

# WILLIAM, CARDINAL ALLEN, 1532–1594\*

by EAMON DUFFY

IN May 1582 the Papal Nuncio in Paris wrote to Cardinal Galli, Pope Gregory XIII's Secretary of State, to update him on yet another scheme to reconvert England and Scotland to the Catholic faith. The plan had been concocted by the Spanish Ambassador in London, Don Bernardina Mendoza, in consultation with Esme Stuart, Duke of Lennox, the French Duke de Guise, and the Jesuits William Creighton and Robert Persons. It involved landing an invasion force of 8,000 Spanish and Italian soldiers in Scotland. Expanded to 20,000 by an expected rush of devout local recruits, the army would march south into England, overthrow Elizabeth, liberate Mary Queen of Scots, and set her on the throne of both kingdoms. This half-baked scheme, which was welcomed by the Pope as a glorious new crusade, needed a religious figurehead who could command the loyalty of all English Catholics and serve as a rallying-point for soldiers, gentry and the devout Catholic faithful. Everyone agreed that there was only one possible choice. The President of the English College at Rheims, William Allen, should be appointed to the key religious and secular post in the north of England, the bishopric of Durham. Allen, the Nuncio claimed, was a man

whose authority and reputation stand so high with the whole nation that his mere presence . . . will have a greater effect with the English than several thousand soldiers . . . all the banished gentlemen bear him such reverence that at a word of his they would do anything.<sup>1</sup>

Five years earlier Mary Queen of Scots herself had written to Allen, expressing her conviction that 'the good opinion every one of them hath of yow' was the best hope of bringing 'reunion and reconcilment' of the faction-ridden English Catholics, and she expressed her confidence in him by giving him *carte blanche* to use her name in his activities.<sup>2</sup> In August 1587 Sixtus V recognised Allen's rôle in the preservation of English Catholicism by appointing him 'Cardinal of England', and he took formal direction of Roman affairs relating to England from then until his death in October 1594.

The man courted and honoured in this way by princes, popes, politicians and plotters, was a schoolmaster and pamphleteer who in another age might well have enjoyed an uneventful career in a minor academic post, or ended his days in a cathedral prebend or a north-country rectory. Instead he found himself manoeuvred by circumstance and his own strong convictions to the centre of the European stage. In the pantheon of English Catholic heroes he

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features as a saintly and eirenic patriarch, the founder of Douay College, and later, of the English College in Rome, the originator not only of the Seminaries, but of the whole notion of the Elizabethan mission, and hence the man who, more than anyone else, was responsible for turning the English Catholic community from ignoble and demoralised external conformity in their parish churches, to principled religious resistance. He wrote some of the best prose of the Elizabethan age, defending the integrity of his persecuted community, and he was one of the moving spirits behind the Rheims-Douay version of the bible. He was a man of peace, whom Catholics of all parties and persuasions respected and obeyed, and who, so long as he lived, was able to hold together even the rival bodies of Jesuits and secular clergy. Above all, from 1574 Allen sent a stream of young priests from his colleges to England, in many cases to prison, torture and execution. The Elizabethan régime insisted that these men died for treason: Allen eloquently maintained that they died purely for their religion. Two generations of saints, martyrs and confessors looked to him as their spiritual inspiration, their protector, their father.

This picture of Allen is perfectly accurate, as far as it goes, but it leaves a great deal out, for Allen was also a political figure of some ambivalence. From 1572 at the latest he was actively involved in a series of plots for the deposition of Queen Elizabeth, and the forcible reconversion of England. In 1581 and in 1584 he published two skilled and moving defences of the non-political nature of the Catholic mission. 'No man can charge us', he insisted, 'of any attempt against the realm or the prince's person', and he absolutely repudiated any 'mislike' of Elizabeth and her ministers 'whose persons, wisdoms, moderation and prudence in Government, and manifold graces, we do honour with al our hart in al things: excepting matters incident to Religion'.<sup>3</sup> But for Allen that phrase, 'matters incident to Religion' was a very wide rubric, and he was being economical with the truth, to put it mildly, in affirming his loyalty and respect to Elizabeth and her ministers. For, by any standard recognised in Elizabethan England, Allen was a traitor. Even as he wrote his protestations of innocence he was up to his neck in political schemes for the deposition of Elizabeth. Sixtus V created him Cardinal of England, bad-temperedly and with some reluctance, under immense pressure from Philip II of Spain and his ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, and Allen's appointment was universally and correctly understood as an integral part of the 'Enterprise of England', an unmistakable signal of the imminence of the Armada. Inevitably, he was intended to be Cardinal Legate and Archbishop of Canterbury when Spanish forces invaded England and reimposed Catholicism. It was Allen who was chosen to summon Englishmen to rally to the Spanish flag in 1588 in a pamphlet attack on Elizabeth so savage and so scurrilous that generations of Catholic historians preferred to believe that someone else, probably a Jesuit, had written it. For all his transparent private integrity and the undoubted warmth and generosity of his temperament, Allen is a complex figure, whose career illustrates the dilemmas, and the deviousness, forced upon good men in an age of religious violence.

## Formation

Allen was born in 1532 into a gentry family at Rossall in the Fylde of Lancashire, one of the most conservative parts of England. Even at the end of the sixteenth century large tracts of the county would be barely touched by the forces of reformation. Allen never set foot in England after his second departure for the Netherlands in 1565, and Lancashire as he remembered it in the early 1560s became his vision of grass-roots England. This England of the mind—and heart—was populated by robust northern gentry and farmers who did not believe a word of the new religion whose services they were forced to attend, in contrast to the effete south with its merchants, shopkeepers and courtiers whom, he knew, were much infected with heresy.<sup>4</sup> As late as 1584 he still cherished the illusion that the majority of the population were Catholic at heart, and that Protestantism was sustained only by ‘the partiality of a few powerable persons’.<sup>5</sup>

Oxford had an even profounder effect on him. His early adult years were spent first as an arts student during the stormy years of the Edwardian reformation, and then as a fellow of Oriel and Principal of St. Mary’s Hall,<sup>6</sup> in the triumphant period of Catholic restoration under Queen Mary. Lancashire and Oxford marked him for life. All his essential convictions were in place by the time he was thirty, and he never abandoned or altered the perspective on English affairs and the nature of the English reformation which he gained from his conservative home background and from the easy and almost total reversal of protestantism in which he participated in the Marian university.

Allen went up to Oxford in 1547, took his BA in 1550, and was immediately elected fellow of his College, Oriel. To a greater extent even than Cambridge, Oxford had proved highly resistant to protestantism, and Allen’s student opinions were formed in an intensely and militantly orthodox environment. The Edwardian régime tried to bulldoze the university into the new religion by a combination of sackings and promotions. From 1548 religious controversy in Oxford was fuelled by the presence there of the Italian reformer Peter Martyr as Regius Professor of Theology. Allen’s tutor, Dr Morgan Phillips, (nick-named ‘the sophister’ for his debating skills) played a prominent rôle on the Catholic side in a great set-piece debate against Martyr at the end of May 1549, and Allen must have been vividly conscious of the perfervid and rancid atmosphere of religious controversy which characterised the University at this time.<sup>7</sup>

Despite Martyr’s efforts and mounting government pressure, however, Oxford remained a largely Catholic university, and the accession of Queen Mary in 1553 triggered a heady period of Catholic restoration, into which Allen was quickly drawn. Two new Catholic colleges, Trinity and St. John’s, were founded, the latter with special provision for the teaching of canon law. Catholic scholars ousted under the Edwardian régime were restored, notably Richard Smyth, later Chancellor of Douay University, who took up once again the Regius Chair from which he had been ejected in favour of Peter Martyr—Smyth would preach at the burning of Latimer and

Ridley in Oxford in 1555. But the Oxford Counter-Reformation was also fed from Europe: in particular the Queen's marriage brought to the university a series of distinguished Spanish theologians. Cardinal Pole, as Chancellor of the university, appointed the Dominican Fray Bartolomé Caranza, future Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, to conduct a formal visitation on his behalf to purge the university of heresy and disorder. Caranza's theological pedigree should warn us against easy assumptions that this Spanish influence was in any straightforward sense 'reactionary', for he was an Erasmian, and by the standards of the time a theological liberal. Despite his ultimately exalted office he was spectacularly to fall victim to the Spanish Inquisition in his own country, and spent the last seventeen years of his life in gaol. A brilliant Valladolid theologian, Juan de Villa Garcia, succeeded Smyth as Regius Professor in 1556, and was instrumental in the re-establishment of a Dominican house in Oxford in the following year. Another Dominican, Peter de Soto, reintroduced the formal teaching of scholastic theology: he was credited with restoring Oxford theology single-handedly to its pre-reformation state of shining orthodoxy. Allen would never share the suspicion many even of his Catholic fellow-countrymen felt towards Spain and all things Spanish: he never budged from the perception of the Spaniards as champions of Catholic truth which he formed in these Oxford years.<sup>8</sup>

In 1556 he succeeded his tutor Morgan Phillips as Principal of St. Mary's Hall, a post which involved some basic undergraduate teaching for the Arts course but was essentially that of tutor to a couple of dozen unruly undergraduates. There, and as Proctor for two successive years, he was actively involved in the Marian purge of the university, and the religious revival which was to produce a remarkable generation of Catholic students. Among them were Gregory Martin, subsequently Allen's colleague and friend and the translator of the Rheims-Douay bible, and Thomas Stapleton, one of the most voluminous, learned and bitter-tongued of Counter-Reformation theologians. Seven products of Marian Oxford would go on to become Jesuits, nearly thirty would become seminary priests.<sup>9</sup>

