



# THE OXFORD HISTORY of BRITISH & IRISH CATHOLICISM

VOLUME II

Uncertainty and Change, 1641–1745

Edited by JOHN MORRILL & LIAM TEMPLE

OXFORD

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AND IRISH CATHOLICISM,  
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BRITISH AND IRISH CATHOLICISM

*General Editors:*

*James E. Kelly and John McCafferty*

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John Morrill  
Shrove Tuesday 2022



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# 6

## Missionary Activity and Religious Houses

*Matteo Binasco / Hannah Thomas*

### Mission to Britain and Ireland

The aim of this section is to provide an examination of how and to what extent the missionary links developed between the British Isles and the Holy See changed and evolved from the accession to the throne of King William III in 1689 to the Jacobite rising of 1745.<sup>1</sup> The seismic events of the Glorious Revolution had no significant impact on how Propaganda Fide—the Roman ministry founded in 1622 to oversee missionary activity in non-Christian and Protestant countries—viewed the British Isles. The most tangible aspect of the congregation's attitude is demonstrated by the fact that, during both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, it never treated England and Wales, Ireland, and Scotland as a single administrative unit. Therefore, the cardinals of Propaganda continued to view the nations as three separate kingdoms with their own laws and specific problems.<sup>2</sup>

The congregation paid close attention to events in all three kingdoms, but Ireland continued to retain its priority in the strategies of Propaganda throughout the eighteenth century. A good, albeit rudimentary, way to confirm this aspect is to look at the volume of business devoted by Propaganda to each of the three kingdoms. This shows Ireland remained the highest focus, followed by Scotland, and finally England. The structure of this chapter will follow this scheme, and it will begin with the Irish scene.

### Ireland

The accession to the throne of William III and the defeat of James II dealt a lethal blow to the hopes of his Catholic supporters in the British Isles and Continental Europe.<sup>3</sup> William III's victory and the rise of the Protestant ascendancy

<sup>1</sup> For the organization of the mission in the period 1641–88, see Chapters 1 and 3 by John Morrill and Eoin Devlin, respectively.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Fenning, OP, 'The Three Kingdoms: England, Ireland, and Scotland', in Joseph Metzler (ed.), *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Memoria Rerum*, 5 vols. (Rom-Freiburg-Wien, 1971–6), II, pp. 604–5.

<sup>3</sup> John Miller, *Popery and Politics in England, 1660–1688* (Cambridge, 1973).

inaugurated a period of legislation against the Catholic clergy in Ireland which would officially last until 1829.<sup>4</sup> From 1697 the Irish parliament approved acts which banished all Catholic bishops, and indeed all regular clergy, with heavy restrictions on secular priests and persistent efforts to prevent the arrival of missionaries from Continental Europe.<sup>5</sup> The effects were immediate: by 1704 only four bishops were resident in Ireland. It took until 1748 for Propaganda to return to the position that had been achieved across the period from 1657 to 1684, that is, the filling of all Irish sees.<sup>6</sup> Yet the strong commitment displayed by Propaganda clashed with the right granted by Innocent XI in 1687 to James II, and afterwards to his son and successor James III, to appoint Irish bishops.<sup>7</sup> To the eyes of the Roman congregation, the right of the Stuarts was a heavy burden for the Irish bishops, and a solution was found at the end of June 1715. Propaganda agreed that all the future appointments would require two papal briefs: one for the bishop elected in which no mention was made of the royal participation in the appointment and the other, addressed to James III, which explained that the omission did not derogate from his royal rights.<sup>8</sup> If we consider that, between 1687 and 1765, James II and James III appointed 129 bishops in Ireland, it is clear that Propaganda navigated a minefield by exercising extreme caution.<sup>9</sup>

Given that Jacobitism remained a prominent factor in Irish episcopal appointments until the mid-eighteenth century, Propaganda's role in the process of selection remained very limited.<sup>10</sup> They did succeed in appointing a few prominent bishops who, thanks to their personal links, succeeded in strengthening the networks between Ireland and Rome. One of these bishops was Hugh MacMahon, who was appointed to the see of Clogher in 1707 and was then translated to Armagh in 1715 upon Propaganda's direct nomination, thus bypassing Stuart control.<sup>11</sup> MacMahon had been educated at the Irish College of Rome where he

<sup>4</sup> Ian McBride, *Eighteenth Century Ireland. The Isle of Slaves* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 215–45; Patrick Fagan, *Divided Loyalties: The Question of an Oath for Irish Catholics in the Eighteenth Century* (Dublin, 1997).

<sup>5</sup> Liam Chambers, 'Rome and the Irish Catholic Community in the Eighteenth Century, 1691–1789', in Matteo Binasco (ed.), *Rome and Irish Catholicism in the Atlantic World, 1622–1908* (Cham, 2018), pp. 239–40.

<sup>6</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', p. 606. On Propaganda Fide's role in the reconstruction of the Irish episcopate during the Restoration, see Benignus Millett, 'Survival and Reorganization, 1650–1695', in Patrick J. Corish (ed.), *A History of Irish Catholicism*, vol. 3 (Dublin, 1968), pp. 13–63.

<sup>7</sup> Cathaldus Giblin, OFM, 'The Stuart Nomination of Irish Bishops, 1687–1765', *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 105 (1966), pp. 35–47.

<sup>8</sup> Archives of the Sacred Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' (hereafter APF), *Congregazioni Particolari* (hereafter CP) 85, fol. 3, 26 June 1715.

<sup>9</sup> Laurence J. Flynn, 'Hugh MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher 1707–15 and Archbishop of Armagh 1715–37', *Seanchas Ard Mhacha*, 7 (1973), pp. 114–20; Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 211–39.

<sup>10</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 606–7.

<sup>11</sup> Giblin, 'The Stuart Nomination', pp. 35–47.

had remained from 1683 to 1689.<sup>12</sup> The few years that he spent in Rome had a deep influence on MacMahon. He became an important source of information to Propaganda and to the nunciature of Flanders, through which the Holy See constantly monitored the political and religious situation in the British Isles.<sup>13</sup>

MacMahon's prominent career was not an isolated one, as other students at the Irish College of Rome came to be appointed bishops. According to an undated memoir—probably written by Alexander Roche, the Jesuit rector of the Irish College of Rome—between 1650 and 1736 another six former students became bishops, a figure which markedly contrasted with the seventy-five Irish bishops trained in the colleges in France between 1685 and 1800.<sup>14</sup>

MacMahon remained an exception; the overall pattern of the relationship between Propaganda and the Irish episcopate was that many of the problems which had existed in the seventeenth century persisted throughout the eighteenth. One of these problems was that the Irish bishops had less extensive faculties than the vicars apostolic in England, though the latter were lower in rank. A particular thorny issue was that Propaganda granted the Irish bishops the set of faculties known as 'Formula 6', which impeded them from granting matrimonial dispensations to parties related within the second degree of consanguinity or affinity. This meant that many Catholics turned to the Protestant clergy.<sup>15</sup> A solution appeared to have been found in 1711 when the congregation agreed to grant more extensive faculties, but apparently the Holy Office rejected Propaganda's decision, claiming that the Irish bishops already had enough faculties.<sup>16</sup> A further issue emerging during the first half of the eighteenth century was that the Irish bishops held no national or provincial synods which were required to deal with urgent political and theological problems.<sup>17</sup> This was in sharp contrast to the seventeenth century when forty synods—ten nationals and thirty provincials—were held.<sup>18</sup>

Another crucial dimension played an instrumental role in the missionary networks developed between Rome and Ireland: the relationship between the secular or diocesan and regular clergy. Compared to the early decades of the seventeenth century when Rome was isolated from the fast-growing Continental network of Irish colleges, the situation was radically different at the onset of the

<sup>12</sup> Matteo Binasco and Vera Orschel, 'Prosopography of Irish Students Admitted to the Irish College, Rome, 1628–1798', *Archivium Hibernicum* (hereafter *Arch. Hib.*), 66 (2013), p. 57.

