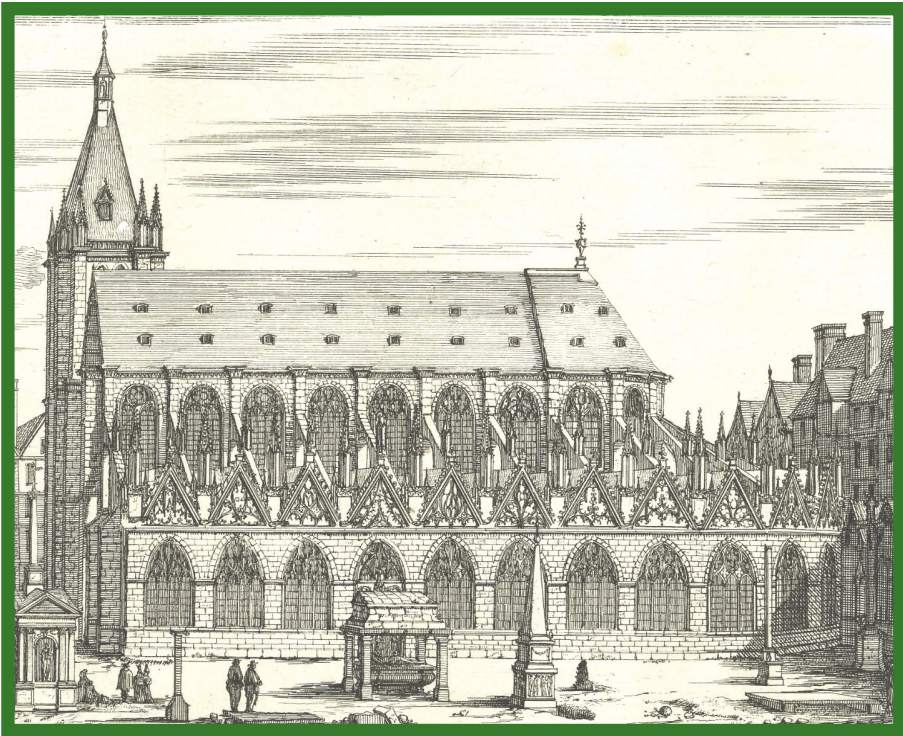


ENGLISH CATHOLIC EXILES IN LATE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PARIS



Katy Gibbons

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Katy Gibbons



THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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Katy Gibbons,
January 2011

Abbreviations

<i>Annales ESC</i>	<i>Annales Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations</i>
ARG	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i>
CSPD	<i>Calendar of state papers domestic</i>
CSPF	<i>Calendar of state papers foreign</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
FH	<i>French History</i>
FHS	<i>French Historical Studies</i>
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HMC	<i>Historic Manuscript Commission</i>
HR	<i>Historical Research</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JMH	<i>Journal of Modern History</i>
ODNB	<i>Oxford dictionary of national biography</i>
P&P	<i>Past & Present</i>
RH	<i>Recusant History</i>
SCJ	<i>Sixteenth Century Journal</i>
AN	Archives Nationales, Paris
BL	British Library, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
CRS	Catholic Record Society
MC	Minutier Central
SCH	Studies in Church History
SP	State papers
TNA	The National Archives, London

Editorial Conventions

All translations of French primary and secondary sources are my own. In quoting contemporary sources, both in manuscript and print, the original orthography has been retained.

References to dates of primary sources are given as stated in the document itself, or as they have been calendared (with both new-style and old-style dates).

Introduction

By 1580 the English government was increasingly concerned about large numbers of its Catholic subjects overseas. These exiles confirmed suspicions of an imminent foreign attack on England, in which Catholic exiles were to take a central role. With Spanish and papal support for uprisings in Ireland, rumours of an anti-English League and the imminent arrival of the Jesuits in England, the Elizabethan regime feared the worst. The key arena for this activity was France, England's close neighbour and old rival. Both Catholic and Protestant reports noted that Catholics were moving into France, 'daily ... from Rome and other places'.¹ One government agent wrote of their arrival in Paris with a sense of impending doom: 'Their coming in this sort cannot be without great cause and secret intent. I pray God that these things, which prognosticate small good for England, may be soundly looked into.'²

