

THE DOWNSIDE CONFERENCE

*Recusant Archives and Remains
from the Three Kingdoms*

1560-1789

Catholics in Exile at Home and Abroad

*Downside Abbey
23-24 June 2004*

Sponsored by the British Academy

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<i>Kenworthy-Browne, Sister Christina</i>	
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<i>McIntyre, Mgr John</i>	<i>Scottish Catholic Archives</i>
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<i>Woods, Dr Penny</i>	

Recusant Archives and Remains from the Three Kingdoms – 1560-1789: Catholics in Exile at Home and Abroad

Wednesday, 23 June 2004

- 1200-1300 *Assembly, St Bede Centre, Downside Abbey*
- 1400 Introduction
Dom Aidan Bellenger / Professor Pat Bruckmann
- 1415 Opening Remarks: Professor Eamon Duffy, Magdalene College, Cambridge
- 1430 Plenary Lecture: Professor Arthur Marotti, Wayne State University, USA.
The Use of Recusant Archives: Early Modern Conversion Narratives.
- 1600 Chair: Dr Pat Bruckmann
Dr Alison Shell, University of Durham: Sources for the Study of Recusant Literary Culture
- 1625 Fr Ian Dickie, Westminster Diocesan Archives: The Westminster Archives
- 1650 Dr Paul Arblaster, Universiteit Leuven: Studying Recusant Archives in the Low Countries
- 1720 Georgina Stonor (Past Chair of Committee on Archives, Manuscripts and Documents, Dept of Culture, Media and Sport) Archive Hunting
- 1745 Vespers in Abbey Church/ break
- 1830-1915 Items on exhibition from the Downside Collections
- 1930 Public Lectures: The Recusant Arts
Chair: Dom Aidan Bellenger
- Jan Graffius: The Stonyhurst Collections
Dr Sophie Holroyd: The Wyntour Vestments

Thursday, 24 June 2004

- 0835 Mass in the Abbey Church
- 0945 Chair: Dr Anne Dillon
Exile and Return
- 0945 Dame Margaret Truran, Stranbrook Abbey
- 1005 Sister Christina Kenworthy-Browne, Bar Convent, York
- 1035 Abbot Geoffrey Scott, Douai Abbey: The Douai Archives Project
- 1115 Chair: Abbot Geoffrey Scott
- 1115 Mgr John McIntyre, Pontifical Scots College, Rome
- 1140 Mr Andrew Nicoll, Scottish Catholic Archives
- 1200 Dr Penny Woods, Maynooth: Archives of the Irish College at Salamanca
- 1225 Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, Fr Tom McCoog SJ and Peter Davidson
- 1330 Chair: Andrew Nicoll
Communications to be read:
Recusant Houses and private collections, from John Martin Robertson
Birmingham Archives from Revd Dr John Sharp
Scottish Catholic Heritage Museum, Blairs
- 1400 Dr Judith Champ, Oscott Archives
- 1425 Dr Heather Wolfe, Folger Shakespeare Library: The Folger Collections and Catholic Culture
- 1530 Chair: Dr Gerard Kilroy
Mgr Michael Williams, The Collections of the Royal English College, Valladolid
- 1550 Fr Stewart Foster, The Collections of the Venerable English College, Rome
- 1630-1715 Closing Session/Responses:
- Dr Gerard Kilroy, Dr Anne Dillon, Professor Pat Bruckman and Professor Peter Davidson

*Recusant Archives and Remains from the Three Kingdoms – 1560-1789:
Catholics in Exile at Home and Abroad*

Purpose and Nature of the Conference

This conference, sponsored by the British Academy, was held at the St Bede centre of Downside Abbey on Wednesday 23rd and Thursday 24th June, 2004. Although there were absences, this gathering represented so far the largest and most concerted assembly of representatives of the more substantial collections (of works of art and objects as well as of archives and libraries) of material from the Community of British and Irish Catholics living under penalty at home or in Continental exile.

There were twenty-seven contributors in all, of whom nineteen, including three who sent communications to be read, represented the widest spectrum of institutions holding significant collections of material of Recusant interest. Also represented at the conference were scholars from the secular academy whose own published work has included substantial work on Recusant history or culture, who spoke especially to the custodians of their experiences and interests. They also spoke of their own findings and of their own experience of using a body of archival and visual material which is neither consistently catalogued nor inevitably well known. Particularly gratifying was the presence as auditors of a number of postgraduate students from the secular universities, all of whom in some degree are undertaking work on recusant cultural history.

The conference sought to build on a century of superb work by the Catholic Records Society, the Catholic Archive Society and the journals *Recusant History* and *The Innes Review*. The meeting attempted to move forward from previous achievements in broadening the scope of the collections under discussion to include "remains" in the widest sense, as well as paper records, printed or manuscript. Also, there was a specific and deliberate focus on Catholic cultural production as well as on history — on literary and musical manuscripts, on records of drama and emblem *affixiones*, as well as on artefacts, relics and works of art.

The Introductions

All delegates were welcomed by Prof Patricia Bruckmann of the University of Toronto and the host of the conference Dom Aidan Bellenger, Prior of Downside Abbey. Dom Aidan emphasised that this was not in any simple sense a conference on archives (although reflection on scholarly achievement in the field of British Catholic archives was apposite in the centenary year of the Catholic Record Society) but that this was a conference on libraries, collections and artefacts as well; a conference on the history of collections or on the accumulations, the rich, inadvertant lumber-rooms of such venerable religious houses as Downside itself. Professor Bruckmann also stressed the importance of "remains" in the widest sense: the importance of what people had chosen to preserve, the locks of hair of Maria Clementina and the blood

of James II functioning as a reminder that these political and historical figures had had an alternative identity in the exiled Catholic (and, by then, Jacobite) community as possible candidates for canonisation. She stressed also the accumulation of objects in established communities, the need to understand how these communities work and have worked to be able to access their holdings in any informed way. Despite the exemplary curatorial work in progress, it is necessary to go to a collection like that of Stonyhurst College in Lancashire and allow the unique history of the collection and the institution to become in themselves your guides to the holdings.

This sounded a genuine keynote for the whole conference, and one which was enthusiastically received by the postgraduates who attended. By and large, the collections which originate from Catholicism under penalty are not research collections laid forth for the secular scholar, and indexed in ways to meet the needs of a secular scholar of culture or history. These are not collections specifically set up to serve the needs of the researcher, they are not the special collections rooms of university libraries. Most of the collections discussed at the conference are the accretions of particular institutions, specific houses, many of them colleges and religious houses, a few of them families. All have been subject to sudden dispersals and removals. At some time or another almost all of them have been subjected to arbitrary visitation and confiscation. They are organised on the whole in ways which reflect the enforced priorities of those who preserved them: accounts and title to property are always more likely to survive than are evidences of cultural production. Conversely, it is to be remembered that the military organisation of, for example, the Society of Jesus will result in a sharp distinction between "reports to headquarters" and the papers pertaining to, and remaining in, a particular college or house. The essential point is that an understanding is required of the needs and nature of the community which has preserved a collection, in order to understand the organisation of that collection.