<sup>13</sup> See Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (hereafter AAV), Segreteria di Stato, Fiandra, 5, fols. 359rv–361v.

<sup>14</sup> Archives of the Pontifical Irish College, Rome (hereafter PICR), Liber IV, fols. 208v–213r, 215v.

<sup>15</sup> APE, Acta, 81, fol. 572.

<sup>16</sup> APE, Acta, 95, fol. 387; Bernard Dompnier, 'L'administration des sacrements en terre protestante à la lumière des facultates et des dubia des missionnaires (XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles)', *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome-Italie et Méditerranée, École Française de Rome*, 121 (2009), pp. 23–38.

<sup>17</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 608–9.

<sup>18</sup> Alison Forrester, *Catholic Synods in Ireland, 1600–1690* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 195–6.

eighteenth century.<sup>19</sup> By then there were four colleges for missionary formation—three for the regular clergy and one for the diocesan—in the city and one noviciate located 35 miles north of it.<sup>20</sup> With few exceptions, it is still difficult to provide precise figures on the number of students admitted in each of the colleges per year, and for the overall clerical population for the eighteenth century. Hugh Fenning's studies have demonstrated that during the eighteenth century there was an increase in the number of Irish clerics ordained in Rome to 507, an increase from the 338 recorded in the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup>

It appears that the capacity of the Irish Colleges in Rome to admit students had ebbs and flows. In 1742 St Isidore's had thirty students while Capranica hosted twenty-five novices.<sup>22</sup> The figures for San Clemente indicate that it fared quite well between 1710 and 1797 when it accepted 170 Dominicans.<sup>23</sup> While there are no precise figures for the Irish Augustinians, the evidence for the college for the formation of secular clergy indicates that, in the 1730s, it remained an underfunded institution which could support only nine students.<sup>24</sup>

The differences emerging in the capacity to admit and form a certain cohort of students played in favour of the regular clergy which—particularly the Dominicans and Franciscans—could enjoy a wider network of support both in the Italian peninsula and across Continental Europe. If at the beginning of the eighteenth century there were about 750 secular priests in Ireland, it must be noted that the overwhelming majority of them had been educated in the colleges in France, especially in Paris. The limited role played by the Irish College of Rome did not go unnoticed. For example, Giacomo Quirici, Propaganda's agent in London, wrote to Rome in 1719 to remark that he had never met a secular Irish priest trained in the Italian peninsula.<sup>25</sup>

Given its slender resources, Propaganda had few alternatives to offer to the Irish seculars who went to Rome. The only concrete form of support provided by the congregation was to create four places for Irish secular students at the Urban College, Propaganda's diocesan college, in 1719. The number of places would be

<sup>19</sup> Matteo Binasco, *Making, Breaking, and Remaking the Irish Missionary Network. Ireland, Rome, and the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century* (Cham, 2020), pp. 23–41.

<sup>20</sup> The three structures for the regular clergy were respectively: St Isidore's College, founded in 1625 for the Irish Franciscans; the college of San Matteo in Merulana for the Irish Augustinians, which was opened in 1656 but which became active only in 1739; and the college of SS Sisto and Clemente for the Irish Dominicans, established in 1677. The noviciate was opened at Capranica in 1656 for the Irish Franciscan province. The only structure for the diocesan clergy was the Irish College established in 1628.

<sup>21</sup> Hugh Fenning, OP, 'Irishmen Ordained at Rome, 1698–1759', *Arch. Hib.* 50 (1996), pp. 29–49; Fenning, 'Irishmen Ordained at Rome, 1760–1800', *Arch. Hib.* 51 (1997), pp. 16–37; Fenning, 'Irishmen Ordained at Rome, 1572–1697', *Arch. Hib.* 59 (2005), pp. 1–36.

<sup>22</sup> Fenning, 'John Kent's Report on the State of the Irish Mission, 1742', *Arch. Hib.* 28 (1966), p. 82.

<sup>23</sup> Leonard Boyle and Hugh Fenning, *A San Clemente Miscellany* (Rome, 1971), pp. 55–6.

<sup>24</sup> PICR, Liber IV, fols. 222r–223r.

<sup>25</sup> APF, Scrittura riferite nei Congressi Originali (hereafter SOCG), 618, fols. 304–5.

increased to just eight in 1794.<sup>26</sup> The limited number of places available in the colleges combined with a worse problem: the poor quality of the diocesan priests. A common issue which weaved through all the complaints addressed to Propaganda during the eighteenth century was the widespread ignorance of the seculars, the majority of whom had a rudimentary knowledge of Latin and insufficient training in philosophy and theology. This problem was heightened by the fact that, prior to the departure for Continental Europe, most of the priests were already ordained *ad titulo missionis*.<sup>27</sup> Most of the Irish bishops accepted this noxious practice as it was the only means for the priests to rely on Mass stipends during their years abroad.<sup>28</sup> Though this thorny matter was already known to the congregation, a temporary solution was only found in late May 1741, when it was agreed that each bishop could ordain only twelve candidates *ad titulo missionis* during his lifetime, a limit which they often disregarded.<sup>29</sup>

The extent to which the Irish priests educated in Rome experienced a process of 'Romanization' that impacted on their return to Ireland and their subsequent activity remains unclear. In some cases, the students from the Gaelic areas who prolonged their stay in Rome tended to forget the Irish language. A telling example was that of James Barry—a secular student admitted to study at the Collegio di San Biagio at Montecitorio—who in 1741 petitioned Propaganda to have Francis O'Molloy's doctrine and grammar in Irish reprinted, as it had been by the congregation in 1676 and in 1677 respectively, for he had forgotten the language.<sup>30</sup>

Within the troubled context of the Irish mission, the regulars were also a thorn in the side of Propaganda. Like the seculars, their numbers were a source of concern as, in 1750, they were recorded to be around 700, with almost all of them trained in the Continental colleges.<sup>31</sup> With the noteworthy exception of the Irish pastoral college of Louvain—founded in 1623 and in which Propaganda kept the right to appoint the rector—the congregation had little control over the other seminaries.<sup>32</sup> In the case of the colleges in Rome, the situation progressively deteriorated during the eighteenth century with the outbreak of continuous squabbles between the rectors and the students, whose quality seems to have declined since the seventeenth century. A visitation made at St Isidore's College in 1724 revealed considerable insubordination and poor educational attainment in the students, a

<sup>26</sup> APF, Acta, 89, fol. 360; Acta, 164, fol. 599.