These men of Marian Oxford were a new breed, less tolerant or at any rate less easy-going than their predecessors. Edward's reign had thrown a starker light on the choices between Rome and Reformation, and issues which had been fudged or genuinely obscure in Henry's reign were now visible for what they were. Men now understood better the need to take sides, and take sides they did. Thomas Harding, who had himself been an ardent disciple of Peter Martyr and a proselytising protestant in Edward's reign, had not a good word for his former fellow-protestants—they were 'theeves', 'Ministers of Antichrist', 'loose Apostates', 'apes', driven by profane malice, rancour and spite. Thomas Stapleton would one day publish an entire lecture devoted to a discussion of whether heretics were chiefly motivated by wickedness or low cunning.<sup>10</sup> Allen fully shared these attitudes. He was almost certainly a witness of Cranmer's Oxford trial and burning, but if so he felt no pity for the old man's agonised indecision and

successive recantations, describing him later as that ‘notorious perjured and oft relapsed apostate, recanting, swearing, and forswearing at every turn’.<sup>11</sup> He wholeheartedly endorsed the Marian counter-reformation, including the persecution of protestants. Why, he asked ‘should any man complain or think strange for executing the laws which are as ancient, as general and as godly against heretics as they are for the punishment of traitors, murderers, or thieves?’ Those who shed their blood for heresy ‘can be no martyrs but damnable murderers of themselves’.<sup>12</sup> For the men of his generation, there could be no halting between opinions. Right was right, wrong was wrong, and the Catholics had a monopoly on right: as Allen memorably put it ‘To be shorte, Truth is the Churchis dearlinge, heresy must have her maintenance abroad’.<sup>13</sup>

Catholicism at Allen’s Oxford, then, was upbeat, pugnacious, articulate. It was also highly successful. By the end of Mary’s reign not a stone was left on a stone of the Protestant coup which had taken place in Edward’s reign. John Jewel told Bullinger that in the university ‘there are scarcely two individuals who think with us . . . That despicable friar Soto, and another Spanish monk . . . have so torn up by the roots all that Peter Martyr so prosperously planted, that they have reduced the vineyard of the Lord into a wilderness’.<sup>14</sup> But the extent of that triumph was to become evident only when it had in turn been overthrown. Mary’s reign was too short, and the millions of words of controversy in refutation of the new religion and its advocates which gushed from Allen and his colleagues, Harding, Stapleton, Sanders, Smith, in exile in the 1560s were in a sense the late-gathered first-fruits of Marian Oxford and its counter-reformation.

The accession of Queen Elizabeth put an end to Allen’s Oxford career. Between 1559 and 1561 all but one of the Catholic heads of Colleges were ejected, and Allen left his post as Principal of St. Mary’s Hall. He lingered a while in the university, which remained largely Catholic in opinion despite the government purge, but in 1561 he joined the drift of displaced Marian academics to the Catholic Low Countries.<sup>15</sup> During the brief protestantising of Oxford under Edward many Oxford men had gone to the University of Louvain to continue theological work in a Catholic environment, and Louvain once more drew the new wave of Oxford exiles. Like others, Allen seems to have led a hand-to-mouth existence there, continuing the theological studies he had begun at Oxford and supplementing his income with private tutoring. In 1562 a severe bout of illness brought him home to Lancashire to convalesce, and it was here that his view of the Elizabethan reformation took its final form.

It is now generally accepted that the Elizabethan church took more than a decade to make serious inroads on the Catholic convictions and instincts of the population at large. What Professor Collinson has called the ‘birth-pangs of Protestant England’ were protracted and painful, and most of the adult population in 1559 viewed the new religious régime with something very far short of enthusiasm.<sup>16</sup> Yet by and large the parish clergy conformed to the new order, serving Elizabeth as they had once served Mary, and most

parishoners, whatever their reservations, followed the clergy's lead and continued to attend services in their parish church. Social conformity, as much as the new twelve-penny fine for absence, brought the people to sit under the new teaching.<sup>17</sup>

Allen was horrified to discover these compromises among his Lancashire neighbours, where he found that not only did the majority of the Catholic laypeople attend Prayer-Book services, many even communicating, but also that many priests 'said mass secretly and celebrated the heretical offices and supper in public, thus becoming partakers often on the same day (O horrible impiety) of the chalice of the Lord and the chalice of devils'. He launched a vigorous campaign to persuade them to 'abstain altogether from the communion, churches, sermons, books and all spiritual communication with heretics'. We perhaps catch an echo of the overconfidence of this cocksure young man from Oxford in his later account of how he went from one gentry household to another and 'proved by popular but invincible arguments that the truth was to be found nowhere else save with us Catholics'.<sup>18</sup>

Allen remained in England for three years, though his polemical activities made Lancashire too hot to hold him. He spent some time in the Oxford area, where he was able to note at first hand the persistence of Catholicism within the university, and then in the household of the officially protestant but fellow-travelling Duke of Norfolk. In 1565, the year in which he was finally deprived of his Oriel fellowship for non-residence, he left England for the last time, settling this time in Malines where he was ordained to the priesthood, and where he found a teaching post in the Benedictine college there.<sup>19</sup>

## Exile

Throughout these years Allen was also establishing himself as a writer. The polemical programme he developed in Lancashire and afterwards was distilled into a 'Scroll of Articles' which he himself never published, but which circulated in manuscript and which was adopted as the basis for controversial treatises by several other writers.<sup>20</sup> Shortly after settling in Malines he published a treatise defending Catholic belief in Purgatory. This had been largely written three years before as a contribution to the controversy stirred up by John Jewel's *Apology* for the Church of England.<sup>21</sup> It is a vigorous book, which shows the ferocity of Allen's rejection of protestantism—'this wasting heresy . . . nothing else but a canker of true devotion, an enemy to spirituall exercise, a security and quiet rest in sinne' a 'gathered body of no faithe', taught by 'cursed Calvin . . . that miserable forsaken man'.<sup>22</sup> It also demonstrates his way with words, and his eye for the telling phrase—as in his summary of the disastrous moral effects of the doctrine of justification by faith—'Feasting hath wonne the field of fasting: and chambering almost bannished chastitye', or his contemptuous dismissal of protestant apologists as obscure denizens of the night—'owle light or moonshyne I trowe, or mirke midnight were more

fit for theyre darke workes and doctrine, our way is over much trodden for theves'.<sup>23</sup>

But the *Defense and Declaration* is far more than a polemical put-down. It contains some of the richest English theological writing of the sixteenth century, and the tendency to disparage Allen as a 'mild, scholarly, rather dull man', 'in no sense distinguished' compared to the other Louvainists, altogether fails to take account of the quality of his writing.<sup>24</sup> He was indeed singled out by C. S. Lewis as the author of prose on a par with that of Richard Hooker,<sup>25</sup> and the *Defense and Declaration* in particular reveals his writing at its most powerful. Consider the theological and rhetorical splendour of this passage on the Church, which reveals, incidentally, something of his own passionate dedication:

This socyety is called in oure crede, *communio sanctorum*, the communion of Sanctes, that is to say a blessed brotherhood under Christe the heade, by love and religion so wrought and wrapped to gether, that what any membre off this fast body hath, the other lacketh it not: what one wanteth, the other suppliethe: when one smartethe, all feeleth in a maner the lyke sorowe: when one ioyethe, thother reoisethe wythall. This happy socyety, is not inpared by any distance of place, by diversity off goddes giftes, by inequalyty off estates, nor by exchange of liefes: so farre as the unity of goddes spirit reacheth, so farr this fellowship extendeth. This city is as large, as the benefite of Christes deathe take the place. Yea within all the compasse of his kingdom, this fellowship is fownde. The soules and sanctes in heaven, the faithful people in earth, the chosen children that suffer chastisement in Purgatory, are, by the perfect bond of this unity, as one abundeth, redy to serve the other, as one lacketh, to crave of the other. . . . Christe oure heade, in whose bloude this city and socyety standeth, wil have no woorke nor way of salvation, that is not common to the whole body in generall, and perculierly proffitable, to supply the neede of every parte thereof.<sup>26</sup>

But Allen's mind was already turning to other more practical measures for the defence of Catholicism. The Elizabethan purge of the universities had created a Catholic diaspora in France and the Low Countries every bit as remarkable as that of the more celebrated protestant exiles of Mary's reign. More than a hundred senior members left the University of Oxford for religious reasons in the first decade of Elizabeth's reign, at least thirty three from New College alone. They naturally gravitated to university towns like Louvain and, later, Douai. In 1563 Nicholas Sanders, Thomas Stapleton and John Martial, all former fellows of New College, were sharing accommodation in Louvain, and two short-lived houses of study were eventually formed there, nicknamed Oxford and Cambridge. John Fowler, a former New College man, set up a printing house in Louvain which published over thirty devotional and controversial works in English. Douay University, which received its charter in 1559 as the stream of refugees from the Elizabethan Settlement was just beginning, availed itself of the sudden flood of academic talent and became something of an English institution, its first Chancellor being Richard Smyth, and a number of its professors being recruited from among the exiles.<sup>27</sup>

These exiles produced a remarkable body of controversial and devotional literature, but the potential for moral and educational disaster among them

was enormous. Many had no visible means of support, many were young and in need of academic guidance and moral discipline. It appears that by the mid 1560s alms from the Catholic gentry and aristocracy in England, as well as subventions from Spain, were already being sent to support these poor scholars, but the whole process was hit and miss, and was causing trouble among the exiles.<sup>28</sup> It was to meet just such problems that the Halls and Colleges had emerged in the medieval universities, and Allen felt intensely the lack of an institution, offering 'regiment, discipline, and education most agreeable to our Countrimens natures, and for prevention of al disorders that youth and companies of scholers (namely in banishment) are subject unto.'<sup>29</sup> Out of this concern Douay College emerged, and in its wake the rest of the English seminaries abroad.