Papers and communications delivered on Wednesday

The introductory address for the conference was then given by Professor Eamon Duffy of the University of Cambridge, author of the pivotal work of Reformation scholarship, *The Stripping of the Altars*. His thoughts were based securely in thirty-five years work on the subject of the Catholics after the reformation, in which time he has seen his subject move from a marginal (indeed marginalised) position into the mainstream of the academic study of history. Professor Duffy emphasised the need to bring people together, if the study of this whole area of the British and Irish past is to flourish at what is now an auspicious moment in the history of the academy. He characterised the Catholic history of 1976, of his own early work as "a domestic affair, almost an affair of genealogy" amongst archives which were like "family photographs", kept in one case in cardboard boxes in an episcopal coal-cellar. He emphasised that the historical work of Professor John Bossy had been as important as his own in making the study of post-Reformation Catholicism "a natural thing to do".

He concluded by emphasising this movement from provincialism to centrality, stating that a moment had arrived when it was right to be thinking of organising an academic portal to such resources. He emphasised that the whole Patrimony of the British and Irish Catholic church was one which urgently required the attentions of scholars outside the Catholic community "an almost-virgin historical territory of incredible riches". He emphasised the magnificence and fragility of that patrimony: its prodigious survival against the odds, but also its vulnerability at a time when religious houses are closing and amalgamating. He emphasised his support for all initiatives which would contribute to making an inventory of the Patrimony and said in conclusion, particularly addressing the younger scholars present, "our hour has come."

Professor Arthur Marotti of Wayne State University spoke next, prefacing a lengthy extract which he read from a forthcoming book, with remarks on the importance of browsing archives, of the physical presence of the scholar in the archives. He paid tribute to the archivists of the Westminster Archdiocese and the British Province of the Society of Jesus as true friends to scholarship. He also reminded the assembly that crucial documents of Catholic cultural production can be found in the great North American research libraries: he cited in particular the Huntington Library at San Marino, California and the Catholic content of Huntington Manuscript 904.

Dr Alison Shell spoke next, dealing frankly with the problems and opportunities which lay behind her own CUP monograph *Catholicism and Controversy* as well as more recent work on the recusant Catholics and oral tradition. She spoke of the experience of beginning the study of Recusant material from outside the Catholic community, approaching from the "old" canon of English literature and the virulent anti-Catholicism of the Jacobean drama. Like Professor Duffy, she recalled the entrenched opposition of the academy's "sentimental agnosticised Anglicanism" to any study of Catholic culture. She spoke of the moment being auspicious to widen the scope of cultural and literary history, to "integrate mainstream and minority discourses" as current academic jargon would phrase it. She offered the thought that Newman's description of the English Catholics as *gens lucifuga*, was a rich one leading to thoughts of exile, and of the distribution of things and texts by exile, by the whole experience of writing "from beyond the Sea" the transpontine origin of Richard Beard's 1584 *Concerning the Catholic Faith*. She suggested that this document in the Bodleian takes on a whole new layer of meaning and resonance when its origin amongst the *gens lucifuga* is fully comprehended. While she retained a most salutary scepticism concerning claims that Shakespeare may have been a Catholic, and emphasised the very tenuous grounds on which such assertions are based, she observed very judiciously that the very possibility that the central, the iconic figure of the "old" canon might have been Catholic has paradoxically engendered a climate where the study of recusant culture has attained mainstream respectability, partly by the false syllogism that the secular academy had better be more respectful to Recusant culture "just in case Shakespeare was one after all."

She moved to practical questions of Recusant material and the secular academy, suggesting that a completed anthology of Recusant literature along

the lines begun in the earlier twentieth century by Louise Imogen Guiney would go a long way to making scattered text available. She said that all finding aids would be welcome, and that the big project (in terms of *all* British literature of the late Renaissance) would be to approach the corpus of Latin dramas performed in Catholic schools and Colleges. Her concluding suggestion was that a listing of the printed and manuscript sources for Recusant literature would not be an impossible task and would be one which would bear rich scholarly fruit.

Fr Ian Dickie, the Archivist of the Archdiocese of Westminster, gave the first of the talks from the perspective of the custodians and holders of collections. His superbly concise exposition of the nature of the archives in his care explained them as the Patrimony of the Archbishops of Westminster. He explained that some catalogues and handlists pertaining to the collection had been digitised by Chadwyck Healey. He characterised the Westminster "A" series of documents as the "creation and sustaining of the English Catholic Mission 1568-1794", beginning with the correspondence of Cardinal William Allan and rich in sources for the disputes of the Jesuits and Seculars in the 1620s. He explained the parallel series of archives the "Roman Letters" as being concerned with the creation of the Vicariate. Senior scholars suitably recommended would be allowed to browse the Westminster archives, more junior scholars welcome to consult specific documents by appointment. Fr Dickie went on to detail some of the parallel sources in existence. S. Edmund's College at Old Hall Green in Hertfordshire is the part inheritor of the English College at Douai, a series of documents interesting as the bridge between English Catholic life and France. (It is to be noted here that the other institution with a rich inheritance from the English College at Douai is Ushaw in Co. Durham. It is particularly regretted by all organisers that it was not possible for a representative from Ushaw to be present at the conference, and Ushaw is identified as one of the institutions which would be absolutely crucial in the finding guide to Recusant Collections which is the primary proposed follow-up publication arising from the conference.) There is an HMC Catalogue of material at Old Hall Green and there is a printed collection of Recusant Literature there. These books formed the originals for the series of Scholar reprints of *English Recusant Literature*. There is also some Recusant plate at Old Hall Green with the arms of donors. On advance request in writing, some of this printed material may be consulted by scholars at the reading room of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge.

From the 1680s onwards, there is a definite Jacobite interest to the Westminster collections, as the Recusant and Jacobite communities are more closely identified. The "A" series closes with documents from the 1790s.

Dr Paul Arblaster of the Universiteit Leuven spoke next. Dr Arblaster is the author of a recently-published study of one of the most visible of the recusant exiles, the polemicist and historian Richard Verstegan. (This highly-useful work *Antwerp and the World, Richard Verstegan and the international Culture of Catholic Reformation* is available from Leuven University Press, Blijde-Inkomststraat 5, B-3000, Leuven, Belgium.) Dr Arblaster offered a rueful paper, based on profound knowledge of the archives of the Low Countries,

mostly concerned with the paucity of sources for the study of the exiled Catholic community in the Spanish Netherlands, records which he characterised as "mostly fragments but fascinating fragments". Occasional biographies can be glimpsed in the papers of the Brussels *Audiencie* as parts of the background to requests for Royal assistance. He remarked that while there are shadows of the recusant exiles in both military and municipal records, it is still wholly possible for an exile with means, living as a civilian and never in trouble with the law to pass through the Spanish Netherlands virtually without leaving a trace behind.