<sup>27</sup> 'ad titulo missionis' can be roughly translated as 'ordained for the mission'.

<sup>28</sup> Hugh Fenning, OP, *The Undoing of the Friars* (Louvain, 1972), pp. 92–109.

<sup>29</sup> APF, CP, 85, fols. 15–81, 131–2; APF, Acta, 111, fol. 238; Acta, 145, fol. 2.

<sup>30</sup> APF, Congressi Irlanda, 10, fols. 38rv–39. <sup>31</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 610–12.

<sup>32</sup> Ralph M. Wiltgen, 'Propaganda is Placed in Charge of the Pontifical Colleges', in Metzler (ed.), *Memoria Rerum*, I/1, p. 496; T. J. Walsh, *The Irish Continental College Movement* (Dublin, 1973), pp. 64–5.

dire consequence of the fact that most of them had been scholars and soldiers who had joined the order in rushed noviciates.<sup>33</sup>

All this was compounded on the mission by disputes over the issuing of faculties, especially the faculty to bind and loose sins in the confessional. The regular clergy across Britain and Ireland wanted these to be granted by their superiors and not by the bishops. This came to a head with a submission to Propaganda in 1730.<sup>34</sup> Yet the congregation's reply was categorical as it ruled that in all matters relating to the care of souls the regulars were subject to the bishops. In early 1742 Benedict XIV, a key figure of the Catholic Enlightenment, decided to send a visitor to review all the persistent problems of the Irish mission.<sup>35</sup> He appointed John Kent, rector of the Irish College of Louvain, who spent the summer and early autumn of 1742 visiting a good part of Ireland.<sup>36</sup> In 1743 Kent addressed a relation to Propaganda in which he complained about the large number of priests who could not be supported by the Catholic population.<sup>37</sup> Kent's report resulted in the promulgation of a set of reforming decrees—eight for the regular and twelve for the secular clergy—in early 1751. The decrees markedly reinforced the bishops' authority, stating they could deploy regulars and seculars in any location they needed. Moreover, the decrees had a tangible and crucial impact on the regular clergy for two clear reasons. First, they forbade the regular clergy to accept novices in Ireland, thus forcing the young candidates to turn to Continental Europe. Second, any regular arriving in Ireland without letters of obedience to the bishops could be removed and expelled from the country.<sup>38</sup>

The decrees of 1751 remained the most significant intervention of Propaganda over the structure of the Irish mission. They were a watershed in the struggle which pitted the seculars and the regulars against one another, with the latter paying the highest price in terms of a drastic decline from a numerical and pastoral point of view.<sup>39</sup>

## Scotland

The situation of the Catholic Church in Scotland had four key similarities with that of England and Ireland: a Protestant government, subjection to the penal

<sup>33</sup> Biblioteca Corsini, Rome, MS. 933, fols. 109–17; APF, Congressi, Irlanda, 8, fols. 258–61; Joseph MacMahon, OFM, 'The Silent Century, 1698–1829', in Edel Bhreathnach, Joseph MacMahon, OFM, and John McCafferty (eds.), *The Irish Franciscans, 1534–1990* (Dublin, 2009), pp. 77–101.

<sup>34</sup> APF, Acta, 94, fol. 8; Acta, 143, fols. 232–46.

<sup>35</sup> Rebecca Messbarger, Christopher M. S. Johns, and Philip Gavitt (eds.), *Benedict XIV and the Enlightenment: Art, Science, and Spirituality* (Toronto, 2017).

<sup>36</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 613–14.

<sup>37</sup> Fenning, 'John Kent's Report', pp. 59–102.

<sup>38</sup> APF, CP, 32, fol. 63; Acta, 100, fol. 177, Fenning, 'John Kent's Report', pp. 59–102; Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 612–15.

<sup>39</sup> Fenning, *The Undoing of the Friars*, p. 236.

laws, constant oversight by Propaganda, and damaging disputes between the regulars and seculars. Yet the Scottish mission appeared a more radical and difficult context than its English and Irish counterparts. The available figures speak for themselves: the overall number of Catholics—estimated to be about 20,000—were served by forty priests (thirteen regulars and twenty-seven seculars), in 1688.<sup>40</sup>

In 1694 Propaganda sought to impose greater unity on the Scottish mission by appointing Thomas Nicholson as the first apostolic vicar of Scotland.<sup>41</sup> Up until 1705, when the congregation granted him a coadjutor, Nicholson supervised the entire Scottish mission on his own, a task which proved exhausting. The visitation of the Highlands made by Nicholson during the summer of 1700 revealed many of the challenges he had to face. The relation submitted to Propaganda portrayed a situation in which Catholics lived in scattered and remote settlements which exposed the inhabitants of that area to the risk of persecutions or forced conversion. Nicholson reported that he had introduced ten Scottish and Irish missionaries, both regulars and seculars, with the latter able to speak the Gaelic language. In doing so, Nicholson followed in the footsteps of the Irish Franciscan mission in the seventeenth century.<sup>42</sup> In his relation, he also solicited Propaganda to grant a subsidy of 500 crowns so that more missionaries could be despatched, and for seminaries for native priests in the Highlands to be founded.<sup>43</sup>

In 1704 Nicholson's proposal was accepted by the congregation, but the first seminary would only open in 1714 on Loch Morar, located on the western coast of Inverness. During the Jacobite rising in 1715 the seminary was relocated at Glenlivet in an even more remote spot.<sup>44</sup> With the establishment of the Highland vicariate in 1731 there seemed to be room for the opening of new seminaries. In that year Hugh MacDonald, the first vicar apostolic of the Highlands, reopened the seminary at Loch Morar. During the Jacobite rising of 1745 it was destroyed together with that at Glenlivet, causing the plans to establish new seminaries to be postponed until the 1770s.<sup>45</sup>

Nicholson and MacDonald's plan aimed to provide a basic educational standard for young Catholics with a view for their future enrolment in one of the Scots Colleges located in Continental Europe. Yet, in Nicholson's opinion, the

<sup>40</sup> APE, Acta, 64, fols. 34–7; Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', p. 623.

<sup>41</sup> APE, Acta, 74, fols. 248–53.

<sup>42</sup> On the Irish Franciscan mission to the Highlands, see Jason Harris, 'The Irish Franciscan Mission to the Highlands and Islands', in David Edwards and Simon Egan (eds.), *The Scots in Early Stuart Ireland: Union and Separation in Two Kingdoms* (Manchester, 2015), pp. 203–29.

<sup>43</sup> APE, Congressi, Scozia, 2, fols. 28rv–31rv.

<sup>44</sup> APE, Acta, 83, fol. 377; Peter F. Anson, *Underground Catholicism in Scotland* (Montrose, 1970), p. 111.