Whilst concern about a subversive group beyond the reach of the government was not new, it intensified in the 1580s, a time of increased speculation about the future of the English and Scottish kingdoms. Measures to prevent the movement of Catholics overseas, and to dispossess those who left, were accompanied by a campaign to convince an English audience of the treasonous nature and practical miseries of exile.³ However, whilst the government had established informers in their midst, their efforts to halt the movement of people, correspondence and funds across the Channel were not succeeding. Substantial numbers of lay Catholics, notably those of highborn status, continued to turn their sights overseas, particularly to Paris.

It is with this group in Paris that this book is concerned. In the early 1580s Paris was a key centre for English Catholics. Their situation also became a central motif for Parisians seeking to understand and remedy problems within their own kingdom. Exile in Paris, a city often assumed to be closed to outsiders, had an immediate and dramatic impact on the exiles and the wider English Catholic community, on the Protestant government at home, and on religious and political conflicts in France's capital city. The crucial significance of the English presence can be seen in the efforts made by Elizabeth's government to subvert their activity, and in the debates that they provoked amongst their coreligionists at home about the status of Catholics in a Protestant state. It can also be seen in the crucial yet complicated role that

¹ *Letters and memorials of Father Robert Persons SJ, vol. I (to 1588)*, ed. L. Hicks (CRS xxxix, 1942), 180; H. Cobham to [F. Walsingham], 20 Feb. 1580, TNA, SP 78/4a/16; R. Lloyd to [Walsingham], Paris, 31 May 1580, SP 78/4a/75.

² Lloyd to [Walsingham], Paris, 31 May 1580, SP 78/4a/75.

³ See ch. 4 below.

they played in international initiatives to alter the balance of power in Europe, and the ways in which their example as suffering Catholics was employed in international polemic. In a time of ferment, Paris offered singular prospects for English Catholics abroad; the exiles also presented their hosts with opportunities to articulate their own interests at a point of religious and political crisis. The fate of Catholic projects on both sides of the Channel, usually studied separately by scholars working in their respective national traditions, was intimately connected.

The historiography of exile

Until the second half of the twentieth century, Elizabethan Catholics on the continent, particularly the laity, received limited historical attention. Scholarship generally focused on clerical and religious institutions in Europe, particularly those in Habsburg territories. English Catholic historiography did not go much beyond recounting the experiences of religious orders or missionary clergy.⁴ Admittedly, the clergy were crucial to the development and sustenance of a sacerdotal religion, and key symbols and instigators of Catholic renewal. However, the emphasis on the missionaries tended to assume that the only form of Catholic exile was a clerical one. With a few exceptions, the laity was overlooked.⁵

Another trend in scholarship was to discuss the exiles' significance for Anglo-Spanish relations, drawing on sources emanating from those governing England and Spanish territories.⁶ A wider perspective was signposted by Peter Guilday, who evidently anticipated a larger project on English Catholics on the continent. Unfortunately only the first volume of his work was published, focusing on the religious houses in the Low Countries.⁷ The association between English Catholics and Spain, which became firmer in the course of the 1580s, has dominated subsequent views of Elizabethan Catholicism. This is partly due to the place that the Spanish enemy was given in emerging English identity, and partly because there was a compara-

⁴ C. J.-B. Destombes, *La Persécution religieuse en Angleterre sous le règne d'Élisabeth*, Paris 1863; J. H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, repr. London 1971, 244–98.

⁵ J. J. E. Proost, 'Les Réfugiés anglais et irlandais en Belgique, à la suite de la réforme religieuse établie sous Élisabeth et Jacques I^{er}', *Messenger des sciences historiques* (1865), 277–314; J. A. Bossy, 'Elizabethan Catholicism: the link with France', unpubl. PhD diss. Cambridge 1960, 67.

⁶ R. Lechat, *Les Réfugiés anglais dans les Pays-Bas espagnols durant le règne d'Élisabeth, 1558–1603*, Louvain 1914; A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, trans. J. R. McKee, London 1916, repr. London 1967. A significant departure was made with A. J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: the English exiles at the court of Philip II*, London 1963.