The last paper of the afternoon was given by the Hon. Georgina Stonor, former Chair of the Committee on Archives, Manuscripts and Documents, Dept of Culture, Media and Sport. She gave an encyclopaedic round-up of the scattered and diverse depositories which can end up containing archives of Recusant interest: Catholic archives in non-Catholic hands, particularly the fascinating example of the Wellington papers at Southampton, which contain the secret service reports of agents in the Papal states. She also pointed to Catholic material in the Greater London Record Office, and in the archives of the theatres royal (recalling that many musicians and actors of the eighteenth and nineteenth century were Catholics, a fact which will be underlined by the musical collections now at Douai Abbey, Woolhampton.) She gave the soundest advice to the postgraduate scholars present about how to follow up the papers of an individual by way of the wills in the Public Record Office and the National Register of Archives. She advised patience and the courteous approach to those wishing to consult family archives in private hands, with the reminder that archives are not always to be made available at the discretion of their current custodians. She concluded with the fascinating instance of the seventeenth-century manufacture of tapestry maps by the Sheldon works in Warwickshire, and how these tapestries have often a red thread woven in under the names of Recusant houses.

The first of the evening's two Plenary lectures was given by Jan Graffius, the Curator of the Museum at Stonyhurst College, Clitheroe, Lancashire. This richly-illustrated talk gave some indication of the depth and range of the Stonyhurst collection, which appointed her as its first professional Curator three years ago since when an extensive programme of cataloguing and conservation has been begun. The appointment is superbly timed: the museum itself is a wonderful Victorian survival, showing considerable traces of its origin in an early-modern *wunderkammer*, and it now has a curator able to preserve the identity and history of the museum while applying the most recent techniques of conservation to the objects in the collection.

She categorised the collection at Stonyhurst as falling essentially into three parts: first, those objects which had been with the Jesuit College throughout its often perilous history in S. Omer, Liège and Lancashire. She characterised many of the objects in this category as having traversed Europe in pockets and saddlebags, hidden and at risk. The second category is of more general Jesuit collections: particularly anthropological collections from the New World and the rich accretions of an established religious community in a large house. The third category, including some superb Jesuit-designed

mathematical and astronomical instruments from the Imperial Court of Beijing, she characterised as "objects bought or, acquired by Old Boys and donated to the College."

She offered a valuable distinction for the researcher: that the archives and papers formerly at Stonyhurst which pertained to the British Province of the Society of Jesus in general are now being centralised at Farm Street in London, whereas the materials pertaining to the College in S. Omers, Liège and Lancashire are to remain at Stonyhurst and to be carefully re-catalogued. She stressed the excitement of this re-cataloguing, the sense of exploring a chamber of marvels, two Ben Jonson folios turning up recently, not in the existing Catalogue. For such a deep collection, and in process of cataloguing and conservation, she could only give some indication of the high-points of the collection. Literary manuscripts of the Jesuit poets and Martyrs S. Edmund Campion (including what looks like a complex dialogue-cantata with angelic interlocutors) and the poignant pocket-notebook of S. Robert Southwell. Relics, chiefly of the Jesuit martyrs, an extraordinary wealth of Vestments, including the Wyntour vestments which formed the subject of Sophie Holroyd's subsequent lecture. She also indicated that some of the greatest riches of Stonyhurst, such as S. Cuthbert's gospel-book, "the Stonyhurst Gospels" were housed elsewhere, at least for the moment. Amongst the riches of donations are scientific instruments, material from the Jesuit mission-territories in the New World — anthropological collections of inconceivable richness — and *mestizo* art of the Americas, such as a great series of the Portraits of Inka sovereigns, Peruvian work of the seventeenth century. Stonyhurst also owns at least one superb, large-scale painting of the Peruvian Cuzco school, most probably the work of an indigenous American painter and dating from the earlier part of the eighteenth century.

For the student of recusant literature and culture it is to be emphasised that Stonyhurst has a very long run of the texts of college Latin plays from S. Omers and Liège as well as much material relating to the Jesuit martyrs. The collection also holds the very full handlist of the manuscripts relating to S. Edmund Campion, compiled by the late Fr F. Turner SJ and updated since. Access to the collections can be organised for accredited scholars as long as adequate notice is given. Prospective visitors should be aware of the location of the museum in a flourishing school, and the need to fit their visits around the rhythm of the school year.

The evening concluded with a superb illustrated lecture from Dr Sophie Holroyd, recently of the University of Warwick, on the subject of the vestments made by the Midland gentlewoman Helena Wyntour in the seventeenth century. These are an extraordinary set of artefacts, worked with immense richness, and made as an action of religious devotion by a woman whose father and brother were executed for their parts in the plot of 1605. They were made as a gift to the Society of Jesus and were worked (as Dr Holroyd demonstrated with great lucidity) using symbols, imprese and ideas from Henry Hawkins SJ's devotional emblem-book *Parthenia Sacra*. Each work is a complex distillation of traditional religious imagery with elements of the new devotions for the laity fostered by the Jesuits. As such, the textiles and their

intellectual background form a complete and vastly satisfying picture of the cultural and imaginative life of one Recusant woman. In terms of the interests of the wider academy, it is also important to stress that the Wyntour vestments constitute the single most ambitious work in the visual arts undertaken by any Englishwoman of the seventeenth century. (There is a comparandum in the group of monuments at (Great) Mitton, West Yorkshire, commissioned from professional sculptors by Isabella Shireburn in the 1690s.) This major group of textiles constitutes a fine demonstration of the extent to which material of the widest interest to secular scholars can be found in the collections of the Church.

Papers and communications delivered on Thursday

The papers of Thursday began with Dame Margaret Truran's beautifully-delivered account of the collections of Stanbrook Abbey. Stanbrook dates from 1838, as successor to the English Benedictine Congregation of Cambrai, which dates from 1623. Dame Margaret emphasised that Cambrai has two successors in England, Stanbrook and Colwich in Staffordshire, and that the collections from Cambrai are more or less equally divided between the two, with the printed books being substantially at Colwich. She also explained how much was lost by the flight from Cambrai after the French Revolution, and in the course of forty years of wandering. Much was inevitably lost to the revolutionary armies, so much so that Cambrai archives (as opposed to collections) are much more likely to be in the municipal library at Cambrai than at Stanbrook. She said that archives of the convent are also to be found at the Archives Départementales du Nord in Lille, and also among the Thurlow papers in the Rawlinson collection of manuscripts in the Bodleian.

She concluded with a survey of some of the collections still at Stanbrook: A mediaeval processional cross; a relic of the Holy Thorn from Glastonbury Abbey; parchment cut-work (there is also cut-work at Traquair House in the Scottish Borders and, the most celebrated example, the *Blairs Jewel* at the Blairs Museum, Aberdeen); relics of the Carmelite Martyrs from Compiègne (those of Poulenc's *Dialogues des Carmelites*); also early-modern transcriptions of the text of Julian of Norwich and Infirmarian's receipts. These last constitute a not-insignificant medical manuscript compiled by an early-modern Englishwoman.

The next speaker was Sister Christina Kenworthy-Browne of the Bar Convent in York, speaking not only about the archives of the Convent (which has been on one site since 1686 thus being the oldest living convent in the British Isles) but also about the excellent museum of Recusant history set up there. The Wardists, the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary, were women on the Catholic mission, founded to be mobile, to be educators of girls, to keep the faith.