<sup>45</sup> Anson, *Underground Catholicism*, p. 111.



experience abroad only accustomed them to a life of ease which clashed with the harsh reality of the mission.<sup>46</sup>

For its part, Propaganda gave no financial support towards the seminaries project. The congregation's limited resources were offset by the decision made in 1708 by Cardinal Giuseppe Sacripante, protector of Scotland, who ordered that the Scots College of Rome should provide 30 crowns to underwrite the costs of each individual student's journey from Scotland to the city. Yet the cardinal's proposal was largely inadequate as the sum simply covered the costs of the trip from Paris to Rome.<sup>47</sup> Not surprisingly, the persistent financial weakness of the congregation prevented the arrival of a larger cohort of students. The figures for the eighteenth century show a tangible decline in the number of students entering the Scots College of Rome, with a hundred admissions recorded—141 less than the seventeenth century.<sup>48</sup>

The congregation's inability to provide steady financial support towards the Scottish mission was further aggravated by some ill-fated plans. One of these plans was its rash attempt in 1707 to unite the Irish, the English, and the Scots Colleges of Rome under the title of 'British Colleges', a move that met with concerted opposition from the staff and seminarians of the colleges, as well as from James II. The plan was abandoned.<sup>49</sup> A further troubled matter was the quarrel over the Jansenist dispute which involved the Scots College in Paris, the traditional stopover for the students travelling from Scotland to Rome. From the early 1730s until the late 1740s continuous disputes and accusations made against the rectors and the staff of the Scots College in Paris impacted this traffic, disrupting a missionary route which had connected Rome with the Scottish mission.<sup>50</sup>

The much smaller Scottish mission faced the same problems as the Irish mission in terms of missionary faculties and their abuse. Between 1700 and 1704 Nicholson devoted himself to drawing up a set of statutes with the key aim of ensuring uniformity of practice throughout the Scottish mission and to prevent the abuses made both by regulars and seculars who too easily administered the sacraments to people living 'in continuous scandals'.<sup>51</sup> Propaganda had decided as early as 1697 to extend to Scotland the decrees of the English mission which placed the regulars under the bishops' jurisdiction in all aspects pertaining to the

<sup>46</sup> APF, Acta, 82, fols. 454–5; Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms,' p. 626.

<sup>47</sup> James F. MacMillan, 'Development 1707–1820,' in Raymond McCluskey (ed.), *The Scots College Rome, 1600–2000* (Edinburgh, 2000), pp. 43–5.

<sup>48</sup> *Records of the Scots colleges at Douai, Rome, Madrid, Valladolid and Ratisbon*, vol. I: *Registers of Students* (Aberdeen, 1906), pp. 101–46.

<sup>49</sup> APF, CP, 34A, fols. 92, 109.

<sup>50</sup> James F. MacMillan, 'Scottish Catholics and the Jansenist Controversy: The Case Reopened,' *Innes Review*, 33 (1982), pp. 23–33; James F. MacMillan, 'Jansenism and Anti-Jansenism in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: The *Unigenitus* Quarrels on the Scottish Catholic Mission, 1732–1746,' *Innes Review*, 39 (1988), pp. 12–45.

<sup>51</sup> APF, Acta, 74, fol. 103; CP, 32, fols. 325, 337–47 ('in continui scandali').

administration of the sacraments and care of the souls.<sup>52</sup> In the early 1700s Nicholson further reasserted these rules by adding that all disputes between regulars and seculars had to be addressed to him, and eventually by him to the Holy See. Another seminal point of the decrees was that all missionaries were to remain in a fixed place and could not move without the bishop's consent.<sup>53</sup> Though in the late 1730s there were some disputes with the Jesuit missionaries for the Highland missions, Propaganda stood firm on its decisions and in 1751 it reaffirmed that, as in Ireland, all the regulars and seculars were subject to the authority of the bishop and vicars apostolic.<sup>54</sup>

## England

In the eighteenth century the Catholic Church in England shared with Ireland and Scotland the reality of being under a Protestant government and subject to penal laws. A substantial difference between the Irish mission and the English mission was the great power granted by Propaganda to the vicars apostolic. Their role was further strengthened by the congregation's decision, in 1688, to divide England and Wales into four districts, each of which was entrusted to a vicar apostolic.<sup>55</sup> Though the English vicars apostolic enjoyed more extended faculties than the Irish bishops, it must be remembered that they had to administer larger areas in which Catholics were scattered. The process of selecting and appointing the vicars apostolic proved extremely difficult for Propaganda for two key reasons. The first was that, prior to any appointment, it had to consult (at least in the early decades of the eighteenth century) the Stuart court, as well as the agent of the English clergy in Rome. The second was the widespread reluctance of the secular clergy to accept the appointment of regulars as vicars apostolic. In the 1720s Propaganda managed to find a compromise by deciding to appoint a regular to the Western district—the poorer and most desolate vicariate—and three seculars to the other three districts.<sup>56</sup>

The task of the vicars apostolic was extremely challenging as they operated without a parochial system and with heavy taxation imposed on many Catholics. The situation was exacerbated by widespread anti-Catholic and anti-Roman feeling. Yet the support provided by Propaganda towards the structure of the vicars

<sup>52</sup> APF, Acta, 120, fols. 188–9.

<sup>53</sup> APF, Acta, 87, fols. 482–5.

<sup>54</sup> APF, Acta, 120, fols. 188–9; Congressi, Scozia, 2, fols. 367rv–368rv; Alastair Roberts, 'Jesuits in the Highlands: Three Phases', *Journal of Jesuit Studies*, 7 (2020), pp. 103–16.

<sup>55</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 616–17; Nicholas Schofield and Gerard Skinner, *The English Vicars Apostolic, 1688–1850* (Oxford, 2009).

<sup>56</sup> APF, Acta, 77, fols. 17–19; Acta, 81, fols. 260–1; Acta, 87, fols. 419–24; Acta, 82, fols. 455–7; CP, 85, fol. 163.

apostolic remained steady throughout the eighteenth century.<sup>57</sup> In particular, the congregation kept a keen eye on the Western district, providing a series of subsidies and seeking to direct more priests to that area. Moreover, in 1722, Propaganda made an agreement with the rectors of the English Colleges of Douai and Rome to have a quota of reserved places for seminarians from the Western district.<sup>58</sup>

Two commonalities between the Irish and the English mission were the number of the clergy, both regular and secular, and, once again, disputes over the use (or most of the times abuse) of missionary faculties. Like in Ireland in the first half of the eighteenth century, most of the priests active in England were regular clergy. Though it is difficult to provide a precise number, a fair and likely estimate suggests that the seculars were only one-third of the overall clergy active in England and Wales.<sup>59</sup> In 1723 the superior of the English Benedictines asserted that there were only thirty or forty seculars active at home.<sup>60</sup> This scant presence inevitably contrasts with the capacity to admit and train students displayed by the English Continental colleges. The college in Rome, for example, during the first half of the eighteenth century, accepted 226 new seminarians.<sup>61</sup>

