters pertaining to the administration. Clarence took up his colleague's offices and continued the dispute with the *Contos*. The Bragança Declaration of Independence could not have helped matters. Dom João IV (still the Duke of Bragança, according to Madrid and most of Europe) promised to match Philip's financial commitments in the city and the Kingdom. However Dom João does not appear a benefactor to the

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<sup>128</sup> For Thomas Woodward see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 225 – 26. Woodward was an active member of the Chapter prior to his appointment as Procurator in June 1638. Woodward was sent by Smith for the purpose, taking the Superiors' Oath on 18 July 1638. He exercised the offices of Vice President and Confessor until he returned to England on 1 December 1639. For a list of his positions and the dates of the Oaths see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*: 1638 – 1834.



College in the Account Books until 1655.

Clarence had demonstrated that as President he could defend his own authority against detractors and malefactors within and without the College. Having restored order after a year of sedition from both staff and students Clarence set about completing White's rules for the domestic governance of the College. The *Regimina circa omnem gubernationem domesticam* (formulated in 1639) completed the *Rules* of collegiate life that White had begun in his previous administration.<sup>129</sup> The *Regimina* codified the rules and parameters of conduct for the lesser office holders (the prefectures) in the College: the events of 1638 had made this a priority for Clarence and his Council. Clarence lost an important advisor when, on 4 July 1640, William Newman died, having contracted a fever from an outbreak of plague. The author of the *Plantatio* summed up Newman with the following:

[H]e [Newman] brought to completion a work beset with countless difficulties. He calmed and forestalled the over-suspicious and crafty nature of our Patron, for truth is stronger than lies. He had to carve this College out of the hardest stone. He laid its foundation in the concession and diploma of the Great King Artaxerxes, I mean the King of Spain, amidst the opposition of Sanaballat and Tobias, I mean those very powerful men, the Jesuits, who tried, now by threats, now by calumny, to put a stop to the work, so that he, like the Israelites, had to hold a sword in one hand while building walls with the other.<sup>130</sup>

Clarence agreed that Newman's final resting place should be in the newly constructed College chapel, even though Newman had lived at Lisbon Castle for several years.

During his time as Rector of the Residence, Newman noted the importance of the Portuguese Holy Office and the Archdiocesan authorities in supplementing the often erratic income provided from benefactors. These offices were ones Clarence was eager to maintain and nourish. The College adopted, shortly after Newman's death, the offices the former Rector had worked in since the early years of the Residence. As funding from Coutinho's *Juros* was far from adequate, the Superiors from the College sought funds from both the Holy Office and the *Cabido*. Newman's position within the *Cabido* centred on chaplaincy work (pastoral) at the Royal Hospital of St. James and St. Philip. Melchior Fonseca, prebendary canon of the Sé, was the first to grant Newman the office of *visitador*. Later Newman secured the post at the Castle of St. George 'to administer the necessary sacraments to the infirm.' One patent issued in 1629 provides further insight into what the job entailed. Gaspar de

<sup>129</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 116, *Regimina circa omnem gubernationem domesticam, cum disciplinae quotidianae cum oeconomiae, cum scholarum et studiorum Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis. Jussu. Illust. Protectoris Domine Francisco a Castro ordinata et approbata a Reverendo Praeside et Superioribus dicti Collegii*, (1639).

<sup>130</sup> Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon III', p. 33.

Rego de Fonseca, prebendary canon of the *Sé*, issued Newman faculties to dispense 'sacramento absolver alguém des peccadoes e sacramenta da Comundoas a todas a meis Pessoas' at the 'Hospital Real de São Felipe e São Iago de Castello desta Cidade de Lisboa.' The *vigário geral* who dispensed these faculties provided a standard form of appointment: a faculty issued 21 June 1627 gave the following brief: 'Como cumpre a servicio de nossa discargo da Consciencia de sua Illustrissimus Eminentissimuss Camera a Caso escreventia della no spiritual sonde' [As to carry out the service and the strife for the moral conscience of our illustrious and eminent Camera the clerk of the house spiritual.]

These confessional faculties granted to Newman provided an insight into the life of an English exile cleric working abroad; giving ample indication as to the local roles members of the College community had within the city of Lisbon.<sup>131</sup> Unlike Allen's Douai, Lisbon was not a Pontifical College and did not receive funds from Propaganda until the late eighteenth century. A series of patents and faculties suggest that Newman did a substantial amount of work for the *Cabido* in order to earn revenues for the Residence and later the College. These faculties were renewed annually which suggests he proved satisfactory and that the Council of Superiors continued to administer these offices after his death.<sup>132</sup>

Newman had little knowledge of the Mission since his brief incarceration in England under Elizabeth and belonged to that class of English exile whose labours laid not in England but in the maintenance of the infrastructure that supported it, men whom have largely been overlooked by Catholic historiography, with the two exceptions of William Allen and Robert Persons, Newman was a man instrumental to the Mission but inactive after the *Pax Hispanica*. These faculties demonstrated that Newman was working for the Portuguese Catholic community on behalf of their Archbishop, in addition to doing odd jobs for the *Cabido*, and his work for the College as detailed in the *Annals*. The Confessional Faculties Papers state that he worked 'em Sta Cruz e em São Julias' by decree to go and, 'examine and relieve those passing into death.' It seems unlikely these were ships; it seems more plausible they were parish churches in the city. Upon Newman's death the office of *visitador* was attached to the College by the Protector. Newman gave some relation as to what

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<sup>131</sup> For a contemporary (and partisan account) see Owen Lewis, *The Running Register*, (London, 1626), p. 69; for a more objective account see A.J. Loomie, 'Religion and Elizabethan Commerce in Spain', *Catholic Historical Review* 50 (1964 – 65), 27 – 51.

<sup>132</sup> These Confessional Faculties are in Newman's Agency Papers. See UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, William Newman, 1 August 1624. Those that have survived begin in 1624 and end in 1632.



the post entailed in the following letter:

'[por] profession de la Santa Fe Catholica en ynglaterra en tiempo de la Reyna Doña Isabel y que ha sevido a per magesdade de capellan: y a la Santa Inquisicion, de visitador de libres herticos en el Porto de las dicha Ciudad.'

[(for) the profession of the Holy Catholic Faith in England for the mean time in the service of your majesty's regent Doña Isabel as chaplain: for the Holy Inquisition of visitor of heretical books in the ports of this said city]

This correspondence, written in 1630 to the Escorial in relation to Dutch fishermen illustrated that Newman acted in an official capacity for the Holy Office as well as in less exotic pastoral roles in prisons and barracks: he didn't spend all his time searching for *libres hereticos* of Common Prayer, Luther and the odd Erasmus. The *Index librorum damnatae memoriae*, a text book for those working for the Index, can be found in the Lisbon Collection. The copy of the *Index* that has survived may have been used by Newman himself: commissioned by Dom Ferdinandi Martins Mascaregnas, Bishop of Albergate, Papal Collector and Castro's predecessor, it was published in 1624 by the same printer who later published the College's *Constitutions*. The *Index* indicated those texts banned by the Roman (universal) and Portuguese Inquisitions (local), providing an alphabetical index, codified into class and giving demarcation as to extracts requiring censure or sequestration. The Roman *Index* noted an obscure English theologian who curiously escaped the censure of the Portuguese Senate: extracts, books and verse from 'Thomas Cranmerus' were to be seized; the Archbishop being classed in the Roman Index as a heretical author of the first class.<sup>133</sup> This particular dispute over the increase of heretical imports found on board vessels from the Dutch fishing fleet took up a great deal of Newman's labours in 1630 – 31 at a time when White was busy about reforming the *Constitutions*.<sup>134</sup> At times this brought Newman into conflict with old associates from home. Newman reported to the Senate at Madrid those regulars who he believed possessed copies of a potentially heterodox series of replies to Kellisons, *Treatise of the Hierarchy*, a defence of episcopacy against Calvinism, to which the Inquisition ordered an

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<sup>133</sup> Ferdinandi Mascaregnas (ed.) *Catalogo dos libros prohibitorum* (Lisbon, 1624). For Archbishop Cranmer see *Prima Pars*, p. 55.

<sup>134</sup> Four letters survive concerning this case before the *Suprema*. It appears that the case may have reached the *Estado* as one letter is directed to King Philip himself: UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, William Newman to Philip IV, 1630 (?); Newman 25 April 1631, 20 September 1631, n.d. 1631(?)

enquiry.<sup>135</sup> Likewise Newman investigated possible heterodoxy amongst the English Jesuit company: two letters from early 1632 addressed to the Senate related to the dispute centred on the English Jesuit William Stillington in connection with Nicholas Smith's, *Modesta ac Brevis*.<sup>136</sup>

The College received an annual stipend from the Holy Office for work done on its behalf; which was continued after Newman's death.<sup>137</sup> Two patents signed by the Inquisitor General cited Pickford as first incumbent of the office of *visitador* after Newman's death. The first granted the office to 'Edward Daniel' (Pickford's alias at Douai) as nominated by Clarence. The second is a payslip giving the College Superiors leave to claim 25 *milreis* per annum from the Holy Office as payment for 'interpreting for foreign ships.'<sup>138</sup> According to the Procurator's accounts Newman was creditor to the College after his death: a reference to a donation from his last will and testament in which he left 2100 *cruzados* to the College.<sup>139</sup> Pickford noted 'to be used according to his instructions, which are in his will and the book of executorship.'<sup>140</sup>

As a result of the North rebellion at the beginning of his administration, Clarence succeeded in persuading the Protector to grant the College the right to dispense higher degrees. The *Annals* noted this was a revival of a College privilege, though it appears never to have been used. Pickford was referring to the privileges of the English College at Rome which were enjoyed as part of the Apostolic Brief of 1622. This opinion was confirmed by Dr. Pantaleo Ruiz Pachelo and Dr. Francisco Velasco de Gouvea, from the University of Coimbra. The College of SS. Peter and Paul had the same rights as the English College at Rome, as the Apostolic Brief had

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<sup>135</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, William Newman to the Holy Office at Madrid, 6 June 1631; for Matthew Kellison's tract see, *A Treatise of the Hierarchy and Divers Orders of the Church against the Anarchy of Calvin* (Douai, 1629). Allison and Rogers, *Contemporary Printed Literature* vol. 24, p. 474. The controversy is related by Allison in, 'Richard Smith's Gallican Backers and Jesuit Opponents' *RH* (October, 1987), pp. 329 – 401.

<sup>136</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, William Newman to the Holy Office at Madrid, 17 January 1632; n.d. 1632.

<sup>137</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 31.

<sup>138</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Non Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, Protector to the College, 1 August 1640; UCA, Durham, LC, William Newman Agency Papers, Philip IV to William Newman, 26 February 1632. It appears from the Account Book entries that this money was still flowing into the College after the Braganças Declaration of Independence.

<sup>139</sup> Philip IV ordered a back payment of nearly 700 *cruzados* as arrears for Newman's salary whilst chaplain to the garrison at the Castle of St. George from 1611 – 1630. This substantial amount of money was used for the good of the College.

<sup>140</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 130 – 31.



concluded at the former's institution: the Breve of Foundation makes no note of this privilege.<sup>141</sup> The Roman Documents Papers contain three copies of Papal privileges granted to the colleges at Rome (1579), Valladolid (1592) and Seville (1594). The copy of Pope Clement VIII's Bull conferring the privilege on Seville to grant degrees was authenticated by a member of the College in 1639, which would have been the time that Clarence petitioned Castro for the right for Lisbon to confer degrees.<sup>142</sup> Two copies of the form for conferring degrees were enclosed with Coimbra's legal opinion, thereby granting the President the right, sanctioned by Papal authority, to grant baccalaureate and doctoral degrees to its alumni under the supervision of the Protector.<sup>143</sup> The first use of this new power was granted to Pickford, whom Clarence awarded a STB and DD, shortly before leaving for the Mission on Christmas Day 1640.<sup>144</sup>

### 2.10. Continued growth and prosperity: the administration of Edward Pickford (1642 – 48).

Clarence resigned the Presidency on the College's patronal feast day in 1642. He noted in his own hand that he left Lisbon after four years of troubles upon Pickford's return from England. This was an abrupt end to his entry in the *Annals*.<sup>145</sup> Clarence had succeeded in settling the College's deficit, leaving his successor Edward Pickford a healthy balance sheet.<sup>146</sup> Clarence continued to send funds to the College some twenty years after his departure; the Accounts Books noted that he provided funds (known to the Procurator as the Curtis (or Curtice) Fund in 1659) which supported Thomas Russell, the brother of Richard later Bishop of Portalegre and

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<sup>141</sup> Popes Gregory XV and Urban VIII, 'Brevia Summorum Pontificum Gregorii XV et Urbani VIII pro Ereptione et Fundatione Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis' in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones Collegii.

<sup>142</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Papers, Pope Gregory XV to the English College at Rome, 1579 [copy of Pope Gregory XIII's Bull of Foundation and granting of privileges to the English College at Rome dated May 1614. See the Castilian translation of April, 1624, UCA, Durham, LC, Old Catalogue, 24.]; Pope Clement VIII to the English College at Valladolid, 1592, Old Catalogue 25(b); Pope Clement VIII to the English College at Seville, authenticated copy, April 1639, Old Catalogue, 28.

<sup>143</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching Papers, Dr. Pantaleo Ruiz Pachelo and Dr. Francisco Velasco de Gouvea to the English College at Lisbon, 23 May 1639.

<sup>144</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148.

<sup>145</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, Annales Collegii, pp. 18 – 19.

<sup>146</sup> Clarence was still working on the Mission in 1673; He died in June of the same year. See CRS, *Miscellanea III* (CRS Publications 3, London, 1906), p. 100.

Viseu, through the schools of Humanity (1659). In doing so Clarence was honouring his Missionary Oath to advance the cause of the College wherever possible.<sup>147</sup>

As the first President to have acted in a teaching capacity at the College prior to his appointment Pickford has been represented in the College's historiography as the first 'Lisbonian' President. Haynes, White, Hargrave and Clarence had all been sent (or in the case of White, diverted) by Smith or the Chapter. Pickford's appointment in April 1642 came as no surprise: he had been a founding member; he taught on the board of studies and had extensive experience governing the College particularly in the interregnum between Hargrave and Clarence.<sup>148</sup> Pickford had no knowledge of the Mission and, in the twenty-four years up to his appointment, he had spent a total of sixteen months in England. As with his predecessors, Pickford had received most of his education elsewhere. He studied Philosophy at Douai; taught Latin and Greek as a *cursans* for five years and completed one year in Theology before going on to receive sacred orders at Douai in 1627.<sup>149</sup> Clarence had left the administration to Pickford in a better condition than that in which he found it. The College community numbered thirty students and staff. The College *Rules* had been completed and Coutinho's funds were beginning to reach the Account Books of the Procurators. This was the legacy Pickford inherited upon assuming office. He soon capitalised on this work by extending the College's compound with funds left by Coutinho. A new chapel, long desired by Coutinho, was completed under Pickford in 1645. Soon after the chapel's completion Pickford secured from Pope Innocent X the right to promote the High Altar to privileged rank.<sup>150</sup> The Protector, who had ordained the first Lisbonian over a decade earlier, dedicated the chapel to the College's patrons, SS. Peter and Paul, on their patronal feast day of 1645.<sup>151</sup> Little over a year later the student *Confraternitas Sanctorum Petri et Pauli* was established as an initiative of the alumni. Shortly after, the College library in 1648 benefited from

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<sup>147</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 161, entries 1846 – 47.

<sup>148</sup> The date of his appointment is in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, Juramenta Praesidium, 11 April 1642.

<sup>149</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 146 – 49; Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, pp. 10, 146, 193 and 260.

<sup>150</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Pope Innocent X to the English College at Lisbon, 12 October 1645.

<sup>151</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 83, Brotherhood of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. Constitutions, (Lisbon, 1649.)



a substantial benefaction from a Franciscan friar Lars Skytte.<sup>152</sup> He left the College 300 *milreis* for the sole purpose of expanding the library in July 1648.<sup>153</sup>

Robert Meynell, an Ignatian priest from the English College at Rome was sent by the exiled Queen Henrietta Maria, to negotiate with King João IV and the English ambassador to Lisbon, Henry Compton. Meynell left his brother William Gascoigne at the College, where he studied Latin before removing to Douai.<sup>154</sup> Queen Henrietta Maria had urged King João in other correspondence to aid the College's English administration soon after the Duke's self proclaimed succession.<sup>155</sup> King João IV had been reticent in taking up his charitable commitments. A petition from President Pickford to the King requesting assistance survives in the Papers for Council and College life.<sup>156</sup> Meynell's embassy to Lisbon had encouraged Pickford to press his demands at the Vila Viçosa. The Queen herself gave letters of recommendation to the Portuguese King on the College's behalf, instructing Meynell to assist the College in any way he could.<sup>157</sup> Pickford used the letter of recommendation and further advice from the Chapter in early 1644 to send a delegation to the King, but there is no record of it meeting the King. The *Instructions for Mr. President about the Clergy's rule unto his Majesty of Portugal* contained thirteen points the Chapter recommended that Pickford highlight to the Braganças court. Article 4 noted, 'That you take with you all the Seniors preists and students of the College to the Court when you present the Queenes ler [letter] to his maty [majesty]: and (if you here think fitt) that the seniors and preists carry with them all our late martyrs pictures, ready to unfould upon theyr breasts, when they fal upon theyr knees before his maty to make theyr petition, for

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<sup>152</sup> Veronica Buckley, *Christina, Queen of Sweden* (London, 2004), pp. 189 – 90; for the Queen's conversion to Catholicism and the response of Pope Urban VIII see 'The Road to Rome' pp. 185 – 209, 242, 247 – 62. Formerly the ambassador of the Queen of Sweden he was a close acquaintance of the Portuguese ambassador to Sweden, José Pinto de Pereira and his Jesuit secretary Antonio Macedo.

<sup>153</sup> It is not clear which books were purchased with the funds donated by Skytte. Sharratt noted, 'a few of Skytte's books are in the L[isbon] C[ollection]. Buckley noted that Skytte had an interest in works of Philosophy but that is not indicative of the texts purchased for the College's library. See Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 146 – 48.

<sup>154</sup> A2, p. 220; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 59.

<sup>155</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Queen Henrietta Maria to João IV, 12 November 1643.

<sup>156</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, President Pickford and Superiors to João IV, 1644.

<sup>157</sup> A2, p. 220; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 59.



provision to harbour and cherish them[?] such as are designed martyrs alsoe.’<sup>158</sup>

The remainder of the letter presented the framework for the King to patronise every aspect of the College’s life from paying for viaticums to giving provision for pensions and maintenance, just as the Castilian Kings had promised to Valladolid. In effect President Pickford was seeking (with the Chapter’s support) to turn the College into a Royal College. Article 9 continued with the heady language of martyrdom, the labours of the College and, poignantly, the duties of Sacral Kingship, ‘That for want of such provisions there may be many a hopeful soul lost in England because the Clergy cannot of their conversions provide for our education abroad especially now our pensions fail in our other colleges and you may set out to the full what a hopeful pain are countered lately and the other upon hopes of his martyrs [sic: majesty] pious granting this our humble petition.’<sup>159</sup> The advice from the Chapter remained courtly, extravagant and demanding, and possibly completely impractical; The College had no martyrs by 1644. The delegation however, represented the first active engagement with the new crown, one which later flourished to the benefit of the College and the Mission in general.

### 2.11. Pickford’s Annals.

The early history found in the College’s *Annals* to 1648 is almost exclusively Pickford’s interpretation, being the first President to keep an account of notable events and entrants to the College in the *Annales Collegii*. The limitations of this resource have been highlighted by Sharratt.<sup>160</sup> This source is not as exhaustive as the Douai Diaries and the information provided for each student is often insufficient to construct a complete picture of the makeup of the College community at any given time. The account of Pickford’s administration was penned by himself. Pickford began the entries in 1638 when acting as Regent. His intention had been to record the name, surname, county of origin, education, deeds and achievements of all the Superiors, Alumni and Convictors who entered the College from 1628 onwards. Pickford stipulated that the *Annals* should remain in the President’s safe, edited only with his authority. Information on English Catholic exiles was a sought after commodity for spies and pursuivants wishing the students’ families harm in England.

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<sup>158</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, English Chapter to the Council of Superiors, 30 January 1644, p. 1 article 4. The English has not been modernised.

<sup>159</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, English Chapter to the Council of Superiors, 30 January 1644, p. 1 article 9. The English has not been modernised.

<sup>160</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, vii.



The College at Valladolid went on to suffer from a series of surveillance breaches where students' real names and other information about them were exposed; the most infamous was the case in the 1670s of Titus Oates.<sup>161</sup> Information contained in the *Annals* required some degree of reticence: 27 Eliz. c. 2 had made it an offence to send children abroad for a Catholic education, making the *Annals* a sensitive and potentially lethal text if it ever fell into the wrong hands.<sup>162</sup> There is no indication that information from the *Annals* ever resulted in harm for those on the Mission, but the threat remained like a Damoclean sword hanging over the alumni throughout the seventeenth century.

The care the Superiors took in preventing infiltrators entering the community can be seen in Pickford's stipulations, set out by Sharratt. A student seeking entry into the College, be it to study Humanity or to take sacred orders, was obliged to profess the Catholic faith and take an oath against infamy as noted in the *Constitutions*.<sup>163</sup> After a cooling off period of three days the President went on to further interrogations: the applicant was asked his true name and surname; whether he wanted to take an alias; where he came from; who his parents were; of what condition and whether they were Catholics. The President then went on to ask if they had suffered anything for Catholicism in England; what education the applicant had had up to admission; his age and who had sent him. In theory, an account of the student was to be taken every three months upon the President's enquiries: in practice this does not appear to have taken place. Sharratt concluded that Pickford was responsible for the first forty-five entries: Pickford's successors carried on the *Annals* with varying degrees of comprehensiveness, using Pickford's stipulations as a model until 1813.

Pickford's successors Humphrey Waring and Thomas Tilden concluded the account of his tenure when he laid down his powers for unknown reasons in August 1648. Waring recorded that due to the illness and departure of a professor of Theology, Francis Victor, Pickford agreed to teach Theology as first professor for a further year before leaving for Douai.<sup>164</sup> The reasons for Pickford's sudden

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<sup>161</sup> Williams, *Valladolid*, pp. 49 – 51.

<sup>162</sup> D.J. Steel and E.R. Samuel, *Sources for Roman Catholic and Jewish Genealogy and Family History* (London, 1974), p. 810.

<sup>163</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis* (Lisbon, 1635), Cap. IX, 'De Alumnis in Collegium Admittendis.'

<sup>164</sup> Victor was elected Archdeacon of Cornwall, Devon and Dorsetshire on 13 September 1661. See Croft, *Lisbon College*, p. 262. Victor, like several of his predecessors at the College, had a



resignation are unclear. Pickford was the first President (in the College's brief history) not to die, resign in unfavourable circumstances or be dismissed from office. Thomas Tilden, writing in the 1650s gave some indication as to the reason behind Pickford's sudden departure. Pickford had been head hunted by President William Hyde of Douai, to act as Confessor and professor of Theology. Perhaps the terms of employment were more favourable at Douai, certainly none of Pickford's predecessors relished the thought of being in Lisbon for too long. Pickford left no indication himself as to why he served only six years in office when the College's prospects were bright, the minimum term of office was, as far as the *Constitutions* were concerned, three years.<sup>165</sup> Though his was the longest term of office to date for any incumbent of the Presidency it was a period of calm and stability that Pickford's predecessors had not enjoyed before (much of which was due to his predecessors.)

During the period 1622 – 1672 the College at Lisbon saw a succession of nine Presidents whilst Douai had seven.<sup>166</sup> Of the seven Douatian Presidents six saw five or more years in office: of the Lisbonian Presidents only Pickford (1642 – 8) and Perrot (1662 – 72) served as long. Tilden noted that Pickford's career continued to flourish when he acted as Regent at Douai following the death of President Hyde in 1651. Upon George Leyburn's arrival at Douai in 1652 as President, Pickford was appointed the Chapter's Vicar General for North Wales, a come down for a man who had been President at Lisbon and remained a strong candidate for the same post at Douai. Despite Leyburn finding Pickford, 'tinged with Blacklowism' he later nominated him as a potential successor to Smith, though Propaganda refused to recommend that Pope Alexander VII appoint a successor.<sup>167</sup> No mention is made in

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sister at the English convent of Sion. For Victor's time as Archdeacon see Westminster, Archdiocesan Archive, 30, no. 223. Victor was later recommended as a suitable candidate to replace Leyburne as President of Douai, see Westminster, Old Brotherhood Archives, Book 2.1., Official Correspondence of the Chapter Sede Vacante, no. 97, English Chapter to Internuncio in Brussels, 19 August 1669. Pickford recommended Victor in the *Annals*: 'would make a good ruler of a House or a teacher.' See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 205, which also notes a theological manuscript of Pickford's at Oscott College.

<sup>165</sup> Pickford's own theological work can be found in Edward Pickford, *Meditations collected and ordered for the use of the English College of Lisbo[n] by the Superiors of the Same College* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Douai, 1663).

<sup>166</sup> Milburn, *A History of Ushaw College*, p. 359.

<sup>167</sup> A2, xx[n], p. 160. Mention is made in the *Annals* of Pickford acting as an executor to a John Chandler of the College who left 877 *milreis* in his will. Pickford accepted this position on 26 September 1645. Record of a series of Sung Masses and Vespers in the newly consecrated church suggest that some form of obsequies were said for the repose of his soul. There is no mention of this in the Accounts: I have translated what Pickford related in the *Annals*, 'At which time they [the choir] began to sing Mass and Vespers in the church on Quinquagesima Sunday 11 February 1646; truly they stopped (singing) around the feast of St. John the Baptist in the same year.' Peter



the *Annals* of Pickford's appointment as Dean of the Chapter, when he replaced Biddulph as effective head of the secular clergy in England, in June 1657, however his death three months later meant he was probably never sworn in.<sup>168</sup>

### 2.12. First home grown President.

In the summer of 1648 Humphrey Waring was the first fully home grown President to assume the administration of the College at Lisbon. Having studied Philosophy and Theology under Victor, Waring had a better claim to the title than Pickford who was largely a product of Douai. Waring represented the original mission and the ethos and mission of the foundation more so than Pickford, though the point is pedantic. Waring had been appointed to teach Philosophy to the third mission under Hargrave, who persuaded him to remain at the College as a *cursans*, a post he continued in under Clarence. Waring prepared three public defences in Philosophy but their subject matter remains uncertain. Pickford noted that Waring defended Aquinas' *De Angelis* in 1638 but there is no further indication in the *Annals* as to the other defences. When Pickford went to England, prior to his acceptance of the Presidency from Smith, he left the post of *visitador* to Waring who had, since Hargrave's removal, acted as professor of Theology. Waring's efficiency in both posts was lauded by Pickford who appointed him his Vice President in June 1642.<sup>169</sup>

Waring succeeded Pickford as President on 8 August 1648 but little survives in the *Annals* as to his administration. Pickford's pen ends with his election; Tilden's starts with his resignation.<sup>170</sup> There is little to add to the *Annals* in the Sheet or Book Archive of the Lisbon Collection and precious else in the Chapter Papers. There is a natural reticence to rely on Gillow and Anstruther, particularly as the latter relied heavily on the former. Gillow had no access to the first volume of the College *Annals* in any case. Gillow noted that Smith conferred on Waring both the Presidency and the office of Rector of the English Residence. The administration of the College continued to control the nomination to the second office, once in the patronage of the English Jesuit company of São Roque. This demonstrated that though the President of

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Biddulph (Dean of the Chapter) prior to Pickford's appointment was another presented as *episcopapilis* to the Internuncio at Brussels; A2, pp. 27 – 28.

<sup>168</sup> A2, pp. 25 – 48; 244 – 45; Croft, *Lisbon College*, pp. 240 – 41.

<sup>169</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, BA 122, Juramenta Superiorum, Waring: Juramenta Lectorum Sacrae Theologiae, 21 July 1638 appointed by Clarence, p. 37; Juramenta Vicepraesidum 25 June 1642, p. 1 appointed by Pickford.

<sup>170</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 210 – 11.



the College was *de facto* Rector of the Residence, the Chapter was keen to keep the latter independent from the former. This suggests that the Residence continued to operate independently of the College, though its personnel was undoubtedly composed of members of the College's administration.<sup>171</sup> The *Juramenta Præsidium* noted that Waring had previously accepted the post of second professor of Theology where he was noted for his treatise *De Angelis* and he succeeded as Prefect of Studies three years later.<sup>172</sup> Tilden noted in the *Annals* of Waring's brief administration that Smith allowed Waring to resign his post to Humphrey Whitaker in 1652. Waring went on to accept the prestigious post of Dean of the Chapter in November 1658, being formally elected in October 1660, shortly after the Restoration.<sup>173</sup> The appointment represented an important change in fortune for the College at Lisbon which was later to bear fruit in successive administrations through its close links to the Chapter.

Anstruther noted that the son of a former benefactor of the College, Lord George Calvert, Baron Baltimore, housed Waring as Dean in his London property from 1667.<sup>174</sup> Baltimore had sent his son Philip Calvert to the College at Lisbon to read Humanity and Philosophy earlier in 1642.<sup>175</sup> Whether Calvert intended his son for sacred orders or the colonisation of Maryland, which his family had been instrumental in securing for Charles I, remains unclear. Baltimore had an uneasy relationship with Jesuit missionaries in his colonies which may have resulted in his attraction to the administration of Lisbon.<sup>176</sup> It is also noteworthy that Calvert's vision of Church-State relations, a policy of freedom of religious practice, closely

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<sup>171</sup> Croft, *Lisbon College*, p. 267. The date of the conferment is given as 7 August 1648, one day before that given by the *Annals*. A week later he was elected Archdeacon of the Chapter.

<sup>172</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Conclusiones Theologicæ pro gradu doctoratus Onuphrius Elliseus, 23 June 1652; Conclusiones Theologicæ pro gradu baccalaureii et Conclusiones theologicæ pro doctoratus Franciscus Claytonus, 23 June 1652. Whitaker's patent conferring the doctorate on him survives: see UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Patent making Clayton Doctor of Divinity, 23 June 1652; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, Juramenta Præsidium, 1638 – 1948. Waring received his doctorate from the Protector whilst in office; his successor Humphrey Whitaker receiving his on the same day in June 1652

<sup>173</sup> Accepted 27 November 1658; sworn in 14 October 1660 see Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, Minute Book [WCA A XXI, no. 141].

<sup>174</sup> Godfrey Davies, *The Early Stuarts, 1603 – 1660* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Oxford, 1959), pp. 325, 343 – 4. Baltimore was one of the ringleaders of the anti-Smith faction of the English Catholic gentry. See Questier, *Newsletters from the Caroline Court*, pp. 42 – 43; John D. Krugler, 'Calvert, George, first Baron Baltimore (1579/80 – 1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 9, pp. 584 – 87.

<sup>175</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 26.

<sup>176</sup> John D. Krugler, 'The Calvert Vision: A New Model for Church-State Relations' *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 99, no. 3 (Fall, 2004), 269 – 286.



mirrored Thomas White's own political beliefs developed during the Commonwealth.<sup>177</sup> Philip Calvert did not take the College Oath and left the Bairro Alto in April 1647 to assume office in his family's administration of the colonies. The College Account Books noted a Philip Calfort [Calvert] as debtor to the College of £25, 'for a year's provision' after Philip had left Lisbon for Maryland.<sup>178</sup> Waring died in the patronage of the Calverts in 1676 leaving £100 to the Chapter and £50 each to Douai and Lisbon Colleges as a testament to his continued support for the Chapter and the secular colleges.<sup>179</sup> As President, Waring provided funds for his nephews George Barrett and Charles Penrice to train for the Mission. The College Account Books noted the former President as debtor to the College of £100 for a 'George Martin' *vere* Barrett in January 1650; half to be paid in England and half in Lisbon. Barrett did not arrive at the College until March 1652.<sup>180</sup>

### 2.13. President Humphrey Whitaker.

Humphrey Whitaker's Presidency was better documented by subsequent regimes than that of his predecessor. The historical account of Whitaker's administration demonstrates further that any historical enquiry into the College at Lisbon is reliant on a reading of the *Annals* to constitute anything close to a comprehensive account of the years from 1634 to 1654. Whitaker's earlier career was recorded by Clarence and Pickford in the College's *Annals*. The account of his administration was related by his successor and fellow Superior, Thomas Tilden. Whitaker was the first President of the College not to have been schooled in whole or in part at Douai.<sup>181</sup> Whitaker had been sent from the English College at Rome. His had been a purely Ignatian education: Humanity at St. Omers and Philosophy and Theology at the English College, Rome. From 1638 to 1640 Whitaker acted as agent

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<sup>177</sup> Philip went on to be Chancellor of St. Mary's City in the Baltimore colonies. See Timothy B. Riordan, 'Philip Calvert: Patron of St. Mary's City' *Maryland Historical Magazine* vol. 99, no. 3 (Fall, 2004), 329 – 350. I am grateful to Dr. John D. Krugler at Marquette University, Milwaukee, USA for his valued correspondence in this matter.

<sup>178</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 47 entry 410.

<sup>179</sup> Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, Old Chapter Papers, Red Book, f. 22.

<sup>180</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 7 – 8; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 61, entries 494 and p. 203.

<sup>181</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, 1651 – 1740, Francis Clayton [Whitaker's alias], 11 July 1651.

for his *alma mater* to the Abbey of Santa Sabina in Piacenza.<sup>182</sup> Whitaker had been designated by the Rector, Thomas Leedes, to go on the English Mission in 1640.<sup>183</sup> Bishop Smith, despite Whitaker's Jesuit governors, managed to secure him for the administration at Lisbon. Whitaker agreed to the charge given him by Smith on behalf of the English Chapter. Whitaker arrived in Lisbon as part of the fourth mission later that year assuming office as a member of staff. Whitaker taught *De Fide* from 1641, quickly succeeding to the posts of Prefect of Studies and acting-Confessor under President Pickford's administration. In 1647 the Protector released Whitaker from his duties for reasons of health: he and Robert Meynell (priest-ambassador to Henrietta Maria) returned to England.

The College remained in a dire state of poverty despite Pickford's pleas to the new King and the intercession of Queen Henrietta Maria.<sup>184</sup> After a brief spate of teaching experience at Douai, Whitaker returned to the Mission as a canon and Secretary to the Chapter of which Waring had recently been appointed Dean. Whitaker returned to Portugal three years later: he and John Robinson arrived at the College at Lisbon in May 1650 where Whitaker resumed his posts of Confessor and Prefect of Studies.<sup>185</sup> Whitaker agreed to take on the Presidency, albeit reluctantly, from Waring late in 1651.<sup>186</sup> Tilden related that his predecessor was not keen on accepting the Presidency, partly for reasons of ill health. The illness which had cut short his teaching career at Lisbon and Douai eventually resulted in his death two years into his brief administration. Tilden noted that he was, 'much mourned by the people because of his kindness in confession' acting as a prime example of the parochial priest in the suburbs of the Bairro Alto rather than England, on the Salesian model.<sup>187</sup> Whitaker was the third Lisbonian to receive a doctorate from the Protector, under the reforms of Clarence. Whitaker's conclusions for his baccalaureate and

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<sup>182</sup> St. Omer's from November 1629; Kenny, *Responsa Scholarum*, vol. 1, p. 240. English College, Rome from October 1631, Kelley, *Liber Ruber* vol. 1, pp. 2 – 3. As professor of Theology at Douai see Burton, *Douay College Diaries*, pp. 493 – 4; 499.

<sup>183</sup> Williams, *Venerabile*, p. 236.

<sup>184</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 148.

<sup>185</sup> His Oath as professor of Theology was dated 28 July 1650. See UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, 1638 – 1834.

<sup>186</sup> The patent for his appointment is in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, Juramenta Praesidium, 1638 – 1948, 11 July 1651.

<sup>187</sup> Eamon Duffy, 'The English Secular Clergy and the Counter Reformation' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 34, no. 2 (April, 1983), p. 216.



doctorate survive in the Lisbon archive under his alias, Francis Clayton.<sup>188</sup> The degrees were confirmed by Castro, who remained in his office of Inquisitor General in 1652, outliving seven administrations.<sup>189</sup> Some of the content of Whitaker's teaching is related in the *Annals*. Whitaker began a series of lectures in Hilary term 1653 and in Trinity he presided over a controversial defence 'defended with great success' by Daniel Fitter.<sup>190</sup> In one of but few initiatives of his administration Whitaker obtained confirmation from the Holy Office and the *Cabido* in presenting the College's candidates for ordination having only been examined 'in house' before being sent to the Archbishop to receive orders. Chapter three of the twenty-third session of the Council of Trent stipulated that bishops were not permitted to send their students for ordination to another prelate without first having examined them 'in house' and approved their application. The President of the College fulfilled this regulation on Bishop Smith's behalf.<sup>191</sup> In the majority of the eighteen chapters of the twenty-third session it was either the President acting on Bishop Smith's behalf or Protector Castro who fulfilled the stipulations required by Trent for training young men for sacred orders. This marked a milestone in the College's growing independence: Whitaker's privilege removed the requirement of presenting candidates to the Protector. William Bodenham, John Perrot and John Williams were presented by Whitaker to the Archbishop of Lisbon, Dom Roderigo de Cunha, and all received sacred orders in July 1653.<sup>192</sup> Within two months however, Whitaker after a brief administration of less than two years, finally succumbed to the illness that had troubled his teaching career at Douai and Lisbon, dying in office.

#### **2.14. Thomas Tilden, 8<sup>th</sup> President: (1654 – 1662).**

It is only with the administration of Thomas Tilden that the College could safely put behind itself the conflicts and crises, of what remained a transitional period from White's resignation through to Tilden's appointment in 1654. Though Waring's election from 1658 to the Deanery of the English Chapter had elevated the College within English ecclesial circles, the administration in Lisbon remained engaged with

<sup>188</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, [1] Conclusiones Theologicæ pro gradu baccalaureii; [2] Conclusiones Theologicæ pro doctoratu, 23 June 1652.

<sup>189</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Patent of the Protector making Francis Clayton Doctor of Divinity, 23 June 1652.

<sup>190</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 217.

<sup>191</sup> Waterworth, *Canons and Decrees*, p. 179.

<sup>192</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, 1 July 1653. Patent granting Whitaker the right to present three students to Sacred Orders; P. Gauchet, *Hierarchia Catolica*, vol. 4, p. 352.

largely economic adversities that it struggled to cope with. Bishop Smith's appointment of Tilden represented an end to the crises of earlier administrations ushering in a period of prolonged stability. Tilden's earlier career was recorded by Pickford in the *Annals*. Raised as a Protestant, Tilden converted to Catholicism through the intervention of the Secretary to the Chapter, George Gage, whilst at St. John's, Cambridge. Pickford did not note in the account that event of equal importance, which was to directly affect the College for the remainder of the seventeenth century, namely his meeting John Sergeant whilst at St. John's. Like his fellow Lisbonian one of Tilden's first acts as a newly ordained priest (*Liber Missionis*, March 1650) was to return to England to convert reluctant family members. Waring provided an entry praising Tilden's exemplary conduct as a member of the College's staff. Shortly after his ordination Tilden defended a public thesis on Theology under Pickford, 'to great applause.'<sup>193</sup> After converting his mother in England to his newly found religion Tilden returned to the College to take up a lectureship in Philosophy which he shared at first with John Morgan and, when the latter left for Flanders, alone seeing the whole mission through the full three year course. Tilden held six public defences alongside his other positions as Prefect of Studies from 1651, Vice President 1652 and Procurator from 1654.<sup>194</sup> After Whitaker's untimely death in 1653, Tilden accepted the post of first professor of Theology as well as acting as regent of the administration. The staffing situation was far from desirable; the only posts not in Tilden's portfolio were those of Confessor and Master of Humanities. So stretched was the staff under the administration left vacant by Whitaker that Tilden felt compelled to send the Theology finalists to Valenciennes at Paris under the care of the Oratorians.

John Perrot recorded in the *Annals* that Tilden's patent confirming his election to the Presidency was dated 6 October 1654. The sea-vessel carrying the correspondence was lost in a storm; matters were further exacerbated when Bishop Smith died in his Parisian exile in March 1655, leaving the Chapter and secular authority in England without a clear leadership. The Dean understood that should the bishopric fall *sede vacante* then ordinary powers, including that of preferment, fell to the Chapter until Propaganda gave further instructions. Smith's death and Tilden's election marked an important juncture in the history of the College and indeed that of English ecclesiastical government. The English secular clergy from 1655 were governed by an oligarchy of secular priests with a considerable Lisbonian influence

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<sup>193</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 198.

<sup>194</sup> Tilden: Juramenta Præfectorum Studiorum, 1 January 1651; Juramenta Vicepræsidium, 27 June 1652; Juramenta Procuratorum.



amongst its capitulary ranks, who exercised ordinary powers of ecclesial jurisdiction, including that of preferment and appointment over the College. The Portuguese local ecclesial authorities, including that of the Protector himself, made no objections to the authority of the English Chapter, recognising it as the legitimate successor to Smith. Though Tilden's confirmation as eighth President, on the College's patronal feast-day (29 June 1655) was that made by the Chapter he remained the appointment of Bishop Smith.

Tilden's administration was marked by endeavours to provide stronger associations between the College's administration and the Portuguese civic and ecclesial elites. His administration made an important step towards furthering links between the College and the city. In his Good Friday sermon [c. 1656] on the Passion Tilden preached in Portuguese. This suggests the College accepted a substantial Portuguese congregation from the aristocratic environs and the parish of Santa Catarina. It was not unusual for collegiate foundations to open their doors to the laity at major feast-days and during Holy Week. John Perrot related in the *Annals* that Tilden preached in Portuguese when dispensing the College habit, which is curious for an oath that bound the student to the College and to the English Mission.<sup>195</sup> Newman and Pickford had established strong links with the *Cabido* and the Holy Office: the College carried out various tasks for both authorities. The decision to preach at an internal collegiate ceremony in Portuguese represented something of a cultural anomaly. It was rather peculiar that the ceremony conferring the College habit on students should have a sermon in Portuguese, but Tilden had his reasoning. In doing so he encouraged further enculturation into Portuguese society and consequently improving the prospects of the graduates. Several alumni entered the services of the Portuguese civic elites as chaplains, secretaries and tutors. The College's close associations with the city's civic and ecclesial elites were further demonstrated by the appearance under Tilden's administration of substantial Portuguese benefactors and sponsors. The Anglo-Portuguese marriage alliance was still some years away and it is doubtful that Tilden knew of the deliberations between the exiled court of Charles II and the Braganças. It is however clear that his colleague Richard Russell was aware of the proposed match, examined in Chapter Three though there is no correspondence between the two Lisbonians that sheds any further light on the matter.

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<sup>195</sup> For Tilden's *Sermons* in Portuguese see the copy bound by Perrot: UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 165, Thomas Godden [Tilden's alias], *Sermons in Portuguese [to a Portuguese/English fraternity]* (n.p., c. 1655.) The Confraternity referred to is possibly that of SS. Peter and Paul established under President Pickford.

Tilden's desire to build upon the administrations of Newman and Pickford in creating stronger links with the *Cabido* was given a boost when two brothers from Yorkshire arrived at the College under Portuguese patronage. The first Robert Sutton arrived at the start of Tilden's Presidency in 1655; the second, Thomas towards the end in 1661.<sup>196</sup> Robert gained the patronage of the illustrious Tavóra family. His benefactress, Francisca de Tavóra, was the sister of the Dean of the Lisbon *Cabido*. Through their influence Tilden's administration agreed to admit Robert on Sergeant's Philosophy course in March 1655. Robert was granted a dispensation from Rome for early ordination. Whilst a student he resided partially at the Tavóra residence, thereby not taking commons with the other alumni.<sup>197</sup> Thomas Sutton was admitted on the guarantee that the Tavóra family would financially support him as they had his brother. The Account Books concurred with the *Annals*: Robert Sutton and later his brother Thomas were noted as creditors from the *Cabido* as directed through the Tavóra Dean on the behalf of his family.<sup>198</sup> There are sixteen records in the Account Book citing the Tavóra family and their agents as creditors, though in a capacity as sponsors of alumni rather than benefactors of the College's administration.<sup>199</sup>

Tilden's personal influence in Portuguese aristocratic circles gave him some sway in civic and municipal circles outside the College compound. John Perrot noted in the *Annals* that Tilden used his influence to prevent the Theatine Order from building a monastery nearby: valuable patronage might have flowed away from the College had the Order been successful in its application. There was already a Theatine convent of St. Cajetan in the immediate vicinity of the College and, in pre-Pombaline Lisbon, religious institutions wrestled with each other for access to pious benefactors. As an enclosed order however they would not have been competing for the College's work with the *Cabido* and the Holy Office. Tilden initiated building work of his own: the entrance to the College chapel was improved with a flight of steps and the cloister was tiled. The *Annals* noted that Tilden was responsible for improving the library and enriching the College chapel.<sup>200</sup> Little survives in the Account Books to suggest that this was a refurbishment on a grand scale.

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<sup>196</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 193 – 94.

<sup>197</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, pp. 23, 119 and 215. CRS, *Miscellanea III* (CRS Publications 3, London, 1906), p. 102.

<sup>198</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 119 entries 1606 and 1840; p. 171 entry 1902.

<sup>199</sup> Tilden acted as executor for the wealthy widow Dominica Pinheira who had leased houses belonging to the College by the *Cruz de Paço* in the *Calçada de Congo*. He obtained a legacy from Antonio de Andrade but there is no record in BA12 for this.

<sup>200</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 200.



Improvements to the fabric of the chapel are harder to discover in the Account Books. Though they are few and far between some examination can be made of the refurbishment. What is recorded appears to be related to day-to-day liturgical expenses: wax was a common purchase, not an unusual procurement for the chapel's accounts.<sup>201</sup> Whilst acting as regent Tilden ordered the purchase of over 10 *milreis* worth of wax for the College's patronal feast day: his election on the same day to the Presidency must have seemed Providential.<sup>202</sup> President Tilden's liturgical tastes were by no means excessive; however a substantial amount of money was spent on liturgical vessels and a 'silver lamp' which referred to the repair of the sanctuary lamp.<sup>203</sup> A sum of 8 *milreis* was paid from the Procurator's accounts for an image of *a Virgem Santissima* by the local artist José Gonçalves.<sup>204</sup>

### 2.15. Bairro Alto to the Court of St. James.

During Tilden's administration the Restoration of the Stuart dynasty in England had occurred in a bloodless takeover from the Commonwealth of Protector Cromwell. The importance of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance as proposed by Secretary Clarendon became a matter of political expediency in London and Lisbon. Portugal needed an ally in its continued fight with Castile. The irascible King Philip IV refused to acknowledge the break-up of the so called 'Spanish System' his forbears had worked so hard to unite. The Stuart dynasty needed an ally who would be agreeable to Protestant sensibilities in Parliament and provide a substantial dowry to elevate a near bankrupt crown. Portugal, along with its overseas dominions, seemed a desirable partnership to the Stuart cause.

Whilst acting as President and professor of Theology, Tilden held several public defences of student theses.<sup>205</sup> Tilden presented a public defence *De Sanctissima Trinitate* himself, dedicated to the Infanta, Catherine of Bragança, later Queen-consort to Charles II of Great Britain. Though word may have reached the Infanta of the event it is unlikely she attended the defence in person. In April 1660 Tilden's academic reputation was recognised by the Protector, who granted the

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<sup>201</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 6 entry 850.

<sup>202</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 6 entry 1110.

<sup>203</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 60 entry 1605; p. 126 entry 1260.

<sup>204</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, p. 60 entry 1844.

<sup>205</sup> The *Annals* noted several College defences from 1659 – 61.

President a doctorate of Divinity shortly before his departure to England in the retinue of Catherine.<sup>206</sup> The Bragança crown renewed its interest in the College during the negotiations between the court at London and Lisbon. Three months after Tilden became a doctor of Divinity, King João IV ordered the President of the *convento dos Inglesinhos* to teach the Infanta English. In England the Chapter elevated the President to the important preferment of the Archdeaconry of London and Essex, with the expectation that he would accompany the Infanta to the court at St. James.<sup>207</sup> Their presumption was accurate. Tilden, appointed the Infanta's preacher, left Lisbon with another alumnus Richard Russell on St. George's day 1662 bound for Whitehall.

Central to the marriage negotiations between England and Portugal was the agency of Russell.<sup>208</sup> Russell had accompanied Pickford to the English College as a servant boy in 1642, to study Humanity.<sup>209</sup> His advanced levels of learning commended him to the Chapter and the Portuguese Queen-regent Doña Luiza de Gusmao. Russell had accompanied the Bragança ambassador to the Commonwealth, Francisco de Mello, in 1657 and remained in his retinue, by the Chapter's leave, until the Restoration, when he returned briefly to the College. The Queen-regent awarded Russell the vacant Bishopric of Cabo Verde as a reward for his services to the Bragança crown promising the priest-diplomat the next available see in mainland Portugal. Never one to miss an opportunity, Russell refused the barren outcrop of Cabo Verde, which proved even more desolate than that of the Mission, and agreed to act as Catherine's secretary on her voyage to England. Russell represented the Chapter at the wedding officiating at the secret Catholic ceremony between King Charles II and Catherine.

Tilden and Bishop-elect Russell were positioned at the very centre of courtly influence with the Queen-consort in England and Queen-regent in Portugal; the results of which produced the most important and fruitful period of the College's history which is related in Chapter Three. Tilden succeeded to the posts of Sacristan and Sacristy Treasurer to Catherine giving him influence over the Queen-consort's charitable benefactions, allowing him to provide the Chapter's causes with royal revenues. Tilden was described as, 'a true teacher of Catholic truth... shown by his

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<sup>206</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, *Conclusiones Theologicæ pro Gradibus Baccalauratus et doctoratus Sacra Theologia*, Thomas Godden, 23 April 1661.

<sup>207</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Catherine of Braganza, A List of the Queen's Household as they were stationed at Portsmouth, April or May 1662.

<sup>208</sup> His relations with the College are related in Chapter Three.

<sup>209</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 164 – 67.



holy life and his very learned writings against the dogmas of the heretics.’<sup>210</sup> Russell, a man not prone to flattery provided the following account of his old President:

He was loved by all for his gentleness, respected for his life of integrity, revered by the faithful for the holiness of his teaching and hated by infidels; he was like a lantern shining in a dark place crammed with heresy and depravity. Writing, meditating, praying, preaching, refuting heretics, confirming the faithful in the faith and winning souls to God through his apostolic ministry, he spent his life at Court as though in the cloister: he was very dear to the Queen and not disliked by the King.<sup>211</sup>

Tilden headed the administration of the English College for eight and a half years, in the words of his successor John Perrot to ‘everyone’s satisfaction’.<sup>212</sup> Russell later noted that Tilden’s administration marked the catalyst between the conflicts and crises of former administrations and the prolonged prosperity and stability that marked Watkinson’s Presidency (1671 – 1706).<sup>213</sup> Tilden’s administration saw the transition of the College from an obscure foundation on the periphery of Europe to being closer to the heart of Anglo-Portuguese diplomatic and political relations. More importantly the College had a direct line, protected by the Queen-consort in Portugal and the Queen-regent in London between the centre of civic power in England, secular authority in the Chapter and privileged access to the court and the embassies.

With several prominent Lisbonians within the walls of Whitehall the College’s prospects might be considered to have been good. By 1672 Russell had been elevated to the vacant Bishopric of Portalegre; the aged Waring was Dean of the Chapter; Sergeant was the influential Secretary of the Chapter and Tilden advised the Queen-consort on matters as wide ranging as dispensing her alms to pious works, providing advise on matters of conscience and (Tilden’s enemies argued) statecraft. Despite the good fortune the College found itself in after Tilden’s administration almost nothing was recorded in the *Annals* about his successor, John Perrot. He succeeded Tilden as ninth President of the College on 12 March 1662. Perrot was the

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<sup>210</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 174.

<sup>211</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 175. This letter was copied into the *Annals* by President Edward Jones (1706 – 29; 1732 – 37). It is here translated and transcribed by Sharratt.

<sup>212</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 200. It remains unclear when Tilden left for England. He did not leave with Russell and did not feature in the inventory of Catherine’s household as stationed at Plymouth: see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Catherine of Bragança, May 1662. Perrot’s account in the *Annals* (Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 200) noted that Tilden left for England with the Queen-consort in April 1662 which would correspond with Russell’s departure. Tilden may have gone ahead of the party, straight to Whitehall, to prepare the Queen-consort’s chapel in his office as Sacristan. Russell is mentioned as Bishop-elect of Cabo Verde though he did not take the see; Tilden is not mentioned.

<sup>213</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 175.

second to be appointed by the Dean and Chapter, in this case his old colleague William Waring, still using his College alias of Ellis, signed the patent with John Sergeant [alias Holland] counter-signing as Secretary of the Chapter.<sup>214</sup> Pickford with characteristic thoroughness gave an account of his early life in the College's *Annals*. He taught the Humanities class in Sergeant's absence, having shown substantial ability for the school in his youth.<sup>215</sup> He succeeded to the Council of Superiors when he was appointed Confessor and Procurator shortly before Tilden's election as President and had worked, like several of his predecessors, for the Holy Office in the capacity of *visitador*. After the arrival of Tilden, Perrot occupied a series of teaching positions: appointed professor of Philosophy he defended conclusions in Logic and Physics; and held public defences *De Fide, Spe et Caritate* and *De Incarnatione*.<sup>216</sup> The *Annals* noted the following account of Perrot [the hand is that of Edward Jones, a later President of the administration], 'Cum magna omnium acceptatione per novem annos rexisset Collegium in Angliam decessit anno 1671, ubi Capituli Decanus electus, ea in dignitate versatus est usque ad 27 Maii anno 1714.'<sup>217</sup>

Evidence for Perrot's tenure is sparse and there is little to build upon the account of Perrot's administration found in the *Annals* or from Anstruther and Bellenger. There is for example, a discrepancy in the date of Perrot's appointment. Jones noted the date given by the Chapter as 12 March 1662 yet the *Juramenta Præsidium* noted the election as being that of 16 December 1661 shortly after Tilden's return to England.<sup>218</sup> The College Accounts provide the first indication of the salary of a Lisbonian President. The Account Books for 1667 – 1739 (otherwise known as Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet) related that Perrot received an allowance of 20 *milreis* per annum, a not insubstantial amount in seventeenth century Lisbon but far from the rates paid for the administration at Douai.<sup>219</sup> Extant material in the Teaching Collection demonstrated that Perrot gained his doctorate whilst working as a Superior

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<sup>214</sup> The date of his appointment is in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, *Juramenta Praesidium*, 1638 – 1948 as 16 December 1661.

<sup>215</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 143.

<sup>216</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 142 – 44.

<sup>217</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 143.

<sup>218</sup> There does not appear to have been a regency between the departure of Tilden and the administration of Perrot. The Dean and Chapter were quite aware that Tilden would be leaving for England as they had appointed him the Archdeacon of London and Essex; they presumably made adequate provision for his successor at the administration.

<sup>219</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, *College Accounts: 1667 – 1739*, p. 10.



of the College in 1668 in this he followed his predecessors Pickford, Waring, Whitaker and Tilden.<sup>220</sup>

Proof that Perrot continued the policy of his predecessor, Thomas Tilden, in ingratiating the College into local civic and ecclesiastical life can be found in a rather laborious letter from John Marks, chaplain to the English convent of Bridgettine nuns of Sion, addressed to Perrot. Absent in Anstruther and Gillow, Marks may have been an Irish priest or even a Bridgettine himself, but his particulars remain elusive.<sup>221</sup> Marks' letter to Perrot indicated that the College's integration into the ecclesiastical landscape of the city was not always beneficial. The correspondence is in parts a meaningless discourse over the rights of *Frequentatores Monialium* – the Tridentine regulations concerning closed convents and accessibility. Marks complained of two alumni frequenting the sisters more frequently than was customary and decent. One alumnus-priest, Philip Parry, said Mass for the sisters on a regular basis. Marks' letter was not concerned with priestly propriety but instead represented a clash of jurisdiction between the President of the College and those subject to his authority within the English Catholic exile community of Lisbon, perhaps a leftover vestige of the Residence. The clash between the English College and the convent repeated itself in later administrations. This seemingly pointless dispute between the authority of the President and that of chaplains appointed through his influence represented an interesting insight into priestly etiquette and the College's assertion of its presence within the city and the wider English Catholic community. Perrot argued that the laws of *Frequentatores Monialium* did not apply in Portugal and defended the actions of his Superiors against accusations of indiscretion. Marks protested that the President was misinformed:

I am informed by diverse Italians that many are put in prison there, merely for visiting of nuns and the like to my knowledge has been done in this city since I came hither. I have seen the decrees of several bishoprics of Portugal forbidding the frequent visits of religious women, not allowing any to visit them oftener than three or four times a year except they be a kin in the first or second degree.

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<sup>220</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Theoremata Miscellanea pro gradibus baccalaureatus et doctoratus, John Perrot, May 1668.

<sup>221</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, 1651 – 1740, Mathias Watkinson, 27 November 1668.

This dispute over juridical precedent and good practice was raised again with relation to the Jesuits in Portugal. Marks noted that several members who had broken the canons of the Council of Trent with relation to visiting enclosed convents had been publicly chastised. Marks concluded his remonstrance with a warning to Perrot that not even he as President nor his administration had the right to give leave for Superiors to enter the convent as they pleased. Faculties had been granted for Lisbonian priests to hear the convent's confessions. The correspondence from Marks however suggested that the matter was not solely one of ecclesiastical jurisdiction but also of priestly discipline. Perrot's position on the controversy was vindicated when, in contrite correspondence to the President, Marks noted that Perrot, as President was exempted from any restrictions on visiting the convent:

It is not fitting that the chief Superior of the English College should be tied to a certain time, since many urgent occasions treating to the good of both houses may require your presence in this our monastery; wherefore as I did not then intend to debar you of liberty in visiting, so I now declare there shall be no limits in order to yourself then what your discretion shall appoint.<sup>226</sup>

An agreement forged between Russell, Perrot and Marks agreed that students were allowed access to the convent, according to the instructions of the Lady Abbess, at Christmas, Easter and Whitsun. Alumni who had taken the Missionary Oath were encouraged to attend the convent, prior to their departure, in order to aid communication between the Mission and the convent.