The Bar Convent Museum was set up in 1987 and houses among its chief treasures the painted life of the Foundress in a series of canvases copies of German originals; there are many specifically recusant items — a little chalice

made of horn and secret altars which can be folded up into bedheads. Also at the Bar Convent is the "pedlar's vestment" a striped chasuble combining all the different liturgical colours. The archives of the educational activities of the order are of the highest interest to historians of women's education and women's lives: among other information which they contain is the evidence that the nuns in the 1670s certainly knew Latin, and two of the nuns in the Wardist house at Hammersmith knew Greek and Hebrew. The collection contains the Martyrology printed by the recusant printer John Wilson at S. Omers, with an appendix of English Martyrs and further additions in manuscript in a c17 hand. There is evidence that school plays were performed, although so far no texts have come to light, and there is a 1764 recipe book. There are many portraits of recusant interest in the great parlour of the convent. Much incidental detail of eighteenth century women's lives can be gathered from the copies of the schoolgirls' bills of which many survive. The archives at the Bar Convent are in good case: they are catalogued, there are handlists and they are possibly to go online in the near future.

The next speaker was Abbot Geoffrey Scott of Douai Abbey, Woolhampton, near Reading. He spoke not only of the collections which are already at Woolhampton, but also of the important plans for Woolhampton to function in future as a home to any Catholic archives which are homeless on account of amalgamations or closures of religious houses. He began by speaking of the holdings of his own house, emphasising that Benedictine holdings are of organic growth and his monastic archive is in the best sense an accumulation of detritus, much of it cultural and academic material. Douai Abbey holds, for example, the eighteenth-century minutes of "The Society of S. Edmund" an *academia* on the Continental model, a literary salon with interests in the sciences. The Abbey has also accreted much matter of interest to the general historian: a large collection of French Revolutionary pamphlets is currently on loan to the University of Reading. It should also be emphasised that the Douai library preserves elements from the libraries of both the English and Scots colleges at Douai, with the richest holding being seventeenth-century English material, particularly martyr-relations and the history of the English Benedictine Congregation. There is a further collection of rare printed ephemera, of Jacobite correspondence tipped into bound collections. There is chapel silver and there are architectural plans. There is a prayer book of the Marian period with fore-edge painting.

One of the most important holdings of Douai Abbey (and one which is very little known to the academy at large) is its holding of music books from the London Embassy chapels of the penal times. Given the number of Catholics among the most distinguished musicians and actors of the eighteenth century and the fact that many of the leading theatre musicians also served as musicians in what were at the time the only legal Catholic Churches in London, this is a holding of real significance. Douai Abbey also holds portraits, one of the largest collections of likenesses of English Catholics from the times before Emancipation, these are from S. Gregory's College, Paris, and also from Douai in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

There is a plan well advanced for a new archive building at Woolhampton, and it is Abbot Geoffrey's eventual plan to put all the handlists of archival collections online. It should be disseminated urgently that Douai Abbey is prepared to give a home to Recusant archives from religious houses amalgamating or closing.

Mgr John McIntyre spoke concisely on the collections of the Pontifical Scots College in Rome. These include portraits and plate from the penal times. The archives of the College have fared less well. The College was founded by Clement VIII in 1600. The Rectors until the suppression of the Society of Jesus were Scots and Italian Jesuits. The greater part of the College Archives which survive are at Columba House in Edinburgh, with smaller collections in Rome and Salamanca. For the early period there is some material in the archives of the Propaganda Fide at Rome, and it is to be remembered that Scottish students sometimes attended the German college.

Overall, however, the survival of material from the Jesuit period is not good and as early as 1808 MacPherson's history deplored the "lack of Correspondence" from this era. The main seventeenth and eighteenth-century collections are those brought back hastily to Scotland by the same Abbé MacPherson in the face of Napoleonic invasion. What became of the material left behind is uncertain. Throughout the seventeenth century the College had comparatively small student numbers, and there is little evidence of cultural production [apart from the literary activities of the alumnus Thomas Duff of Würzburg.]. There is however, among the surviving archives in Edinburgh and Rome, a considerable quantity of Jacobite material of great interest to the general historian.

Andrew Nicoll then offered a very cogent overview of the substantial resources of the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh, representing a centralisation far greater than is the case for the documents of the English or Irish establishments on the Continent. He began by emphasising that the succession of college libraries from the Paris College and then the north-eastern Scottish seminaries were drawn together at Blairs College, Aberdeen and are now at the NLS in Edinburgh, awaiting a future decision on their destination. This substantial archive is less well-known than it could be, so an expanded description of its contents is given here:

The Archives of the Church — From the Reformation to the French Revolution, the main attempt to maintain the Archives of the Church in anyway was carried out in the Scots College at Paris. As the place of deposit for the medieval papers of the Archdiocese of Glasgow following the flight of Archbishop James Beaton, the College served as the repository for the muniments of Kings and the Church in exile. The colleges at Madrid, Douai and Rome, and the Scots Benedictine Monastery at Ratisbon, by default, became repositories for the Archives of the Church also. Correspondence and the personal papers of those connected with these institutions were built up over the period in discussion, those for Douai being dispersed in the same way as those of Paris in the French Revolution, whilst Ratisbon and Madrid survived reasonably intact at the time.

The survival of the Archives of the Church from the period of the French Revolution onwards depended very much on the work of the Scots in place in France and elsewhere, ensuring that as much material as possible was brought back to Scotland safely housed either in their homes, or with the Seminaries at Scalan, Aquhorties and later Blairs. It was from Blairs in 1958 that the first Keeper of the Archives, Father William Anderson brought the muniments to Edinburgh, so that they could be accessed by researchers with more ease than they had been in Aberdeenshire. The proximity of the National Archives of Scotland (then the Scottish Record Office) and the National Library of Scotland allows historians and archivists alike to examine and interrogate the information contained within the collections. Since Father Anderson, we have had scholars such as Mgr David McRoberts, Abbot Mark Dilworth and Dr Christine Johnson at the helm of the Archives. Columba House today, contains the largest body of Scottish Catholic Archives in the United Kingdom. Manuscript holdings run to 0.5 km - dating from 1177 they are being added to constantly, increasing probably in the next few years by a further 50%; the Library containing material from the 16th century extends to 0.25km consisting of around 10,000 books, pamphlets and periodicals.

Scottish Mission Archives, 1560-1959 and the Blairs 1627-1930, Preshome 1641-1933 and Oban Letters 1764-1901 — The records of the Church at home during this period are found in the Scots Mission Collections, which date from 1560. Included in these archives are the reports sent to Rome from 1566 and correspondence from Scottish Jesuits in the period 1586 to 1603. Visitations of the Highlands and the resulting correspondence with the Cardinal Protector, as well as correspondence to and from the Propaganda are also included in this material. It runs right through to the restoration of the hierarchy in Scotland, and there are many hidden gems. Included in the records of the Scots Mission are pamphlets and broadsheets from the 17th century, which on quick examination seem to contain useful material for understanding the wider British context of which Scotland was a part. Added to the Scots Mission Archives, and the largest body of material relating to the period under examination here, are the collections known as the Blairs, Preshome and Oban Letters. Dating from 1627 until 1930 in the case of Blairs, the collected correspondence of the Scots Mission extends to at least 100,000 items, and provides the fullest picture of Catholic Scotland in a wider British and European context available. The Blairs Letters complement and enhance those found in the Stuart Papers at Windsor, and are one of the most important sources for Jacobite history.