The numbers of regulars are also rough estimates. For example, the English regulars claimed that, in 1764, they accounted for 220 of the 300 missionaries operating in England and Wales.<sup>62</sup> The numerical preponderance of the regular clergy was also associated with a series of accusations on their mediocre quality. The archives of Propaganda contain many examples of these accusations. In 1710 James Smith, vicar apostolic of the northern district, suggested that the superiors of the regular orders should henceforth send the best educated candidates to England.<sup>63</sup> In 1746 Benjamin Petre, vicar apostolic of the London district, went even further by stating that most of the regulars performed poorly and undermined the mission. He also lamented the scandalous behaviour of the Irish chaplains attached to the embassies in London.<sup>64</sup> Even the authorities of the Holy See were aware of the low quality of the returning regulars. This is demonstrated by the accusation made by Giuseppe Spinelli, internuncio at Brussels, who, in 1723, confirmed to Propaganda that the superiors of the regular orders often sent their worst elements to England.<sup>65</sup>

Given that the regulars outnumbered the seculars, it is no wonder that there were persistent disputes about faculties, especially those related to preaching and the administration of sacraments. During the eighteenth century, Propaganda received and processed a consistent flow of complaints from the vicars apostolic

<sup>57</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', p. 617.

<sup>58</sup> APF, Acta, 89, fols. 419–20; Acta, 92, fols. 498–500; Acta, 94, fols. 124–6.

<sup>59</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', p. 618. <sup>60</sup> APF, Acta, 93, fols. 456–70.

<sup>61</sup> Wilfrid Kelly (ed.) *Liber Ruber Venerabilis Collegi Anglorum de Urbe. Annales Collegii, Pars prima. Nomina Alumnorum II. A.D. 1631–1783*, CRS 40 (London, 1943), pp. 129–207.

<sup>62</sup> APF, Acta, 134, fol. 270.

<sup>63</sup> APF, Acta, 80, fols. 313–14.

<sup>64</sup> APF, Acta, 116, fols. 176–82.

<sup>65</sup> APF, Acta, 93, fols. 456–70.

about regulars who wandered away from their assigned locations or who even dared to collect tithes in areas entrusted to other priests.<sup>66</sup>

The turning point in this war between regulars and seculars was the intervention of Benedict XIV who—with the support of Propaganda—elaborated and promulgated a series of decrees beginning with the brief *Emanavit Nuper* on 2 September 1745. The brief stated that the vicars apostolic had the right to investigate the moral conduct of the regulars and, in cases of immoral conduct, to withdraw their faculties. The vicars also had to prevent the regulars from leaving their assigned posts of activity. The brief was the natural prelude to the drafting and approval, in 1753, of the *Regulae Observandae in Anglicanis Missionibus*, a set of rules which endorsed the decisions made in 1743, and which reaffirmed the authority of the vicars apostolic over the regulars, thus following what had been made for Ireland in 1751.<sup>67</sup>

By contrast to the Irish and Scots mission, the English mission covered a geographical area which went beyond the borders of England and Wales. Indeed, throughout the eighteenth century the officials of Propaganda came to acknowledge that the vicar apostolic of the London district was also in charge of the missions in the British colonies of North America and five Caribbean islands.<sup>68</sup> Though Petre claimed from 1722 to have authority over these vast territories, it was only in 1757 that Propaganda formally accepted the authority of the vicar apostolic of London by granting him permission to exercise his jurisdiction for a six-year period. This permission was renewed—albeit with some slight changes—until 1784 when the congregation appointed John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore, as the head of the missions in the new-born United States. This put an end to the jurisdiction of the London district on the American mainland, but not on the Caribbean, which would continue until 1804.<sup>69</sup>

At first glance the relationship between the Holy See and the British Isles from 1688 to 1745 was characterized by a steady level of intervention from Propaganda Fide. In particular, the congregation demonstrated a proactive attitude towards the Irish mission which, as in the seventeenth century, was a major source of concern for the Roman authorities given the sheer preponderance of the Catholic population. Though there was an evident disproportion in the volume of affairs treated, it is possible to conclude that the strategy elaborated and carried out by Propaganda for the three kingdoms during the first half of the eighteenth century had many points in common. The strong support provided to the bishops in Ireland and to the vicars apostolic in England and Scotland illustrates how the

<sup>66</sup> Fenning, 'The Three Kingdoms', pp. 620–1.

<sup>67</sup> APE, Acta, 115, fols. 228–41; Edwin H. Burton, *The Life and Times of Bishop Challoner (1691–1781)*, 2 vols. (London, 1909), II, pp. 245–69, 306–24.

<sup>68</sup> The five islands were Antigua, Barbados, Jamaica, Montserrat, and St Christopher.

<sup>69</sup> APE, Acta, 126, fols. 352–8; Acta, 146, fols. 33–52; Thomas A. Hughes, SJ, 'The London Vicariate Apostolic and the West Indies, 1685–1819', *The Dublin Review*, 134 (1904), pp. 66–93.

congregation sought to strengthen and implement ecclesiastical authority as a means to stem the persistent and toxic conflicts between regulars and seculars. The set of decrees promulgated from 1741 to 1753—albeit specifically designated for each kingdom—contributed to a weakening of the role played by the regular clergy who, as a result, entered a period of tangible decline.

### Religious Houses: Organization

By the 1640s, the British Catholic diaspora had settled into a period of organized consolidation. Building on the foundations laid by antecedents in the early years of the exile movement, by 1641 the male and female orders were able to focus on strengthening, consolidating, and expanding their positions abroad. Several decades of delicate diplomatic negotiations with their host nations in the first half of the century meant that, during the second half of the century, properties could be extended, the numbers of recruits expanded, and new foundations created.

Prior to 1641, a number of English convents had been founded in mainland Europe, in addition to the unenclosed members of the Mary Ward Institute, and the Bridgettines in Lisbon, who were a continuation from pre-Reformation times.<sup>70</sup> To this number were now added several daughter houses as well as new English foundations from other orders.

For the English female Benedictines, following the initial foundation at Brussels and daughter houses at Cambrai and Ghent, this period saw an additional four English houses created in exile: at Paris (1651), Boulogne (1652) which relocated to Pontoise in 1658, Dunkirk (1662), and Ypres (1665).<sup>71</sup> The indefatigable Mary Knatchbull was the driving force behind three of these foundations, personally overseeing practical, spiritual, and pastoral arrangements for the new houses at Boulogne and Dunkirk, and laying much of the ground work for the convent at Ypres though this would subsequently be handed over to the Irish.<sup>72</sup> During her forty-six years as abbess, Knatchbull also worked to improve the financial position of the convents, particularly Ghent, and maintained a wide and influential correspondence with prominent figures across Europe, including royal courtiers, the bishop of Boulogne, and the English royal family. She even offered financial assistance to the latter at a time when the convent could least afford it, and played a significant role in the Restoration of King Charles II in 1660.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>70</sup> See Chapter 8 on 'Religious Houses: Spirituality', in this volume.