#### **2.16. Prelude to the closing of a Chapter.**

The first three administrations of the College at Lisbon were plagued by a continual barrage of adversities that would have tested Job. Clarence's able administration provided Pickford with the means to take the College into a future free from the setbacks and adversities that had accompanied the history of the foundation from its inception. Coutinho's death and the continued support of the Protector Castro bolstered the position of the President which had a marked effect on the administration. The College's position within English and Portuguese circles changed dramatically after the Restoration due in part to the Anglo-Portuguese marriage alliance. The resulting proximity of Lisbonians to both courts (and the near total control of the Chapter from 1662) gained the College valuable friends and

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<sup>226</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Marks to President John Perrot, Regulation of the Visitation of Nuns, 5 May 1670.



benefactors on the Mission, including those from the court. Sergeant's account to the Chapter shortly before the Anglo-Portuguese marriage alliance gave an ample indication of the state of the College, the Chapter and the open divisions within the secular clergy between the Blacklowist cabal (those largely Lisbonian followers of the former President) and those, led by Leyburn and Norfolk who hoped to replace the Chapter in favour of a reformed system of titular missionary bishops.<sup>228</sup>

It is in Mathias Watkinson's administration that the model of English Catholic ecclesial governance, based on the Chapter model, disintegrated. The fall of Chapter authority in England, Russell's patronage of the College and his campaign to distance the foundation from Sergeant and Blacklowism are all related in Chapter Three, though their antecedents can be found as early as the 1650s, even the 1630s. It becomes clear that from 1661 a small section of Lisbonians, led by Sergeant and Tilden, were pushing for an independent Gallican church subject to the Stuart crown, supporting the exclusion of the Society from England and a hierarchy independent from Rome. It was a model proposed by the College's former President in the 1630s, Thomas White and one which marked the College as one of the chief defenders of the Chalcedon vision of ecclesiastical government. Bishop Russell's personal influence over Watkinson and his desire to extinguish this hope by siding with Leyburn and Cardinal Howard highlighted the divisions both within the College and its alumni on the Mission. The College was founded as an institution under the authority of the Bishop of Chalcedon with a virulently anti-Jesuit mandate. By 1671 several high ranking alumni found themselves in a last desperate attempt to restore the episcopacy on the Chalcedon model and head off Rome's acknowledgement that England was to remain a missionary territory, a file in the Congregation for Propaganda, for the foreseeable future.

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<sup>228</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Sergeant to the English Chapter, 11 November 1661.

## CHAPTER THREE

### All the Splendour of Meridian Day<sup>1</sup>: the Presidency of Mathias Watkinson, 1672 – 1706.

#### 3.1. Section One: Tilden and Perrot's Legacy.

##### 3.1.1. Watkinson: from merchant boy to President.

John Perrot's removal to the Mission in May 1671 left the administration and management of the College to the Vice President, Mathias Watkinson.<sup>2</sup> Watkinson had extensive experience as a Superior in the College's Council having served as Procurator and Lector in Philosophy and Theology.<sup>3</sup> A diligent scholar and successful lecturer, he was appointed College Confessor and Vice President under Perrot.<sup>4</sup> Letters patent confirming his election as tenth President reached the College in May 1672.<sup>5</sup> The *provisão* (grant of office) confirming his nomination, bore the signature of a former President of the College, now Dean of the English Chapter, Humphrey Waring, *ex mandato decani et capituli sede vacante*.<sup>6</sup> The College's Protector, Dom Diego Velho, confirmed the appointment on 9 May 1672.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Attributed to the fifteenth President of the College at Lisbon, Gerard Bernard, 1756 – 1777; Croft cited him as the author of the passage, 'That the College at Lisbon never had a morning, but shone out at once in all the splendour of meridian day.' See William Croft, *Historical Account of Lisbon College* (London, 1902), p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, College Accounts: 1667 – 1739, hereafter 'Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet', p. 10; the Chapter agreed to Watkinson's election as Vice President in December 1668, UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Mathias Watkinson, 27 November 1668, signed by John Leyburn who had recently succeeded Sergeant as Secretary to the English Chapter.

<sup>3</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, (Procurator: 10/8/1661 – 24/8/1664) p. 51; (Philosophy Lector: 1/9/1664 – 20/9/1667) p. 62; (Theology Lector: no record kept of his disputations or courses), see Michael Sharratt (ed.), *Lisbon College Register, 1628 – 1813* (CRS Publications 72, London, 1991), p. 213.

<sup>4</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, (Confessarius: 20/12/1664 – 2/12/1668), p. 15; (Vice President: 2/12/1668 – 6/12/1678), p. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 213.

<sup>6</sup> The *Annals* noted: 'Et denique anno 1672 nono Maii per patentes a R. Angliae Capitulo, *sede vacante*, missas factus est huius Collegii Præses, succedens D. Doctori Ioanni Barnesleyo' (Perrot's *alias* being Barnesley.) It is important to note that the College still considered the probability of Propaganda appointing a successor to Smith as highly probable. This was seventeen years since Smith had died; few outside of Blacklowist circles believed Rome would appoint a territorial bishop over England and Scotland. Rome's standing on this point is far from conclusive; further research in the



Unlike his predecessor Thomas Tilden, Watkinson came from an old recusant family who had benefited from the increased trading relations between Portugal and England.<sup>8</sup> Originally from Yorkshire, a cadet branch of the family set up as merchants in London. Pickford noted in the *Annals* that the family had suffered for the Catholic religion in England though no mention was made of the martyr Robert Watkinson, executed at Tyburn in 1602.<sup>9</sup> Watkinson entered the College at Lisbon as a boy of thirteen in 1647 to read Humanity; he remained resident at the College for a further sixty-three years.<sup>10</sup> His father resided in private guest quarters as a convictor, whilst tending to business affairs in Lisbon.<sup>11</sup> Sharratt has demonstrated that Watkinson's father, John, resided at the College as a paying guest leaving for Brazil in 1650, owing 34 *milreis* for his board.<sup>12</sup> This is supported in the College accounts where John Watkinson was cited as debtor, 'which ought us [sic] for his diet when he [were] away for Brazil.'<sup>13</sup>

Watkinson took the College Oath at Lisbon in September 1653; his four minor orders were taken in March 1656 in the private chapel of Francisco Sotomayor, titular Bishop of Targensis, then resident at Lisbon.<sup>14</sup> Sotomayor later granted Watkinson the orders of sub-deacon, deacon, and he received the priesthood, two years later, in December 1658. In his account of Watkinson's conduct at the College, Tilden was keen

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Congregation of Propaganda is long overdue; UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Mathias Watkinson, 27 November 1668.

<sup>7</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, Juramenta Praesidium, Livro di Registro das Provizoes del Prezidentes do Collegio Inglez desta cidade Lisboa, pp. 7 – 8.

<sup>8</sup> Tilden was the son of Presbyterian parents. He converted along with his colleague at St. John's, Cambridge and fellow Lisbonian, John Sergeant. Both were sent to the College via Gage. Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 198 – 200.

<sup>9</sup> John Delaney and James Tobin, *Dictionary of Catholic Biography* (London, 1962), p. 1188; Kenny (ed.), *Responsa Scholarum*, vol. 1, pp. 13 – 15.

<sup>10</sup> Croft, *Historical Account* p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 213; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, 1 December 1647, p. 75. A sum of 94 *milreis* was deposited for Mathias's schooling in Humanity: £60 in total; £30 to be paid in Lisbon and £30 in England to the College's Procurator in England, John Sergeant.

<sup>12</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 211. Pickford noted of Mathias's father: *Huius pater fuit Ioannes Wattkinsonus Catholicus et multa eo nomine passus* see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, Annales Collegii, pp. 40, 89.

<sup>13</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 12, College Accounts: 1639 – 1667, 28 May 1650, p. 90 entry 509.

<sup>14</sup> Patrick Gauchet (ed.) *Hierarchia Catholica Medii et Recentioris Aevi sive Summorum Pontificum, S.R.E. Cardinalium, Ecclesiarum Antistitum Series* (vol. 4, Regensburg, 1960), p. 327.

to emphasise his aptitude and popularity amongst his colleagues and the Portuguese nobility in both internal and public College defences. Whilst still in minors he defended a disputation in Logic under the Lectorship of Perrot *cum laude publice defendit*.<sup>15</sup> Elected College Procurator in 1661, Watkinson dedicated his theological defence *De Sanctissimæ Trinitatis Mysterio* to the Infanta, Catherine of Brangança. In 1662, Watkinson defended a thesis on *Scientia et Voluntate Dei necnon et de Prædestinatione* under Tilden, shortly before the President's departure for England to serve in the household of Catherine, Queen-consort of Charles II. Watkinson's public defence of *Fortuna, fatum et alea*, examined below, was indicative of the College's continued strength and the reputation for excellence students at the Bairro Alto had gained under Perrot and Tilden's administrations. The Inquisitor General's decision to permit the defence, on what was a potentially unorthodox disputation, indicated that the College had the confidence of its Protector who trusted the competence and orthodoxy of its Council of Superiors.<sup>16</sup> Richard Russell, a colleague of Watkinson and author of an extensive correspondence with the President examined below, commended Watkinson as, 'the most absolute correspondent in spirituals in the world' which, whilst characteristically inflated, demonstrated Watkinson's academic reputation amongst the Alumni and Superiors of the College.<sup>17</sup> For an alumnus whose public defences as a student were so lauded, it is regrettable that no record remains of his defences as Superior and Lector; the *Annals* noted that there were many but Edward Jones, who succeeded Watkinson as President in 1706, remained either unaware of any records or if he had access to such material, decided to neglect it in the *Annals*.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 211.

<sup>16</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Non-Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, Mathias Watkinson to the Inquisitor General, c. 1664; none of the public advertisements for the College's defences have survived before 1701.

<sup>17</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 October 1675.

<sup>18</sup> Watkinson is recorded as presiding over few defences, either private or public; excepting his own as a student and as a Lector: as a student he defended: Logic (Perrot) *Conclusiones*; Philosophy (Perrot) *Ex Universa*; Theology (Tilden) *De Scientia et Voluntate Dei*; *De Prædestinatione*; *De Sanctissimæ Trinitatis Mysterio* the latter dedicated to the Queen-consort, of which the *Annals* noted, 'et gratulationes ergo Collegii nomine dicatas magna cum laude defendit sub Dom [Thomas] Godeno [Tilden] 16 October 1661' (Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 212). As Lector of Philosophy, Watkinson was noted as presiding over several public defences, 'plures conclusiones summa cum laude publice moderatus' and he did so in his office as Lector of Theology. The *Annals* recorded several conclusions held before the Portuguese civic and clerical elites in public demonstrations of the College's finest purveyors of learning. Watkinson held conclusions in Logic with Tilden and Fisher defending. The thesis, dedicated to Lady Anne Ratcliffe, a relation of one of Russell's secretaries and College benefactor. Aquinas'



### 3.1.2. The splendour of meridian day.

The College's nineteenth century chronicler, William Croft, noted that the advent of Tilden's Presidency represented the beginning of the College's so-called 'golden age'.<sup>19</sup> A generic term such as this, popular in Victorian historiography yet deeply frowned upon in post-modern scholarship, is a term that usually proves unsatisfactory under closer examination, tending not to shine so bright after detailed enquiry. Though such semantics would be dismissed in any other discourse than an institutional history, it is legitimate to pose the question of when and if such an age existed. From the point of view of administration and management it was the advent of *Watkinson's* Presidency (building upon that of his predecessors Tilden and Perrot) that saw the College enter a period of prolonged stability, improved financial conditions and access to patronage and revenues, both English and Portuguese. This prosperity, unknown to successive administrations since the foundation, did not materialise overnight. As Clarence had set the foundations for Pickford's administration where, as demonstrated in Chapter Two, the College removed itself from the acute instability and financial destitution that had marked the administrations of Haynes, White and Hargrave; Tilden and Perrot's administrations had confronted and succeeded in solving the College's continued adversities, paving the way for the so called meridian day of Watkinson's Presidency.<sup>20</sup> Upon Watkinson's appointment as President in 1672, the new administration was able to get on with the business of the English Mission without labouring under the restraints of financial adversity or intra-collegiate dissatisfaction. That is, however, where the criterion for a 'golden age' ends. This chapter demonstrates that the imposition of the Vicars Apostolic in 1688 represented a model of ecclesial governance that significant parties within and without the College, most notably in the English Chapter, had been trying to prevent. The collapse of James II's government removed overnight the influence the College administration had gained at court. Though as a missionary seminary training men in the arts of Humanity, Philosophy and Theology the College reached its zenith under Watkinson, the events of 1688 represented the catalyst that led to the continued

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*Physicorum* was defended by Parry and Reynolds and a further defence of Philosophy, *Ex Universa*, was dedicated to Russell, Lord Bishop of Portalegre and an eminent benefactor of his *alma mater*.

<sup>19</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 26.

<sup>20</sup> In his account of Sergeant, Russell praised the Presidency of Thomas Tilden: 'He was made President and through prudent administration improved the College's position.' Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 175.



decline in the College's fortunes under the Vicars Apostolic through to the administration of James Barnard (1776 – 1782.)

### **3.1.3. The College comes of age.**

If Douai's contribution to the Mission had reached its peak in the 1580s and 1590s, then Lisbon, an exile foundation whose experience of mission was in contrast to the Mother College's, found its own unique placement between the Restoration and the collapse of James II's government in 1688. The marriage alliance between the restored Stuart and Bragança dynasties placed the College and its alumni in positions of influence. As part of the Queen-consort's household, Tilden and Russell, the two English priests on Catherine's payroll, not only had access to the court but valuable sources of revenue for the use of the Chapter and the College.<sup>21</sup> The College's continued growth and prosperity witnessed under Watkinson's administration might be seen in parallel with the establishment of the Anglo-Portuguese alliance, and indeed the continued presence of the Dean and English Chapter in English ecclesiastical government. This chapter demonstrates that though the Stuart-Bragança alliance did not prejudice the College's administration and management, the College's growth through the 1660s to the close of the century was independent of Bragança and Stuart concerns, as the events of 1688 demonstrated. Unlike the Spanish foundations, Lisbon was not dependent on any prince for its funding and remained, even when the Bishopric of Chalcedon was *sede vacante*, to some extent similar to a Tridentine foundation dependent on the authority of a Bishop for its administration. However, with regards to funding the Council relied on a multiplicity of sources.

Lisbonian placements at court consolidated the sound governance of Tilden and Perrot with access to patronage, influence and revenues; these placemen built on what former administrations had achieved. A similar argument is made for the English Chapter. The presence of a Lisbonian Dean from 1658 – 1714, the former Presidents Humphrey Waring (1658 – 1676) and John Perrot (1676 – 1714), strengthened the College's influence within English ecclesiastical government but relations between the Chapter and the College had always been amicable. The College was, after all, directly answerable to the Chapter's authority. It was the *only* English missionary college

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<sup>21</sup> The marriage alliance between the two crowns stipulated that the Infanta was allowed her own clergy, as Henrietta Maria had been granted, and one bishop to act as her personal chaplain. That Bishop was the Lisbonian, Richard Russell.



answerable directly to the Dean and Chapter. The rise of Lisbonian influence amongst the two crowns and the Chapter ran parallel with the continued growth and prosperity of the College's administration and management. Watkinson was not dependent on his alumni on the Mission, though he benefited from their labours on the College's behalf, and this chapter demonstrates that in some instances, such as Sergeant's continued defence of the Blacklowist position, the Council of Superiors were keen to distance themselves from prominent alumni.

The archival material that survives for Watkinson's Presidency permits a detailed analysis of the workings of his administration. Out of the over five-hundred Lisbonians who entered and left the College's schools from 1628 to 1809, over a fifth did so during Watkinson's Presidency.<sup>22</sup> Of the 124 students who attended the College between 1672 and 1706, the years of Watkinson's administration, some forty-eight alumni received the priesthood and took the College's Missionary oath to serve the English Catholic communities. The College's population, including the Superiors, Alumni and Convictors and students resident in the three schools, averaged thirty-three men and boys from 1672 to 1706 reaching a peak of forty in 1680, largely as a result of Russell's patronage as Bishop of Portalegre.<sup>23</sup> In Russell's report to the Apostolic Nuncio, Francisco Ravizza, he recorded the following composition of the College:

Hodie autem extant triginta omnes, duobus exceptis convictoribus, ad missionem in Angliam destinati; quinque videlicet superiores, humaniorum Literarum Professor, sex Theologi, octo Philosophi, decem humanistae, tresque alii ex Anglia propediem expectantur ex hic plures ex nobili cum primis prosapia, nulli vero non spectatis et honestis locis oriundi.<sup>24</sup>

Alumni, those students who received some sort of subsidy towards the cost of their education, were labelled either *nobilis* or the non-prescriptive title of *honesto loco natus* which provided no indication as to their social background. Of the 82 students whose class was recorded in the *Annals*, some 23 alumni are recorded as *nobilis* and a

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<sup>22</sup> Sharratt's *Annals* recorded 504 students of which some 124 passed through the doors of the College under Watkinson's watch.

<sup>23</sup> See Appendix 2: Russell Patronage and Rights of Nomination, iii – iv; this number does not include ancillary staff with the exception of John Brette, College Porter (1665 – 1711), whom President Jones honoured in the *Annals* for his work on behalf of the College's management, see Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 20; in comparison to the colleges at Douai, Rome and in Spain the College at Lisbon remained comparatively small though by the 1670s Lisbon rivalled the Spanish colleges in the numbers it attracted to its schools from England, see Michael Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London, 1986), pp. 46 – 47.

<sup>24</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Russell's report to the Apostolic Nuncio on the State of the College, 14 June 1671.

further 33 share the title *honesto loco natus*. The terminology related to alumni remained inconsistent. The presence of 25 convicts, fee paying students, demonstrated the popularity the College had gained amongst the English Catholic community as a place of education for the sons of the gentry and Catholic aristocracy in addition to its role as a foundation for the training of missionary clergy. This was the legacy of Smith's reforms of the College's schools in the 1630s, which had been opposed by Newman and Coutinho. In these three respects Croft's referral to a 'golden age' is justified. At no time between 1628 and 1809 did the College have a larger turnover of priests sent out to the Mission or such healthy numbers in its schools. Successive administrations could not hope to match the number of missionaries leaving the College's doors again until after the Napoleonic Occupation.<sup>25</sup>

In a further representation highlighted below, the Presidency of Watkinson demonstrated that the College's golden age soon transformed into an Indian summer. The imposition of the Vicars Apostolic, James II's, 'only successful venture of his reign' followed by the collapse of his government in 1688, dashed the secular clergy's hopes for a restored Episcopate and a state-tolerated English Catholic community.<sup>26</sup> The College's population collapsed after the Jacobite Rebellion of 1715 to half the numbers seen in the schools under Watkinson; less than a decade after his death, the population of the College plummeted to a nadir and did not recover to levels seen under Watkinson until after the Catholic Revival in England. President Gerard Bernard (1756 – 77) noted of Watkinson's administration that the College shone out with all the splendour of meridian day.<sup>27</sup> If that was so, the sun had long set by Bernard's administration (1756 – 77) where numbers never rose above twenty, sinking to a nadir in 1772 of just eleven Superiors and students: a trend that affected all the Continental colleges and reflected the dire situation of the remnant English Catholic community throughout the long eighteenth century under the Vicars Apostolic.

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<sup>25</sup> Marshall Junot entered the city in November 1807. The College compound was garrisoned by French soldiers throughout the occupation; the remaining Alumni, Convicts and Superiors were declared prisoners of war, being nationals of an enemy power. For several of Croft's anecdotes relating to this period see Croft, *Historical Account*, pp. 110 – 113; Patrick Wilcken, *Empire Adrift: the Portuguese Court in Rio de Janeiro, 1808 – 1821* (London, 2004), pp. 50 – 69.

<sup>26</sup> Eamon Duffy, 'The English Secular Clergy and the Counter-Reformation' *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* vol. 34 (April, 1983), p. 216.

<sup>27</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 11.



Watkinson's administration has been assessed in the following order: the College as an English foundation in the civic and urban landscape of Lisbon; as an enclosed educational institution and as a missionary college. Croft recalled, using Kirk as his basis, that Watkinson's administration 'purely academical' concluded in few incidents of general interest, which had ramifications for an historical account of his Presidency. As a result of the lack of sufficient material in the *Annals* to construct an accurate representation of Watkinson's administration, Croft went on to use Kirk in providing biographical accounts of prominent students in an attempt to bridge the gap between Perrot and Jones. An examination of the Russell Correspondence provides a very different demonstration of Watkinson's administration than that given by Croft and Kirk. The latter's failure to provide adequate references, even though most of the material is actually Kirk's, forbids other scholars' research into what material Croft had access to.<sup>28</sup> It is clear from Croft's *Historical Account* that he did not have access to the Russell Papers, pivotal to an understanding of Watkinson's administration or indeed much of the Book or Sheet Archive of the Lisbon Collection. An institutional history cannot solely be a collection of essays on Alumni, however prominent those men were in the diverse theatres they found themselves. In doing so Croft provided a quasi-hagiographical apologia for the College, perhaps in need of asserting an identity in an English Catholic church with a restored Hierarchy (1850) in light of the establishment of a series of domestic colleges to populate the parochial structures set up by the new ecclesiastical regime.<sup>29</sup>

Several Lisbonians in England were engaged in work where, although sworn to oaths that bound them to the College, they enjoyed a liberty of action that those engaged on the Council of Superiors and the College's schools did not. The collapse of Catholic ecclesial government between Smith's, 'badly bungled' Episcopacy and the imposition of the Vicars Apostolic gave the secular missionary, subject to securing patronage, independence in action and relative freedom from molestation.<sup>30</sup> In this respect focusing too closely on alumni can blur the picture where they detract from the *alma mater*. In three cases examined in this chapter, personal biography is seen as representative of the *zeitgeist* of the College under Watkinson's administration. Those alumni on the Mission,

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<sup>28</sup> John Kirk, 'Historical Account of Lisbon College' *Catholic Magazine* (1834 – 35).

<sup>29</sup> The episcopal hierarchy of England and Wales was formally restored by Pope Pius IX with the Bull *Universalis Ecclesiae*.

<sup>30</sup> Martin J. Havran, *The Catholics in Caroline England* (Stanford, 1962), p. 90.

most notably John Gother, Richard Russell and John Sergeant, highlight not personal biographies but figures whose guiding influences, gained from their time at the College in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, reflected on the Mission and the perpetual changes it continued to undergo. Unlike their eminent predecessors, Thomas White, Peter Clarence and Humphrey Whitaker whose influences were gained from Douai and a Mission where martyrdom still prevailed, these men represented the ethos of the College at Lisbon. In Gother's case that was found in the very vanguard of the spiritual and devotional revival that marked the missionary endeavours of the English secular clergy after 1688. Despite Sergeant's best attempts to antagonise both Roman and Protestant authorities alike, the Mission during Watkinson's administration, with the exception of the fanaticism aroused from the Oates Plot, remained free from the bloody purges earlier administrations had in their memory: martyrdom was replaced by polemic and the scaffold by the coffee house.

All three alumni were employed in paradigmatic shifts that affected the College and the English Catholic community before and after that watershed year of 1688. Gother, in the changing nature of secular missionary activity after the collapse of the Chapter; Russell, whose transition from servant boy to bishop had profound implications for the College, Portuguese and Tridentine notions of Episcopacy and English secular authority; and Sergeant, whose desperate attempt to keep the flame of Blacklowism alight, and with it a heterodoxy condemned by the Index, did serious damage to himself, his followers and cast a menacing shadow over the College. Though Watkinson's administration laboured under the shadow of its former President, White was as much a product of Douai as he was of Lisbon, having spent little over two years in a largely non-residential administration. Any attempt to pigeon-hole White borders on folly. This chapter is not a study of the Blacklowist cabal that dominated the Chapter under Sergeant. Where this overlaps with the administration at Lisbon, as it did in the mid 1670s, it has been examined with due consideration. Though several Lisbonians were prominent advocates of Blacklowism, its influence remained a problem for the English secular clergy in general.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> Beverley C. Southgate, *"Covetous of Truth": the life and work of Thomas White, 1593 – 1676* (London, 1993), pp. 34 – 42.



The material concerning Watkinson's Presidency provides little insight into the character and personality of the man who steered the College through, on the one hand, one of the most troubling times for the English Catholic community since 1605 and on the other, one of the brightest for the College as an exile institution abroad.<sup>32</sup> This material demonstrated that the College at Lisbon had come of age; the administration was in the hands of home grown Superiors who had demonstrated considerable competence in teaching and financial management, several of whom became leading polemicists on the Mission. The College functioned as the *Constitutions* intended it to, unmolested from within or without, for the duration of Watkinson's long Presidency. Defended by Castro's protégé and successor as College Protector and Inquisitor General of Portugal, Dom Diego Velho, and later the Cardinal Protector, Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, the College's independence was both pronounced and guaranteed.

Croft, in a style imitated by Cardinal Gasquet's account of the *Venerabile*, described Watkinson's administration as one of a mild and paternal nature, giving little indication as to what that entailed to the College or to its legacy.<sup>33</sup> He gave this picture based solely on Kirk and the *Annals*. Both sources provided little to assert or reject that claim; from Watkinson's election to the termination of his administration by the Vicars Apostolic in 1706, three years before his death, the *Annals* provided little indication as to any representation of his Presidency.<sup>34</sup> The call for his resignation by the Vicars Apostolic, a forced retirement for a President who had served the College for the majority of his life, concluded what Russell termed the most prosperous period of the College's history. Having suffered a stroke in 1709 and, having succumbed to a second attack which proved fatal, Watkinson acted in death as he had done in life in leaving all his worldly possessions to the College.<sup>35</sup> The only allusion his successor Edward Jones made

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<sup>32</sup> The same year that saw Watkinson's election to the Presidency also witnessed the passing of the Test Act, legislation that required all holders of civil or military office to deny the doctrine of transubstantiation publicly; those who did not were excluded from public office: peers of the realm were not exempted from the terms of the act. James, Duke of York was compelled to resign his post as Lord High Admiral, amongst others, in 1673: Chas. II, c.2, 1672, 'An Act for preventing Dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants.'

<sup>33</sup> F. A Gasquet, *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome: An Account of its Origins and Work from the Earliest Times to the Present Day* (London, 1920).

<sup>34</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Vicars Apostolic (Leyburn [London], Giffard [Midlands], Smith [North]) to President Mathias Watkinson, 1 October 1701.

<sup>35</sup> For a man who had spent his entire adult life in the College, his possessions were understandably insubstantial. Jones noted a substantial donation of books for the College's library, six silver candlesticks and the remainder of his furniture: UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, Annales

to his Presidency is the following entry, 'Quo officio paterna in omnes benevolentia perfunctus est' which formed the basis of the Kirk-Croft account.<sup>36</sup>

There are two possible explanations why Jones did not see fit to give a fuller account of Watkinson's administration than that given in the *Annals*. Russell engaged in a lengthy correspondence with the President, of which some 142 letters survive in the Sheet Archive of the Lisbon Collection. The correspondence began shortly after Watkinson had dedicated a public defence of Aristotle's *Ex Universa* to the Bishop-elect in 1667, terminating in the autumn of 1685 shortly after the elevation of Russell to the see of Viseu.<sup>37</sup> Jones may have noted this abundant resource as constituting the record of his predecessors Presidency thereby omitting a detailed exploration of the administration, of which he had been a prominent member himself, when considering what to write in the *Annals*. The second suggestion relates to the manner of Watkinson's resignation; from the age of 13, Watkinson remained in Lisbon despite continued attempts to work on the Mission. Orders sent from the new ecclesiastical regime for Watkinson to hand over the Presidency to Jones indicated a desire on the behalf of the Vicars Apostolic to shake up the management of the College which was by 1706 in need of reform, not least because Watkinson was infirm and nigh on 72 years of age.<sup>38</sup> In a lack of understanding that imitated Blackfan's dealings with Newman in the 1620s calls from the Vicars Apostolic for the President to leave for the English Mission were absurd considering his position. From his resignation in 1706 to his death in 1710, Watkinson resided in one of the College's houses within the main compound; Jones may have felt unable to provide a fuller account of Watkinson's three and a half decades of management whilst the ex-President remained within the walls of the College.

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Collegii, p. 89; UCA, Durham, LC, Wills, Last Will and Testament of President Mathias Watkinson, 4 August 1709.

<sup>36</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, Annales Collegii, p. 89

<sup>37</sup> For the defence of the thesis *Ex Universa* see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 212 – 13; the most plausible explanation for the termination of the correspondence lies with the dispute between Russell and the Council of Superiors over rights of nomination; letters between the President and the Bishop from the latter's election to the see of Viseu in 1685 are increasingly hostile towards Watkinson.

<sup>38</sup> Leyburn called for Watkinson's removal as early as 1700, see UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Vicars Apostolic (Leyburn [London], Giffard [Midlands], Smith [North]) to President Mathias Watkinson, 1 October 1701.



### 3.2. Section Two: The Council of Superiors.

#### 3.2.1. Internal governance.

Successive Presidents from Haynes through to Tilden relied on procuring staff from Douai to fill the Council of Superiors, the governing body of the College's administration. Though the College retained close links with Douai, Watkinson's administration no longer depended on the Mother College to provide for its staffing and management needs. There is no greater demonstration of this independence from Douai, than in the composition of the internal governance of the College's administration and schools under Watkinson. An analysis of the council of Superiors [President, Vice President, Confessor, Procurator and Prefect of Studies] and the teaching staff between 1672 and 1706 illustrates the almost complete independence the College had from the other colleges and in particular from Douai.<sup>39</sup> The *Compendiosa Ratio*, a report into the College's teaching and administration 1692 – 95, gave an indication as to the position of each of the Superiors within Watkinson's administration, roles not out of keeping with all seminaries in Catholic Europe. However, of the Superiors, the President was *primus inter pares*, obliged to consult the Council on internal management and administration.<sup>40</sup>

Bishop Smith had exercised the right of appointment and dismissal to office under White's *Constitutions*. This right passed from Smith to the Dean and Chapter of the English secular clergy, *sede vacante* to the, albeit with great reluctance and not some small amount of resistance, the Vicars Apostolic. The *Compendiosa* detailed the functions of the Superiors as stipulated in the *Regimina* and *Constitutions*.<sup>41</sup> There is some material in the *Compendiosa* that is worthy of note. The administration of the sacraments of baptism and marriage for the College's Confessor, alongside his chief role of confessor to the community, indicated that he exercised a role within the English Catholic and possibly Portuguese communities of the city.<sup>42</sup> Clearly any ordained priest in the Catholic world would have these faculties. The emphasis given to the Confessor's

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<sup>39</sup> See Appendix 3: Council of Superiors, 1672 – 1706, v – viii.

<sup>40</sup> The Minute Books detailing the proceedings of the President and the Council of Superiors do not survive from before 1710.

<sup>41</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 116, *Regimina Circa Omnem Gubernationem Domesticam* (Lisbon, 1639).

<sup>42</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, *Compendiosa Ratio*, 1692 – 95, p. 2.

role in the *Compendiosa* however, the most comprehensive account of the administration and management of the College under Watkinson, suggests that the policies of ingratiating the College into Portuguese civic life by using such faculties outside of the College, a policy endorsed by Perrot and Tilden, was continued under Watkinson.

Throughout Watkinson's administration, the College managed to produce its own Superiors from the ranks of its own students, a point Russell noted rivalled Douai's administrations of President James Smith (1682 – 88) and his successor Edward Paston (1688 – 1714). The office of Vice President ensured the smooth running of the College by taking charge of the lesser offices or the prefectures (e.g.) the sacristan, master of the library, (etc.) who was in turn answerable to the President.<sup>43</sup> Under Watkinson's administration, all four of his Vice Presidents were Lisbonians; this was also the case with the College's Confessors from 1668 – 1710. In the office of Vice President, from Watkinson's separation of the post from his own Presidency in (1668 – 1678), Roger Hesketh (December 1678 – January 1695), Thomas Hall (February 1695 – September 1697), Francis Petre (September 1697 – October 1699) and Edward Jones (October 1699 – September 1710) were all schooled and raised in the College.<sup>44</sup> Of the College's Procurators, only Charles Jennings (May 1678 – January 1682) could be said to have originated from Douai, the same is true for the College's Prefects of Study, the exception being Roger Brockholes. With the exception of Brockholes, all the Lectors of Philosophy and Theology were exclusively Lisbonian from 1670 through to 1719. In Russell's correspondence to Watkinson, special reference was made to the College's industriousness and its ability to produce its own Superiors which rivalled, in Russell's own opinion, even that of the Mother College at Douai:

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<sup>43</sup> A descriptive examination of these roles is given in the *Regimina* see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 116, *Regimina Circa Omnem Gubernationem Domesticam* (Lisbon, 1639). The work provides a detailed list of duties for each officer, an Oath taken by each incumbent and a comprehensive list of officers from 1639.

<sup>44</sup> Petre's patent of appointment is the first that survives for a Vice President being appointed by the Vicars Apostolic as constituted in 1685 – 88, see UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Francis Petre, 1651 – 1740 signed by John Leyburne (London), Bonaventure Giffard (Midland), with *in absentia* approval of Smith (North), and after conference with Consult of the Chapter. See W. Maziere Brady's magisterial, *The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland, A.D. 1400 – 1875* (3 vols. Rome, 1876 – 1877; Gregg reprint, 1971), vol. 3, pp. 140 – 318.



Good parts and good masters never fail of making scholars, what I most of all applaud is the fortune of the College which has continually bred up within itself a succession of readers so much to its credit. A thing our mother college of Douai has often failed in and been obliged to call people bred in Spain and Rome to fill the chairs.<sup>45</sup>

Douai's need to secure staff from the Ignatian colleges was in contrast to the situation at Lisbon where the founding principles of Coutinho's institution and its continued distrust of the Society, ensured what remained a wholly home grown, exclusively secular staff.

Whilst Lisbonians working on the Mission have gained notoriety within the College's historiography, little attention has been directed towards those men who steered the management of the College, its schools, revenues, internal offices and quotidian rigours throughout Watkinson's administration.<sup>46</sup> Papers relating to one such Superior, Roger Hesketh, highlight elements of the College's internal management during the first half of Watkinson's Presidency. Hesketh arrived at the College as an alumnus in 1660. His aptitude in learning was so far advanced that Perrot petitioned Rome for a dispensation from canonical age for his ordination in 1665; at twenty-two, Hesketh was below the canonical age for the diaconate and the priesthood.<sup>47</sup> A catalogue of Masses said for Dom Pedro, as part of the Founder's settlement covering 1664 – 1670, noted that Hesketh was helping to cover the College's deficit of Masses for the Founder's soul by January 1667, making Hesketh twenty-four when he received the priesthood.<sup>48</sup> Hesketh's managerial abilities were recognised by Perrot who selected him to assume the roles of Procurator and College Confessor shortly after his ordination. Russell applauded his excellence in the internal catechetics of the College's students, recommending him to

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<sup>45</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to Richard Mawdesley, March 1682; see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 121 – 22; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 17 (College Confessor, November 1682); 40 (Lector of Theology, November 1682); 65 (Lector of Philosophy, September 1680).

<sup>46</sup> There has been a tendency in the College's historiography to concentrate on alumni who achieved notoriety, in some cases infamy, that reflected on the College itself. John Gother (d. 1704) represented one alumnus whose missionary labours proved beneficial to the administration; his colleague John Sergeant (d. 1707), one whose ability to attract largely unfavourable attention caused concern to Watkinson's administration is discussed below. Croft briefly alluded to certain Superiors whose labours concentrated on College management see Croft, *Lisbon College*, pp. 44 – 46.

<sup>47</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Alexander VII to President John Perrot, Dispensation for Roger Hesketh, 13 October 1665; H.J. Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, (Rockford, 1978), 23<sup>rd</sup> Session, Reform; ch. 12, pp. 171 – 72.

<sup>48</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 171, Masses said for the Founder: 1664 – 1670; 1707 – 1727 with notes by John Manley and James Barnard, p. 2.

Watkinson for high office and the English Mission.<sup>49</sup> Watkinson shared Perrot and Russell's faith in the young Superior by electing him to teach Philosophy (1676), Theology (1677) and relinquishing the Vice Presidency to Hesketh in 1678.<sup>50</sup>

Hesketh's meteoric rise within the College's management represented the administration's continued ability to govern itself, its excellence in learning and teaching, and the increased recognition the College received from the ecclesial authorities in England. Hesketh's abilities in administration and management, demonstrated within the College soon came to the attention of John Leyburn, bishop of Adramatum, recently appointed third Vicar Apostolic of England and Scotland, in correspondence dated April 1686.<sup>51</sup> Leyburn's recommendation of Hesketh encouraged Watkinson to send his Superior on the English Mission, releasing him from the council of Superiors in 1686. Having taken the Missionary Oath in April, Hesketh received from Watkinson missionary faculties and was sent into the service of what became in 1688, the London District, where Jones noted he was still in active service in 1714.<sup>52</sup>

Correspondence from Russell to the Lector of Philosophy, Richard Mawdesley demonstrated the pressure College Superiors were placed under due to the sheer numbers at the College under Watkinson's administration.<sup>53</sup> In 1683 there were 34 students in the College; at the time of the correspondence, Mawdesley had in his working portfolio the offices of Lector of Philosophy (1680), College Confessor (1681) and Lector of Theology

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<sup>49</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 15 May 1672.

<sup>50</sup> As Theology Lector, Watkinson sent transcripts of his defences to Russell in London, who praised his conclusions: UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell (London) to Mathias Watkinson, 26 September 1667.

<sup>51</sup> Leyburn had the titular missionary title of Lord Bishop of Adramatum, The Congregation of Propaganda discontinued the title of Chalcedon after Smith's death in 1655. For an account of Leyburn's administration as Vicar Apostolic under James II see G. Bradley's revision of Thompson Cooper's 'John Leyburn, 1620 – 1702' in Thompson Cooper, 'Leyburn, John (1620–1702)', rev. G. Bradley, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16627>, accessed, 12 March 2006]; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, *Annales Collegii*, p. 68; A3, p. 9; Gillow's Register in Croft, *Historical Account*, pp. 214 – 5. See also Brady, *The Episcopal Succession* vol. 1, pp. 140 – 149. Brady's is the most comprehensive of the diverse accounts chronicling the Vicars Apostolic. See *The Episcopal Succession*, vol. 3, pp. 140 – 318.

<sup>52</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, *Liber Missionis*, p. 56; President Jones went on to recall how Hesketh, *plenus dierum et in senectute bona obdormivit in Domino* the following year. See Sharratt *Annals*, pp. 85 – 87.

<sup>53</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 122.



(1682). The letter commended Mawdesley's excellence at juggling his diverse posts but expressed concern as to his health. Some four years later, Russell applauded the work of Hesketh's fellow Superior, Richard Mawdesley whose efforts as Lector of Philosophy and Theology in addition to his role as College Confessor led to his premature death in 1686. These concerns proved well grounded when Mawdesley succumbed to exhaustion, having completed Aquinas in 1686, dying soon after.<sup>54</sup>

### 3.2.2. Ecce quam bonum.<sup>55</sup>

The healthy population of the College's schools and the strength of its teaching staff demonstrated that the College, under Watkinson's leadership, was flourishing. This new found prosperity, particularly the increasing size of the College's student population, gave rise to problems regarding discipline and collegiate identity. This was the first adversity Watkinson had to face as head of the administration. Hesketh found himself embroiled in a dispute concerning collegiate identity that had gained the disapproval of Russell. The material surrounding this incident indicates that, as it turned out, this was a storm in an ecclesiastical tea cup though the incident demonstrated an important point which continued to afflict the identity of the exile foundations. This thesis has shown that the foundation of the English Mission rested on subscribing to national identities, a view Persons subscribed to after the patriotic rivalries at the English College at Rome boiled over to rebellion. Diocesan or regional sympathies were sacrificed for the good of the general Mission.<sup>56</sup> For example, a student from Longford in Shropshire could not expect to be sent back to minister in his native county, though many were returned to the areas they knew best and where patronage was easiest to procure. The Lisbonian subscribed to the same understanding of his obligations as a missionary priest as his contemporaries in the other colleges. Missionary faculties, issued to recently ordained collegians, laboured the point to the recipient. As President, Watkinson granted faculties to his students in accordance with the Apostolic bull, *In Coena Domini* as revised by Urban VIII in 1627;

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<sup>54</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Newcome to Richard Mawdesley, 10 May 1683.

<sup>55</sup> The canticle from Psalm 132, 'Ecce quam bonum' (the happiness of brotherly love and concord) remained an unofficial motto of the College since its insertion into the 1635 Constitutions. It was repeated in the 1819 revision of the original founding constitutions of White. It had particular relevance, related in Chapter Four, to John Manley's administrations where brotherly love was far from being in concord.

<sup>56</sup> Michael Williams, *The Venerable English College, Rome: a history, 1579 – 1979* (London, 1979), pp. 16 – 24; Victor Houlston, 'Persons [Parsons], Robert (1546–1610)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004), vol. 43, pp. 843 – 50.

guaranteed by Apostolic brief, the grant gave Lisbonian priests the same rights enjoyed by those of the English College at Rome.<sup>57</sup> The stipulations relating to *In Coena Domini* did not state that faculties were to be administered in individual dioceses. Any notion of the English Catholic Church existing within diocesan or parochial constructs remained unrealistic even to the most ardent of Blacklowists. The missionary faculties granted the recipient leave to absolve heretics, schismatics and apostates in the kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland.<sup>58</sup> In this respect, Lisbonians could not be guaranteed a place on the 'English Mission' at all, but were more at the disposal of, albeit a largely Lisbonian, series of Deans of the Chapter and later the Vicars Apostolic.<sup>59</sup>

This was a problem of seeking patronage as much as it was of adhering to constitutions dictated by Propaganda. One of the College's alumni, William Lloyd, who died in chains six days prior to his execution during the Oates Plot, bequeathed funds to maintain, 'a good man' [a priest], in the county of Brecon 'to help poor Catholics' demonstrating that access to funds and patronage prevailed over the desire to return to native dioceses or to maintain parochial Tridentine notions of the secular priest which was having somewhat of a renaissance in seventeenth century Europe.<sup>60</sup> Rather than a slavish adherence to a creed of national salvation the itinerant Lisbonian would go where funds and patronage dictated.<sup>61</sup>

The College at Lisbon, like the other colleges in Spain, Rome and Douai, prided itself on being an English foundation. Within that prescriptive nomenclature hid a panoply of regional differences that in 1676 boiled over, attracting the attention and condemnation of Russell. Roger Hesketh found himself berated by Russell for

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<sup>57</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Constitutions and Rules, Copy of the Constitutions and Rules of the College of the English at Rome, c. 1600.

<sup>58</sup> The main thrust behind *In Coena Domini* and its utility for the Mission remained the reconciliation of apostates, heretics and schismatics, often family members and friends. Of the twenty clauses that constituted the bull, which remained in force until Pope Pius IX's pontificate, few would have been relevant to any Lisbonian's missionary life (e.g.) Piracy in the Papal Sees, supplying arms to Saracens.

<sup>59</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Missionary Faculties, John Smith, 18 April 1681.

<sup>60</sup> Lloyd left funds for, 'a hopeful youth to be instructed by the Chief Superior of the Catholic Clergy in South Wales or some other such school until he be ready to go to Lisbon College,' his brother John arranged a fund with the College's Procurator shortly after his brother's death: UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, College Accounts, 1682 – 1789, hereafter 'Waldegrave's Alphabet', pp. 6, 26.

<sup>61</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, Waldegrave's Alphabet, pp. 26v – 27r; Lloyds' brother John honoured William's last will and testament; John was cited as debtor in Waldegrave's Alphabet from 1696 – 1713 providing £17 10s *p.a.* for the maintenance of a student.



threatening the internal concord of the College by encouraging regional identities amongst the students.<sup>62</sup> Russell, who originated from Berkshire, found Hesketh's naming of students from his native Lancashire as fellow 'countrymen' distasteful, divisive and against the precepts of the English Mission informing Watkinson that such tended to faction.<sup>63</sup> The signs were there from the start. Hesketh's earliest works at the College revealed a man who was a competent Latinist and a poet profoundly attached to his native Lancashire. One indication of his work, *De Comitatu Lancastriensi* of which Hesketh received great praise as a student, might be compared with Camoes's own account of exile *The Lusiads*, which Hesketh would most likely have read, and the lamentations evoked from cultural displacement.<sup>64</sup>

Russell praised Hesketh's many labours at the College as Superior, commending him to Watkinson for the Vice Presidency.<sup>65</sup> The notion that the collegiate infrastructure of the Mission recruited largely from the north of England, from Yorkshire and Lancashire where attempts to implement conformity met the fiercest resistance, is a misnomer in Lisbon's case. An analysis of the *Annals*, despite a disregard for Pickford's criteria in recording entrants by Jones, demonstrated the internal composition of the College's staff and students from 1672 – 1706. Jones's task of cataloguing 107 records for students of his own and his predecessor's administration, most of whom were his contemporaries, was not helped by Watkinson's complete abandonment of the *Annals* from 1672 – 1706. Jones used what little material was available to him, and much of his own first hand knowledge in bridging the thirty year gap that Watkinson neglected. Of the 124 Lisbonians who entered the College under Watkinson's administration less than

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<sup>62</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 86; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 16 (College Confessor, March 1672); 64 (Philosophy, January 1672); 40 (Theology, September 1677); 52 (Procurator, July 1677) and 4 (Vice President, December 1678).

<sup>63</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 December 1676.

<sup>64</sup> For a transcription of Hesketh's work see Croft, *Historical Account*, pp. 45 – 46. For the poem in full see, UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 170, *Elegantissimorum Poetarum Flores: Latin poems by students, mainly 1660s – 1680s*, pp. 53 – 58. Croft is mistaken in attributing the poem to a Hesketh other than that of Dr. Roger Hesketh, who wrote and signed the poem in his own hand. Camoes' *The Lusiads* had been translated into English by the ambassador to the Portuguese court, Sir Richard Fanshawe in 1655.

<sup>65</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Roger Hesketh, 5 April 1678, patent for Hesketh's Vice Presidency signed by the Dean of the Chapter and former President, John Perrot.

half (60) had their county of origin recorded which suggests that Pickford's stipulations were almost entirely ignored:<sup>66</sup>

**Table One: County of Origin of Students, 1672 – 1706.**

Dorset	IRISH	Lancs.	Linc.	London	Norfolk	Salop	SPAIN	Staffs.	Wales	Warks.	Yorks.
1	2	7	3	12	5	3	4	8	3	2	9

Though the *Annals* recorded the counties of origin of less than half of the students under Watkinson's administration, a result of his own negligence, the data illustrated the constitution of the College's population and provided little in way of surprise. The counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire and Staffordshire feature prominently; however there is no overall weighting to any one county. It was not the case that students largely originated from the areas of the Mission where Catholic communities were prominent. The largest return of students came from London but, as is the case with Lancashire, Staffordshire and Yorkshire, the weighting is negligible when considering the risk of factionalism in the College as expressed by Russell.

### **3.2.3. Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, Cardinal Protector of the English College.**<sup>67</sup>

The new Protector of the College, Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, took his duties more seriously than his predecessors Dom Diego Velho and Dom Francisco Barretto had done and visited the College in 1678.<sup>68</sup> The negligence of Velho and Barretto in carrying out a visitation every four years, as stipulated in the College's *Constitutions* requires further research. Russell provided Watkinson with an indication as to the personality of Velho using private correspondence between the Inquisitor General and himself. Russell assured Watkinson that the Protector was 'very much devoted to [your] College' and though a man of just principles and having a great love of learning Russell questioned his

<sup>66</sup> For Pickford's stipulations see Sharratt, *Annals*, viii; the third question the President was obliged to ask the candidate for admission was his place of origin.

<sup>67</sup> Lencastre was elevated to the purple in the consistory of 2 September 1686, held by Pope Innocent XI.

<sup>68</sup> Elected Archbishop of Braga in December 1670, Lencastre assumed the Protectorate of the College when he was promoted to the office of Inquisitor General in November 1676; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Russell's Report on the College to the Apostolic Collector, 8 June 1671, p. 1v. This stipulated that the visitations should have been once every four years, into the administration, observation of the Rules and to the progress of studies.



generosity. Russell warned Watkinson that his administration should expect nothing but smiles and good words from the Protector Velho. Lencastre was more committed to the College than his two predecessors; more like Castro than Velho and Barretto. Lencastre was soon offering his own support and influence to Watkinson's administration.<sup>69</sup> Watkinson had cause for relief when Lencastre found in his visitation of 1678 'much cause for edification and so little need of reformation' which was a wonder in itself considering the many years since the College had received a visitation from its Protector. Hesketh related some of the concerns the council of Superiors had regarding the administration of the College and the findings of Lencastre's visitation to Russell. Watkinson's dual office of President and Vice President was causing some difficulty to the management of the College and the separation of the two was sorely needed. A Prefect of Studies was required to manage the burgeoning schools and a Master of Scripture should be sought from England to supplement the teaching staff.<sup>70</sup> Watkinson took the recommendations of Lencastre to heart: Hesketh was appointed Vice President at the close of the year and John Gother acted as Procurator.<sup>71</sup> The Protector further recommended that if there were two Superiors teaching Theology, then Watkinson, as first Lector of Theology, could take the place of Master of Sacred Scripture. Lencastre noted that his predecessor Dom Diego Velho had ordered Pickford to concentrate on providing scripture and casuistry and that Watkinson might imitate that model. Russell agreed with the Protector's recommendation noting that, 'controversy being in substance Scripture and relating most immediately to our end [the work of the Mission].'<sup>72</sup> The importance of theological controversy had been highlighted with the establishment of the English house at Arras, in part a counterpart of James I's college of divines at Chelsea. The work at Arras helped challenge the assertions of the Anglican hierarchy and proved a valuable resource in preparing priests in controversy.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 17 May 1672.

<sup>70</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 20 July 1678.

<sup>71</sup> For Gother see, UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, p. 28; Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 66 – 67.

<sup>72</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 4 August 1678.

<sup>73</sup> A.F. Allison, 'Richard Smith, Richelieu and the French Marriage: The Political Context of Smith's Appointment as Bishop for England in 1624' *RH* 7 (January, 1964) 148 – 211.

Lencastre's emphasis on the need for the College to specialise in controversial theology, polemic and casuistry indicated an understanding of the Mission that colleges under Jesuit direction in Spain had failed to see. Williams noted that successive Jesuit administrations at the College at Valladolid received complaints that Vallasoletans sent on the Mission lacked sufficient understanding of controversy to work effectively against the railings of Protestant divines.<sup>74</sup> Haynes had made a similar complaint to the College's Castilian Rector Francisco de Aguilar as early as 1627.<sup>75</sup> The College had gained considerable support from its first Dominican Protector, Dom Ferdinando de Castro who protected the administration from threats within and without the College's walls throughout his office. Dom Verissimo de Lencastre was a Protector of a similar status who understood the circumstances of the English Mission better than most of his colleagues in Portugal and Spain. His place on Carlos II's *Estado* (Privy Council) would have made him sensitive to English affairs but it was the manner of his visitations that emphasised his understanding of the English Mission. A Dominican himself, Lencastre, like his predecessors before him, would have been acutely aware of the needs of missionary and itinerant clergy in hostile territories.

#### 3.2.4. Teaching and Learning.<sup>76</sup>

The fine tuning of the teaching and routine of the College in 1678 demonstrated the administration's capacity to govern itself with little outside interference. There remained no greater representation of the College's excellence in teaching than the public defences which had been an integral part of the foundation's educational training from its inception. The defence remained a standard collegiate and public exposition of learning from medieval universities and colleges. The manner of exposition constituted a head, the Lector of the given subject, often the President in public defences. The Lector or

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<sup>74</sup> Williams, *St. Alban's College*, p. 47.

<sup>75</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), p. 9.

<sup>76</sup> I have, following the work of David Milburn and Michael Williams, decided not to provide a detailed expose of the entire curriculum of learning at the English College. I have done so for the sake of brevity and for the principal reason that the College's curriculum and teaching methods were neither innovative nor distinct when placed in the context of seminarian training throughout Catholic Europe. For an examination of seminarian training in the early modern period see Owen Chadwick, "The Seminary" in W.J. Sheils and Diana Wood (ed.) *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay* (Studies in Church History, vol. 26, Oxford 1989 and Cambridge, Mass. 1990) and Kathleen M. Comerford's, *Ordaining the Catholic Reformation: Priests and Seminary Pedagogy in Fiesole, 1575 – 1675* (Firenze, 2001.) The College's *Regimina Studiorum* can be found in UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 116, *Regimina circa omnem gubernationem domesticam, cum disciplinae quotidianae, cum oeconomiae, cum scholarum et studiorum Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis*, pp. 37 – 54.



President presided over two students who produced a defence on an element of Aristotle, Aquinas or Augustine amongst other subjects. Robert Persons's *Memorial for the Reformation of England* indicated that this manner of public exposition was one of the central arms of the blueprint for returning England to Roman obedience. This was to be achieved through a public battle of controversy between Anglican divines versus regular and seminary priests schooled in the art at the English colleges and Persons' projected super college at London.<sup>77</sup> In Persons', 'Touching the Laity' he recommended that heretics should be offered clemency by convincing them of their errors through controversies. Persons noted that the re-conversion of England would not be through flame and sword but through the public spectacle of the defence.<sup>78</sup>

The first public defence of theological conclusions, defended by Pickford and presided over by White, gained the College an unwelcome notoriety.<sup>79</sup> Subsequent defences provided the College with more favourable attention. The core syllabus of the College's three schools has been analysed in chapter three. Chapter XIII of the *Constitutions*, 'De Instructione Alumnorum in studiis' set the curriculum for the higher schools of Philosophy and Divinity.<sup>80</sup> In the construction of the teaching curriculum in the early 1630s, White made no mention of the schools of Humanity, which supports his defence that it was not his intention to establish a lower school outside those of Philosophy and Theology. The *Constitutions* forbade any alumnus to enter the College, 'not found fit' for the schools of Philosophy and Divinity. A proviso remained, legitimising the schools of Humanity constitutionally by the understanding that if any of the Superiors judged it proper that any other science should be taught then, via the sanction of the Protector, the schools could be negotiated. The *Constitutions* of (1635) did not prevent schools of Humanity, but merely failed to acknowledge their existence at Lisbon when the rules were published.

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<sup>77</sup> Designed to disseminate Tridentine Catholicism to the northern countries which had chosen the reformed religion, Bossy argued that this militant English missionary imperialism intended to 'provide a counterblast to English imperialist claims put forward from Thomas Cromwell onwards and emphasising the pre-Augustinian history of Christianity in Britain'; see John Bossy, 'Catholicity and nationality in the northern Counter-Reformation', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity (Studies in Church History, xviii)* (Oxford, 1982), p. 291.

<sup>78</sup> Edward Gee (ed.) *The Jesuit's Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England under the First Popish Prince* (London, 1690), pp. 31 – 44.

<sup>79</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 218 – 220.

<sup>80</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum, ch. 13, *De Instructione Alumnorum in Studiis*, pp. 17v – 17r.

For those alumni sent from England for the purpose of working on the Mission the Lisbonian spent three to four years in Humanity, three years in Philosophy and four in Divinity. This was a shorter course than that of Douai where students spent two years in Figures, one year in Grammar, one in Syntax, one in Poetry, the final in Rhetoric. Students at Douai had one year less in Philosophy than those at Lisbon though the studies of Aquinas and Augustine remained a standard four year course.<sup>81</sup> Students were forbidden to embrace any kind of study privately other than those texts approved by the Prefect of Studies: philosophical works were strictly Aristotelian and those theological, rigidly Thomistic. Works of controversies and casuistry were permitted only where they proved, 'conducive to the College' and its missionary ethos, so relative to the English Mission at the time. The manner of learning in the schools of Philosophy and Theology constituted repetitions, disputations and, 'other indulging exercises which shall be appointed them.' Students were requested to be diligent and behave themselves modestly without noise or unmannerly contention. The curriculum was compulsory; any amendment to the syllabus, reading material or manner of teaching had to be approved by the Protector as Inquisitor General in the first instance.

The student was not at liberty to refuse any exercise provided by the Prefect of Studies or his Lectors. The school of Theology gave two lessons each day [Matins and Vespers] concerning the syllabus unless it was a holyday or outside of the College's terms. In the first two years of theological study the Lisbonian studied speculative divinity; in the last two he read moral divinity, controversy and scripture. Every week, two exercises were performed by each student concerning the material they had been studying. At the end of the week, one of the students, chosen by the Lector, undertook a meditation in front of his contemporaries on a virtue providing an oration on, 'some pious subject', usually in the vernacular, subject to the approval of the Council of Superiors. Illustrative of the emphasis the College placed on public controversies was the preaching which took place before the whole collegiate community on matters controversial. According to the stipulations set out by the Council a student was selected at appointed times to preach in the Refectory, 'that by this kind of exercise they may render their future functions in England in this point easy and familiar.' Each student was obliged to undertake this defence before the College community bi-annually, on Sundays and holydays using their learning to demonstrate their aptitude in the subject and persuade their audience of the merits of their argument.

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<sup>81</sup> Charles Dodd, *The History of the English College at Doway*, (London, 1713), pp. 4 – 5.



### 3.2.5. The Public Defence.

The emphasis the College placed on works of controversy and casuistry, a policy approved and encouraged by the Protector, put the average Lisbonian student in good stead for the English Mission. The internal collegiate defences in the schools of Philosophy and Theology gave the student sufficient practice in demonstrating his skills in the arts of rhetoric, oration, and provided an opportunity to polish skills of persuasion and didactics. The defence was a universally accepted means of publicly demonstrating knowledge and learning throughout Europe and the New World. Also known as theses, conclusions, defensions and disputations, students at any college or university in the occidental world would have been familiar with their demonstration.<sup>82</sup> The *Constitutions* dictated that there would be two public disputations each year, one in Divinity and one in Philosophy before the clergy of Lisbon and the Portuguese gentry.<sup>83</sup> Such an audience gave the College's administration a perfect opportunity to promote its finest students into a public theatre thereby attracting local interest amongst the clerical and civic elites. Defences dedicated to benefactors radiated the College's success both on the benefactor and on the administration that often benefited financially. Watkinson's own aptitude in both collegiate and public defences has been demonstrated above. Under his administration several alumni completed defences which received considerable praise not least from the ranks of their dedicatees. The reputation of two Superiors of the College, Roger Brockholes and Edward Jones represented the College's ability to promote its teaching excellence and acquire patrons and sponsorship from the highest calibre of Portuguese society. Brockholes, professor of Theology, although schooled at Douai, dedicated his theological thesis, *De Verbo Dei Incarnato* to the Conde de Villamajor, Marques of Alegreti in 1692; the following year Brockholes dedicated a series of theological treatises to the Cardinal Protector. Another Superior, Edward Jones shared the defence to the Conde de Villamajor with Brockholes in 1692. Jones went on to defend a further ten theological theses under Watkinson. The relationship between the dedicatee and the College is not always clear; the Conde does not appear directly in the

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<sup>82</sup> Sharratt, 'Theology and Philosophy at the English College, Douai', p. 197.