Colleges Abroad — The Scots maintained four colleges in Europe from the beginning of the 17th century, two of these, Rome and Spain (at Salamanca) survive to this day and hold the majority of their own Archives. Mgr McIntyre spoke on the Roman archives in his paper on the Pontifical Scots College in Rome. The Colleges at Douai and Paris of course suffered from the effects of the French Revolution and the manuscripts, libraries and artworks were dispersed in a variety of ways during the 1790s. It is unfortunate, and horrifying to an archivist, to read contemporary accounts of the Colleges being pillaged, with papers and books either being burnt, stolen or sold. Some of the

records of Paris and Douai certainly survive in the libraries and archives of France, and one volume of the medieval chartularies of the Archdiocese of Glasgow is currently in the library of the Irish College. It is impossible to do justice to the contents of the collections for the Scots Colleges. Unfortunately, the bulk of the collections were lost, but those elements which do survive are remarkably valuable and can give a wide understanding of the institutions.

Douai, 1594-1886 — Of the four colleges, the records of Douai fared the worst during the French Revolution. The surviving manuscripts can be broadly split in two: those relating to the period up to 1790 and those from the 19th century generated through the attempts to recover the College property by the Bishops. Perhaps the highlight of the collection, dating from *before the period we are examining today* is the volume of transcriptions of Royal letters from 1524 to 1528. This was made between 1786 and 1789. The Douai Registers of Students (the 'Small' and the 'Big') survive in the family collection of the Maxwells of Kirkconnell Abbey, having been removed by the last of the Jesuit rectors and brought to Scotland after 1742. Copies of these are available in Columba House and it is expected that the originals will be deposited in Columba House in the coming months.

Paris, 1633-1942 — The records of the College at Paris are slightly more voluminous than those of Douai. More administrative records survive for the College from 17th and 18th century. Again, like Douai, there are records from the period where the Bishop's tried to recover the property of the College, almost from the end of the Revolution. The Book of Grisy or *Liber Grisiensis* is the register of deeds of entitlement for the College in Paris and contains three large illustrations. Also valuable is the almost weekly correspondence between William Leslie in Rome and the superiors of the Scots College Paris, extending over fifty years.

Rome, 1600-1944 — Columba House holds a small amount relating to the College, including late 17th century visitations to the College and material relating to the proposed union of the Scots, English and Irish Colleges in Rome in the early 18th century.

Spain, 1544-1926 [Madrid, Valladolid and Salamanca] — The records of Scots College Spain are generally located at Salamanca. Founded in 1627 in Madrid, it moved in 1770 to Valladolid, before moving to Salamanca in the 20th century. Salamanca perhaps possesses the most complete library and archive of any of the Scots Colleges and is the least used for understanding the relationship of Scottish Catholics with Europe. There is a small portion of material in Columba House relating to Scots College Spain which was brought to Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s at the instance of Bishop Kyle. The bulk of these papers are from the 17th and 18th centuries, and are most useful in understanding the relationship between Spain and Scots College Douai, where all Spanish students were sent for a period of time in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Schottenkloester 1177-1855 and Fort Augustus 1597-1998 - The Regensburg Schottenkloester material provides an invaluable part of the

history of the Church in the Recusant period, and survives in much greater quantities than that from the other Scots foundations on the continent. The Schottenkloester and its place in the Scots Mediaeval Kirk has dubious beginnings, but it provides one of the major archives of correspondence from the 17th century. As an aside, the Schottenkloester Papal Bull of Foundation dated 1177 is the oldest document in the Archive. The records of the Schottenkloester are scattered in many different collections located elsewhere in Scotland and Germany. As well as the material located in the Schottenkloester collection, there are various Schottenkloester items in the Fort Augustus Abbey Collection at Columba House and a small number of printed books and manuscripts in the Diocesan Archive of Argyll and the Isles. The library of Fort Augustus Abbey, the core of which came from Ratisbon, was deposited at the National Library of Scotland and a number of manuscripts have been bought by the NLS. Abbot Mark Dilworth conducted a survey of the continental archives in the 1970s and his working notes provide references, notes and transcripts to manuscripts located on the continent.

Personal Papers — Bishops Hay (1729-1811), Geddes (1735-1799), Cameron (1747-1828), Paterson (1766-1831) and Carruthers (1792) — The personal papers of the Vicars Apostolic have survived in varying degrees and are still coming to light to this day. Only last year we purchased a manuscript volume of notes taken by Bishop Andrew Carruthers whilst a student at Scots College Douai in 1791 from the Logic and Philosophy lectures given by Ludovic Blin at the University of Douai. The Bishops' Papers are what might be termed personal in nature, but contain theological and devotional and can contain important academic, genealogical and historical research. There is a reasonable amount of them and their value cannot be sufficiently emphasised.

Quintin Kennedy (1520-1564), Thomas Innes (1662-1744), Alexander Geddes (1737-1802), Principal Alexander Gordon (c1744-1818), Philip Perry (1720-1774) and William Wallace (1767-1854) — Personal papers of other individuals have also been accumulated and gathered.

Scottish domestic papers - Blairs Charters and Families and Lands — The Scottish Catholic Archives also contain a number and family papers in different quantities. The Blairs Charters Collection contains material which a 19th-century antiquarian and genealogist used in legal searches and contains many land transactions and estate papers. They relate predominantly to Catholic families and can be useful if you are studying the relationships between the landowning families and how they continued to live and carry out business. The Families and Lands Collection contains gathered papers of 5 families – which almost equate to a Deed Box each. They again are smaller parts of estate collections and it isn't clear to me why we have them, the main bodies of papers being located elsewhere. But still, of use if you are looking at Catholic families in Scotland.

Biographical and Historical Collections —Canon Clapperton and the Thomson-McPherson History of the Scots Mission.

Summary — In the words of Mgr McRoberts, second Keeper of the Archives, along with important material from the Scots colleges in Douai, Rome and Spain, from the Scots monasteries in Germany and from the home seminaries, the Scottish Catholic Archives has a central core of documents, which include Gilbert Blakhal's Brieffe Narration, the Album Amicorum of George Strachan, the Statutum and Necrologium of the Paris College, the fifteenth-century Scotichronicon, the manuscript life of James II and especially the Book of Grisy, together with a great deal of correspondence, which prove it to be the continuing heir of the Paris College Archives, preserving in the same way that Thomas Innes in the eighteenth century carefully administered, including Mary Queen of Scots letters to her ambassadors.

[Material on the Scottish Mission c.1603-1650 is to be found in Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu, MS *Anglia* 42, of which copies and some translations are in the Jesuit Archive at Farm Street.] As far as is known, material from the Scots Colleges in Douai and Paris was mostly dispersed, although there may be survivors in the Archives Departmentales du Nord and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Archives from the Scottish Benedictine Monastery of Ratisbon (Regensburg) are far more complete. Very substantial cataloguing and web-mounting of material is in progress, together with a policy of obtaining microfilm and electronic copies of Scottish material in Continental collections. The archives are freely open to scholars by appointment.