<sup>71</sup> WWTN, 'Convent Notes'. For an overview of the foundations of the English convents, see James E. Kelly, *English Convents in Catholic Europe, c.1600–1800* (Cambridge, 2020), pp. 1–7.

<sup>72</sup> WWTN, GB118. See also Caroline M. K. Bowden, 'Knatchbull, Mary (1610–1696), Abbess of the Convent of the Immaculate Conception, Ghent', *ODNB*.

<sup>73</sup> See Caroline Bowden, 'The Abbess and Mrs Brown: Lady Mary Knatchbull and Royalist Politics in Flanders in the Late 1650s', *Recusant History*, 24 (1999), esp. pp. 292–307; Claire Walker, 'Prayer,

The English Carmelite convents underwent a similar development, expanding the original foundation at Antwerp with a daughter house at Lierre (1648) to deal with rapidly increasing numbers, and another at Hoogstraten (1678). The Lierre convent in particular had strong ties with the Welsh Catholic community, listing amongst its founder members the redoubtable Margaret Mostyn and her sister Elizabeth, daughters of Sir John Mostyn and Ann Fox of Greenfield, Flintshire, the seat of the Jesuit mission in North Wales; and Mary Vaughan, daughter of Sir Richard Vaughan of Courtfield, headquarters of the Jesuit mission in South Wales and Herefordshire after 1678.<sup>74</sup> Both Mostyn sisters served as prioresses of the Lierre house: Margaret Mostyn from 1654 until her death in 1679, succeeded by her sister in 1679 until Elizabeth's death in 1700. During this time the convent navigated particularly perilous periods of war during which access to the usual streams of financial support was made very difficult. The situation was certainly not helped by the convent offering shelter to an entire regiment of cavalier soldiers, putting considerable strain on the nuns' already stretched resources, but skilful management of both people and finances held the community together through difficult times, whilst providing renowned spiritual guidance to their fellow sisters.<sup>75</sup>

Following on from foundations at Gravelines and Aire, the English Poor Clares also expanded in this period with the addition of daughter houses at Rouen (1644) and Dunkirk (1652).<sup>76</sup> The Rouen house was under the guidance of Margaret Bedingfield of Redlingfield, a cadet branch of the Bedingfields of Oxburgh in Norfolk.<sup>77</sup> Alongside Margaret Bedingfield's ten siblings who also joined religious orders, her family had close links with other new foundations in this period. These included that of her sister Frances Bedingfield, who assisted with the foundation of the Mary Ward Institute in Paris (1650). Frances also founded the only seventeenth-century convents in post-Reformation England in London (1669) and York (1686), and had facilitated the sending of vital funds to her sister at Rouen to assist with its foundation in 1644.<sup>78</sup> Her cousins, Margaret Downes, another founder member of the Carmelite convent at Lierre, and Elizabeth Timperley, founder member of the Conceptionist convent at Paris, were also influential.<sup>79</sup>

Patronage and Political Conspiracy: English Nuns and the Restoration', *Historical Journal*, 43 (2000), pp. 1–23.

<sup>74</sup> WWTN, AC095, AC096, AC122. <sup>75</sup> WWTN, AC095.

<sup>76</sup> The main foundation dates from 1652, though the house had been founded in 1625 with only Irish members, they returned to Ireland to establish new convents in 1629: WWTN, Convent Notes.

<sup>77</sup> WWTN, GP027.

<sup>78</sup> Ann M. C. Forster, 'The Chronicles of the English Poor Clares of Rouen—I', *Recusant History*, 18 (1986), p. 64.

<sup>79</sup> WWTN, AC041, BF241; 'Family Tree (Bedingfield of Bedingfield and Redlingfield)', <https://wwtn.history.qmul.ac.uk/ftrees/Bedingfield.pdf> (accessed 28 January 2022); Gregory Kirkus, CJ, *An IBVM Biographical Dictionary of the English Members and Major Benefactors (1667–2000)*, CRS 78 (London, 2001), pp. 2–4.

Three independent English convents were also founded in this period. In 1642, Susan Hawley founded in Liège the only English convent of the canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre.<sup>80</sup> Following her novitiate at the Belgian Sepulchrine convent in nearby Tongres, Hawley deliberately chose Liège as the location of her convent owing to the English Jesuit house being already in the city. Hawley noted that the sisters ‘have the comfort to have an English Coledge [sic] of the Society of Jesus in the same city... which is no small benefit in extern countries.’<sup>81</sup> Hawley fully utilized the by now established diasporic network to achieve her aim, using the influence of Emmanuel Lobb, alias Joseph Simons, SJ, to negotiate the necessary permissions from local authorities for establishing the English convent in the city, and for providing the essential services of confessor and celebrant of the first Mass in the convent chapel.<sup>82</sup> An English female Dominican house was founded by Cardinal Thomas Howard at Brussels in 1661, building on his successful revitalization of the English Dominican Province. His niece, Antonia Howard, was the first Englishwoman to join the community there, a few months before her death in October 1661, aged only 16.<sup>83</sup> In Paris, the daughter house of the English Franciscan convent at Nieuport was refounded as a convent of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady by 1661. Known as the Conceptionists, or the Blue Nuns, owing to the colour of their habits, the diplomacy and politics required in transition from Franciscan daughter house to autonomous Conceptionist convent was achieved under the watchful eye of Abbess Angela Jerningham with guidance from Richard Mason, OFM.<sup>84</sup>

Two Irish convents on the Continent were also added to the diasporic network.<sup>85</sup> In addition to the Dominican convent of Bom Sucesso established in Lisbon in 1639, an Irish Franciscan convent was established at Richebourg, Nantes, in 1650. Later on, in 1684, the English Benedictine convent at Ypres was transferred to the Irish.<sup>86</sup> The English Conceptionists also investigated the

<sup>80</sup> WWTN, LS101. See also Caroline Bowden, ‘Hawley, Susan [Name in Religion Mary of the Conception] (1622–1706); ODNB.

<sup>81</sup> Susan Hawley, *A Brief Relation of the Order and Institute of the English Religious Women at Liège* (Liège, 1652), p. 55.

<sup>82</sup> Sydney Smith, SJ (ed.), *History of the New Hall Community of Canonesses Regular of the Holy Sepulchre* (Roehampton, 1899), pp. 20–2.

<sup>83</sup> WWTN, BD036. See Anon (ed.), *Dominicana: Cardinal Howard’s Letters, English Dominican Friars, Nuns, Students, Papers and Mission Registers*, CRS 25 (London, 1925), pp. 177–80. The convent was established at Vilvorde before relocating to Brussels in 1669 to ‘The Spellikens’.

<sup>84</sup> WWTN, BF101. See Joseph Gillow and Richard Trappes-Lomax (eds.), *The Diary of the ‘Blue Nuns’, or Order of the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, at Paris 1658–1810*, CRS 8 (London, 1910), pp. vii–x.

<sup>85</sup> Bronagh McShane, ‘Negotiating Religious Change and Conflict: Female Religious Communities in Early Modern Ireland, c.1530–c.1641’, *British Catholic History*, 33 (2017), esp. pp. 378–82.