### **Douay College and the Seminary Priests**

The story of the founding of the English College at Douay, Allen's greatest achievement, is well-known, but Allen's precise intentions have not been perfectly understood.<sup>30</sup> By the 1580s Douay was being seen, and saw itself, as the first Tridentine seminary, and as a forcing-ground for missionary storm-troopers in the fight against Elizabethan Protestantism. But it is now generally conceded, I think too readily, that in 1568 Allen had no such thoughts in his head. In the Autumn of 1567 he made a pilgrimage to Rome, in company with his former tutor, Morgan Phillips, and a Belgian friend, John Vendeville, Regius Professor of Canon Law at the new University of Douay, and future bishop of Tournay. Vendeville was an intensely pious Counter-Reformation activist, who wanted Papal approval for a missionary enterprise to the Muslim world, but he evidently did not have the right Roman connections and so was refused an audience with Pius V. On their return journey Allen persuaded him to divert his interest, influence and financial backing to establishing a college for English students of theology in the Low Countries. To begin with, the objectives were modest: to provide a single institution in which the scattered scholarly exiles might study 'more profitably than apart', to secure a continuity of clerical and theological training, so that there would be theologically competent Catholic clergy on hand for the good times ('were they neere, were they far of') when England returned to Catholic communion, and, finally, to provide an orthodox alternative to Oxford and Cambridge, thereby snatching young souls 'from the jaws of death'. But Vendeville would hardly have adopted the new College as a substitute project for his Barbary mission, unless he had felt that Douay itself would have some missionary dimension, and in 1568 he told the Spanish authorities in the Netherlands that the students were to be specially trained in religious controversy and, after a two-year preparation, sent back to England to promote the Catholic cause 'even at the peril of their lives'.<sup>31</sup>

Much has been made of the apparent difference of vision between Vendeville and Allen, with Allen seen as an unimaginative conservative, intending nothing much more dynamic than St. Mary's Hall or Oriel in



exile. He himself later claimed that at this stage, while he thought they should be ready to seize any opportunity to promote the faith in England, little could be done ‘while the heretics were master there’. John Bossy, in a brilliant discussion of Allen’s intentions suggested that he was still trapped in the static theological vision of the Marian Church, unable to think of the Church working as anything other than an Establishment backed by the Crown, and so unable to conceive of mission as such, and that he only slowly came round to Vendeville’s more activist conception. Indeed Bossy sees this as a watershed between Marian and Elizabethan Catholicism, with the newer missionary spirit represented by Elizabethans like Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion, men with more in common with their puritan opposite numbers in England than with the older Louvain exiles, and who, almost as much as their protestant sparring partners, had ‘no ties with the Marian Establishment, and [who] treated it with some contempt’.<sup>32</sup>

This is certainly to drive too sharp a wedge between Marian and Elizabethan Catholicism. The Marian régime at Oxford was, as we have seen, anything but moribund or static. Gregory Martin himself was its product, and nearly forty others would become seminary or Jesuit priests. It is true that Allen’s later description of his thinking about this time plays down his own missionary awareness, and so lends support to a conservative reading of the foundation of Douay, but that description comes in a letter where he is complementing Vendeville by attributing all the foresight to him. We should not in any case lay too much stress on the absence of the vocabulary of mission in Allen’s utterances. As late as June 1575 he described the College as ‘this college for English theologians, this refuge of exiles, this seat and home of Catholics, this place of true worship for those who have left the Samaria of the Schismatics and who have the faces of those going to Jerusalem’.<sup>33</sup> That last phrase, with its deliberate allusion to Jesus’ journey to Jerusalem and his passion in Luke’s Gospel, hints at confrontation, but the rhetoric as a whole doesn’t suggest much missionary awareness, and it comes in a letter in which Allen talks of Douai simply as a place of Catholic education which will save souls who would otherwise have been led astray at Oxford or Cambridge. Yet by the time the letter was written he had already begun to send priests back to England, and, as we shall see, by now was most certainly thinking of the active reconversion of England by every means available, from bibles to bullets.

And in fact from a very early stage Allen and his fellow exiles were aware of a missionary dimension to any such enterprise in theological education, though they had difficulty in formulating it explicitly. In 1568 an anonymous memorandum written in Allen’s circle if not by Allen himself asked either that the English Hospice in Rome should become a seminary both for established scholars and young hopefuls, who might be theologically trained for the overthrow of heresy, or else that its revenues should be diverted to support the work just being begun at Douay, which would provide ‘ideally qualified workers’ when England should once again ‘emerge’ from heresy. The word ‘emerge’ suggests that the memorialist had

no very clear view of how the ‘emerging’ might happen, but theology, controversy and mission—or at any rate the overthrow of heresy—were firmly if vaguely linked by this stage.<sup>34</sup> That link rapidly resolved itself into a recognised need for missionaries in England. By 1572 some of the English Louvainists, describing themselves as ‘the College of Preachers’, were asking for Papal support for the formal establishment of an English college there, whose primary purpose would be to provide preachers and catechists for the scattered English exile communities in Europe, but which would also undertake to send missionaries to England.<sup>35</sup>

In these years of confusion and improvisation, then, it looks as if even some of the older activists among the exile community were feeling their way towards the conception of the Mission to England: we are not dealing here with a distinctively ‘Elizabethan’ invention into which Marian veterans, even relatively young veterans like Allen, were dragged, blinking and mumbling. And in fact we know that even before his trip to Rome with Vendeville, Allen was well aware of the damaging consequences of any merely passive ‘waiting game’. In the preface to his treatise on the priesthood, written during Lent 1567, he lamented the ‘great desolation of christian comfort and all spiritual functions’ which the Elizabethan Settlement had brought to the parishes, and the dangers of leaving the people to the ministrations of schismatic and heretical parish clergy. He saw quite clearly that time mattered, and that the acceptance of the ministry of these clergy would ultimately attach the Catholic population to the new church. He wrote

For how can it be otherwise. Baptisme is ministered by heretikes, they helpe forth such as passe hence, they keepe visitation of the sicke . . . and to be short, they minister the mysteries of holy communion: so that, in time, though the libertie of Christes religion be restored againe, the youth shal take such likinge in heretikes practices, to whom by love and custom, they are so fast knit, that it will be hard to reduce them home to truth againe.<sup>36</sup>

Given such a perspective, the emergence of something approaching the Elizabethan mission seems inevitable: it is a short step from this sort of awareness to the activist frame of mind reflected in the saying recorded by the preacher at his funeral—‘Better times don’t come by waiting: they have to be made’.<sup>37</sup>

The College began in a hired house near the theological schools in Douay at Michaelmas 1568, and received Papal approval the same year. Allen was joined by a handful of former Oxford academics and a couple of Belgian theology students, for Vendeville envisaged a rôle for the house in training storm-troopers for the northern European Counter-Reformation in general, though the Belgians soon tired of the austere conditions in the house and took themselves off. Despite contributions from local religious houses, its funding was from the start precarious, though Allen’s appointment to the Regius Chair of Theology in 1570 put the house’s finances on a slightly better footing. Nevertheless, the College quickly began to attract other exiles, including celebrities like Thomas Stapleton, who took up residence

as ‘tabler’ or paying guest in 1569.<sup>38</sup> In 1570 Morgan Philips died and left his entire estate to the College: on the strength of the legacy eight new theology students were taken in, including Gregory Martin and Edmund Campion. The growing numbers and the mixed character of the community called for miracles of tact on Allen’s part: he encountered widespread incomprehension and outright hostility. Some of the former Marian dignitaries among the exiles suspected him of self-aggrandishment, or of designs on the alms and pensions for which they jostled: the grant of the Pope’s pension in 1575 rankled particularly. To counter such suspicions and to tempt established scholars to join in the project Allen treated the senior recruits with almost exaggerated deference, and kept the régime of the house flexible. ‘A little government ther is and order,’ he wrote in 1579,

but no bondage nor straitenes in the world: ther is nether othe, nor statute, nor other bridle nor chaticement but reason and every man’s conscience in honest superiority and subalternation eche one towards other. Confession, communion, exhortation hath kept us this ix yeare I thanke God in great peace amongst ourselves, in good estimation abrode, with sufficient lyvelihod from God, and in good course of service towards the Church and our contry.<sup>39</sup>

Although it has now been demonstrated that the actual numbers of priests sent from Douai and the later colleges to England has been overestimated,<sup>40</sup> the growth of the College between 1570 and 1580 is an astonishing story. Recruitment was very varied. Some of the students were gentlemen’s sons, in search of a Catholic education unobtainable in England, and who came often in defiance of conformist families fearful of government attention. There was a continuing haemorrhage from the English universities, especially Oxford, which Allen encouraged and exploited, and which brought to Douai not only Martin and Campion, but the proto-martyr of the seminaries, Cuthbert Mayne, a graduate of St. John’s College and, like a good many of the early recruits, a priest of the new church. Some of these men were already convinced Catholics, some were seekers ‘doubtful whether of the two religions were true’. Allen claimed that many were schismatics or heretics, disgusted with the collapse of moral and academic standards in reformation Oxbridge, some even mainly in search of educational bursaries, an attraction which became greater after 1575, when the Pope settled a monthly pension of one hundred crowns on the college. He rejoiced in the despoiling of the protestant universities and set himself ‘to draw into this College the best wittes out of England’, a pardonable boast given the calibre of men like Martin and Campion.<sup>41</sup> He deliberately exploited the evangelistic potential of these young men, setting them to write to friends, family and former teachers and colleagues to urge them to become Catholics, even to ‘make for once a trial of our mode of life and teaching’. The most spectacular example of this technique was the letter Campion wrote from Douai to his friend and patron Bishop Cheney of Gloucester, urging the old man to follow his secret convictions, renounce heresy and ‘make trial of our banishment’.<sup>42</sup> The College acted as a magnet for other English exiles in the Low Countries, and had a resident local