<sup>83</sup> If there was only a school of Philosophy at the time, the *Constitutiones* stipulated that there would be two defences in Philosophy.

accounts of Hesketh or Waldegrave though he was a patron to the Confraternity of SS. Peter and Paul.<sup>84</sup>

The only advertisement for the College's public defences that survives extant deserves some attention. The advertisement is an elegantly decorated 'A1' style flyer that would have adorned several public notices in the Bairro Alto and the city in general. Surmounted by the crest and baronet of the Marques of Alegreti the advertisement gave the following notice to the civic and ecclesiastical communities of the city:

Excellentissimo Domino Dom Emmanueli Tellesio Sylvio, Marchioni Alegretensi Regi a Sanctoribus Conciliis e Primariis Cubiculario Duumviro Fisci Moderatori etc. Moecenati Suo Benignissimo et Patrono Colendissimo et Prædium et Dulce Decus Meum.

The defence was entitled, '*Theses Catholico Controvertisticas, et Theologico Thomisticas*' [Theses on Catholic Controversy and Thomistics] based on '*De Augustissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento et Missæ Sacrificio*' [the most august sacrament of the Eucharist and the sacrifice of the Mass.]<sup>85</sup> The advertisement then cited the College's name followed by the name of the arbiter, Jerome Pryme, *Sacræ Theologiæ Lectore Emerito et Studiorum Præfecto* followed by the defendant, John Thorpe (*vere Manley*), College alumnus, in the evening (*Vespers*) of 11 August 1701. The advertisement then gave an account of the defence thus giving fellow scholars, often from other colleges in the city, time to present challenges to the defendant's theses. Another defence advertisement in the College's archive on theological conclusions given by a padre at the Convent of Jesus suggests that Superiors from the English College attended the public defences of other colleges in the city. Public defences were an integral part of early modern European education and, as the evidence concerning both the English College and their confreres at the Convent of Jesus demonstrated, they were important social events amongst clerical and civic elites.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, p. 95.

<sup>85</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Public Defence dedicated to Dom Emmanueli Tellesio Sylvio, 11 August 1701.

<sup>86</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, Conclusiones theologicae de praedestinatione, et reprobatione divina ... in aula Conventus Deiparae de Jesu, 1742.



### 3.2.6. Bragança Patronage.

The relationship between the College and the Bragança dynasty reached a new peak after the marriage alliance of 1662. The recognition of Portuguese independence by England and, after the culmination of the Treaty of Lisbon in 1668, her old enemy and neighbour Spain, secured the dynasty in their claims to the throne. João IV's declaration that he would match the patronage of Philip IV of Spain had not always resulted in funds reaching the College as regularly as the Founder had planned. Under Watkinson's administration, not only did the College receive the regular payments that Coutinho had intended, but increasing royal patronage of the College directed several new revenues to the foundation. Hesketh's accounts as Procurator cited Dom Pedro, Prince of Portugal, 'and his successors as kings of Portugal' as patron to the College from 1671 of 500 *milreis p.a.*<sup>87</sup> A further sum of 200 *milreis p.a.* was secured by the administration at the intercession of the Prince. This sum is distinct from the foundation funds left to the College by Coutinho which the *Compendiosa Ratio* cited as not exceeding 250 *milreis p.a.*<sup>88</sup> The College later secured a *juros* (state return from loans), attached to Emmanuel de Miranda and transferred to the College in 1671. In return, the College's priests were obliged to say two quotidian masses for Joanna de Oliveira Leitoa and Ferdinando de Horta, canon of Tangiers and one-time guest of the College.<sup>89</sup> In 1702, Watkinson's administration through its status as an *obra pia* (work of piety) secured from the crown immunity from the royal tax of 'tenth.' The following year the College received some 740 *milreis p.a.* from the crown; Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet demonstrated that the payments from the Royal Almoner, Antonio de Cruz Barocha, were both systematic and regular throughout Watkinson's administrations. This was in marked comparison to the

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<sup>87</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, College Accounts, 1667 – 1739, pp. 17v – 17r; a further source of revenue was secured by the College through the Prince amounting to 40 *milreis p.a.* from Pedro da Costa in return for a quotidian mass.

<sup>88</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Teaching, *Compendiosa Ratio*, 1692 – 95. Section three, 'De Redditibus Seminarii' stipulated that the cost of putting a student through 3 – 4 years of Humanity, four of Philosophy and three of Theology was some 750 Portuguese gold coins which illustrates how meagre the royal and foundation settlements were in comparison.

<sup>89</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 84, Canon Francisco de Horta (Procurator General of the Canons of Tangiers): accounts, 1672 – 78; presumably Horta must have visited the College after 1678 as the accounts are in his hand. The *juros* of 200 *milreis p.a.* was secured on a donation of 2000 crowns. Dr. Vincente Correa was allocated 40 *milreis p.a.* for the quotidian mass of Joanna de Olivera Leitoa until his death when the revenues fell to the College who continued the Mass obligations, see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, 'Waldegrave's Alphabet', p. 16v.

College's earlier administrations who often had to battle the *Casa dos Carnes* (house of exchange) to secure funds owed them by the crown.<sup>90</sup>

The royal revenues attached to the *Portos Secos*, had been acquired by Richard Russell in 1661 for services to the Queen-regent, Doña Luiza de Gusmão. Croft recalled Gusmão's praise of Russell's 'singular assistance and fidelity in promoting the interests of her kingdom.'<sup>91</sup> Russell stipulated that two alumni should be put on the *Portos Secos* fund for their missionary training. Russell's nephew, Nicholas Waldegrave, College Procurator (1697 – 1711), related that the College had difficulties securing these revenues from 1662 – 1726 due to the constant need to renew the licences. The dispute of 1685 between Russell and the Council of Superiors below, which led to Russell's withdrawal from the College's administration, shed some light on the *Portos Secos* revenues and their application.<sup>92</sup> In return for royal patronage, the College demonstrated its gratitude to the crown with public defences given by its most eminent students and almost exclusively dedicated to Catherine of Bragança. William Errington defended philosophical conclusions dedicated to Catherine. James Nicholls and John Vane later dedicated theological and philosophical conclusions to the queen, now resident in Portugal, both in 1693.<sup>93</sup> Catherine continued to send students to the College even after the English political upheaval of 1688. The patronage of the Queen-dowager is often uncertain. Nicholas Simons had been sent by Catherine in 1694 to the College but there is no direct link between her, her court or the Chapter and the student concerned.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, 'Hesketh's Alphabet', p. 18v – 18r; this sum included the revenues from a series of houses on the Rua dos Vinhos which gave the College's administration 50 *milreis p.a.*

<sup>91</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 37.

<sup>92</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, 'Waldegrave's Alphabet', pp. 16r – 17v; the revenues were secured in perpetuity from João V in 1728

<sup>93</sup> S. M. Wynne, 'Catherine (1638–1705)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4894>, accessed, 20 February 2006]; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 14, 'Waldegrave's Alphabet', p. 16 (King Pedro II); UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, 'Hesketh's Alphabet', p.17 (Prince Pedro.)

<sup>94</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 181 – 82; Simons is cited in a list of funds as being on the Queen-dowager's pension, UCA, Durham, LC, Funds, Copy of Thomas Tilden's Fund, codicil c) list of students on funds dated 25 August 1688.



### 3.2.7. Portuguese Patronage: the confraternity of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The College's reputation as a centre of academic excellence and, for the more fashionable of Portuguese patrons, its importance as an English institution in Lisbon attracted patronage from a panoply of diverse sources. Patrons such as Pedro de Costa and Maria de Oliveira Leitoa bequeathed funds to Watkinson's administration for quotidian Masses.<sup>95</sup> The College's accounts however, provide little evidence of Portuguese local and national patronage. One source, the records of the College's confraternity *Santo Tomas de Cantuari*, provides a different picture showing the extent of Portuguese local and national interaction within the College.<sup>96</sup> The confraternity, led by the College's alumni, was dedicated to that defender of ecclesiastical rights over the secular, Thomas, martyred archbishop of Canterbury. The *Livro da Irmandade do Bemaventurado Santo Tomas de Cantuari* puts the foundation of the confraternity as being 1657. An earlier confraternity, dedicated to the College's patronal saints, *Dos Sagrados Apostolos São Pedro e São Paulo*, was founded in 1649 under Pickford.<sup>97</sup> The account books of the confraternity of *Santo Tomas* provide an insight into Anglo-Portuguese interaction from Tilden through to the eighteenth century. This thesis has argued consistently that Tilden's administration concentrated on encouraging the College's ingratiation into Portuguese civic and ecclesiastical life. Watkinson continued that relationship. As a Superior, Watkinson had been granted permission to preach in Portuguese anywhere within the diocese of Lisbon.<sup>98</sup> Several confessional licences granted by the *Cabido* demonstrated that as President of the College Watkinson had licence to hear the confessions of English and Portuguese Catholics within the diocese. This was a particular use at the convent of Sion and within the English Catholic communities of the city; it also gained valuable aristocratic sponsors to the College.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, 'Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet', pp. 17v – 17r, 166v – 166r.

<sup>96</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 83, Brotherhood of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, Constitutions, 1649.

<sup>97</sup> A book of sermons, preached in Portuguese by Thomas Tilden, described as being given to an Anglo-Portuguese confraternity may have been that of SS. Peter and Paul.

<sup>98</sup> President Perrot petitioned the Archbishop for faculties in March 1670: see UCA, Durham, LC, Non-Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, President Perrot to the Archbishop of Lisbon on behalf of Mathias Watkinson, 13 March 1670.

<sup>99</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Non-Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, Archbishop of Lisbon to President Mathias Watkinson, September 1672 – January 1704.

This policy was continued under Perrot and Watkinson, as the account books of the Confraternity of *Santo Tomas* demonstrate. The first council of the confraternity, comprising a Juiz (judge, or head), Escrivao (secretary) and tesouro (treasurer) dated 1657, consisted of some of the most notable men belonging to the Anglo-Portuguese communities of Lisbon.<sup>100</sup> The founding constitutions were signed by John Robinson, an alumnus of the College and the exiled Charles II's representative in Lisbon; Richard Russell signed the document as protonotary apostolic and William Ratcliffe, Edward Salter and Thomas Tilden, the then President follow.

Under Watkinson's administration the confraternity of *Santo Tomas* gained a particular popularity amongst the Portuguese aristocracy. Dom Alvaro Coutinho, of the same house as the Founder Dom Pedro, was cited as a benefactor in 1673 indicating that the Coutinho family maintained links with the College long after the Founder's death in 1638.<sup>101</sup> The composition of the Confraternity from 1672 – 1706 indicated that the College had become a fashionable centre for the Portuguese aristocracy, not least for the College's close connections with the Bragança dynasty. The Masses celebrated on the confraternity's patronal feast-day were lavish affairs. One Requiem Mass, said in 1672, cost over 17 *milreis*; the equivalent of half a year's board for an alumnus.<sup>102</sup>

The patronage of the Confraternity by the highest ranks of the Portuguese aristocracy continued to flourish throughout the early eighteenth century. There is no mention of Catherine's direct patronage of the confraternity, as Queen-consort in England (1660 – 1684) or as Regent to her deranged brother Pedro II (1704 – 05). A few years after Watkinson's death the confraternity was patroned by the Marquis de Alegreti, patron of several public defendants from the College under the former's administration, the Conde de Castello Melhor, later Secretary of State, the Condes de Merinho Mor and Villa Nova and the College patron of the Sutton brothers Dom Antonio Luiz de

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<sup>100</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, p. 7. The list of officers is contained in the Eleiçao dos officiaes que hao de server ao bemaventurado Santo Tomas de Cantuari (1657), p. 5 – 7.

<sup>101</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, p. 9.

<sup>102</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, p. 70.



Távora.<sup>103</sup> Though the confraternity was sponsored by the elite of Portuguese civic and political society, elements of the Anglo-Portuguese mercantile and urban communities featured as benefactors. The Christian names and surnames illustrate the colourful integration of English Catholic and Portuguese families within the city. Leonardo Cole was cited as a benefactor of 1.2 *milreis*, Gregorio Fitzgerald of 960 *reis* and Diego Corsal 720 *reis*, demonstrating that the confraternity was not merely an aristocrat's piety club.<sup>104</sup> Having gained further privileges from the archdiocese, Watkinson's administration secured breves from Rome elevating the High altar of Christ Crucified *seu Cappellam Collegii Anglorum Civitate Ulixbonen* to privileged rank from Innocent XI in 1679. Lisbonians who said a Requiem Mass on the altar gained a plenary indulgence for the soul of a sponsor or benefactor making the breve not only a matter of prestige for the College but also, in early modern Portugal, financially lucrative.<sup>105</sup> Innocent XII granted a similar privilege to the College in 1698. Those who visited the altar of St. Thomas on his patronal feast gained a plenary indulgence. Corroborating evidence found in the accounts of the confraternity of *Santo Tomas* indicates that this privilege was the result of a request by Watkinson, petitioned by members of the confraternity.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, pp. 95 – 96. By 1718 the cost of a patronal Mass had risen to over 57 *milreis*, more than a year's board for an alumnus. The composition of benefactors to the patronal feast day consisted of three marquises, eight condes, two gentlemen and a physician.

<sup>104</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 82, Brotherhood of St. Thomas of Canterbury in the College: election to offices and accounts: 1657 – 1723, p. 96.

<sup>105</sup> UCA, Roman Documents, Innocent XI to President Mathias Watkinson, 27 September 1679.

<sup>106</sup> All the English colleges had altars dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury. UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Innocent XII to President Mathias Watkinson, 18 September 1698.

### 3.3. Section Three: *The Shadow of Blacklow and the Russell Correspondence, 1667 – 1685.*<sup>107</sup>

#### 3.3.1. The Gathering Storm.

Thomas White, second President of the English College at Lisbon, philosopher, controversialist and eminent Chapter-man died in the summer of 1676. He did so, not on the scaffold, but in his bed in Drury Lane, London. For a man hounded by Protestant and Catholic alike, this was no mean feat. Condemned by Protestants as a seditious republican and by Catholics as a dangerous heretic, he remained a figure of fame and notoriety throughout Commonwealth and Restoration England. Beverley Southgate, whose work on White remains unparalleled, noted that it was universally believed by Catholics as well as Protestants that Blacklow [White] deserved to have not only his books but his head removed.<sup>108</sup> White was condemned by the Congregation of the Index five times from 1655 – 1663 for unorthodox views on Papal Infallibility, Purgatory and the intervention of visions and miracles in the empirical world.<sup>109</sup> His position on Purgatory, found in his *The Middle State of Souls*, did little to dampen his enemies' accusations that he was in fact acting outside of the bounds of canonical orthodoxy.<sup>110</sup> White's political views fared no better with Rome or the restored monarchy: his *The Grounds of Obedience and Government* which boldly proclaimed on the title page the Republican adage, *salus populi suprema lex* ensured censure from Rome and Charles II's displeasure.<sup>111</sup> White's death did not bring to an end the troubles that his independent thinking had caused for the English Chapter. Instead, four years into Watkinson's administration, the death of White marked the advent of one of the most troublesome periods for the President and the College.

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<sup>107</sup> Though I refer to these papers as a 'correspondence' they are in fact a one way correspondence from Russell to Watkinson. I have not found the papers of Russell in either English or Portuguese repositories. The Russell collection at the Lisbon Collection at Ushaw is in two parts: the Russell Papers and the Russell Letters. The first collection of about 50 documents is made up of legal and diplomatic papers. The Letters are a collection of 144 letters (1667 – 83) written largely by Russell to Watkinson in Lisbon.

<sup>108</sup> Southgate, "*Covetous of Truth*", p. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Romanus, Alfonsus C. de, *Index Librorum Prohibitorum Dominus Nostri PP. Pio XII* (Rome, 1948), p. 499.

<sup>110</sup> Thomas White, *The Middle State of Souls* (London, 1659).

<sup>111</sup> Beverley Southgate, 'White [Blacklo], Thomas (1592/3–1676)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29274>, accessed, 4 March 2006].



White's last few years saw the growth of an anti-Blacklowist backlash, led by George Leyburne, who outlived his arch-rival by one year. The cause against White was continued by Leyburne's nephew John despite the former's partial recantation of many of his unorthodox notions.<sup>112</sup> This backlash brought the orthodoxy of Watkinson's administration at Lisbon and that of President Paston's at Douai into question and forms the subject of this third section relating to Watkinson's Presidency. It should be remembered that the College's Superiors had come under accusations of being sympathetic to Blacklowism on numerous occasions before. George Leyburne accused Mark Harrington (professor of Theology at Lisbon, 1629 – 33 and Subdean of the Chapter from 1649) of being a disciple of Blacklow. As Anstruther noted, due to the Civil War and with Smith in Paris and the Dean in Florence, such a figure posed a very great danger to secular interests.<sup>113</sup> President Pickford had fallen under the same suspicions in the mid 1650s (once again from Leyburne) despite later being recommended as a successor to Smith.<sup>114</sup> The increasing gains the anti-Blacklowist faction made between the election of John Leyburne to the office of Secretary to the Chapter (1677) to his elevation to the *in partibus infidelibus* Bishopric of Adramatum (1685), led to the inevitable imposition of the Vicars Apostolic that Sergeant and Tilden, amongst others, had been trying to prevent for as long as possible. This episode features prominently in several of Russell's letters to Watkinson. The matter came to a head in the first few years of Watkinson's administration in the mid 1670s. Letters from Russell revealed accusations made against the administration at Lisbon from Peter Talbot, exiled Archbishop. Talbot's actions, described by Terry Clavin as reckless and self-defeating, focused on formulating a personal crusade against Jansenism and the English Gallicanism that had influenced sections of the English Chapter, most notably the Blacklowists.<sup>115</sup> Russell warned Watkinson that the exiled Archbishop of Dublin was not working on his own initiative but had the support of the anti-Blacklowist faction of the English Chapter led by John Leyburne, and, worse still, had the tacit backing of Howard in Rome.

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<sup>112</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 176.

<sup>113</sup> A2, p. 147.

<sup>114</sup> A2, pp. 244 – 45.

<sup>115</sup> Terry Clavin, 'Talbot, Peter (1618/1620–1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26937>, accessed, 5 March 2006.]

This third section examines Russell's influence over Watkinson and assesses his part in the administration of the College. Russell's letters outlining the Blacklowist threat from England have been examined within this section as has the influence White's philosophical and theological writing, in what has been generically labelled as 'Blacklowism', had on the College's teaching under Watkinson's watch. Russell's letters have been examined as a whole to demonstrate the prolonged difficulties that the Blacklowist cabal, largely but not exclusively Lisbonian secular priests, caused for Watkinson's administration. The findings of this research demonstrate that Russell's influence at the court and Chapter in London proved critical to the College's administration in avoiding censure, even closure, from concerned parties in Rome. It is only by taking these letters as a whole that Russell's influences over Watkinson, his desire to steer the College administration away from accusations of Blacklowism and his vigilance in promoting his administration within English ecclesial authorities can be clearly elucidated. It is only through an analysis of the Russell letters as a continuous dialogue from 1667 to 1685, the years that marked both the fall of Sergeant and the ultimate defeat of Blacklowism respectively, that the shadows of Blacklowism over the College can be seen.

This final section is not a biographical account of White and Sergeant: the former has long been neglected within Catholic historiography for his unorthodoxy. Outside of scientific and philosophical circles of the academy, White remains an unappealing figure to engage with. For a man who had all of his work consigned to the Index he remains out of bounds for the orthodox scholars who made up the Council of the *Catholic Record Society* throughout the twentieth century and, as an unorthodox padre in seventeenth century England he has attracted little interest amongst the mainstream of contemporary historiography. This thesis has argued that the cloud that fell on White's legacy as second President, condemned within the confines of Catholic historiography largely without question, was an unfair case of blackening the reputation of a man whose work at Rome and Lisbon was exemplary and beneficial to the interests of the English secular clergy. Bossy, Sharratt and Southgate have all noted the individuality of White as a free thinker unconcerned with the practical implications of his conclusions. White was lauded by Bossy as 'the one first class intellect produced by the English secular clergy during the seventeenth century' and by Dodd, an eighteenth century antiquarian, as a 'pure



intellectual, not greatly concerned with the practical consequences of his ideas.’<sup>116</sup> These apologies have not encouraged interest in the man. Clearly from his written work White’s orthodoxy, published and damned in both senses, was questionable but this was a man who saw no need to renounce the faith that he had been raised in.<sup>117</sup> White himself did not cause the problems for the College: he was, after all, dead. His early work in the foundation was of great benefit to the College and he did his best after 1633 to stay well away from the whole administration. However, the fall-out from those alumni on the Chapter who clung to his outdated vision of ecclesiastical government clouded Watkinson’s administration. With all his numerous theological, political and philosophical works on the registers of the Roman Index, White was not the most lauded model of the College’s missionary ethos. He was certainly not one Watkinson was eager to endorse or encourage. Despite this, his following amongst the Lisbonian clergy on the Chapter continued to represent a threat to and an embarrassment for Watkinson’s administration.

### 3.3.2. George Leyburn and the anti-Blacklowists.

The first public defence of the College at Lisbon had been questioned for its orthodoxy by Jesuits. Pickford’s theological treatise *De Peccato*, a defence under White’s Presidency, was cancelled by the Protector due to accusations of unsound orthodoxy. Though the treatise was later defended, the Protector revoking his objections, it was not the most auspicious start to the College’s foundation.<sup>118</sup> Objections made to Pickford’s defence had a new relevancy under Watkinson’s administration. The condemnation of White’s *Middle State of Souls* confirmed that his views on sin and Purgatory were, or at least *later became* unorthodox. George Leyburn, who spear-headed the anti-Blacklowist

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<sup>116</sup> Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 62; Sharratt, ‘Blacklow and Coutinho in 1633 – I’, 16 – 25, quoted from p. 16; Southgate, ‘White [Blacklo], Thomas (1592/3–1676)’; R.I. Bradley’s belief that White saw in the English Chapter a, ‘providential beachhead for the eventual overhauling of the Church Universal’ has been dismissed by Bossy. See Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 62 and R.I. Bradley, ‘Blacklow and the Counter-Reformation’, in C.H. Carter (ed.), *From the Renaissance to the Counter-Reformation: Essays in Honour of Garrett Mattingley* (London, 1966), p. 365 – 6. Dodd, *Church History of England*, vol. 3, pp. 256 and 285.

<sup>117</sup> Southgate, “*Covetous of Truth*”, ix.

<sup>118</sup> Further complaints against Pickford’s later defences, most notably on Aristotle’s *Physics* indicated that there was a concerted campaign by the Society in the College’s early history to discredit the foundation. The Chapter complained of this barracking to the Protector who later cleared Pickford’s philosophical treatise as being of sound orthodoxy: see UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Chapter to Inquisitor General, 19 November 1631. The Jesuit Order refused, according to Pickford, to attend College defences: see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 146 – 48.



faction of the Chapter whilst White was still alive, condemned not only White, but accused Pickford, White's successor as President of the College, of being a disciple.

Had White died in 1676 with his views and writings confined alone to his personal papers, the College would not have undergone the troubles that beset the early years of Watkinson's administration. His long-standing enemy George Leyburn described his nemesis as a 'wicked old man ... known sufficiently and more than that to the Pope and the whole Roman court.'<sup>119</sup> Russell's correspondence with Watkinson from 1674 – 76 charted the threat that White's legacy on the Chapter had for the College's reputation amongst the English secular clergy. Russell was keen to distance his *alma mater* from the unorthodoxy that White's political and theological views had on the College's reputation. The death of White, followed by George Leyburn in 1677, did little to quell the gathering storm that erupted with Talbot's interventions, proving that the war of words was not merely between two former Presidents but a controversy that had permeated through the whole English secular clergy *sede vacante*. John Leyburn soon continued the dispute, in what he saw as a battle against unorthodoxy with his rival John Sergeant.

Sergeant remained a loose canon for Russell and Watkinson. It was this old boy who drew the attention of Talbot to the College in the 1670s. Sergeant refused to renege on his commitment to the Blacklowist/Holden vision of the English Catholic Church, defending until his death the vision of his mentor of an English form of Gallicanism and a state-sanctioned ecclesial hierarchy.<sup>120</sup> Russell had defended Sergeant from accusations of subversiveness to the Restoration crown on previous occasions, as early as 1665. Southgate noted that White's own political notoriety had gained him Charles II's enmity: White's understanding 'that his majesty's settled resolution was to hang me if I came into England' did not give his followers a reputation for Catholic Loyalty, something Leyburn and Talbot saw as imperative to their cause.<sup>121</sup> This remark by White further supports the conclusion that Russell and White never actually met; though Sergeant was

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<sup>119</sup> E.H. Burton and T.L. Williams (ed.), *Douay College Diaries: Fourth Diary, 1641-47, and Fifth Diary, 1647-54* (CRS Publications 11, London, 1911), p. 547.

<sup>120</sup> Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 64 – 67.

<sup>121</sup> Southgate, 'White [Blacklo], Thomas (1592/3–1676)', (*New DNB*); Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, Old Brotherhood, Section 2 part 130; Leyburn's *Pastoral Letter* is an apologia for the Divine Right of Kings and a resounding indication of the 'throne and altar' mentality of the Catholic Loyalists headed by the Vicars Apostolic. It was also representative of Stuart and Bourbon claims of absolutist monarchy.



in attendance at the marriage ceremony between Catherine and Charles, the latter's dislike for White's republicanism would not have made him a welcome guest at court.<sup>122</sup> Russell used the links he had forged at Whitehall during his negotiations to protect fellow Lisbonians from molestation whilst working on the Mission. Sergeant's own *Sure Footing in Christianity* (London, 1665) came up for criticism by the Lord Chancellor, Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon. It was Russell who reassured Hyde that Sergeant's intentions were not subversive and that his colleague's loyalty to the restored monarchy was not in question.<sup>123</sup>

### 3.3.3. 'I am all at its service, without any ceremony'.<sup>124</sup>

Russell was keen to assist Watkinson in distancing the administration and management of the College from White's influence, proving that this was not a battle of orthodoxy between the College at Lisbon and the Holy See; more a conflict of personalities within the Chapter. Russell's continued offers of support eased Watkinson into an office he was at first un-eager to assume. His early support for Watkinson remained prescriptive but with a tenderness that Russell was loathe to demonstrate to others. As only the letters from Russell have survived it remains, at times, difficult to decipher the content of Watkinson's own correspondence, the content and manner of the letters and the requests he made to Russell. Where this is clear, the correspondence demonstrates a close relationship between Russell and the President. The earliest letters written by Russell in his new office of Bishop concerned the President's uneasiness as head of the administration. Seeking his advice on administrative matters, Russell provided the reply that the President's:

charge [was] to leave the House [College] in a more prosperous condition than you found it which ought to be the ambition of every President, each one leaving some improvement as a monument to posterity of his industry and skill in augmenting what he found.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>122</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Bishop Russell and John Sergeant', *Ushaw Magazine* (June, 1979), 22 – 37.

<sup>123</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, John Sergeant to Richard Russell, 1665.

<sup>124</sup> UCL, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 17 May 1672.

<sup>125</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 October 1672.

Later Christmas greetings from Portalegre concluded that Watkinson's role should be to ensure the College prospered and flourished under his administration, guided by the prayer, *et pax Dei quæ ex superat omnem sensum custodiat animas et corpore tibi comissas*.<sup>126</sup>

Russell's letters shed light on the Protectorate of Dom Diego Velho which other sources in the Lisbon Collection do not. These are useful in an examination of the Protectors from Castro to Lencastre. The support of Protector Velho, who had taken up the management of the *Casa do Despacho* (house of dispatches), persuaded Russell to advise Watkinson to seek Velho's help in administrative and managerial worries that, as the College's tenth President, he might have in his early days.<sup>127</sup> Russell noted that though the Protector was, 'very much devoted to [your] College', he was renowned in episcopal circles as being stingy. Russell remarked that though, '[Velho] is a man of just principles, loves learning and the profession of it, whether the virtue of money [sic] will permit him to afford you any further encouragement, time will discover.'<sup>128</sup> With Velho's consecration as Bishop in the autumn of 1672 Russell expected that the Protector's first act would be a general visitation of the College to which Watkinson had to prepare his administration; he was mistaken. The prospect of the Protector seeking licence from the Archbishop to confirm orders on students seemed likely despite Velho's predecessor, Ferdinando Castro's, dispensation of the right to the Archbishop during his own management.<sup>129</sup>

Offers of help were received from the *Misericórdia*, the body responsible for the maintenance and correction of the College properties donated to the foundation by the Founder. Russell suggested that Watkinson should do his best to secure the support of

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<sup>126</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 28 December 1672; Russell recommended that it was fitting for Watkinson's station that he should petition Diego Velho for a doctorate. Despite his academic excellence as a student and Superior, Watkinson never took his D.D.; Russell later rebuked Watkinson, arguing that his position as President demanded that he took a doctorate as several of his predecessors had done, see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 17 May 1673.

<sup>127</sup> Velho's role in the *Casa do Despacho* as under-secretary to Castro is related in the trial of Diogo Henriques of February 1648, see Cecil Roth, *The Spanish Inquisition*, (New York, 1964).

<sup>128</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 17 May 1672.

<sup>129</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 2 November 1672.



Monteiro Mor, President of the *Misericórdia*.<sup>130</sup> Good relations with the president would be necessary for Watkinson's administration and, 'that old pitiful patched building called your College.'<sup>131</sup> Russell's recommendations were well placed. In his first year as President, Watkinson was forced into two legal disputes with regards to the College's properties left by the Founder. Dom Pedro's foundation settlement was far from satisfactory; from White through to Watkinson, successive administrations battled against Portuguese claimants in defending the rights and privileges of the College and its original settlement. Russell provided in the same correspondence a valuable insight into the location of the English Residence; in material that amends Williams' own account. Russell remarked how:

I remember there was a dispute about the houses near St. Catherine which were, as I obscurely remember, as a Hospital for English Priests formerly and applied after to our College which sold them.<sup>132</sup>

Praise for the Council of Superiors indicated that Russell's remarks about the College being in the best condition he had ever seen it to the English Chapter were indeed true. Russell commended the Procurator, Roger Hesketh a second time for assuming the role of College Confessor and encouraging the improvement of piety amongst the students.<sup>133</sup> As well as his other duties as Superior, Russell remarked how the catechetical skills Hesketh had picked up from the College would put him in good standing for the Mission, an acknowledgement from Russell that the shifting needs of the Mission, from controversial works to catechetical was being reflected in the College's schools.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 November 1672.

<sup>131</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 October 1672, p. 2; further revelations as to the poor condition of the College's fabric was related in UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 April 1675.

<sup>132</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, p. 2; this information demonstrates that the English Residence was not in the confines of the Jesuit church of São Roque but instead it lay close to the secular parish church of Santa Catarina.

<sup>133</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 October 1672.

<sup>134</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 16 and 52.

Russell's influence as Bishop gave the College and those associated with it access to office and revenues previous administrations could only dream of, not least the continued patronage of the Coutinho dynasty.<sup>135</sup> Russell's earliest patronage concerned his close links with the Protector Velho in his capacity as a fellow prelate. He recommended several persons who had business at the College to the Holy Office to work as familiars within the English communities of Lisbon, a common theme of the English Residence and continued under the later administrations of the College.<sup>136</sup> It was not until February 1673 that Russell provided Watkinson with more than advice. Russell deposited a sum of 6000 crowns to the College's Procurator, Roger Hesketh, for the use of the College. The proviso Russell put to Watkinson was that he would have the right to nominate members of his family and household whom he deemed suitable to be educated at the College. This was not an unusual request as the funds emanating from the Mission examined above have demonstrated.<sup>137</sup> The conditions of the gift later became a bone of contention between Watkinson and Russell, leading to their eventual termination of correspondence in 1685 and the collapse of their friendship. Russell's influence was not always for the good of the administration of Watkinson. The Bishop's influence with Perrot, Dean of the English Chapter, in poaching one of Watkinson's most eminent students, James Underhill, from the College's school of Philosophy to work as Russell's secretary was one example where, had the Watkinson correspondence survived, an indication of friction between Bishop and President might have been evident.<sup>138</sup> Other requests from Russell were more personal and of a spiritual nature. Writing on the death of his mother, Russell requested that every priest at the College say five Requiem Masses for her soul. With characteristic stoicism, Russell, unable to relate his thoughts

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<sup>135</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 April 1673; Doña Jõardo Coutinho resurrected links with the College via the agency of Russell in 1673.

<sup>136</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 24 May 1672; Russell recommended George Nevill to the Protector as a familiar; Nevill was the brother of Robert Nevill who entered the College to read Latin in 1670. Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 130.

<sup>137</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 20 February 1673.

<sup>138</sup> The one-sided nature of the correspondence between Russell and Watkinson prevents any understanding as to the nature of Russell's request. If Watkinson protested at the move, Underhill was destined to receive major orders in 1675 before he removed to Portalegre; this remains uncertain for lack of evidence: Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 202; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 28 March 1675, p. 2.



concerning the death to one of his long standing friends, detailed the costs of each Mass instructing Watkinson how to charge the exequies to his College account.<sup>139</sup>

Russell's substantial donation to the College's accounts gave the administration a sound economic footing to build on the progress made by Tilden and Perrot's administrations.<sup>140</sup> From the spring of 1673 through to the termination in good relations between Russell and Watkinson the majority of the 144 letters making up the correspondence requested of Watkinson, his staff or Englishmen attached to the College for some sort of assistance; be that to looking after Russell's staff when on business in the Archdiocese, legal care of his rights in Portalegre or procuring cheeses and sweet meats from England. These laborious shopping lists, though they enlighten understanding on early modern food-stuffs, provide little insight into the College's administration but do provide a construction of quotidian business. The earlier correspondence indicated that Watkinson accepted these diverse requests as a favour to Russell whose account of hum-drum Episcopal domesticity may have had resonances with Watkinson's own arrangements in the College.<sup>141</sup> Other requests from Portalegre proved more demanding for the administration.<sup>142</sup> The College's Procurator, Roger Hesketh, remained engaged in Russell's legal disputes with the Conde de Miranda for much of the summer of 1673.<sup>143</sup> The same dispute forced Watkinson to house Russell's *Penitentario* (penitentiary canon) for prolonged periods whilst engaged in negotiations at the Archdiocese:

I shall send my *Penitentario* to reside [...] at Lisbon, the great difficulty and what makes every body reluctant being at Lisbon is that they have not a place of abode answerable to the dignity of a *conego* [canon.] The [Penitentario] is a fair conditioned man, if you could spare him room by the Philosophy school and a portion in your refectory it would give me knights service.

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<sup>139</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 April 1675.

<sup>140</sup> Watkinson's procuration of a further 10000 crowns put an end to the financial adversities that had plagued previous administrations, see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 27 February 1675.

<sup>141</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 16 January 1675, 30 January 1675.

<sup>142</sup> Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet cited Russell as debtor to the College of the not insubstantial sum of 200 *milreis* for the maintenance of himself and two servants from 1670; £10 19 s for the conde de Ponte and 150 *milreis* for 11 guests of the Lord Bishop from 1673 – 74, UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, 'Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet', p. 7v – 7r.

<sup>143</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 22 March 1673.

Soon after the *Penitentiario* took up residence at the College, Russell's agent highlighted the different expectations of a Portuguese capitular canon with that of an English seminarian. Having complained to his Bishop of the mean portions available to guests and Superiors Russell instructed Watkinson, 'not to starve my conego [canon]' and better represent his dignity.<sup>144</sup> Russell's disputes placed Watkinson in a difficult position. Russell's objections to the Conde de Miranda engulfed the College, albeit briefly, in nothing short of high society scandal. The wife of the Conde, Doña Leonor de Miranda Enriques, granddaughter of the College's benefactor Doña Francisca de Távora, petitioned the Apostolic Nuncio for an annulment from her husband, the Conde being out of Lisbon at the time, on the grounds of insufficiency. Russell related to Watkinson that the Condessa, under the pretence of visiting her aunts at the monastery of Santa Cruz sought the refuge of the convent taking the life of a beguine.<sup>145</sup>

Russell's own ecclesiastical problems regarding territorial jurisdictions in his diocese of Portalegre continued to occupy the administration of the College. The Spanish veto over Bragança nominations to vacant sees had led to the Military Orders and the colleges of canons asserting rights over impoverished dioceses in the absence of canonically erected resident bishops. Far from the model diocese of the Tridentine prelate as found in much of the Old and New Worlds, dioceses in Portugal became plagued with corrupted clergy ministering their ill education over an exposed laity. Be that as it may, Watkinson's office was not Vicar General to the Bishop of Portalegre; the concerns of the Church Universal were not those of the College's administration. The English Mission, not the reforming zeal of a Tridentine bishop, remained Watkinson's chief priority as President. Russell painted a different picture. The defence of the jurisdiction of the Church Universal was as much Watkinson's concern as it was his as a Bishop. In Russell's lengthy case before the Archbishop regarding ecclesiastical rights, Russell used the College in what capacity he saw fit in his battle against secular officers disputing his jurisdiction in Portalegre. In one such delegation, Russell's Vicar General accompanied with his nephew, arrived at the College unannounced in the summer of 1675 with

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<sup>144</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 26 April 1673.

<sup>145</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 13 February 1675; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 15 September 1677.



testimonials in hand from Russell.<sup>146</sup> The Vicar General whilst resident in College quarters corresponded with the Jesuit casuist Padre Antonio Vieira on matters related to Russell's own juridical problems concerning Provisors in Portalegre.<sup>147</sup>

The donation of 6000 crowns to the College's administration, alongside the purchase of property within the College's compound soon proved to be less than satisfactory to Watkinson whose business with Russell was taking up much of his time as head of the administration. Later that year Watkinson was entertaining Russell's envoy to the Holy See for his *ad limina* visit, Pedro Bartolomeu Cavalho. Russell requested the College's administration to prepare for his journey to Rome from his funds at the College.<sup>148</sup> The College was becoming a half way house between the English Mission and Portalegre where civic and ecclesiastical dignitaries were entertained on Russell's command. With the Blacklowist crisis threatening to plunge Watkinson's administration into censure, another of Russell's guests, the Lord of Clare was put upon Watkinson to entertain once again on the express orders of the Bishop.<sup>149</sup> The College gained little from this deal, though the alphabets of Dr. Hesketh and Waldegrave reveal that the cost of wining and dining Russell's employees and guests came out of a separate account to the fund for alumni. Hesketh received 50 milreis for the Bishop's entertaining up to August 1678 which Russell readily acknowledged did not match the costs he had put the College to since his election in 1672 and he was unaware of his agreements with the College concerning the purchase of College properties for his use.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>146</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 July 1675.

<sup>147</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 October 1675.

<sup>148</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 6 November 1675; later correspondence noted the fund, separate from the alumni fund, at over 243 *milreis*, see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 6 January 1677.

<sup>149</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 3 September 1676; Russell is incorrect in labelling this man the Earl of Clare. Denzil Holles' nephew is the Lord of Clare that Russell referred to in UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 August 1676; The uncle was one of those five MP's whose arrest for High Treason was sought by Charles I in 1642 so his familiarity with the Stuart regime and Catholicism remains uncertain; John Morrill, 'Holles, Denzil, first Baron Holles (1598–1680)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13550>, accessed, 12 February 2006].

<sup>150</sup> For his properties in the College compound he left 100 *milreis* when he was summoned to Lisbon for the Cortes, see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias

### 3.3.4. 'Doing Violence to Truth', 1674 – 76.

In the midst of this catalogue of Episcopal requests for provision came the shadow of Blacklow. The Blacklowist dominance of the Chapter had placed its shadow over the College due to the prominent role in the controversies of several Lisbonians that had dominated the Chapter *sede vacante*. Watkinson had very real fears that the heterodox tendencies of some of the College's alumni in England might cause problems to the succession of the Protector when Diego Velho resigned in 1673. Watkinson had expressed concerns to Russell with regards to the successor to Diego Velho, the Dominican Protector of the College. Russell calmed Watkinson's fears suggesting that Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, the new Inquisitor General of Portugal would agree to the office of Protector thus stalling Jesuit attempts to seize its management.<sup>151</sup> The continued scandal caused by the Blacklowist faction of the Chapter began to reflect on the College and its administration late in 1674. Russell expressed grave concerns to Watkinson advising him to distance the College's administration from Sergeant who remained engaged in a last ditch and hopeless attempt to implement the policies of his mentor, Thomas White:

I wish as well as you I could have omitted him [Sergeant] being a disciple of Mr. White but that had not been to none purpose only, he [White] being at Rome already known for such [heresies] but by such an omission I had brought on my own head a suspicion of favouring the same way and who can tell, that the design of delivering from you such was to fish it out.

Despite his own admission of being associated with the Blacklowist faction, Russell's personal orthodoxy was never in doubt. His later alignment with Howard and Leyburn demonstrated that he continued to distance himself from the Chapter, finding the confines of the Bishopric of Portalegre and later Viseu more desirable than the fractious theatre of the Chapter in the 1670s.<sup>152</sup> Troubling to Watkinson were the remarks made by George Leyburn former to Propaganda in Rome. Russell confirmed to Watkinson that accusations made in the Chapter concerning the orthodoxy of the teaching at the College

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Watkinson, 29 August 1678; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 21 September 1678.

<sup>151</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 May 1673.

<sup>152</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 14 October 1678; Russell continued to send donations to the secular agent in Rome attached to the Holy See.



at Lisbon had reached the ears of Francisco Cardinal Barberini, Dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, resulting in the investigation by the Apostolic Collector sent to follow up the Dean's concerns.<sup>153</sup>

Russell's report to Barberini, was first filtered through the Supreme Tribunal of the Portuguese Holy Office, as the Protector was also Inquisitor General of Portugal. Having been cleared by the Holy Office the report reached Francisco Ravizza, Apostolic legate to the court and Kingdom of Portugal sent by Clement X, dated in June 1671. It was customary for new bishops to visit the Apostolic Collector upon their election to the apostolic ministry. The meeting between Russell and Ravizza in October 1671 concluded that Barberini had looked into accusations of the College's administration labouring under the shadow of Blacklowism and found no evidence to support the claims of the administration's accusers. This suggests that accusations against the College's orthodoxy were first made by George Leyburn whilst he and White were still alive. Russell emphasised in the report that the 'new philosophies' of Descartes and Gassendi were prohibited at the College. White's work is not mentioned directly but his disciple Sir Kenelm Digby is cited as being banned in the College's curriculum.<sup>154</sup> Russell stressed the strictly Aristotelian structure of the school of Philosophy and the rigidly Thomist syllabus of the school of Theology.<sup>155</sup> Russell emphasised the College's continued strengths in carrying out its missionary obligations: the College had sent six priests out to the English Mission in 1671 alone.<sup>156</sup> Russell's report was not wholly without criticism of Watkinson's regency. Russell called for the appointment of a Master of Music and a Lector of Sacred Scripture and Theological Controversy. The latter was picked up by

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<sup>153</sup> Brother of Taddeo Barberini, prince of Palestrina and Prefect of Rome, and of Antonio, Cardinal Barberini the younger (1627), nephew of Pope Urban VIII (1623-1644).

<sup>154</sup> A paper in the Russell Papers provides an interesting anecdote to the relationship between Digby and the College's alumni. Sir Kenelm was an associate and defender of Thomas White; his family was not so eager to court papists, be they eminent philosophers or not. The Earl of Bristol, a kinsman of Digby, accused Clarendon of over-exposing the King to Romish practices and persons in the first years of his reign. Mention is made of the priest who married Catherine and Charles in the secret marriage ceremony desired by Catherine. Though Russell is not mentioned by name it is clearly a reference to his role in the marriage ceremony, disputed by some sources. The paper's place within the Russell Papers provides a strong indication that Russell was indeed the priest who married the Infanta and the Prince: UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Earl of Bristol vs. Earl of Clarendon: articles of High Treason, 10 July 1663, p. 2.

<sup>155</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Russell's Report on the College to the Apostolic Collector, 8 June 1671, p. 3v.

<sup>156</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Russell's Report on the College to the Apostolic Collector, 8 June 1671, p. 3r.

Lencastre, the College's Protector, in his 1678 visitation. Nothing seems to have been done about the appointment of a Master of Music.<sup>157</sup> The College's administration had been cleared of charges of Blacklowism by Barberini in 1671. Russell sent a copy of the conclusions to Tilden at the English Chapter for the former President to use against the Leyburn led anti-Blacklowist faction. Despite Barberini's dismissal of the protestations against the College emanating from sections of the Chapter, this did not end the matter for Watkinson. The issue continued to trouble his administration for a further seven years, culminating in the threats of the Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot.

There is no evidence that any Superior of the College was ever censured for exhibiting Blacklowist tendencies under Watkinson's administration. Indeed, the only members of the College's alumni censured for doing so were Sergeant and White. Four years after the report into the College by Russell events came to a head. Russell expressed concern over one Superior in particular, Robert Edwards, professor of Philosophy and Prefect of Studies, and his leanings towards White's *Middle State of Souls*.<sup>158</sup> Russell warned Watkinson of Edwards' Blacklowist leanings requesting that he should explain in his conclusion what Church Council subscribed to the, essentially Blacklowist notion, that souls are released from Purgatory prior to the Day of Judgement *sola fide*.<sup>159</sup> Whether this was an attempt to correct Edwards by subtle measures is uncertain; the correspondence formulates a representation of Russell that suggests if he desired Edwards' removal from office, he would have been blunter in his remarks. Russell was no shrinking violet when it came to interfering in the management of the College. The correspondence demonstrated that Watkinson and Russell remained concerned at the damage alumni in the Chapter were causing the foundation in Lisbon. The influence White still exercised over some of its own staff was of concern and Russell was keen to keep the matter as closed as possible. Most of the reprehensions against the College's alumni were made by Russell himself thus avoiding the College public embarrassment in the Chapter and ultimately the Holy See. Russell assured Watkinson that he had

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<sup>157</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Papers, Russell's Report on the College to the Apostolic Collector, 8 June 1671, p. 3v.

<sup>158</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 45 – 46; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 28, 63; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 30 November 1675.

<sup>159</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 30 November 1675.



complained to Sergeant in private correspondence at the latter's doing 'violence to truth' and placing the *alma mater* into dangerous territory.<sup>160</sup>

Sergeant continued to pose a threat to Watkinson's administration in the following summer. In response to the President's complaints against Sergeant, Russell suggested a practical course of action aimed at muting Sergeant's unorthodoxies and their consequences for the College's reputation amongst the ecclesial authorities in England and the Holy See. Russell recommended the help of Humphrey Waring, Dean of the Chapter and his fellow former President, Thomas Tilden, in unseating Sergeant from his £20 *p.a.* office of College agent in London. Russell had commended Tilden to the Chapter before his departure to Portalegre in 1670/1 but it appears Sergeant held onto his stipends despite Tilden's recommendations; likewise Sergeant's dismissal from the post of Secretary to the Chapter did not quell his ambitions nor neutralise his potential threat to the College's reputation.<sup>161</sup> Unwilling to succumb to accusations of a personal vendetta against Sergeant, Russell explained to Watkinson his incapacity to act in the Chapter by his own agency, a Bishop meddling in the affairs of a chapter of canons, *sede vacante*, but continued to offer his support albeit with characteristic acerbity:

If you think it worth while to draw up your case in a legible hand [against Sergeant], and send it me desiring I will use my interest with the Chapter in your behalf, I shall not refuse to afford you all the help, though I get no thanks for my pains.

This is supported by Birrell who believed Sergeant had been the author of his own destruction, having alienated even the moderates in the Chapter; Russell did not get involved in Sergeant's gradual eclipse from power, but this was not the case when his actions infringed on the reputation of the College.<sup>162</sup> Russell and Watkinson managed to contain the problems surrounding Sergeant's Procuratorship within College circles, thus minimising the damage caused to the reputation of the administration. Daniel Fisher, who arrived at the College with Russell in 1662 having been converted by Tilden in England,

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<sup>160</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 October 1674.

<sup>161</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 12 June 1675.

<sup>162</sup> Birrell, 'English Catholics without a Bishop', p. 155.

secured the office from Sergeant in 1675.<sup>163</sup> Fisher was one of Russell's placemen. He had been one of the few students, not directly related to Russell, to benefit from the fund the Bishop donated to Watkinson's administration for the training of alumni.

### 3.3.5. Archbishop Trublyniensis.<sup>164</sup>

The events that had caused the College's reputation to be placed in doubt within the Chapter threatened to come knocking at the door, in this case literally, of the Bairro Alto. The exiled Archbishop of Dublin, Peter Talbot, threatened to cause trouble for Watkinson's administration by visiting the College himself in the summer of 1676.<sup>165</sup> Talbot, who made it clear that the Chapter should be declared null and void found in Sergeant a target for his campaign.<sup>166</sup> Sergeant's continued defence of the Blacklowist position on English ecclesiastical government demonstrated Watkinson's worst fears that the Chapter would send a delegation to investigate the College and, in the worst case scenario, the Congregation of Propaganda would hand the College's management over to the Society. Russell's contempt for Talbot, whom in a case of the episcopal pot calling the archiepiscopal kettle black, he accused of being a careerist, was demonstrated in correspondence to Watkinson:

I pray God he [Sergeant] brings not an old house [the College at Lisbon] on his dizzy head and his friends also. He has now fallen into the hands of one who is, on my word, his crafts-master in mischief [Talbot.] I know not such another troublesome person alive. It is so much his nature he may be defined a creator of mischief for he has troubled all places he ever was in.

Russell's acerbity and cynicism come to the fore when dealing with Talbot's self-appointed position of rooting out unorthodoxy in the Chapter:

Besides the [Archbishop's] glory of being champion of the Faith who knows but a scarlet cap may be the reward of that zealous head or he at least fancy it strongly enough to make him prosecute vigorously such execrable propositions as he has picked out of [Sergeant's] writings.

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<sup>163</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 18 September 1675; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 26 February 1676; Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 51 – 52.

<sup>164</sup> One of Russell's less witty remarks on the character of Talbot. See UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 September 1676.

<sup>165</sup> Terry Clavin, 'Talbot, Peter (1618/1620–1680)'; Talbot schooled at the Jesuit house of São Roque in 1635 and may have resented the success of the secular clergy in consolidating the College's management, sharing the Jesuit belief that placing the College into the hands of secular English clergy was tantamount to instituting heresy.

<sup>166</sup> Birrell, 'English Catholics without a Bishop', p. 160.



Russell advised Watkinson not to write protestations to the Chapter as the College was not wholly free of the shadow Blacklowism cast over the administration. Russell noted that several letters survived in Perrot's hand where Blacklowist leanings had not been censured which could have posed a potential embarrassment to the Dean of the Chapter thus strengthening the Leyburn position:

I am of the mind that if I were in your circumstances I should not [submit the letters] for I do not like the contents of it by any means as 'tis [President] Perrot's hand which I remit you. I fear it will rather administer doubts and scruples in jealous heads than satisfy them and without that there is no fear of those peoples going about to condemn propositions they find not censured in their hands. As for your College, it needs nothing but truth to justify itself if called upon, the meanwhile I would sit still in silence, keeping this business [in] as much secrecy as I could, for in my mind no good can come of meddling in it, [but] much harm.<sup>167</sup>

Russell secured copies of Sergeant's censured propositions and confirmed the worst. 'If he [Sergeant] come[s] of but half as clearly at Rome he is a Prince' headed the correspondence to Watkinson. Sergeant argued, in a similar vein to that of the late Thomas White, that propositions of Faith were demonstrable by recourse to human reason. Watkinson's main concern was not Sergeant *per se* but how far Blacklowism had permeated the schools of Philosophy and Theology and whether the actions of a few alumni, whose notoriety was disproportionate to their numbers, would have permanent repercussions on the College.<sup>168</sup> John Leyburn, who had replaced Sergeant as Secretary to the Chapter, confirmed to Russell that Talbot was thinking of moving from Paris to Lisbon to cause trouble for Watkinson noting, 'if he has not lost at sea his old conditions.'<sup>169</sup> Should Talbot arrive, Russell argued that the Archbishop would seek to, 'cast at the College door all the dirt he can rake out of Mr. White and Sergeant' and implicate Watkinson himself as a suspect.<sup>170</sup> Russell had no doubt of Sergeant's abilities, he was one of, if not the, most prominent member of the English secular clergy in the latter seventeenth century but his notoriety was often found to be in conflict with the interests of the College in the larger Mission. Russell lamented this fact in Sergeant's entries in the *Annals*:

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<sup>167</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 26 February 1676.

<sup>168</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 25 March 1676.

<sup>169</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 26 August 1676.

<sup>170</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 9 September 1676.

If he [Sergeant] had attacked the heretics' dogmas without regularly making enemies of Catholic doctors [the Leyburne cabal] with his claims to follow in his master's ways [White's], abandoning other doctor's well-worn path [Aquinas]. That is what offended so many, that is what scandalised his brethren who rose up against his novel opinions.<sup>171</sup>

With the ripples caused by the Blacklowist cabal of the Chapter reaching the exile of the Bairro Alto an event occurred in Lisbon which did serious damage to the College's relations to the English merchant community and the English mission in Lisbon. The attempts by members of the English Residence to stir up trouble with their Protestant compatriots had long ceased. Successive administrations enjoyed and encouraged good relations with the community not least for access to information and goods from England. This cordiality broke down in the summer of 1676 though Watkinson's administration had no part in its instigation. The English Factory housed a conglomerate of English, largely but not exclusively Protestant, merchants who operated within the city. Relations had been good under the Commonwealth and Restoration. A Portuguese mob attacked the Factory resulting in the slaughter of twelve, 'brethren of the Reformation.' Russell suggested that to retain good relations with the community Watkinson should make, albeit discreet, overtures to the merchant community distancing the College from those, 'who laugh at their weeping and think they are well served and deservedly for their pride, rebellion and heresy.'<sup>172</sup>

This incident came in the midst of the threatened visitation of Talbot. It was not a welcome distraction but served to highlight that Watkinson's administration was *pace* Croft-Kirk, far from 'purely academical.' Russell's concerns, expressed to Watkinson, rested on a series of Papal enquiries into the state of the Mission and those working on it: his *alma mater* and its alumni consistently received censure and criticism from the conclusions of these reports and the College had gained a reputation since the Restoration for at best being enthusiastic supporters of the Chapter and at worst tinged with Blacklowism. These conceptions had first been raised in 1669 when Agretti, a canon of Bruges, was sent to England to, 'examine the condition of ecclesiastical affairs.'<sup>173</sup> He informed Pope Clement IX that Waring, the Lisbonian Dean, was determined that the

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<sup>171</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 175 – 76.

<sup>172</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 7 October 1676.

<sup>173</sup> Michael Williams, 'Waring, Humphrey (*bap.* 1605, *d.* 1676)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8698>, accessed, 12 March 2006].



powers of the Chapter over the Mission should be confirmed by Propaganda, 'even if it meant the resignation and replacement of those who held office at present.' To Russell's dismay Agretti described Waring as being, 'tinged with Blackloism'<sup>174</sup> a point which would not have endeared him to Propaganda. The successor to Waring, another Lisbonian and former President, John Perrot, succeeded his predecessor in the Deanery in 1676 when the shadow of Blacklow loomed darkest over the College. As correspondence cited above referring to the former President demonstrated Perrot was hardly over-vigilant in rooting out or being seen to defend the College against Blacklowism.<sup>175</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> Brady, *The Episcopal Succession*, vol. 3 p. 110.

<sup>175</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 25 November 1676.

### 3.4. Section Four: *The English Mission: 'the final end and perfection of an Apostolic life', 1672 – 1715*<sup>176</sup>

#### 3.4.1. *Domine averte iram tuam.*<sup>177</sup>

Though the College could not boast the catalogue of martyrs that Douai, Rome and Valladolid could produce as credentials of their importance to the English Mission, Lisbon had its own, though comparatively small, army of martyrs. The *Annals* noted the names of those *Martyres seu confessores* who suffered for the faith.<sup>178</sup> The 'protomartyr' of the College at Lisbon was Thomas Blount, a nobleman from Shropshire. Blount arrived at the College as part of the third mission starting Philosophy in June 1636 under Waring. As a student he was not renowned for his discipline and diligence; he was one of five students who fled the College compound in 1638.<sup>179</sup> Despite Blount's brush with the Holy Office, he continued his studies, receiving sacred orders and leaving for the Mission in 1642.<sup>180</sup> Tilden added a codicil to Clarence's account in the *Annals* when news reached the College of Blount's death in Shrewsbury gaol in 1647. Most of the martyrs and confessors, penned rather unceremoniously on the flyleaf of the *Annals*, merely brushed with the law.<sup>181</sup> None sought or gained the scaffold narratives of a Campion, a Sherwin or a Boste. Newman had been arrested and condemned to death, though he went into permanent exile through court connections. Haynes and Clarence, who both heard of their election to the Presidency from the confines of Dover and Newgate prisons respectively, were omitted from this catalogue. Elrington, whose actions within the administration of Clarence, made him an unlikely candidate for the role of confessor, is however included in the list. Canonically speaking he was not a confessor; only Lloyd who died in chains made it onto the list of canonically recognised as Venerable. Elrington, thrown into prison by a ship's captain, was soon released, working quietly for

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<sup>176</sup> Taken from UCA, Durham, LC Book Archive 215, Liber Missionis, part 5, Henry Shirley's *Monita* 'How to treat with heretics, schismatics and Catholics of England good and bad', p. 1. See Sharratt, 'Commentary' *Mount Carmel* (Spring, 1977), 44 – 52.

<sup>177</sup> Dodd, *Church History*, vol. 3, p. 359.

<sup>178</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Annals 4, Register of the English College, Lisbon, compiled from the *Annals* and other documents, 1628 – 1821, p. 1r.

<sup>179</sup> See Chapter Two.

<sup>180</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 14.

<sup>181</sup> This is the hand of President John Manley at Richard Challoner's instigation in the early 1740s: see Chapter Four.



the remainder of his life on the Mission. Elrington's contemporary at the College, Francis Thorold, suffered a similar fate on account of his priesthood though he was later released.<sup>182</sup>

Watkinson's administration saw the bloodiest outburst of persecution by the Protestant regime in England towards the Catholic community since the Armada. Russell had expressed concerns to Watkinson as early as April 1675 of a return to the, 'pecuniary and sanguinary laws' against the Catholic community.<sup>183</sup> The political upheaval that erupted in the Exclusion Crisis gave Russell several sleepless nights. Whig attempts to force the King to bar his brother, James Duke of York, from the throne on account of his Catholic religion threatened to engulf the Catholic community in a fresh period of persecution: 'they will force the king to consent to anything and only God can give courage to stand the brunt of what will follow if he consents not.'<sup>184</sup> Russell feared that two students, Andrew Bromwich and John Smith, would be troubled by the nightmares that had disturbed his own sleep regarding Tyburn. Bromwich and Smith were both ordained by Russell at Portalegre. Smith remained in the College until 1681 where he worked as Philosophy Lecturer.<sup>185</sup> Bromwich, whose own missionary labours featured heavily in the series of calumnies that constituted the Oates Plot of 1679 – 81, set sail for the Mission in 1676.<sup>186</sup> Russell, acting on newsletters from the College's agent in England, Daniel Fisher, persuaded the President that, 'a thundering proclamation [was] to come out against poor papists and expectations of doing great doings against them.' Watkinson's own desire to go on the Mission was rebuked by Russell who feared for his safety: 'it seems you have a mind to share in that tempest since you intend spring for a

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<sup>182</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 47, 197 – 8.