<sup>86</sup> See James E. Kelly, ‘Bringing It All Back Home: Mary Butler (1641–1723), Benedictine Abbess of Ypres’, in Salvador Ryan (ed.), *Treasures of Irish Christianity*, vol. 3: *To the Ends of the Earth* (London, 2016), pp. 64–6. The convent at Nantes was short lived and most of the members of the small community seem to have died by 1660: See Eamon O’Ciosain and Alain Loncle de Forville, ‘Irish Nuns in Nantes, 1650–1659’, *Arch. Hib.*, 58 (2004), pp. 167–73.

possibility of an Irish daughter house around this time, sending a small party of nuns from Paris to Ireland in September 1688. The mission was however largely unsuccessful, not least because of the political events which unfolded that year, and the party, including Catherine Rice and Jane Sanders, soon returned to Paris without having achieved their aim.<sup>87</sup>

In contrast, few new colleges for the clergy were founded after the 1640s, the focus instead being on making existing colleges a more visible and influential part of the diaspora. In particular, Paris was a key location for strengthening existing collegial life and networks for the English, Scottish, and Irish clergy during this period, with all three finding new permanent homes in the city. For the English secular clergy, a new college dedicated to St Gregory was established in the city in 1667, in place of the short-lived institution that had been briefly present earlier in the century, and was intended to give English and Welsh students the opportunity of attending the Sorbonne, with a view to obtaining a doctorate in divinity.<sup>88</sup> Similarly, although the Scottish College had been operational in the city since 1603, a move to a new larger site on Rue des Fossés-Saint-Victor in 1662, which opened in 1665, and was expanded again in 1672, increased the size and prominence of the Paris site, making it the keystone of the Scottish secular colleges, and therefore of the Scottish Catholic network.<sup>89</sup> Similarly, for the Irish secular clergy, a previously precarious existence in Paris, even despite official recognition in the 1620s, was totally revitalized in this period by the purchase of a permanent base at the vacant Collège des Lombards in 1676. It too became the centre for the most prominent Irish institution on the Continent, particularly following State approval as the legitimate Irish College in Paris, a status granted in 1685.<sup>90</sup>

For the English clergy, many of the colleges focused on improving their physical environments during this period. Major rebuilding projects were undertaken at the English secular colleges at Rome, Douai, Valladolid, and Lisbon. Building work was undertaken at the Venerable English College in Rome from 1658 onwards, eventually finished under the watchful eye of Cardinal Thomas Howard by 1685, and included a new location for the extensive library, along with a rediscovered undercroft, newly acquired adjoining land, and a palatial residence for

<sup>87</sup> WWTN, PC090, PC094. See CRS 8, p. xii.

<sup>88</sup> Dominic Aidan Bellenger, *English and Welsh Priests 1558-1800: A Working List* (Stratton-on-the-Fosse, 1984), p. 6.

<sup>89</sup> Now Rue du Cardinal Lemoine. See Liam Chambers, 'Introduction—College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe', in Liam Chambers and Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *College Communities Abroad: Education, Migration and Catholicism in Early Modern Europe* (Manchester, 2018), p. 13; Tom McNally, *The Scots Colleges Abroad: 1575 to 1799: The Sixth Scottish University* (Leiden, 2011), pp. 44–7.

<sup>90</sup> Chambers, 'Introduction', p. 10; Liam Chambers, 'Irish Foundations and Boursiers in Early Modern Paris, 1682–1793', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 35 (2008), pp. 1–22; Liam Chambers, 'The Irish Colleges in Paris, 1578–2002: History', *Centre Culturel Irlandais Paris*, <https://www.centre-culturelirlandais.com/content/files/History-CCI-English.pdf> (accessed 28 January 2022).



Howard himself.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, the English secular college at Douai underwent extensive rebuilding in the 1720s under the guidance of President Robert Witham, with the cornerstone of the new college being laid in February 1723; and at Valladolid, major building work was also undertaken from 1739 to 1756.<sup>92</sup> A similar building programme was also initiated at the English College in Lisbon in 1706, as part of Edward Jones' grand plans for revitalization, but was significantly hampered by several problems, not least of which was a distinct lack of interest from within their diasporic network and therefore a lack of the necessary financial support to undertake the renovations.<sup>93</sup>

The English male orders also continued a programme of growth. For the Dominicans, the conversion to Catholicism of Philip Howard, later Cardinal Thomas Howard, in 1642, was particularly important for revitalizing the organization and missionary endeavours of the order in this period.<sup>94</sup> His indefatigable work in establishing a Continental training house for English, Scottish, and Irish Dominican friars culminated in the foundation at Bornhem in Flanders (1657) of a new house, church, and school which became the intellectual centre of their missionary activities, and from whence the Dominican English Province was officially re-established in 1685. From Bornhem, a house was established in Rome (1675) for English Dominican students to use as a base, soon relocating to Louvain (1695). Two new Irish Dominican foundations were made at Lisbon (1659) and the college of San Clemente in Rome (1677).<sup>95</sup>

Elsewhere, following on from the revival of the English Benedictine congregation in 1619, the order added a fourth Continental base at Lamspringe in Germany (1643).<sup>96</sup> In Paris, the English Benedictine community of St Edmund was put on more solid foundations with a move to a new permanent home at the rue Saint Jacques in 1642.

<sup>91</sup> Michael E. Williams, *The Venerable English College Rome: A History* (Leominster, 2008), pp. 65–77.

<sup>92</sup> Edwin H. Burton and Edmond Nolan (eds.) *The Douay College Diaries: The Seventh Douay Diary 1715–1778*, CRS 28 (London, 1928); Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558–1795* (London, 1914), p. 338; Michael E. Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid: Four Centuries of English Catholic Presence in Spain* (London, 1986), p. 71.

<sup>93</sup> Simon P. Johnson, *The English College at Lisbon: From Reformation to Toleration* (Stratton-on-the-Fosse, 2014), pp. 265–6; Simon P. Johnson, 'The English College at Lisbon from 1622 to 1761: A Missionary College from the Reformation to the Age of Enlightenment' (University of York PhD thesis, 2006), pp. xii–xxi.

<sup>94</sup> Allan White, 'Howard, Philip [Name in Religion Thomas] (1629–1694)', *ODNB*.

<sup>95</sup> John J. Hanly, 'The 1678 Manuscript History of the Ludovician Irish College, Rome', in Thomas O'Connor and John J. Hanly (eds.), *The Irish College, Rome 1628–1678: An Early Manuscript Account of the Foundation and Development of the Ludovician College of the Irish in Rome* (Rome, 2003), p. 38; Patricia O'Connell, 'The Early Modern Irish College Network in Iberia, 1590–1800', in Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe 1580–1815* (Dublin, 2001), p. 52.

<sup>96</sup> Geoffrey Scott, *Gothic Rage Undone: English Monks in the Age of Enlightenment* (Bath, 1992), p. 10.