English satellite community which included a number of gentry families. It also had a stream of visitors, ranging from the casually curious about an increasingly notorious institution, to relatives or friends of the students. All were welcomed and pressed to take instruction in the faith: poor visitors were given a month's free board and lodging, a course of religious instruction, and the offer of reconciliation and the sacraments. By May 1576 there were eighty students in the College, by September the same year a hundred and twenty. The growing numbers created constant problems of accommodation and finance, and the foundation of the *Venerabile* in Rome was among other things an attempt to deal with the overflow. Nevertheless Allen resisted pressure to set fixed limits on the intake, since so many of those who came were refugees who had no other resource, or waverers who might lapse back into protestantism if turned away. At the end of the decade he reckoned that there were on average a hundred students in the College in any one year, and that they were ordaining twenty men to the priesthood annually. The first four priests left the College for England in 1574, and by 1580 about a hundred in all had been sent on the Mission.<sup>43</sup>

The régime devised by Allen for his men is very striking, and differed in several important ways both from university theology courses and from the normal seminary syllabus of the late sixteenth century.<sup>44</sup> Late medieval training manuals for priests emphasised practical skills—seemly performance of the liturgy, sacraments and sacramentals, basic expertise in hearing confessions, and a grounding in the essential elements of catechesis. To these Allen added an overwhelming emphasis on expertise in the bible, a good grounding in dogmatic theology through the study of St. Thomas, and constant practice in preaching and in disputation. The centrality of St. Thomas perhaps reflected the influence of De Soto and his fellow-Dominicans in Marian Oxford, though it was also shared with the programme of studies outlined for Jesuit colleges by St. Ignatius, and the scheme of studies at Douay had a number of elements in common with those pursued in the Society of Jesus and formulated from the later 1580s in successive revisions of the *Ratio Studiorum*.<sup>45</sup>

But it was the needs of the English mission which gave the distinctive character to Allen's régime. He was intensely aware of the crucial importance of the English bible to the success of the English Reformation, and was determined to eliminate the advantage this gave protestants. The publication of Gregory Martin's translation of the New Testament in 1582 was part of this project, but even before its appearance Allen saw to it that his men had the bible at their finger-tips. Between three and five chapters of the Old or New Testaments were read aloud at each of the two main daily meals, followed while still at table by an exposition of part of what had been read, during which students were expected to have their bibles open before them and pen and ink to hand. In three years the students heard the Old Testament read through in this way twelve times, the New Testament sixteen times. Each was expected to do private preparatory work on the passages read communally, there was a daily lecture on the New Testament,

Hebrew and Greek classes, and regular disputations on the points of scripture controverted between Catholics and Protestants. There were two lectures each day on St. Thomas, and a weekly disputation on points from the week's lectures. The men also studied church history, especially English Church history, the canons and decrees of Trent, and the catechisms of Trent and of Peter Canisius, and they received practical instruction in the techniques of catechesis. There was a strong emphasis on the reconciliation of penitents in confession, and so on moral theology and cases of conscience, using the standard textbook of the day by the Navarese theologian Azpilcueta, supplemented by cases of conscience specially devised with the English mission in mind.<sup>46</sup>

To this new style theological training he added a new spirituality, focussed on daily mass and regular weekly communion, twice weekly fasting for the conversion of England, regular meditation on the mysteries of the Rosary. A fundamental element in this new intenser piety was the use of confession as a means of spiritual growth 'not in a perfunctory way as we used to do when for custom's sake we confessed once a year'. That dismissal of the medieval Sarum past is significant: Allen believed that the reformation was a judgement on the sins and superficiality of the people, and so a deeper more self-conscious penitence was a necessary condition of the restoration of Catholicism. For this purpose he especially valued and promoted among the students and staff the Jesuit Spiritual Exercises 'in order to the perfect examination of our consciences', and the choice of 'a holier state of life', another link between his régime and the spirit of the Society.<sup>47</sup>

In the early days of the seminary Allen's recruits were a miscellaneous lot, from seasoned and sometimes very senior academics to raw lads from country grammar-schools. He was realistic about what could be achieved with much of the material he had to hand: Mercury, he told a critic of the seminary, 'cannot be made of every logg'.<sup>48</sup> He was in the business of producing 'plaine poor priests', for whom 'zeal for God's house, charity and thirst for souls' were more important than academic achievement. Nevertheless, he knew quite well that his régime was producing a different kind of priest, more professional, better instructed, altogether more formidable 'than the common sort of curates had in old tyme'. He thought his men compared well with those emerging from any seminary in Europe, and even in some respects with the Jesuits, for whom he had an unqualified reverence and admiration. He believed in the special value of a graduate clergy, and academic distinction was highly prized at Douai: Masters of Arts and Doctors at Douai were appointed humbler students as servitors to wait on them at table, and sat in due order of precedence at high table. As long as funds were available for it, members of the college were encouraged to take theological degrees in the University of Douai, and Cuthbert Mayne kept the exercise for his baccalaureate in theology just days before returning to England and martyrdom in 1575. There is no doubt that this emphasis on theological excellence derived directly from Allen himself, and was part of

the legacy of Marian Oxford to the Elizabethan mission. By contrast, graduates going from Douai to Rome noticed and frequently resented the lack of deference the Jesuit régime there paid to scholastic distinction.<sup>49</sup> He regretted the way in which missionary demands and funding priorities inexorably forced the theological concerns of the College to the margins, and to the end of his life nursed a project for a College where English priests might pursue advanced theological studies.<sup>50</sup> In all this he also had his eye on Elizabethan Oxford and Cambridge, and the need to excel them, above all in their boasted excellence in biblical knowledge. There were more and better theological courses, including training in scripture, he claimed, ‘in our two colleges, then are in [the Protestants] two Universities conteining neere hand 30 goodly Colleges’.<sup>51</sup>

By the same token he was impatiently dismissive of nostalgic comparisons made by his fellow-Catholics—‘that golden world is past, yf ever any such were’.<sup>52</sup> He resented the criticism, made by conservatives like the veteran English Carthusian Maurice Chancey, of the youth, inexperience and unpriestly deportment of the seminarians going in ‘disguised gear’ of ruffs and feathers on the mission. For above all Allen was intensely aware of the dangers his men incurred. It has been calculated that of the 471 seminary priests known to have been active in England in Elizabeth’s reign, at least 294, 62%, were imprisoned at some time or another. 115 fell into government hands within a year of arrival, thirty-five actually while still in the ports at which they landed. 116 were executed, seventeen died in gaol, ninety-one were banished, of whom twenty-four subsequently returned at great risk. Allen worried about the power of life and death he exercised over these men. When in 1585 twenty of them were expelled from England and duly reported to Allen for duty, he did not feel he had the right to send them back on the mission: in his last years in Rome as a cardinal he would contrast the comfort and safety of his own life with the danger and suffering of his priests.<sup>53</sup> Most men, he told Chauncey,

mark there [their] misses, and few consider in what feares and daungers they be in and what unspeakable paines they take to serve good menns tomes to there least perill. I could reckon unto youe the miseryes they suffer in night journeyes, in the worst wedder that can be picked; perill of theves, of water, of watches, of false brethrene; there close abode in chambers as in pryson or dongeon without fyre and candell leest they gyve token to the enemy where they bee; there often and sudden raisinge from there bedds att mydnight to avoyde the diligent searches of haeretikes; all which and divers other discontentments, disgraces and reproches they willinglye suffer, which is great penance for their fethers, and all to wyne the soweles of there dearest countreyemen.<sup>54</sup>

Yet these sufferings were fundamental to the spirituality Allen encouraged among the seminarians, and to the message he wished through them to impress upon the Catholics in England. Their sufferings, he told his priests, were stronger intercession for their country ‘than any prayers lightly in the world’—‘Bloude so yielded maketh the forciblest meane to procure mercie that can be’. The likelihood of martyrdom was actually one of the inducements Allen offered to persuade Campion to go to England, and in

the wake of his and his companions' executions Allen told the Rector of the *Venerabile* that 'ten thousand sermons would not have published our apostolic faith and religion so winningly as the fragrance of these victims, most sweet both to God and men'. He was distributing fragments of Campion's 'holy ribbe' as relics by May 1582.<sup>55</sup> Some of his most moving writing occurs in the exhortation to constancy in martyrdom with which the *Apologie* for the two colleges ends:

Our daies can not be many, because we be men: neither can it be either godly or worldly wisdom, for a remnant of three or foure yeres, and perchance not so many moneths, to hazard the losse of all eternity. They can not be good in these evil times . . . And were they never so many or good, to him that refuseth his faith and Maister, they shal never be joyful, but deadly and doleful. Corporally die once we must every one, and but once, and thereupon immediatly judgement, where the Confessor shal be acknowledged, and the Denyer denied againe.