⁷ P. K. Guilday, *The English Catholic refugees on the continent, 1558–1795*, i, Louvain 1914.

tive wealth of primary evidence. Those of the Catholic laity who chose French rather than Spanish territories were in contrast an unknown quantity.

On the other side of the Channel, the presence of English, Scottish and Irish Catholics in France attracted comment from earlier generations of Francophone scholars. Studies of each group's religious institutions in Paris were weighted towards the seventeenth century, when the French crown was more prepared to support such initiatives.⁸ Early twentieth-century French commentators gave a mixed view. One commentator lamented that the League takeover caused the evaporation of foreign visitors; until then, the British in Paris contributed to the city's reputation as a centre of learning.⁹ Meanwhile, others focused on the interest that England and its Protestant queen held for French polemicists.¹⁰ The radicalising potential of the English Catholic situation for a wider cause was noted, although it was recognised that not all English in France were political exiles. Georges Ascoli distinguished between a small core of propagandists and active conspirators, and a larger group that was in France for a range of reasons.¹¹ At the time, this was perhaps the only direct consideration of the mixed nature of the exile group.

The first English language work seriously to consider the group was John Bossy's pioneering thesis in 1960.¹² He revealed the nature and makeup of the English presence in Paris, Reims and Rouen under Henri III, the League and Henri IV, underlining their radicalising potential in the French context. He indicated that exile in France allowed English Catholics to involve themselves in the affairs of their hosts, something that they tended not to do in Habsburg territories. Bossy argued coherently for their close connection to the Catholic League and their contribution to debates and conflicts over the French Catholic monarchy. Subsequently, under a restored Bourbon monarchy, they turned from the radical demands of enterprise to quietism and, supported by the French crown and court, to the establishment of English institutions. The divided nature of English Catholics abroad was stressed, in particular the developing split between the laity and their clerical leaders over the future of Catholicism in England. Bossy devoted attention to the conspiratorial activities of politically active *émigrés* in the crucial 1580s and early 1590s. This he saw as part of the paradox of Elizabethan Catholicism: a conservative religion, dominated by the landed gentry, toyed with the possibility of challenging and overturning the *status quo*. These are themes to

⁸ G. Daumet, *Notices critiques sur les établissements religieux anglais, écossais et irlandais fondés à Paris avant la Révolution*, Paris 1912.

⁹ *Huit Siècles de la vie bretonne à Paris*, Paris 1948, 23. Significantly, this publication was a catalogue for an exhibition organised jointly by French and English government bodies.

¹⁰ G. Ascoli, *La Grande-Bretagne devant l'opinion française depuis la guerre de cent ans jusqu'à la fin du xvie siècle*, Paris 1927; J. H. Grew, *Elisabeth d'Angleterre, la reine vierge dans la littérature française*, Paris 1932.

¹¹ Ascoli, *Grande-Bretagne*, 164, 175.

¹² Bossy, 'Elizabethan Catholicism'.

which Bossy has returned on several occasions, and his ideas remain persuasive and influential.¹³

In the fifty years since then, aspects of the topic have been expanded upon. Recent studies suggest a connection between the English presence in Paris, post-Reformation Catholicism in England and religious conflict in France.¹⁴ They often take up the theme of the radicalising potential of Catholic exiles, demonstrating how they contributed, through direct involvement and allegorical example, to the outpouring of radical propaganda in Paris. For some historians, the association between exiles and radical subversion is clear.¹⁵ This, indeed, is something of a long-term assumption: exiles are seen as the disloyal, seditious minority, with little connection to those Catholics who remained obediently at home, struggling to prove their loyalty to a Protestant queen. This is one assumption that this book will seek to challenge. The significance of English Catholics to polemical and political activity on the continent is undeniable; yet the ways in which they interacted with their coreligionists at home deserve further consideration.