Dr Penny Woods then spoke of the material from Irish Houses on the Continent now in the rare books and manuscripts library of the National University of Ireland at Maynooth. Much of the material entered the NLI collections by purchase from the closures of religious houses in the 1790s. There is rich documentation in the Maynooth collection of the Revolutionary period in Europe, as well as rich material from the college of the Noble Irish of Salamanca, including many books from the library. The Salamanca oaths (like the Liber Ruber of the Venerable English College in Rome) are a succession of small biographies, windows onto quotidian early-modern lives, as are the college accounts from Salamanca. Irish material from the Continental exile is increasingly well documented by the *Irish in Europe* project, whose website is <http://irishineurope.ie>. There is a printed guide to some of the highlights of the Maynooth collection by Agnes Neligan, *Maynooth Library Treasures* (Dublin, 1995), which includes a bibliography of the Irish Colleges in Spain and also an account of the Salamanca Archives. Dr Woods also drew our attention to other sources for the study of the penal times in Ireland: P. J. Corish and D. Sheehy's *Records of the Irish Catholic Church* (Dublin: Maynooth Research Guides, 2001) and the annual *Collectanea Hibernica* with its listings of sources for Irish History and guides to archives and collections, published annually by the Franciscan house of Celtic Studies and Historical Research, Dún Mhuire, Killiney, Co. Dublin. *Archivium Hibernicum* is also published annually by the Catholic Historical Society of Ireland, Maynooth. The Association of Church Archivists of Ireland will advertise requests for information in their *Newsletter*, and the person to contact there is Sr. Marie Bernadette O'Leary, Caritas, 15 Gilford Road, Sandymount, Dublin 4.

Gerard Boylan, the custodian of S. Mary's College, Oscott, spoke of the riches in that collection. Oscott was founded in 1794 as a small seminary and Catholic boys' school, the first institution to train a priest on English territory since the 1550s. Oscott benefited from early bequests from Recusant gentry families. Mr Boylan emphasised again the number of mediaeval objects and manuscripts surviving in recusant collections. The recusant library at Oscott includes the Harvington Secular Clergy library founded at Harvington Hall by Lady Mary Yate in 1696, which contained over 1700 items by the mid-eighteenth century. Oscott also holds a substantial music collection, including the music book of the isolated but resilient Recusant community at Brailes in Oxfordshire. The Oscott collections remind us that in the later period before Emancipation such institutions as Oscott itself and Stonyhurst functioned to provide University-level study for those excluded from the secular universities, and that they have the library resources to support this. Oscott also benefited from later bequests particularly of rich materials on the English martyrs, as well as a large collection on Roman art and antiquities, the cultural accretions of enforced exile. Oscott also holds one document of vital Scottish interest: the 203 pages of Alexander Leslie's *Visitation of Scotland*. There is an account of the trial of the York martyr S. Margaret Clitheroe as well as the commonplace book of Peter Mole 1595-1604, a rich source for recusant cultural history. Oscott MSS 61 and 62 are a bound collection once in the possession of Hartwell Grissell, and are a substantial Roman collection of plans, investigations and projections for the return of England to the faith, from the time of Cardinal Pole to the late seventeenth century. Much information about the Oscott collection is available online at www.oscott.net and scholars are very welcome by appointment.

Dr Heather Wolfe, keeper of manuscripts at the Folger Shakespeare Library spoke next of the holdings of Recusant material in that institution. She emphasised that the Recusant holdings were to an extent random, as it had not been in any sense a part of the Folger's original remit to acquire Catholic material as such, but that, unwittingly, the North American magnates who financed the great research libraries of the United States did in fact acquire substantial quantities of such material. Dr Wolfe reminded the company that anti-Catholic material can still be a rich source for Catholic texts. Papers from the Commissions on Recusancy can contain Catholic verses copied entire as evidence. These papers also contain much material for the social historian, particularly in the itemised reasons which Recusant individuals gave for not appearing before commissions. Dr Wolfe stressed that there was a real need for the custodians of the great research libraries of the United States to know more about the recusant context, which was not a great part of the view of Renaissance England which informed the assembly of the collections. Dr Wolfe spoke of particular items in the Folger collections of special Recusant interest: Digby family papers, their Add MS 725, a c17 commonplace book, their VA 244, a 1617 proclamation forbidding Catholic priests from attending stage plays. Dr Wolfe drew attention to a particularly important item in the Folger collection: a Shakespeare folio with annotations which originated in the English College at Valladolid. Dr Wolfe then concluded by asking if the time was not ripe for working towards a microfilm collection of crucial recusant literary MSS with finding aids and indices, a collection which could be

duplicated and held at key research libraries as a means of taking pressure off small collections which do not really have the facilities to receive scholars.

Professor Davidson then summarised briefly from Fr.T.M. McCoog SJ's *Guide to Jesuit Archives*. This is a worldwide published finding guide for the Jesuit archives — Thomas M. McCoog SJ, *A Guide to Jesuit Archives* (St Louis and Rome: The Institute of Jesuit Sources and Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2001.)

The essential distinction to bear in mind when consulting Jesuit archives (which are generally in excellent condition, well catalogued and welcome properly accredited scholars by appointment made in advance) is that those archives which constitute "reports to headquarters" are most likely to be found in the Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu in the Borgo Santo Spirito. These would include annual reports on the personnel and condition of individual provinces or missions within them, as well as the "annual letters" which report the achievements of each unit within the organisation. In fact it would appear that copies of some of these "annual letters" are also at Farm Street.

Archives of the British province are centralised at Farm Street in London, where Fr McCoog is archivist (the Irish province material is in Dublin, where Fr Fergus O'Donoghue SJ is the archivist). Farm Street holds a prodigious collection extending from the beginning of the English mission well into the nineteenth century. Many of the earlier manuscripts (Scottish as well as English) are transcribed in typescript and in some cases translated. Jesuit cultural material tends to be housed at the institution which originally produced it (it is to be remembered both that Jesuit cultural production is copious and of extraordinary quality overall, and that the Continental colleges were all at some time or another under Jesuit control.) Thus the Latin dramas from the Jesuit period at the Venerabile are still in Rome, the emblem books produced at Valladolid in the 1590s and 1600s at Valladolid (and the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid.) Latin plays from S. Omers (an extraordinarily fine run) are at Stonyhurst in Lancashire. Farm Street also contains small holdings of Jesuit relics and reliquaries. It is important to stress just how much of a scholar's resource is available at Farm Street: particularly important are the extraordinary fruits of the labours of Jesuit scholars of the twentieth century in gathering copies of materials relating to the British Province and its members from all over Continental Europe. It is also to be emphasised that a very fair quantity of this material is transcribed and also translated out of the original Latin.

This archive does not only contain papers from the foundation of the Province to the twentieth century, it also holds copies of material from the Central Jesuits archive in Rome (ARSI, Archivium Romanum Societatis Jesu) and many other Continental Archives. A substantial quantity of this material is also held in typescript transcription and translation. There is also a substantial collection of Jesuit books from the penal times, again supplemented by copies and facsimiles.