No Martyrdom of what length or torment so ever, can be more grevous, then a long sicknes and a languishing death: and he that departeth upon the pillow, hath as little ease as he that dieth upon the gallowes, blocke, or bouchers knife. And our Maisters death, both for paines and ignominie, passed both sortes, and all other kinds either of Martyrs or malefactors. Let no tribulation then, no perill, no prison, no persecution, no life, no death separate us from the charity of God, and the society of our sweete Saviours passions, by and for whose love we shal have the victory in all these conflictes.<sup>56</sup>

The whole Seminary was in a sense heroic, confrontational, its objective the separation of the Catholic community from an acquiescent conformity which, he understood perfectly well, would ultimately absorb and undo it. And so his men were nursed not only in readiness for martyrdom, but in a robust hatred of protestantism:

By frequent familiar conversations we make our students thoroughly acquainted with the chief impieties, blasphemies, absurdities, cheats and trickeries of the English heretics, as well as with their ridiculous writings, sayings and doings. The result is that they not only hold the heretics in perfect detestation, but they also marvel and feel sorrow of heart that there should be any found so wicked, simple and reckless of their salvation as to believe such teachers, or so cowardly and worldly-minded as to go along with such abandoned men in their schism or sect, instead of openly avowing to their face the faith of the catholic church and their own.<sup>57</sup>

That was the point—to bring the laity to see the necessity of recusancy, of making a clean break with the parish churches, thereby ensuring the survival of an uncompromised Catholicism. Less than ten years after the establishment of Douay, Allen could rejoice that 'innumberable nowe confesse there faithe and abhorreth all communion and participation with the sectaryes in there servyce and sacraments, that before, beinge catholykes in there hart, for worldly feare durst not so doo'.<sup>58</sup> Insistence on this point was a major theme in the writings of Allen and his circle, and in the casuistic formation of the seminary priests themselves,<sup>59</sup> but it was uphill work, and for all his own conviction, Allen understood the pressures Catholics in England were under. His last briefing with each of his priests on

their departure for the mission concerned ‘how and where to condescende without synne to certain feableness growne in manns lyfe and manners these ill tymes, not alwayes to be rigorous, never over scrupulous, so that the church discipline be not evidently infringed, nor no acte of schisme or synne plainly committed’.<sup>60</sup> This should not be interpreted as willingness to legitimate church-papistry or occasional conformity, but he did his best to meet the realities of the English situation. When the draconian law imposing a £20 fine on recusants for persistent non-attendance was passed in 1581 Allen responded to lay panic by seeking some relaxation of the Vatican line on this matter, lobbying the Nuncio in Paris and consulting the leading Jesuit casuist. He was clearly relieved at the refusal of the authorities to soften their line, however, and told the Jesuit rector of the *Venerabile* that ‘no other decision was possible’.<sup>61</sup> Yet if connivance was forbidden, compassion was not. As persecution mounted in the early 1590s he instructed his priests to hold the line on the sinfulness of outward conformity, yet to deal gently with those who fell into it through fear—‘be not hard nor roughe nor rigorous . . . in receavinge againe and absolving them . . . which mercie you must use, though they fall more than once, and though perhaps you have some probable feare that they will of like infirmity fall againe . . . *tutior est via misericordiae quam justitiae rigoris*’.<sup>62</sup>

### The Enterprise of England

And the question of confrontation and constancy in the faith brings us at last to Allen’s politics, for all his politics were tuned to the reconversion of England. The first thing to be said is that Allen believed that he knew how to convert England: between 1553 and 1558 he had seen it done and had taken part in the process. He never doubted that what was needed for the success of this great work of God was, in essence, the repetition of the Marian restoration, and in 1588, when the Armada was about to sail, he sent for the complete Vatican files on the Legatine mission of Cardinal Pole.<sup>63</sup> His blueprint for the reconversion included the removal of Queen Elizabeth, and the implementation of a sternly Catholic régime. He did not believe in the toleration of error, and he did not believe that Catholics and Protestants could live in peace together. In this last, it has to be said, he had history, observation and cold common sense on his side. North-Western Europe in the 1560s and 1570s and after seemed to be falling apart at the seams for the sake of religion—France was descending into religious civil war, and his arrival in the Low Countries coincided with the outbreak of the Calvinist revolt which would separate the northern provinces from Spanish rule and the Catholic faith. From the moment of his settlement in the Low Countries, Allen’s personal well-being, the existence of his College and the future of his projects for the reconversion of England were inextricably involved with the political dominance of Spain. Spain’s weakness was his College’s peril, as he discovered when in 1578 the English College was forced by the ebb and flow of the Revolt to abandon Douay and take up temporary residence at Rheims.<sup>64</sup>



In the early 1560s the loyalty of Catholics was hardly an issue: the possibility of the death, the Catholic marriage or the conversion of the Queen had not yet been ruled out, and the main preoccupation of the exiles was the polemical campaign against the new religion, and the simple business of survival. But the arrival of Mary Queen of Scots in England in 1568, the Rising of the Northern Earls in 1569, and the excommunication of the Queen the following year changed all that. The Elizabethan régime was bound to treat Catholicism as a political threat, and Catholics were bound to take stock of the courses of action open to them. By now it was clear to everyone that the Elizabethan Settlement was not just going to go away. Something would have to be done, and the key to what might be done was the Bull of Excommunication.

*Regnans in Excelsis* solemnly declared the queen an apostate from the Catholic faith, a heretic, and a tyrant, and it absolved English Catholics of their allegiance to her. But it was issued quite irresponsibly, without any serious attempt to secure political help from Spain or anywhere else to enforce it. It therefore made the conditions of English Catholics much worse, exposing them to charges of treason without any compensating hope of liberation. It also created serious problems of conscience for them: it was clear that they *need* not now obey the Queen, but would they themselves incur excommunication if, out of fear, prudence, or natural loyalty they *did* obey her? In 1580 a ruling was secured from Gregory XIII which absolved Catholics from obedience to the Bull until its enforcement became practicable, and in the meantime it was tacitly allowed to drop. There were theologians, in any case, who questioned the extent of the Pope's authority in matters of civil allegiance, and therefore the legitimacy of the Bull.<sup>65</sup>

But Allen was not among them. An ardent papalist, who saw in the Pope the surest defence of the Church and the 'rocke of refuge in doubtful daies and doctrines', he was to place the excommunication and deposition of Elizabeth, and the theoretical and practical right of the Pope to perform such an act, at the centre of his political thinking.<sup>66</sup> In 1572 he was one of the signatories of a petition from a group of exiles at Louvain to Pope Gregory XIII, asking him to take some action to implement the Bull against the 'pretended Queen', and to extirpate protestantism in England, from which the infection of heresy was spreading like cancer to the surrounding nations. In 1584, in a pamphlet defending the loyalty of English Catholics, he would devote three chapters to an extended defence of the deposing power of the Pope.<sup>67</sup> Yet it was one thing to accept *Regnans in Excelsis*, another thing to act on it, and here the only realistic hope was to involve the King of Spain. Allen was in any case in constant touch with Spain and Spanish officials in northern Europe by virtue of his growing position of leadership among the exiles: the management of pensions, the procurement of ecclesiastical and civil preferment for his growing circle of supplicants and clients, above all the protection of his College, demanded it. But he went beyond this, and throughout the 1570s and early 1580s, Allen was a key figure in a succession of plans for a Spanish invasion of England. Early in 1576 he

took part in a consultation in Rome on English affairs: the foundation of the *Venerabile* was one consequence of this visit.<sup>68</sup> But that was a by-product of what was in fact a council of war, whose main outcome was a plan for invasion of England by a papal force led by Don John of Austria, to set Mary on the throne. Allen prepared a lengthy document of advice for this invasion, the first of many, in which, among other things, he suggested that the expenses should be met from the confiscated property of protestant ecclesiastics.<sup>69</sup> For any such plan the support of Philip II was essential, but Spanish problems in the Netherlands meant that in the event nothing was done, and Allen was increasingly aware that simple reliance on Spain would be a mistake. However zealous for religion he might be, Philip was a politician first—as Allen’s friend Nicholas Sander told him, ‘wee shall have no stedy comfort but from God, in the Pope not the King of Spain. Therefore I beseech you, take hold of the Pope’.<sup>70</sup>

Allen’s own involvement in political schemes was not continuous: his part in the invasion plans of 1576 was almost certainly directly provoked by an attempt of Elizabeth’s ministers to secure an agreement with Spain for the expulsion of the exiles, in particular the College, from the Low Countries. But the wave of persecution which followed the arrival of Campion and Persons in 1580 pushed him in this direction again. His letters in the wake of the martyrdom of Campion are a curious mixture of grief, anger and exaltation, but there is no mistaking the growth of his hostility to Elizabeth, ‘our Herodias’, who bathed her hands in the ‘brightest and best blood’ of Catholics.<sup>71</sup> In 1583 he was actually named as Papal Legate and bishop of Durham in the event of the success of the proposed invasion by the Duc de Guise with which this paper began, but the discovery of the Throckmorton plot prevented its implementation.<sup>72</sup> ‘If [the invasion of England] be not carried out this year’ he told Cardinal Galli in April 1584, ‘I give up all hope in man and the rest of my life will be bitter to me’.<sup>73</sup> His political involvements in the fight against international protestantism deepened, and he was drawn into the negotiations which led to the formation of the Catholic Holy League in France in 1584 and 1585: to the end of his life he remained hostile and suspicious towards Henri IV of France, whom he regarded even after his ‘conversion’ as a crypto-protestant.<sup>74</sup> In these years Allen exerted all his influence to commit the King of Spain and the Pope to the ‘Enterprise of England’, and his post-bag was stuffed with the explosive matter of high espionage: when he fell seriously ill in the summer of 1585 he panicked and burned everything, including his cipher books.<sup>75</sup>

