

Catholic Culture
in Early Modern England

Edited by

Ronald Corthell,
Frances E. Dolan,
Christopher Highley,
and
Arthur F. Marotti

University of Notre Dame Press
Notre Dame, Indiana

9

The English Colleges and the English Nation

Allen, Persons, Verstegan, and Diasporic Nationalism

Mark Netzloff

Discussing English Catholic culture in the context of English nationhood would seem to bring together diametrically opposed categories, a perception that has only been reinforced by recent critical work on the early modern English nation. Richard Helgerson's *Forms of Nationhood*, for instance, analyzes English Catholic culture solely in terms of the Elizabethan period's memory of Marian Catholicism, thereby relegating this community to the English nation's past.¹ In a corollary argument, Linda Colley's *Britons* emphasizes Catholic culture's foreign provenance, situating it primarily as an external threat that roused nationalist sentiment in the eighteenth century.² As these groundbreaking studies so valuably reveal, anti-Catholicism played a crucial role in the formation of English national identity. Nonetheless, by focusing solely on anti-Catholic texts, as well as omitting any reference to recusant or expatriate writers, both Helgerson and Colley reiterate the exclusion of English Catholic culture from representations of the national community. As Alison Shell has noted, "[A]bsent from these discussions has been a consideration, or even a consciousness, of the other side: how English Catholics' experience of diaspora, combined with the necessity to re-evangelize a nation from

overseas, shaped their ideas of nationhood."³ Qualifying Shell's insightful point, however, my own argument is concerned less with recuperating an alternative or oppositional English Catholic "side" than with emphasizing the multiple and competing narratives of English nationhood that vied for authority in the early modern period. Catholics, too, participated in this struggle to define the nation, demonstrating how early modern English nationhood can be more productively conceptualized as a locus of identification ("Englishness"), one that was open to contestation and reimagining, rather than as a stable or monolithic entity ("*the* English nation") that could be dominated by any particular community.⁴

As Helgerson argues, one of the distinctive features of early modern English nationhood was a sense of the nation's territorial integrity, an emphasis upon the land itself as a consummate embodiment of Englishness.⁵ Taken in these terms, the bond between the English nation and many early modern Catholics would seem to have been irrevocably severed. Their experience, instead, was one of diaspora, of continental migration and exile, a position marked by distance from an English homeland as well as opposition to the nation's dominant Protestant culture. Following the Elizabethan settlement, English Catholics, unable to complete degrees at Oxford and Cambridge, often chose to study at the seminaries formed by English Catholic exiles on the Continent.⁶ The first English College, begun by William Allen at Douai (1568), was quickly joined by others: Owen Lewis, a Welsh canon lawyer, founded the English College in Rome (1576), while Robert Persons established several institutions, including seminaries at Valladolid (1589) and Seville (1592), as well as a preseminary school at St. Omer (1593).⁷ The colleges were initially constituted on the basis of an academic program rather than an activist one; however, in the wake of Pius V's papal bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570)—which excommunicated Elizabeth I and implicitly called on English Catholics to depose their monarch—one of their primary tasks became the training of missionary priests for their return to England, efforts that accelerated under Allen and Persons's leadership of the English mission (beginning in 1580). Rather than severing ties to the English nation, diasporic English Catholics appropriated—and at other times contested—paradigms of English nationhood, and the seminaries occupied a unique position as extranational institutions attempting to intervene in English political life and the public sphere.⁸ English authorities, however, interpreted this diasporic activism as a violation of national

integrity, a threat to the nation's cultural boundaries as well as to the state's sovereignty.

Despite their political significance, the English Colleges have received only marginal attention in critical discussions of early modern English Catholic culture. In his introduction to *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850*, John Bossy justifies his exclusion of Catholic expatriates from his study, arguing that exile placed this group in a separate tradition, as part of “Catholicisms of the continent,” rather than in any relation to English history; he therefore mentions the English Catholic diaspora only as “it contributed directly to the history of the community in England.”⁹ Bossy rightly underscores the distinctiveness of early modern Catholic communities—whether those residing in England, Wales, Scotland, or Ireland, or those living in diaspora on the Continent or in the colonies. Nonetheless, he fails to consider the porous boundaries and pervasive interconnections between these communities and, as a result, reinforces a sense of English exceptionalism (albeit English Catholic exceptionalism). Caroline Hibbard, in a suggestive departure from Bossy's analysis, has stressed the need for historians and literary critics to devote greater attention to the international character of English Catholicism.¹⁰ This essay takes up Hibbard's proposal, exploring the ways that Catholic polemical texts written from the position of continental diaspora offered their own formulations of English identity. In contrast to Helgeson's and Colley's implicit alignment of Protestantism with English nationhood, and in contradiction of Bossy's framework of an insular English Catholic experience, I argue that the writing of the English nation was also generated by its Catholic margins, and, moreover, that it was the experience of diaspora that enabled—rather than precluded—Catholic participation in constructions of nationhood.

This essay examines the distinct forms of national identity articulated by three key figures of the English Catholic diaspora: William Allen, Robert Persons, and Richard Verstegan. In his defense of the English Colleges, Allen reclaims the status of seminarians as loyal English subjects in exile, asserting a discourse of rights to defend their seeking refuge on the Continent. Endorsing a more activist stance than Allen, Persons's account of the English Colleges at Seville and Valladolid counters insular expressions of English identity by representing the seminaries as the inheritors of transcultural links with European nations. In contrast to the writings of Allen and Persons, my final example, Verstegan's antiquarian text *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in*

Antiquities, posits an essentialist model of cultural identity, counterbalancing the English Catholic community's own history of diaspora with a racialized embodiment of nationhood.