<sup>183</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 April 1675.

<sup>184</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 25 December 1675.

<sup>185</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 22 – 23, 188; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Præsidium, p. 64; UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 17 April 1675, 29 April 1675.

<sup>186</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 29 April 1675, 22 July 1676; Russell's wish that Bromwich should prove an 'able missionary and Saint[s]' later, at the peak of the Oates Plot, had an uncomfortable resonance.



voyage that way you say for three months', beseeching Watkinson not to go ahead with the proposed journey.<sup>187</sup>

The worst spate of persecution began in earnest in the summer of 1679 when an old Vallasoletan, expelled from the College at Valladolid in 1677 by the Rector of St. Alban's, Manuel de Calatayud, began a programme of calumny against prominent Catholics attached to the Caroline court.<sup>188</sup> The Plot, known in Whig historiography as the Popish Plot, centred on the feigned evidence of Titus Oates; a seminarian at Valladolid for under a year, he returned to England to take Anglican orders.<sup>189</sup> The attempts by successive Whig parliaments to prevent the succession of the Duke of York, gave Oates' testimonies an audience with an appetite that members of the Privy Council sought to abuse.<sup>190</sup> Previous plots and conspiracies had left the College's community and alumni largely unaffected. The College's late foundation spared its students from the persecution of the Elizabethan regime; despite the public backing of the Gunpowder Plot displayed by Henry Floyd at the Residence, the community at Lisbon remained largely immune to events in England. Of those students who found themselves directly caught up in the Plot, Bromwich, sentenced to death by Sir William Scroggs at the Stafford Assizes (13 August 1679) was later released.<sup>191</sup> Another missionary from the College, William

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<sup>187</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 25 November 1676; Russell expressed surprise at Henry Compton, Bishop of London, and his sudden zeal against Catholics: 'He was a very modest [and] civil gentleman when I knew him before he was a bishop... [he] was thought inclined to popery – maybe to redeem himself out of the captivity of that opinion held generally of him he bestirs himself now' see UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 2 December 1676.

<sup>188</sup> Williams, *St. Alban's College*, pp. ix, 48 – 51.

<sup>189</sup> I am grateful to Fr. Michael Kujacz, Rector of the Royal English College at Valladolid and Michael Puljic, seminarian at Oscott College, for providing me with the information that Oates' old room had been turned into a lavatory in recognition of the regard Vallasoletans retain for Oates.

<sup>190</sup> Jane Lane's *Titus Oates* (London, 1949) is a dated though accessible introduction to Oates; John Kenyon's *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972) remains the most comprehensive account of the plot.

<sup>191</sup> Lois G. Schworer, 'Scroggs, Sir William (c.1623–1683)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24950>, accessed, 13 March 2006]; Richard Challoner, *Memoirs of Missionary Priests as well secular as regular; and of other Catholics, of both sexes, that have suffered death in England* (2 vols. London, 1741 – 42), vol. 2, p. 446. Bromwich's scaffold speech, never delivered due to his later release, gave an indication as to his influences. Bromwich wrote that, 'I have professed that neither the Pope nor any foreign person hath any right to exercise any external power... without his Majesty's authority, upon his subjects', which, whilst not indicative of the education he received at the College at Lisbon, did imitate a strand of the secular clergy that originated with the Appellant Controversy, arose during the Oath of Allegiance debates of the early seventeenth century and represented a Catholic Loyalty that stood in marked contrast to Jesuit notions of the right of Popes to depose princes.



Lloyd, was not so fortunate. Arrested at Brecknock for taking Roman orders abroad and administering Roman sacraments in England he was condemned for High Treason and sentenced to death. Despite writing his will and last speech for the scaffold Lloyd died six days before the sentence was to be carried out.<sup>192</sup>

A hagiographical account of the Popish Plot can be found in the College's library. It is a text that is part historical and part devotional: the text is divided between historical accounts of trials, testimonies and the executions of those caught up in the Plot with prayers and meditations of the condemned. The work is divided into sections concerning the laity and the clergy (secular and Jesuit) and remains a pre-cursor of Challoner's *Missionary Priests* but this manuscript copy was never published. The author and date of its composition remain unknown but it is clear that this is not a College martyrology. It does not include entries on Bromwich or Lloyd, both caught up in the plot, and its emphasis on Catholic Loyalty indicated that it was more a work for the nourishment of the English Catholic community post 1688 than a polemical work designed to encourage new adherents to the Church during the Personal Rule and the reign of King James II.<sup>193</sup>

#### 3.4.2. The College and the alumnus-bishop.

Though Russell had at times been a nuisance to Watkinson's administration his interference in collegiate affairs was usually beneficial; the dispute surrounding Sergeant and Blacklowism demonstrated his utility in settling delicate affairs on Watkinson's behalf. He also did work for the College in his capacity as Bishop. Under Watkinson the number of young Lisbonian men who left the College for the Mission reached its peak. In one year alone five students were presented for major orders by the Council of Superiors.<sup>194</sup> Watkinson procured licence from the *Cabido* to send students directly to the

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<sup>192</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Wills, The Legacies of Mr. William Lloyd as he determined them whilst a prisoner, 23 April 1679; Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, vol. 2, pp. 441 – 445. Lloyd's case was referred to Rome and he was declared Venerable in 1906.

<sup>193</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 149, Popish Plot Documents (last speeches, accounts of trials, etc.) (n.d., n.p.); the text does include a martyrology of Lawrence Hill, servant of Thomas Tilden at Somerset House. Hill was executed on the trumped up charge of concealing the body of Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey in Tilden's quarters. The Queen-consort paid for Hill's entry to the College in 1695. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 88.

<sup>194</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, early 1675, John Woolfe (2 July 1674, received Missionary faculties 30 July 1676), Henry Harnage (May 1678, Missionary Faculties), James Underhill, John Smith and Andrew Bromwich (25 February 1675); Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 22, 79, 188, 202 and 226.

Bishop without the formal need to examine candidates before being presented to orders, a privilege which had been granted previous administrations. The right of examination took place in the College.<sup>195</sup> The Protector had traditionally been responsible for conferring the priesthood on to students receiving the three major orders. This role, later the responsibility of the Archbishop of Lisbon, went to Russell soon after his election to the see of Portalegre in 1671. John Egerton, sent by the Chapter in 1669, was the first collegian to receive sacred orders from Russell at his cathedral church of Portalegre soon after his installation.<sup>196</sup> The College did not have one single ecclesiastical authority that dispensed orders on the students: any Bishop would do. Russell's unique position as the only English secular priest alive with a territorial see was a prospect too alluring for the administration not to use him as their chief celebrant at College ordinations though the Archbishopric and peripatetic prelates with business in the capital were used when Russell was not available.<sup>197</sup> This was at times confusing, not least for the authors of the *Annals*. Watkinson presented Bromwich and Smith to the Archbishop for ordination in February 1675.<sup>198</sup> Russell's own correspondence recorded that Russell ordained Smith and Bromwich himself at Portalegre.<sup>199</sup> Whether the location of the ordinations was born out of necessity or on Russell's own insistence remains in doubt. It was a case of necessity when Dom Verrisimo de Lencastre was deprived of office from May 1679 to August 1681, ironically the period which marked the calumnies of the Oates Plot in England and where Russell was relied on to dispense orders on the collegians. What is certain is that it was far from desirable; the ordination of a student, his first Mass and his taking of the Missionary oath were all designed by the *Constitutions* (1635) to be a collegiate event before the whole community in the patronal church. The ordination of Francis Haldanby demonstrated the desired road to ordination of the Lisbonian. A draft of Watkinson's presentation of a candidate for orders, dated November 1691, addressed

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<sup>195</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Non-Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, Cabido of Lisbon, March 1693.

<sup>196</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, John Egerton, 18 January 1672. Though the certificate only refers to his diaconate, Russell's secretary, Sylvestre Correa noted that the Bishop conferred sacred orders on Egerton at the cathedral church; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 46.

<sup>197</sup> Manoel Silva Frances, Bishop of Tagaste and Francisco de Sotomayor, Bishop of Targa feature prominently in the ordination of several alumni. Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 4, 86, 90, 179, 182; 7 – 8, 15 – 16, 61 – 2, 107, 143, 185, 193 – 4, 211 – 12, 216, 221.

<sup>198</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Andrew Bromwich and John Smith, 25 February 1675.

<sup>199</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 29 April 1675; they were presented to the Cabido 25 February 1675, UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, John Smith and Andrew Bromwich, 25 February 1675.



to the Cardinal Protector of the College, Dom Verissimo de Lencastre, provided a solution. Watkinson presented the candidate to the bishop for tonsure, minor orders, subdiaconate, diaconate and priesthood.<sup>200</sup> From 1632 in White's administration students had the right to be examined by the *Cabido's* diocesan examiner; this appears to have been the norm throughout later administrations through to Watkinson. A *Relação Ecclesiastica* (formal permission from the archdiocese) stipulated that by 1693, the Rector of the College enjoyed the right to send candidates directly for ordination, 'in conformity to the Bulls of the Popes, granted to this College and to the College at Rome.'<sup>201</sup>

The College *Constitutions* provide an illustration of the social and theatrical place of the rites involved within the College's own community. Francis Haldanby's ordination serves as one example. Haldanby received the tonsure and the four minors in September 1677; the following year the Protector conferred on the ordinand orders of sub-deacon, deacon and priest.<sup>202</sup> Dom Verrissimo de Lencastre had been suspended from the office of Inquisitor General in May 1679, a suspension later declared void and he was re-established in the post in August 1681. Though still a Bishop Lencastre was not technically the Protector as his office of Inquisitor General determined the protection of the College not his episcopacy. Having received orders, Haldanby offered his first Mass for the alumni, members of the College and for the work of the Universal Church. The second and third Masses were offered for the priests on the Mission and the Superiors of the College respectively. Chapter XVI of the *Constitutions* outlined the order from priesthood to leaving the College to go onto the Mission.<sup>203</sup> The *Forma Missionis*, or the Missionary Oath was taken by all priests who served on the Mission. At the formal taking of the Oath, several litanies and orations were said invoking the Holy Spirit on the ordinand applying to be sent on the Mission. Haldanby promised to be obedient to the

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<sup>200</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Presentation of Students to Orders, 11 November 1691.

<sup>201</sup> This is in the Old Catalogue no. 32, it is also in UCA, Durham, LC, Non Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, 5 March 1693. The licence, in Portuguese, cited the privileges granted the College at Lisbon, identical to those granted the English College at Rome, as issued by Popes Gregory XIII and Urban VIII.

<sup>202</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Francis Haldanby, 27 April 1678: 18 September 1677 (tonsure and minors); 19 September 1678 (subdeacon); 21 September (deacon) and 6 February (priest).

<sup>203</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum, (Lisbon, 1635), ch. 16, *De Ordinandis ac mittendis in Angliam*, 19r – 20r.

jurisdiction of the Ordinary of England and promote the College's interests wherever possible. In place of the Ordinary the missionary swore to dispose himself according to the wishes of the Superiors of the English secular clergy, the English Chapter and after 1688 (theoretically), the Vicars Apostolic. A letter confirming his missionary credentials and faculties was issued by the President. The College community sang *Te Deum* to mark the departure of their fellow collegian. The *viaticum* was marked by the *Constitutions* not to exceed 12 crowns for a student.

Haldanby's case was not quite the model example as proposed by the *Constitutions*. It was not unusual for students who had taken the Missionary Oath to remove directly to the Mission. Charles Penrice's ordination certificate was dated 14 September 1679 and his entry in the *Liber Missionis* indicated he left for the Mission the day after.<sup>204</sup> Watkinson exercised more caution in dispatching others after news reached the College that Russell's worst fears had been confirmed. Bromwich had fallen foul of Oates' testimonies and had been sentenced to death in 1679. Robert Woodruff, ordained by the Protector in January 1680, was not sent to England until July.<sup>205</sup> Haldanby took two years between receiving his ordination and taking the Missionary Oath, leaving in April 1680. The persecution that arose from the calumnies of the Oates Plot had reached their peak in 1680 when the Whig Exclusionist parliament met after Charles had prorogued the virulently anti-Catholic sitting of 1679. Watkinson did not retreat from sending new missionaries to England when events there deteriorated. The President's correspondence with Russell demonstrated that he did his utmost to keep a careful eye on events, relying on Tilden for information from court. Watkinson despatched a total of nine missionaries to England at the height of the crisis.<sup>206</sup> The Tory Peace which brought

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<sup>204</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Charles Penrice, 14 September 1679; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, *Liber Missionis*, p. 39.

<sup>205</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Robert Woodruff, 1 January 1680, 17 July 1680 (missionary faculties.)

<sup>206</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, *Liber Missionis*: Andrew Bromwich (1678?), sentenced to death, 1679; Charles Penrice (15 September 1679) [BA215, p. 39]; William Colston (ordained 13 November 1679; 22 September 1680), as College Agent, see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 34 – 35, [BA215, p. 43]; Robert Langley (missionary faculties, 17 July 1680), [BA215, p. 42], received dispensation from canonical age of ordination sub-diaconate 22, diaconate 23, priesthood 25 see Schroeder, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Twenty-third Session, Reform, ch. XII, 'The Age Required for Major Orders', pp. 171 – 72; Langley was thirteen months too young to receive the seventh order; UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Innocent XI to President Mathias Watkinson, 27 January 1680; Henry Mawdesley (missionary faculties September 1680; despatched 22 September), [BA215, p. 44]; John Smith (missionary faculties, 18 April 1681), [BA215, p. 47]; James Underhill (26 January 1681), [BA215, p. 45]; Robert Woodruff (received missionary faculties 1 January; left for Mission, 17 July 1680), [BA215, p. 41] and Thomas Young (missionary faculties, 10 April 1681), [BA215, p. 46].



an end to the Oates Plot and Exclusion brought some stability to the English Catholic community and some peace of mind to Watkinson's administration.<sup>207</sup>

### 3.4.3. *Forma Missionis*: the influence of John Gother, 1688 – 1718.<sup>208</sup>

At the English College in Rome where the great painting by Durante Alberti, the so called Martyrs' picture hung over the high altar, a *Te Deum* was sung when news of an alumnus' martyrdom reached the College.<sup>209</sup> In Lisbon, they did it the other way round; a *Te Deum* was sung before the Lisbonian left for the Mission in front of the entire collegiate community. This is not merely a pedantic *non sequitur* but demonstrates an important change in the Mission which was a far cry from the so called glorious years of the golden age of martyrdom. One reason why the custom adopted at Rome was not imitated at Lisbon was because circumstances on the Mission had changed. Martyrdom was, at least in England, a difficult state to attain though, as the Oates Plot demonstrated, not impossible. The author of the *Compendiosa Ratio* in 1692 – 95 drew particular attention to the College's public exercises as being given with zeal in their desire to confront the heretics of England and convert them by good instruction. The future of the Mission, particularly after 1688, depended not on the blood of the martyrs but the onerous labours of carrying out sacramental, catechetical and pastoral faculties to a minority of non-conformists, defeated politically and subject to dominant lay gentry. The defeat of an independent secular clergy supported by a domestic hierarchy had been confirmed in 1688. The three Vicars Apostolic requested that Watkinson ensured that students destined for the Mission, 'be accustomed to the exercises of catechetical discourses, and familiar exhortations which will be of great use here.' Leyburn also stipulated in the Vicars' recommendations to Watkinson that, 'the practice of mental prayer be diligently observed: and that you who are Superiors by your example influence

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<sup>207</sup> Paul Seaward, 'Charles II (1630–1685)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5144>, accessed, 13 February 2006.]

<sup>208</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulæ*, ch. 16, 'De ordinandis ac mittendis in Angliam' and 'Forma Missionis', pp. 19 – 21.

<sup>209</sup> Tancred Borenius, *St. Thomas Becket in Art* (London, 1932), p. 35. My thanks to Dr. Katy Gibbons of the University of York for this information.

others under your charge to a punctual observance of this important duty.’<sup>210</sup> Considering the work of Gother and Gooden, Clifford and Pickford it must have come as some surprise to Watkinson that he needed reminding of what had become one of the hallmarks of the English College at Lisbon from the 1670s onwards.

John Gother entered the College in 1668 during President Perrot’s administration. He remained for the full duration of the schools of Humanity, Philosophy under Daniel Fisher and Theology under Roger Hesketh.<sup>211</sup> Whilst Procurator, Hesketh noted Gother in the College Accounts as debtor of £100 for his admittance to the College; the sum would see him through the school of Humanity as an *alumnus*.<sup>212</sup> The cost of his education would rise to £25 *p.a.* if Gother refused the College Oath; Gother took the Oath towards the end of his Humanity schools in 1672 along with six other students.<sup>213</sup> Gother decided to assume the name of Venables when signing the Oath in front of Perrot and the Council:

Ego Ioannes Venables Anglus de Comitatu Hantoniensi considerans divina erga me beneficia, et illud imprimis quo me ex patria hæresi laborante eduxit, et ecclesiæ suæ Catholicæ membrum effecit atque ad hoc Collegium litteris et virtute instruendum incolumnitur traduxit cupiensque tante Dei mei misericordiæ non penitus ingratum me præbere, statui totum me divino ejus famulatus, in quantum possum, pro fine collegii exequendo offere.<sup>214</sup>

Russell noted in an account copied into the *Annals* by Jones that, as well as his role as one of Catherine of Bragança’s chaplains, Tilden assumed a portfolio of offices in the Queen-consort’s household including royal preacher and treasurer of the chapel royal.<sup>215</sup> Anstruther noted that in 1686, over twenty years after he resigned the office of

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<sup>210</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Vicars Apostolic [Adramante (London); Madaura (Midlands) and Gallipolis (Northern)] to President Mathias Watkinson, 27 December 1694.

<sup>211</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 66; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum: 1638 – 1834, p. 64 (Philosophy) and p. 40 (Theology).

<sup>212</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, ‘Dr. Hesketh’s Alphabet’, p. 2v – 2r.

<sup>213</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Oaths, 9 January 1672: Andrew Bromwich (58); John Egerton (59); Henry Harnage (60); Charles Penrice (61); Charles Townsend (62); John Gother (63) and John Woolfe (64.)

<sup>214</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Oaths, College Oath of John Gother (signed Venables), 9 January 1672.

<sup>215</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 111, Annales Collegii, p. 189; Russell’s letter concerned Sergeant but contained diverse information on other Lisbonians attached to the court at Whitehall.



President to Perrot, Tilden was earning a salary of £240 *p.a.*<sup>216</sup> Whether the fund for Gother's education at the College was granted by the Queen-consort or Tilden remains unclear. There is no indication of such a donation in Catherine's accounts concerning the College though these commenced upon her return to Portugal in 1692.<sup>217</sup> Tilden's last will and testament noted that Gother would receive his sermons and controversy papers which suggested that the former President had patroned Gother from his own personal wealth.<sup>218</sup> Philip Avery's research into the National Archive in Paris discovered that Tilden had made arrangements with the Bank of Paris, after the deposing of James II, for Edward Elrington to act as agent for the College at Lisbon securing rents from Paris for the College alongside Betham and Lutton.<sup>219</sup> Anstruther took this to demonstrate that Gother was, though briefly, a member of Catherine's household but that remains creative speculation, though not improbable.

Jones related little of Gother's missionary work in England besides his publications. The *Juramenta Superiorum* recorded his offices of Lector of Philosophy (1677) and Prefect of Studies (1678).<sup>220</sup> Croft-Kirk wrote with some justification of Gother being a student whose distinguished talents gave the alumnus an eminent and conspicuous place within the College's history.<sup>221</sup> Croft was an author not averse to inflating individual biographies much as Gillow and Kirk had done. However, in this case there is substantial justification. Jones noted in the *Annals* that Gother set off for the Mission in October 1681.<sup>222</sup> Gillow related that Gother found a sinecure as chaplain to George Holman who went on to marry Lady Anastasia Stafford, daughter of one of the College's benefactors, Viscount Stafford, executed in 1680.<sup>223</sup> The close relations

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<sup>216</sup> A2, p. 321. Considering Russell's stipend from Catherine whilst Bishop of Portalegre was £200 *p.a.* Tilden's salary was far from meagre. See UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Letters, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 19 February 1676.

<sup>217</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 80, Catherine of Bragança's Accounts: 1692 – 93.

<sup>218</sup> A2, p. 322; Westminster, Archdiocesan Archives, Old Brotherhood Papers, book 4, paper. 41, 'The Will of Dr. Thomas Godden *alias* Tilden', 1688.

<sup>219</sup> A3, pp. 82 – 83; Philip Avery, *Transcripts of MSS in Archive Nationale Paris* now in the custody of the Catholic Record Society and the Archdiocese of Westminster.

<sup>220</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*: 1638 – 1834, pp. 65 and 28.

<sup>221</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 51.

<sup>222</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 66; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, *Liber Missionis*, p. 49.

<sup>223</sup> Gillow's Register in Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 204.

between Stafford, Hill and Queen Catherine provide further though inconclusive weight to Anstruther's assertion that Gother was attached to the court in some manner. From Holman's seat of Warkworth Manor in the plains of Northamptonshire, Gother devoted his life to writing missionary texts whilst remaining largely static in recusant domesticity himself. Gother refused to engage in controversial debates after 1688, unlike his fellow alumnus John Sergeant, and took a different approach to the Mission borrowing from the Salesian tradition popular in seventeenth century Europe.

Gother had demonstrated considerable ability during the 1680s in his defence of controversial works, applauded by Dryden. His most noted controversial text, writing under the assumed name of J.L. Orell, was *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented*; published in 1685 it remained in print for a further seventy years.<sup>224</sup> Gother's aim had been to defend the Roman religion from the misrepresentations laid upon it since the time of Cranmer:

'Tis evident there's as much need now of 'Apologies', as ever there was in 'Tertullian's' or Saint 'Augustin[e]'s time: Not 'Apologies' to vindicate what is really her 'Faith' and 'Doctrine'; but rather to clear her from such 'Superstitions, Prophaness' and 'Wicked Principles', as are 'maliciously' or 'ignorantly' charged upon her.<sup>225</sup>

Throughout this work Gother's schooling comes through: the appeal to patristics as the grounding of Roman claims to universality; the importance of Sacred Scripture and its utility in defending that position. Chapter XXIII on the refutation of 'Purgatory as the Pope's Prison' demonstrated that Gother was no disciple of Blacklow. This chapter has demonstrated that an ardent defence for the authority of the Chapter can not be seen as synonymous with Blacklowism. The emphasis the College administration placed on Sacred Scripture, casuistry and the appeal to history was best represented in Gother's assertions of Holy Scripture and the authority of Tradition. On Scripture, Gother noted that *paulatim tempore procedente meruit auctoritatem*, [by little and little in process of time [the Church] gained its authority] and on Tradition, 'The Faith that they professed then [in the Early Church], we profess now [the English missionaries], and if any of our Doctrine be novelty, it is novelty above twelve hundred years standing.'<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>224</sup> A3, p. 82.

<sup>225</sup> John Gother, *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented or a Twofold Character of Popery* (London, 1688), p. 9.

<sup>226</sup> Gother, *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented*, pp. 30 and 110.



Recent work by Abbot Geoffrey Scott has shed light on Gother's missionary labours in England.<sup>227</sup> Described by Scott as the, 'most formidable apologist and catechetical writer in the last decade of the century,' Gother remained wholly a product of Lisbon.<sup>228</sup> Three of Gother's works survived the College library's translation to Ushaw College Durham: all are late eighteenth or early nineteenth century publications indicating that they were purchased from Dublin and London after Emancipation.<sup>229</sup> Gother's work focused on catechetics. He published several popular catechisms throughout the 1690s and into the new century. Firstly there was the *Short Catechism* of (1699) and later his *Practical Catechism* of (1701) at a costly 2s suggesting an urban artisan audience. He used the question and answer style of the Douai Catechism providing a 'practical' rather than a merely 'speculative' catechism so as to assert the importance of moral teaching. This is in marked contrast to Clifford's spiritual writings (White's Vice President) illustrated above. This style of catechetical instruction demonstrated the secular clergy's skill in adapting to the Mission after the failures of 1688.

It is also indicative of the spirituality found within the College itself. Shirley's *Monita* (1634 – 36) demonstrated a practical spiritual and pastoral approach to the Mission which centred on the recusant household. Gother's publications acted as *vade mecums* to the itinerant Lisbonian along the lines that Shirley's had done half a century before.<sup>230</sup> As has been indicated with relation to the College's library it is difficult to date when the College acquired certain texts; as only one tenth of the surviving College's libraries survived the translation from Lisbon in the 1970s this task is even harder to solve with any degree of certainty. The College's Catalogue of Authors, the first catalogue of the College Library holdings available, started in the early nineteenth century, provides evidence of a significant repository of Gother's works in the College's

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<sup>227</sup> Conference Paper given to the Ecclesiastical History Society, Liverpool, July 2004.

<sup>228</sup> I am grateful to Abbot Geoffrey Scott for this information. E-mail correspondence Friday, October 08, 2004 5:16 PM; Thomas H. Clancy, *English Catholic Books, 1641 – 1700: a bibliography* (Cambridge, 1996), p. 431.

<sup>229</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, College Library Collection, L.P. (64) 6, *Catechism of the Sacrament of Conformation* (Dublin, 1836); δ GOT, *Instructions for Apprentices and Servants* (London, 1786) and L.P. 38 (4) and 62 (3) *A Papist misrepresented and truly represented; or a two fold character of Popery, etc.* (London, 1827).

<sup>230</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, Liber Missionis, section 5, *Monita tradenda Sacerdotibus cum ex hoc Collegio in Angliam discessum sunt*, pp. 9 – 12; *The Manner and Practice of a Missionary Priest in England*, pp. 21 – 32.



Library.<sup>231</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that the College acquired copies of Gother's works during the administration of Watkinson. All that can be definitively deduced is that these texts were in the College Library's collection in 1825.<sup>232</sup>

Gother's disciples were principally secular priests; his works had a wide audience amongst Douatian and Lisbonian clergy. William Crathorne, colleague of the Vicar Apostolic for the London District Bonaventure Giffard provided Gother's biography. Crathorne's *A practical catechism* (1711) resembled Gother's use of liturgical commentary as a vehicle for catechising and inculcating Christian virtue. It carried the *nihil obstat* of his patron Bishop Giffard who 'shared the same pastoral concerns' as Crathorne and Gother.<sup>233</sup> Before his death in 1740, Crathorne honoured Giffard's wish to have Gother's works republished in a complete series of edited works.<sup>234</sup> Five editions appeared between 1718 and 1790.<sup>235</sup> Published in 1718 in sixteen volumes Gother's complete works appear in the Catalogue twice which demonstrates that Gother's material was available to Lisbonians in the administration of Jones and Manley and provides a compelling argument that previous administrations purchased his works.<sup>236</sup> Richard Challoner, whose correspondence with President Manley is related in chapter five, published further catechisms by Gother during the mid eighteenth century. A manuscript endorsed 'Mr. Gother's hand writing' in the Book Archive provided instruction for

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<sup>231</sup> The Catalogue of Authors, UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 2, Catalogue of Authors of the English College Lisbon is undated. The hand is the same as that of UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 1, Catalogue of Archives which suggests it was part of a clean up of the College's archival material after the French Occupation. The hand appears to be that of Edmund Winstanley making the date of the text c. 1820s which corresponds with the 1825 date given for the Catalogue of Archives.

<sup>232</sup> UCA, Durham LC, Book Archive 2, Catalogue of Authors of the English College at Lisbon noted the following works by Gother being in the repository of the College's Library: *Daily Lessons* (2 vols.) 47.F.30 – 31; *Principles and Rules of the Gospels* 33.BB.26; *Papists Misrepresented and Represented* 33.BB.28 – 29; *Gother's Daily Lessons* (2 vols.) 33.BB. 28 – 29; *Instructions for Festivals* (2 vols.) 33.BB.4 – 5; *Instructions for Sundays* (2 vols.) 33.BB.2 – 3 and *Prayers for Sundays* (3 vols) 33.BB.23 – 25.

<sup>233</sup> J.A. Williams, "Our Patriarch": Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 1642 – 1734. An Introductory Sketch', *RH* 26, (May, 2003), pp. 442, 446 – 8, 452.

<sup>234</sup> A3, p. 43.

<sup>235</sup> A3, p. 83.

<sup>236</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 2, Catalogue of Authors, p. 95.



Lisbonians giving confessional and sacramental provision to English Catholics on the Mission.<sup>237</sup>

Gother was a product of Lisbon; there is a strand that flows from the *Monita* of Shirley to that of Gother's own work in the closing decades of the seventeenth century. Shirley's vision for missionary activity is similar to the one found in Gother's own catechetical works. Gother represented an important paradigm shift within the English secular clergy and the style of mission. With the imposition of the Vicars Apostolic came an acknowledgement from Rome that a domestic episcopacy was, for the time being, out of the question. Gother represented that shift from controversy to focusing on those embattled minorities that constituted what remained of the Mission. In this he left colleagues like Sergeant and Russell behind; the former holding polemically on to the Blacklowist/Holden vision and the latter, immersing himself in Tridentine reform. Gother demonstrated that the secular clergy had, at last, succumbed to the idea of domestic mission in a pronounced definitive manner. Anstruther summed up the influence of Gother's spirituality in a nostalgic but sufficiently powerful set of words which evoke the change in the spirit of the Mission after the Vicars Apostolic:

These little volumes nourished the piety of the dwindling Catholic remnant in its darkest days. They are constantly mentioned in Catholic wills and seem to have been handed down as [...] precious heirlooms.<sup>238</sup>

Joseph Berington in his *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani* noted that Gother's work was, 'written on the tablet of all our hearts' and Bossy boldly asserted in his magisterial *English Catholic Community* that Gother's *Instructions*, with its devotional style nourished at Lisbon, had more effect on the English Catholic community than the revised Wilhemite penal code.<sup>239</sup>

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<sup>237</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 284, John Gother, 'Instructions and Devotions for Confession and Communion', Sharratt believes the endorsement is false, the hand writing being a copy of Gother's spiritual writings. If this is correct it represents a similar interest in this particular missionary spirituality that motivated the Lisbonian who copied Shirley's *Monita* into the *Liber Missionis*.

<sup>238</sup> A3, p. 83; an analysis of Gother's works held in the Upper Library of Ushaw College demonstrates Anstruther's assertion. Gother's *Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass* (4th edn. London, 1725) remained in the same family until at least 1793 according to the marginalia. Published in 1694, 1696, 1699, 1705 it had a further nine editions until 1768.

<sup>239</sup> Joseph Berington, *The Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani* (Birmingham, 1793), p. 380 – 81; Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 286.



An examination of several works by Gother found in the Lisbon Collection and the Upper Library of Ushaw College supports the role of Gother's works of personal piety as being prized possessions amongst the English Catholic community. A copy of the fourth edition of Gother's *Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass* (London, 1725) has marginalia that demonstrates Anstruther's point.<sup>240</sup> The text's first owner Jane Mawdesley may be the niece of Gother's colleagues at the College, Henry and Richard Mawdesley.<sup>241</sup> Like the Protestant family bible, annotated with the rites of passage of family members, this text features no less than nine members of the family indicating the book had a wide circulation within the household and a prized place within the home.

Gother became the doyen of the new missionary ideal for the English secular clergy. Gother had led the secular clergy into this realisation of the Mission but he did not take all his colleagues with him. No longer would he and his colleagues defend notions of ecclesiastical legitimacy or push for a return to the controversies surrounding the position of the English Chapter in ecclesial governance: these battles had been lost and it was only the stalwarts like Sergeant who held onto the vision almost alone against all others. The *fait accompli* of the Vicars Apostolic had for most Catholics heralded the paradigm shift in the direction of the English Mission but some secular clergy remained, at least until Sergeant's death in 1707, recalcitrant.<sup>242</sup>

Gother's *Instructions for the Whole Year*, devotional thoughts on Sacred Scripture, the liturgical *ordo* and daily devotional aids, were more representative of the spirituality of the Mission at the close of Watkinson's administration. Gother's translation of the *Collects, Epistles and Gospels* catered for the ministry of the clergy away from the Latin literate gentry of the shires to Duffy's London of, 'labourers, weavers, lightermen, lumpers, warehousemen and sailors.'<sup>243</sup> Two further works, *Instructions for Apprentices and Servants* (n.p., 1699) and *Instructions and Devotions for the Afflicted and Sick* demonstrated the new rigours of the Mission, not confined to the country seat and the palatial pile but to the city and the needs of the labouring masses.

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<sup>240</sup> UCL, Durham, Upper Library, VII F 11 15 and II F 9 14.

<sup>241</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 121 – 22.

<sup>242</sup> John Gother, *Instructions for the Whole Year. Part I for Lent* (n.p., 1695); *Part II* (n.p. 1695); *Part III for Festivals* (n.p., 1696); *Part IV for Sundays* (n.p., 1698).

<sup>243</sup> Duffy, 'Richard Challoner', in Eamon Duffy (ed.) *Challoner and His Church: A Catholic Bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981), p. 6.



Perhaps the greatest reflection of de Sales's influence on Gother was his addition to the latter work, *Some Help for Prisoners: such especially as are to be tried for life* (London, 1697).

The catechetical tradition of the College at Lisbon, fostered under Watkinson, came out in some of Gother's own works. His *Instructions for Children* (n.p., 1698) and the *Instructions for Particular States* (n.p., 1689) were two of a corpus of works which focused on the Salesian devout form of piety of directing spiritual care to private circumstance.<sup>244</sup> These texts borrowed much from the *Abstract of the Doway Catechism: for the use of children and ignorant people* (1688) published by the President and Superiors of the English College. The question and answer style of the Catechism (e.g.) [Q]: What vice is opposite to Faith; [A]: Heresy, which is an obstinate Error in matters of Faith' was imitated by Gother in his own works.<sup>245</sup>

The Salesian model of parochial training ministry had strong influences in the English College demonstrated by an emphasis on the sacrament of confession.<sup>246</sup> Unlike Douai, priests working from the College at Lisbon had access to a large resident English Catholic community within the city. The College's antecedents lay in a residence which housed priests to serve English Catholics who had acculturated themselves into Portuguese civic and urban life. Successive administrations since William Newman had worked on behalf of the Holy Office and the *Cabido* within the English Catholic community of Lisbon. Other English Catholic foundations lacked this valuable source of training for its priests; students of St. Alban's at Valladolid had no such access to an

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<sup>244</sup> Indicative of this Salesian tradition, which prevailed at the College of Lisbon, outside of his sacramental works (e.g.) *Instructions for Confession and Communion* (n.p., 1696), was the *Instructions for Masters, Traders and Labourers* (n.p., 1699). This demonstrated the change of clientele the missionary under the Vicars Apostolic would be obliged to attend to.

<sup>245</sup> President and Superiors of the English College at Douai, *An Abstract of the Douay Catechism: for the use of Children and Ignorant People* (London, 1688), ch. 2 'Faith Expounded', p. 4. One copy of the *Abstract* held in the repository of York Minster Library [Old Collection XV.P. 46] had an addendum stitched into the text entitled 'Order of Serving Mass' which suggests that the provision of priests, at least in this household, was not scarce. These catechisms, used by the faithful as a replacement for the Mass when a priest could not attend, in collective recitation of parts of the text appear to have been supplemented by a not infrequent attendance at Mass. The *Doway Abstract* was aimed not at replacing the Mass in the English Catholic household but supplementing the Mass indicating that Douai, as well as Lisbon had their sights set on the household and the provision of sacramental and pastoral faculties during the toleration of 1684 – 88, a policy continued under the Vicars Apostolic.

<sup>246</sup> See Francis de Sales, *The Spiritual Director of Devout and Religious Souls, written by the Blessed Saint Francis Sales, Bishop and Prince of Geneva* (n.p., 1704).



English community making acculturation into the English Mission particularly difficult. The communities of Old Castile had little in common with the recusant gentry-centred minorities of the English Catholic community, a point raised by Williams in his historical account of the College at Valladolid. Although in Watkinson's administration there was no man in the College who remembered the time when the College's antecedent, the English Residence, had formed the centre of the English Catholic communities of the city, the College still had obligations to serve an English Catholic community in the city. Watkinson's letters patent appointed him:

Præsidentiam ac Rectoratum Collegii seu Seminarii Anglorum a Nobilissimo Pientissimoque viro Dom Petro Coutinho Ulyssipone fundati ad sanctam Fidem Catholicam in Regno Angliæ propagandam.<sup>247</sup>

The College's continued obligations as successor to the Residence gave Lisbonian Superiors access to valuable parochial training and pastoral experience that would put them in good stead for the Mission. Though this was the case for the Superiors, the students of the College did not have access to such training even after taking the missionary oath. Those who had received sacred orders and subscribed to the Missionary Oath rarely stayed on in the city longer than a few weeks. The Bridgettine agent at Rome, Charles Scmidhamer, complained of the inability of the Order to secure an English confessor from the College because of the Oath all newly ordained priests took to serve on the Mission. However the same correspondence noted Watkinson had selected one of his Council to act as Confessor to the convent.<sup>248</sup>

Parochial training was not a prerequisite for the Lisbonians training whose obligations contained in the College Oath obliged them to concentrate their efforts on the Mission. The lack of such training exposed weaknesses in the collegians' training. The case is best demonstrated with the brothers Thomas and William Hall.<sup>249</sup> Both entered the College in 1674 aged fourteen and sixteen respectively. William received his *viaticum* for the Mission in 1684 but, due to pastoral inexperience, was sent to the College of St.

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<sup>247</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 121, Juramenta Præsidium: Livro di Registro das Provizoes del Prezidentes do Collegio Inglez desta cidade Lisboa, Copia da Provisao do Prezidente Mathias Watkinson Anno 1671, pp. 8 – 9. The provisão was approved by the Inquisitor General and Protector of the College, Dom Diego Velho.

<sup>248</sup> UCL, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Charles Scmidhamer (Rome) to the Lady Abbess of Sion, 13 May 1696.

<sup>249</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 75.



Gregory's at Paris shortly after landing in England.<sup>250</sup> In correspondence with a Superior of the College his brother Thomas demonstrated the Salesian spirituality that the secular clergy at Paris espoused.<sup>251</sup> The importance of the Oratorians at Valenciennes on the outskirts of Paris has been mentioned above, where we saw that Russell himself had received orders not in the chapel at Lisbon but in the Oratory of Valenciennes.<sup>252</sup> Oratorian spirituality was more in keeping with the English secular clergy's vision of the Mission: Neri's apostolic work in Rome was later imitated by Sales's work in Geneva. The importance of the secular college of St. Gregory's in Paris as a centre of parochial and pastoral training is evident in William Hall's correspondence:<sup>253</sup>

I must premise that if ever I saw devotion practiced in my life. I have seen it here. I have made a reflection upon the Oratorians with you but I must confess in the house that the clergy here far surpass them in their exterior. I will not neither can I dive into the interior of either believing the best of both.

The correspondence, too lengthy to be included here, reflected the spiritual training that English secular priests were given in the late seventeenth century to prepare them for the Mission. Like the College at Lisbon, St. Gregory's at Paris represented another centre where the Salesian tradition was nurtured and promoted. Hall's retreat and training has been included as an addendum to this chapter.<sup>254</sup>

#### **3.4.4. Gother's Legacy.**

Scott demonstrated that London replaced the Continent as the centre for the publication of catechetical material for the seventeenth century English Catholic. Lisbonian clergy were at the forefront of this revival. Alumni such as Clifford, Gother, Gooden and Hall attached themselves at one time or another to centres in Paris, where the devout form of Salesian spirituality was most prominent. Working alongside the College at Paris, the Augustinian convent at the Fossés Saint-Victor, the College at Arras and the Sorbonne these men joined a set of secular priests, mostly though not exclusively from

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<sup>250</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 76.

<sup>251</sup> The Superior was Richard Mawdesley, professor of Theology. See Sharratt, *Annals* pp. 121 – 22.

<sup>252</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 164 – 167.

<sup>253</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 76.

<sup>254</sup> Appendix 4: Spiritual Exercises, ix – xi.



the Chapter, who specialised in catechetical works for the Mission.<sup>255</sup> There is no greater demonstration of Gother's representation of the change in direction taken by secular priests towards the Mission than his reception of the young Richard Challoner into the Catholic faith in 1704 shortly before Gother's death.<sup>256</sup> For both of them their devotional and spiritual influences owed something to the College at Lisbon. Controversialist, scholar, Vicar Apostolic of the London District and Superintendent of the College (1758 – 81), Challoner directed missionaries from Douai and Lisbon onto the Mission in its bleakest days. The prospect of any foreign intervention on behalf of the English Catholic community had died with Louis XIV. James II's intransigence destroyed the gains the community had secured throughout the Stuart regime; with the Hanoverian succession secure and prosperous by Challoner's election, hopes for Emancipation or, as the Blacklowist cabal had called for, a tolerated minority status had receded. Challoner's own works, most notably his *Garden of the Soul* (1740), echoed the strong Lisbonian influences Gother had been exposed to as a student.<sup>257</sup> The parallels between Gother and Challoner must not be exaggerated, but it remains true that Gother's work on the Mission reflected his education at the College a good deal of which filtered through to Challoner.

Duffy saw in Gother the culmination of the Salesian tradition in the great edition of 1718 where Gother's works were reprinted in full for the use of the English Catholic community. Gother, and to a similar degree Peter Gooden, his colleague at the College and on the Mission, had in the words of Duffy 'succeeded in domesticating and making their own something of the Salesian vision.'<sup>258</sup> The College at Lisbon had come of age under Watkinson's administration. The influence of Bishop Smith and the cause for the re-establishment of the Episcopate can be clearly seen in Shirley's *Monita* which in turn had echoes in Pickford's *Meditations*. Duffy noted that Challoner tapped this Lisbon tradition at its source, for a number of Challoner's *Meditations* were taken directly from

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<sup>255</sup> Birrell, 'English Catholics without a Bishop', pp. 142 – 78; Duffy, 'The English Secular Clergy', pp. 214 – 30; A.F. Allison, 'The English Augustinian Convent of Our Lady of Syon at Paris: its foundation and struggle for survival during the first eighty years, 1634 – 1713' *RH* 21 (October, 1993), 451 – 96].

<sup>256</sup> Sheridan Gilley, 'Challoner, Richard (1691 – 1781)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) [accessed 1 March 2006] <http://www.oxforddnb.com/article/5025>; Gother's death is related by Nicholas Waldegrave, one of Russell's many nephews at the College in UCA, Durham, LC, BA 13, 'Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet', p. 2v.

<sup>257</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Library Collection, *The Garden of the Soul; or, Manual of Spiritual Exercises and Instructions for Christians who living in the world, aspire to devotion* (London, 1816).

<sup>258</sup> Duffy, 'Richard Challoner and the English Salesian Tradition', p. 455.



Pickford's reprinted at Douai in 1662.<sup>259</sup> Gother's legacy at the College set a precedent for later Lisbonians and helped their missionary labours on the Mission. Gother's colleague at Lisbon, Peter Gooden, soon followed suit in dropping the emphasis on controversy and settling down to the sedate world of domesticity and catechetics.<sup>260</sup> Gooden had been a prominent controversialist during James II's reign where he engaged with the Protestant divines, Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester and William Clagett.<sup>261</sup> Dodd described Gooden, another product of the emphasis placed on works of controversy, casuistry and polemics under Watkinson's administration:

Peter Gooden... educated at the English College at Lisbon, where he improved his bright parts in all kinds of literature... No man was better qualified to come off with reputation in a personal conference than Mr. Gooden. He was naturally bold and intrepid; had a strong voice, a ready utterance, and generally made choice of such topics as afforded him matter to display his eloquence and make an easy conquest.<sup>262</sup>

Gooden's controversies terminated with the events of 1688 when he gave up his disputes with Clagett and Stillingfleet and devoted his remaining years to the pastoral needs of the English Catholic community of Andcliffe in Lancashire. Sergeant, who never accepted the shift in missionary ethos that his colleagues Gother and Gooden did, continued Gooden's controversial disputes with the Anglican divines in his *Five Catholic Letters*. Gooden himself never put pen to paper again, favouring the ethos of Gother rather than the hopeless causes of Sergeant.<sup>263</sup>

Works of polemics written by those doyens of controversy Sergeant and Tilden were replaced by catechetical instructions designed for the household more concerned with personal devotion than converting the Kingdom of England from the yoke of heresy, though the latter was still central to the Lisbonians Missionary Oath. Gother's *Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass* (republished ten times, 1703 – 1768) and

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<sup>259</sup> Duffy, 'Richard Challoner and the English Salesian Tradition', p. 453; Duffy has illustrated the almost plagiaristic imitation of Pickford's *Meditations* 'What Man is According to His Body' (2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Douai, 1663) by Challoner in his own *Meditations* 'On the Condition of the Body after Death.'

<sup>260</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 65.

<sup>261</sup> Croft, *Historical Account*, p. 49; William Clagett, *Seventeen sermons preached upon several occasions By William Clagett, D.D. With the sum of a conference, on February 21, 1686, between Dr. Clagett and Father Gooden, about the point of transubstantiation*. (London, 1699.)

<sup>262</sup> Dodd, *Church History* p. 481.

<sup>263</sup> John Sergeant, *Five Catholic Letters Concerning the Means of Knowing with Absolute Certainty what Faith now held was Taught by Jesus Christ written by J. Sergeant upon Occasion of a Conference between Dr. Stillingfleet and Mr. Peter Gooden* (London, 1688).

his *Instructions for Children* stand in contrast to his pre-1688 writing most notably his *Papist Misrepresented and Represented*.<sup>264</sup> Besides those works of Gother found in the College's Library, a series of Douai dictates in the hand of Gother's disciple William Crathorne, survived in the Book Archive. Crathorne sent these dictates to Manley who called them estimable.<sup>265</sup> Bound for use in the College's Library the dictates provided useful *vade mecums* for Lisbonians. Reference has been made to the only dictate penned by a Lisbonian under Watkinson's administration that has survived. Neither dictate nor defence survives from the College's foundation, not even Pickford's treatise *De Peccato*. The first to survive is John Manley's dictate *De Sacra Scriptura* of the 1698/9 academic year.<sup>266</sup> According to the *Juramenta Superiorum* Manley's dictates were taken from Thomas Hall's lectures; Hall had been secured by Watkinson from the Sorbonne to take the post of Lector in Theology.<sup>267</sup>

### 3.4.5. Conclusion.

Lisbon could never compete with the number of missionaries that Douai could produce for the Mission; the College had neither the space nor the resources to compare with the Mother College. Nevertheless under Watkinson's administration the small college in the Bairro Alto exercised an influence over the Chapter and consequently the Mission that was disproportionate to its size. In December 1689 the largest number of

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<sup>264</sup> John Gother, *Instructions and Devotions for Hearing Mass* (London, 1703); *Instructions for Children* (London, 1704); *A Papist Misrepresented and Represented* (London, 1683) the 21<sup>st</sup> edition was printed in 1798 see F. Blom et. al., *English Catholic Books, 1701 – 1800: a bibliography* (Chippenham, 1996), pp. 136 – 37.

<sup>265</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive, Douai Dictates 222 – 30. The titles have been taken from Sharratt's 'Handbook' (see above): *De Sacramentis: pars prima* under Edward Hawarden ending 20 June 1699 (222); *De Sacramentis: pars secunda et (ii) theologicae de sacramentis* under Hawarden ending 1699 (223); *Institutiones morales de Decalogo et (ii) Quaestio theologica de aequivocatione et restrictione mentali* under Simon Rider ending 28 May 1700 and 2 December 1703 respectively (224); *De Scriptura Sacra* under Rider ending 14 August 1700, *Tabula Chronologica* ending 1704, *Epitome de Ecclesia* ending 1704 (225); *De legibus* under unknown lecturer at Douai, *De Peccatis* ending September 1703, *Tractatus de gratia* under Hawarden ending 24 August 1700, *Tractatus de justicia et merito* under Hawarden ending 25 September 1700, *Excerpta ex operibus Martini Lutheri* ending 1703 (226); *Tractatus de Deo Uno* under Hawarden ending 11 April 1701, *Tractatus de Deo Trino* under Hawarden ending 14 June 1701, *Dissertatio theologica* under Hawarden ending 1703 (227); *Tractatus de incarnatione verbi divini* under Rider ending 27 April 1701, *Theses tripartitae de Christo* under unknown lecturer from Douai, probably Rider (228); *De ecclesia: prima pars et secunda* under Hawarden ending 16 April 1707 (229); *De ecclesia: pars secunda* under Hawarden ending April 1707 (230).

<sup>266</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 239, Lisbon Dictate, *De Sacra Scriptura* under Thomas Hall ending September 1698; see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, p. 43.

<sup>267</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 74.



students ever seen in the College's history was ordained by the Protector in the College chapel. George Slaughter, Francis Wortley, Edward Jones, Henry Preston, Thomas Good, John Danby and John Pearson all received orders from the Protector. Of these seven students Slaughter went on to become Vice President and Regent, Jones later assumed the Presidency on two occasions and Preston worked assiduously as College agent on the Mission.<sup>268</sup> Within the confines of Watkinson's College new home-grown leaders were being produced who led the College into and throughout the eighteenth century. Another important ordination was that of John Manley, who with Jones collectively governed the College's administration from Watkinson's removal to the Great Earthquake of 1755.<sup>269</sup> It was during Watkinson's administration that the Lisbonians who would take the College into the arduous days of the eighteenth century came to the fore.

The examination of Watkinson's Presidency has drawn several conclusions with regards to the College's place within the infrastructure of the Mission. This chapter has examined the foundation as an enclosed educational establishment, as an English foundation in Lisbon and as a missionary college. With regards to the Mission there is little to supplement or contradict the extensive work of Bossy and Duffy relating to English Gallicanism within the Chapter and the Salesian spirituality that influenced the English secular clergy. There are issues that Bossy asserts, challenged by Duffy, that this thesis would argue need amendment. Though men such as Sergeant represented those 'trapped in a sterile wilderness of unreality' Sergeant was in no way representative of the College at Lisbon or the English secular clergy generally.<sup>270</sup> Sergeant was a product of White and Holden and, as Birrell has argued belonged to a minority within a minority whose bark was greater than their bite. Shirley's *Monita* and Pickford's *Meditations*, a strand of devotional material found within the College that nourished Gother and ultimately Challoner, indicated that collegians were instructed to labour to the poor, Catholic and conformist, in bringing men to God which indicates that there was a missionary ethos at the College which was designed at reconstructing an English Catholic

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<sup>268</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, 17 – 21 December 1689: George Slaughter, Francis Wortley, Edward Jones, Henry Preston, Thomas Good (all ordained 18 December 1689) John Danby and John Pearson (ordained 21 December 1689); see Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 185 – 6, 227, 97 – 101, 151, 65, 40, 140.

<sup>269</sup> Manley was only twenty-two when he received the three major orders. Pope Clement XI granted dispensation from the canonical age in October 1702, UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Pope Clement XI to President Mathias Watkinson, 13 October 1702. UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, John Manley, 20 December 1697, 5 January 1698.

<sup>270</sup> Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 11 – 74.



community. Bossy's referral to the English secular clergy as a whole not settling down to the business of mission until the third quarter of the seventeenth century is simplistic, as Duffy points out.<sup>271</sup> If the Chapter had been representative of the English secular clergy as a whole then Bossy might be right; however the clergy on the Chapter were a small and not wholly representative body. The labourers in the vineyard, those men like Shirley and Lloyd, demonstrated that they had settled down to the rigours of the itinerant Mission. The Blacklowist vision for the English Mission was inappropriate to English conditions but it was formulated when ecclesiastical governance was in a state of flux.

Smith's *Monita*, emulated by Shirley and added to the College's *Liber Missionis* under Pickford, stipulated the cultivation of an intense personal piety based on mental prayer and sacramental life. Smith dealt with: the conduct of chaplains towards gentry patrons; deciding on cases of conscience; the diet and clerical dress of a missionary; preaching and individual instruction and the claims of the poor on the missionary. Shirley's own emphases rested on a) the practice of voluntary poverty to enable charitable giving and b) obedience to the Superiors of the Clergy (there is no mention of any form of authority; service being more important than ecclesial hierarchies). The nature of ecclesial authority was inconsequential to the 'final end and perfection of an Apostolic life.'<sup>272</sup> The place of the recommendations in the *Liber Missionis* serves to demonstrate that this was the *vade mecum* for the Lisbonian. The recommendation by Bishop Smith, a point encouraged by later administrations at the College, to use Sales' *Devout Life* as a guide to the missionary life indicated that the secular clergy, albeit not those prominent members of the Chapter who have dominated English Catholic historiography, were indeed settling down to effective missionary work long before 1688.<sup>273</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> See Duffy, 'English Secular Clergy', p. 230: 'I think it is clear, then that Professor Bossy's picture of a secular clergy only cosmetically involved in the Counter-Reformation renewal of priestly ideals and trapped in a structure-bound antiquarianism, will not do.' Duffy has demonstrated conclusively what this chapter had neither the mandate nor the scope to do, that the training that the English College gave to its students was far advanced for the Mission; aided by Protectors whose knowledge of the needs of the English Mission put even members of the Chapter to shame, coupled with a close affinity to the devout centres of Paris, particularly the College of St. Gregory, led the College in a direction that blossomed under Watkinson.

<sup>272</sup> Taken from UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, section 5, Henry Shirley's *Monita* 'How to treat with heretics, schismatics and Catholics of England good and bad', p. 1.

<sup>273</sup> Duffy, 'The English Secular Clergy', p. 223.



The shadow of Blacklow has overcast much of this work but it should be noted again that the English Mission did not begin in 1688. Since there was no delayed attainment of pastoral realism by the English seculars it is clear that White can not be held responsible for it. It is true that a minority of the Chapter held to the Blacklowist vision for the English Catholic church but this chapter has shown that the College itself did not see the Mission as Sergeant did and was indeed eager to distance itself from such notions. White fought for toleration for the English Catholic community with the Lord Protector and the Commonwealth; this position, continued by his protégé and fellow alumnus, John Sergeant led to the difficulties that the unorthodox shadow of Blacklow cast over the College in Watkinson's administration. Gother had another vision, one that acknowledged what White and Sergeant never did; that the Mission was to be restricted to the household and that any return to a Marian style episcopacy was both a foolish dream and impractical after the appointment of the Vicars Apostolic. Russell's legacy is best represented in his patronage of the College as Bishop of Portalegre. Though he turned his back on the Mission, reneging on his College Oath and diverting all his attention to his role as a Tridentine reforming prelate, he fulfilled his obligations to help the College in any way he could, fulfilling that obligation more than most of his colleagues. It is his voice, not Watkinson's, that has survived in the College's archive and to posterity.

The missionary ethos of the College at Lisbon nourished men as diverse as Gother, Sergeant, Russell, Hesketh and Gooden. This thesis argues that each responded to that formative education in diverse ways according to the place they found themselves in on the Mission. Gother represented the spirituality of Clifford, Shirley and Pickford; a line that ultimately led to Challoner.<sup>274</sup> Sergeant represented White but as the hostile investigations into the College's orthodoxy demonstrated he was the lone standard bearer of a cause where, when all had packed up and gone home, Sergeant was there pen in hand. Russell's later work in the diocese of Viseu demonstrated an independent zealotry for Tridentine reform and Oratorian spirituality which he had gained affection for at Valenciennes. Hesketh represented the ethos of Newman and Clarence, an administrator whose mediocrity has made him unattractive to English Catholic historiography and Gooden, who shows that Gother was not a collegiate oddity in his shift to devotional literature after 1688. These men were schooled, raised and sent out

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<sup>274</sup> Duffy noted of Pickford that he had, 'the express purpose of fostering a reformed ideal of priesthood' see Duffy, 'English Secular Clergy', p. 227.

from what Duffy has called a 'centre for the propagation in England of Counter-Reformation ideals of a reformed priesthood.'<sup>275</sup> This was the vision of Bishop Smith, this was fostered by successive generations and its best representation was displayed under Watkinson's administration. It is perhaps fitting to conclude with President Bernard that though the College at Lisbon never had a morning on the English Mission as the other Continental foundations had done, it shone out all at once in the splendour of meridian day.

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<sup>275</sup> Duffy, 'English Secular Clergy', p. 225.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### A Litany of Troubles: The Four Presidencies of Edward Jones and John Manley, 1706 – 1761.

#### 4.1. Section One: The first administrations of Jones and Manley, 1706 – 32.

##### 4.1.1. President Edward Jones: the first administration, 1706 – 1729.

The College's history from Watkinson's death in 1710 to the Expulsion of the Jesuit Order from Portugal in 1759 was a period marked by maladministration, the collapse of collegiate discipline and financial adversity. The antecedents of this demise can be found within the closing years of Watkinson's administration. Attempts by the College's agents in London to limit the damage the College's woes were causing its reputation in England did something to stem the rot. Poor relations between the Vicars Apostolic and Watkinson, a relationship continued by Jones, did much to exacerbate the problems that the College laboured under throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Jones succeeded Watkinson as eleventh President in 1706. Jones, like his predecessor, had been raised in the College from his youth: he was admitted to study Latin in 1684 at the age of fifteen. He took the College habit and jurisdiction four years later in 1688 shortly before the collapse of James II's authority in England.<sup>1</sup> The College's Protector, the Cardinal Inquisitor General Dom Verissimo de Lencastre (recently elevated to the purple), conferred Jones' tonsure and minor orders that same year. In 1689 he received both his sub-diaconate and diaconate from the Protector. He remained a deacon for a further two years before he was elevated to the priesthood in November 1691.<sup>2</sup> Jones had, albeit recorded in his own hand in the *Annals*, proven himself a capable scholar as demonstrated in numerous public defences which, as Chapter Three has emphasised, remained a representation of the College's excellence in the teaching and learning of Watkinson's administration.<sup>3</sup> Within a year of his ordination,

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<sup>1</sup> Sharratt *Annals*, p. 100.

<sup>2</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Although Jones wrote the entirety of his entry in the *Annals*; a biographical account that started with his entry in 1684, he omitted the *cum laude publice* clause for his own defences that typified the entries of Perrot and Tilden. Jones defended Logic under Brockholes (March, 1688); Philosophy *sub eodem magistro* (July, 1689). Jones's first public defence on Theology in July 1692 *De Verbo Incarnato* was dedicated to one of the College's patrons, Dom Ferdinando Tellesio Sylvio, Conde de Villamaior and Marques de Alegreti.