The election of a new Pope, Sixtus V, in 1585 brought the still convalescent Allen hurrying to Rome, partly to secure continued Papal support for the College, but largely for political reasons. If the enterprise of England was to become a reality, the Pope had to be persuaded of its importance. Allen worked hard to scotch rumours of the easing of persecution in England, in case these should cool enthusiasm for the invasion, and in September 1585 he drafted an elaborate memorial for the Pope, describing

the religious geography of England, pressing on him the widespread support in the north and west of the country for Catholicism, the unwarlike character of the urban supporters of protestantism and the ‘common and promiscuous multitude’, the ease with which an invasion might be carried through.<sup>76</sup>

The Franciscan pope, Sixtus V, was a volatile and formidable figure who was deeply committed to the recatholicising of Europe, but he distrusted the dominance of Spain, and resented the interference of Philip in ecclesiastical affairs. If he was to be brought to back—and to help finance—the enterprise of England, every ounce of pressure and persuasion would be needed. The Spanish ambassador in Rome, Count Olivares, recognised the rôle Allen could play in this, and detained him in Rome. There is no doubt that he now became, to all intents and purposes, a Spanish servant, receiving detailed briefings from the maladroit Olivares on the management of the Pope.<sup>77</sup> Allen’s own centrality to the enterprise, in any case, was obvious, and became critical after the execution of Mary Queen of Scots: as the unquestioned religious leader of the English Catholics, he was now the only conceivable figure-head for a crusade. But if he was to serve that rôle he would need to be more than Dr. Allen; he had to be made a cardinal. Sixtus V bowed to immense Spanish pressure, orchestrated in part by Robert Persons, Allen’s closest collaborator, and he created Allen Cardinal in August 1587. Elaborate plans for his rôle in the invasion were drawn up, in part at least based on Pole’s Legatine mission: interestingly, Allen intended to hold the office of Lord Chancellor as well as that of Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>78</sup> There is no doubt in all this that the Pope saw Allen as a Spanish stooge, and when in October 1588, at Philip II’s command, Allen sought permission to go to the Netherlands to be in readiness when the call to England came, Sixtus V threw a series of spectacular tantrums, abusing Allen, according to Olivares, ‘like a negro’.<sup>79</sup>

It is against these developments that we have to assess Allen’s rôle not only in politics in general, but in the martyrdom of his priests. In the face of the Elizabethan régime’s insistence that the priests died for treason, Allen eloquently maintained their total innocence. In 1581 and again in 1584 he published pamphlets claiming that none of the priests had any political involvement, and in these works and in his account of the martyrdoms of Campion and his companions he insisted that it was the government, not the Catholics, who were making an issue of the Bull of Excommunication, which Catholics had allowed to fall into harmless oblivion. He insisted that no discussion of the Bull was allowed at Douai, and this was certainly true.<sup>80</sup> Yet he himself repeatedly defended the validity of the Bull in the published writings which his priests helped circulate in England, and he actively sought the armed implementation of the Bull and the deposition of Elizabeth in 1572, 1576, 1583, 1586, 1588. In 1586, moreover, he told the Pope that the ‘daily exhortations, teaching, writing and administration of the sacraments . . . of our priests’ had made the Catholics in England ‘much more ready’ for an invasion, and that no good Catholic now ‘thinks

he ought to obey the queen as a matter of conscience, although he may do so through fear, which fear will be removed when they see the force from without'. The priests, he added 'will direct the consciences and actions of the Catholics . . . when the time comes'. This perception of the rôle of the clergy was generally shared by the Catholic authorities: when the invasion by De Guise was being planned three years earlier, the Nuncio in Paris told the Cardinal Secretary of State that the leading Catholics would be informed 'per via de sacerdoti'—through their priests.<sup>81</sup>

Yet Allen was not lying: he rigorously kept from all but a handful of his friends and his pupils any knowledge of his own political activities and certainly approved of the *breve* of Gregory XIII formally allowing the excommunication to be held in abeyance indefinitely, which Campion and Persons took with them to England in 1580.<sup>82</sup> He himself observed a scrupulous distinction in his writings between the work of priests—which was to preach the gospel and to endure martyrdom for it when the time came—and the rôle of princes and fighting-men; 'the spiritual [sword] by the hand of the priest, the [material sword] by the hand of the soldier'.<sup>83</sup>

The 'readiness' his priests contributed to, therefore, was indirect, a strengthening of loyalty to the Papacy, and a willingness to choose God rather than man when put to the test, as the Henrician and Edwardian Catholics had so signally failed to do. The English reformation was for him a sacrilegious invasion of the spiritual sphere by the secular power. It followed that any recovery of Catholic understanding and commitment, however a-political and spiritual its ministers, its methods and its aims, must inevitably lead to a confrontation with the protestant state. The more clearly the people saw in the light of the gospel, the more resolutely they would reject the claims of the royal supremacy over their consciences. A straight line runs from Allen's efforts in the early 1560s to persuade his Lancashire neighbours out of their token conformity, to his promotion of the enterprise of England in the 1580s, and the spiritual mission of the seminary priests lies squarely along that line.

But in any case the whole notion that a Catholic might be rebellious seemed to him a nonsense. It was the protestants who were rebels, 'opinionative and restless brains to raise rebellion at their pleasure under pretense of religion', following 'their own deceptful wils and uncertaine opinions, without rule or reason', stirring up civil war in France, rebellion against the lawful sovereign in the Netherlands and in Scotland, fastening on the weakness of the body politic—'they make their market most', he claimed, 'in the minority of princes or of their infirmity'. Catholics, by contrast, as men of 'order and obedience', took no such liberties, but 'commit the direction of matters so important to the Church and to the chief governors of their souls'. The deposing power was a god-appointed safeguard, stretching back to Old Testament priests and prophets like Samuel, and entrusted to the Pope for the preservation of the prince and people in due obedience to the law of Christ. Catholics therefore proceed by reason and conscience, Protestants by 'fury and frenzy'.<sup>84</sup> It was the

Elizabethan government, then, with its murder of priests and war against Catholic truth which sinned, in forcing Catholic men and women to choose between civil and religious obedience, between God and the prince.

These views were never concealed by Allen—he proclaimed them in the works he published in the early 1580s: but their consequences were finally spelled out in the two open calls to resistance which he produced in 1587 and 1588. In 1587 an English commander with the Earl of Leicester's expedition to help the rebels in Holland, Sir William Stanley, surrendered the town of Deventer to the Spanish forces. Allen published a defence of his action, claiming that English involvement in a war against Philip was sinful and unjust, Stanley's action that of an informed conscience, and that any Catholic should do the same. He further declared that 'al actes of iustice within the realme, done by the Quenes authoritie, ever since she was, by publike sentence of the Church, and Sea Apostoloke, declared an Haertike . . . and deposed from al regal dignitie . . . al is voide, by the lawe of God and man . . .' He called for the formation of companies of English soldiers on the continent to be trained 'in Catholike and old godly militare discipline', just as the seminaries were training priests, to undo the evil of the reformation: 'it is as lawful, godly and glorious for you to fight, as for us Priestes to suffer, and to die'. To labour in either of these ways for the defence of the faith 'is alwaies in the sight of God, a most precious death, and martyrdom'.<sup>85</sup> In the following year finally Allen burned his boats with his *Admonition to the Nobility and People of England*, calling on them to join the Spaniards and overthrow Elizabeth, whom he denounced as a sacrilegious heretic, an incestuously begotten bastard, guilty not only of oppressing the people but of ruining the commonwealth by a whole range of ills, from the promotion of base-born upstarts to the enjoyment of nameless acts of sexual debauchery with her young courtiers.<sup>86</sup>

There is no doubt that his political involvements contributed to the sufferings of his priests, for the Elizabethan government knew much about his activities, and guessed a good deal more. Yet his priests shared with Allen a sense of the spiritual issues at stake, and the dilemmas on which they were impaled were not of his nor their making. For him and for them there could be no peace with a State which claimed an absolute authority over consciences: his perception of that claim, and his solution to the dilemma it posed, were not so very different from that of Bonhoeffer in our own times.