In some respects, this assumed gap between exiles and 'stay-at-home' Catholics has not kept pace with recent historiography which has stressed the complicated nature of religious identities on both sides of the Channel. Even during the religious wars in France, there was room for possible coexistence between Catholics and Protestants, even if it was motivated more by a pragmatic desire to safeguard everyday life than by ideals of toleration. This offers a corrective to reductionist views of how religious identity determined social and political relations.¹⁶ Meanwhile the complexity and instability of groupings in Reformation England is acknowledged.¹⁷ Alexandra Walsham's study of church papists, those retaining Catholic sensibilities whilst seeking a role in the emerging Protestant community, was seminal in this regard. Rather than the beginning of a slide into spiritual apathy, church papism is recast as 'a positive option, a conscious decision to deal with the Catholic dilemma in

¹³ Idem, 'English Catholics and the French marriage', *RH* v (1959), 2–17; 'The character of Elizabethan Catholicism', *P&P* xxi (1962), 39–59; 'Henri IV, the Appellants and the Jesuits', *RH* viii (1965), 80–122; *The English Catholic community, 1570–1880*, London 1975; 'Catholicity and nationality in the northern Counter-Reformation', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and national identity* (SCH xviii, 1982), 285–96; and *Under the molehill: an Elizabethan spy story*, London 2001.

¹⁴ A. Dillon, *The construction of martyrdom in the English Catholic community, 1535–1603*, Aldershot 2002; A. Wilkinson, *Mary Queen of Scots and French public opinion, 1542–1600*, Basingstoke 2004; P. Arblaster, *Antwerp and the world: Richard Verstegan and the international culture of Catholic Reformation*, Leuven 2004; S. Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers: the Guise family and the making of Europe*, Oxford 2009.

¹⁵ F. Edwards, *The Jesuits in England from 1580 to the present day*, Tunbridge Wells 1985, 21.

¹⁶ O. Christin, *La Paix de la religion: l'autonomisation de la raison politique au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1997, 83.

¹⁷ P. Lake with M. Questier, *The AntiChrist's lewd hat: Protestants, papists and players in post-Reformation England*, London 2002, 713–14.

a particular way'.¹⁸ Thus the binary opposition between heroic recusant and lax or worldly church papist does not bear direct relation to lived experience. Recusancy was a 'negotiable quantity' with which Catholics engaged and experimented, and an individual could be recusant and conformist at different points.¹⁹ Evidently, there were a variety of ways in which to be a Catholic.²⁰

However, whilst scholars recognise Catholic experiences in England as shifting and variable, there is little consideration of how this might relate to those in mainland Europe. Michael Questier observes that post-Reformation English Catholicism is often approached through 'the weird world of the spies, professional intelligencers and plotters'.²¹ Those researching Catholics abroad will before too long encounter spies and double, even triple agents. This is an important aspect of the exile experience, not least because a large part of the extant source material was created by Protestant authorities seeking to root out or control it. Walsingham's 'secret service' abroad continues to capture the imagination of academic and non-academic authors, and a number of new studies on the topic will be eagerly awaited.²² However, conspiracy, espionage and counter-espionage should be treated as only one constituent of a complex and variegated exile experience. Involvement in plans for an invasion, and in associated intelligence activity, deeply marked exile in Paris, but did not alone define it.

Key points of inquiry

Just as the exiles themselves continuously looked in different directions, any study of an exile group must bridge several areas of enquiry. This study seeks to address scholarship in three areas: the nature of English Catholicism under Elizabeth I; Paris during the French Wars of Religion, especially the position of foreign populations in the city; and the wider experience and portrayal of religious exile in the sixteenth century. It will do so by examining a group whose significance has yet to be fully probed.

¹⁸ A. Walsham, *Church papists: Catholicism, conformity and confessional polemic in early modern England*, Woodbridge 1993, and 'Yielding to the extremity of time: conformity, orthodoxy and the post-Reformation Catholic community', in P. Lake and M. Questier (eds), *Conformity and orthodoxy in the English Church, c. 1560–1660*, Woodbridge 2000, 211–36 at p. 229.

¹⁹ M. Questier, 'Conformity, Catholicism and the law', in Lake and Questier, *Conformity and orthodoxy*, 237–61.

²⁰ C. Highley, *Catholics writing the nation in early modern Britain and Ireland*, Oxford 2008, 5, 9.