John Bossy and J. C. H. Aveling have characterized the English Colleges as conservative, traditional academic institutions that nonetheless progressively, and perhaps inadvertently, became the centers of activist political thought during the early years of the English mission.¹¹ However, this gradualist narrative does not give sufficient credit to the innovativeness, as well as surprising modernity, of the arguments raised by polemicists of the Catholic diaspora. In my analysis of selected texts by Allen, Persons, and Verstegan, I wish to mark a transition in the ways that these diasporic writers imagined national identity, a movement from a transnational, cosmopolitan activism, one that Benedict Anderson has recently described as an identity deriving from an “unbound seriality,” to a national consciousness based on a “bound seriality.” In the former paradigm, communal identity is distinguished by its “universal grounding,” an awareness of connection to the struggles of other communities that takes into account the multiple determinants through which identity is constructed. By contrast, the latter case, of “bound seriality,” is predicated by an “identitarian conception of ethnicity,” an assertion of a monolithic, racial core to a community's identity, one that is held to remain unchanged despite circumstances of migration and diaspora.¹²

Underlying their inherent differences, however, these two poles of national identification share a common feature: both are often formulated by diasporic groups displaced from their original or imagined cultural location, a phenomenon that Anderson terms “long-distance nationalism.”¹³ While contemporary globalization has made this phenomenon more pervasive, Anderson notes the longer history of diasporic nationalism; his analysis begins, in fact, with the example of Mary Rowlandson and late-seventeenth-century settlers in New England, demonstrating how the early modern period can inform our own era of globalization. For early modern English Catholics, geographic dislocation from the English nation was compounded by an ideological rift from its dominant Protestant culture, yet it was precisely these forms of distance that enabled them to imagine England as a nation: “[E]xile,” as John Dalberg-Acton remarked, “is the nursery of nationality.”¹⁴ However, the circumstances of travel and diaspora irrevocably altered the cultural position of English Catholic exiles, producing a hybridized identity that is reflected in descriptions of the Catholic expatriate community, from Anthony Munday's

English Roman Life to James Wadsworth's *English Spanish Pilgrime*.¹⁵ Due to the syncretic qualities of their cultural identity, seminarians and other Catholic exiles assumed an anomalous position, one at odds with the homogeneity that increasingly defined expressions of English nationhood, including even the forms of Englishness posited by English Catholics themselves. Thus the hyphenated components of this identity—English *and* Roman, English *and* Spanish—attest to the overlapping, serialized, but also conflicting bonds that shape the articulation of national identities.

The experience of many Catholics in early modern England was characterized by travel, as well as internal displacement, for the active persecution of Catholic priests necessitated an existence of incognito migration from safe house to protective country estate. Early modern Catholic culture was thus inextricably linked with travel, a "traveling culture," to use James Clifford's terminology.¹⁶ As Julian Yates notes in his analysis of the itinerant paths taken by missionary priests, "[T]o be a Catholic was to have a particular relationship to space, to England and its borders," quite often one that was "a tale of travel, of flight, return and concealment."¹⁷ Appropriately, many statutes enforced against English Catholics were also intended to regulate internal and overseas travel. Catholics were listed alongside other suspect itinerant groups and targeted in antivagrancy legislation, efforts that attempted to control the movement of Catholics within the realm,¹⁸ while statutes limiting unlicensed foreign travel were often directed against seminarians and missionary priests as well as the importation of Catholic texts and paraphernalia.¹⁹ The English Colleges were similarly associated with emerging networks of European travel: William Allen describes how many Englishmen had converted to Catholicism and enrolled in the colleges while touring the Continent, a claim that Lewis Owen, in his exposé of the English Colleges, cites as evidence of the ways that the seminaries preyed upon vulnerable English travelers.²⁰ Owen also refers to how missionary priests would mask their identities by disguising themselves as fashionable travelers, thereby blurring even further the distinctions between Catholics and other English travelers.²¹

As a consequence of English priests' missionary work, the travels of the English Catholic diaspora extended far beyond Europe as well. As Aveling notes, although the colleges ordained as many as eight hundred priests by 1603, a large number of seminarians never returned to England: some students died during their course of study, and others were deemed unfit, while a sizable proportion of English students were enlisted in other missionary

efforts.²² In an example that attests to a triangular network linking Catholics in England and Europe with those in the American colonies, John Vincent, an English priest stationed at St. Antony village in Brazil, wrote on June 21, 1593, to his friend Richard Gibbon, a Jesuit priest at the English College at Madrid, requesting books dealing with the persecution of Catholics in England.²³ Vincent's letter reflects the global reach of English Catholic culture. Yet even though English Catholics were dispersed in areas ranging from England to Spain to Brazil, this diaspora was bound together by a group identity; after all, Vincent was essentially asking for news from "home." The fact that this information could only be channeled indirectly—and through the English Colleges—demonstrates how these institutions provided a conduit for news and intelligence, in addition to serving as a center for the printing and dissemination of polemical literature.²⁴ Vincent's letter, in fact, requests that Gibbons send some of this published material to Brazil so that Vincent can circulate evidence of Protestant abuses against Catholics in England.²⁵