Yet if in the conditions of his own time he can hardly be blamed for seeking to overthrow Elizabeth, so that the Gospel might be free, Allen cannot entirely be absolved of responsibility for the disasters of Catholicism in the 1580s and 1590s. He can be blamed, I think, for his lack of realism about the likelihood of the success of any such attempts. We are less prone now than we once were to dismiss the optimism of Elizabethan Catholics about the persistence of widespread sympathy for the old religion among the people at large: there was nothing inevitable or easy about the triumph of the reformation. But, perhaps in part at least to counter a growing

scepticism at the Spanish court about support for the enterprise, Allen persisted in the conviction that even into the mid 1580s two-thirds of the people were Catholics in their hearts and so discontented with Elizabeth's rule,<sup>87</sup> the 'pure zealous heretikes', 'very few' and 'effeminate, delicate and least expert in the wars'. He persuaded himself that the indifferent remainder 'will never adore the sun setting, nor follow the declining fortune of so filthie, wicked and illiberal a Creature' as Elizabeth.<sup>88</sup> Dazzled by the extraordinary impact of his priests, he never grasped, or allowed himself to acknowledge, the extent of anti-Spanish feeling in England, or the unlikelihood of the population of late Elizabethan England flocking to the Pope's banner. And he consistently underestimated his enemy, declaring in 1581 that no intelligent person could be a protestant: even the promoters of Reformation were certainly mere politiques 'who, because they be wise, can not be Protestants 23 yeres, that is to say, any long time together'.<sup>89</sup> It is easy with hindsight to be superior about this. Successive popes and the most experienced king in Christendom took the same optimistic view as Allen of the prospects of success, and Philip committed the sea-borne might of the world's greatest power to it. And Allen was driven by longing for restoration and return, the restoration of the true faith and the lost greatness of a Catholic England, above all, the longing of one who had eaten the bitter bread of exile for almost half his life. In 1581 he had publicly lamented that he and his like 'for our sinnes . . . be constrained to spend either al or most of our serviceable yeres out of our natural cuntrye', and the longing for his 'lost fatherland' tolls persistently through his writing. In 1580, as Campion set out for England, he told him that he and his like 'will procure for me and mine the power of returning'.<sup>90</sup>

An autumnal air hangs over Allen's last years as a cardinal. He had an immensely high understanding of his office, as an instrument of the papacy he so much revered: though he was the poorest of the cardinals, he was an active and effective member of the *curia*, involved in the affairs of Germany, the revision of the Vulgate and the Congregation of the Index.<sup>91</sup> He enjoyed friendship and was treated as an equal by the greatest men of his age—Bellarmine in his last years, as Borromeo earlier. He was a man of affairs, keeping open house to English visitors, Catholic or Protestant, in his relatively modest home beside the College, the hub of a network of information, clientage and organisation. More than ever he was the central figure in the concerns of the English Catholics, and his eirenical nature and passionate concern for unity were exerted to the full in holding together a community increasingly riven by the bitterness of defeat, in particular the ominous gap opening between the secular clergy and his revered Jesuits.<sup>92</sup> Half-hearted attempts were made by the King of Spain to appoint him Archbishop of Malines, so as to be nearer England, but nothing came of them. And he himself was a disappointed man, aware that there was little chance now of a dramatic restoration of Catholicism, forced to consider seriously the notion, which he had half-heartedly canvassed in the early 1580s, of securing some minimal toleration for Catholics in a Protestant

England. In a world in which nobody believed in toleration, it was a project as hopeless as invasion, but we catch a remarkable glimpse of his changed perceptions in the spring and autumn of 1593, through the eyes of an English government go-between, John Arden. Arden, the brother of Allen's Jesuit confessor and closest English friend in Rome, was encouraged by the cardinal to a protracted negotiation for the granting of freedom of conscience to Catholics and a marriage between 'one of Elizabeth's blood' to a Spaniard, to secure the succession. In return, Allen would call off the Pope, the King of Spain and the Catholic League, and all the Catholics would 'do that duty is due to the Queen, religion excepted, and would take arms in defence of her person and realm against the King of Spain or whosoever'. A striking feature of the whole negotiation was Allen's willingness to shrug off his Spanish involvements. When Arden asked him why he was so keen to unite an English heir with a Spaniard, Allen replied that 'he would never wish it if they might have liberty of conscience', and he excused his and other exiles' writings against Elizabeth with 'alas, it was to get favour of the King of Spain who maintained them'. A key to his deepest feelings appeared from an impassioned outburst, when he snatched up a bible and swore 'as I am a priest' that to secure the free practice of Catholicism he would rather 'leave here and all . . . and be content to live in prison all the days of my life' in England.<sup>93</sup>

But it would be quite wrong to end on that sombre note. By the time of Allen's death on 16th October 1594 the first heroic phase of the Mission was drawing to its close. English colleges on the continent were multiplying, and the succession of martyrs would continue—Robert Southwell would go to Tyburn within six months of Allen's death. But the creative verve and the excitement and imaginative power of the Mission in the 1580s would never quite be equalled, just as the opportunities which had faced it then were slipping away with the years. The first seminary priests and their Jesuit colleagues, themselves sent to England at Allen's urging, represented one of the most original and most effective experiments of an exceptionally creative and turbulent period of Christian history, and it was Allen's vision they incarnated. No English protestant attempt to rethink ministry, or to equip men for ministry, was half so radical, or quarter so professional. No-one else in that age conceived so exalted nor so demanding a rôle for the secular priesthood, and no-one else apart from the great Religious founders produced a body of men who rose to that ideal so eagerly, and at such cost. The times had demanded invention, decisive action, and he had risen to the challenge. 'The quarell is God's', he told one of his critics, 'and but for Hys holy glory and honor I myght sleepe att ease, and let the worlde wagge and other men worke'.<sup>94</sup> Allen's creation of storm-troopers for counter-reformation and the energy, humanity and management of men by which he preserved them, showed pastoral resource and vision on a par with that of Cardinal Borromeo in his own generation, or Vincent de Paul in the next. He understood perfectly well what he had achieved, and six months before his death wrote of 'the semynarie of Doway, which is as deere to me as my

owne life, and which hath next to God beene the beginning and ground of all the good and salvation which is wrought in England'.<sup>95</sup> Because of him, English Catholicism was given a life-line to the larger world of Christendom, and a surer, clearer sense of its own identity: because of him, it survived. Elizabethan England produced some really great men, fewer really good ones, and almost none who could be called great Europeans. William Allen was all three.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> T. F. Knox (ed.) *The Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, London 1882 [hereafter, *Memorials*], pp. xli, 407; T. F. Knox (ed.) *The First and Second Diaries of the English College, Douay*, London 1878, [hereafter, *D.D.*], pp. 337–8; L. F. Von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, St. Louis, 1930, [hereafter *Pastor*], vol. xix pp. 429–433.

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials*, pp. 29–30.

<sup>3</sup> *A True, Sincere, and Modest Defense of English Catholics*, 1584, ed. by Robert M. Kingdon, Cornell University Press 1965, p. 127 [hereafter, *Modest Defense*]; *An Apologie and True Declaration of the Institution and endeavours of the two English Colleges . . . Henault (Rheims) 1581*, p. 12 verso. [hereafter, *Apologie and Declaration*].

<sup>4</sup> *Memorials*, pp. 5, 181, 213; on Tudor Lancashire and its religious conservatism, see Christopher Haigh, *Reformation and Resistance in Tudor Lancashire*, Cambridge 1975; for Allen's view of the state of England in the mid-1580s, see Garrett Mattingley, 'William Allen and Catholic Propaganda in England', *Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, vol 28, 1957, pp. 325–39.

<sup>5</sup> *Memorials* p. 213, *Modest Defense* p. 56.

<sup>6</sup> For the role of the Halls in Tudor Oxford, James McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford vol. III*, Oxford 1986, pp. 51–5; Alan B. Coban, *The Medieval English Universities: Oxford and Cambridge to c. 1500*, Scolar Press 1988, pp. 145–60. They were in effect Colleges within the Colleges, many of them having been annexed to larger institutions, as St. Mary's had been acquired by Oriel, though they continued to offer teaching both for the basic Arts course and for further studies in theology and laws.

<sup>7</sup> On the course of the reformation at Oxford, and Martyr's part in it, Jennifer Loach 'Reformation Controversies' in McConica, *The History of the University of Oxford vol. III*, pp. 363–74; an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1550 to impose a protestant head on Allen's own college, Oriel.

<sup>8</sup> There is no adequate treatment in English of the Spanish contribution to the Marian restoration: see J. Ignacio Tellechea Idigoras, *Fray Bartolomé Carranza y el Cardenal Pole*, Pamplona 1977, and the same author's *Inglaterra, Flandres y Espana 1557–1559*, Vitoria 1975. As professor of theology at Dillengen until 1553 De Soto had been a key figure in the German Counter-Reformation: Garcia had been instrumental in securing several of Cranmer's recantations.

<sup>9</sup> Loach, *op. cit.* p. 378.

<sup>10</sup> John E. Booty, *John Jewel as Apologist of the Church of England*, London 1963, p. 63; M. R. O'Connell, *Thomas Stapleton and the Counter Reformation*, New Haven 1964; Michael Richards, 'Thomas Stapleton', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. XVIII (1967), pp. 187–99.

<sup>11</sup> *Modest Defence*, p. 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Modest Defence*, pp. 95, 115.

<sup>13</sup> *A Defence and Declaration of the Catholike Churchies Doctrine Touching Purgatory*, Antwerp 1565, [hereafter, *Purgatory*] p. 286.

<sup>14</sup> H. N. Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*, London 1907, p. 257.

<sup>15</sup> *D.D.*, pp. xxii–xxiii: on the Elizabethan Settlement and its enforcement in Oxford, Penry Williams, 'Elizabethan Oxford: State, Church and University', in MacConica, *op. cit.*, pp. 397–440.

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Collinson, *The Birthpangs of Protestant England: Religious and Cultural Change in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. London 1988, especially p. ix: the case is set out in my *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*, London and New Haven 1992, pp. 565–93 and Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations*, Oxford 1993, pp. 235–50.

<sup>17</sup> A sub-committee at the Council of Trent in 1562 considered, and refused, a request that English Catholics should be permitted to attend Book of Common Prayer services, in order to avoid persecution. The ruling, however, was not promulgated formally, and Allen seems not to have known of it: Alexandra Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England*, Royal Historical Society Monograph 1993, pp. 22–3.

<sup>18</sup> *D.D.*, pp. xxiii–xxiv: *Memorials* pp. 56–7.

<sup>19</sup> *D.D.*, pp. xxv–xxvi: Martin Haile, *An Elizabethan Cardinal: William Allen*, London 1914, pp. 57, 67.