²¹ M. Questier, *Catholicism and community in early modern England: politics, aristocratic patronage and religion*, c. 1550–1640, Cambridge 2006, 66.

²² J. Cooper, *The queen's agent: Francis Walsingham at the court of Elizabeth I*, London 2011; S. Alford, *Treason's chain*, London 2011.

Resisting an Anglocentric approach to English Catholicism

Recent historiography recognises the extent of interaction between Protestant and Catholic rivals in post-Reformation England.²³ Scholarship is nevertheless marked by an Anglocentric approach. Catholicism is often seen as a minority religion in England, something apart from the rest of Catholic Europe.²⁴ This admittedly is part of a wider tendency amongst English scholars not to look beyond the borders of the Tudor realms, which has not gone unnoticed by scholars of continental Europe. Stuart Carroll's study of the Guise family demonstrates the international nature of this princely family's ambitions, including their close involvement in the cause of English Catholicism in the 1580s. He critiques the 'aversion of English historians for things continental'. He argues, for example, against the labelling of the 1583 project for the invasion of England as 'the Throckmorton plot': it was not the brainchild of one English Catholic, but profoundly international in scope and momentum.²⁵ This critique is justified in many respects. Scholars of English Catholicism have tended to make their arguments with little more than a passing reference to how laity on the continent dealt with similar dilemmas, to how those in England viewed those in Europe, or vice-versa. This risks an oversimplified impression of Catholic experience, and tends to reinforce the assumption that England was somehow unique, set apart from Europe, even isolated from the religious and political developments on the continent.

It should be emphasised that historians of England have been broadening their scope of study. Most notable in this regard is Alexandra Walsham's consideration of the Catholicism of post-Reformation England and its relationship both to the ideals of the Council of Trent and to contemporary forms of Catholicism on the continent.²⁶ Scholars are now rightly suggesting that English Catholicism cannot be fully understood without considering the contemporary situation in Europe.²⁷ Nevertheless, further advances in the field are still needed. Considerable work remains to be done on the practical and polemical encounters between English Catholics, particularly lay Catholics, and their continental counterparts. Any advances in this area inevitably require the use of non-English language source materials, which Anglophone historians of England can be reluctant to tackle. By employing such evidence,

²³ E. Shagan, 'Introduction: Catholic history in context', and P. Lake, 'From Leicester his commonwealth to Sejanus his fall: Ben Jonson and the politics of Roman (Catholic) virtue', in E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the 'Protestant nation': religious politics and identity in early modern England*, Manchester 2005, 1–21, 128–61 at pp. 156–8.

²⁴ See comments in Dillon, *Construction of martyrdom*, 10.

²⁵ Carroll, *Martyrs and murderers*, 243. For an earlier critique on this point see M. P. Holt, 'Religion, historical method and historical forces: a rejoinder', *FHS* xix (1996), 863–73 at p. 872.

²⁶ A. Walsham, 'Translating Trent: English Catholicism and the Counter Reformation', *HR* lxxviii (2005), 288–310.

²⁷ Questier, *Catholicism and community*, 496; S. Tutino, 'The political thought of Robert Persons' Conference in continental context', *HJ* lii (2009), 43–62 at p. 62.

however, this study aims to demonstrate how far the exiles were part of an English Catholic community whose international elements remain under-explored. By revisiting these international connections, it is possible to gain a better understanding of the nature of English Catholicism and the ways in which England interacted with the wider world, and of how religious and political developments and debates in Europe might have been related to events in England. The study of an exile community, with links to both the English and European context, provides an excellent way to advance this aim.

Shedding light on the experience of the French religious wars for foreigners

The study of early modern Catholicism has expanded considerably recently, with an emphasis on the complexity and variation possible after Trent.²⁸ Fresh light has been shed on the multifaceted character of French Catholicism in the 1580s, in the midst of civil war. The 1580s in Paris are often viewed solely as a run-up to the Catholic League's takeover in 1588, or as a period in which the official ultramontane Counter-Reformation made inroads through new orders like the Jesuits. In fact the religious and devotional milieu in Paris was undergoing a transformation far more multifaceted than a push for a monolithic reactionary Catholicism. Explorations of religious and laity in the city, together with studies of the ideals and reforming initiatives of Henri III's court, demonstrate the complexity of Catholic revival in early modern Paris, and probe the potential links between spirituality forged during the horrors of the wars and the later century of the saints.²⁹ Ideals of civic unity and harmony remained powerful throughout the conflict, interacting with religious ideology and other considerations to varying effects.