The effect of travel on national allegiance and identity was one of the main concerns of a series of three royal proclamations issued between 1580 and 1582. These documents, which codified the status of the English Colleges as outlawed, alien institutions, correlated the Catholic diaspora with England's vulnerability to foreign invasion. The first proclamation (July 15, 1580) was prompted by reports of a Catholic conspiracy to invade England and restore Catholicism under Mary Stuart. Initially, this document imposes an ambiguous distinction between "such rebels and traitors as do live in foreign parts" and other exiles and seminarians, who "refusing to live here in their natural country . . . have wandered from place to place, and from one prince's court to another" (2:469).²⁶ Travel becomes metonymically linked with treason: to wander outside the English nation carries with it the risk of transgressing "natural" boundaries of allegiance, of being transformed from traveler to expatriate rebel. Yet the errant mobility of travelers, seminary students, and other temporary exiles also distinguishes this group from those who are settled, geographically and ideologically, in their resolve against England. A subsequent proclamation (January 10, 1581) therefore attempted to reclaim those "good and faithful subjects" who, through their travel and educations abroad, "have been thereby perverted" from "natural duties" to church and nation (2:482). One key stipulation called for families and guardians to provide authorities with the names of any family members living abroad, further mandating that they recall their children home within the

space of four months. While intending to organize the national community as an aggregate of loyal households, this effort established a censuslike surveillance over Catholic families: those who did not come forward to be enumerated voluntarily, the proclamation stipulated, would be subject to unspecified penalties. However, the ultimate failure of these legislative efforts was illustrated by a third proclamation (April 1, 1582), which demanded that seminarians return within three months, an ultimatum issued a full year after the lapse of the previous deadline. Composed in the wake of Edmund Campion's execution the previous December, the proclamation testifies to the increasingly hard-line position adopted by the English state in response to the efforts of the English mission. Consequently, it evidences a greater concern for the travel of seminary priests within England than for the geographic mobility of subjects abroad. Significantly, though, the proclamation collapses distinctions between seminary priests in England and Catholic expatriates, condemning both as "traitors."²⁷

This series of royal proclamations prompted William Allen to compose *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeouours of the two English Colleges* (1581), a text that embraced the association of Catholic exiles with the "errors" of travel: whereas Elizabeth's proclamation of January 1581 had cast seminary priests as "vagrant counterfeit persons" (2:489), Allen redeems this characterization by noting a similar description of the apostles as "vagarants" [*sic*] in Corinthians 1:4 (sigs. L6v–L7).²⁸ Allen situates error, instead, with the physical and spiritual complacency of those who remain in England, a resistance to geographic travel that signals an underlying disinclination to engage in necessary spiritual "travail." Citing Augustine, he describes the pursuit of salvation as "the iustest cause to traual" (sig. C7v), a point echoed in John Donne's "Satire III": "To stand inquiring right, is not to stray" (line 78).²⁹ As mentioned earlier, Allen even grants English travelers a key role in the founding of the English Colleges, noting that some of the earliest students were travelers who had experienced conversion during brief visits to the seminaries, events of "great and unexpected ioy" that would not have occurred if they "had taried in the English Vniuersities, or therwise had folowed the maner of our Countrie" (sig. D1). Despite his general praise of travel, however, Allen also reinforces the association of travelers with gossip and unlicensed news, a position that ironically reiterates Elizabethan anti-Catholic legislation: while Elizabeth's proclamations had targeted the "seditious" circulation of letters and pamphlets published on the Conti-

ment, he attributes negative reports of the English Colleges to "lewd traualers" who "make vp a fardel of malicious slaunders and detractions of Popes and Princes, and vtter such seemly wares in their seditious sermons" (sigs. N2v–N3).³⁰

In referring to an English "manner" supposedly abandoned by Catholic exiles, Allen is defining English identity in reference to custom and law, not in terms of an ethnically based cultural identity. Englishness, then, is constituted through adherence to English law, a loyalism that persists even in the context of exile and diaspora.³¹ Taking issue with the July 1580 proclamation's assertion that seminarians have "fled into forraine partes and refuse to liue in our natural Countrie" (sig. A6), Allen dissevers loyalty to "publike authoritie" (sig. A5v) and "affection" to nation from geographic location; in his terms, exile enables dissent, not treason: "[W]e are not fugitiues," he declares, emphasizing that seminarians did not flee arrest in England or depart out of political protest but left only to preserve matters of conscience relating to religion (sig. B4v). In addition, given the recurring changes of state religion in recent English history, he anticipates an imminent Catholic restoration, after which time the clergy trained by the English Colleges will provide a necessary service to the state (sig. C4v). Allen dislodges theological debate from its association with political subversion, challenging Anglican officials to "a disputation" (sig. I1v) and calling for the free circulation of prohibited Catholic texts (sig. H2v).³² He even forges a strategic alliance with nonconformists and other opponents of the Oath of Supremacy, offering these groups refuge in the English Colleges (sig. C7). Defending a right of conscience, Allen limits the power of the state to political matters: as he concludes, "there can be no iurisdiction ouer English mens soules" (sig. F4). Due to Elizabethan England's anomalous lack of religious toleration, which distinguished the nation from many regions of Europe as well as the Ottoman Empire and Persia (sig. A8v), the English Colleges provided a surrogate public sphere within the context of diaspora, a form of "action from a distance" necessitated by political realities.³³