Watkinson appointed Jones professor of Philosophy where he defended public conclusions on *Physics* (May, 1694) and *De Ortu, Interitu et Anima* (May, 1695). Having a reputation for excellence in his public defences, Watkinson appointed Jones the College's Confessor in September 1697 shortly before his removal to the Mission. Jones's experience of the Mission was brief: from January 1698 to June 1699 he returned to England, not in his capacity as a missionary but as caretaker to the family seat in Staffordshire. Jones, like his predecessor never took the College's Missionary Oath. Presidents of the College at Lisbon rarely had experience of the Mission before assuming the management of the administration. The last President to have had a substantial first hand experience of the Mission, prior to his appointment, was Peter Clarence (1638 – 42). After President Pickford's election in 1642 the appointment of the President, with the exception of Whitaker, was made exclusively from within the Council of Superiors.

The first challenge to Jones' authority as President came in January 1710. Jones had served as Watkinson's Vice President from 1699 – 1706 when the aged President made him acting-President in view of his own growing infirmities.<sup>4</sup> Unable to shoulder the brunt of the College's governance himself, Jones petitioned the College agent in London, John Vane (College agent: 1708 – 33), to seek a substitute Vice President from the Lisbonian clergy working on the Mission.<sup>5</sup> Jones suggested that George Slaughter, a Lisbonian who had acted as a College Superior prior to departing for the Mission should take the office when his affairs in England had been concluded.<sup>6</sup> Jones petitioned Bishop Bonaventure Giffard (Vicar Apostolic of the London District and Superintendent of the College, (1703 – 34) to recommend Slaughter for the post.<sup>7</sup> Slaughter returned to England with patents of appointment from Giffard in the summer of 1710.<sup>8</sup> The College's *Constitutions* gave Jones the power to recall Lisbonians from the Mission for the benefit of the College should he and his Council see fit to do so. Those Lisbonians who took the College Oath obliged themselves to serve the College in whatever way they could. The Oath was taken prior to a student entering Divinity but that rule was often not adhered to.

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<sup>4</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 203 – 4.

<sup>6</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 8 January 1710.

<sup>7</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 15 February 1710.

<sup>8</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 186.



The onus was on the student to promise that he intended to take Sacred Orders: *quantum sanctissima ejus gratia me adjuverit, ut sup tempore sacros ordines, etiam sacerdotium suscipiam et in Angliam ad proximorum animas lucrandas revertar, quando cunque Reverendo Patre Collegii hujus Presidenti mihi illud pro instituti sui ratione præcipere visum fuerit in Domino.*<sup>9</sup> The College Oath was distinct from the Missionary Oath which instructed the priest to work under the authority of the Lord Bishop of Chalcedon with the later but significant addition of ‘*et ejus successoribus.*’<sup>10</sup> This was however a far from preferable state of affairs for Jones’ first years as President. To call back priests from the Mission was counterproductive to the College’s mission and purpose. Problems with staffing provision forced Jones’ hand early on in his Presidency. Alongside Slaughter’s recall, Jones petitioned Vane to seek the return of Robert Bolney to be Master of Humanity and William Mawdesley to act as Lector of Philosophy to ease the burdens of the beleaguered Superior John Manley.<sup>11</sup> Jones informed Giffard that he felt compelled to send Manley on the Mission as teaching at the College had sent him into a state of depression and his teaching skills would be better used on the Mission. After repeated requests to head to the Mission, Jones succumbed to Manley’s desires recommending him to Bishop Giffard in August the following year.<sup>12</sup>

#### **4.1.2. Watkinson’s Legacy: Conflict with the Vicars Apostolic.**

Though the administration of the College continued to correspond with the Vicars Apostolic after 1685 relations were far from enthusiastic. Watkinson did not see himself as obliged to consult the Vicars on internal management. Lisbonians on the Mission were under his authority as the *Forma Juramenti* stipulated, guaranteed by Rome and the Inquisitor General. The *Forma* gave the President the right to recall alumni for the

<sup>9</sup> Taken from Robert Bolney’s College Oath, UCA, Durham, LC, Sheet Archive, Oaths, 21 December 1701.

<sup>10</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Sheet Archive, Oaths; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, Liber Missionis, Formula Juramenti Sacerdotum in Angliam mittendorum

<sup>11</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 15 – 16, 122 – 23; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 27 January 1710.

<sup>12</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 10 August 1711. John Manley did not take the Missionary Oath; he is not recorded as having taken the Oath in the *Liber Missionis*. Papers in the Ordination Certificates and Faculties collection of the archive provide evidence that Jones granted Manley missionary faculties in September 1711, possibly to head to Twyford school in time for Michaelmas Term: UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, Missionary Faculties of John Manley, 17 September 1711.

benefit of the College at any given time; place the Lisbonian wherever he and his Council deemed fit and send students to the Mission when he so desired.<sup>13</sup> Despite the valid exercise of this power Watkinson and Jones found themselves reliant on an English Chapter, whose claim to exercise full ordinary power *sede vacante* was increasingly disputed even amongst the secular clergy. Watkinson's adamant refusal to deal with the Vicars concerning matters of management and jurisdiction supported the assertion that the College Superiors had full faith in the continued validity of the Chapter as the legitimate government of the College. Jones, when acting as Watkinson's Vice President (1699 – 1706) and later as Acting President (1706 – 07) followed Watkinson's lead in his defence of the Chapter's legitimacy.<sup>14</sup> His own Presidency, contested itself, opened up a rift between Jones and the ecclesial authorities in England that had never been seen before. The absence of correspondence between the English secular ecclesial authorities and the College from 1701 – 08 demonstrates that this rift began in the declining years of Watkinson's regime. The archival material concerning relations between Jones and the Vicars is richer than that of Watkinson's, revealing the poor relations between the two parties.

Relations between the ecclesial regime of the Vicars Apostolic and the administration of the College remained fractious. Lisbonian attitudes towards the new regime and the extent of their jurisdiction over the College's administration have been examined in Chapter Three. During the final years of Watkinson's protracted Presidency relations between the two parties fell into abeyance; this is the legacy Jones inherited in 1706. Correspondence from the Vicars to the ailing President demonstrated willingness by the former to secure control of the College. In correspondence that had parallels with an earlier letter concerning attempts at seizing the College's administration Bishops John Leyburn (London District), Bonaventure Giffard (Midlands) and James Smith (Northern) addressed to the President demonstrated the administration's quandary. John Blackfan, Jesuit Prefect of the Iberian missionaries had instructed the College's co-founder, William Newman to relinquish his post as Rector of the English Residence in 1621 and return to England in a missionary capacity. The letter from the Vicars sent in November 1701 had uncomfortable resonances for Watkinson and the administration's independence:

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<sup>13</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, *Constitutiones et Regulæ Collegii Anglorum Ulyssiponensis, Forma Juramenti*, pp. 23v – 23r.

<sup>14</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 100.



We think fitting you should come over and share with your [brethren] in the labours and rewards of a missionary life. We cannot apprehend you will take it ill that we call you from that station, since you have been much longer in it than any of your predecessors. On the contrary we promise ourselves that you will with all cheerfulness comply with this our order and as we all joined in this order so also do we in the assurance we give you of a most kind and cordial welcome. You shall also find by the honourable post we shall prefer you to, how much you are esteemed and valued by us. We desire you will take the first opportunity because we shall not send the person we design for your successor until we have discoursed with you the sooner therefore you come, the more it will be to [our] satisfaction. [Signed]: John, Bishop of Adrumetum, Bonaventure, Bishop of Madaura, James, Bishop of Gallipoli.<sup>15</sup>

Whether Watkinson had access to Blackfan's letter to Newman in the College's archive, a letter concerning earlier attempts by outside agencies to seize the College's administration, remains a matter for conjecture. The parallels between the two letters are noteworthy and deserve repetition. Blackfan informed Newman some eighty years earlier that:

You well remember that, now some fourteen years ago, father Persons, as prefect of the English mission, placed you in the residence of Lisbon, to administer the same till the place might otherwise be provided: and for the industry you have used therein, you will not want your reward in heaven. But now, considering the obligation of the oath you made, to go into England whensoever it should please your superiors to command it in our Lord, for which you were never yet absolved, I thought good now to put you in mind of the accomplishment thereof; letting you understand that I have provided another to succeed you in that place.<sup>16</sup>

It is unfortunate that no evidence exists relating this letter with the opinion of the administration in 1701. President Watkinson acted as his predecessor had done so eighty years before him. Watkinson refused to resign or go on the Mission; like Newman, Watkinson was not obliged to serve the Mission as he had not taken the Missionary Oath. The attempt to remove Newman by Blackfan in the 1620s was rightly seen by the Rector as an attempt to seize the administration of the projected College; the letter from the Vicars was a similar attempt albeit by the secular clergy to finally put to rest the ghosts of the English Chapter and ordinary secular power *sede vacante*. The attempt failed. Watkinson's reasons remain uncertain for want of evidence but the College's quasi-paranoid approach to any matter concerning its independence must not be under emphasised.

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<sup>15</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishops John Leyburn, Bonaventure Giffard and James Smith to President Mathias Watkinson 22 September 1701 (o.s.)

<sup>16</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Blackfan S.J. to William Newman, 7 August 1621.



The archival material sheds light on two particular areas of conflict between the ecclesial regime in England and the administration at Lisbon. The first concerned the programme initiated by Jones to rebuild the College, taking the *compatronato* rights away from the Portuguese *Misericórdia* (charged with administering the College) and guaranteeing it for the theoretically defunct English Chapter in 1713.<sup>17</sup> The second area concerns correspondence in 1725 flatly denying the Vicars' jurisdiction over the College in any form: a position later supported by King João V of Portugal.<sup>18</sup>

Evidently Watkinson refused the request from the Vicars as he continued to govern the College for a further five years; even in increased infirmity he refused to resign office instead giving the Vice President Edward Jones powers of Regent early in 1706.<sup>19</sup> No further correspondence survives from the letter from the Vicars Apostolic to Watkinson (1701) through to 1708 when correspondence between the Mission and the College's administration was resumed. The absence of evidence prevents a conclusive deduction as to the reason why letters to the administration from the Mission seemingly cut off. The War of the Spanish Succession hampered communications between England and Portugal but the Procurator's Account Books and the Agents Accounts demonstrated that the College received communications from England from 1701 – 08. Correspondence from England to the College for these seven years may have been lost: there may be a perfectly plausible explanation that fire or water damaged the correspondence. It seems more plausible however to suggest that relations between the Vicars Apostolic and the administration from 1701 – 08 were far from cordial and that the letter recalling Watkinson was, if not the main cause of this silence, certainly a key factor.

The founding *Constitutions* and Coutinho's will had stipulated that the Bishop of Chalcedon had the right to nominate the President. The Protector of the College had agreed that nominations from the Chapter *sede vacante* (c.1655 – c.85) were valid as the Portuguese church and, in its own hesitant way, the Holy See had long seen the Chapter

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<sup>17</sup> Letters concerning Jones' success in consolidating the Chapter's hold over the College from the Vicars Apostolic and the *Misericórdia* can be found in UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane (College's London Agent), 24 January 1713, 25 April 1713, 19 May 1713 and 14 April 1713 (o.s.) This section has been included as an appendix: see Appendix 5, Rebuilding of the College under Jones, xii – xxi.

<sup>18</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones 13 February 1725 and 13 March 1725.

<sup>19</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 100.



as representative of the English secular clergy. The Vicars Apostolic presented a problem to both the College and the Protector. The Chapter still existed despite the imposition of the Vicars Apostolic in 1685. According to Portuguese civic law the Chapter still retained rights over the College. The *Misericórdia*, responsible for administering Coutinho's last will and foundation settlement, dealt with the Chapter not the Vicars Apostolic in its legal negotiations. Under Jones's first administration support from the Vicars Apostolic for the embattled College in the Bairro Alto was at best lukewarm. There was an administrative relationship between Giffard and Jones but it was a mutually amiable relationship as opposed to one based out of either deference or a recognition of jurisdiction. Jones's correspondence to Giffard via Vane concerned matters directly relating either to his reputation or his calls for aid from the Mission. Never did he seek advice or council from Giffard as to the government or direction of the College. Giffard himself made use of Jones's influence and patronage where it might help his own position, particularly with the President's access to Portuguese royal circles. In March 1723 Giffard asked Jones to petition King João V to open a chapel-royal for the use of Catholics in London forced to squeeze into the Sardinian chapel to hear Mass.<sup>20</sup> Vane petitioned his fellow Lisbonian Tobias Gibbons, chief chaplain to the Portuguese ambassador, to persuade the King to expand the chapel-royal in London. Gibbons forwarded the plea from the Vicars to the King who elected a new ambassador with instructions to make the chapel-royal accessible to the Catholic community of London. Gibbons was appointed the new ambassador's chaplain, working to meet the needs of the community through his post at the embassy thereby representing an important agency for both Jones and Vane. Five years into his appointment Vane continued to send protests to Jones that the demand on the chapel was too much and that if the crown could extend the chapel further that would be serviceable to the Mission.<sup>21</sup> Despite desperate appeals to the missionary administrators in England, Jones received little support in his first Presidency from the Vicars' Apostolic. Bishop Giffard, despite his self appointed title of Superintendent of the College, provided a gift of £100 in 1724. When considered against

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<sup>20</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Bonaventure Giffard to President Edward Jones, 13 March 1723.

<sup>21</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 60 – 61; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 21 February 1724.

the donation of £1000 to Douai this clearly demonstrated the College's place in the order of things according to the new ecclesial regime.<sup>22</sup>

#### 4.1.3. College Agents: the Letter Books of Jones and Manley.

At the turn of the eighteenth century the College's administration had access to a substantial network of sympathetic clientage and patronage networks throughout the Mission. The officer responsible for maintaining the College's interests on the Mission was that of the College Agent, almost exclusively based in London, although correspondence to the College's administration revealed agencies in Durham and York throughout the eighteenth century. The College Agent enjoyed a wide remit in what particulars he exercised in his role as Procurator. The agent was, without exception, a secular priest usually though not exclusively Lisbonian. The role augmented according to the needs of the College and the condition of the Catholic community at any given time. The College maintained agents on the Mission since its foundation in 1622. Throughout the early and mid seventeenth century the administration at Lisbon relied on the networks that its Mother College at Douai had established since the 1570s. After the Restoration of 1660 the College agents capitalised on royal and aristocratic patronage by expanding their operations in procuring students and funds for the *alma mater* in Portugal.

The Letter Books of Presidents Edward Jones (1706 – 29; 1732 – 37) and John Manley (1729 – 32; 1739 – 55) provide an insight into the role of the College at Lisbon within the English Catholic community; its reputation and condition, its relationship with the English secular ecclesial authorities and its importance within the infrastructure of the pan-European English Catholic Diaspora. The Letter Books are a series of correspondence written by the Presidents to the College's agents on the Mission. They are mainly informative in their structure presenting instructions as to how to deal with ecclesial authorities on matters relating to College affairs in England and Portugal. The nomenclature used by both sender and recipient was unnecessarily quaint.<sup>23</sup> The College

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<sup>22</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Bonaventure Giffard to President Edward Jones, 15 October 1724 (o.s.)

<sup>23</sup> Aliases had been used by the other colleges for very good reasons: English Protestant agents had operated in the colleges at Rome, Douai and even those in Spain causing distress for relatives and benefactors in England. Considering the relaxed condition of the English Catholic community under the Hanoverian regime such language remained over cautious. Other sources clearly demonstrate that the Hanoverian authorities were well aware of the activities of the College both in Lisbon and in England.



was referred to by Vane, Shepperd, Jones and Manley as Mr. House or Mr. Peterhouse (one of the patronal saints of the College); students and alumni were referred to as apprentices as though Jones and Manley were operating a merchant's or a lawyer's firm in an attempt to disguise the College's main role as an English seminary.

The College had always employed agents in England to procure funds, revenues, staff and students and to negotiate with the English Chapter. The collapse of the Chapter's authority left successive administrations increasingly dependent on Lisbonian priests willing to liaise with the ecclesial authorities and carry out tasks traditionally filled by the Chapter. A substantial number of the letters between the agents and the administration concern College business with the Vicars Apostolic: patents for Superiors, matters concerning management and administration, financial and staffing concerns, relations with the Protector and the Portuguese civil and ecclesial authorities. The College's agents continued to act as a valuable agency for Jones and Manley in expressing concerns and reservations to what was essentially an agency under the President's patronage. John Vane (College agent: 1708 – 33) and John Shepperd (1733 – 61) skilfully reinterpreted desperate pleas from their masters in Lisbon, giving a filtered version to the respective ecclesial authority in England. These relationships, between Vane and Jones and Shepperd and Manley, are crucial in understanding the College and its interaction with the Mission throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. Sending letters whose composition from 1710 through to the mid-1740s were almost without exception, lamentations from Lisbon, directly to the Vicars Apostolic would only have consolidated the Vicars' doubts over Lisbon and the administrations of Jones and Manley. It would also have involved the Vicars in the College's management: something Jones in particular was eager to avoid. In keeping the correspondence within Lisbonian circles the Presidents at Lisbon could rely on their agents in London to seek solutions with the ecclesial authorities without provoking needless anxiety. The College's geographical distance from the Mission in comparison to Douai and Paris disadvantaged the administration, as the negotiations regarding its foundation in the 1620s had repeatedly shown. As a secular college it lacked the hierarchical administration that the Jesuit colleges in Spain enjoyed and with it the privileges and advantage such government had in communication and channelling patronage and revenues. The College's agent in Lisbon was of crucial importance to the institution of the College. However it is only from 1710, through the administrations of Jones and Manley that this relationship comes to the fore as being an integral part of the wider administration.



#### 4.1.4. Tremors of Student Rebellion.

One of the most striking aspects of Jones' correspondence to the College agent on the Mission throughout his first administration is his reference to a series of student rebellions. In light of the adversities that afflicted the College throughout his Presidency, problems within the Council (e.g. finding capable secular priests to take teaching positions), filling long-term staff vacancies and the critical financial condition that the administration found itself in from 1710, student dissatisfaction at the management of the College's day to day running could hardly have come as a surprise. The letters reproduced here provide selected tales of woe from the College's history and provide a valuable insight into the administration of one of the English colleges abroad. The tremors of student rebellion began to show towards the end of Lent 1710. The fermentation of student dissatisfaction with Jones' management of the College first appeared in a letter written by the President to Vane:

All the afflicting crosses that have hitherto pressed upon me have appeared light and easy in the condemnation that my young men [the students] employed with their duty so much to my satisfaction and by an exact observance of the *Rule[s]* improved so well in learning and as of thought in virtue until about two months ago. I found that some devil of dissention was congressed up amongst them, the fall out which one and other separated into parting and continue to get for with all the art of scolds and frowns and cannot lay that malignant spirit that reigns amongst them. They have wanted for nothing though in so hard times and the House in debt I have showed them all the encouraging kindness possible as indeed they deserving no other from me until now they are fallen into so unaccountable discontent amongst themselves.<sup>24</sup>

The ringleader of this disgruntled club of students was Joseph Petre who along with a further four students started a campaign of detraction against one of the Superiors, John Lloyd, Master of Humanity. Jones appointed Lloyd on the basis that he showed great potential. Lloyd himself argued that he needed more time to prepare himself for the teaching assigned to him.<sup>25</sup> The Council of Superiors had consulted against Lloyd and voiced numerous concerns to Jones as to his learning.<sup>26</sup> Lloyd's incompetence in the classroom threatened to further stoke what was already a smouldering temper amongst the scholars in the school of Humanity. To stave off a rebellion Jones bent to student

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<sup>24</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 16 April 1710.

<sup>25</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones, 15 February 1710.

<sup>26</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet: College Accounts, 1667 – 1739, p. 128.



protests and removed Lloyd from his commission.<sup>27</sup> Manley succeeded Lloyd who found himself quietly sent to the Mission albeit with full missionary faculties.<sup>28</sup> The students claimed that the College's financial situation led to Jones employing men who were incompetent and with little experience. Jones defended Lloyd in correspondence to Vane yet tacitly agreed with Petre's criticisms:

Mr. Lloyd is [as] much as we can find here, [we] have brought him up from a child. [He is] a good man and a good scholar that not so polished otherwise as some might defend but he [was the] only one we had then to supply that place [as Master of Humanity] and as for his ability, [he is] capable without expression.<sup>29</sup>

There was nothing unusual about the President defending a member of his staff against student calumniation who Jones noted were, 'here to obey and conform to the government of the House not to give ball and chain' [to the Council of Superiors.] Two weeks later the detractors had informed Jones of their desire to return to England should the adversities the College population laboured under show no sign of relief. In correspondence dated May 1710 it is clear that Jones made some attempt to stem the tide of dissent amongst the students. The President and his Council sat in consult to hear the grievances of the student party. Jones, working within the limits of the College *Constitutions*, instructed each student that he was at liberty to declare his complaint towards the College and promised to redress the grievance as far as the *Constitutions* and the style of the House permitted. This letter provides a valuable insight into student discipline within the College and the response given to unruly behaviour by the College administration.<sup>30</sup> One student of this party, Thomas Mackworth, complained that he was flogged unjustly for leaving the College compound without requesting leave from a Superior. Another student complained of Masters showing favouritism towards certain students to the detriment of others. This attempt by Jones to calm the mood of the House

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<sup>27</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council of Superiors: minutes: 1710 – 1883, pp. 5 – 12.

<sup>28</sup> The *Liber Missionis* noted that Lloyd was sent on the Mission in April 1711 [UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, *Liber Missionis*, p. 88]. Jones must have thought that nine years on the Mission might have done Lloyd a service for the *Annals* noted that Jones recalled him in 1720 to teach Humanity. After completing the course Lloyd returned to England under a shadow as the minutes of the Council of Superiors indicated. In 1722 Lloyd was ordered to retract certain accusations against the administration of Jones which he had disseminated to members of the clergy outside of the College. Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 110; Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 110, 115 – 119.

<sup>29</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 16 April 1710. Editorial comments by author.

<sup>30</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 12 May 1710.



proved disastrous. One of Jones' Theology students informed him that the public flogging of Mackworth had been unjust, for according to College custom he was entitled leave on account of the Queen of Portugal's arrival in Lisbon. This ill judged beating created an ugly mood within the College and had contributed to the students' sense of injustice. Jones had proven himself to be rash in judgement and severe in punishment. His fear, as he reported to Vane, was that he needed to set an example to the House so as to prevent further disturbances. For Jones at least there were dangerous parallels with the student rebellion at Douai in 1689 which led to President Edward Paston conceding to demands from the students after he was forced to call upon the governor of Douai to restore order in the College by force.<sup>31</sup>

The disturbances at Lisbon soon came to the attention of the ecclesiastical authorities on the Mission. Vane informed Jones that the Dean and Chapter authorities were expressing concern as to his management of student insubordination. John Perrot, Dean of the Chapter and former President of the College, sought confirmation that Jones had control of the situation.<sup>32</sup> Bishop Giffard was not at all pleased at the reputation the College was gaining under Jones. The President was forced to answer for his conduct:

My Lord Bishop Giffard.

I understand that your Lordship has been alarmed by the letters that these young [students] have lately writ to their relations [concerning] ill usage from me and the rest of the Superiors which has given them these motives of desiring to be recalled [to England.] I do assure your Lordship that they have been treated here with all gentleness and kindness imaginable as indeed never giving me occasion for any other until now. I overlook at present for their poor relations' sake not to put them in further concerns.

Jones protested at one student's accusation, sent home in a letter to his parents in England, that the state of the College's finances forced privations upon the students. Jones retorted that the diet both Alumni, Convictors and Superior was allowed had not differed since the time of Vice Presidents Hesketh (1678 – 1686) and Petre (1697 – 99). In response to accusations that Jones' style of management was oligarchic and punitive he replied that students were granted more liberty to come and go from the College compound than he had been allowed as an alumnus himself. Claiming the full support of

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<sup>31</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Excellent Professors and An Exact Discipline' in Eamon Duffy (ed.), *Challoner and his Church: a Catholic Bishop in Georgian England* (London, 1981), pp. 112 – 125, p. 113.

<sup>32</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 May 1710.



his Council, Jones assured both Giffard and the Chapter that no innovations or alterations had been made to the College's *Rules* under his administration.<sup>33</sup> The letters the students had sent home to England did much to damage the reputation of the College in the eyes of prominent Catholic families in England. This was a personal concern for Giffard who had close links with the family of the alleged ringleader of the students, Joseph Petre. It was Petre's uncle who went on to succeed Giffard as Vicar Apostolic for the London District and Superintendent of the College in 1734. Jones attempted to assuage Giffard's fears by highlighting the dissatisfaction the students had voiced to him regarding the Master of Humanity who the students protested was incompetent thereby shielding himself from further criticism:

The main motive of their dissatisfaction is their Master [Lloyd] whom they complain of more out of dislike than any real abuses offered to them. But since I find he cannot correct those little hurts that prove so frightful to them, I am resolved to remove him from that employment.<sup>34</sup>

Whether this satisfied Giffard's concerns as to Jones' management of the College remains uncertain. It did however represent a concession to the students which set a very dangerous precedent for collegiate discipline. Lloyd, previously defended by Jones, had become a scapegoat to placate a growing tide of unrest within the College.<sup>35</sup> Jones did not defend the indefensible: Lloyd was unsuited to the task and had been the cause of much student unrest. Lloyd's removal to Paris spurred Jones to write to Vane of Lloyd's failings: 'God send France might polish that misshapen temper of Mr. Lloyd but I fear it's so naturally brutish that it exceeds the art of education to render it human.'<sup>36</sup> In his report to the Chapter, Jones confessed he knew nothing of the damage the students were causing to the College's reputation in England by sending letters home to their families. Jones agreed to hear the complaints of the students in a second consult explaining their reasons to the Chapter. Mackworth denied that he had been sending letters to his family that were detrimental to the College; John Maire refused to talk to the President at all; James Skelton protested at being disciplined like a schoolboy by the Superiors (he was

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<sup>33</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 May 1710.

<sup>34</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 12 May 1710.

<sup>35</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 25 January 1711.

<sup>36</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 18 January 1711.



twenty-one) and the other members of the group Petre, Vancam and Wyvill all complained about the need for basic provisions such as food and drink, clothing and books.<sup>37</sup>

This clearly indicated that the staffing problems faced by Jones' administration and the poor financial condition the College laboured under had a direct impact on student discipline and staff morale. Perhaps Jones feared that reporting this to his Superiors on the Mission might provoke his censure for maladministration. In a further move to bring order to the College the President sacrificed a second member of staff in an attempt to calm the mood of the House. In his report to the College agent Jones turned his criticisms to Christopher Jenkinson, another Master of Humanity, for his severity towards the students. Jones protested he had the backing of his Council in transferring Jenkinson to the office of Procurator where his severity would be better employed.<sup>38</sup> Jones defended himself against reports that he was presiding over a College in turmoil and that the *Constitutions* and *Rules* were not being observed:

Sir, you must give me leave to tell you that your two letters were more astonishing to me than theirs could possibly be to you. The words of children that kn[o]w not how to express themselves should raise such wonders in you before you had any information from me or any Superior in this family concerning it. Pray let me entreat you to read these lines to his Lordship and others concerned and to free them from the apprehension of my [perceived mismanagement]. I beg of you in particular to conceive a better opinion until you're more fully informed of [it].<sup>39</sup>

Jones' management of the student's grievances and his harsh reaction towards them had become a matter of some concern to Giffard who began to question Jones' position. The regime at Lisbon had become a byword for mismanagement within the English Catholic community; Catholic families became increasingly unwilling to send their sons to the College for their education under the current regime. As a result donations for the College continued to dwindle and the College's agents in London and Durham found it increasingly difficult to procure new students. The College's Vice President George Slaughter, working on the English Mission during the student disturbances, informed

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<sup>37</sup> Sharratt, *Annals* Mackworth [pp. 114 – 15]; Maire [p. 115]; Skelton [pp. 182 – 83]; Petre [p. 145]; Vancam [p. 203]; Wyvill [p. 229].

<sup>38</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 95.

<sup>39</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 May 1710.



Jones that his administration was fast becoming a public relations disaster. Jones was forced to defend himself once again before Giffard:

[I give your Lordship] an assurance that as hitherto [...] the Rules set down [for] the matter of my [government] so shall they stand the object of my aim for the future. I have had two [letters] from Mr. Vane upon that subject and now one from the Dean and Chapter with orders to look into the source of these grievances under a mistake that they might proceed from some defect in my conduct or ill usage they have lately received from me which administered matter to these young men of so great complaints. I did not think the testimonies [of the students] necessary for my word to find credit with your Lordship but it was a free offer of the Superiors to concur as far as in them lies in the clearing of that groundless suspicion so far spread amongst those gentlemen in England of my rigour and severity being sensible that the harshness of the Master [of Humanity] has been wrongfully laid upon my shoulders. I do affirm to your Lordship and that by the sacred character I wear that I have used all fatherly care, tenderness and kindness possible towards these young men and more than I should have had had they been my own. Which has been so remarkable to the rest of the Superiors that they have told me that this is what I have got by my mildness and sweetness to them. I hope this [letter] to your Lordship [might] set a fuller account [and] clear this outrageous storm.<sup>40</sup>

Jones' position was being continually undermined by students despatching letters to prominent members of the Catholic community critical of his administration. Part of the problem was that of perception. John Vancam arrived to read Humanity in October 1708 having been told by Vane and Gibbons that the College 'was a fine place and full of students, all which he [Vancam] found contrary.'<sup>41</sup> Vancam studied under Jenkinson and Lloyd; both Masters were later removed from the office for incompetence. Vancam followed the example of Petre and left the College in 1711. He entered the College at Rome one year later; he left for the Mission, ordained as a Jesuit priest in 1718.<sup>42</sup> In an attempt to prevent the students leaving for England and with them tales of woe born under his Presidency Jones instructed two of his agents in England, Vane and Gibbons, to write to the aggrieved parties. The letter was addressed to the oldest students Peter Holford and John Manwaring.<sup>43</sup> Holford was in the school of Philosophy and Manwaring in Humanity. These unlikely students were petitioned by Vane, through the advice of Jones, because of Vane's close links with both students' families. Vane had converted both men whilst working as a missionary in Holborn:

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<sup>40</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 26 May 1710.

<sup>41</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 May 1710.

<sup>42</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 203.

<sup>43</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 90 – 91, 118 – 19.



It is not without a great sense of trouble and concern that I have made use of these means whereby to be informed of an affair which is of an high importance to us all here which you can, if you please give us a true account of that which I earnestly desire of you. The dissatisfaction which some of the young men who are in your family have conceived against [the College] is grown so great all of a sudden without the least suspicion here of any occasion given that they have writ their friends to be recalled home.

Vane asked the students what their grievances were, informing them that they would be listened to with 'hearty love and respect.' In an attempt to stem the discontent at the College and the scandal it was causing for its reputation on the Mission, Vane gave the following promises to the disgruntled students:

To assure them from me that all grievances shall be mended and that speedily too, upon the very first notice received and that I desire them in the meantime to be easy and go on with their studies and duties with cheerfulness. [Pray] give us a summary of your treatment in respect of reservations going abroad [out of the College compound], allowance of bread, wine, clothes and as used to you now in comparing them with what was practice in our time, the Superiors here may see what innovations have been made or what privileges encroached upon you for they are all positively determined that the same and equal privileges shall still be kept on foot as always were practised in the [House]. Let the same person who delivers this to you be [of] caution that we desire your secrecy that there be no suspicion on any side nor cause of disgust and your prudence and discretion is so well known to me that I am very confident you can manage this affair without the least discovery of your intentions and yet be able to give a true account at present.<sup>44</sup>

Though the letter would suggest this was being asked *sub rosa* without the knowledge of Jones it is clear from later correspondence that this was a ploy by the President; an attempt to console the aggrieved students by asking them to talk to a third party under the administration's control. The response from Holford and Askew gave the College agents cause for comfort and for alarm. Holford informed the agents that, 'most of the malcontents have already delivered their reasons to [our] Superiors and I fear few of them will hearken to any proposals of accommodation. I should think it unnecessary to trouble you with any remarks on our present condition since a reformation would be lost upon them.'<sup>45</sup> The news that Vane and Gibbons were to procure teachers for the College's staff was welcomed by the students though they noted they had been living on empty promises for too long. Holford went so far as to defend the President against criticisms emanating from the Mission. He noted that Jones was implementing College discipline as far as the *Constitutions* (which remained unrevised since 1635) gave him licence. The student disturbances of 1710 emanated from the school of Humanity which

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<sup>44</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Edward Jones's Letter Book (1), John Vane and Tobias Gibbons to Peter Holford and John Askew, 4 April 1710.

<sup>45</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Edward Jones's Letter Book (1), Peter Holford and John Askew to John Vane and Tobias Gibbons, 24 May 1710.



was beyond the remit of the *Constitutions* of (1635) the foundation being initially established as a College for Philosophy and Theology. Holford noted:

I will give you an old opinion of my own, which is that it would conduce much to our future quiet to make and add new rules for the under boys [in the school of Humanity] and those for the *Constitutions* which govern us, being in some measure not applicable to them [as] they are left to be ruled by mere tradition and are thereby very ignorant of their duty.

Holford's defence of Jones' management may have saved the President from further censure from his superiors on the Mission: supplementary support for Jones' administration came in from Askew who noted:

The tenderness Mr. Jones has ever treated his family [in the College] obliged me to take his part since the desperate grievances they have so alarmed their friends [with] which may give [un]just [credence to a regime of] insufferable severity.

News that Giffard had accepted these defences of Jones' Presidency encouraged him to put an end to the disturbances by a series of summary dismissals. When one of the students complained that he would leap the walls and give himself liberty Jones gave the boy no reason why he should not. Resigned to the fact that every packet boat from England brought more condemnatory letters from the Mission from disgruntled parents Jones told Vane that the events of 1710 had forced him to overlook the main priorities of the House. The continued presence of the students and their appeals home only served to corrupt others and prejudice the discipline of the whole College.<sup>46</sup> Facing an exodus of the College community of one fifth of the total student population Jones reminded Giffard that as President of a College designed to train priests for the Mission he was not obliged to concern himself with unruly boys:

It is necessary that those [malcontents within the College] oblige themselves to stay or we are obliged to dismiss them, not being obliged to [maintain] them any longer in prejudice of the intention of the Founder [of this College.] Here the young men notwithstanding all our persuasions will not condescend to stay and therefore present further evils. I have writ to [our agent in England] to acquaint their relations of it.

Though Jones had succeeded in holding on to his position as head of the administration the damage the incident had caused for the College's reputation in England was disastrous. Letters home from aggrieved students to their parents spoke of poor teaching,

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<sup>46</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 1 August 1710.



inadequate provision of books, clothing, food and drink and tales of a severe and uncaring President. At the beginning of Michaelmas Term Jones was inundated with letters from parents calling for the immediate return of their sons – usually without funds to pay for their voyage back to England. The closure of the exodus of 1710 did not mark the end of this catalogue of insubordination. Letters from the President to Vane informed Giffard that though Jones was keeping to the *Constitutions* the continued financial hardship the College found itself in continued to result in students simply leaving the institution. Two students walked out of the College in secular clothes where they caused quite a stir in the hostelries of Lisbon:

Their behaviour has been such abroad that they are accused to have frequented [houses of] ill [repute] and they have left the people of [those] public houses of entertainment scandalised at their proceedings.<sup>47</sup>

For the remainder of Jones' first Presidency students continued to complain of the privations they suffered as collegians. Jones sent repeated missives home protesting that students were granted provision and liberty with a generous hand. Many fled the College never to return. One student, John Evans, found the privations he suffered so trying that in 1716 he, '[threw] off his cassock and cap and away he went out of [the College] without [the President's] leave or knowledge.'<sup>48</sup> Problems of discernment harassed Jones who complained of Douai sending its troubled students to Lisbon. This lack of vocation troubled many students whom Jones was forced to simply dispense with. In Jones' case he called it, 'a species of madness which is observed [in Evans] which at Doway they called inapplication and here unsettledness.'<sup>49</sup> Jones later discovered that Evans had joined the Portuguese navy engaged in defending the Papal States against the Turks. Evans later put down his sword and completed his studies at the *Venerabile*: he died a priest serving on the Mission.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 25 January 1711.

<sup>48</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Manley, 24 January 1716.

<sup>49</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 24 January 1716.

<sup>50</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 50.



#### 4.1.5. Financial Pressures on the Administration.

The original foundation settlement between Coutinho and the College was far from satisfactory. The domestic conditions at Lisbon always bordered on the Spartan. Williams noted that living conditions at the College were frugal even when seen in relation to contemporaneous clerical subsistence.<sup>51</sup> Jones informed Vane in London as early as 1710 that the College was living off credit, a situation that could not last long.<sup>52</sup> In the summer of that same year he petitioned Vane for help pleading with him to seek help from the Mission, 'for I have neither wine nor corn for many days in the House or money to buy it and am much straightened at this time.'<sup>53</sup> The continued war with France over the Spanish Succession plunged Portugal into economic turmoil exacerbated by drought and ultimately famine. The College's Procurator Nicholas Waldegrave travelled as far as Aljubarrota to procure cheaper corn for the College. The correspondence between Jones and Vane throughout the summer of 1710 explored the financial privations of the College 'upon reason of our sinking condition.' The harvest of 1710 had failed and corn was at a premium thereby making a bad situation for the College even worse. Jones pleaded the College's case to Vane:

We live as sparingly as we can and ever at the advantage of Providence... We cannot make ends meet but live upon trust [credit]. You must think it an afflicting circumstance to see myself at the head of a great family [without] money. God knows when we shall [be] set free against principle and interest.<sup>54</sup>

These external problems cannot be laid at the feet of Jones's administration. Inflation had risen to the extent that what had formerly maintained two students now only maintained one.<sup>55</sup> Portugal was in a state of war and French naval blockades and incursions into Portuguese possessions had cost England's ally dearly. The Bourbon crown had long

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<sup>51</sup> Michael Williams, 'Lisbon College: The Penultimate Chapter' *RH* 25 (2000), 74 – 95. Cited from p. 75.

<sup>52</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 27 April 1710.

<sup>53</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 1 August 1710.

<sup>54</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 15 September 1710.

<sup>55</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 31 March 1711.



been a supporter of the secular clergy in England supporting the claims of Smith throughout his Parisian exile. It is therefore with some irony that both Douai and Lisbon found themselves threatened at one time or another by French arms between 1710 and 1713.<sup>56</sup> Douai fell to France as early as 1669.<sup>57</sup>

The student insubordination of 1710 had a silver lining. The desire of several of the scholars in the school of Humanity who had been writing letters home critical of the College's administration, gave Jones an opportunity to recover valuable revenues. A total of thirteen students left the College following the events of 1710 forcing Jones to acknowledge that he was not going to encourage students to stay when they showed signs of wanting to go. In a letter to Joseph Petre's father Jones noted, 'I delivered him with my last persuasions to what I understand for his good [e.g. to stay], but to no effect, for he stands stiff in his first resolutions. Therefore I think it to no purpose to keep him here upon constraint any longer, since I find him dissatisfied and shall according to your orders embark upon the first secure occasion.'<sup>58</sup> Shortly after his arrival into Lisbon, Vice President Slaughter agreed with Jones that the continued stay of the student malefactors was counterproductive and cancerous to collegiate discipline.<sup>59</sup> In January 1711 Jones provided the first indication that the financial pressures on the College's administration had caused him to dwell on the prospect of closing the College. The College was governed by the secular clergy and it was the prerogative of the President and his Council to close the doors of the seminary to new students should they deem it necessary. Doubtless this was a bluff by Jones, one repeated throughout his second Presidency and into Manley's but the threat was very real and gave cause for concern to the Vicars Apostolic. The College fell under the shadow of its traditional paranoia when Jones warned the Chapter of the threat added to the College posed by financial pressures on the administration: 'our whole body will be at the mercy of our bark and black friends the Jesuits.' With the condition of the College deteriorating, added with the reluctance of the

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<sup>56</sup> The Treaty of Utrecht ceded the town of Douai to Bourbon France. Louis XIV granted the College the status of a Royal Institution providing a small pension. See Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, p. 335.

<sup>57</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 30 October 1712.

<sup>58</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Mr. Joseph Vane, 29 August 1710.

<sup>59</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 19 September 1710.



Chapter and the Vicars Apostolic to send further aid, Jones warned the Chapter that without assistance he would be forced to close the College with the inevitable result of a Jesuit takeover; a fate successive administrations since Haynes had been guarding against.<sup>60</sup>

Jones bailed the College out on several occasions with his own capital, a fact which was later overlooked by those detractors in England and the Cardinal Protector Dom Nuno da Cunha e Ataíde who accused the President of building up a fortune for himself at the expense of the College.<sup>61</sup> The continued war had led to the suspension of royal revenues from the *Casa dos Carnes* and *Sette Casas* forcing Jones to dig deep into his own pocket for the provision of oil, wood, wine and clothing.<sup>62</sup> The destruction of the Portuguese corn fleet in Rio de Janeiro forced the King to suspend *juros* payments on the College's investments. The crown and nobility had begun to melt their plate from as early as January 1712: Jones feared the Church would be next. The acute despair met with Jones' characteristic stoicism when he informed Manley that, 'we have no more to do here but shut up the doors and come away not to starve with the rest.'<sup>63</sup> Relief came to the beleaguered administration in the autumn of 1712 when peace negotiations commenced providing a ceasefire and a partial resumption of trade and communication. Hardness of times continued throughout Jones' first administration. His witticism to the College's agent in London William Green could not have been more appropriate, 'charitable custom [has been] out of use amongst the living and as we may say only the dead keep it [Requiem Mass stipends].'<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 October 1711.

<sup>61</sup> Dom Nuno da Cunha e Ataíde assumed the office of Protector in the first few weeks of Jones's administration soon after his elevation to the office of Inquisitor General in July 1707. Five years later he was elevated to the scarlet in the consistory of Pope Clement XI. Born 1664, d. 1750. Commander of the Order of Christ, Major Chaplain of the Royal Chaplain and Master of the Chamber of King Pedro II and Councillor of State for Portuguese religious affairs the Cardinal Protector of the College, Inquisitor General of the Kingdom of Portugal was a man of considerable stature. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 78. It is clear from the *Annals* that by 1729 Cunha wanted Jones removed as President. The reasons for this ejection remain uncertain: Protectors had removed Presidents before; Hargrave was ejected from office by Castro in 1637. Born 1664, d. 1750.

<sup>62</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 October 1711.

<sup>63</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Manley, 22 January 1712.

<sup>64</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to William Green, 11 February 1713.



The College's poor financial condition gave Lisbon a prejudicial reputation on the Mission. Vane noted to Jones that the continued privations at the College did the House a great and sensible disgrace.<sup>65</sup> Poor relations with the Vicars Apostolic did not help matters: the College remained under the Chapter's remit even though the Vicars nominated the Presidents of the administrations. Though the Chapter had its claims to ecclesiastical government undermined by the impositions of 1685 and 1688 it remained a body with some financial clout.<sup>66</sup> Vane protested against an unfair prejudice towards the College at Douai by the English ecclesial authorities, which the building appeals of Jones and Witham and the responses to them had clearly demonstrated.<sup>67</sup> Vane went so far as to accuse the administration at Douai of profligacy and waste: 'there being a great number of that family here, you cannot imagine what efforts are made to support that House [Douai] which proves a great obstacle to our advantage.'<sup>68</sup>

The College's difficulty in procuring students from the Mission to fill its schools had its antecedents in the disastrous public relations illustrated by Vice President Slaughter towards the start of Jones's first administration (where the College witnessed student insubordination and mass walk-outs never seen at the College before or indeed again). Shepperd touched on this issue, providing his own reasons why the College was forced to rely on a disproportionately high proportion of foreign students in the school of Humanity recruited from the city of Lisbon itself. The favour shown to Douai's rebuilding project under Witham illustrated the power the Mother College had in attracting benefactors. The College agents did all they could to procure favour from what was a very limited source of patronage, often settling for leftovers or from patrons like Lord Montague who had close business links with the city of Lisbon. Shepperd raised this point with Jones. There were not enough Lisbonians on the Mission to influence patrons to provide revenues for the College. Of the priests who received missionary faculties under Watkinson the College could boast a mere nine priests on the Mission in 1735, the year Shepperd made his complaint to Jones. Agent John Woolfe and James Griffiths both died before the year was out. Francis Smith, Richard Turner, Charles Higgs

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<sup>65</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 14 August 1713 (o.s.)

<sup>66</sup> As late as the 1750s the Chapter was administering funds through the College agent for the College, see: UCA, Durham, LC, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 May 1752.

<sup>67</sup> See Appendix 5: Rebuilding of the College under Edward Jones, xii – xxi.

<sup>68</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 15 January 1715.



and Joseph Blacoe all laboured on under increasing infirmity. Gibbons had followed the Russell route to the missionary *vita activa* by retiring into the Patriarchal Basilica as a Canon Penitentiary after years in the Bragança diplomatic corps. The only other Lisbonian on the Mission in 1735 who had taken the Missionary Oath under Watkinson was Shepperd himself. At that stage, of the nine priests sent from the College to the Mission by Jones and Manley (by 1735) few had active missionary experience and most were finding their feet in what remained hostile territory. With these numbers Lisbon could not hope to compete with Douai in directing favour and patronage. The collapse of the Chapter's authority had severely weakened the College's ability to influence ecclesial policy. The refusal of Jones to go biretta in hand to the Vicars Apostolic only exacerbated an already dire situation. Manley rectified this somewhat with Bishops Petre and Stonor but the College could not influence the Mission as it had done under Tilden, Perrot and Watkinson until the dawn of the Catholic Revival under President Barnard (1776 – 82). This posed a particular concern for Shepperd who argued that without Lisbonians acting as recruiting sergeants for the College, particularly the school of Humanity, Jones would have to continually rely on foreign students. Those few families that had money to send their sons abroad for a Catholic education sent them to Douai or St. Omers. The scandals that had plagued the first half of Jones' first administration had soured relations between English patrons and the College's administration, forcing Jones to rely more and more on the good will of the Portuguese and itinerant continentals.<sup>69</sup>

#### 4.1.6. A return to dependence on Douai.

The collapse in Lisbonian influence on the Mission served to highlight that the halcyon days of the English Chapter and the administrations of Perrot, Tilden and Watkinson were long gone. That level of influence, an influence disproportionate to the College's size and numbers, could not be sustained. The College had reverted in part to the position it had laboured under during the administrations of Harvey, White and Hargrave: reliant on the Mother to feed the needs of the Daughter. In contrast, President Witham of Douai instructed Shepperd to inform Jones that the number of students at Douai was unsustainable, offering to provide Humanity scholars for both St. Gregory's at Paris and the College at Lisbon should Jones wish to take some of the students from his care. The correspondence from Shepperd to Jones in 1737 noted that Witham had some

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<sup>69</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 25 February 1735.

forty alumni on pensions and more were promised from England.<sup>70</sup> For a President who had prided himself and his administration on an independence from the Vicars Apostolic and from Douai this must have been a bitter pill to swallow. Jones had cut his teeth as a Superior under Watkinson's administration when the College prided itself on its independence in its management and administration.

Towards the end of Jones' second administration his staffing policy took another blow, this time inflicted from the Congregation of Propaganda. The incident related by Shepperd appears to have no relation to the College at all although several points need raising. Jones died in December 1737 leaving the Regency of the College to Slaughter.<sup>71</sup> The *Juramenta Superiorum* of the College's Council of Superiors is very sketchy for the period throughout Jones' and Manley's four administrations. Shepperd wrote to Jones, who had in fact died the month before, informing him that Mr. Kitchen's request (*quietus*) to be dismissed from the College's staff had been granted by Propaganda. Kitchen is not mentioned in the *Juramenta* despite the *Annals* noting him as Prefect of Studies (after Manley) and a Philosophy Lecturer, before suffering a mental breakdown. Presumably a request went in to Propaganda to relieve him of his teaching responsibilities and to have his College Oath revoked. Propaganda granted permission in 1738.<sup>72</sup> Kitchen had been dead for six years when the order arrived. There are no further entries in the citations of Prefect of Studies in the *Juramenta* after Manley's occupation of the office from 1731. Likewise only William Hassall is noted as Philosophy Lecturer from 1732.<sup>73</sup> It is plausible that the request did actually take six years but even with early modern bureaucracy this seems unlikely. Neither was Shepperd referring to another Kitchen, perhaps at Douai.<sup>74</sup> The point is important because Kitchen's case was lauded by some members of staff at Douai as representative of Lisbon's wider managerial problems.

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<sup>70</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 21 May 1737.

<sup>71</sup> Jones died on the 28<sup>th</sup> December 1738 according to Anstruther and Gillow; Sharratt believed this was a mistaken reading of the Latin and noted the date should be read as 28 December 1737: Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 101.

<sup>72</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 13 January 1738.

<sup>73</sup> William Hassall was sent to the College by Whitham, 'in accordance with a request of President Manley, to teach Theology.' See Burton and Nolan, *Seventh Douai Diary*, xiii.

<sup>74</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 13 January 1738.



James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687 resulted in a flowering of Catholic grammar schools in England, few of which survived into the eighteenth century. The growth was so successful that the Wilhelmitic regime felt compelled to impose fines on those who sent their children abroad for a Catholic education (the award granted to the pursuivant) and a further punishment for those recusants occupied in teaching in these clandestine schools: the penalty in England and Portugal for doing so was imprisonment for life.<sup>75</sup> Some 127 students entered the doors of the College between 1706 and 1755. Of those, nine came from Lisbon, three from Ireland and one from Maryland in the American colonies. Twelve students came from the European Continent outside of Portugal. As a whole these twenty-five represented a fifth of the total student population of the College from 1706 – 55. This was the highest proportion of foreign students in the schools ever seen. As the founding *Constitutions* did not cover the school of Humanity *per se* this was a bending of the rules by Jones. Students in Philosophy and Theology were supposed to have had two English parents; exceptions could be admitted only at the behest of the Protector. The high proportion of foreign students resident at the College under Jones' first administration suggests that this rule was liberally interpreted for the benefit of the College's financial condition. The overwhelming number entered only for Latin paying the 70 *milreis* fee for the College's services. This fee was rather inflated considering Manley supported students on as little as 32 *milreis p.a.* in 1740.<sup>76</sup> Most of those students had familial links with the mercantile community travelling in and out of Lisbon. There are several notable exceptions to this rule. One such exception was the Sieneese student James Bomfiglho who arrived under Jones in 1737 to read Latin. Bomfiglho was paid for by his brother described in the *Annals* as *Regiae Majestati Lusitaniae in Basilica Patriarchali in officio Musici aut Cantoris.* Tobias Gibbons' position in the Basilica may have influenced the decision though this is conjectural. Nevertheless it shows that the College's patronage emanated from a multiplicity of sources both local, national and international, evidence of the wide scope the College's administrations had operated within since 1628. Only one of those twenty-five, an

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<sup>75</sup> Geoffrey Holt, 'The Education of Catholics from the Act of Uniformity to the Catholic Relief Acts' *RH* 27 no. 3 (May, 2005), p. 354.

<sup>76</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 17 September 1740. Manley noted that from the 500 *milreis* granted the College from the Founder's testament it cost 32 *milreis* to support a student for one year.



Irishman by the name of Henry Nicholls, entered the priesthood in 1748.<sup>77</sup> Nicholls was admitted at the request of the Portuguese ambassador taking the missionary oath in 1751.

An examination of the College's *Annals* from 1706 – 55 demonstrates that Jones and Manley were financially reliant on English Catholics sending their sons to the College for Humanity. The poor financial condition of the College, exacerbated by a far from satisfactory teaching staff, resulted in unusually high levels of non-completion. Of the 127 students who entered the doors of the College under the four Presidencies of Jones and Manley some 72 only read Humanity before leaving. Though the drop-out rate for Humanists was unusually high, the figures for those students reading Philosophy and Theology indicated that the lower and upper schools of the College did not fall under the same adversities. Some 45 Lisbonians took Humanity and then moved on to Philosophy. Of those 43 went on to Theology demonstrating that the College had an excellent record in nurturing students in the school of Humanity and perhaps most importantly, keeping their vocation going throughout the less than encouraging domestic condition of the College.<sup>78</sup>

#### **4.1.7. Francis Nicholson: the donation of Pera.**

Jones' desire to attract foreign students to the College's school of Humanity provided much needed revenues but it remained an interim measure that later administrations would reverse. The College's dire financial condition received an unexpected boost to its fortunes: an unusual interest came knocking on the door of Jones' College in 1720.<sup>79</sup> Francis Nicholson had converted to Roman Catholicism after a brief career in the Anglican clergy having been schooled at Oxford under Obadiah Walker. Walker's high church views clearly rubbed off on Nicholson who received censure from the University authorities for spreading popish doctrines.<sup>80</sup> In 1685 Nicholson converted

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<sup>77</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 132.

<sup>78</sup> S.P. Johnson, 'A Litany of Troubles: Collegiate Domesticity and the English College at Lisbon, 1706 – 55.' Public Lecture given to the Catholic Record Society, the Postgate Society and the Catholic Historical Association (The Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mother, York, June, 2006).

<sup>79</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Francis Nicholson to President Edward Jones 12 September 1720.

<sup>80</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 23 February 1734: Shepperd informed Jones of a request by a College benefactor in England Mr. Constable for a manuscript belonging to Obadiah Walker kept by a student, Nicholas Boyce. Presumably this document entered the possession of Boyce via Nicholson whilst resident at the College. A further



to the Catholic Church. After James' forced removal from England, Nicholson spent a brief stint as a Carthusian novice but the austerities of the order forced him to quit. Whilst in England Nicholson had entered the retinue of Queen Catherine and followed her to Lisbon when she moved to Portugal to take over the reins of government from her deranged brother.<sup>81</sup> Whilst in the city he became acquainted with Watkinson and Jones's administration where he gained an intimacy with several of the College's Superiors. In 1706 Nicholson purchased the *quinta* (estate) of Pera: a country house with a vineyard and substantial lands on the south side of the Tagus, the property had excellent accessibility to Lisbon whilst being situated deep enough into the country to provide a respite from urban life. In 1721 Nicholson donated the entire property, its lands, vineyards and revenues to Jones' administration on the following conditions: his debts of 500 *milreis* were to be paid by the College, a sum of £12 *p.a.* (15 *milreis*) was to be made together with board and lodging at the *quinta* for the remainder of his natural life.<sup>82</sup> In exchange for the *quinta* Jones was obliged to fund two of Nicholson's tenants throughout their natural life whereupon all the funds and revenues fell to the College. The funds stipulated the support of two alumni to be kept in the College's own hands as opposed to any ecclesiastical agency in London and administered from the Hotel de Ville in Paris.<sup>83</sup> This was a sound investment for Jones as Nicholson was dead within the decade. Williams noted the gratitude the College gave Nicholson in the Requiem Mass, an elaborate funeral before the College community and members of the Portuguese *grandesa*. Nicholson was later interred in the College Church. The funds that came from the *quinta* provided for the education of two alumni and did something to stabilise the economic privations the College had laboured under for so long.<sup>84</sup>

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document makes the link between Nicholson and Boyce. Boyce was one of those students funded by Nicholson in his donation settlement. See UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Funds: Francis Nicholson and Nicholas Boyce, 26 April 1715.

<sup>81</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 132.

<sup>82</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Francis Nicholson to President Edward Jones, 1 July 1721.

<sup>83</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Francis Nicholson to President Edward Jones, 1 July 1721. The *Annals* noted that Nicholson had acted as a College benefactor long before he approached Jones with the donation of Pera. Sharratt noted that Henry Hilliard had been presented by Nicholson in virtue of another College benefactor [Sir Daniel Arthurs] as early as 1703, Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 89 and UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 13, 'Dr. Hesketh's Alphabet', p. 125.

<sup>84</sup> C. W. Sutton, 'Nicholson, Francis (bap. 1650, d. 1731)', Michael Williams, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed, 1 July 2006: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20131>].



Nicholson's life as a polemicist during the 1680s has been examined in Williams' *New DNB* article. A noted controversialist, Nicholson proved an interesting comparison to other Lisbonians. An account book belonging to the Queen-regent, in Nicholson's hand, appears in the Lisbon Collection. It was noted by Barnard as the accounts of, 'Catherine of Braganza, Queen of Great Britain.' These accounts relate to her final years in Portugal encompassing 1692 – 93. The accounts do not relate to the College directly but they are demonstrative in concluding that Nicholson acted as one of Catherine's Procurators. The accounts are added to by comprehensive and highly detailed controversial tracts ranging from Transubstantiation to Sin and Grace. This material penned in the hand of the controversialist cum accountant provides an insight into one of the converts of the 1680s whilst bringing together elements directly related to the College namely the role of Catherine and her continued links with the administrations of Watkinson and Jones.<sup>85</sup>

By the summer of 1728 the continued disturbances that had troubled the College throughout Jones' Presidency forced Giffard to voice his strongest disapproval of Jones' management to date. A former student, John Entick (who ended his career as a Protestant preacher) rebuked Jones for his maladministration in a letter to Vane.<sup>86</sup> Entick told Vane that the students had, 'got a humour of doing only what they please for that should a Superior order anything, they will to their face give a positive refusal.'<sup>87</sup> It was a problem with another member of staff that ultimately led to Jones' fall from office. A young lector of Philosophy, James Skelton, had been dismissed from his duties by Jones for giving up his teaching commitments in the middle of the course. As this was his second offence (Skelton had struggled teaching the same course from 1719 – 22) the Cardinal Protector of the College ordered his immediate removal.<sup>88</sup> Entick made note of this in his

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<sup>85</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 80, Catherine of Braganza ('Queen of Great Britain'): accounts, 1692 – 93. The account cum controversial tract book appears to be a continuation of his work at Oxford. Williams's has examined this work using T. Jones's (ed.) *A Catalogue of the Collection of Tracts for and Against Popery* vol. 2 (Chetham Society, 64) (1865), pp. 358 – 59. Walker and Nicholson were engaged in republishing the work of another Catholic convert Abraham Woodhead at Oxford. Walker wrote an appendix to Woodhead's 'Discourse on the Eucharist' entitled, 'The Doctrine of the Church of England Concerning the Substantial Presence and Adoration of Our Blessed Saviour in the Eucharist Asserted.'

<sup>86</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 48 – 49.

<sup>87</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 21 January 1726.