Whilst knowledge of how these conflicts played out is much expanded, there is little considered exploration of how outsiders negotiated their position in Paris at a time of crisis.³⁰ The xenophobia of the League period in Paris is usually taken as proof of widespread and deep-rooted hostility towards outsiders. England was the traditional enemy, and ideas of Protestant England played a not inconsiderable role in radicalising Catholic opinion. The English Catholics in the city, however, were a different prospect. Like

²⁸ S. Ditchfield, *Papacy and people: the making of Catholicism as a world religion*, Oxford forthcoming; J. O'Malley, *Trent and all that: renaming Catholicism in the early modern era*, Cambridge, MA 2002.

²⁹ B. B. Diefendorf, *From penitence to charity: pious women and the Catholic Reformation in Paris*, Oxford 2004; M. C. Armstrong, *The politics of piety: Franciscan preaching during the wars of religion, 1560–1600*, Rochester, NY 2004; R. Sauzet (ed.), *Henri III et son temps*, Paris 1992.

³⁰ Italians in Paris have received historical attention: H. Heller, *Anti-Italianism in sixteenth century France*, London 2003.

other foreign groups, including the Scottish, Irish and Greek communities, they needed their own space and voice; they gained this in part by involving themselves in contemporary Parisian conflicts. The city in the 1580s offered a number of opportunities, some of which were available elsewhere in Europe, but its immediate political and religious circumstances were particularly conducive for exiles. Paris had an attraction and character distinct from the urban centres of the Low Countries, which prior and subsequent to the 1580s were so central to the English Catholic experience overseas. Exploring the ways in which this group encountered and interacted with the city allows us to deepen our insights into Paris as an urban community, and as a national and international stage for key political and religious developments.

A deeper consideration of Catholic exile

Exile has been a fruitful subject of enquiry for historians of the sixteenth century; to date, however, the onus is predominantly on the Protestant experience. The Reformed faith is seen as a religion of refugees, with exile a key constituent of its 'international' character.³¹ Studies tend to present Protestants in exile as cohesive and purposeful, diligently exploiting the opportunities presented to forward their own interests and the wider cause of international Protestantism.³² In English historiography, the divisions between and within Marian exile communities in Europe have been recognised, but the view of exile as a formative period for Protestantism remains influential.³³ Exile was proof of righteousness, and strengthened English Protestant identification with God's chosen people of the Old Testament.³⁴ Elements of this experience have been closely wedded to Protestant theology and ideology in subsequent historiography. Consequently, any elements generic to exile, rather than specific to Marian Protestantism, risk being overlooked.

Only recently has the assumed 'Protestant' nature of exile been challenged. Scholars of the Low Countries demonstrate the significance of exile for Catholics there, during and after the revolt against Spanish rule.³⁵ The fate of intransigent French Leaguers in exile in the Low Countries has been

³¹ H. K. Obermann, *'Europa afflicta: the Reformation of the refugees'*, ARG lxxxiii (1992), 91–111.

³² The classic treatment of the subject is C. H. Garrett, *The Marian exiles: a study in the origins of Elizabethan Puritanism*, Cambridge 1933, repr. Cambridge 1966.

³³ A. Pettegree, *Marian Protestantism: six studies*, Aldershot 1996, 129–50; D. G. Danner, *Pilgrimage to Puritanism: the history and theology of the Marian exiles at Geneva, 1555–1560*, New York 1999, 18–24; C. Kellar, *Scotland, England and the Reformation, 1534–1561*, Oxford 2003, 160–4.

³⁴ J. E. A. Dawson, 'The apocalyptic thinking of the Marian exiles', in M. Wilks (ed.), *Prophecy and eschatology* (SCH subsidia x, 1994), 74–91.