<sup>20</sup> A. C. Southern, *Elizabethan Recusant Prose 1559–1582*, London 1950, pp. 517–23: one such publication was *A Notable Discourse, plainelye and truely discussing, who are the right Ministers of the Catholike Church*, Douai 1575.

<sup>21</sup> For the Jewel controversy, Southern, *Recusant Prose*, pp. 59–118 (Allen's contributions discussed in detail pp. 103–9); Booty, *Jewel*, pp. 58–82; Peter Milward, *Religious Controversies of the Elizabethan Age*, London 1978, pp. 1–16.



- 22 *Purgatory*, pp. 37 verso, 282–3.
- 23 *Purgatory*, p. 12 verso: Southern, *Recusant Prose*, p. 109.
- 24 John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850*, London 1975, p. 13, quoting A. L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth*, London 1951, p. 461. For a critique of this general view, and an assertion of Allen's 'keen intelligence' see Mattingly, 'William Allen and Catholic Propaganda' pp. 335–6.
- 25 C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century*, Oxford 1954, pp. 438–441.
- 26 *Purgatory*, pp. 132–3.
- 27 Loach, in McConica, *op. cit.* p. 386: Peter Guilday, *The English Catholic Refugees on the Continent 1558–1795*, London 1914, pp. 1–27, 63–65: Southern, *Recusant Prose*, pp. 14–30: John Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, pp. 12–14.
- 28 J. H. Pollen, ed., *Memoir of Robert Parsons, S.J.*, Catholic Record Society, vol ii, *Miscellanea*, 1906, p. 62.
- 29 *Apologie and Declaration*, p. 19.
- 30 By far the most stimulating and valuable modern account is that in Bossy, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–18 to which I am greatly indebted though, as will be seen, I dissent from some of his central contentions. A cruder and somewhat facile statement of a similar view to Bossy's will be found in J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe*, London 1976, pp. 53–6.
- 31 *D.D.*, p. xxviii: *Memorials* p. 22.
- 32 Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, p. 15.
- 33 P. Renold, (ed.), *Letters of William Allen and Richard Barrett 1572–1598*, Catholic Record Society 1967, pp. 4–5. [hereafter, *Letters*] The allusion is to St. Luke ch. 9, verses 52–3, Vulgate version.
- 34 P. Ryan (ed.) 'Correspondence of Cardinal Allen; in Catholic Record Society *Miscellanea VII*, 1911, pp. 47–63, quotation p. 63 [hereafter, 'Correspondence'].
- 35 J. H. Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, p. 247.
- 36 *A Treatise Made in Defence of the lauful power and authoritie of Priesthood to remitte sinnes*, Louvain 1567, preface (unpaginated). He is actually quoting from St. Basil, but makes the application to England and 'our new ministers' explicit.
- 37 *Memorials*, p. 367.
- 38 He and Allen took their Doctorates in Divinity together in 1571.
- 39 *D.D.*, pp. xxvii–xxxi: *Letters*, pp. 8–11.
- 40 Patrick McGrath and Joy Rowe, 'Anstruther Analysed: the Elizabethan Seminary Priests', *Recusant History*, vol. 18, 1986 pp. 1–13.
- 41 *Apologie*, p. 22 verso; 'Correspondence' pp. 66–67.
- 42 Printed in Richard Simpson, *Edmund Campion*, London 1896, pp. 509–13.
- 43 *D.D.*, p. xxxviii: *Memorials*, pp. 61–2.
- 44 For a good account of which see T. Deutscher, 'Seminaries and the Education of Novarese Parish Priests, 1593–1627', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. 32, pp. 303–319.
- 45 On the Jesuits, the *Ratio Studiorum* and St. Thomas, see James Broderick, *The Life and Work of Blessed Robert Francis Cardinal Bellamine*, London 1928, vol. 1, pp. 374–84.
- 46 Allen's own account of the syllabus is in *Memorials*, pp. 62–7, translated *D.D.*, pp. xxxviii–xliii: it is helpfully expanded by Gregory Martin in *Roma Sancta* (ed. G. B. Parks, ed.), Roma 1969, pp. 114–9: the cases of conscience devised for the College are edited by P. J. Holmes, *Elizabethan Casuistry*, Catholic Record Society 1981.
- 47 *D.D.*, pp. xxxix.
- 48 *Memorials*, pp. 32–3.
- 49 *D.D.*, p. xxxi–xxxii: Godfrey Anstruther, *The Seminary Priests*, vol. I, Ware and Durham, 1968, p. 224.
- 50 *Memorials*, p. 17.
- 51 *Apologie*, pp. 67–8.
- 52 *Memorials*, p. 33.
- 53 *Letters*, pp. 131–4; *Memorials*, p. 344.
- 54 *Memorials*, p. 36.
- 55 *Apologie*, pp. 109 verso–110: for Allen's own account of his advice on martyrdom to Campion, *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*, 1582, sig. d. iii. verso: for the comment to Fr. Aggazari, see the preface to J. H. Pollen's edition of the *Briefe Historie*, p. ix: *Memorials*, p. 135.
- 56 *Apologie*, pp. 117 verso–118.
- 57 *D.D.*, p. xliii: *Memorials*, p. 67.
- 58 *Memorials*, p. 35.
- 59 Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 22–49.
- 60 *Memorials*, p. 34: see Walsham, *Church Papists*, pp. 62–3, though I think that Ms. Walsham interprets Allen's text more permissively than he intended.
- 61 *Letters*, pp. 30–33.
- 62 *Memorials*, p. 354.
- 63 *Letters*, pp. 194–5.
- 64 *D.D.*, pp. li–lvi.
- 65 On the Bull in general, and Catholic opinion about it, A. O. Meyer, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*, London 1916, pp. 37 ff., 52–55, 76–90, 138–41; T. H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*, Chicago 1964, pp. 46–49.
- 66 *Apologie*, p. 17.
- 67 *Letters*, pp. 276–284: *Modest Defense*, pp. 146–214.

- <sup>68</sup> Anthony Kenny 'From Hospice to College 1559–1579', *The Venerable* vol 21, 1962 (Sixcentenary Issue), pp. 228–9.
- <sup>69</sup> *Letters*, pp. 284–92: Pollen, *The English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, London 1920, pp. 197–200.
- <sup>70</sup> *Memorials*, p. 38.
- <sup>71</sup> *Memorials*, p. 131; *Letters*, p. 75.
- <sup>72</sup> *Memorials*, pp. 217–8; Philip Hughes, *The Reformation in England* vol. III, London 1954, pp. 297–300.
- <sup>73</sup> *Memorials*, p. 233: Mattingley, 'William Allen', p. 333.
- <sup>74</sup> Mattingley, 'William Allen', p. 332.
- <sup>75</sup> The most extended treatment of Allen's political involvement at this time is Knox's introduction to *Memorials*. pp. li–lxxi.
- <sup>76</sup> *Letters*, pp. 156–66: The memorial for the Pope was identified and edited by Garret Mattingly, *loc cit.* The reference to the 'promiscuous multitude' comes from *Memorials*, p. lxvii.
- <sup>77</sup> For one of which see *Memorials*, pp. c–ci.
- <sup>78</sup> *Memorials*, pp. cvi–cviii.
- <sup>79</sup> *Memorials*, p. cxi.
- <sup>80</sup> See especially *Modest Defense*, pp. 124–6: *A Briefe Historie of the Glorious Martyrdom of XII Reverend Priests*, Preface to the Reader, sig. c ii.
- <sup>81</sup> The evidence is assembled by Mattingly, *loc. cit.*, pp. 336–7.
- <sup>82</sup> See, for example, 'Correspondence', p. 45, recommending Thomas Stapleton as a potentially valuable member of the invasion fleet of 1576 'but he knows nothing at all about the enterprise'.
- <sup>83</sup> *Modest Defense*, p. 196.
- <sup>84</sup> *Modest Defense*, p. 141: T. H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers*, Chicago 1964, p. 51.
- <sup>85</sup> *The Copie of a Letter Written by M. Doctor Allen: concerning the yeelding up, of the Citie of Davenport, unto his Catholike Maiestie, by Sir William Stanley*, Antwerp 1587, pp. 17, 29.
- <sup>86</sup> *An Admonition of the Nobility and People of England . . . made for the execution of his Holines Sentence, by the highe and mightie Kinge Catholike of Spain. By the Cardinal of Englande*, 1588.
- <sup>87</sup> *Modest Defense*, p. 224.
- <sup>88</sup> *Admonition to the Nobilitie*, sig. D5.
- <sup>89</sup> *Apologie*, p. 4 verso.
- <sup>90</sup> *Apologie*, p. 7: Simpson, *Campion*, p. 134.
- <sup>91</sup> *Pastor*, vol. 21, p. 250; vol. 22, p. 391; vol. 23 p. 311.
- <sup>92</sup> See, for example, his letter to John Mush in March 1594, *Memorials*, pp. 357–8.
- <sup>93</sup> R. B. Wernham, (ed.), *Lists and Analyses of State Papers Foreign Series Elizabeth I*, London HMSO, vol. 1 1964, no. 627, vol. iv, 1984, nos. 638–43, vol. v, 1989, no. 627: and see the remarkable letter to Richard Hopkins August 14 1593, *Memorials*, pp. 348–51, about just such a 'reasonable toleration'—'I thank God I am not estranged from the place of my birth most sweet, nor so affected to foreigners that I prefer not the weal of that people above all mortal things'.
- <sup>94</sup> *Memorials*, p. 37.
- <sup>95</sup> *Memorials*, p. 358.