For the Jesuits, a network of English Colleges had been firmly established in the first half of the seventeenth century.<sup>97</sup> However, several of the Jesuit houses were particularly concerned with the potential threat of the Jacobite campaign to their already established activities and networks. To counter some of these concerns, the Jesuit-administered college in Rome became something of a hub of news and information, particularly after 1715 as the city also became the permanent residence of James Francis Edward Stuart.<sup>98</sup> Thomas Eberson, SJ, rector of the English College, met with his counterparts at the Irish and Scottish Colleges within the city, and along with the cardinal protectors of the home nations, drew up a plan to be put before the Pope that aimed to protect their interests. In a letter to Thomas Parker, SJ, Eberson noted that 'we cannot meddle with anything that concerns the persons of those gentlemen that were taken in arms... the thing we aim at is to get the princes who have ambassadors at London but the thing must be don very secretly'.<sup>99</sup>

Many of the English male institutions were beset with difficulties during this period, and generally experienced some serious financial concerns. The English Benedictines house at St Malo was handed over to French Maurists in 1669.<sup>100</sup> The colleges at Valladolid and Lisbon suffered heavy financial losses due to a changing relationship with the Spanish Crown, and diminishing importance of Spanish links for the British and Irish Catholic community more widely.<sup>101</sup> At Valladolid, a serious complaint was lodged with Propaganda Fide in 1735 that the English College had been resting on the laurels of previous generations, sending too few students on the mission, and those who were sent were poorly trained for the job. The college repudiated the claims as best they could, but the damage had already been done: the college was empty of students for nearly twenty years between 1739 and 1756.<sup>102</sup> Similar complaints were regularly made in Rome about the students at the English College; the result of some three decades of complaints against the college was an official visitation in 1739.<sup>103</sup> At Douai, accusations of Jansenism from 1705 onwards had a serious impact on its reputation and on student numbers. An official visitation, combined with the imminent danger of Marlborough's invasion of the city in 1710, led to declining student numbers.<sup>104</sup>

<sup>97</sup> See Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, *Pre-Suppression Jesuit Activity in the British Isles and Ireland* (Leiden, 2019).

<sup>98</sup> Geoffrey Holt, SJ, *The English Jesuits in the Age of Reason* (Tunbridge Wells, 1993), p. 61.

<sup>99</sup> Cited in Holt, SJ, *The English Jesuits*, p. 62.

<sup>100</sup> David Lunn, *The English Benedictines 1540–1688: From Reformation to Revolution* (London, 1980), p. 178.

<sup>101</sup> See Johnson, *The English College at Lisbon*, pp. 126–68; Williams, *St Alban's College, Valladolid*, pp. 52–60.

<sup>102</sup> Williams, *St Alban's College*, pp. 55–7.

<sup>103</sup> Williams, *The Venerable*, pp. 69–77.

<sup>104</sup> CRS 28, pp. vii, 18–23 and 26–7.

In contrast, both the Scottish and the Irish clergy experienced something of a boom during this period. Although there were no new foundations after 1641, the period witnessed noticeable coordination between the various Scottish secular colleges, particularly steered by Robert Barclay.<sup>105</sup> Barclay's vision, and acquisition of the necessary funds, meant that the Paris college became the first port of call for all Scottish visitors and exiles arriving in the city from the 1660s onwards.<sup>106</sup> More widely, the consolidation of the influence and importance of the Paris college led to closer collaboration between the Scottish houses, providing a solid network of education and missionary training for Scottish Catholics across Europe, and a recognizable Scottish Church in exile.<sup>107</sup> Notably, many of the Scottish Colleges were under the administration of Scottish Jesuits, particularly those at Douai, Rome, and Madrid.<sup>108</sup> An ever-present feature of life in the Scottish Colleges for much of this period was the Jacobite cause, perhaps best illustrated by the statistic that more alumni of the Scots College Paris fought in the Jacobite wars than entered ministry.<sup>109</sup> Jansenism was also a problem—whether a reality or not, accusations of it threatened to undermine the Scottish collegiate network.<sup>110</sup>

Similarly, the Continental presence of the Irish male religious orders prospered and expanded in this period, and by 1689 at least twenty-nine Irish religious houses had been established on the Continent, of which twelve were set up by the religious orders to train their own students.<sup>111</sup> Alongside the new Dominican houses, and the expansion of the secular college in Rome, the Irish Franciscans were particularly active in this period. Following on from the existing foundation of St Anthony's College at Louvain, and additional houses at St Isidore's in Rome, the College of the Immaculate Conception in Prague, and a small residence in Paris, the Irish Franciscan network was expanded with a new friary in Wielun, Poland (1645), and a novitiate at Capranica near Rome (1656). A Franciscan retreat house was also added at Bolay near Metz by the end of the century.<sup>112</sup> The Irish Augustinian friars joined their fellow male religious with a new college in Rome (1656), and two Irish Carmelite houses were established in this period at La Rochelle (1665) and Aix-La-Chapelle (1677). Along with the changes in Paris, new colleges for the Irish secular clergy were also established at Toulouse (c.1645),

<sup>105</sup> McInally, *The Scots Colleges Abroad*, pp. 20–51. See also Chambers, 'Introduction', pp. 9–10.

<sup>106</sup> Brian M. Halloran, 'Barclay, Robert (1611/12–1682)', *ODNB*.

<sup>107</sup> McInally, *Scots Colleges Abroad*, pp. 31, 47.

<sup>108</sup> Thomas M. McCoog, SJ, 'The Society of Jesus in the Three Kingdoms', in Thomas Worcester, SJ (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 98–9.

<sup>109</sup> Gabriel Glickman, *The English Catholic Community, 1688–1745: Politics, Culture and Ideology* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 203.

<sup>110</sup> McInally, *Scots Colleges Abroad*, pp. 122, 199, 212.

<sup>111</sup> O'Connell, 'Irish College Network in Iberia', p. 52.

<sup>112</sup> Mary Ann Lyons, 'The Role of St Anthony's College Louvain in Establishing the Irish Franciscan College Network 1607–60', in Bhreathnach, MacMahon, and McCafferty (eds.), *The Irish Franciscans*, p. 28.

Alcala de Henares (1649), and Nantes (1689).<sup>113</sup> Successes with the revitalization of the Irish College in Paris in the 1670s under the guidance and vision of Malachy Kelly, chaplain to Louis XIV, and Patrick Maginn, chaplain to Catherine of Braganza, led swiftly to the foundation of a further four Irish secular colleges at Nantes (1680), Bar sur Aube (1685), Wassy (1685), and Boulay (1700).<sup>114</sup> The Irish Jesuits also added an additional base to their network at Poitiers (1674), increasing missionary reach beyond Iberia from the existing bases at Lisbon, Salamanca, Santiago de Compostella, Seville, and Rome.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>113</sup> O'Connell, 'Irish College Network in Iberia', p. 52.

<sup>114</sup> Thomas O'Connor, 'The Domestic and International Roles of Irish Overseas Colleges 1590–1800', in Chambers and O'Connor (eds.), *College Communities Abroad*, p. 102.

<sup>115</sup> McCoog, 'Society of Jesus in the Three Kingdoms', pp. 97–8.