<sup>88</sup> A3, pp. 203 – 04.



correspondence with Vane; Skelton was not named in his account but the letter indicated that the young Superior was the subject matter noting that, 'if any one Superior's behaviour is such that a student may truly upbraid him with it there cannot be expected any great hopes of submission or regularity.'<sup>89</sup> Skelton did not leave gracefully; after he returned to England he brought Jones' maladministration to the attention of Giffard. Vane informed Jones of the poor reputation the College had gained under his watch and the manner in which he had dealt with the staffing problems and student insubordination. In response Jones noted that Giffard should be made aware of some facts concerning Skelton's protestations against him writing that 'It is no new thing for delinquents to declaim against those whose duty it is to exhort and rebuke in order to amend them.'<sup>90</sup> Accusations against Jones emanating from the Mission deeply concerned the President but he saved his worst criticism for the informer, the man he had dismissed after consultation with the Cardinal Protector, James Skelton:

His station was that of a Superior in a College, tied up to certain hours and set form of discipline of life for the edification of youth, and lastly a master in the family bound by oath [to] instruct them by writ in learning and in conscience to lead them [the students] in paths of virtue and piety by example. Now Sir, is gaming and drinking in public houses in town to the scandal even of heretics themselves inimitable to his profession, character and the [habit] he wears? Is coming home at all hours in the night conformable to the rules of discipline of the family? And spending day upon day and night upon night abroad in such scandalous places compatible with the duties of a doctor and master for the training of youth? Can such flagrant violations of so many branches of such sacred duties be in any way justly excused for a breach of good manners? If so, I must burn my books and search out new authors to teach me morality.<sup>91</sup>

This *apologia* did not save Jones from further censure. Indeed the defensive tone of the correspondence did not lie well with Giffard. The same correspondence noted that besides opinion mounting up against Jones in England the Cardinal Protector was himself considering intervening in the College's administration which had, in his opinion, descended into chaos. The Cardinal Protector voiced concerns over Jones' management of the College's finances; the lavish rebuilding plans set about by Jones had commenced when the College could ill afford them. The perception at home was that the President had built himself a palace using pious benefactions from the financially hard pressed

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<sup>89</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 21 January 1726.

<sup>90</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 24 July 1728.

<sup>91</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 24 July 1728.

Catholic community to gratify his own sense of position.<sup>92</sup> The Cardinal Protector questioned how the President had grown so wealthy during his administration whilst the students wanted for clothes and provisions. Jones had purchased houses in the city as well as lending out substantial loans to members of the English mercantile community of Lisbon all which met with the disapproval of the Protector giving rise to accusations of financial impropriety.<sup>93</sup>

Jones had gained some powerful enemies on the Mission, largely those Lisbonians who had experience of his managerial style at the College. Students continued to write home protesting at the mismanagement of Jones and the continued deprivations inflicted on the students. Vane told the President that the content of these letters described his regime as un-Christian, reports which were industriously communicated throughout the country. The young detractors complained that they had been treated like barbarians and kept naked: a view confirmed by those more aged malefactors Entick and Williams. The Superiors were accused of being stingy, covetous and mean, unable to hold 'neither weekly defences or public ones held at the schools.' Vane pleaded with Jones for the good of the College's reputation on the Mission to change his methods towards the students. Small encouragements and civil treatment would go far to raise the discipline and assiduousness of the students, 'I beg you for the bowels of Jesus Christ, let your youths be indulged, soundly used, civilly treated with new encouragements such as a glass of wine and clothes when they want, and with mild expressions.'<sup>94</sup> Vane warned the President that his position was under intense bombardment from agencies dissatisfied with his management of the College. His approval rating was at an all time low after almost two decades of protracted disturbances, disturbances Jones had failed to contain or amend. Despite appeals to the Mission vindicating his position Jones was told that the uproar against him increased and that the criticisms over his conduct and governance of

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<sup>92</sup> The Cardinal Protector paid for five new rooms himself in 1727. See Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 101. See Appendix Five: Rebuilding of the College under Edward Jones, xi – xxi.

<sup>93</sup> An ominous letter from Shepperd concerning the late President's financial misdemeanours arrived on Manley's desk in 1740. It is not possible to accuse Jones of irregularity in office albeit the reference Shepperd made to a hidden account instructing the President that, '[you] do well to reserve Duarte Jones' hidden money, until you see how his affairs turn out.' UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 20 November 1740.

<sup>94</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 6 August 1726.



the College had escalated: 'I should not be just nor act as a friend and correspondent if I did not impart to you what is publicly reported and said by all sorts and conditions.'<sup>95</sup>

In his defence Jones informed the Protector that he had observed the *Constitutions* to the letter and used the powers granted to him in chapters XI, XII and XV to punish unruly students. He noted that the *Constitutions* restricted him from carrying out punishments to the Masters as he operated in an office that was effectively *primus inter pares* as the *Constitutions* of 1635 had stipulated. Jones was not a *Rector* but a *President* and obliged to consult his fellow Superiors on matters relating to the College's administration and management. Towards the end of Jones defence of his Presidency it is clear that he had lost control (though he continued to defend his actions against Skelton and had done so with the approval of the Protector himself). Jones protested that his Council remained supportive of his continued management:

I thank God my Superiors give not in to such rash judgements [against my management] but are sensible of the ill consequences that might come from the Cardinal's indignation [towards me] and that nothing but justice was acted towards Skelton. Their joint conclusion is something astonishing that both parties should agree that I have not treated him as the Rules enjoyed and order towards a Superior.

Jones' plea to Vane to inform Giffard that he desired the cross of the Presidency to be taken away from him was a bluff that the Vicar Apostolic called. Jones noted 'I have had but little satisfaction in [the administration of the College] since I entered into this government, so I have less encouragement now to continue in it; and could I once deliver the family [the College] into capable hands, [I] shall gratefully sing the *Nunc Dimittis*. The Cardinal Protector obliged the President and with the approval of Giffard Jones, was dismissed from the Presidency for maladministration in 1729.

Finding someone to succeed Jones in the Herculean task that faced any incumbent of the Presidency was no easy task. Giffard ordered Manley to cease his missionary activities in the London District and return to Lisbon to assume the head of the administration. Manley was unsurprisingly reluctant to go. Giffard, acting in his capacity as Superintendent of the College, wrote 'I am much concerned for the great loss the school will suffer, [your] natural duty requires you to take care of her.' Manley took the cup nevertheless thanks to the encouragement of Giffard but the condition of the

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<sup>95</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 6 August 1726.

College was far removed from the worst privations he had received as a missionary.<sup>96</sup> His first Presidency of three years 1729 – 1732, the minimum term of office, was relatively free of trouble. The archival material that has survived for Manley's first administration does not permit a detailed analysis of his Presidency besides the odd references in the Sheet Archive and the *Annals*. One incident in June 1731 is worthy of note not least for its drollery; three students Patrick Nash, Thomas Clifton and John Carter had been caught drinking at night on the roof of the College chapel by one of the Superiors causing structural damage to the newly refurbished works.<sup>97</sup> The sentence of punishment was read out before the entire community. Manley showed mercy to the repentant students ordering them to undertake physical penance and depriving them of wine at lunch and supper, the punishment fitting the crime.<sup>98</sup> Not wanting to tempt fate any further Manley resigned the Presidency in favour of Jones soon after his three years of office were up in 1732 before hastily departing for the Mission within three days.

#### 4.1.8. Hanoverian Loyalism.

The English College at Lisbon never fell into the cultural and political vacuums that afflicted the English exile foundations in Spain and Rome throughout the eighteenth century. The Letter Books of Jones and Manley show that the political disturbances that took place after the death of Queen Anne (1714) in England did not concern or effect the administration of either President's administration.<sup>99</sup> The English College at Rome maintained the rights of the numerous Jacobite claimants to the English throne throughout the eighteenth century. This brought the College's administration into conflict not least with the English political regime but also Roman authorities both in the Papal Curia and from the Vicars Apostolic on the Mission. Centuries of exile had encouraged insularity in outlook that affected the English Catholic continental foundations in general. The College at Lisbon proved an exception. Correspondence from both Presidents demonstrated that though the College's *Annals* indicated that several students took on Jacobite sympathies, the administration at Lisbon maintained a policy of 'Hanoverian

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<sup>96</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Bonaventure Giffard to John Manley, 30 May 1729.

<sup>97</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, Nash, pp. 129 – 30; Clifton, p.33; Carter, p. 28.

<sup>98</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President John Manley, 18 June 1731; UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life: John Manley, 18 June 1731.

<sup>99</sup> Edward Corp (ed.), *The Stuart Court in Rome: the legacy of exile* (Aldershot, 2003).



Loyalism' during the Stuart uprisings of 1715 and 1745 and their social and political fallout.

Whilst labouring in exile *in genere* the foundations also laboured under a *cultural* vacuum that affected each foundation according to its local and national interaction with resident English communities and English political culture. The English College at Rome championed the rights of the Cardinal Prince Henry Benedict Stuart long after even Pope Clement XIII had grown tired of Jacobite claims to the English throne.<sup>100</sup> This thesis has demonstrated that the College at Lisbon maintained sympathies towards the Blacklowist approach to the Mission and in its perception of what it hoped for: a tolerated minority church under a Protestant regime. The numerous administrations at the College from 1626 onwards did not hold the same vision of the Mission as those at the older colleges, forged during the age of martyrdom and the Spanish policy of the Philips. Whether Jones and Manley subscribed to the Holden/White vision of the English Church remains a matter of conjecture, Jones was certainly no advocate of the Vicariate Apostolic model and his relationship with Giffard was far from amicable. Manley's own approval was born more out of necessity than recognition of a legitimate ecclesial regime. The Letter Books of both Presidents demonstrate that both men condemned the actions of the Jacobites as being harmful to the cause of the English Catholic community, much as sections of the Appellants had seen the work of Philippine foreign policy. Though President Jones referred to James, Prince of Wales, in the College's *Annals* as King James III this was not demonstrative of a larger policy championing the cause of the exiled House of Stuart. It was this vision of the English Catholic church, a state tolerated minority working alongside an Anglican political regime, that represented one of Bossy's main theses in his *English Catholic Community*. Bossy saw the community as a variation of non-conformity which remained the blueprint of the authors of the Holden/White reconstruction of the English Catholic church post-Elizabethan Settlement. After an initial rejection of the authority of the Vicars Apostolic the administration at Lisbon soon settled down to the new regime working alongside the episcopal administrators in what was, under their jurisdiction, designated a missionary territory by the Congregation of Propaganda, *pro tempore*. The Presidencies of Jones and Manley did not see a repeat of

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<sup>100</sup> Rosalind K. Marshall, 'Henry Benedict (1725–1807)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, May 2006, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12964, accessed 22 July 2006].



the inertia that afflicted the middle years of Watkinson's regime where relations between the Vicars Apostolic and the administration at Lisbon were far from amicable. The relationship did however continue to have its ups and downs even during Manley's second administration.

The position Jones and Manley took towards the Jacobite claimants to the throne of England appeared to be a continuation of the College's general political sympathies from its inception in 1622. The conciliatory nature of successive administrations stemmed from the era of *Pax Hispanica* of the Anglo-Spanish alliance, the desire for toleration demonstrated by Calvert and the Lords Baltimore in the American colonies, the political sympathies of the Blacklowists and the vacillating nature of the Braganças shown towards the English during the War of the Spanish Succession. The Letter Books demonstrate that the political and cultural leanings of Jones' and Manley's administrations challenges the traditional historiography of Burton, Hemphill, Pollen, and even Guilday. For example Guilday noted that, 'the two Stuart Risings of 1715 and 1745, though only of local importance, left the traces of sorrow at their failure in the English Convents abroad, where, in the execution of the leaders, there were nuns who mourned their nearest relatives.'<sup>101</sup> There was no such feeling amongst the Superiors of the College at Lisbon and little to support that thesis amongst the nuns of Sion. Both exile foundations demonstrated a Hanoverian Loyalism, a loyalty to the *pro tempore* regime imitative of White's own vision for ecclesiastical government in England.<sup>102</sup>

The College had participated in the public mourning for the death of Queen Anne in September 1714 with other sections of Portuguese society. Events to mark the Queen's death took place with Lisbonian attendance both in Portugal and England<sup>103</sup> The only direct effect the uprising of 1715 had on the College was explained by Jones to a Lisbonian colleague Peter Key in Braga.<sup>104</sup> The President confessed that friends on the Mission had become reluctant to assist him in College affairs because of the uprising and that to his knowledge there had been no stir amongst the Catholics he knew of in

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<sup>101</sup> Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558 – 1795: volume one, the English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558 – 1795* (London, 1914), p. 34.

<sup>102</sup> John Rory Fletcher, *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey* (Devon, 1933).

<sup>103</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Mademoiselle Widdrington, 11 September 1714.

<sup>104</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 104.



Lisbonian circles or their associates in England.<sup>105</sup> When Portuguese authorities joined most of continental Europe in refusing to recognise Hanoverian rule over England Jones referred to the officials as, ‘perfidious barbarians’ for not recognising the new King and Queen.<sup>106</sup> There are several indications in the *Annals* to a non-committal attitude to the new regime but none of outright Jacobitism. Some of these entries, most in the hand of Jones, deserve examination. Most are non-sequiturs such as that of Francis Benwell who ‘went out of his mind for joy when the Prince of Wales (the Jacobite James III) was born.’<sup>107</sup> Charles Brockwell was noted as running away on a man-of-war belonging to the, ‘Ducis Hannoveriensis Georgii’ in November 1716.<sup>108</sup> Several Lisbonians, notably William Hall, were attached to the court of James II at St. Germain as were several College benefactors. The nomenclature concerning the title of James’ Protestant successor to the throne varies from ‘pseudo-Regem’ to ‘Guilhelmo de Nassau, Principe Orangii’ so the political leanings remain ambiguous both in Jones’ and Manley’s hands throughout the *Annals*.<sup>109</sup> For example despite the enthusiastic mourning applied to the Queen’s funeral obsequies by Lisbonian clergy Manley repeatedly referred to her as, ‘Annae Pseudo-Reginae Angliae.’<sup>110</sup> This is not merely applied to royal titles but also to episcopal ones. The Bishop of London was referred to as, ‘pseudo-Episcopum Londinensem’ and similarly the Bishop of Durham as, ‘pseudo-Episcopo Dunelmensi’ in the College’s *Annals*.<sup>111</sup> Jacobitism amongst the students was no more prevalent than an attachment to a display of youthful bravado. Peter Tattershall took the King’s Evil (James III) in Madrid in 1719 but that was hardly indicative of an administration sodden, nor for that matter permeated with, Jacobitism. Besides, the touch didn’t work; Tattershall died of cancer before the end of the year.<sup>112</sup> Despite the display of Hanoverian Loyalism from both Jones’ and Manley’s administrations directives from Rome forced at least peripheral changes that affected devotional life in the College. A brief from the Congregation of

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<sup>105</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 9 March 1715.

<sup>106</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 5 July 1715.

<sup>107</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 9.

<sup>108</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 22.

<sup>109</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 75 – 76.

<sup>110</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 104.

<sup>111</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 141, 169 – 176.

<sup>112</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 196.

Rites requested Jones' administration to insert the elevated feast of St. Anselm into the liturgical and devotional books of the College. The petition came from James III that all English colleges and exile foundations abroad were obliged to elevate the feast of St. Anselm for particular Stuart devotional reasons.<sup>113</sup> Besides this Roman brief there is little else to support the thesis that the College as an administration displayed any pro-Jacobite sympathies other than the youthful whims of a few alumni. There is no mention at all of the disturbances of 1745 in the Letter Books or the Correspondence Papers.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Roman Documents, Congregation of Rites for James III, 3 February 1720.

<sup>114</sup> Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, pp. 25, 26, 28, 55, 97, 114, 127, 129, 141, 147, 153, 165, 176, 181, 182.



## 4.2. Section Two: The second administrations of Jones and Manley, 1732 – 55.

### 4.2.1. President Edward Jones: the second administration, 1732 – 39.

Considering the distaste the Cardinal Protector de Cunha had gained for President Jones towards the end of his first administration, it came as something of a surprise when Giffard recommended him as President for a second time in 1732. The Patent of appointment, signed by the barely legible hand of *Bonaventura Dei et Apostolicae Sedis Gratia Episcopus Madaurensis et Vicarius Apostolicus in Anglia* was countersigned by his secretary and College agent Henry Preston.<sup>115</sup> Preston reluctantly agreed to replace the ailing Vane as agent in February 1733 though he assisted Vane in his duties long before the latter's death in October later that year.<sup>116</sup> There was no corresponding patent from the Cardinal Protector relating to Giffard's mandate which is a curious omission. Patents sent from the secular ecclesial authorities in England always received the Protector's own patent confirming the appointment. Whether the Protector objected to the return of Jones is uncertain but the omission is notable. The Protector did have the right to object to appointments from the English secular clergy and had done so in the past.<sup>117</sup>

Jones' appointment as President had the support of the Council of Superiors and seemingly the Protector provided no resistance to Giffard's nomination. In truth the Cardinal Protector and Giffard both realised that there was no one else who had the experience of Jones to manage the College through its continued and well publicised exertions. The appointment of Jones to replace Manley was in all a *fait accompli*. Other Superiors were either unsuitable or lacked the relevant experience. William Mawdesley, a veteran of Watkinson's administration, was overlooked by Bishop Giffard.<sup>118</sup> Not only did Jones have the support of Giffard and the tacit acceptance of Cunha he enjoyed the support of Lisbonians on the Mission. George Whitaker, converted by Dr. Edward Hawarden from Douai before studying Philosophy and Theology at Lisbon under Jones's

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<sup>115</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Patent of President Edward Jones, 1732.

<sup>116</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Henry Preston to President Edward Jones, 28 February 1733.

<sup>117</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 77 – 79.

<sup>118</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 122 – 23.

first administration, came out in favour of Jones's return to the Presidency.<sup>119</sup> Whitaker told his former President that he was 'the most fit and accomplished gentleman of our body for the administration of our poor House at Lisboa.'<sup>120</sup> Whitaker blamed the perceived follies and indiscretions of Jones' fall from grace to the poor choice of Superiors that he had chosen to run the administration of the College. Whitaker noted that the failings of the Council had been laid at his door, ultimately leading to his dismissal in 1729. There is little to substantiate that claim bar the reference Whitaker made to Jones' policy of admitting large numbers of foreign students to the College's school of Humanity. Whitaker, and later President Manley both condemned the practice as steering the College's mission away from its primary function as an English College charged with serving the Mission.<sup>121</sup>

The condition of the College in the early 1730s made the Presidency unattractive to any potential incumbent. The only man capable of the Presidency besides Jones was Mawdesley despite his age and growing infirmity. Bishop Giffard ordered Mawdesley's removal from the Vice Presidency in favour of a missionary life in the Christian community of the Portuguese colony of Goa: whether this was his own wish remains uncertain; if it was he had little time to enjoy the fruits of his labour. Mawdesley died on board the ship before he even set foot in the Indies.<sup>122</sup> Another Superior William Hassall had only recently been appointed to succeed Mawdesley as Vice President after Giffard persuaded President Witham of Douai to release him for the ailing College at Lisbon.<sup>123</sup> Hassall was, at the age of 26, one of the youngest to assume the office of Vice President (1732 – 37) and having limited experience as a Superior (Hassall had been ordained in 1730) one of the least competent.<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 215.

<sup>120</sup> A4, p. 297.

<sup>121</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, George Whitaker to President Edward Jones, 10 October 1735.

<sup>122</sup> A3, p. 145.

<sup>123</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 82 – 83.

<sup>124</sup> A4, p. 132.; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, 1706 – 1810, p. 7. Vice President William Hassall, 4 November 1732 – 31 October 1739. Hassall had acted as Prefect General and professor of Philosophy at Douai but his managerial experience remained insufficient for the Vice Presidency. Burton and Nolan (ed.), *The Seventh Diary*, pp. 60, 153 and 162.



There was simply no one else to take Manley's place as President of the College in 1732; though Jones was an obvious choice he remained far from desirable. Jones' first Presidency had proven a disaster for the College's reputation on the Mission and his administration had attracted the displeasure not only of the Cardinal Protector but of Giffard and the administrations of Douai and Paris. The Council and teaching staff had endured a gradual erosion throughout the 1720s to the extent that Jones was governing a College with a skeleton staff. An examination of the *Juramenta Superiorum* for Michaelmas Term 1732 demonstrated the dire situation of Jones' staff. William Hassall acted as Vice President, the *Juramenta* provided no name for the College's Confessor; Thomas Liddell, the last named appointee, had died in 1724 without replacement.<sup>125</sup> Likewise the College's office of Prefect of Studies remained vacant after Manley's departure in 1732.<sup>126</sup> The *Annals* noted Birtwhistle's occupancy of this office from March 1738 but the author of the *Juramenta* did not include his name as a Superior.<sup>127</sup> Mawdesley's removal to the Indies had left the second Lectorship of Sacred Theology vacant. From Mawdesley's removal to the Indies the teaching of Theology was almost exclusively the task of the President. Hassall took charge of the school of Philosophy in 1732 four years after the disgraced James Skelton had been dismissed in 1728.<sup>128</sup> The only College office which had a continual incumbent from 1697 throughout the eighteenth century was the College's Procurator (occupied by William Breers in 1732); however even that section of the *Juramenta* is confused and misleading.

The *Juramenta* revealed that there was in fact no permanent member of staff for the schools of Philosophy and Theology upon Jones' arrival. Considering a full staffing of the College as stipulated by the *Constitutions* was at least eight Superiors, Jones was administering a College with half that number. The *Juramenta* cited Mawdesley as Lector of Sacred Theology from 1719 – 41 but he was in fact dead by the end of 1732.<sup>129</sup> The same was the case with the school of Philosophy. James Skelton cited in the *Juramenta* as Lector from 1727 – 32 had in fact been dismissed in 1728.<sup>130</sup> Hassall's

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<sup>125</sup> A3, 125; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 20.

<sup>126</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 34.

<sup>127</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 10 – 11.

<sup>128</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, pp. 43 and 72.

<sup>129</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 43.

<sup>130</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 72.



appointment as Lector of Philosophy in 1732 suggested that Jones taught the Divines himself as Presidents had done in the past (though usually with another Lector to assist). According to the *Juramenta* it was not until the appointment of Jerome Allen in April 1755 that a full time member of staff was elected to the Lectorship of Philosophy.<sup>131</sup> This is refuted by the *Annals* which cited John Needham as Philosophy Lector from Hilary Term 1744 – 45.<sup>132</sup> Richard Birtwhistle is also listed as a Lector in August 1738 but, in view of his poor health, it remains doubtful whether he fulfilled the office effectually. Even Breers' occupancy of the office of Procurator falls into doubt when examining the *Juramenta*. Breers was noted as Procurator from 1727 – 38 but Anstruther has him returning to the Mission in 1728. Jones provided a very different picture in the *Annals* noting that, appointed Procurator in April 1727, Breers proved unsatisfactory and was forceably removed to England in November 1728.<sup>133</sup> The *Liber Missionis* recorded Breers taking the Missionary Oath in 1728 so presumably the *Juramenta* is incorrect and Breers had indeed long gone by the time Jones resumed the Presidency in 1732.

The *Juramenta* provides a very confusing account for this period showing an administration making do where it could. The contradictions between the nominations of offices in the *Juramenta* and the *Annals* is indicative of an administration that neglected its bureaucracy which is curious considering Jones's exhaustive accounts of his and Watkinson's Presidencies in the *Annals*. If the entries for the Procuratorship of the College are taken as one such example of this administrative maelstrom one can see that for the year 1736 there were as many as three Procurators, a sign of an administration in nothing short of turmoil. Breers' occupancy of the office (1727 – 28) was followed by William Prichard's (1730 [?] – 1738/ 1738 – September 1736 [sic]<sup>134</sup>) and Preston's noted as, '16<sup>th</sup> September 1736.'<sup>135</sup> The *Annals* cited Prichard as Procurator from 1733 to his departure for England, noted in the *Liber Missionis* as August 1734. Preston's position is even more confusing. Anstruther, relying on Gillow noted that from his

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<sup>131</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 130. John Needham had taught at Twyford school. His post of one year indicated that this may have been an interim measure, even a favour for Manley, as opposed to a permanent occupancy.

<sup>133</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 19.

<sup>134</sup> The *Annals* recorded the tenure of the office as July 1733 – August 1734, Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 155.

<sup>135</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 58; Sharratt, *Annals*, September 1736 – September 1742.



ordination in 1736 Preston was teaching Philosophy and Theology on and off until he left for the Mission in 1749.<sup>136</sup> The *Annals* make perfectly clear that Preston was an active Superior under Jones' and Manley's administrations.<sup>137</sup> Even Preston's time on the Mission remains uncertain. Preston did not take the Missionary Oath even though Anstruther recorded him as a missionary up until the Great Earthquake of 1755 when he agreed to return to Lisbon to help President Bernard with the College's reconstruction.<sup>138</sup> Preston's role in the College administration is evident from 1756 but his earlier work in the College also deserves some attention. It was shortly after Manley's departure to England that Preston arrived to study but also as a potential teaching assistant. He came in December 1732 with the recommendation by Vane to Jones. It is clear that he undertook teaching commitments in the schools of Philosophy and Theology though he was not noted as such in the *Juramenta* apart from a brief stint as Philosophy Lector in September 1736.<sup>139</sup> At the age of twenty-four Preston took the offices of Procurator and Master of Humanity from 1736 – 42 whilst studying Philosophy and Theology. He went on to teach Philosophy and Theology, completing the course of Philosophy left unfinished by Needham in 1745.<sup>140</sup>

Despite the far from satisfactory staffing provision at the College, Jones' second administration did not suffer the intense bombardment of adversity of his first. Collegiate unrest may have become so common place that the President and the agents in London sought not to mention it as an acute concern in their correspondence. An examination of the Council of Superiors' Minute Book of proceedings demonstrated that student insubordination continued and problems remained concerning the staffing situation

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<sup>136</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 155.

<sup>137</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 153: Procurator (17 September 1736 – September 1742), 'while first also teaching humanity and studying Philosophy and Theology and later teaching Philosophy and Theology.'

<sup>138</sup> A4, pp. 223 – 24.

<sup>139</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 2 December 1732; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 154. Preston later gained himself a learned reputation in the sciences communicating with the Royal Society and the University of Cambridge on his speculative theses. See UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Maurice to President John Manley, August 1749.

<sup>140</sup> Preston taught Theology from March 1747 to December 1749 and Philosophy until 1751 and again until 1753. After Manley's death in 1755 he acted as Procurator, Master of Humanity, Lector of Philosophy and Theology and according to Allen, 'whatever was needed.' Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 153 – 54.

however these concerns petered out in the Correspondence.<sup>141</sup> The archival material points to a Presidency largely concerned with events emanating from the Mission as opposed to the internal functioning of the College's administration which had dominated Jones's first Presidency. Relations between the administration at Lisbon and the Mission had reached a nadir. Vane noted that the disturbances at the College and Jones' own perceived mismanagement provoked Vane to note that, 'our present condition is not only pitied but under the greatest contempt imaginable.'<sup>142</sup>

#### **4.2.2. The Legacy of President Edward Jones.**

Jones passed away in office peacefully in his bed at the age of seventy. He had held office from 1697 through to 1737 with a three year exception when Manley was sent to placate the indignation of the Cardinal Protector. Of those thirty seven years, twenty-eight were spent in the Presidency (Watkinson had governed for thirty-four) and seven in the Vice Presidency. Jones had seen the halcyon days of Watkinson's administration, corresponded with Gother, Gooden, Mawdesley and Russell only to find himself at the head of an administration more like that of the earliest years of the College than the successful administrations that stretched from Tilden through to Watkinson. Jones' dismissal as President by the Cardinal Protector in 1729 did much to blight his legacy to the College. His return three years later demonstrated that he had been reconciled at least by Giffard if not by Cunha after Manley's interim Presidency.

Providence did not favour Jones. He began his Regency with Portugal at war against England and, when the Braganças switched their allegiance to the Protestant Union against Bourbon France though there was no longer awkwardness in relation to the Mission valuable funds and revenues held in Paris were in danger. Jones' autocratic manner of governance alienated those colleges at Douai and Paris however there is little evidence to suggest that this was only Jones' doing; relations may have begun to sour under Watkinson who appeared from the Russell Correspondence far more prone to a Lisbonian fortress like mentality than Jones. The rebuilding of the College during the

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<sup>141</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 131, Council of Superiors: minutes: 1710 – 1883. The existence of extensive minutes from the Council from 1710, the date of Watkinson's death and of the Student Exodus, should not be overlooked as part of Jones's reorganisation of the College's administration and documentation.

<sup>142</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane to President Edward Jones, 2 December 1732.



War of the Spanish Succession and the Stuart Uprising of 1715 was perhaps not the most auspicious time to raise up new walls but the House was indeed literally falling down. The omissions of Watkinson plagued Jones when he decried in correspondence to Vane that the House should have been repaired many years before his own Presidency: a point Russell had made in the 1670s. An examination of Jones' Letter Books and Correspondence Papers makes it hard to condemn Jones for the poor condition of the College's fabric, the schools, student discipline, finance and the staffing. These elements of the administration were accumulative and part of the blame must surely fall on Watkinson's twilight years from his refusal to hand over the Presidency to his own death in 1710. It was not until then, four years into Jones own Presidency that he felt able to start afresh both with collegiate bureaucracy, repairs to the fabric and indeed an uninterrupted correspondence with the College's agents in England and Paris. All this suggests that Watkinson continued to pose a prohibitive influence on Jones which the President found hard to rid himself of. The rot had clearly set in long before Jones' appointment in 1706; the Vicars' letter to Watkinson asking for his return to the Mission was a reflection of this. The student insubordination of Jones' first Presidency resulted from the intense privations caused by war; the reluctance of Superiors from Douai and Paris to head to Lisbon stemmed from the usual prohibitive effects of distance exacerbated by the College's poor reputation it had gained under Jones. The collapse of the College's traditional ally on the Mission, the English Chapter, represented a significant blow to the College which had to rely increasingly on College agents to do what the Chapter had once done itself.

The early Vicars Apostolic, most of whom as budding clerics in the 1660s had supported the Chapter, felt compelled to turn their backs on its legitimacy and initially the Chapter's darling, the College at Lisbon in itself was an embarrassing reminder of a failed experiment in English Catholic ecclesiastical government. The examination of Jones' two Presidencies reveals a man bombarded by outrageous fortune with little recourse to refuge from agencies previous Presidents had sought solace from. Jones had no Russell; no section of the Chapter devoted to the College and for the head of an English college had become too dependent on foreign students and Portuguese patronage which often served to exacerbate problems as Whitaker and later Manley pointed out. Despite these adversities Jones and his two Presidencies should be seen as administrations that weathered the storm. Above all Jones should go down in the College's historiography as a committed Lisbonian, a man who had devoted his life to



the administration of a college undergoing considerable adversities and a President who ultimately held the line in the darkest of times.<sup>143</sup>

#### 4.2.3. President John Manley: the second administration, 1739 – 55.

According to Sharratt, Jones' actual death was in December 1737 not December 1738 the date ascribed by Anstruther and Gillow. George Slaughter was elected Regent of the College's administration in December 1738 but that is not demonstrative of the date of Jones' death.<sup>144</sup> Sharratt derived the former date from a copy of Jones' epitaph found in the papers of Council dated 1824.<sup>145</sup> The correspondence between Shepperd and Manley relating to the first five years of the latter's second administration (1739 – 44) represented nothing short of a variation on a lament. The financial adversities that plagued Jones' reign continued, as did the insufficient staffing provision of the College's schools; student insubordination continued as a result. The strained relationship between the College and the Vicars Apostolic had begun to thaw under Jones' second administration but it was not until Challoner's election as coadjutor to the reticent Petre in 1741 that anything close to 'good relations' could be said to have existed between Lisbon and the Superintendent of the College in London.<sup>146</sup> Even prior to Challoner's election to the episcopate Shepperd recommended Gother's pupil as a man who took the College's interests, 'most earnestly to heart.'<sup>147</sup> It was in Manley's second administration that this relationship, and its advantageous utility to the College, came to light. Under President Manley the administration warmed to the Vicars and their claims of jurisdiction over the College in exchange for aid from the Mission. This softening in relations should not be seen as an acceptance by the administration of the Vicars' canonical rights of

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<sup>143</sup> A3, p. 118.

<sup>144</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 101 and 186.

<sup>145</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Jones' Epitaph, 1824; see also UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Birtwhistle's Draft Entry for the Annals, 1739.

<sup>146</sup> Sheridan Gilley, 'Challoner, Richard (1691-1781)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [accessed 11 July 2006 : <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5025>]; news of Challoner's appointment to the episcopate reached Manley in May 1741. President Thornburgh incorrectly dated the consecration of Challoner at the chapel of the secret Hammersmith convent as 9 January; it was the 29 January: see UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President William Thornburgh to President John Manley, 25 February 1741.

<sup>147</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 11 October 1740.



jurisdiction but more the result of the personal relationship between Challoner and Manley.

Jones's death represented an end to the proud independence displayed by Watkinson and continued by Jones against the authority of the Vicars. The continued crises at the College from 1710 made a reliance on the new ecclesial regime necessary if not desirable. Under Jones this relationship was not exploited to its full capacity. Manley did not share the apprehensions his predecessor laboured under as to his own position within the grander scheme of English secular authority. The negotiations between the *Misericórdia* and the Chapter from 1714 – 16 had demonstrated that according to Portuguese civic law the properties of the Bairro Alto were effectively those of the Lisbonian English secular clergy.<sup>148</sup> Manley's administration saw the Vicars' eventual success in wresting the governance of the College from what remained of the English Chapter. This represented a defeat to the proud relationship the College had enjoyed with the Chapter since 1655. The Chapter (and with it the legacy of Bishop and Smith and the tireless work of the Appellants) remained according to its greatest defenders, Sergeant, Tilden and Perrot, the legitimate successor to ordinary episcopal authority and the greatest guarantor of the College's independence. The Chapter continued to exercise its rights over the College as late as the 1740s but few genuinely recognised the Chapter's rights of jurisdiction over the College after Challoner's election as coadjutor of the London District. Jones had been stubborn but he was not delusional. His attempt to rule independently of the Vicars had disastrous repercussions for the College's reputation, a lesson learnt by Manley who endeavoured to mend relations with the Vicars and the administrations at Douai and Paris.

The Vicars' takeover was a *fait accompli*; Manley realised he had to recognise what Jones could never stomach. The gradual erosion of the Chapter's rights over the College represented a return to the earlier history of the College where the Daughter relied on the Mother for succour. The proud independence of Chapter authority (the administrations of Tilden, Perrot and Watkinson) had gone. The Dean and Chapter, despite continued claims over the College's governance continued to represent no more than an oligarchy of secular priests acting as a rubber stamp to the orders of the Vicars. The exclusively Douatian provenance of the Vicars restored the relationship between Douai and Lisbon that the Chapter, with its strong Lisbonian and Blacklowist presence,

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<sup>148</sup> See Appendix 5: Rebuilding of the College under President Edward Jones, xii – xxi.



had done something to sever. However, this dichotomy is not so prohibitive. The Vicars were after all Douatian men who were as eager to protect the secular clergy as any Lisbonian. There can however be no doubt that even within the English secular clergy the retreat from the Dean and Chapter model by the largely Douatian party of Leyburn, Giffard, Petre *et. al.* left something of a sour taste in the mouth of many Lisbonians.

#### 4.2.4. Strained Relations with Douai.

The administration at Douai, a foundation that once prided itself as the Mother of the College at Lisbon, had seemingly forgotten about its Daughter under President Witham and threatened to continue to do so under Dr. William Thornburgh. This was the position Manley found himself in in 1739, reluctantly accepting the Presidency a second time after Bishops Petre and Challoner persuaded him to leave Twyford and return to Lisbon: the patent was written up in the hand of Shepperd.<sup>149</sup> Manley reached Lisbon in the winter of 1739. He took the Oath as President on 27 October; the day after he declared himself President and Richard Birtwhistle Vice President. Birtwhistle had acted as Master of Humanity, Prefect of Studies and had assisted Slaughter in the overall management of the College from December 1737 when Jones passed away.<sup>150</sup> Finding the College's staffing provision as poor as when he had left it seven years earlier Manley set about writing a series of begging letters to Dr. Matthew Beare, President of the English foundation at Paris, and Thornburgh pleading with them both for able and competent men to serve on his council:

The melancholy circumstances of this College, the once flourishing daughter of Douai, oblige [me] to run to you for relief and [I] hope the poor daughter's extreme necessities will effectually recommend her to the Mother's charity. We have in this House at present but four Superiors. Myself, a poor unworthy President who besides Humanity never taught anything but a little logic and that near 30 years ago; Mr. Slaughter, an old gentleman who taught Divinity many years, but is now near 80 and may be called superannuated and too infirm for any part of the College; Mr. Preston, an ingenious young gentleman who taught Divinity many years who is jointly Procurator and Master of Philosophy: two offices one would think incompatible and it is a wonder how he rubs on with both of them; Mr. Robert Birthwhistle who is a master of Humanity and at present serving office of Vice-President but for reasons too long to be mentioned I am determined to send him to England as soon as I can be better provided. I entreat for the love of God, for the good of the Mission and that of the secular clergy in particular to be hearty and speedy in our affair.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Patents and Appointments, Patent of Appointment: John Manley, 1739.

<sup>150</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 10 – 11.

<sup>151</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to President William Thornburgh, 17 May 1740.



Despite these impassioned pleas for aid Manley suffered continual disappointment from Thornburgh's administration. The news was no brighter from the administration at Paris. Dr. Matthew Beare promised a young professor from Paris by the name of Butler for the office of Master of Humanity provided Manley could provide his viaticum to Lisbon. Shepperd informed Manley that Challoner had advised Shepperd not to take Butler though the reasons remain uncertain. It is tempting to suggest that the Butler mentioned was the famous hagiographer Dr. Alban Butler, later Vice President of Douai, but that is mistaken.<sup>152</sup> The temptation derives from the fact Alban Butler was transcribing the information received from the English colleges and exile communities for Challoner's *Missionary Priests*; thus Challoner's reticence in proving a good character of Butler to Shepperd. Alban Butler had never been at the College in Paris so that remains but flighty speculation.<sup>153</sup> Shepperd refused Beare's offer without consulting Manley, presumably for very good reasons known only to Challoner and Shepperd.<sup>154</sup>

Thornburgh's promised Vice President and professor of Divinity Thomas Daniel never arrived despite the administration's promises to the contrary.<sup>155</sup> Thornburgh recommended Daniel as early as July 1740. Daniel complained to Shepperd that the unfortunate demise of Mr. Kitchen and Jones's ruthlessness to Mr. Hassall had persuaded him to renege on his commitments to assume the Vice Presidency.<sup>156</sup> Besides the poor reputation the College at Lisbon continued to labour under, its geographical location and hostile climate, many Douatians felt that the need to learn Portuguese was an impediment in accepting office at the College. Manley protested that only the Procurator needed to understand Portuguese and that any man familiar with Latin would not take long to pick up the native tongue. According to correspondence from Shepperd, Douatian professors were concerned that apart from the President and Vice President no other Superior at

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<sup>152</sup> J. A. Hilton, 'Butler, Alban (1709–1773)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004; online edn, Jan 2006 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4177>, accessed 21 July 2006].

<sup>153</sup> The Butler referred to does not appear in Anstruther. It could neither be Philip [A4, 53] or Thomas Butler [A4, 53 – 54] as the former was still a boy of 15 and the latter was not born until 1734.

<sup>154</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 14 June 1740.

<sup>155</sup> See UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 13 January 1742.

<sup>156</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 2 August 1740. Shepperd wrote: 'the misfortune of Mr. Kitchen, and Mr. Jones's unkindness to Mr. Hassall, will be our ruin.'



Lisbon received a salary. Shepperd recommended that Daniel be granted a small salary which, if permitted, would have no doubt done little to sow the seeds of concord amongst the other members of Council.<sup>157</sup> Bishop Petre proposed the idea the following year. If College Superiors had adequate salaries then competent men would be encouraged to apply for collegiate posts.<sup>158</sup> Birtwhistle noted that even the salary of the Vice President was, 'morally impossible to subsist on.'<sup>159</sup>

An implicit friction with the Vicars, albeit not to the extent of Jones' two administrations, continued to prove prejudicial to Manley's second administration. Bishop Stonor's refusal to release William Hassall from the Mission for the College disappointed Manley but as a Douatian, the President had no right to recall Hassall under the Missionary Oath in any case.<sup>160</sup> Stonor also prevented George Hardwick from voluntarily leaving Douai for Lisbon after his ordination in 1741.<sup>161</sup> Shepperd went so far as to tell Manley that Bishop Stonor refused to send anyone from the Midlands District at all to the College which must have come as something of a disappointment.<sup>162</sup>

President Manley stressed to Thornburgh that neither he nor his administration had any objection to Douatian governance of the College and that a further colonisation from Douai, including a Master of Humanity and a Procurator would be welcome. Though Manley remained eager to heal the divisions that had marked Jones' relations with Witham he was in fact telling Thornburgh something of a white lie. The Portuguese crown had made it abundantly clear that a Douatian was not welcome to assume the Presidency as being contrary to Coutinho's will. João V famously noted that should the

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<sup>157</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 5 July 1740.

<sup>158</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 21 April 1741.

<sup>159</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 4 July 1741. UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 December 1749 gave order that the College should pay Dr. Bernard [indicating that the Vice President was a paid officer of the administration.]

<sup>160</sup> Hassall had been earmarked for the Presidency in succession to Jones in 1738. Stonor refused to part with him partly because of the Portuguese King's disdain for a Douatian President. Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 82 – 83. See also UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Books (2): John Shepperd to President John Manley, 17 May 1740.

<sup>161</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 7 June 1741.

<sup>162</sup> A4, p. 128.



Vicars attempt to impose a Douatian he would be returned to England in disgrace.<sup>163</sup> This appeared to be a reference to the proposed appointment of William Hassall as President in place of Jones in 1732.<sup>164</sup> As a Douai man even Bishop Giffard was not prepared to risk having a nomination rejected. João V, following his father's policy, would have prevented the election of Hassall through his influence with Cardinal de Cunha as Inquisitor General, and consequently a royal appointee. Manley continued to adopt this line with the Vicars and Thornburgh instructing Shepperd to inform Bishop Dicconson (Northern District) that the pro-Douai line taken by Manley should encourage the Vicars to come to the assistance of what was essentially *their* College in its time of need.<sup>165</sup>

This correspondence between Manley and Thornburgh demonstrated that under the Presidencies of Jones relations between the two houses had not always been amicable. Manley specifically noted that there was no animosity between him and his Council and the administration at Douai. Similar appeals for help were made to Bishops Petre, Richard Challoner, Thomas Day (the Dean of the English Chapter) and John Berrington (Dean from 1748).<sup>166</sup> Manley's report into the College's teaching provision was characteristically dire. Jones had failed to solve several deficiencies in the College's staffing leaving Manley, as he noted to Thornburgh, with a professor of Divinity on the point of death, an unsuitable Vice President and John Preston filling in on an *ad hoc* basis where he could. A report into the College's staffing provision sent via Shepperd to the Bishops Petre and Challoner singled out Vice President Birtwhistle as a particular source of collegiate discontent. Manley provided the following character of Birtwhistle:

To give him his due, 'tis now about seven weeks since I saw him considerably disguised with drink. This is the happy consequence of my taking from him the key of the cellar to which he yielded after long and great reluctance. But Sir, by his frequent, visible, notorious and scandalous excesses of that kind while he had the key of the cellar and by the great indiscretions and use of passion into which those excesses threw him, he has irrevocably lost all respect and esteem as well as affection of the students: therefore he is no longer fit to govern them.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to President William Thornburgh, 20 September 1740.

<sup>164</sup> Burton and Nolan, *Seventh Douai Diary*, xiii; pp. 60, 114, 120, 122, 124, 126, 131, 133, 136, 138, 140, 143 – 44, 146, 148, 151, 153, 156, 160, 162, 165.

<sup>165</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11 November 1741.

<sup>166</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 18 May 1740.

<sup>167</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 18 May 1740; UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Correspondence



According to the College's *Regimina* the Vice President acted as the President's chief prefect charged with maintaining student discipline and the College's *Constitutions*. The College's administration could not maintain order if it failed to restrain the excesses of its own Council. Jones had failed to root Birtwhistle out of his staff leaving the matter for his successor to contend with. Birtwhistle was not the only member of staff causing scandal to the College in 1740. The Music Master, an outside appointee, usually a Portuguese non-resident scholar, had committed what Shepperd described as, 'scandalous attempts on youth.' Shepperd implored Manley to inform the Master that 'the boys have complained to their friends in England of some things he has offered them not proper to be named, nor are you willing to name them.'<sup>168</sup> In a further attempt to contain the ripples emanating from collegiate scandal troubling the Mission Shepperd recommended that all letters from the Superiors and the students come through him first in an attempt to root out those that were not fit to be seen.<sup>169</sup> Neither the administration at Lisbon nor the agents on the Mission desired the scandals surrounding the Music Master to get to the ears of the ecclesial authorities in England or one of the College's chief sources of income, the parents of the students.<sup>170</sup> The crisis within the management of the College provoked Manley to instruct Shepperd not to send further students until the council of Superiors returned to a position where it could govern, administer and manage the College according to its *Regimina* and *Constitutions* which had both been long neglected.<sup>171</sup> With the exception of John Preston, a Superior in his mid twenties whose managerial skills far outweighed his years, Manley was effectively governing the College on his own.

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Papers, July 1739; UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Correspondence Papers, John Manley, 29 to 30 May and 3 June 1740.

<sup>168</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 5 August 1741.

<sup>169</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 21 April 1741.

<sup>170</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 28 February 1741.

<sup>171</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11 November 1741.



#### 4.2.5. Quite Disregarded by the Mariners.<sup>172</sup>

The relationship between Shepperd and Manley, exposed in their lengthy correspondence from 1739 – 55, permits a detailed insight into the internal management and administration of the College throughout the 1740s and 1750s. The relationship between the two men remained advisory much as Jones's relationship with Vane had been. Shepperd's advise to Manley on how to govern the College encouraged the new President to steer clear of the mistakes of Jones particularly his autocratic style of management and his rashness in attempting to maintain the *Constitutions and Rules*:

Now my dear friend, pray daily for the assisting Grace of God, to direct all your steps according to His Holy Will, that you may not be too solicitous, that you may govern with meekness, patience and moderation, that your carriage and behaviour may be an example of a true Gospel spirit: use prudent endeavours to bring matters by little and little into better order but let it be done in the mildest manner; and let it be your constant practice not to penance anyone rashly, but first consult with the other Superiors and always study the most moderate and compassionate method of bringing the delinquent to good order. I hope you nor any of the rest will go too frequently out, it gives bad example, make the students long to go too, and think it hard to be refused: but particularly I would advice you to dine very seldom abroad and by no means to frequent any ordinary Houses or mean company which may lesson your authority or esteem.<sup>173</sup>

The College's *Annals* and the *Liber Missionis* demonstrated that the training of men for the priesthood and the Mission continued, but not in the numbers that had been sent during Watkinson's administration. Twenty eight priests took the Missionary Oath and served on the Mission from 1715 – 1751; John Shepperd was the last priest to take the Oath under Watkinson in 1706. The gap of nine years can be accounted for by the War of the Spanish Succession; national and international events had forced administrations to retain students until safe passage could be guaranteed as in previous administrations. In the early 1680s during the Oates furore Watkinson hesitated to send priests, which shows the administration's desire not to generate martyrs but to provide ministers for the community it was charged to serve. In contrast fifty-six men left for the Mission from 1674 – 1706. This was at a time according to Bossy that the secular clergy had gained something of a saturation point on the Mission resulting in clergy fighting for patronage. The evidence points clearly to the fact that the administration was not running on full steam.

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<sup>172</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 9 July 1740.

<sup>173</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 5 October 1739.



The staffing situation continued to trouble Manley who received no solace from Douai and Paris, despite continued pleas *de profundis* for assistance. Unlike the accusations of restricted curricula made against Paston's regime at Douai there is no evidence to demonstrate that the College at Lisbon suffered from poor teaching. With the staffing provision in mind one has to question whether students for the priesthood were being taught adequately, considering the Visitation reports for this period are conspicuously absent. Despite the existence of numerous dictates kept by students throughout the first half of the eighteenth century this does not tell us as much about the quality of teaching and learning as most of the dictates are from Douai.<sup>174</sup> In correspondence to Bishop Petre, Manley complained of the lack of help from the secular colleges, recommending his sinking condition to the charity and compassion of those on the Mission and noting 'we cannot go on as we are: we must unavoidably fall if we are not speedily relieved.'<sup>175</sup> The 1740s saw numerous desperate requests for help from Manley to ecclesial authorities in England in particular relating to staffing difficulties. Similar pleas for help were addressed to the Chapter. Correspondence to the Dean, Dr. Thomas Brown (*alias* Day), bore no restraint in expressing Manley's sense of despair, indicating that the relationship between the Chapter and the College was less deferential than that with the Vicars: 'For the love of God exert yourself and leave no stone unturned until you procure some proper supporters for this House whose affairs are in a woeful posture'.<sup>176</sup> Manley even appealed to Challoner, coadjutor Bishop with the right of succession to Petre, from 1741. In doing so the President was going over the head of

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<sup>174</sup> The vast majority of the dictates that have survived in the College's Library came from Douai. Dictate holdings in a collection are not demonstrative of possession or usage. Dictate books were after all primarily designed as *vade mecums* for the active missionary life. Dictate material for Jones and Manley's administrations is absent from the Collection so there is no way to tell whether the teaching and learning was of a high or low quality. After John Manley's own Lisbon Dictate *De Sacra Scriptura* UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 239a, John Manley's Lisbon Dictate (1698 – 99) there are no further dictates until 1747. This belonged to Henry Nichols, a student of Sacred Theology from Michaelmas 1747 to Hilary 1748. In *Juramenta Superiorum* the Lector is not recorded (though it was almost certainly John Preston): UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive, 239b, *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ; De Auctoritate Sacrarum Scripturarum; De Locis Theologicis* (Michaelmas 1747) and the Trinitarian Dictate *De Deo Uno et Trino* (Trinity 1748); Book Archive 240 Henry Nicholl's Lisbon Dictate (1748, John Preston): *Tractatus de voluntario et involuntario actibusque humanis, peccatis et legibus* and *De Sacramentis, breviter complectens casus conscientiae quae (sic) spectant ad sacramenta*. See also the Dictate of Jerome Allen who succeeded Preston as professor of Philosophy and Divinity: UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 241 (1749 – 50: John Preston [professor]; Jerome Allen [student]): *Universae Philosophiae Compendium*. See Sharratt's, 'Handbook' above.

<sup>175</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to Bishop Benjamin Petre, 18 June 1740.

<sup>176</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to Dr. Thomas Brown *alias* Day, 18 June 1740.



Petre in an appeal to Challoner's close personal and spiritual links with the College and to the memory of Gother:

Good Sir, I beg you will be hearty in recommending our case to [Dr. Day.] As you are one of those who encouraged me to take this troublesome charge upon me, do all you can to make it easier. For between puzzling difficulties, intractable spirits and want of proper assistants, I am at my wits end. Pray Sir, for the love of God pity my case or rather the lamentable case of this family.<sup>177</sup>

Even appeals to Lisbon's beloved Challoner failed to meet with results. Reference to 'puzzling difficulties, intractable spirits and want of proper assistants' echoed the position Jones found himself in 1710, demonstrating that the College had laboured under a constant cloud of adversity for some three decades without relief. Financial pressures continued to trouble the management; in turn that provoked student and in some cases staff disturbances and resulted in capable professors seeking the safety of Douai or Paris rather than risk a life of penury and insubordination in Lisbon. Manley informed Shepperd in the summer of 1740 that his position was untenable and that he was at liberty to inform Petre and Challoner of the full extent of the College's privations:

Every day that comes over my head convinces me more and more how much reason I had to decline this business [of the Presidency] and how much I was overseen in yielding at last. The anniversary of that fatal day [when Manley agreed to Petre and Challoner's request to take the Presidency a second time] is dawning and I am quite disregarded by the mariners. This is the man you have placed at the helm [but] what will become of the ship? Oh that somebody would pity this poor ship and the pilot too, that both may not perish! It is not I apprehend, I pray God to prevent it and to remove from amongst us the evils of in-devotion, idleness and rudeness to Sup[eriors].<sup>178</sup>

Having spent much of his missionary life in England as a schoolmaster in Twyford and Wingerworth Manley was no stranger to student insubordination or the pranks of juvenile papists. One student William Ellis attached a short poem containing unsavoury verse mocking the President to Manley's door which precipitated a further outbreak of insubordination amongst the students.<sup>179</sup> Shepperd warned the President not to draw the matter to the attention of others as the continued disturbances risked alienating those professors from Douai and Paris prepared to teach at the College under Manley's new

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<sup>177</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to Bishop Richard Challoner, 18 June 1740.

<sup>178</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 9 July 1740.

<sup>179</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 6 August 1740.



administration.<sup>180</sup> The lack of respect the students had for Manley was encouraged by the wholesale derision the College had for Vice President Birtwhistle. The inability to procure staff from Douai or Paris and the stony silence of the secular authorities on the Mission convinced Manley, one year into the office, that he was not the man for the job. Manley continued to send his regards and kind wishes to the Vicars with his begging letters but informed Shepperd that, 'their friendship operates slowly' and in another letter he noted, 'We cannot live upon [their] promises and kind words.'<sup>181</sup> Manley laughed off the insubordinate verse off as a childish prank but his fears of impending trouble were not unfounded. In a letter to Shepperd he noted:

I fear I foresee the near approaching ruin, desolation and alienation of the House. A more skilful pilot is wanted at the helm. Be not incredulous, nor take it for a misfortune. You have sent the wrong person. Correct the mistake before it is too late. A flame is got into the barrels of this College [Bairro Alto]; and when it takes light and heart it will make a terrible harvest.'<sup>182</sup>

Continued requests for help from Douai met with no answer. The repeated indiscretions of the Vice President, whose fondness for drink had become well known amongst the student population, did little to gain their respect.<sup>183</sup> In October of 1740 Manley informed Shepperd that he was sending Birtwhistle back to the Mission on the first fleet bound for England. He would be of little use there but in the confines of the College his extravagancies were causing further unrest.<sup>184</sup> In a meeting of Council Manley proposed that after five students reported certain profane misdemeanours Birtwhistle had committed in choir it was, 'resolved that he [should] be sent upon the Mission by the first opportunity.'<sup>185</sup> Birtwhistle's request to be allowed to stay in the College was rejected by

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<sup>180</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 11 October 1740.

<sup>181</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 26 November 1740; UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 12 December 1740.

<sup>182</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 6 August 1740.

<sup>183</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 13 August 1740.

<sup>184</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 15 October 1740.

<sup>185</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Council of Superiors, President John Manley: Punishment of Vice President Robert Birtwhistle, 29 May 1740.



the council and it was unanimously agreed his removal should be with all haste.<sup>186</sup> Manley was forced to assume the Vice Presidency himself informing Shepperd that problems with the staffing at the College would force him to assume the post of Master of Humanity as well.<sup>187</sup>

#### 4.2.6. *Annus horribilis*: 1741 – 1742.

Less than a year into Manley's second administration the President found himself with reason to be disturbed. The tremors of discontent that Manley had long feared would boil over due to the hardness of times the College continued to labour under did so in what was the President's *annus horribilis* between 1741 and 1742. The complaints from students that paralysed Jones' management in 1710 were as nothing in comparison to the litany of troubles that erupted in April 1741 and continued until the Cardinal Protector stepped in himself in 1742. A party of students led by Thomas Liddell had fled into the city, loitered about town for various lengths of time, before returning to the College when they so pleased. These repeated indiscretions caused further damage to the College's reputation in Lisbon. Liddell expelled himself from the College but continued to live within the compound taking rooms and commons when he pleased. Liddell had been encouraged by another student Thomas Mason who after running away from the College sought the intercession of the Infante of Portugal Dom António Francisco Bragança to force Manley to re-admit him. Manley believed that Liddell would attempt the same approach and doubted his vocation to the priestly life. Liddell's imitation of Mason's misuse of Bragança influence at the College allied to the failings of his Vice President demonstrated the lengths Manley had to go to in order to restore the College to the discipline stipulated in the *Regimina* and *Constitutions*. The Liddell-Mason incident was related to Shepperd in London with an appeal to the Vicars' for aid.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>186</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Council of Superiors, President John Manley: Punishment of Vice President Robert Birtwhistle, 29 – 30 May and 3 June 1740.

<sup>187</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to John Manley, 26 December 1740.

<sup>188</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Manley: Memorandum on Thomas Liddell, 5 March 1741 to 27 May 1741.



[Liddell] found himself disappointed in the vain hopes he had framed to himself of bettering his condition [outside the College] and now would be glad to return to us. In a word, considering his very weak capacity and habitual indolence in point of application we think that all the art of man will never qualify him for our trade and this was my chief reason against re-admitting him. I hope this proceeding of ours with Liddell may convince the rest that we are in earnest and have some good effect on their false behaviour. I believe I have tired you as well as myself. Show my letter to Mr. White, Mr. Challoner, Mr. Day and Mr. Berington. Beg of them to be hearty and speedy in our relief. Be not too hasty in sending another in Liddell's place. 'Tis possible he may do as T[homas] Mason did, by engaging some person of great note to intercede for him. For I believe the poor lad knows not[what] to do with himself.

Manley's prediction proved to be correct. Liddell continued a lifestyle in and out of seminary life for a further month. He secured the protection of the Duke of Aveiro who interceded on Liddell's behalf and gained him re-entry into the College, 'with great detriment to all good order and encouraging like elopements.' Preston supported the view of Manley that Liddell's actions continued to pose a threat to collegiate discipline. When an opportunity arose to send Liddell to San Lucár Manley provided the following reasons in support of the proposal:

Liddell is very desirous to go thither and Mr. Preston is for the motion and I believe I shall come into it some reasons are: 1) because he is a troublesome member of this family and like to be so still whenever contradicted. 2) There is no probability that he will ever be serviceable among you. 3) That he is backward in Divinity and the act of man will never be able to make him a spider to spin cobwebs.<sup>189</sup>

These incidents demonstrated Manley's inability to govern outside of the influence of the Portuguese civic elites who, since Watkinson's death, had continued to interfere with elements of the College's management.<sup>190</sup> Despite the protection of the Duke, Manley reasserted his authority in a speech imposing what was a severe penance upon Liddell who, having absented himself from the collegiate community for six weeks had caused scandal for the College and Manley's administration.<sup>191</sup> Shepperd gave his usual despondent view from the Mission noting that, 'while there are such turbulent and

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<sup>189</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 13 January 1742.

<sup>190</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 10 June 1740. Even after the death of Queen Catherine of Bragança in 1705 the Portuguese Royal Family continued to patron students at the College: the Queen of Portugal sent John Foster (1709 – 13); Charles Bunce (1734 – 1735) and João V sent Andrew Pugh and Clement Guise (1709 – 1710) Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 56 – 57; 24 – 25; 156 – 57; 71 – 72.