³⁵ G. Janssen, 'The Counter Reformation of the refugee: exile and the shaping of Catholic militancy in the Dutch Revolt', *JEH* lxxiii (2012); J. Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, Oxford 2011.

uncovered recently, suggesting what their experience reveals about the nature of the League.³⁶ In a transnational context, Bettina Braun's work promises comparative insights into different Catholic exile groups across Europe.³⁷ Following recent work on the interconnected nature of Catholic and Protestant understandings of martyrdom and political resistance, there is room also to consider exile in similar terms.³⁸ Particular aspects of Protestant exile can be usefully compared to that of the Elizabethan Catholics. The industriousness of Protestant exiles, and their varying levels of integration into the host environment, apparently throws into relief the situation of English Catholics abroad.³⁹ The latter are viewed as divided and disloyal, their political schemes rendered futile by infighting. Certainly, if the exiles were aiming for restoration by force in England, they can be judged to have failed. However, there is room to examine their experience in the wider context of religious exile, and to ask whether those in Paris were necessarily apathetic, dispossessed or treacherous. English Catholics were involved in a variety of activities, bringing them into contact with their Parisian hosts and the wider Catholic cause. They did not all adopt an identical stance towards living outside England, and some showed a degree of activism in exile.

The last few years have seen a renewed interest in the political and ideological implications of exile for the Tudor state.⁴⁰ Literary scholars are also turning their attention to the multifaceted articulations of Catholic exile.⁴¹ Whilst this offers some insightful contributions, it does not fully explore how the rhetoric of exile related to, or was influenced by, experience on the ground. This is another concern of this study: to investigate both the rhetoric and the practical experience of exile, and their influences on debates on both sides of the Channel. As Geert Janssen has recently observed, the specific nature of one group's exile could be deeply informed by the infrastructure, and the opportunities offered by, their host environment.⁴² This is highly pertinent for English Catholics in Paris, a city long used to an English presence but lacking an institution dedicated to their interests. In many ways

³⁶ R. Descimon and J. J. Ruiz Ibáñez, *Les Ligueurs de l'exil: le réfugié catholique français après 1594*, Seyssel 2005.

³⁷ Bettina Braun, of the University of Mainz, is conducting a project on Catholic confessional migration in early modern Europe.

³⁸ Shagan, 'Introduction', 17.

³⁹ A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant communities in sixteenth century London*, Oxford 1986; R. D. Gwynn, *Huguenot heritage: the history and contribution of Huguenots in Britain*, London 1986, and a wealth of articles in the *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*.

⁴⁰ P. Marshall, *Religious identities in Henry VIII's England*, Aldershot 2005, ch. xi; 'Religious exiles and the Tudor state', in K. Cooper and J. Gregory (eds), *Discipline and diversity* (SCH xliii, 2007), 263–84; and "The greatest man in Wales:" James ap Gruffydd ap Hywel and the international opposition to Henry VIII', *SCJ* xxxix (2008), 681–704; A. Ryrie, *The Gospel and Henry VIII: evangelicals in the early English Reformation*, Cambridge 2003, ch iii.

⁴¹ See ch. 4 below.

⁴² Janssen, 'Counter Reformation'.

they were driven to engage with their Parisian hosts: interaction, rather than integration, was the tone of this relationship. Other factors, such as the precedents for an English presence in the city, the residence of the English ambassador, the efforts of Catholic leaders towards an enterprise of England, and the uncertain religious and political balance in France, made the exile experience in Paris distinctive. This book thus aims to deepen our understanding of early modern exile, highlighting what might be unique to the Elizabethan Catholic experience in Paris, but also suggesting what it might share with its Protestant and continental counterparts.