Although Allen has conventionally been viewed as a fairly conservative thinker, and more of a traditionalist than Robert Persons, his *Apologie* nonetheless shows his active engagement with contemporary politics, as with his defense of liberty of conscience and advocacy of an open national forum for theological debate.³⁴ His text also presciently recognizes the implications stemming from the emergence of a population of stateless, "displaced persons,"

or *Heimatlosen*, whom Hannah Arendt regards as emblematic of the upheavals of modernity. For Arendt, the right of asylum is the most fundamental and longest-standing obligation underlying international relations, a right she traces to classical precedents as well as the medieval principle of *Quid est in territorio est de territorio*. However, as twentieth-century European states increasingly refused to acknowledge the right of refuge, thereby producing a population of stateless minorities, the foundation of the state was transformed from one constituted as “an instrument of the law” to one serving, instead, as “an instrument of the nation.”³⁵ Arendt’s analysis of the social place of refugees has implications that resonate in periods prior to the twentieth century, and her critical framework helps situate the early modern English Catholic diaspora in a broader historical context in which the purview of citizenship became increasingly confined to the nation. In his defense of the English Colleges, Allen constructs Englishness on the basis of deterritorialized principles of law and social justice, forms of community not contingent upon the standard markers of nationhood: unconditional submission to the state, geographic residence, or ethnic origin.

Allen calls attention to the long history of English transcultural links with the Continent, especially Rome, noting the historical precedents in which the English have availed themselves of the right of refuge “in such like cases of distresse” (sig. B8v). However, in describing an “English Roman life,” Allen emphasizes less the distinctiveness of English expatriate culture than Rome’s central and traditional role as the exemplary site of sanctuary: Rome, he notes, has always served as “the citie of refuge and recourse of al Christians out of al Nations” (sig. C1). In his defense of English Catholics’ right of refuge on the Continent, Allen counters the matrix of the nation with the cosmopolitan model of the “open city.” Writing at a historical moment when the English state was constructing an unprecedented legal apparatus to ensure the exclusion of a sizable minority population, he legitimates the expatriate status of the Catholic diaspora by citing a paradigm—the city of refuge—that exemplifies the use of law as an instrument of social justice rather than repression.³⁶

Whereas Allen treats the historical precedents and political implications of the Catholic diaspora, Robert Persons considers more fully the cultural effects of migration on English Catholic identity. Diverging from Allen’s rights-based argument, Persons places a greater emphasis on questions of identity, thereby recognizing Catholic exiles’ increasing distinctiveness from

both their home and host nations. In his account of the English Colleges in two of his texts—*Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593) and *A relation of the king of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid [sic]* (1592)—Persons depicts the seminaries as a community whose identity straddles English and European cultures. By associating these institutions with forms of cosmopolitanism and cultural hybridity, he provides a cultural model to offset the insularity that increasingly characterized English nationhood. Persons defends the activism of the colleges by stressing that their connections to Europe and the Spanish court actually preserve earlier transcultural traditions. His *Newes from Spayne and Holland* notes that the patron of the English College at Seville, Don Rodrigo de Castro y Quiñones, the archbishop and cardinal of Seville, was a descendant of the Dukes of Lancaster and therefore a figure embodying the legacies of medieval links between England and the Continent (sig. A6).³⁷ In addition, he acknowledges the growth of the seminaries out of preexisting English commercial ties to continental Europe, pointing out how the English Church of St. George in San Lucar (Sanlúcar de Barrameda), founded by English merchants, had recently been converted into a clerical residence (sig. A5). For Persons, the English Colleges do not subvert English traditions, as authorities would have it, but instead preserve and maintain them. As a point of contrast, he depicts the founding of the Church of England as an event that only weakened the nation by severing its alliances with the Continent. As he notes sarcastically, if England had become Lutheran, at least it would have had ties to German states (sig. D2v). The Protestant construction of the English nation, following Persons’s argument, was ultimately based upon a debilitating foundation of isolationism and exceptionalism.

Both of Persons’s texts describe entertainments provided by the English Colleges for visiting dignitaries from their host culture: *Newes from Spayne and Holland* chronicles Archbishop Castro’s visit to the College at Seville, while *Relation of the king* discusses King Philip II’s royal visit to St. Alban’s College in August 1592.³⁸ The Seville entertainment takes place on the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, an event that not only commemorates medieval Catholic England but also offers Becket as a model of political resistance to state power.³⁹ Persons extends this implication in *Relation of the king* by noting the presence of a descendant of another political martyr, Sir Thomas More, an unnamed figure who delivers a welcoming speech to King Philip.⁴⁰ The historical memory of Becket is further invoked in an emblem displayed by the students at Seville: entitled “the representation of the two persecutions

by the two King Henryes of England" (*Newes*, sig. B6v), this triptych juxtaposes images of Henry II, Henry VIII, and Elizabeth I, contrasting the penitent Henry II following Becket's murder with the unrepentant Henry VIII, "very fatt and furious" (sig. B7). In its third portrait, Elizabeth, described as the descendant of both Henryes, is offered the motto, "*E duobus elige*, choose which you wil of thes two" (sig. B7v): "wishing her rather to follow the example of king Henry the second, that repented his sinnes, then king Henry the eight that died in the same" (sig. B8). In lieu of a single providential design underlying English national history, the entertainment foregrounds the multiple and competing narratives provided by the past, rendering the writing of a national future as a casuistical decision placed in the hands of political actors such as Queen Elizabeth.