<sup>191</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, President John Manley: Punishment of Thomas Liddell, 27 May 1741.



factionous persons suffered amongst you, to be insolent and disobedient, neither piety nor learning can be hoped for.'<sup>192</sup>

The direct appeal to the Vicars demonstrated a new approach by Manley in relation to the Mission. Shepperd remained crucial to Manley in maintaining good relations with the Vicars. Correspondence between Manley and Shepperd dated May 1741 noted that Liddell ran away a second time from the College actively pursuing a scandalous lifestyle only to return when he had gained the Duke's patronage to persuade Manley to agree to his re-admittance a second time. The ploy by Liddell, following Mason's example, worked in part. He was allowed to return to the College however Manley reacted against his breaking of the *Constitutions* with a method of correction he had not used before. Jones' own attempt to quell the disturbances of 1710 with impatient severity had backfired. Heeding Shepperd's advice upon his appointment in 1739 Manley attempted to correct this disturbance with temperance and fortitude. Eager to avoid the mistakes of his predecessor Manley introduced a reformed system of penalties for those who broke the *Constitutions*: a formula of correction that had the backing of the Cardinal Protector. Liddell became the proto-penitent of this new system. The disgraced student was forced to read the statement out in front of the College community before receiving his penance from the council of Superiors. Having endured thirty years of student insubordination this council initiative (a codified form of punishment and amendment) seemed a little late in the day:

I *N.N.* unworthy alumnus of this College humbly and sincerely acknowledge my very great fault by leaving the College in the face and contempt of my Superiors, and expressing myself in a very slighting manner concerning his authority over me, disregarding the Solemn Oath and Vow by which I had tied myself to this College and the English Mission and absenting myself from it so long time wandering about the town in a secular dress to the great scandal of this House and neighbourhood and of all that knew me in the city. For all which I beg pardon of my Superiors, schoolfellows, Humanists and whole College and of all who have come to the knowledge of this my scandalous proceeding. I entirely submit myself to the authority of my Superiors and am ready to comply with what the penance they have enjoined me and I sincerely promise that for the future I will be punctual in observing the Rules of the House, particularly those which regard to Devotion, Diligent Study and Respectful Obedience to my Superiors.<sup>193</sup>

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<sup>192</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to John Preston, 23 June 1741.

<sup>193</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and Correspondence Papers, Punishment Form [President John Manley for Thomas Liddell], 27 May 1741.



Liddell's contrition was but an episode in the administration's fight against laxity in student discipline. The second incident revealed a greater crisis as it emanated from the very head of the administration itself. The Vice President's conduct, in and out of the College had done little to inspire an adherence to collegiate discipline. Soon after Birtwhistle's forced removal to England a newly ordained priest, John Williams, caused further scandal on Easter Monday by attacking one of the minor officers of the College. Manley described the incident in a report to the Council:<sup>194</sup>

The third of April being Monday in Easter Week [John Williams] upon receiving some disrespectful, daring and provoking language from [the College porter] the said [John Williams] fetched [a] stick and did most violently beat and bruise the said [porter] until he broke the stick with the violence of the blows.<sup>195</sup>

The following day Manley informed Williams that after so scandalous an action the young priest should abstain from saying Mass to which Williams took no notice remaining obstinate in his defence. Manley summoned him to his private hall and enquired whether Williams thought that, 'beating the porter as he had done was not a scandal to the family and an injury to the porter.' Williams answered that it was neither one nor the other.<sup>196</sup> The President was eager to ensure that unruly collegians were seen to be disciplined, even ordained ones; news of the porter's beating spread like wildfire throughout the House so much so that his lack of contrition attracted the attention of the Cardinal Protector. Manley could not maintain order amongst the students if he could not maintain it amongst the clergy in his own House. The President needed to be seen to dispense justice as the *Regimina* of the College permitted him. Manley summoned his Council of Superiors to determine what punishment should be inflicted upon Williams for his violent conduct. The Council presented Williams with a series of questions relating to conscience in an attempt to appeal to Williams's sense of contrition. The minutes of the interrogation and Williams's response read:<sup>197</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> This incident was skirted over in the *Annals* despite Manley's later addition: Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 222 – 23.

<sup>195</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Council and College Life, Council of Superiors, 23 April 1741; UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Correspondence Papers, President John Manley, 23 April 1741.

<sup>196</sup> UCA, Durham, Lisbon Collection, Council and College Life, Council of Superiors, 23 April 1741.

<sup>197</sup> Williams' response is in italics.



1. Do you stand to it you gave no scandal to the Family and that you did no injury to the Porter. [JW] *Yes.*
2. On what do you ground this assertion? [JW] *the Porter's prevarication.*
3. Do you think then that action of beating the porter in such a violent manner did not exceed the malice of a venial sin? [JW] *You have no power to examine my conscience in a public manner before the Council. I will not answer questions that are nothing to the purpose.*
4. Do you think that for a priest to commit a mortal sin publicly is not scandalous? [JW] *This is another question which I think I am not obliged to answer.*
5. Do you think revenge lawful [JW] *I do not think myself obliged to answer any of these questions*

Clearly the appeal to Williams' conscience did not provoke the contrition that Manley had hoped for. Following the Council meeting Manley waited on the Cardinal Protector to seek advice as to what to do with his impenitent priest. The Cardinal Protector instructed Manley to operate within the rules of the *Constitutions* that as head of the administration he was obliged to maintain. Manley was concerned that Williams would brief against his authority to the Cardinal Protector so ordered the young priest to remain within the College compound until he could secure a second meeting. Da Cunha agreed with Manley that Williams should be made to ask pardon from the porter and the entire community. Perhaps the contrition had set in for Williams had made his peace with the porter independently of any order of Council. Though he protested that as a priest the relevant sections of the *Constitutions* (chapter XIV) did not apply to him, Williams gracefully read out his apology before the College, no doubt encouraged in his contrition by the attention of the Cardinal Protector.<sup>198</sup>

Manley had set an important precedent in dealing with collegiate dissent amongst the staff and students. Though he had won an important battle in asserting discipline as determined in the *Constitutions*, the war was far from victory. It was just as well that Williams had come round to Manley's penance. Shepperd warned Manley that the Vicars Apostolic would not accept the violent priest in any of their jurisdictions.<sup>199</sup> Petre wrote to the Protector himself instructing him as Superintendent to remove Williams if he failed to repent.<sup>200</sup> Shepperd argued that in failing to remove Williams Manley had lost a

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<sup>198</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, President John Manley: Punishment of John Williams, 23 April 1741; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 May 1741. Shepperd recommended to Manley to petition the Cardinal Protector to have Williams removed; Bishop Petre threatened to write directly to the Cardinal Protector to have the insolent cleric dismissed.

<sup>199</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 23 June 1741.

<sup>200</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 May 1741.



valuable opportunity to capitalise on his authority. Though Manley enjoyed an excellent reputation on the Mission whilst at Twyford he, like his predecessor, was not immune to criticism over his governance of the College at Lisbon. Shepperd noted that the Williams incident and the manner in which Manley had dealt with it had circulated throughout the Mission and gave some cause for concern amongst the secular clergy.<sup>201</sup>

Throughout the summer of 1741 Manley struggled to implement the *Rules* and regulations set down in the *Constitutions*. The Council and College Life Papers revealed further incidents of student dissent. Students continued to run away from the College compound.<sup>202</sup> For one student however the ploy backfired when his father, the steward to the Duke of Norfolk, instructed Manley that he desired, 'the favour of Mr. Manley to whip him with a horse whip severely.'<sup>203</sup> Several students continued to interpret the liberties the *Rules* allowed them in their own unique way. Liddell continued to assert his right to move in and out of the College as and when he so desired; Williams whose beating of the College porter scandalised the House continued with a fellow priest, Patrick Parry, to follow Liddell in his generous interpretation of the *Rules*. This final episode of insubordination was quashed when Manley appealed to the Cardinal Protector for judgment. Cardinal de Cunha came down on the side of the President and ruled that the young priests' actions had been an abuse of the College's *Rules*. The Protector ruled that the priests needed the President's permission to leave the College compound and were obliged to adhere to the *Constitutions* as was the entire community. The ruling had the full support of the Cardinal Protector who ruled against the petitions of Williams, Liddell and Parry, the three student priests at the centre of the challenges made to the College's *Constitutions*.<sup>204</sup> Preston's influence was crucial in procuring a favourable judgement from the Cardinal Protector. Manley informed Cunha that he was not aware of any privilege granted by Watkinson or Jones in allowing student priests to move in and out of the College as they pleased. Preston provided the Council's interpretation of the situation, noting that there was no such privilege nor had any precedent ever been

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<sup>201</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 23 June 1741.

<sup>202</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Memorandum on Liddell, 23 April 1741.

<sup>203</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 May 1741.

<sup>204</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, Williams [pp. 222 - 23]; Liddell [p. 109] and Parry [pp. 139 - 40.]



sanctioned by previous administrations.<sup>205</sup> An examination of the Council of Superiors' minute book of proceedings demonstrates that this ruling heralded the beginning of the end for the persistent pains of insubordination the College had long laboured under. Material relating to student and staff insubordination petered out after 1742 a sign that the administration was gradually getting to grips with the acute crises of 1741.

The Letter Books and Correspondence Papers relating to the years 1741 – 42 can prejudice an objective examination of Manley's administration. The College's *Annals* and perhaps more importantly the *Liber Missionis* demonstrate that the College's purpose continued to be fulfilled despite the troubles and adversities that had become a hallmark of the administration. The *Liber Missionis* demonstrated that although no Lisbonians set out for the Mission from 1741 – 1742 (with the exception of Birtwhistle, who was returned to the Mission in disgrace) ordinations continued throughout the most troublesome periods of the administration. Towards the end of 1741, when the College was in the very midst of turmoil four students Pierce Parry, David Morgan, Martin Hounshell and the itinerant Thomas Liddell received the diaconate. All four of these men, despite their youthful misdemeanours at the College in earlier years went on the Mission as priests (Parry: December, 1742; Liddell: January, 1743; Hounshell: November, 1744 and Morgan: December, 1746.)<sup>206</sup>

#### 4.2.7. Avec l'aide du Ciel.

The College continued, even in the worst of times, to fulfil its missionary obligations and commitments to the English Catholic community. Financial pressures and staffing problems continued to harass Manley's administration. Continued requests for able professors from Douai and Paris fell on deaf ears. President Thornburgh informed Manley that it was no bed of roses at Douai and that several teachers Thornburgh had earmarked for Lisbon refused to accept his brief because of the reputation the College had gained under Jones and under Manley's administration. Thornburgh informed him that 'I have no power to command people to go anywhere except the Mission and it is hard to persuade anyone to go to Lisbon because of the

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<sup>205</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, President John Manley and Council to the Cardinal Protector, 1742.

<sup>206</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, Hounshell [p. 92]; Morgan [pp. 127 – 28.]

climate and they know how hard it is to get anyone even to be President there.'<sup>207</sup> From the correspondence sent to Manley from Thornburgh it is clear that the President was doing all he could to relieve the pressing problems at Lisbon but noted that in doing so he was, 'impoverishing the mother to enrich the daughter.'<sup>208</sup>

The year 1742 marked a turning point in the College's fortunes although the situation remained tenuous. Shepperd informed Manley that Bishops Challoner and Dicconson were favourable to the College's preservation and were expected to send relief immediately. Challoner petitioned Thornburgh himself to ask for staff for the troubled College though Thornburgh insisted he had none to spare despite letters to the contrary sent to Manley.<sup>209</sup> Bishop Petre agreed to provide £100 for the College's immediate relief which though a small gesture was representative of a renewed interest by the Vicars in the fortunes of the College.<sup>210</sup> The litany of troubles that engulfed the College's administration from 1710 – 42 showed no signs of abating although encouragement continued to emanate from England, most notably from Challoner.<sup>211</sup> Lisbon did not have the full support of all the Vicars on the Mission. Thornburgh himself expressed some consternation as to the reticence of the Vicars in providing more aid for Manley's embattled administration.<sup>212</sup>

In February 1742 Bishop Dicconson refused to send two men designated for Lisbon as he feared they would be consumed by the chaos that troubled the College. Hassall had been designated a successor to Jones in 1739 but Stonor of the Midland District refused to allow his release.<sup>213</sup> Hassall's retention by Stonor was not such a

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<sup>207</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President William Thornburgh to President John Manley, 9 September 1740.

<sup>208</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President William Thornburgh to President John Manley, 25 February 1741.

<sup>209</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 4 July 1741.

<sup>210</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 21 April 1741.

<sup>211</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 5 August 1741.

<sup>212</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President William Thornburgh to President John Manley, 9 September 1740.

<sup>213</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, President John Manley's Letter Book (1): October 1739 – March 1748, President John Manley to John Shepperd, 17 May 1740. See also Sharratt, *Ushaw Magazine* December, 1973, pp. 12 – 17.



concern, as the Portuguese crown had made its objection to Douatian Presidents of the College clear on previous occasions. Manley retorted that Dicconson's refusal to release the men signalled the Vicars' desire for the College to close altogether, 'His Lordship should not be scandalised' if he [Manley] decided to close the College at Lisbon and return to England.<sup>214</sup> Petre and Challoner protested at Dicconson's intransigence and promised to send Gerard Bernard (the man who succeeded Manley as President in 1756) from Paris at the first available opportunity.<sup>215</sup> Shepperd confided to Manley that Lisbon was of no concern to the majority of the Vicars and their coadjutors and that in essence Manley (with the support of Preston and Shepperd in England) was very much alone.<sup>216</sup> This constant stream of lost hopes and disappointment clearly distressed Manley: Petre and Challoner pleaded with him to stay firm in his commitment to the Presidency even though his three years were up. Manley's first administration satisfied the minimum three year period of office; his swift departure for the Mission after that time had elapsed demonstrated his distaste for the office he, according to his own hand, assumed twice with the greatest reluctance. To convince Manley to stay the Bishops promised a new Procurator and informed the beleaguered President that help was coming from Paris.<sup>217</sup> With his three years of the Presidency finished by Hilary 1742, Manley requested he be removed from office, imitative of his first administration from 1729 – 32. Petre and Challoner joined the Chapter in pleading with Manley to remain in office, '[until] a person can be found, qualified to undertake the charge.'<sup>218</sup>

The staffing problems began to improve when Bernard arrived from the College of St. Gregory in Paris for Michaelmas, 1742.<sup>219</sup> Petre and Challoner had sent this bright young scholar to Lisbon to overhaul parts of the College's curriculum, replacing old

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<sup>214</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 26 February 1742.

<sup>215</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 27 February 1742. Bernard was first sounded for the post in 1741 see UCA, Durham, LC, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 2 February 1741.

<sup>216</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 27 February 1742.

<sup>217</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishops Benjamin Petre and Richard Challoner to President John Manley, 29 May 1742.

<sup>218</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Thomas Day, Thomas Berrington, Richard Hills, John Shepperd and Francis Elston (representing the Chapter) to President John Manley, 5 June 1742.

<sup>219</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1743.



speculative learning with more modern methods of teaching, imitative of the higher schools at Paris.<sup>220</sup>

This comes to you by the hands of Doctor B[e]rnard, whom Divine Providence seems to have pitched upon to be your assistant and the instrument of heaven for restoring your College to it's former lustre, which of late has been something eclipsed and setting it upon such a footing, both as to learning and regular discipline, as may enable you to send once more a set of Gothers and Goddens amongst us, and such other excellent labourers as we formerly used to receive from that nursery of Learning and Piety.<sup>221</sup>

At the age of twenty-seven Bernard was something of a high flyer and represented a valuable addition to Manley's administration. The return to the age of Gother and Gooden was perhaps a little premature. Manley had taught Bernard himself as a boy at Tywford school before Manley removed to Lisbon and Bernard to Picpus school in Paris.<sup>222</sup> Bernard was awarded his Doctorate in Divinity in 1742 just before he took up the office of professor of Theology at Lisbon from Michaelmas 1742. By the end of the Michaelmas Term Manley appointed Bernard Vice President in what, perhaps borne out of necessity, had been a meteoric rise from his Doctorate through to the Vice Presidency.<sup>223</sup> Bernard's arrival signalled the beginning of the end of Manley's staffing problems. His appointment in December 1742 to succeed the disgraced Birtwhistle, did something to reassert a representation or the veneer of restored authority.<sup>224</sup> Though Bernard had no teaching experience, certainly no managerial experience, his inexperience was counter-balanced by his enthusiasm which earned him the praise of both Shepperd and Manley.<sup>225</sup> Manley gave Shepperd the following account of Bernard's character:

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<sup>220</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 23 and 30 October 1742.

<sup>221</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishops Richard Challoner and Benjamin Petre to President John Manley, 5 November 1742.

<sup>222</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 9.

<sup>223</sup> A4, p. 307. E.H. Burton, *The Register Book of St. Gregory's College Paris, 1667 – 1786* (CRS Publications 19, London, 1917), pp. 129, 133 – 34.

<sup>224</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 20 February 1743.

<sup>225</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122 Juramenta Superiorum, 1706 – 1810, p. 8. Gerard Bernard [Vice President: 17 December 1742 – 27 November 1759.]



I think I see in him all the symptoms of a person thoroughly qualified for our affairs and I have hopes that now Mr. Peter House and family will hold up their heads again. He seems to have a great command of his temper and yet I believe will not suffer himself to be bullied. A thousand thanks to all who had any hand in supplying us with so accomplished a gentleman.<sup>226</sup>

There remained substantial gaps in the College's Council and certain omissions broke the *Constitutions*. The *Juramenta* demonstrated that the office of College Confessor remained vacant from Liddell's occupancy of it (1719 – c. 1724) until Thomas Hurst's appointment by President Winstanley in 1830. It is safe to assume that another Superior took upon this role for the one hundred year absence, possibly the President or Vice President, perhaps even the Prefect of Studies.<sup>227</sup> Similarly the *Juramenta* gave no further entries for the Prefect of Studies from Manley's own appointment in 1731; again, it appears as there was no permanent Superior designated to the office the absence of names was not demonstrative of an absence of occupants.<sup>228</sup>

Petre and Challoner succeeded in procuring Joseph Jones, educated at the English College Rome to serve on Manley's Council as Procurator (1742 – 50).<sup>229</sup> Despite his Ignatian upbringing Jones remained a prominent member of the Chapter thereby not posing a threat to Lisbon's sense of identity. Jones left England for Lisbon in the winter of 1742 arriving at the start of Advent.<sup>230</sup> Bishops Petre and Challoner rejoiced that now the College could return to the glory days of the late seventeenth century and put behind it the adversities it had long suffered since the turn of the century. Their rejoicing was a little premature.<sup>231</sup> The securing of Bernard and Jones represented a change in fortunes for Manley but the staffing situation was still far from desirable.<sup>232</sup> Bernard was charged with the offices of Prefect of Studies and Master of Scripture alongside his duties as Vice

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<sup>226</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1743.

<sup>227</sup> Manley noted in Preston's entry in the *College Annals* that he was Confessor for 16 years though no dates are given. Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 152 – 54.

<sup>228</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122 *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, p. 34.

<sup>229</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 31 May 1742.

<sup>230</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122 *Juramenta Superiorum*, 1706 – 1810, pp. 43 and 75. A4, p. 157.

<sup>231</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishops Joseph Petre and Richard Challoner to President John Manley, 5 November 1742.

<sup>232</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 102.



President.<sup>233</sup> Despite the best work of John Preston in the schools of Philosophy and Theology there remained no full time member of staff in either school throughout Manley's second administration.

Thomas Liddell's removal to England was further demonstrative of the College's change in fortunes. The student, whose continued insolence had caused Manley such troubles from 1741 – 42 was despatched to England early in 1743 in disgrace. There was no doubt that Manley was pleased to see the back of Liddell whose departure he hoped would be significant in staving off further bouts of collegiate unrest. Manley noted to Shepperd, 'it was his own desire [to leave] to which I *readily* agreed.'<sup>234</sup> Despite the change in fortunes Manley made persistent attempts to have himself replaced by Petre. Whether this was a desire to return to his beloved Twyford or whether the adversities of 1741 – 42 had had their effect on him remains uncertain: both seem highly plausible. Manley's correspondence to Shepperd demonstrated that the reform of the College still required new professors from Douai and Paris. The failure to procure a competent teaching staff for the College affected Manley deeply. He expressed these concerns to Petre from May 1742 through to September 1743 asking the Superintendent to, 'think seriously of calling [Manley] home and putting your affairs in better hands.'<sup>235</sup> Manley's first request in May 1742 persuaded Petre and Challoner to send Jones as Procurator and Bernard as Vice President in an attempt to convince Manley to change his mind.<sup>236</sup> Manley still harboured grave doubts as to his suitability for the Presidency; he lacked the confidence and perspective of his predecessor. Petre refused his second request, claiming that Manley had done more for the College in three years than Jones had done in the past twenty.<sup>237</sup>

The traditionally close relationship between Manley and Shepperd took a turn for the worse soon after the former had demonstrated his continued desire to leave the

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<sup>233</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 9.

<sup>234</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1743.

<sup>235</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to Bishop Benjamin Petre, 15 September 1743.

<sup>236</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishops Petre and Challoner to President John Manley, 29 May 1742.

<sup>237</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Bishop Benjamin Petre to President John Manley, 29 October 1743.



administration. The dispute centred on the management of the school at Twyford. Bernard, Preston, Jones and Manley confirmed in Council that the administration desired the recall of a former student, John Needham to teach Philosophy from Michaelmas 1744.<sup>238</sup> Manley petitioned Shepperd to seek the approval of Petre and Challoner for Needham's recall to the College.<sup>239</sup> Shepperd refused to meddle in the affair claiming that the College's poaching of staff from the school was threatening its independence and survival. Manley resented the attitude of his agent in London acquainting Petre and Challoner with his request directly in correspondence, 'we now earnestly renew and humbly beg that you will not only consent to part with Mr. Needham if willing to come but also encourage and persuade him to come.'<sup>240</sup> Manley secured Needham as professor of Philosophy for Trinity 1744 despite Shepperd's reservations as to his suitability.<sup>241</sup> Manley's plans ignobly backfired: signs of Needham's troubles began when he arrived into Belem in December 1743. Sharratt noted that Needham had already gained a considerable reputation as being learned in science however he was also troubled by severe mental problems. Despite Manley's warnings to the contrary Needham was investigated by the Holy Office and several of his books were seized as being unorthodox.<sup>242</sup> This inauspicious start to Needham's career was representative of a Superior not fit for task. Plagued by ague and insanity Needham declared he was no longer able to teach Philosophy and requested his return to England.<sup>243</sup> Shepperd's initial concerns over Needham's suitability proved true. Needham had left the College's administration by Easter 1745 leaving the College without a regular professor of Philosophy. Preston agreed to fill his place despite his many other duties in the administration. He had already taught a full three years in Philosophy and a whole four year course in Theology. Part of Manley's concern lay with planning for the future: alumni in the school of Humanity were coming up for Philosophy which the College was

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<sup>238</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 130.

<sup>239</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 17 April 1744.

<sup>240</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to Bishop Benjamin Petre, 15 September 1743.

<sup>241</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 131, Council of Superiors: minutes: 1710 – 1883, p. 40; Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 130.

<sup>242</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 130.

<sup>243</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, February 1745; President Gerard Bernard noted Needham's return to England as being June 1745. See UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 219, Letter-book: 1756 – 1806: Gerard Bernard: 12<sup>th</sup> April 1756 – 17<sup>th</sup> August 1775, 3 July 1745.



ill equipped to provide for. Preston had expressed his willingness to take the school of Theology but Bernard had refused to teach a further course of Philosophy. The inability to procure a permanent professor of Philosophy continued to blight the administration of Manley. In correspondence to Shepperd he cited this omission as the College's most pressing concern: 'You see the necessity we are in and that unless we have a good professor of Philosophy provided against this time three years, we cannot go on, but shall be reduced perhaps to as great straits as ever we were.'<sup>244</sup>

#### 4.2.8. Shepperd's Agency.

The Letter Books from 1742 to the Great Earthquake of 1755 record little of note, making an historical examination of Manley's final decade as President increasingly reliant on the correspondence from Shepperd. The Letter Books shed some light on the rebuilding work that Jones had commenced in the early years of his Presidency; there are a few references to student insubordination but the narrative becomes increasingly sedate even dull.<sup>245</sup> Problems with staffing, finance and student discipline continued to affect the College's administration but the domestic chaos that marked the College's history from 1710 – 42 was never repeated. Manley reformed the policy that Jones had initiated in his first administration of encouraging foreign students to the College's school of Humanity. Manley instructed Shepperd to stop sending even Irish students informing him that Jones' actions had been the, 'wrong way of practising.'<sup>246</sup> Manley made one exception with the admission of an Anglo-Portuguese boy named Jerome Allen in an attempt to curry favour with the Portuguese ambassador to the court of St. James, Sebastian de Carvalho (later Pombal.)<sup>247</sup> Allen was a protégé of Carvalho who had, according to Shepperd promised protection in return for the admission of Allen.<sup>248</sup>

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<sup>244</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 25 April 1745.

<sup>245</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 10 March 1741.

<sup>246</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 11<sup>th</sup> January 1743.

<sup>247</sup> Allen was the son of one of Carvalho's colleagues at the embassy. See UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, John Manley's Letter Book (1), President John Manley to John Shepperd, 22 June 1743; see also UCA, Durham, LC, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 August 1746.

<sup>248</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 4 May 1743.



Shepperd's agency in London remained crucial to Manley's second administration, particularly in the first few years after the latter's appointment by Petre. Letters from Shepperd to the President throughout the 1740s demonstrated that whilst providing practical and material assistance from England Shepperd's moral support bolstered the beleaguered President throughout his most wavering of times. Manley relied on Shepperd in equal measure to his own Council and the relationship was dependent on Shepperd's abilities to provide succour both practically and emotionally. Manley took heed of Shepperd's advice which, unlike the correspondence between Vane and Jones, was less advisory and more instructive as to College policy. A substantial amount of the correspondence imitated that which Russell sent to Watkinson from Portalegre; this relationship is clearer thanks to the survival of Manley's letters thereby not making it a one way oxymoronic correspondence. One such letter stands out as being demonstrative of the genre of interaction between the two men typical of the correspondence as a series. Days after his appointment as President, Shepperd gave Manley news that he was searching for a Procurator and Master of Humanity. The collegiate disturbances of former times had, albeit temporarily shown signs of relaxing:

I rejoice to hear that your youths are pretty free from drinking; endeavour by degrees to curb their ill humoured disobedient tempers and above all encourage them to devotion and frequenting the Holy Sacraments; especially the younger sort, p[r]ay accustom them from the beginning to be constant to those duties, so essential to their vocation; and if in that, or the observance of other Rules they are refractory and disobedient threaten to send them away, for we do not want students, we can have enough, we only want, those that are good, studious, devout and obedient.<sup>249</sup>

The financial pressures continued to blight the College's domestic life, a situation not helped by Shepperd's own financial woes on the Mission (thus the desirability of Portuguese diplomatic immunity). College agents often found that administering funds destined for the College had certain risks attached. Shortly after Manley's reappointment to the Presidency Shepperd informed the President that he had made a loss of over £2000 (twice the amount donated by Giffard to the rebuilding project at Douai) to a 'rascally Irishman' who had accused Shepperd of using the money for 'superstitious uses.' It was a blow that the timorous Manley could have done without.<sup>250</sup> These continued adversities forced Shepperd to recommend Manley to begin a series of begging letters to Petre,

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<sup>249</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 16 February 1740.

<sup>250</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 26 December 1740.



Stonor, Prichard, Challoner, Dicconson and York in an attempt to woo the favour of the Vicars to the College's administration under his Presidency.<sup>251</sup> The reticence of any agency outside of the London Vicariate to help the College demonstrated that the foundation was seen to be, amongst English ecclesial authorities, the responsibility of the Vicar Apostolic of the London District. The letters met with continued disappointment. During the heights of Manley's *annus horribilis* with the loss of Hardwick and Daniel to the College, Shepperd protested that, 'I have deferred, deferred, deferred writing, in hopes of sending you some comfortable news, but all in vain.'<sup>252</sup> The news was compounded by the added realisation that Thornburgh had informed Shepperd that he could not spare any further professors. Despite these continued set backs Challoner implored Manley to invoke aid from Heaven in his darkest hours writing to Shepperd, 'Let Mr. Manley never despond, nor even repine at his being posted in so perplexing a situation, it was the will of his Superiors, and let him look upon it as the Will of God. Let him do what in prudence he judges best, and then without fretting or uneasiness leave the rest cheerfully to Providence.'<sup>253</sup> Shepperd did not share Challoner's characteristic optimism confessing to his master in Lisbon that, 'I and all your worthy friends here most heartily pity you.'<sup>254</sup>

#### 4.2.9. The Religious Orders and the College.

Without effective secular leadership the English clergy were always susceptible to poaching from the religious orders both in England and in Europe. The Jesuit Order had long maintained a near monopoly over the infrastructure of the English Catholic exile foundations throughout Europe proving themselves attractive recruiting sergeants for the Mission. The active missionary life was more attractive under Jesuit or Benedictine directions than the missionary lifestyle that awaited a secular priest in an England where the infrastructure of parochial ministry was absent. The Jesuit and

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<sup>251</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 23 July 1741.

<sup>252</sup> News of Dicconson's refusal to release Daniel can be found in UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 27 February 1742.

<sup>253</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 5 August 1741.

<sup>254</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 30 May 1741.



Benedictine orders were well established, popular with the Catholic gentry and aristocracy; the Jesuit Order was supported by a worldwide organisation that the English secular clergy lacked. Leaderless, demoralised after the ecclesiastical and political defeats of 1688, students attached to the secular colleges found themselves prey to the regular orders. Though the parochial cleric underwent something of a renaissance during the seventeenth century in France and Italy, the former through the influence of Salesian spirituality and the latter through vigorous episcopal reform, the regular orders maintained a strong hold on the Portuguese church. Prior to the Great Earthquake of 1755 and Pombal's reform of the regular clergy Lisbon was overflowing with religious houses, convents and monasteries. In the Bairro Alto region itself there were Theatine, Franciscan, Bridgettine and Jesuit houses in the immediate vicinity of the College compound: casting its shadow over all these foundations was the great Carmelite monastery *Igreja do Carmo*. Want of leadership amongst the English secular ecclesial authorities had resulted in some drift of seculars to the orders.

The College at Lisbon was founded on the understanding that the Jesuit Order would have no part in the College's government or administration. Despite a constant paranoia throughout the College's history towards the Society, the secular clergy retained control of the College's schools and government from its inception through to the Expulsion of the Order in Portugal (1759). President Witham's defence against his malefactors that he designed to hand the College at Douai over to the Society had important parallels that Jones and Manley might have learnt something from. Witham wrote that it was ridiculous in the early eighteenth century 'to see men of such eminent learning and sanctity still being frightened, like little children, at the bogey of the Society wanting the College.'<sup>255</sup> The Society was still thought by some to pose a threat to the College at Lisbon engulfed in a sea of adversity but after the appointment of the first Vicar Apostolic in 1685 the threat was at best debatable if not fanciful. The Letter Books of Manley are indicative of a clear anti-Jesuit attitude. This bout of criticism against the Society may have derived (or at least been encouraged by) the threats from the Jesuits under the College's benefactor Carvalho (later Pombal). Sharratt has demonstrated Manley's antipathy towards the Society's educational programme in his synopsis of the Letter Books. These demonstrate a clear antipathy towards the Society, particularly towards the 'houses of education' serving the Mission. Students from Jesuit houses

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<sup>255</sup> Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, p. 339.



proved incompatible with the style of government at the College. In correspondence to Shepperd, Manley noted: 'no one who ever came from Hilton [e.g. the College at Rome] or St. Omers [the Jesuit school of Humanity] ever did well here, (30 September 1742)'.<sup>256</sup> Jones had displayed a similar contempt towards the Jesuit style of education when he referred to the numerous students, 'brought up in that College that have turned apostates in England.'<sup>257</sup> Less than a year before he sent similar reservations regarding the Jesuits approach to training English missionaries: 'I am determined never more to admit any that come from thence [Rome], or from any house of that Society. Pray remember this.' This was an indication from the President to the College's agent not to encourage vocations from those who had been schooled at St. Omers or the Ignatian colleges as being incompatible with the ethos and mission of the College at Lisbon.

The poaching of students by the regular orders from the College in Lisbon remained a problem for Jones's administration. Jones saved his worst criticisms, perhaps predictably, for the Jesuits and their houses in Spain. He noted to Vane that students from Jesuit houses tended to be fitter for jails than colleges. Jesuit machinations towards the College at Douai during the first quarter of the eighteenth century emboldened Jones to remark to Vane that it was natural for the Society to turn on Lisbon as it had during the peak of the Chapter disputes between Sergeant and Talbot.<sup>258</sup> Jones noted that the continued economic privations the College suffered had led some students to hearken to the Jesuits but actual secular converts remained a rarity in Jones' first administration. The transfer of secular priests to religious orders was infrequent if not exceptional. One alumnus-priest, Peter Holford had petitioned Propaganda to release him from his College Oath in order to join the mixed Bridgettine convent in Lisbon. Jones blamed the Abbess Sister Catherine Cole for poaching Lostock and turning him away from his secular vocation. Repeated requests from the Bridgettines for English secular priests had exhausted Jones's patience: 'these women are running mad for fathers and none will be fit for them but these that are brought up upon our cost and charges.'<sup>259</sup> Jones accused the Bridgettines of drawing members of the College away from a secular vocation, instead

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<sup>256</sup> Sharratt, 'John Manley's Letter Book', p. 12.

<sup>257</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 16 February 1714.

<sup>258</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 20 April 1714.

<sup>259</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 8 May 1714.



coaxing young and impressionable students into a lucrative and appealing career (in contrast to an itinerant life of mission in England). Petitions from the community at Sion to Rome endeavouring to relieve interested parties from their College oath met with criticism from Jones' administration. The President accused the convent of a forty year campaign of poaching students to fill the convent's confessional and catechetical needs. Presidents Tilden, Perrot and Watkinson had done much to prevent this leakage but the problem still persisted to plague Jones' and Manley's administrations.<sup>260</sup> The issue came to a head again in 1715. The Apostolic Nuncio Vincenzo Bichius received letters from the convent petitioning Rome to have the College Oath of any student interested in joining Bridgettine ranks in Lisbon to be allowed to do so removing them from the jurisdiction of the College.<sup>261</sup> Jones petitioned the Holy See himself in protest at the convent's actions. Citing the abandonment of the secular habit for the orders as an excuse of several students to cause distress amongst their Superiors. The finest and richest monasteries in Portugal imported secular clergy to confessional and catechetical posts to the detriment of the Lisbonian parochial clergy: 'I must desire you'll be pleased to represent this to the court, the inconveniences there are to dispense with such a solemn oath and vow so much to the prejudice of the Clergy of England.'<sup>262</sup> Claims made by the convent over the number of students and several Superiors including the Vice President himself appear inflated if not ridiculous. In the petition to Rome the Abbess claimed the Vice President, Peter Holford, Mr. Turner, John Manley and even Vane himself had all shown signs of joining the community of Sion. The list was nothing more than a catalogue of all the most prominent Lisbonians at the College and on the Mission: the claim was entirely false.<sup>263</sup> Several calumnies continued to emanate from the convent directed towards Jones. There is no further mention of the petition sent to Rome but it seems the letters were unsuccessful. Jones secured his administration from the poaching of the convent gaining himself the derision of the Bridgettines as a 'meddler with their

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<sup>260</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 17 September 1715.

<sup>261</sup> *Hierarchica Catholica*, vol. 5, p. 235: Vincenzo Bichius [titular Bishop of Laodicea *in partibus infidelium*, December 1702]; Apostolic Nuncio to Portugal, 14 September 1709; Cardinal 24 September 1731.

<sup>262</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Apostolic Protonotary Colman, 17 September 1715.

<sup>263</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 27 September 1715.



government and disturber of their community.'<sup>264</sup> Despite the ups and downs in the relationship between the College and the convent Jones maintained his influence within the convent. The Nuncio had given the College the task of providing confessors to the English Bridgettine nuns of Sion, resident in Lisbon, during Watkinson's administration.<sup>265</sup> Jones argued that he could not fill this post for want of funds. Whilst concurring with the Nuncio for the need for the nuns to have English confessors (as opposed to Irish) Jones protested that, 'since colleges here abroad entertain no one than what are necessary for their own use according to the funds they have and consequently cannot spare any of [my] family for that purpose.'<sup>266</sup>

Threats towards the College's independence emanated not only from recruiting religious orders but from secular authorities on the Mission. Jones believed that disputes between the Lisbonian and Douatian members of the clergy, particularly with regards to staffing, had resulted in rumours that the College at Lisbon should be removed to Paris attaching itself to St. Gregory's. The rumours came to nothing.<sup>267</sup> Rivalry between the two colleges was in one respect natural even though both were colleges governed by the secular clergy. Jones touched on an issue that shed further light on that rivalry namely the preferment of Douatian students to Universities, most notably the Sorbonne, in preference to Lisbonians. Jones recommended that if one student, Peter Holford, were sent to the Sorbonne it would 'serve to abate some private murmurings amongst the sons of this House who think themselves disregarded in respect of those of Douai and would conduce much to the union of both members.'<sup>268</sup> Douai as a pontifical College was better prepared to deal with these threats than the Colleges at Lisbon and Paris. A decree from

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<sup>264</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones, 3 May 1720.

<sup>265</sup> The College's Protector, Nuno da Cunha e Ataíde elected Inquisitor General of Portugal in 1707 did not received the red hat until 18 May 1712 but it appears it is Cunha that Jones was referring to in his correspondence to Vane: UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 10 May 1712.

<sup>266</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 10 May 1712. Relations between the convent's administration and Jones improved in his second administration. Jones was petitioned in 1734 by the Father Confessor to participate in the election of a new Abbess. See UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, A. Sulgard (Syon) to President Edward Jones 17 September 1734.

<sup>267</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 28 September 1714.

<sup>268</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Edward Jones's Letter Book (1), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 13 August 1717.



Propaganda, designed specifically for the administration at Douai forbade those on papal pensions to enter religious orders. The so called Pontifical Oath or Student Oath required each alumnus of a pontifical College (Paris and Lisbon excluded) to subscribe to an oath not to enter any religious order, society or congregation without express permission from the Holy See.<sup>269</sup>

Relations with the Society were not always prejudicial to the College's administration. Under Manley's first administration the Society in Brazil were recommending men to the College. Roberto de Campos St. John, an English Jesuit stationed at the Rio Plata recommended João Dinis de Azevedo, a Portuguese gentleman seeking employment as a secular cleric on the Mission. Azevedo would pay his own tuition, desiring to study controversies at the College whilst acting as College porter. Campos recommended Azevedo to Manley as 'a fit instrument for the conversion of heretics' but Manley refused the offer on account of his nationality (demonstrative of his reform of Jones' policy of admitting foreigners to the school of Humanity.)<sup>270</sup> Despite Manley's refusal to take in the Jesuit recommended Portuguese further correspondence with Campos demonstrated that the poor relations between the Society and the College had shown advanced signs of thawing. Campos praised the work of Manley and his administration: 'I confess the debt offering to you and all the Reverend Fathers and Students that are under your direction my service, whom I love and venerate as heroes of Charity and Defenders of the Faith.'<sup>271</sup> Good relations with Campos served to further demonstrate that thesis argued in Chapter One that the relations between the secular clergy and the Jesuits on the Mission was not indicative of relations with the Society outside of English Catholic circles. Neither the Jesuit Order nor the secular clergy should be seen as a generic whole.

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<sup>269</sup> Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, p. 320; Tierney-Dodd 5, pp. cclxxix. The design was not to prohibit students leaving Douai for the secular colleges at Paris and Lisbon but to save the administration from unnecessary expenses.

<sup>270</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Roberto de Campos St. John to President John Manley, 21 August 1729.

<sup>271</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Roberto de Campos St. John to President John Manley, 6 June 1730.

**4.2.10. 'One shock seldom comes alone': 1750 – 1755.**<sup>272</sup>

The College's continued penury forced Shepperd and Manley to continue with the administration's moratorium on new apprentices until the financial condition improved.<sup>273</sup> Shepperd complained that the English Catholic community was so financially hard pressed that only the rich could afford to send their sons abroad for a Catholic education. Those with money chose St. Omers or Douai; the poor simply couldn't afford to send their sons to a college as far removed as Lisbon.<sup>274</sup>

Mr. House is cramped between two difficulties, that is either to take none into his family or to admit and maintain them out of his own substance, which lessens every day, (at least since all the stocks are all reduced to three percent). I perceive people here have a notion of Portugal being a very bad place and a violent hot country, and so vast a distance, that if they can possibly afford to give anything with their children, they choose to send them to the English Houses in Flanders [Douai].

Shepperd instructed Manley not to nurture false hopes as to the condition of the state of the College's reputation in England. He reluctantly informed the President that 'I have reason to believe that gentlemen (priests) will do nothing for your house.'<sup>275</sup> One of the College's benefactors John Woolf sought the advice of Manley in whether or not to nominate any further students on his fund stating that because of the financial and staffing condition of the College he remained far from desirous in putting any further hardship on the College.<sup>276</sup> Even in the twilight years of Manley's administration the aged President was not immune to criticism from the Mission. The College's old friend Richard Challoner (who in effect was running the London District and therefore the superintendence of the College) rebuked Manley for allowing students to mix with women at Nicholson's *quinta* at Pera:

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<sup>272</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 20 February 1753.

<sup>273</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 12 May 1750.

<sup>274</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 26 October 1750.

<sup>275</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 16 February 1751.

<sup>276</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Woolfe to President John Manley, 1 September 1752.



The concern we have for the welfare of your House, upon which the welfare of our Mission greatly depends, as it makes us always rejoice when we see or hear of the well doing either of the mother, or any of her children, so it makes us take the alarm, when we are informed of any disorders, or innovations, which in their consequences may be prejudicial to your family.

Though Challoner did not doubt the moral orthodoxy of the Council of Superiors he counselled against the students mixing with the women at Pera citing, ‘the dangers that are naturally to be apprehended from these visits.’<sup>277</sup> Challoner saw the chief object of concern being the administration’s failure to restrain both Superiors and students from intimacy with the English communities at Lisbon and Pera. This, Challoner argued, was the main cause of the staff and student insubordination that had plagued the College for some forty years:

It is but too true that diverse missionaries, that have come from your part of the world, have miscarried, particularly by giving themselves up to an idle life, and by intemperance in drink: now ‘tis apprehended by all friends here that the original source of these miscarriages has been their contracting too much familiarity with the English, settled in your town; which has taken them off from their application to their studies and devotions, given them a love for worldly conversation and an idle life and by degrees habituated them to drink and exchange the ecclesiastical spirit for the spirit of the world.

Manley was beginning to weather the storms of adversities but it is clear from Challoner’s remarks that the College had yet to be restored as a centre of excellence standing proud as a part of the infrastructure of the Mission. The reform of the College was left to later administrations in a very different context and perspective than that of Jones and Manley’s administrations from 1706 – 55.

The remainder of the Letter Books and Correspondence Papers prevent any further detailed examination of the condition of the College in Manley’s final years. Some of the material deserves closer inspection not least because it allows an insight into events which put Manley’s twilight into perspective. The College’s confraternity of St. Thomas continued to flourish as a centre of Anglo-Portuguese devotional interaction. The Cardinal Patriarch of the College visited the College himself on the patronal feast in 1749 providing Manley’s administration with a gift and more importantly the prestige that only a cleric of Almeida’s stature could provide the embattled College.<sup>278</sup> There also exists an

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<sup>277</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Richard Challoner to President John Manley, 17 December 1753.

<sup>278</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 24 February 1750. The Cardinal Protector died in December 1750 see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 218, John Manley’s Letter Book (2): see 3 January 1750 and 23 December 1750.



ominous strain of correspondence between Shepperd and Manley concerning earth tremors which had troubled the region from 1750. Manley retained a fear of earthquakes throughout his final years which ultimately ended in cruel irony. Shepperd sent the President a copy of Fisher's *Earthquakes* in 1751.<sup>279</sup> Two years later Shepperd wrote, 'I hope you have had no more of the Earthquake, it is terrible and one shock seldom comes alone.'<sup>280</sup>

President Manley sent his final letter to Humphrey Bellasis, son of Lord Montague, in October 1755. He had baptised Bellasis whilst working as a missionary in England. Manley provided a picture of his time as head of the administration from 1739: 'I was a second time ordered for Lisbon where after a tedious voyage of seven weeks I arrived on the 13th of October 1739, now sixteen years ago. If I live till next New Years Day 1756 (New Style) I shall be seventy-six years old complete. I pray God to grant us all for a happy end. Mine draws on apace. God grant us a joyful meeting in heaven.'<sup>281</sup> Manley was destined to see the face of God sooner than he had expected. On All Saints Day 1755 the President was fatally injured when part of the House he had for so long held up throughout his two administrations came crashing down all around him.

#### 4.2.11. Dr. Bernard's Interregnum.

Numerous accounts of the activity surrounding the Great Earthquake have been provided by other scholars. Those interested in the removal of the student population from Lisbon to Pera and the account of the days surrounding the removal must look there. There is little in the Letter Book of the College's Regent Gerard Bernard or the Correspondence Papers (which are understandably incomplete for this period) to substantiate the excitable claims of Croft. The *Annals* provides no insight into the incident and the removal to Pera is of little significance. Bernard, as Vice President, naturally assumed the interim governance of the College.<sup>282</sup> Petre immediately sent his

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<sup>279</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 15 June 1751.

<sup>280</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 20 February 1753.

<sup>281</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, President John Manley to Lord Humphrey Bellasis, 15 October 1755.

<sup>282</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to John Preston, 3 February (?) 1756.



patent of appointment to the Presidency; it arrived early 1756.<sup>283</sup> The destruction of the city changed the duties and responsibilities of the College: a point the Council of Superiors were quick to realise. The College itself, located in the old quarter of the Bairro Alto, survived the worst ravages of the earthquake: there was some structural damage to Jones' refurbished compound but the building and fabric remained intact. Bernard petitioned the Cardinal Patriarch for licences to say Mass in a temporary chapel located within the College compound as the College church had suffered minor structural damage. The earthquake had left many parochial and religious churches in a state of ruin; many clergy had died as a result of the destruction. Bernard sent further petitions to the Patriarchate to hear the confessions of penitents of both sexes; permission to keep the Blessed Sacrament in a temporary chapel; the rite to hear the confessions of the nuns of Sion and a petition to obtain temporary leave to commute vows not reserved to the Pope.<sup>284</sup>

It took a disaster of gargantuan proportions to stir the heartstrings of the English Catholic community and the ecclesial governance of the Mission. Aid flooded in from England immediately in thanks to the assiduous agency work of Shepperd and the grip the Lisbon disaster had on the popular imagination and European print culture. Shepperd revealed this morbid curiosity in a letter to Preston:

Our newspaper here tell us of several earthquakes since the first of November, pray let me know if this is true? And also if you are yet in your poor tent and where. Also how you all escaped, and how Mr. Manley happened alone to suffer. Pray tell me how many students are in a class, and how many you are in a family with servants and all, and how you and others get provisions. Pray tell me all the particulars you can, for I have a hundred questions asked me daily, especially by those to whom I apply for something to help you in your distress.<sup>285</sup>

Bishop Petre was quick to rally support for Bernard. Preston was elected Vice President; he had sent Petre a full report of the earthquake and the calamities that followed to the Superintendent.<sup>286</sup> Petre promised a general appeal to the Catholic aristocracy: aid was promised from those traditional benefactors of the College such as Montague, Stafford,

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<sup>283</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 9; According to UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Thomas Needham to President Gerard Bernard, 4 June 1756 the Dean and Chapter sent a separate procuration allowing Bernard full rights to act as President.

<sup>284</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Non Roman Ecclesiastical Licences, Vice President Gerard Bernard to the Cardinal Patriarch, 16 December 1755; 3 February 1756; 23 November 1756; 5 May 1757.

<sup>285</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to John Preston, 13 January 1756.

<sup>286</sup> All the nuns of the English Convent of Sion survived the Great Earthquake of 1755. UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Thomas Needham to President Gerard Bernard, 4 June 1756.



Widdrington and Stourton and those who had, until 1755, remained aloof from the College's plight such as the Duke of Norfolk, Lords Fairfax, Langdale and Shrewsbury. The Duke provided £100 for the College's immediate relief; Lord Langdale £20; Lord Stourton £15 and Sir Robert Throckmorton £20.<sup>287</sup> The secular colleges at Paris and Douai were as swift in providing aid. Dr. Charles Howard, newly elected President of the College at Paris promised Shepperd all the assistance he could give; William Green, the Procurator of Douai offered to send relief as soon as he could provide the necessities for Bernard.<sup>288</sup> Shepperd did what he could on the Mission but he remained pessimistic:

I assure you Sir I have tried the utmost of my skill, not only among the gentry but also amongst all sorts of people. I never took so much pains and trouble about anything in my life before and when I began did little expect to get what I have got. I happen to have the honour of a good deal of acquaintance and on that account had better success; and was at last in hopes of making up a thousand pounds but I begin to despair of that satisfaction, but am still soliciting some friends and live in hopes of collecting some thing more.<sup>289</sup>

The appeal for £1000 was a little extravagant considering the condition of the English Catholic community. Bernard continued to do his best to procure aid from the Portuguese authorities but they were naturally hard pressed themselves. When fire swept through the city in August 1756 Bernard conceded that any further help from the Portuguese crown was unlikely in the extreme.<sup>290</sup> Aid came in from the unlikeliest of sources which was a testament to Shepperd's agency: his elevation to Dean of the Chapter in 1756 was in recognition of his extensive work both for the College and the English secular clergy at large.<sup>291</sup> Bishop Petre ordered a general collection throughout the London District to

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<sup>287</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 11 May 1756; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 25 May 1756.

<sup>288</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 11 May 1756.

<sup>289</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 24 August 1756. Shepperd attached an account of himself for the *Annals* enclosed in the same correspondence: 'I was chosen Chapterman on the 12th of February 1724, was chosen Treasurer of the Chapter on the 12th July 1732, I was appointed Agent for Mr. House in Lisbon on the 29th of January 1734. I was chosen sub-dean on the 8th July 1755 and after the death of Mr. Thomas Berrington, my brethren did me the honour to choose me Dean of the Chapter on the 9th March 1756.'

<sup>290</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 27 August 1756.

<sup>291</sup> Funds came in from all corners of the Kingdom. A Mrs. Mary Cross of Newport Shropshire provided £10 and, in the same correspondence, Shepperd noted that Bishop Hornyold had taken the College, 'much to heart.' See UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 9 November 1756.



procure funds for the College.<sup>292</sup> Bishop Hornyold made a similar appeal to the Catholic gentry and aristocracy of the Midlands District.<sup>293</sup> Shepperd noted in May 1757 that even Propaganda itself was prepared to provide limited funds for the College's relief. This should not be interpreted as an indication of pontifical status. The money was not for the perpetual support of alumni but to ease the College's acute financial concerns.<sup>294</sup>

There is no mention in either Bernard's Letter Book or the Correspondence Papers of the violent expulsion of the Jesuits in Portugal in 1759. Petre expressed his concerns over the 'black padres' in correspondence to Shepperd shortly before his death. Allen and Preston had close links to the enemies of Pombal; the Tavóra and Aveiro dynasties, at the centre of Pombal's paranoid and bloody tirade. Both families had been benefactors of the College in previous administrations. The *Annals* noted that though Allen and Preston had well connected links with Pombal's enemies neither suffered in the purges that swept through Portugal from late 1758 through to the execution of Gabriel Malagrida (Jesuit confessor of Leonor de Tavóra, King José I's mistress) in 1761.<sup>295</sup> The only allusion to the whole affair was made by Shepperd in London:

Yesterday at the Portuguese envoy's we had a Solemn Mass and the Te Deum in a most splendid manner with the finest music, which was attended by the foreign ministers, many of our nobility and a vast concourse of people of fashion. It was in thanksgiving of the happy recovery of his most faithful Majesty, and for his miraculous escape.<sup>296</sup>

Though the Great Earthquake of 1755 and the Tavóra conspiracy of 1759 had great social and political ramifications for Portugal and Europe neither had a direct effect on the College or its administration. There is scant material relating the College to these incidents in the Lisbon Collection. Preston's text against the Society has been mentioned above but the College did its best to stay clear of the crises of 1758 – 61. One might conclude that the administration was glad to see the back of the Order from Portugal but

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<sup>292</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to Gerard Bernard, 23 November 1756.

<sup>293</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 15 February 1757.

<sup>294</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 17 May 1757. Petre left £100 to the College in his last will and testament: Shepperd informed President Bernard of the Superintendent's death and the succession of Challoner as his successor in December 1758. UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Gerard Bernard, 26 December 1758.

<sup>295</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 3, 152 – 54.

<sup>296</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to John Preston, 27 February 1759.



the severity of their expulsion must have stirred a few heartstrings even in this bastion of the English secular clergy.

In October 1761 President Bernard received news from John Sheppard that the College's agent (and his namesake) John Shepperd had died.<sup>297</sup> Richard Smith offered his candidacy to the vacant agency but Sheppard was appointed Shepperd's successor by Bernard with full procuratorial powers of proxy in the Chapter from 1761. One member of the Chapter William Walton asked the President whether Challoner had the right to declare a successor to Shepperd but it appears the Bishop refused to meddle in Bernard's choice.<sup>298</sup>

#### 4.2.12. Conclusion.

There can be no denying the fact that the years 1706 – 61 marked the College's worst period in its near 350 year history. The College *Constitutions* of (1635) was prefaced by a citation from the 132<sup>nd</sup> Psalm, *Ecce quam bonum*. The citation became a motto for the College, republished in the revised *Constitutions* of 1819: the translation reads, 'Behold how good and how pleasant a thing it is for brethren to dwell in unity' a canticle of David focusing on the happiness of brotherly love and concord. For Jones and Manley nothing could have been further from the truth. Few of these words could have given these beleaguered Presidents cause for hope: theirs were the lamentations of Jeremiah rather than the joys of brotherly concord. Of the 127 students who entered the doors of the College under Presidents Jones and Manley 46 (36%) went into active missionary service. Some 27 left of their own accord; 11 were expelled for disobedience; 9 were asked to leave as they were 'unused to study.' Seven students left the College to take up orders with the regular houses. The remaining eleven succumbed to death, insanity or the Portuguese armed forces. If there was a time to close the College it was

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<sup>297</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 177; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Sheppard to President Gerard Bernard, 31 October 1761. Shepperd provided Manley with a £900 capital donation loaned out at 5% [Shepperd had an annuity of £20 p.a. whilst he lived.] See UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President John Manley, 1 October 1754. President James Barnard noted on the reverse: 'This letter shows that the £900 given by Mr. John Shepherd [sic] for the Establishment of his Fund was not employed in England but remitted to Lisbon to be employed here: and probably was a part of the money with which we bought the *Juros* in the Intendencia: which was brought in the year 1754.'

<sup>298</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, Richard Smith to President Gerard Bernard, 3 November 1761; UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Walton to President Gerard Bernard, 9 November 1761.



under Jones and Manley, but both men refused to throw in the towel. In spite of the best efforts of Jones and Manley to reform the College throughout their four administrations neither President could effectively wrestle with the adversities that had overcome the administrations throughout the first half of the eighteenth century. A letter of appeal, sent from the Vicars Apostolic to the Catholic aristocracy and gentry, provided an overview of the condition of the College in the 1760s. The letter entitled, 'The case of the English College at Lisbon' was sent to Sir Edward Smythe, a Catholic gentleman in Acton Burnell near Shrewsbury, Shropshire in c. 1763. The letter deserves to be cited at length for highlighting the state of the English College at the dawn of the Catholic Revival.<sup>299</sup>

This College, which from its first foundation has been of signal service to the English Mission, by the number of labourers it has sent over and the great fruits their labours has produced; has within this last half century been greatly reduced in its temporal estate, and in its Funds, designed for the bringing up Missionaries, partly by occasion of the dreadful havock made by the great earth quake in their House and estate, and partly by diverse other great losses they have sustained, to the amount of several thousands of pounds, some before the time of that great calamity, others since, which joined with the non payment of their rents in the city of Lisbon, which were formerly paid every quarter, but are now seven quarters behind hand joined also with the dearness of the provisions, which of late years have been raised one third in their value, have run the House in debt near one thousand pounds for which they are obliged to pay interest.

By these misfortunes, together with the loss of the rents they had in the town house at Paris, as also in their actions in the French India Company; the College is so far impoverished, as to be no longer able to support itself; much less can they now bring up, as formerly any number of labourers for the Lord's Vineyard (which were never more wanted than in our present distress) except the Divine Goodness shall be pleased to open the hearts of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England, or others whom he has blessed with wealth and incline them to contribute bountifully to discharge the House of its load of debt and to repair at least in some measure the losses they have sustained in their Funds.

This present melancholy state and situation of their affairs has been lately represented by the Superior of the College to the Superiors of the Mission, in hopes that these would use their best endeavours to procure from the faithful such generous contributions as may effectually secure this seminary of piety and religion from impending ruin, and enable them to carry out the work of God to his greater glory and the salvation of souls; by training up in virtue and learning according to the original design and institution of the College's number of hopeful youths, who may in due time become worthy ministers of God, zealous pastors of souls and truly apostolical missionaries.

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<sup>299</sup> Shrewsbury Records and Research, Smythe Family Papers 1514/1/139, Letter to Sir Edward Smythe from the Vicars Apostolic, c. 1763.

For these great ends and for the greater glory of God we the underwritten, taking greatly to heart the present distressed condition of the aforesaid College of Lisbon, and withal dreading the irreparable loss our Mission must sustain if that seminary of labourers in our Lord's vineyard should come to fail, do by these presents earnestly recommend the deplorable state of that House to the charity as well of the Catholic Nobility and Gentry of England, as of the rest of the faithful, begging of all whose circumstances will allow it to contribute liberally to this great work of rescuing the College from ruin and restoring it to its former state. A great work indeed both of Charity and Religion in which both the Glory of God and the Salvation of Souls call upon all true lovers of God and Religion to exert themselves to the best of their powers with a most assured hope that Almighty God for whose sake they furnish and to whose greater glory they direct these their contributions, will not fail most amply to reward them, even here, by increasing their store and hereafter by giving himself to them in a glorious eternity.

Richard Deboren

John Philomelien<sup>300</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> The two signatories are those of Richard Challoner [Superintendent of the College, Vicar Apostolic of the London District and Bishop of Debra]; John Hornyold [Vicar Apostolic of the Midlands District and Bishop of Philomelia].