Primary sources and terminology

One possible explanation for the relatively scant attention given to the subject lies with the sources. The reluctance amongst English historians to tackle source material in languages other than English or perhaps Latin goes some way towards explaining the charges of insularity.⁴³ This problem is further exacerbated for late sixteenth-century Paris. The English in the city lacked a dedicated institution, such as a church or college. Thus, in contrast to places such as Reims, there is no one central archive that will automatically yield insight into the exile community. There is, in any case, a shortage of evidence for Leaguer Paris generally, let alone for English Catholics residing there. The authorities did not keep close track of foreigners in the capital, nor did English Catholics organise themselves into an independent corps. There are no equivalents for the returns of strangers, or the church registers, which serve as crucial starting points for studies of Huguenot exiles in England.⁴⁴ Registers of the Left Bank parishes are patchy, the correspondence of a key exile patron, Archbishop James Beaton, has been lost, and sites relating to the English Catholics, such as the church of SS Cosme-et-Damien, no longer survive.

None the less, a wealth of material can be pieced together. Correspondence of the official representatives of foreign powers, including successive Spanish ambassadors and papal nuncios in Paris, offer useful insights, alongside the state papers and the correspondence of Henri III and his ambassadors in London. Where they survive the records of the German nation at the university provide clues on those with academic profiles. Moreover, invaluable material comes from the notarial records of sixteenth-century Paris, long recognised as an abundant source for the social, cultural and political history of the city, but to date not scoured for evidence of an English presence.⁴⁵

⁴³ Bossy argued for the importance of foreign language material: 'Henri IV', 81.

⁴⁴ B. Cottret, *Terre d'exil: l'Angleterre et ses réfugiés français et wallons de la réforme à la révocation de l'édit de Nantes: 1550–1700*, Paris 1985, 64–5.

⁴⁵ Bossy recognised the potential of notarial sources, but did not make extensive use of them: 'Elizabethan Catholicism', 8.

These reveal information otherwise unknown to scholars: patterns of residence, business and other associations. Wills and documents recording financial transactions suggest how English Catholics associated with each other, and with their hosts, and how they may have responded to the political activity ongoing in Paris. The other highly significant body of material lies in the plentiful pamphlet literature. This reveals the ways in which French propagandists used the example of English Catholics, and suggests the direct interaction of English and French Catholics on the streets of Paris.

Across the Channel, a significant portion of English-language material derives from a regime which aimed to undermine the very Catholic networks that the sources document.⁴⁶ The English government was keen to keep tabs on their subjects abroad and this impulse has left considerable material behind. Reports from ambassadors and other government agents abroad, and lists of English Catholics overseas inevitably focus on those involved or implicated in seditious activity. It none the less provides further information on the personnel, geography, residence, sociability and activity of exiles in Paris.⁴⁷ Contemporary printed material created with the approval or collusion of the government not only opens the scope of enquiry into key polemical debates, but also offers incidental details on English Catholics overseas. As for English material created by sympathetic parties, the letters and published works of mission leaders reveal much about the construction of the English Catholic cause, and those who sought support from the Catholic hierarchy.⁴⁸ Although prioritising martyrs and missionaries, the written output of key clerics also offers clues about the movement of individual laity abroad, their appeals to mission leaders, and their differences with them. Additionally, letters home from young gentry abroad are not particularly abundant in the Elizabethan period, but do indicate how those overseas kept in touch with kin and friends at home, and how they presented their absence in writing. Whilst the fit between English and French sources is not perfect, material drawn from both sides of the Channel sheds valuable light on how English Catholics in Paris responded to exile as a concept and as a practical experience. Responses could diverge from the expectations of the Protestant government at home and the directives of clerical leaders on the continent. By extension, their impact on their host environment and their homeland was similarly complex.

The most appropriate terminology for this group of English Catholics in France must also be addressed. Bossy refers to them always as 'émigrés',

⁴⁶ C. Read, *Mr Secretary Walsingham and the policy of Queen Elizabeth*, Oxford 1925, ii. 319, 328, 330–6, 415–33.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 370.

⁴⁸ *The first and the second diaries of the English College, Douay*, ed. T. F. Knox, London 1969; *Letters and memorials of William Cardinal Allen (1532–1594)*, ed. T. F. Knox, London 1882; *Letters of William Allen and Richard Barret, 1572–1598*, ed. P. Renold (CRS lviii, 1967); *Miscellanea VII* (CRS ix, 1911), 12–105; 'Letters and memorials of Father Robert Persons'.