Although Persons emphasizes how the seminaries preserve English Catholicism, as well as maintain traditional links with the Continent, his description of the college entertainments also marks the effects of migration and diaspora on English Catholic identity. In a sense, Persons moves from an elaboration of the *roots* of English Catholicism to a formulation of its *routes*, thereby acknowledging the ways that English Catholic culture had been transformed by its travels. The centerpiece of both entertainments is a series of speeches offered to the visiting dignitaries, presentations that are not delivered solely in the expected medium of Latin, or even the vernaculars of English or Spanish, but given, instead, in an impressive range of languages: Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Welsh, Scottish, French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish. Persons notes the appropriateness of the fact that a community "dispersed in diuers contries and nations" should therefore "vtter in diuers languages" both in their sermons and in their published texts (*Relation of the king*, sigs. C1–C1v). In part, the multilingual training of the seminarians was necessary, due to the cultural range of their subsequent work as missionary priests. Yet this depiction also counters a recurring image of English travelers that highlighted their linguistic deficiencies, as in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* (1596), with Portia's characterization of her English suitor Lord Falconbridge, who, through his inability to converse in any language but English, is likened to a "dumb show" (1.2.73).⁴¹ The pervasiveness of this stereotype is revealed by Persons's own noted surprise at the scholars' linguistic prowess, which, he comments, he would not have believed "if I had not seene and h[e]ard this my selfe" (*Newes*, sig. A8).

This multilingual performance also complicates the cultural positioning of the English Colleges. In his influential account of the history of nation-

alism, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson argues that the religious community, founded upon a unifying language such as Latin, was challenged and superseded by the territorial nation and a concomitant proliferation of writings in the vernacular.⁴² However, the English Colleges do not conform to this paradigm of linguistic nationalism: Latin and English coexist and overlap in the seminarians' missionary work and publications, and English is not the sole, or even dominant, vernacular language. The equal status given to the Welsh language in Persons's text is a significant choice, as I will discuss later, given the relegation of Celtic cultures to a marginal position in the English mission. In contrast to many of his contemporaries, Persons recognizes the cultural diversity inherent in missionary efforts, noting the intention of Welsh students to return to preach in Wales (*Relation of the king*, sig. C5) and referring to the use of the Welsh language in published Catholic texts, including a grammar and a catechism (sig. C5).⁴³

Extending Persons's analysis of the cultural effects of travel and exile on the identity of the Catholic expatriate community, Richard Verstegan draws on the experience of diaspora in an effort to locate the distinctive, immutable features of English identity.⁴⁴ Verstegan, an Antwerp-based English Catholic printer, polemicist, intelligence agent, and antiquarian, was one of the first writers to attribute Saxon and Germanic origins to the English nation. His antiquarian text *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* (1605) has been noted for its role in conferring a racial foundation to English identity.⁴⁵ The fact that it was a Catholic exile who helped perpetuate a Germanic myth of English identity would initially seem anomalous, if not inexplicable, but the racial essentialism underlying Verstegan's model of cultural identity is more intelligible when seen as a product of the English Catholic diaspora, part of a broader effort to counter the destabilizing effects of travel and migration on forms of community.

Verstegan's biography reflects the forms of displacement typifying the position of early modern English Catholics. Verstegan's grandfather and his family, Dutch refugees from the region of Guelderland, had settled in London sometime around 1500.⁴⁶ Verstegan published his first text, *The Post of the World* (1576), a guide for European travel translated from German, under the pseudonym Richard Rowlands, an anglicization of the middle name of his grandfather. Testifying to the unstable, hybrid cultural position he occupied, many accounts are unsure which name—Rowlands or Verstegan—was the writer's birth name and which was his alias.⁴⁷ His early years in England confirm his status as a fugitive subject: after having left Christ Church, Oxford,

without taking a degree, a common practice for early modern Catholics, he was forced to flee England in 1582 to evade arrest for running a secret Catholic press in London.⁴⁸ A resident of Antwerp for the remainder of his life, Verstegan's departure for the Continent exemplifies how English Catholics' links with Europe were reinforced through migration and exile. Nevertheless, in spite of his family's Dutch origin, and his decades-long residence in the Spanish Netherlands, Verstegan insistently stresses his own Englishness. As he declares in his prefatory epistle to *A Restitution*, "[Y]et can I accompt my self of no other but of the English nation" (sigs. ++1-1v). The defensiveness of the initial word *yet* in this statement attests to how identification with the English nation offers Verstegan a stable foundation to offset the complexities of culture, language, and religion that define his own subject position. By rendering English culture as predominantly Saxon, and thus inherently Germanic, he attempts to subsume his own forms of difference within a historically grounded sameness.⁴⁹