## CONCLUSION

On 24 August 1628, the day before the first Douatian students departed the Mother College's care for Portugal, President Kellison gave the eleven men, in the presence of their new President, Joseph Haynes, the following advice:

You have been set aside for a new work, new stones for the tower of David. Notice that this is a new kind of structure and a new way of building, for you are both the stones and the builders. The building is a spiritual one and if anyone sees that he does not fit squarely in the position allotted him let him apply skill to put the fault right; if he is too small, let him take care that his size be increased; if too large, cut down to size. Remember it is not the harvest but the sowing that you are called to.<sup>1</sup>

Over a century later Haynes' successor, John Manley, sent the following begging letter to Kellison's successor, Dr. William Thornburgh:

The melancholy circumstances of this college, the once flourishing daughter of Douai, oblige us to run to you for relief and we hope the poor daughter's extreme necessities will effectually recommend her to the Mother's tender charity.<sup>2</sup>

The English College at Lisbon has been portrayed in the College's historiography as first and foremost a daughter of Douai. That however, is in need of revision as too simplistic. Lisbon was a continuation primarily of Kellison's Douai, which was itself a product of the growing confidence of the English secular clergy from the Archpriest Controversy. The outcome of which ultimately led to the establishment of a head of the secular clergy under the Bishop of Chalcedon. It was that venture in English ecclesiastical government that secured the government of the College and led it through its formative administrations. Lisbon was not, nor did it ever imitate, the Douai prior to the expulsion of Jesuit influence highlighted in Chapter One. Lisbon was therefore a continuation of the Kellison-Smith model of English secular clerical education under a revised form of English ecclesiastical government. It was one wholly in tune with the Council of Trent's reform of priestly education, yet it reflected the bitter antagonisms between secular and regular clergy in England.

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<sup>1</sup> The speech is taken from the *Plantatio* (see Chapter One). It has been translated by Michael Sharratt in 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), pp. 22 – 23.

<sup>2</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 217, President John Manley: Letter-book: October 1739 – March 1748, President John Manley to Dr. William Thornburgh, 17 May 1740.

The ethos and mission of the College were forged in its first administrations. Haynes' brief stewardship should be seen as a direct continuation of Kellison's Douai. The first ten students were products of Douai who completed their education at Lisbon. The first 'Lisbonian' students to be produced by the new college entered the Mission in the 1640s and 1650s. Due to the notoriety early alumni attracted both to themselves and to the College it is difficult to assess what typified a Lisbonian as opposed to a Douatian missionary and indeed the distinction is not an important one. What should be pointed out however is that men such as Thomas White and John Sergeant, though their influence had its effect on their *alma mater* and its alumni, cannot be seen as representative of the College. The distinctions are clearer when made in comparison to the Ignatian colleges in Spain and Rome, however, as this thesis has shown, the archival material of Lisbon suggests that there was no relationship with the Ignatian colleges at all.

Referring once more to the first speech given to the first collegians at Lisbon, Kellison betrayed his close associations with Bishop Smith, then still in England clinging on to ordinary authority. The proposed model of a college set forth by the English secular clergy was unique and different with the express purpose of maintaining the vision Smith proposed for England and the Mission found in his *Monita* (Douai, 1630).<sup>3</sup> Though both Smith and Coutinho had conflicting visions for the progress of the College after 1622, it is clear that Kellison's and Haynes' brief was to consolidate the work of the secular agents in securing Lisbon for Smith and the Chapter. The influence of the secular agents in Rome and that of Coutinho's in Madrid have not been overlooked in this thesis. Coutinho's anti-Jesuit tendencies have perhaps been overplayed in parts of the College's historiography. With the exception of the Dominicans, the Coutinho Papers demonstrate that the Founder was equally averse to 'regular orders' in general. It was Coutinho's idea, with one eye on his soul and the other on the growing concord between Spain and England that the College came about at all. Newman, using his position as Rector of the Residence, advanced the cause, perhaps inadvertently, of the secular authorities in England. Little is known of Newman's connections with the Appellants or the Archpriest regimes apart from that found in Anstruther. The point may be accused of being pedantic; however it would explain why properties Newman held in trust for the Society eventually fell to the secular clergy of England.

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<sup>3</sup> Richard Smith, *Monita quaedam utilia pro Sacerdotibus Seminaristis praesertim, Quando primum veniunt in Angliam* (Douai, 1630).



The College was at times, as I have shown at the beginning and end of this thesis, dependent on Douai for staff and students. That was inevitable at the start: Kellison's Douai was the only college of English secular clergy serving the Mission. Nevertheless the dependence ought to be seen as one on the English Chapter as opposed to Douai as an institution. Haynes was educated at Valladolid, he was sent to Lisbon in his capacity as a leading member of the Archpriest regime and later a close associate of Smith, not because of his Douai connections. Hargrave and Clarence were Chapter appointees and should be seen as a response to requests direct from Coutinho and Newman. There was no policy of sending either Douatian men to assume the Presidency nor was there much of an interchange of staff between the two colleges (though the relationship was closer between Douai and Lisbon than any other exile foundations). From Pickford's administration through to Jones' the College operated with limited appeal to outside agencies to run either its schools or its management. The appendix showing Watkinson's Council of Superiors from 1671 through to 1706 demonstrates that the Council was, with few exceptions, wholly constituted of Lisbonian men. This independence was short lived: Jones struggled on relentlessly juggling financial adversity and student insubordination matched with a refusal to seek aid from the Vicars Apostolic his colleagues at Douai and Paris. Manley had no choice but to seek aid from wherever he could find it; partly a result of Jones' autocratic style of leadership.

The administrations of Tilden through to Jones (1650s – 1730s) would have winced at the thought that they were subject to or dependent on the College at Douai. They would however have celebrated their close links with the English Chapter. Presidents Tilden, Perrot, Watkinson, Jones and Manley were all products of Lisbon: all five demonstrated independence in management that marked the College's most prosperous period prior to the Catholic Revival. Watkinson and Jones displayed a fortress type mentality that bordered on the autocratic, refusing advice from the ecclesial agencies in England and resting in glorious isolation. Watkinson's administration showed that the College was perfectly able to manage its own schools and staff, its own Council of Superiors, without recourse to Douai. It is however clear that Jones took advice from the College agents and his own Council of Superiors from the Minute Book and Proceedings of the Council from 1710, and the extensive correspondence from Jones to Vane and Shepperd.

This thesis has argued that the foundation needs to be seen in light of the wider Tridentine reforms of priestly education and the fortification of episcopal authority. Lisbon remained an oddity with regards to the Ingoli model of seminarian training, as did the English Mission in general. Propaganda could place prelates in the far reaches of the Indies and Americas, primarily because appointments were supported by Spanish or Portuguese military power and colonial communities. The imposition of the Chalcedon model in England was one that, in hindsight, went badly wrong. However, the College needs to be seen within that context, particularly with relation to the Chapter that Smith left behind him. This is where the discontinuities can be found between Lisbon and the English Mission as it had been prior to the *Pax Hispanica*. Though Douai prided itself on its secular government throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it remained a product of the Allen-Persons model of Philip II's Grand Strategy. Lisbon had neither the cultural, political or, as John Manley himself argued, the martyrological baggage that the other English colleges had. Lisbon was then, to quote Kellison 'a new kind of structure and a new way of building.'<sup>4</sup>

The College should be seen in the wider context of the English Mission, particularly in relation to ecclesiastical government. The foundation of the College in 1622 marked a significant victory for the English secular clergy. In the Church Universal the formal restructuring of the Congregation of Propaganda under the joint Prefectures of Sauli and the Papal Nephew, Ludovisi, represented a renewed interest in the Papacy to control and direct missionary enterprise. This thesis has shown that neither the Generals of the Jesuit Order nor the Congregation of Propaganda ever saw the English Mission as being an arm of the Jesuit and Benedictine orders. Robert Persons was an exception in that from Allen's death to his own in 1610 he directed the Mission with little recourse to other English or Roman agencies either ecclesiastical or lay. Persons remained an exception because his successors, in Spain at least, Joseph Cresswell and John Blackfan lacked his powers of influence. Cresswell very nearly lost the College at Madrid to the seculars and Blackfan, as I have demonstrated in Chapter Two imitated the inadequacies of his colleague in losing the foundation of Lisbon to the secular clergy of England.

Cardinal Farnese specifically excluded the Jesuit Order from the government of the College in 1622 after protests from Coutinho and the secular agents in Rome. As far as the evidence permits a detailed examination of the potential threat the

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<sup>4</sup> Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I', pp. 22 – 23.



Jesuits posed to the College after 1622, it is clear that administrations from Haynes' through to Manley's second Presidency harboured largely ungrounded fears concerning the Society's designs on the College. There is no evidence that substantiates the claim that the Society provoked or sought to undermine successive administrations after 1628. However, for a small group of Englishmen in the midst of Lisbon, a city dominated by the regular orders before Pombal's clerical reforms, there was plenty of scope to dwell on that paranoia. Kellison himself made reference to the threat in 1628:

The eyes of all, whether well-wishers or enemies, are turned towards you; hasten to give the former cause to rejoice and see to it the latter are disappointed.<sup>5</sup>

I have examined several episodes of the College's history where the black spectre of the Society seemed to encroach on the government of the College. In each case the College fell under the shadow of its traditional paranoia. The threat was often used in the administration's favour. Jones warned the Chapter that 'our whole body will be at the mercy of our bark and black friends the Jesuits' if the Vicars Apostolic did not provide sufficient support to his Presidency. With the condition of the College deteriorating under Jones added with the reluctance of the Chapter and the Vicars Apostolic to send further aid, he warned the Chapter that without assistance he would be forced to close the College with the inevitable result of a Jesuit takeover.<sup>6</sup> The claims were entirely false but, almost two centuries after the Archpriest and Appellant controversies the Jesuits still barked louder than their bite.

Close relations with the colleges of Douai, and later Paris, exposed Lisbon to a religious renewal in missionary enterprise; one that can be seen from as early as Shirley's *Monita* and Pickford's *Meditations*. The influence of Salesian spirituality both from French and Portuguese sources, from the Sulpician model of Douai and the Oratorian devotional influences at Paris, permeated the College forming an important part of its ethos and mission. This spirit ultimately led to Gother and, one might argue, Richard Challoner. The Salesian influence sits well with the influences of Blacklowism and Hanoverian Loyalism as non-combative approaches to the political regimes at London. Portugal had no notion of embattled Catholicism. Antwerp, Douai, Paris, even Rome were cities where Catholicism had at one time or the other been threatened by Protestant powers. The College did however suffer from a fortress-like

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<sup>5</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), pp. 22 – 23.

<sup>6</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 26 October 1711.

mentality exacerbated by geographical distance from England and a foreign cultural environment. From the Chapter's collapse in the 1680s through to Manley's second administration the College was largely independent of any English ecclesiastical model of government. The cultural exchange between the College and the Portuguese community was however restricted. As an enclosed seminary interaction was designed to be at a minimum. Those Portuguese that did interact with the College were from the elites of the community: ambassadors, nobility attached to the confraternities and merchants. This element needs some elaboration. The College was never in any manner Hispanicised as the colleges in Spain had been, and remained throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The College under Smith, later the Chapter, did not look to Spain for political or religious direction. The Bragança Kings João IV and V were approached for money but little else.

The succession of the Bragança to the throne of Portugal in 1640 heralded in a political regime that later formed a formal alliance with England, continuing good relations even after 1688. The College's community existed in a relative, and sometimes tested, harmony with English Protestant authorities from its foundation to the government of Pombal. Good working relationships were enjoyed by College agents in London with the Portuguese embassy staff. This provided protection, revenues and influence in diplomatic and court circles. The political situation between Portugal and England had changed beyond recognition from 1622 – 1761. Spain was a shadow of its former glory. Portugal, along with its colonial possessions, increasingly focused colonial and trade policy with the protection of the Royal Navy of Great Britain: this was a complete reversal of the situation Joseph Haynes and his Douatian scholars found themselves when they set sail from France in 1628.

Though political terms were more favourable for the College from the eighteenth century the College's influence on the Mission remained largely inconsequential with limited influence in English Catholic ecclesiastical government until after the superintendence of Bishop Richard Challoner. This is not to undermine the tireless missionary labours of the many Lisbonians sent from the College to the politically neutralised English Catholic community from 1633 onwards. This thesis has argued for a wider view of those attached to the College abroad. A breed of men, largely ignored by English Catholic historiography, has, I hope, been brought to the attention of the wider academic community. Those men like William Newman, Tobias Gibbons, Richard Russell, Mathias Watkinson, even John Shepperd, whose labours rested more in administration than missionary endeavour. These were not men who struggled with the concept of mission but the unsung models of Christian



stoicism: Jones and Manley being the prime examples. I have demonstrated that Presidents of the administration rarely had any active missionary experience prior to their appointment to office. The same can not be said of Douai or the other colleges. Despite this, Lisbon can however boast some of the greatest secular missionary priests: Ferdinand Ashmall, Andrew Bromwich and the lauded alumnus, John Gother, those who, to quote Shirley, found the Mission 'the final end and perfection of an Apostolic life.' However, there were many alumni who 'went to ground' where the host country attracted many away from the Mission: Gibbons, Key and Russell being the prime examples.

The main purpose of this thesis has been to bring to the attention of the academic community the work of an English Catholic missionary college in Lisbon. The history of an institution is not the history of alumni. I have steered away from providing detailed biographies of men who deserve further attention. It has been with great reluctance that I have not been able to provide more exhaustive accounts on Gibbons, Russell, Sergeant and White: to do so would have deflected from the College as an institution and a missionary college. It is therefore fitting to end with a call for further research. Crucially the history of the English College at Lisbon needs to be examined from 1622 – 1971 as a whole. That has not been possible within the confines of a PhD thesis. Research into the English Chapter and ecclesiastical government from Smith through to the appointment of Leyburn as Vicar Apostolic in 1685 would likewise aid our understanding of the College, particularly Watkinson's and Jones' administrations. Ultimately a full history of the College at Lisbon should be followed by a history of the Mother College at Douai completing what Guilday could not. An historical account of the English secular clergy on the Mission from 1558 – 1850 would perhaps take a lifetime however the completion of work on Lisbon and Douai would be an important start, building on the records of the Catholic Record Society, Anstruther, Bellenger and Sharratt. With the exception of Sharratt and Williams the history of the English Catholic community in Portugal has remained a neglected part of English Catholic historiography. This thesis has gone some way to remedy that omission in the greater study of the English Catholic Diaspora. Though Lisbon could not boast the martyrs of Rome or Valladolid, the number of missionaries sent out from Douai, its contribution to the English Mission deserves the attention of the wider academic community. To quote once more from President Gerard Bernard 'though the College never had a morning, it shone out all at once in all the splendour of meridian day.'

## **APPENDICES**

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## Appendix 1.

### President Kellison's speech to President Haynes and the Lisbon Mission.<sup>1</sup>

Dearly beloved,

There is none of you whom we cannot rightly claim as our own from the number of years spent in training here. I do not blush to call you mine, for I have always loved you, and embraced you as mine. For I call upon you to witness from your own experience what sort of affection I have had for you: have I not provided for you like a father and cared for you like a mother? So I am mother and father to you. Listen then as sons. And since the last words of parents lodge more firmly in their children's minds, behold I am dying. Children do not lose their father if he still lives, but you are not to have me as your parent any longer. So imagine that what I am saying is a written testament which the law requires you under penalty, and filial piety prompts you, to honour.

You have been set aside for a new work, new stones for the tower of David. Notice that this is a new kind of structure and a new way of building, for you are both the stones and the builders. The building is a spiritual one and if anyone sees that he does not fit squarely in the position allotted him let him apply skill to put the fault right; if he is too small, let him take care that his size be increased; if too large, cut down to size. Remember it is not the harvest but the sowing that you are called to. What sort of autumn we can look forward to depends on what kind of seed you sow; the planting you make will decide the quality of the vintage. Dearly beloved, rouse yourselves and if anyone has been asleep hitherto, let him now wake up. You see what a burden is being placed on your shoulders; bear it like men and act bravely. On you is based whatever future ages shall bring forth. Well begun is half done, according to the poet. Always keep before your eyes the fact that you are the first builders of a new work, the first alumni of a new College. The eyes of all, whether well-wishers or enemies, are turned towards you; hasten to give the former cause to rejoice and see to it the latter are disappointed. Today it is usual (I think because of the wickedness of the times) that things deteriorate by weakly falling away from their beginnings and after a lapse of a few years the zeal of founders grows cold in their successors. Reflect then and weigh carefully how important it is that those who are founder-members of this College should be firmly engrafted on to the tree of virtues,

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Sharratt, 'Douai to Lisbon I' *Ushaw Magazine* (December, 1975), pp. 22 – 23.

so that if it should be necessary their abundance may make up for the short supply of their successors, or at least shame laggards to strive after their virtues. You see how the start you make [belongs to (?)] your followers. So if you want to have high hopes, start well. And seeing you give a good account of yourselves I shall happily lay down my authority. But I shall not leave you orphans. I heartily commend to you as father in my place the Reverend Father Joseph here (for Mr. Heynes was present.) Pay him the honour you have shown me; obey him as you have obeyed me. And I beseech you (looking at Joseph) who succeed me in this position of authority that you will also be my successor in caring for and loving these men. Meanwhile I shall not cease my earnest prayers to ask sweet Jesus to look kindly on you and to grant you a happy journey and a prosperous future.

Matthew Kellison  
President of Douai  
24 August 1628



Appendix 2.Russell Patronage and Rights of Nomination.**President Mathias Watkinson and the Council of Superiors to Richard, Lord Bishop of Viseu, (late, 1685)<sup>1</sup>**[page 1] Papers concerning Bishop Russell<sup>2</sup>:

Whereas we [the College] are ordered and commanded by the reverend Dean and Chapter of England, our lawful Superiors *sede vacante* to grant Richard, Lord Bishop of Viseu, a right of denomination as long as he lives of students upon the *ordinaria* of *Portos Secos* settled upon the English College in Lisbon 1662 by the then Queen Regent of Portugal and to acknowledge moreover that he has the denomination successively as he thought good from the first use of it; we the immediate Superiors of the College and administrators of the incomes of that *ordinaria* do with all submission grant and acknowledge the same; and though we are not fully informed as to the particular persons that have successfully been nominated from time to time upon that *ordinaria*, yet we probably judge they may have been these persons his Lordship now pretends and particularly mentions *viz.*:<sup>3</sup>

[Those names marked with an asterisk indicate some relation to Russell]

5 April 1662 – Easter 1670 <sup>4</sup>	Daniel Fisher
3 June 1667 – 1669	William Aston
4 March 1670 – 3 September 1672	Francis Russell <i>alias</i> Savoy*
March 1674 – 5 May 1677	Martin Digby*
March 1674 – 18 July 1679	Francis Digby*
27 July 1674 - 18 July 1680	Edmund Cluer

<sup>1</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, President Watkinson and the council of Superiors to Richard Russell, late 1685. All sponsorship figures are in Portuguese *milreis*.

<sup>2</sup> In correspondence with Watkinson, Russell noted that he feared his sisters would no longer permit his sending their boys to the College as they were prone to die within months, see UCA, Durham, LC, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 11 January 1673. Of the five nephews who attended the College, Edmund Cluer died when he returned to his uncle's palace at Portalegre. See Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 33 – 34; another, Edmund Harrison, died one year into his course, see Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 81. Though he was on the Russell Fund it remains uncertain his relationship to Russell.

<sup>3</sup> The revenues of *Portos Secos* were attached to the College in 1662 and were retained by successive administrations up to the Napoleonic Occupation. This was part of the revenues allocated the College by Russell for the nomination of alumni of which he held the rights. The only material which sheds light on this benefice, taken from the Holy Office and attached to the College, concerns the later history of the College, see UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 197, Accounts of income from: *Portos Secos*; Inquisition; Evora, 1810 – 22.

29 May 1677 – 24 June 1685  
 10 September 1677 – 21 November 1678  
 30 May 1680

William Pierce  
 Edmund Harrison  
 Richard Waldegrave\* 'is still in the  
 College and supposed to proceed to the  
 end.'

1 September 1680 – 24 May 1685  
 15 January 1681 – August 1681  
 24 June 1685

Robert Seymour  
 Edmund Barker  
 Thomas Seymour, 'his Lordship  
 pretends entered upon the *ordinaria*  
 the 24<sup>th</sup> of June in place of his brother  
 1685 and is now in his course of  
 humanity.'

24 June 1685

Henry Preston, 'likewise his Lordship  
 says succeeded Mr. Pierce the 24<sup>th</sup> of  
 June 1685 who is also in his course of  
 humanity.'

8 September 1684

Charles Waldegrave\*, 'came the 8<sup>th</sup> of  
 September 1684 and he is now in the  
 course of humanity.'

[page 2]

From all which it may easily be gathered that his Lordship has been still a considerable benefactor to the aforesaid College and that the account we drew up without regard to his right of denominating upon that *ordinaria* are now upon better information to be altered and much lessened, but still, notwithstanding all alteration in this kind, we continue to charge his Lordship with these following debts which have either resulted from the supporting persons recommended by his Lordship that are or have been supernumerary or else from contracts that have occasionally happened between him and the said College, his Lordship is then debtor:

Imprimis for his nephew, James [sic] to make up 300 <i>milreis</i>	-	100,000
Item for Jo: Philips to make up 300 <i>milreis</i>	-	150,000
Item for Tho: Seymour for a year	-	75,000
Item for Henry Preston for half a year	-	37,500
Item for house rent deducting what he gave to the College in cloth above 25,000 for seven years	-	3,903
Item for vinegar	-	3,500
Item for wood	-	10,000
Item he his debtor as appears in the College book pa:	-	729,850
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Total His Lordship owes the College	-	409,753





	Robert Smith <sup>10</sup>	(W)	April 1687 – September 1692
	William Green <sup>11</sup>	(W)	
			September 1692 – September 1697
	Edward Jones	(W)	
			September 1697 – September 1710
<b>Procurator:</b> <sup>12</sup>	Henry Harnage <sup>13</sup>	(W)	April 1677 – May 1678
	Charles Jennings* <sup>14</sup>	(W)	May 1678 – January 1682
	Francis Benwell	(W)	
			January 1682 – November 1684
	Thomas Byrom <sup>15</sup>	(W)	November 1684 – May 1686
	William Green	(W)	May 1686 – July 1695
	Francis Petre	(W)	July 1695 – October 1697
	Nicholas Waldegrave <sup>16</sup>	(W)	October 1697 – January 1711
<b>Prefect of Studies:</b> <sup>17</sup>	George Barrett	(P)	August 1664 – January 1671
	Robert Edwards <sup>18</sup>	(P)	
			January 1671 – November 1678
	John Gother <sup>19</sup>	(W)	
			November 1678 – January 1682

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<sup>9</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 121 – 22; arrived July 1674, College Oath September 1677, ordained in the College.

<sup>10</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 189 – 90; Master of Humanity; ordained in 1680. Watkinson removed Smith from the council due to his neglect in teaching, UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 215, Liber Missionis, p. 68

<sup>11</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 68; arrived April 1677, College Oath December 1682; sub-diaconate and diaconate 1683. Jones noted Green as a diligent master of Humanity; later served as chaplain to the Duchess of Richmond.

<sup>12</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ, ch. 5, De Officio Procuratoris, pp. 6r – 8v; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 52 – 55.

<sup>13</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 79

<sup>14</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 95

<sup>15</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 26

<sup>16</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 207; Russell's heir and nephew.

<sup>17</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ, ch. 7, De Præfecto Studiorum, pp. 8r – 9v; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 27 – 31.

<sup>18</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 45 – 46; converted whilst living in Lisbon, guest at the College before admission for Humanity in June 1660 on a fund paid for by the Protector, Dom Francisco Barreto, returned to England to secure the conversion of his mother as Sergeant and Tilden had done.

<sup>19</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 66 – 67.



Francis Benwell <sup>20</sup>	(W)	
January 1682 – November 1684		
Robert Smith	(W)	
November 1684 – September 1692		
Roger Brockholes* <sup>21</sup>	(W)	September 1692 – April 1695
Jerome Pryme <sup>22</sup>	(W)	April 1695 – September 1710

**Part (B)                      Lectors in Theology and Philosophy**

<b>Theology:</b> <sup>23</sup>	<i>Mathias Watkinson</i> <sup>24</sup>	
	Roger Hesketh	(W)
	September 1677 – November 1682	
	Richard Mawdesley	(W)    November 1682 – April 1687
	Robert Smith	(W)    April 1687 – January 1690
	Roger Brockholes	(W)    January 1690 – August 1692
	Jerome Pryme	(W)    August 1692 – April 1695
	Thomas Hall	(W)    April 1695 – October 1699
	Edward Jones	(W)    October 1699 – May 1702
	George Slaughter <sup>25</sup>	(W)    May 1702 – September 1719
<b>Philosophy:</b> <sup>26</sup>	George Barrett	(P)    September 1667 – May 1670

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<sup>20</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 21 – 22; student of Humanity at Douai, received the main corpus of his education at Douai; Jones praised his public defences *De Verbo Dei Incarnato* dedicated to the Count of Villamajor, July 1692 and *De Providentia, Prædestinatione* dedicated to the Protector, Cardinal de Lancastre, July 1693.

<sup>22</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 155 – 156; Master of Humanity for three years; lauded by Jones for his public defences to John Leyburn, *Conclusiones Universalis Theologicas* April 1686; presided over an entire day of Philosophical defences dedicated to the queen-regent of Portugal, Catherine of Bragança in 1693. As Prefect of Studies he continued this tradition with a full day of theological theses before the Portuguese gentry and clergy, July 1698. Dedicated a thesis, of which the lavish advertisement for the event has survived, *De Sanctissimo Eucharistiæ Sacramento* to the Marquis of Alegrete, August 1701.

<sup>23</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ, ch. 8, De Officio Magistrorum et Materiis Legendis, pp. 9v – 10r; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 40 – 44.

<sup>24</sup> As President Watkinson exercised the office of emeritus Lector of Theology, see UCA, Durham, LC, Ordination Certificates and Faculties, 25 February 1675; the following Superiors acted as second Theology Lector under the President.

<sup>25</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, pp. 185 – 86.

<sup>26</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 115, Constitutiones et Regulæ, ch. 8, De Officio Magistrorum et Materiis Legendis, pp. 9v – 10r; UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 122, Juramenta Superiorum, pp. 63 – 69.

Robert Edwards	(P)	May 1670 – January 1676
Daniel Fisher <sup>27</sup>	(P)	May 1670 – January 1676
Roger Hesketh	(W)	January 1676
John Smith <sup>28</sup>	(W)	January 1676
John Gother	(W)	April 1677
Richard Mawdesley	(W)	September 1680
Robert Smith	(W)	October 1683
Roger Brockholes	(W)	April 1687
Jerome Pryme	(W)	January 1690
Francis Petre	(W)	September 1692
Edward Jones	(W)	September 1692
George Slaughter	(W)	September 1695
Peter Key <sup>29</sup>	(W)	February 1703

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<sup>27</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 51; converted by Tilden, sponsored by Russell; logical theses dedicated to Lady Anne Radcliffe in 1667 and his benefactor, March 1667.

<sup>28</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 188; staged an abortive coup to take the Presidency in 1706.

<sup>29</sup> Sharratt, *Annals*, p. 104; resigned his positions after having secured a benefice in the diocese of Braga through the intercession of the Jesuit educated English ambassador to Portugal Sir Paul Methuen, Karl Wolfgang Schweizer, 'Methuen, Sir Paul (c.1672–1757)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/18631>, accessed 19 March 2006].



Appendix 4.Spiritual Retreat of Thomas Hall, Lisbonian, 1684, held at the secular English College of St. Gregory's, Paris.

The following is taken from UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, William Hall (Paris) to one of the English College's Superiors, Richard Mawdesley (Lisbon), 25 September 1684.

▪ *Spiritual Recollection* (octave) [p. 2]

**Aim:** to deepen the priests' understanding of the sacred mysteries of the mass; during the octave the priest on retreat must not say Mass.

<b>Schedule:</b>	<b>5.45</b>	rise
	<b>5.45 – 6.45</b>	robe; preparation for spiritual exercises and meditation; write down the motifs, resolutions and means of your meditation to show spiritual director upon demand.
	<b>6.45</b>	<i>Prime</i> <sup>1</sup> ( <i>Matins</i> <sup>2</sup> and <i>Lauds</i> <sup>3</sup> said the day before for the next); a chapter of Holy Scripture
	<b>7.15</b>	hear Mass and after that, a quarter of an hour in thanks before the altar for the great blessings
	<b>8.15</b>	a quarter after 8 you return with your surplice to your chamber and then to breakfast From thence to chamber where until 9 the student reads some spiritual book allotted by the director; preparation for general confession made after three days into the retreat.

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<sup>1</sup> Second of the seven canonical hours of the Divine Office, fixed for the first hour of the day, at sunrise.

<sup>2</sup> First of the seven canonical hours of prayer, observed at night but it is canonically legitimate to recite *Matins* with *Lauds* at daybreak.

<sup>3</sup> Morning prayers of the Western Church, with *Matins*, *Lauds* constituted the first of the seven canonical hours.

- 9.00** At nine you read *Terce* and another spiritual book.<sup>4</sup>
- 9.30** Litanies of the Holy Name of Jesus and spend the rest of the time until 10 with Thomas a Kempis as the director thinks convenient
- 10.00** keep another meditation and write the motifs, resolutions and means as in the morning.
- 11.00** *Sext*<sup>5</sup> and examine your conscience
- 11.15** bell to dinner; recreation (alone) until 1; no company but the director
- 13.00** return to chamber and read the litany of our Blessed Lady and Thomas a Kempis
- 13.30** robe surplice and go to the church where you are before the Blessed Sacrament until 2 knowing promises made in baptism and when you took orders.
- 14.00** return to [p. 3] chamber, read *Nones*<sup>6</sup>; preparation for general confession until four.
- 16.00 – 17.15** Meditation
- 17.15** *Compline*<sup>7</sup> and examine until six what has been done the whole day, how faithful one has been to one's resolutions
- 18.00** bell for supper; recreation granted until 19.45
- 19.45** return to chambers; recite litany of the Saints
- 20.00** *Matins* and *Lauds*; examination of conscience; read the meditations for the next morning twice upon one's knees
- 21.00** bed in so much that your candle is to be put out at 9.15. The time you cannot sleep or that you undress yourself you employ your thoughts upon death or upon the subject of

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<sup>4</sup> Third of the seven canonical hours of the Divine Office, fixed for the third hour of the liturgical day, chiefly 9 a.m.

<sup>5</sup> Fourth of the seven canonical hours of the Divine Office, usually held at noon, the sixth hour of the day

<sup>6</sup> Fifth of the seven canonical hours of the Divine Office, fixed at the ninth hour of the day, at 3 p.m.

<sup>7</sup> Last of the canonical hours of the day.



your mornings' meditations, *fac hoc et vives.*

*Ordo ducit ad Deum*

This quotidian schedule was repeated for the octave of the retreat. The candidate the presented himself to the Prefect, listed himself in the number of the House, and entered upon the exercises of the same. Of which exercises the Prefect gave the candidate feedback. Having completed the exercises the candidate rose the ninth day and gave his retreat in the College's public hall. The candidate was called up by one of the College's Superiors who knocked at the candidate's door crying out *tanquam ad iudicium Sui* to which the candidate responded *in nomine Domini*. On the following Monday, Tuesday and Wednesdays the candidate gave an account of his understanding of casuistry which was written according to what he had read, in Hall's case, Dr. Dumet of the Sorbonne, an expert in the field in 1690s Paris. In his correspondence Hall gave further demonstrations of life at the College of St. Gregory. The following gave further demonstration of the stress the College's Superiors placed on parochial and pastoral training for English priests destined for the Mission:

At 8 on week days, High Mass is sung by one of the students [...] but the priests assist not at it: they returning to their chambers to prepare themselves to say Mass according to the hour prescribed in the sacristy. After dinner your recreation lasts 'till 1.15 then you return to the public hall to say *None, Vespers* and *Compline* are sung in the church to where you assist, it being a Parish Church. After that you have  $\frac{3}{4}$  s of an hour granted to learn *Cantum Planum* which you to learn that you may be able to sing High Mass in your turn [...] After that you retire to your chamber in silence until 5 then you come down on Mondays and Tuesdays to exercise the administration of the sacraments in private if you may learn to administer them in public and in reality in the parish when you are well versed in the business. On Wednesdays in the afternoon as soon as dinner is ended leave is granted you to go abroad and take your recreation until 5.30 which time is employed until 6 in saying *None, Vespers* and *Compline*. At 6 you dress; your recollection lasts until 7.45 which quarter is employed in the explication of the rubrics of the Mass and Breviary [p. 4] At 8 you say your *Sext* and examine in your convenience with some other vocal prayer then you retire at nine to your chamber where you are to bed with your candle at 9.15. On Thursday mornings from 6 – 8, [...] you have a public conference of the Holy Scripture; you are examined in its meaning, you translate it in its proper sense of its difficulties are explicated to you by a master for that purpose. On Thursday in the evening from 5 – 6 you are examined in a book it teaches you how to behave yourself in all your pastoral functions. On Friday mornings until 8, casuistry again: on Friday night a spiritual conference from 4.15 – 6 which is in the commendation of some value where you are examined as to what you can say before the Prefect enters upon his own discourse. On Saturday mornings casuistry after dinner, *Vespers* sung in the Church from 5 – 6 a conference upon catechism *ad parochos*. On Sunday mornings after meditation you, if asked, are to give a public account of your meditation how you are employed that time. When you have opened yourself the Prefect shows you your faults and preaches you how to keep your meditations better the next time. Then until 8 that time is spent in a Spiritual Conference how to avoid distractions, how to reform the interior, how to comport oneself in the consolations or aridity's of the spirit in prayer, etc. then to High Mass where all are present in which you have sermons in a more Oratorian Spirit. After dinner *Vespers* Sung and *Compline*: after that, if it be your turn and you speak French you catechize the children of the parish and if not you retire to your chamber until Supper. [...] Every Saturday in the afternoon the faults of everyone in general are laid open and amended is expected the next week [...]



## Appendix 5.

### Rebuilding of the College under Jones: 'I design not repairs but new buildings.'<sup>1</sup>

Towards the end of Watkinson's Presidency the College's fabric was showing signs of deterioration. The vault of the College's church was collapsing. Jones proposed an appeal to the Portuguese faithful to provide funds for the roof in return for space for burial in the College's chapels. The wealthier benefactors would be allotted tombs. Whether this proposal was enacted remains uncertain. The majority of the graves in the College's church and chapels are those of Lisbonian priests so it would appear the proposal was not carried out. In 1708 Jones took the decision to start selling properties owned by the College to pay for structural repairs.<sup>2</sup>

Dom Coutinho had left the administration and rents of the College's properties to a Portuguese confraternity known as the *Misericórdia* (or Holy House of Mercy.) The *Misericórdia* was established by Doña Leonor Queen of Portugal in 1498 for the relief of the poor in Lisbon. Coutinho's last will and testament granted patronage of the College to the *Misericórdia* to administer the rents *in perpetuum* as well as maintaining the fabric of the College's buildings on the Founder's behalf. President Thomas White had failed to guarantee the College's buildings and revenues for the English Chapter in the 1630s, one of the reasons why he fell foul of Coutinho who decided to leave the properties to this corporation of mercy (perhaps in spite of White's attempts to the contrary.) The petition to rebuild the College was sent to the *Misericórdia* in July 1709. The address was directed from the Rector and the English priests of the College of St. Peter and Paul to the Board of the Holy House of Mercy. Jones used the 'great ruin of the Church and Dormitories' as the premise to seek the authority of the board to begin a refurbishment programme. The *Misericórdia* had been charged by Coutinho to maintain the fabric of the College; a charge they had neglected since the Founder's death in 1638.<sup>3</sup> One year after the petition to rebuild the College had been accepted by the *Misericórdia* Jones protested to Vane that the confraternity was stalling, thus hindering his plans to go ahead and procure sponsors. The legal technicality concerned the provisions of donation. Coutinho

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<sup>1</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 20 April 1714.

<sup>2</sup> Hestnes Ferreira, Dom Pedro Coutinho made Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa his heiress and gave them patronage of the College, 6 November 1708.

<sup>3</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Sheet Archive, Council and College Life, College to the Mesa de Misericordia, 1 August 1709.



had left the College's buildings and grounds to the English secular clergy under strict stipulations. The slow progress through the Portuguese legal system prevented Jones from taking the matter to England and the Chapter. Instead he complained to Vane that his time was occupied with looking into 'old writings and contracts' from the 1630s which had all but stalled his plans to begin the refurbishment of the College compound.<sup>4</sup>

The *Misericórdia's* failure to fulfil their obligations in maintaining the fabric of the College persuaded Jones to seek the right of *compatronato* himself. The confraternity argued that they had a right to the buildings and to the funds left by Coutinho to maintain the College and its students. Though the *Misericórdia* refused point blank to hand over the full *patronato* to the English secular clergy, the partial grant would lead to effective ownership of the property and land with the *Misericórdia* maintaining a titular honorary interest only. Coutinho had refused to hand the College over to the secular clergy in his last will and testament. It was Jones' work and his alone that completed what White had initially attempted to procure for the English Chapter some eighty years before:

Jones estimated a cost of thirteen thousand crowns to repair the dilapidated College. The President had petitioned João V for patronage and informed Vane that he was to petition the Holy See for funds. The rebuilding work was necessary: Bishop Russell had remarked upon the dilapidated condition of the College's fabric under Watkinson in the 1670s.<sup>5</sup> Jones remarked that the work should have been done under Watkinson but for the late President's general neglect of the College's records and fabric. It was however Jones' idea from the start and he sold it to the laity and clergy on the Mission in a manner that touched at the heartstrings of the secular clergy: 'We have two Houses (also Douai) and this which we can properly call our own as being under the direction and discipline of those of our profession [English secular clergy] and I humbly conceive would not prove amiss to preserve them both as long as we can, for the preservation of our body independent of our desirous friends the fathers [Jesuits] and in

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<sup>4</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 20 June 1710.

<sup>5</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 5 October 1672, p. 2; further revelations as to the poor condition of the College's fabric was related in UCA, Durham, LC, Russell Correspondence, Richard Russell to President Mathias Watkinson, 10 April 1675.



case that by fire or any other misfortune should befall one we might have recourse to the other.’<sup>6</sup>

Portuguese civic law did not recognise the Vicars Apostolic as having jurisdiction over the College. According to Coutinho’s stipulations the College would remain under ordinary authority and this remained the *status quo* during the regime of the Vicars Apostolic. The negotiations between the *Misericórdia* and the English secular clergy was one between the confraternity and the English Chapter, bypassing the jurisdiction of the Vicars Apostolic. Jones asked the Chapter to make him chief agent for the College in procuring the *compatronato* from the *Misericórdia*. The *Misericórdia* would only recognise the Dean and Chapter as representative of the English Clergy as stipulated in Coutinho’s original bequest as successors to the Bishop of Chalcedon and ordinary episcopal authority. Jones requested the Chapter should petition the English Catholic laity for funds, promising Vane that he would send a petition to João V for a donation.<sup>7</sup> The Chapter’s response was not as enthusiastic as Jones had hoped for. The Chapter called for the *Misericórdia* to release not only the House and grounds but the rents administered by the Confraternity that Coutinho had left the College.

Without the full relinquishing of the *patronato* the Chapter couldn’t see what Jones or the English secular clergy in general had to gain. Portuguese civic law forbade the full release of the *Misericórdia’s patronato* as they were a corporation and therefore never theoretically died. The Chapter feared that with the House and grounds in their hands they would be obliged to maintain the administration and management of the College using their own funds which were at best stretched. This appears to have been a misunderstanding as the rights of *compatronato* did not release the confraternity from paying Coutinho’s original settlement. Their refusal to engage in the costly repair work of the College was the reason Jones petitioned for the rights over the House and grounds thereby securing the College buildings and grounds, dilapidated as they were, in exchange for *Misericórdia’s* release from maintaining the fabric of the building. The Chapter eventually agreed to Jones’s request making him their Procurator with full authority to negotiate with the *Misericórdia*:

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<sup>6</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 7 October 1712.

<sup>7</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 8 April 1713.



We the Dean, Dignities and Chapter of the City of London herewith subscribed do constitute Father Edward Jones of the English Nation, President of the College of St. Peter and St. Paul situated in the City of Lisbon and his successors in the said office to be our lawful Procurator and we confer upon him and them all our power as well as ourselves as in our names to take upon him and them the *compatronato* of the aforesaid College with an obligation to re-edify and mend it as will for this time as all others as shall be necessary.<sup>8</sup>

The Chapter gave Jones a blank cheque in granting him full procuratorial powers to deal with the *Misericórdia* as he saw fit. This was reminiscent of the Chapter's blasé attitude towards the foundation during White's negotiations of the 1630s and the parallels were obvious. Vane told the President that he could expect no more from the Chapter. They were in no position to help any further than lending their name, 'as a colour and pretence' and that the College could expect no further help from the Chapter authorities.<sup>9</sup> The grant of procuration was signed by the Dean of the Chapter and former President of the College, John Perrot countersigned by Thomas Yaxley, Gerard Saltmarsh and Vane.<sup>10</sup>

The *Misericórdia* would not surrender their rights to the rents left by Coutinho but were prepared to negotiate with Jones over the House and grounds.<sup>11</sup> According to Coutinho's donation the House belonged to the English secular clergy as long as they saw it fit for its use on the English Mission. The grounds and the House were inseparable but a *compatronato* could be agreed between that and the rents. If the House were demolished and rebuilt, as opposed to merely restructuring the existing buildings, then the English secular clergy would gain the *patronato* of the House and grounds *in solidum*. The administration at Lisbon had limited control over the rents it received from its various assets. This has been examined in Chapter Four. Coutinho's annual donation administered by the *Misericórdia* of 400 *milreis* was for the rents and maintenance of some of the College's alumni. Funds from the English Mission, apart from those whose denomination lay with the Chapter such as the Tilden Fund, belonged to their various founders who maintained the rights over their benefaction. The administration had limited access to revenues that it had total control over. Jones disagreed with the Chapter's desire to hold the *compatronato* as the procuration had stated. In his attempt to dissuade the

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<sup>8</sup> Patent of Procuration for President Edward Jones, 16 May 1713.

<sup>9</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Vane and Chapter to President Edward Jones, 16 May 1713,

<sup>10</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Legal Papers, Power of Procuration from the English Chapter to President Edward Jones, 20 July 1713.

<sup>11</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, House and Grounds, Patronato agreement between the College and the Misericordia, 22 December 1713.



Chapter he argued that to do so would oblige the Chapter to the future repair of the College *in perpetuum*. If the College itself could keep the right then this would not debar an appeal to the English and Portuguese faithful. As the governance of the College lay with the English secular clergy there was no danger of the College using the rights from the *Misericórdia* in releasing itself from the Chapter's influence. Jones explained his reasoning to Vane:

I set upon this method [...] not upon any expectation that they [the Chapter] would dispense a farthing towards this work or maintenance of this family which their predecessors have so considerably assisted but so that they might encourage their brethren there to do the same diligence amongst those they have interest with there, as we shall do here.<sup>12</sup>

The Chapter would have to take on the *compatronato* itself as they were the recognised government of the College. The Chapter's reluctance irritated Jones who had petitioned them to take it on as they claimed to represent the whole of the English secular clergy. Jones assured the Chapter that they would only have to agree in principle. He and his administration would take on the task of rebuilding the College and procuring financial assistance. Jones had already approached the Holy See and João V. The advantage to the Chapter was notable. The College and grounds were valued at fifty thousand crowns which would belong to the English secular clergy of the College administered by the English Chapter if the Chapter agreed to take the *compatronato*. The spectre of a Jesuit takeover was raised by Jones in an attempt to sway the Chapter's hand in agreeing to his proposal:

Were your good friends the Jesuits acquainted with the opinion those good gentlemen would have of this affair I apprehend they would relish it better than I can and right promise themselves a moral security.<sup>13</sup>

This was clearly an offer that the Chapter could not refuse. Their intransigence in the matter astounded both Vane and Jones. The President petitioned Vane to plead his cause with the Chapter for the good of the College and ultimately for the Mission. Meanwhile Jones had received a copy of the verdict from the *Misericórdia* highlighting the bounds of Coutinho's original donation.<sup>14</sup> Mr. Preston a Lisbonian missionary at Cowdray, Sussex, sent news to Jones

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<sup>12</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 16 June 1713.

<sup>13</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 17 June 1713.

<sup>14</sup> Hestnes Ferreira, Letter of Agreement between the College of S. Pedro and S. Paulo and Santo Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, 12 July 1712. Coutinho was the landlord of several houses in Lisbon close to the



that the Chapter had agreed to his request and accepted the *compatronato* according to his wishes.<sup>15</sup> João V was swift in lending his support. The King instructed Jones to proceed with the rebuilding work promising 3000 crowns himself and instructing the Portuguese aristocracy to rally in support of the *casa dos Inglesinhos*. Though the support from the Portuguese faithful was extraordinary, enjoying royal patronage, Jones wrote to Vane that the English faithful would need to contribute if the rebuilding was to be completed.<sup>16</sup> Donations from the English Catholic mercantile community of Lisbon soon trickled in. Captain Thomas Freeman matched the King's donation leaving Jones as executor of a 3000 crown donation for the rebuilding of the College.<sup>17</sup> In a direct appeal to Bishop Giffard, Jones pleaded with the Superintendent of the College for aid:

I must beg of your Lordship to promote the like endeavours amongst our brethren there for since it is now their own [the College's buildings] It is but reasonable that you should act in conjunction with us to procure its interest.<sup>18</sup>

Jones' appeals for aid were audacious and comprehensive. He went so far as to trouble the governor of Rio de Janeiro to cast in his mite and encourage others to follow suit.<sup>19</sup> The need for sponsorship was pressing. Jones estimated the total cost of the rebuilding project to top twenty thousand crowns. Jones used what Lisbonian circles he could muster in England and Portugal to encourage alumni to appeal to the great and the good for donations. Jones petitioned the Lisbonian Peter Key, a chaplain based in Braga, to seek the support of the Archbishop on the *alma mater's* behalf.<sup>20</sup> By September 1714 the Blessed Sacrament had been processed into

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Chafariz d'El Rei and in the parish of Santa Catarina. Several of the Superiors lived in some of them, others were rented out.

<sup>15</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), [Henry] Preston to President Edward Jones, 11 October 1713.

<sup>16</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 3 November, 1713.

<sup>17</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 3 June 1715.

<sup>18</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Bishop Bonaventure Giffard, 4 November 1713.

<sup>19</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Colonel Maisson, 27 February 1714.

<sup>20</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Mr. Key to John Vane, 26 March 1714.



the new collegiate Church and work had begun on the second story so clearly money had begun to trickle in.<sup>21</sup>

Jones' choice of architect for the new College compound left much to be desired. Described as, 'a sot, though the most ingenious man in the country for architecture' he had fled the city of Lisbon in the face of hostile creditors and taverners.<sup>22</sup> Material relating to Jones' former petition to the Portuguese faithful for funds to repair the College's vault noted João Antunes, the architect chosen by Jones to complete the work. Whether this is the same man who fled the city in 1715 remains uncertain though unlikely. Antunes had a varied portfolio in Lisbon but his most notable reconstruction was that of Santa Engrácia. It was his design that stands at the Bairro Alto to this day and convinced the President that the vault did not need restructuring but knocking down and rebuilding. This may have convinced Jones that the whole compound needed rebuilding from scratch. The decision to do so appears to have been taken in the spring of 1709.<sup>23</sup>

The appeal to the English Catholic gentry and nobility did not meet with the enthusiasm that Douai's rebuilding plans evoked some years later. Jones had not picked the most auspicious of times to rebuild the crumbling edifice of the College. The War of the Spanish Succession and the Stuart uprising of 1715 did not encourage English Catholics to dig deep into their hard pressed popish pockets. Funds trickled in from the traditional Catholic gentry families after desperate appeals from the College's agents. Nicholas Blundell noted in his diary that one Patrick Wofold was begging for charity on the College's behalf. Wofield was not a Lisbonian but may have been sent by the Chapter to beg for alms for the rebuilding of the College.<sup>24</sup> Blundell donated the far from princely sum of 10 shillings, 'Towards Rebuilding Lisbone Collage.'<sup>25</sup> Thomas Giffard of Chillington left £500 for the work, five times the

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<sup>21</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 28 September 1714.

<sup>22</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 29 August 1715.

<sup>23</sup> Hestnes Ferreira, Dom Pedro Coutinho made Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa his heiress and gave them the patronage of the College, 6 November 1708.

<sup>24</sup> Wofield does not appear in Anstruther or Bellenger.

<sup>25</sup> I am grateful to Nicholas Tosney Esq., for bringing this to my attention. See Frank Tyrer and J.J. Bagley (eds) *The Great Diurnal of Nicholas Blundell* vol. 2, 1712 – 19 (The Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, vol. 112, 1970), p. 122.



amount of his kinsman the Superintendent Bishop Giffard.<sup>26</sup> A report into the College's progress in 1719 demonstrated that the plans were far from complete six years into the building programme.<sup>27</sup> The Portuguese faithful, hard pressed by the adversities of the War of the Spanish Succession, were far more generous than their English confreres. Antonio de Cortes left 800 *milreis* alone (twice the Founder's annual stipend) for the rebuilding of the College's Church.<sup>28</sup> The enthusiastic support the College received from the Portuguese faithful demonstrated the status the College had gained within the city since its foundation. Despite this, the main benefactor remained the Portuguese crown and its nobility. This was recognised in 1727 when Lisbonian priests working on the Mission sent a letter of thanks to João for all he had done for the College's rebuilding.<sup>29</sup> From an examination of the Correspondence Papers it is clear that the rebuilding work took over thirty years to complete. It is to Jones, in the midst of an international war and desperate poverty, that the success of this venture must be ascribed. The project continued to concern successive College agents after Vane's death, continuing into Jones's second administration (1732 – 39.) John Shepperd corresponded with Jones over the rebuilding work in 1736. One year on Jones made a final appeal to the English faithful for the continued restoration of the College's buildings.<sup>30</sup> As late as 1737 Jones made fresh appeals to the Portuguese and English faithful to provide funds for the College's continued restoration as well as further plans for the College's improvement.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to Mr. Keys, 25 February 1719.

<sup>27</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Report into the Condition of Building Plans, 14 September 1719.

<sup>28</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Book Archive 89, Letter Book (1): Edward Jones (January 1710 – February 1721), President Edward Jones to John Vane, 11 October 1713. The funds were donated after the death of three of his sisters who lived off the interest.

<sup>29</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Lisbonian Priests to the King of Portugal, c. 1727.

<sup>30</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, John Shepperd to President Edward Jones, 26 March 1736.

<sup>31</sup> UCA, Durham, LC, Council and College Life, Edward Jones: Appeal for College's Reconstruction, 20 September 1737.



President Witham of Douai (1715 – 38) followed Jones' rebuilding plans in petitioning English benefactors for funds to rebuild his own College in the early 1720s.<sup>32</sup> Relations between Douai, Lisbon and the secular doctoral college at Paris reached a nadir under Jones's administration. The enthusiasm Bishop Giffard had for the proposal of Witham's to rebuild the Bishop's own *alma mater* must have left a sour taste in Jones's mouth. Giffard subscribed a donation of £1000 to Witham's building plans without any strings attached.<sup>33</sup> What was equally distressing for the administration at Lisbon was the inability to contend with Douai's extensive network and clientage system. The College's Procurator, Andrew Giffard was the brother of the Vicar Apostolic of the London District, Bonaventure.<sup>34</sup> Witham's own brother George was Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District.<sup>35</sup> Jones' small band of Lisbonians active on the Mission could not compete with such a network. The Vicars Apostolic were, with the exception of the Western District, all Douatians. The cornerstone of the new College at Douai was laid in February 1723. There is no record when the cornerstone of the new College at Lisbon was laid.<sup>36</sup> Witham's refusal to provide assistance to Lisbon in its time of need helped sour relations between the administration of Jones and Douai. This was not simply a case of the daughter falling out with the mother. The professors of St. Gregory's English College at Paris petitioned Witham to review restrictions on any Douatian removing to Paris to finish his studies. Witham had petitioned the Holy See to ban all alumni on papal grants to remove to the English College at Paris in 1719. Lisbon had no such provision and several students were sent to Paris to complete their training.<sup>37</sup> The favour shown to Douai irritated the administrations of Paris and Lisbon. The former suffered greatly from Witham's prohibitions and the latter felt neglected that its own building plans had largely been overlooked by Giffard. Lisbon was not only the daughter of Douai but a poor relation at that. The relations between the three colleges continued to suffer when Paris accused Witham of having secret Jesuit designs (a common derogatory accusation in the arsenal of eighteenth century secular clergymen) accusing Witham of secretly

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<sup>32</sup> See E.H. Burton and E. Nolan (ed.) *The Douay College Diaries: the Seventh Diary, 1715 – 1778* (CRS Publications 28, London, 1928), xi – xii, xiv – xv, xviii; pp. 1 – 2, 17, 97, 99, 103, 109 – 110, 114, 117, 128, 172, 192, 194, 199, 236, 300, 303 – 05, 318 – 19 and 331.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent, 1558 – 1795: volume one. The English Colleges and Convents in the Catholic Low Countries, 1558 – 1795* (London, 1914), pp. 337 – 39.

<sup>34</sup> Anstruther, *Seminary Priests* vol. 3, pp. 65 – 67.

<sup>35</sup> Maziere-Brady, *Episcopal Succession* vol. 3, pp. 250 – 53.

<sup>36</sup> Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, p. 338.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Hall left a detailed account of his time at Paris (1683 – 1688, 1690 – 1719) see UCA, Durham, LC, Correspondence Papers, 25 September 1684.



desiring Douai's seceding to the Society.<sup>38</sup> Witham defended himself against the accusations emanating from Paris, declaring that his being labelled as a Jesuited papist was ridiculous.<sup>39</sup>

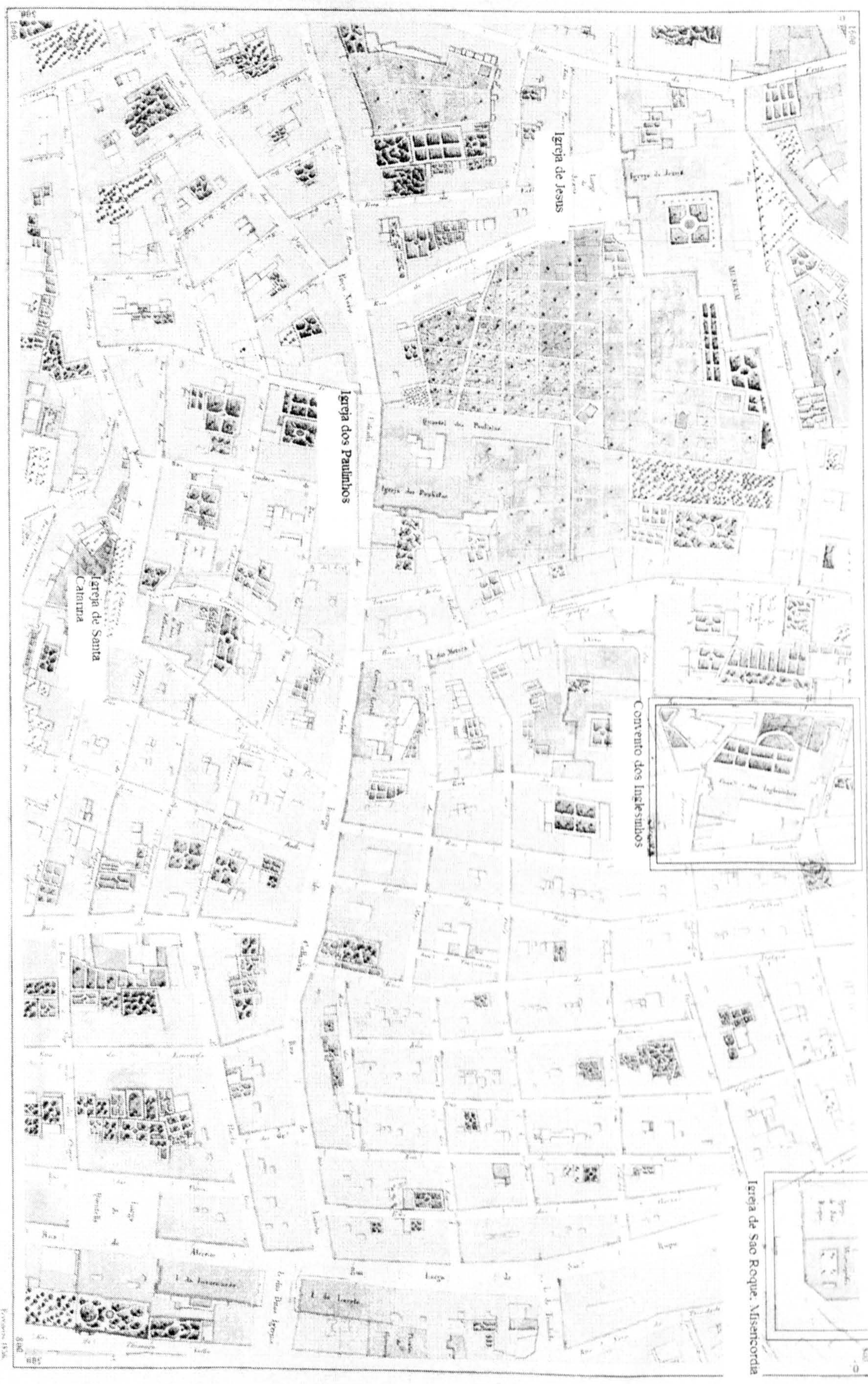
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<sup>38</sup> Guilday, *English Catholic Refugees*, p. 336. Archive of Propaganda, Visitation of the College at Douai, t. 35, ff. 379 – 86; Atti. 1720, Cong. 4, no. 7; *ibid.* 1722, Cong. 7, no. 46.

<sup>39</sup> For Witham's defence of his Presidency see E.H. Burton and E. Nolan, *The Douay College Diaries: the seventh diary, 1715 – 1778* (CRS Publications 28, London, 1928), pp. 177 – 220; The prohibition of 1719 emanated from the hand of Cardinal Howard forbidding alumni leaving the College for either Paris or for that matter Lisbon.



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[Atlas da Carta Topográfica de Lisboa]: Planta nº 42

[Material Cartográfico] / [dir. Filipe Folque; lev. por Carlos Pezerat, Francisco Goullard e César Goullard].-

[1:1000]. - [Lisboa], 1856.- Original.- 1 planta papel: color: 920 x 625 mm.



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