The Archive of the Irish Province of the Society of Jesus is also open by appointment only to bona fide students with letters of identification. Among its collections are materials from the penal times, which include Manuscript A, a series of 167 original letters 1577-1714, of which those up to 1650 have been published. Manuscript B consists of letters to members of the society from non-Jesuits 1576-1698. The archive also contains vast quantities of transcripts made by Fr John MacErlean, SJ (between 1904 and 1906) of material relating to Irish Jesuits found in continental libraries including the Annual Letters from 1604-20 and the Catalogus Missionis Hiberniae 1542-1755. There is substantial material of Irish interest in the ARSI in Rome, some of it, for historical reasons catalogued in class "Anglia" with the materials of the British Province.

The Jesuit archive at Farm Street/Mount Street (and the sister archive in Dublin) are both fortunate in having in post archivists who are themselves noted scholars of Jesuit history from the pre-suppression era, and are thus particularly well fitted to act as guides to the collections in their care.

The last session of the conference began with read communications from small and private collections who were not able to send a representative in person.

Most of the material 'read' was from John Martin Robinson, librarian and curator at Arundel. The Duke of Norfolk's library, in its *gothick* room, is one of the most complete Georgian libraries to survive, and contains a collection of recusant books in four sections: the Jesuit Collection, the Pro and Anti Popery Collection, Service Books and Mass Material. The second of these sections includes 58 volumes of pamphlets on the Catholic controversy of the reign of James II.

Dr John Sharp (Birmingham Archdiocesan Archives) said that a version of the Archive catalogues will appear on the A2A website.

The Downside Abbey Library contains perhaps the largest and most important collection of recusant printed works in Britain and also houses the archives of the English Benedictine Congregation as well as the community's own records. The sacristy at Downside contains many relics and reliquaries relating to the penal period. There are also some significant holdings of textiles of which the Glover chasuble is only one example. At Downside also are extensive notes and photocopies from Benedictine houses on the Continent.

Lord Clifford of Chudleigh sent a brief account of some of the material at Ugbrooke Park at Chudleigh in Devon, indicating that there was manuscript material of recusant interest still there (although the main body of the Clifford Papers passed to the British Library in 1989), concluding: 'I would be happy to permit a scheduled archivist/historian access to the Ugbrook Archives'.

The Scottish Catholic Heritage Museum at Blairs near Aberdeen also sent a document to be read. The collection there is the collection of the succession

of seminaries in the north-east of Scotland which were established after the Revolutionary period and the closure of the Scots college in Paris. The Paris college would seem to be the source for two of the most striking objects in the collection: the "Blairs Jewel" a composite reliquary dating from about 1620, parchment cut-work under glass, surrounding a miniature of Mary Stuart in middle age. The arrangement of the reliquary implicitly claims for Mary the status of martyr. What is also interesting about it is the presence of relics of Jesuits martyred on the English mission, apparently before their official recognition as *beati* by the church. Blairs also holds the grand posthumous portrait of Mary Stuart as martyr, commissioned by one of her attendants at Fotheringay. There is also a portrait of Mary in youth of French provenance. There are a fine run of Jacobite portraits. There are one or two fine pictures of Flemish origin (presumably ex the Scots College in Douai) a donor with Trinity of the mid-15 century, and a good baroque crucifixion of the Antwerp school. There are documents and objects connected with Abbé MacPherson as well as a remarkably fine collection of vestments, many of them French work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There are recusant chalices and plate. One of the most eloquent objects is the "Corgarff Chasuble" from a remote mission station in the hills, a low quality and already-damaged mediaeval orphrey patched onto a carefully re-pieced velvet ground apparently a textile re-used from an eighteenth century dress. Altogether the Blairs collection is one of the unexpected collections: so fierce was the iconoclasm which accompanied the Calvinist revolution in Scotland that it is salutary to remember that north-eastern Scotland was not enthusiastic for reform (indeed Aberdeen contains one of the best preserved and most ambitious Recusant chapels anywhere in the British Isles) and that not everything disappeared in the later c16.

The penultimate paper was given by Mgr Michael Williams, the historian of both the Venerable English College in Rome and the Royal English College in Valladolid. Speaking about Valladolid, he chose to focus on a very few items in a collection which has escaped both the armies of the Revolutionary, Peninsular and Civil Wars relatively intact. He spoke of the series of paintings of early British Monarchs preserved in the college, an explicit claim of the English legitimacy of the exiles (and of the illegitimacy of the Protestant regime). He spoke of the statue of Our Lady damaged by the English troops of the Earl of Essex in the sack of Cadiz installed in the College in 1600 with much ceremony as a figure of the wounded and mutilated state of schismatic England. (There are a series of paintings at the college which document the history of this image and the ceremony with which it was installed in Valladolid.) Mgr Williams spoke also of a strange representation of the proto-martyr of England, S. Alban, killed by figures apparently Amerindian, a part of the metaphorical equation of the Protestant English with peoples then perceived as savage which formed a distinct part of Valladolid rhetoric. This initiative was also continued in the English books brought out to Valladolid by Fr Perry, including a Camden which was censored in the Jesuit period with manuscript excisions, deletions and commentary.

The library is in two parts, distinguished by binding: 2,881 vellum bound books and 2,765 bound in pigskin. There are also at the college a sequence of

portraits of martyred alumnae. Mgr Williams concluded by remarking that the English College at Lisbon's archives are now at Ushaw, except for a few held at the University Library in Coimbra.

The final talk was given by Fr Stewart Foster, who has recently returned from advising the Venerable English College, Rome on its archives and on the proposed re-cataloguing which will attend a re-housing of the papers within the college. The Venerable presents an unique case amongst the Continental colleges, being a pre-reformation pilgrim house with very considerable property and income, which metamorphosed at the reformation into a college of the Pontifical university. The Venerable is the oldest English college abroad, certainly the most prosperous, and one of the richest ancient English libraries of any kind outwith England. There are substantial holdings of mediaeval material, superb holdings of counter-reformation material, including drama and Latin and vernacular poetry. A good sketch-catalogue is already in place at the College, which catalogue gives a sense of catalogue built upon catalogue, the slow accretion of a Patrimony. The central recusant document at the college is the series of red books, matriculation books which were, in the penal times, also books of interrogations about the lives and antecedents of new students. This is a kind of sketch-map of recusant England, identifying many families throughout England who were prepared to send a son abroad however reticent they may have been at home. In parallel to this, the guest book of the college is a register of visitors, a discreet record kept for security purposes, identifying who came, who visited, a few who stayed: a finger on the pulse of travelling Europe. It is notable how many (protestant) Royalist exiles were received in the later 1640s. It is not absolutely certain that either Marvell or Milton are identified beyond doubt by entries in the book. Among many manuscripts is one of interest to scholars of women's cultural history: 1650 "Praises and Devotions" by Eleanor Rothwell.

Fr Foster concluded by suggesting that the initiatives currently being undertaken to re-order the archives and collections might be leading towards easier access, but stressed that the college has been constrained to work with a succession of (often excellent) student archivists holding the post for a short time and consequently, ample notice was required for a visit and a visit would be more welcome in the quieter periods of the Gregorian University year — October-November and March-April.

What have we heard? What have we learned?