By tracing the Saxon influences on English culture in *A Restitution*, Verstegan counters images accentuating the insularity of English identity. He therefore rebuts narratives of cultural origin, such as the Brutus myth, and belittles efforts to derive English culture from an autochthonous source such as the Britons.⁵⁰ As Donna B. Hamilton remarks, "[H]e demonstrated that to be English was to be Saxon and Catholic and European,"⁵¹ an unbound seriality that acknowledges the multiple affiliations that contribute to identity formation. Cultural identity, for Verstegan, is a product of historical change, one that derives, in particular, from historical patterns of migration and diaspora.⁵² He supports this argument by opening his text with two key examples drawn from the furthest reaches of biblical prehistory: the migration of the sons of Noah and the dispersal of nations following the confusion of tongues at Babel (sigs. A1v, A3).⁵³ However, contradicting his earlier historical framework, Verstegan subsequently differentiates Germanic culture on the basis of three criteria of cultural purity: continual possession of its country, resistance to Roman conquest, and the "unmixed" character of the German language and people (sigs. F1v-F2). Moving away from a model of unbound seriality (English, but also Saxon, Catholic, and European), Verstegan extricates the Saxon origins of English culture from a broader, transnational history, positing an essential core to cultural identity—a bound seriality—that remains immutable, defying temporal change or spatial dislocation. For example, he counters the view of the English as a "mixed nation" by emphasizing the Germanic origin of invaders such as the Danes and Normans (sig. Aa2) and also mini-

mizes the impact of the Norman invasion on English racial heritage, arguing that the cultural identity of this small group, whose influence was limited to the aristocracy, eventually disappeared altogether through assimilation and intermarriage with the English-Saxon population (sigs. Aa1-Aa2).

Verstegan's emphasis on the Saxon origins of English identity, and the racialism underlying this model, is intended to offer historical precedents for the activist politics of the Catholic diaspora. The preservation of Saxon culture following the imposition of Norman authority offers hope for the comparable durability of English Catholicism under Protestant rule. Tellingly, though, Verstegan does not fully articulate a rhetoric of a "Norman yoke" and therefore does not openly or directly endorse a policy of resistance. After all, he dedicates his text to King James, indicating his desire for a Catholic restoration through conversion rather than invasion. This pursuit of the king's favor reflects the agenda of a pro-Scottish faction among Catholic exiles, a group that had aspired to bring about James's conversion in the 1590s and was lobbying the monarch once more, albeit for the reduced goal of religious toleration, in the first years of his joint reign.⁵⁴ Verstegan's opening dedication to the king, which reminds James of his Saxon descent (sig. +2), would initially seem to reiterate the anti-Scottish rhetoric that followed James's accession to the English throne, reinforcing the perception of the Stuarts as irredeemably foreign. However, as Verstegan is careful to explain in his later discussion of the Norman invasion, the purity of the Saxon royal line was actually preserved through intermarriage with the Scottish dynasty, a fact that renders England's Scottish king more Saxon—and, ultimately, more English—than the English themselves (sigs. Z2v-Z3).⁵⁵ By anglicizing the Stuart dynasty, Verstegan differentiates the shared Saxon culture of the English and Scots from the British origins of the Welsh and Irish. Although he intends to provide a historical precedent for Anglo-Scottish union, he predicates this cultural alliance by differentiating a Saxon core culture from a British periphery. Not only does this framework of internal colonialism define cultural and national identity in terms of ethnicity rather than religion, but it also derogates regions with large Catholic populations, thereby undermining the possibility of pan-British Catholic unity.⁵⁶ As Christopher Highley has noted, "[T]he diverse expatriate communities cohered tenaciously along national and ethnic rather than confessional lines."⁵⁷

The historical distinction Verstegan draws between English and British cultures was also maintained in the English seminaries on the Continent. The composite identity of these institutions—most often referred to as the *English*

Colleges—testifies to the creation of a homogenous national identification within the context of exile. A key example of this process is provided by Anthony Munday's *The English Roman Life* (1582) and its account of the rebellion of the English students at the college in Rome against their Welsh rector, Morys Clynog. Munday casts Clynog's preferment of Welsh students, as well as the successful efforts of the English students to replace him with Jesuit direction, exclusively in national terms. In establishing the college, Munday explains, the pope had mistakenly assumed the underlying similitude of English and Welsh students, "in that they came all out of one country."⁵⁸ Yet when the college's English students threaten to leave the seminary, prompting the intercession of the pontiff, Pope Gregory XIII ultimately sides with the English scholars, declaring that he has "made the Hospital for Englishmen, . . . and not for the Welshmen" (93). In a private audience with the group, he declares his admiration for the English students, whom he views as having forsaken their nation and forsworn allegiance to a heretical monarch (92). Because the Welsh lacked national sovereignty and were displaced within their own country, this statement insinuates that the Welsh scholars' own exile entailed less of a sacrifice. Like Pope Gregory, Munday elides the role of Welsh expatriates in the English College in Rome, although it was a Welshman, Owen Lewis, who had founded the seminary and appointed Clynog as rector in 1576, only three years prior to the events described in *The English Roman Life*. Munday also fails to recognize how Jesuit control actually served to radicalize the politics of the seminary, whose primary function thereafter was training students for the English mission. In fact, the English students had asked the Jesuits to intervene in order to help quell reports of internal dissent at the college, fearing that this information could reveal their names and thereby prevent their return to England as missionary priests.⁵⁹