The conference concluded with a summary of the contents of the papers delivered, undertaken by Professor Davidson, who lamented the paucity of scholars from the British Secular Universities who ever use the Vatican library, the Bibliotheca Apostolica, despite its prodigious holdings of British interest, and its incorporating the finest Calvinist library of early-modern Europe, the Bibliotheca Palatina from Heidelberg, and then went on to summarise what had been heard in the course of the conference, stressing the extraordinary number of avenues for original primary research which had opened up in what Professor Duffy had called at the beginning of the conference " a rich and

virgin soil." Alongside the paper collections, the libraries and the treasuries, it should be remembered that recusant Catholicism left also a small but extremely important patrimony in buildings and interiors of buildings. The painted chapel in Provost Skene's House in Aberdeen has been mentioned already; the emblematic buildings devised in Northamptonshire by Sir Thomas Tresham are comparatively well-known. But there are many, many Recusant structures which still require investigation and interpretation. In this respect it should be remembered that the National Monuments Records of England and Scotland, in Swindon and Edinburgh respectively, hold very full documentation of all listed buildings, and both institutions are as welcoming as they are helpful to scholars. Recusant sites range from those which might be said to be part of the cultural landscape already, such as Alexander Pope's grotto at Twickenham with its *Arma Christi* shield over the entrance, or the inscribed study at the Fitzherbert Manor of Norbury in Derbyshire, to places which have barely been studied such as the Oratory at Abbey Dore in Herefordshire or the tower house of Hutton John in Cumbria. In this context it is also necessary to remember that divisions were not absolutely rigid throughout the penal times and that an Anglican church can well be the host to a significant recusant space, as with the sequence of recusant, deliberately anachronistic monuments commissioned in the 1690s by Isabella Shireburn for her family's mortuary chapel at (Great) Mitton in West Yorkshire. Professor Davidson concluded with the reminder that Jacobite material inevitably overlaps with Recusant material particularly in the circles around the exiled Stuarts and that there are very substantial holdings of such material in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and the Biblioteca Apostolica of the Vatican. (The papers of Henry Benedict, Cardinal York would seem now to be at Frascati, having formerly been on deposit at the Venerable English College.)

The Conference was then concluded by responses and reflections from Dr Anne Dillon, who summed up most ably the sheer diversity of material which had been mentioned, and emphasised the urgent need to draw maps to guide students and researchers through this rich and unexplored territory. Dr Gerard Kilroy spoke finely on the importance of what had been heard for the scholar of British renaissance literature and emphasised that "recusant Catholic" was not a hermetic category and that the scholar would be well advised to look for (often intimate and friendly) connections between confessional communities.

The closing words were delivered by Professor Patricia Brückmann, who again emphasised that to enter imaginatively into the lives of the institutions who produced the manuscripts, formed the libraries and made or collected the objects and works of art, was a prerequisite of being able to make an order out of material which had been once unfamiliar but had now moved decisively into the scholarly mainstream. She ended by affirming the value of listening as well as looking during such a visit, of learning the rhythms of a community in the hour, month and year, at which point the bell of the Abbey Church rang for vespers and the conference ended.

Results and plans for the future

The immediate sequel to the conference which is planned is the creation (by Andrew Nicoll at the Scottish Catholic Archives in Edinburgh) of a database of contact details for scholars working in this and related fields. The database also seeks to post all the contact information for collections and archives (and their web presences) which were brought to the meeting. Look for new postings at catholic-heritage.net. This summary report will, it is hoped, also be published in *The Downside Review*.

Principal outcome of the conference: the crucial need for a *Preliminary Finding Guide to Recusant Collections*.

This is a prologue to the main outcome which the committee feel should result from the conference: the preparation of a published *Selective Finding Guide to Collections relating to Recusant Catholic History and Culture 1560 - 1780*. Funding to support this initiative will be sought, in the coming months, from the AHRB Resource Enhancement Fund. Our plan is to send out a formal questionnaire to all institutions and individuals represented at the conference, as well as to some institutions (especially religious houses) who were unable to send a representative to Downside. It is essential that we make contact with Ushaw and obtain the fullest possible account of all their collections. We would hope in the published guide to cover such institutions as the *Archives du Nord* at Lille and the considerable collections at the *Bibliothèques Municipale* in Douai and Cambrai. Given the conditions of extreme difficulty under which the keepers of some of these collections work (particularly the librarians and sacristans of the smaller religious houses) we would hope that one member of the organising committee should be able to travel to many of the locations and assist with the completion of the questionnaire.

Although such a finding guide could only be preliminary (and cannot cover, for example, the vast Recusant holdings of the British Library or the Bibliotheca Apostolica) it has the potential to bring together in one place information which is otherwise extremely hard of access to researchers and academics in the secular academy. It would also begin to function as a first point of resource for archivists seeking to obtain microfilms and electronic copies of documents in series with those in their existing collections. (It is worth remembering that the collections treated here are not only the product of the *diaspora* caused by the Reformations in Britain and Ireland, but also of the dislocations caused by the wars attendant upon the French Revolution.) As a result of the conference, for example, the Scottish Catholic Archives have already begun the process of obtaining copies of material in series with existing holdings in Edinburgh from the Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, and are investigating the possibility of obtaining copies of records from the Scots College in Paris which may survive in the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is hoped that many other such initiatives will follow. It is noteworthy that at the conference itself, a number of identifications were made of the connections between the holdings of different collections not perceived before.

In summary, the *Finding Guide* will constitute in itself a modest but significant step towards the ordering of a twice-dispersed body of archival, printed and

cultural primary material which is now and increasingly the focus of interest from the mainstream secular academy as well as specialist communities of scholars.

A follow-up event: Downside Colloquium, June 2005

While there would seem to be no need to repeat this year's assembly of holders of collections and archives, there was wide general consensus at the end of the Downside Conference that a follow-up, albeit in a different key, would be highly desirable. What is envisaged is a specialist seminar or master-class in which four scholars of Recusant culture and history (perhaps one postgraduate as well as three established scholars) will read previously-circulated chapters from monographs on the verge of publication, with a very senior scholar of the subject invited as respondent. This meeting would be open to postgraduates and all interested scholars from the secular academy, again providing a forum, indeed a specific "surgery" for them to discuss work in progress with those most familiar with the archives and collections with which we are all working.

Summary and feedback

This year's conference has richly achieved its purpose of making contacts and beginning to assemble information and create a forum for the dissemination of information and ideas. The proposed *Finding Guide* will give tangible form to one part of the purpose of the Downside conference; the organisation of the follow-up seminar for next June is in considerable degree in response to the wishes of many who attended this year's meeting, particularly of the postgraduate community, one of whom spoke of the conference as "a new world opening."

Peter Davidson, University of Aberdeen, with a contribution from Andrew Nicoll, Scottish Catholic Archives

APPENDIX: some contact addresses for major holders of Recusant materials

Preliminary enquiries for the collections of the Venerable English College,
Rome:

Sister Mary Joseph,
Librarian,
Venerable English College
Via di Monserrato 45
00186 ROMA
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There is a published finding guide for the Jesuit archives worldwide, Thomas M. McCoog SJ, *A Guide to Jesuit Archives* (St Louis and Rome: The Institute of Jesuit Sources and Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 2001.)

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