More than a century after Munday's account of "the national quarrel," this conflict between English and Welsh scholars was likened to earlier battles between the Saxons and Britons, a testament to the preservation, if not intensification, of the divisions marked by Verstegan and Munday.⁶⁰ The immediate aftermath of this episode also saw an increased level of ethnic identification among Welsh exiles, whose antipathy to English domination, coupled with their distance from home, motivated them to reassert the distinctiveness of their cultural identity and history. For example, Owen Lewis responded to the stir in Rome in a letter to John Leslie, bishop of Ross and ambassador of Mary Stuart, imploring his Scottish colleague, "My lord, let us stick together,

for we are the old and true inhabitants of the Isle of Brittany; these others be but usurpers and mere possessors."⁶¹ In Lewis's formulation, the seminaries provided a refuge for "British" communities—Welsh and Scottish—displaced primarily not as an immediate result of the Reformation but as an effect of a longer history of internal colonialism.⁶² Defending the English College as a Welsh enclave offered a chance to reestablish Welsh cultural autonomy within the environment of the continental seminary, thereby preserving the integrity of the Welsh as the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain. Other accounts of the Anglo-Welsh feud viewed cultural identity and history through the lens of class, stressing the antiquity of the Welsh nation as a way to elevate the status of Welsh students above that of their English counterparts. John Nicholls's *John Niccols pilgrimage* (1581), for instance, depicts an argument between Welsh and English scholars in which national tensions are articulated through class-based insults: "I am a Gentleman quoth the one: thou art a rascall, quoth the other. The Welshman beginneth to fret and fume, and saith, albeit I came to Rome with broken & rent apparrell, yet I am borne of as good blood as thou art."⁶³ Here the Welsh student defends his ethnic and class positions by differentiating his diminished economic status from the legitimacy conferred by his "blood."

Contrary to the intentions of Lewis and others, the political activism of the Catholic diaspora, especially the English mission, increasingly came to be defined as an English project, one consisting primarily of missionary ventures in England—not Wales, Scotland, or Ireland—that was also dominated by English priests.⁶⁴ Allen, in his *Apologie*, had attempted to foreground the cosmopolitanism of English missionary projects, situating the English mission alongside other efforts in the East and West Indies. Ultimately, though, he too was forced to concede the nationalist sentiment motivating many seminary priests, who preferred to return to England rather than travel to other destinations. Likewise, Allen had to explain the incongruous absence of non-English priests in the mission, forcing him to argue, unconvincingly, that the number of English volunteers had rendered any additional recruits unnecessary.⁶⁵ Whereas Allen had clung to the cosmopolitan aspirations of the English mission, Verstegan's *Restitution* constructs a historical narrative that buttresses its nationalist implications, noting the role of English-Saxons in earlier missionary efforts on the Continent (sig. T2).⁶⁶ For Verstegan, the English mission offers the possibility to complete a historical circle by reversing the pattern of migration, bringing priests from the Continent to reconvert

England. However, both historical instances—Saxon missionary efforts and the English mission—are defined exclusively as English projects.⁶⁷ This anglicization of missionary activities marginalized European contexts and connections, a privileging of English Catholicism's English roots over its European routes.

The diasporic nationalism expressed by Verstegan ultimately proved to have far more historical influence than the cosmopolitanism advocated by Allen and Persons, an ascendancy reflected in the later history of the English Colleges. When many of the seminaries and convents were dissolved at the time of the French Revolution, most of them subsequently relocated to England, where a few continue to this day, including Allen's Douai seminary, now Ushaw College, Durham, as well as Stonyhurst College, Lancashire, first established by Persons at St. Omer.⁶⁸ The fact that the seminarians received such a welcome reception upon their return marks a positive development, confirming as it does the diminished currency of anti-Catholic rhetoric in the early nineteenth century.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, the idea that the English Colleges "returned" or were "repatriated" to England bears further scrutiny: after all, not only does this framework elide their institutional history on the Continent, a period of more than two centuries, but it also overlooks the fact that the seminaries were indeed founded in Europe and therefore had no prior existence in England. The repatriation of the colleges demonstrates the historical consolidation of national identities over confessional, transcultural forms of affiliation; in a sense, Englishness trumped Catholicism, and the affective ties of nationhood proved more durable than religious divisions. This return to England also helped put an end to the activist politics of the Catholic diaspora, and afterwards the colleges settled into an academic and pastoral role far removed from the political engagement of Allen and Persons. The advances of repatriation, along with Catholic Emancipation in 1829, effectively foreclosed oppositional positions for the English Catholic community.

The English Colleges, like other European monastic institutions, had also fallen prey to the increasingly centralized authority of post-Enlightenment, secularized European nation-states.⁷⁰ In derogating the seminaries as vestiges of an antiquated, medieval past, these reform-minded Continental rulers—monarchs and republicans alike—could cast themselves, by contrast, as the agents of revolution, progress, and modernity. In some ways, such efforts entailed an appropriation of the political thought of the early modern English Catholic diaspora, a process that elided the modernity of their ideas in order

to displace them, intellectually as well as geographically, as a community of lasting historical significance.

Notes

1. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 249–68; see esp. 256–59 for a relevant discussion of the Protestant Marian exiles. Despite her sensitive attention to the bearing of post-Reformation religious culture on English nationhood, Claire McEachern similarly considers English Catholicism solely in terms of anti-Catholic polemic and iconography; see *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), esp. 34–82, 93–100. McEachern does note, however, that "those voices perhaps most eloquent and formative in their defense of popular sovereignty were those often quite 'other' to Tudor-Stuart orthodoxy: those of the Counter-Reformation" (9).

2. Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707–1837* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), esp. 5–7, 23, 53; as Colley adds, the development of English, or British, national identity "cannot, in fact, be understood without reference to both European and world history" (9). On anti-Catholicism and English nationhood, also see Carol Z. Weiner, "The Beleaguered Isle: A Study of Elizabethan and Jacobean Anti-Catholicism," *Past and Present* 51 (1971): 27–62. For further discussion of the association of English Catholicism with the foreign, see Frances E. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 16–44.

3. Alison Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy, and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 109.

4. As McEachern cogently argues, debates about the early modern English nation overlook that "no more fully realized nation ever exists": that is, the nation always represents an ideal of identification, not an actual referent. As she concludes, "A fiction of social unity can exist without a literal social unity; and it may well thrive on its absence" (*Poetics of English Nationhood*, 19–20).

5. Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood*, 107–47.

6. Even though the majority of Catholics remained in England, there was a sizable expatriate community, one whose importance far surpassed their demographic numbers: while the population of students at the English Colleges (ca. 1600) has been estimated as more than four hundred, this figure does not include those stationed abroad as missionary priests or otherwise employed by the church (A. C. F. Beales, *Education under Penalty: English Catholic Education from the Reformation to the Fall of*

James II, 1547–1689 [London: Athlone Press, 1963], 128). Catholics remained on the Continent in other professional capacities as well, from mercenary service to positions in foreign courts; for a discussion of these groups, see especially John Walter Stoye, *English Travellers Abroad, 1604–1667* (New York: Octagon Books, 1968), and Edward Chaney, *The Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian Cultural Relations since the Renaissance* (London: Frank Cass, 1998).

7. There were thirty-five seminaries founded between 1568 and 1669 (Beales, *Education under Penalty*, 273–74), as well as twenty-two convents established in roughly the same period, 1594–1678 (Claire Walker, *Gender and Politics in Early Modern Europe: English Convents in France and the Low Countries* [New York: Palgrave, 2003], 17).

8. For Peter Lake and Michael Questier, the English mission was activist—rather than parochial—in its aims as well as its methods and consequently succeeded in drawing the English state into public debate (“Puritans, Papists, and the ‘Public Sphere’ in Early Modern England: The Edmund Campion Affair in Context,” *Journal of Modern History* 72 [2000]: 587–627). Michael L. Carrafiello accentuates the political character of the mission even more strongly in “English Catholicism and the Jesuit Mission of 1580–1581,” *Historical Journal* 37 (1994): 761–74. By contrast, Christopher Haigh emphasizes the limited goals and impact of the mission; see especially “From Monopoly to Minority: Catholicism in Early Modern England,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 31 (1981): 129–47, and “The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation,” *Past and Present* 93 (1981): 37–69.

9. John Bossy, *The English Catholic Community 1570–1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 6–7. Bossy does analyze the English Catholic diaspora in other articles, however, including “Rome and the Elizabethan Catholics: A Question of Geography,” *Historical Journal* 7 (1964): 135–42, and “Catholicity and Nationality in the Northern Counter-Reformation,” in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. Stuart Mews (Oxford: Blackwell, 1982), esp. 286.

10. Caroline Hibbard, “Early Stuart Catholicism: Revisions and Re-revisions,” *Journal of Modern History* 52 (1980): 6, 22, 32. On a related note, Thomas H. Clancy, S.J., traces the role of Catholic exiles in transmitting continental political thought to England in *Papist Pamphleteers: The Allen-Persons Party and the Political Thought of the Counter-Reformation in England, 1572–1615* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1964).

11. See Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 26, and J. C. H. Aveling, *The Handle and the Axe: The Catholic Recusants in England from Reformation to Emancipation* (London: Blond and Briggs, 1976), 50.

12. Benedict Anderson, “Nationalism, Identity, and the World-in-Motion: On the Logics of Seriality,” in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling beyond the Nation*, ed. Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 117–33.

13. Anderson, “Exodus,” *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1994): 326–27.

14. Quoted in *ibid.*, 315.

15. Among James Wadsworth’s texts, see *The English Spanish Pilgrime* (London, 1629), *Further Observations of the English Spanish Pilgrime, concerning Spaine* (London, 1630), and *The Memoires of Mr. James Wadsworth [sic], a Jesuit that recanted* (London, 1679).

16. James Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 17–46.

17. Julian Yates, “Parasitic Geographies: Manifesting Catholic Identity in Early Modern England,” in *Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Early Modern English Texts*, ed. Arthur F. Marotti (New York: Palgrave, 1999), 63–84.

18. On vagrancy and Catholic priests, see A. L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560–1640* (London: Methuen, 1985), 139–42. However, many seminary priests resisted the association with vagrants provoked by an itinerant life, and they more often maintained fixed residences in gentry homes, a practice that relegated Catholicism to what Haigh describes as a “seigneurially structured” position (“From Monopoly to Minority,” 130). As Robert Southwell wrote to a peripatetic colleague: “We are all, I acknowledge, pilgrims, but not vagrants: our life is uncertain, but not our road” (quoted in Haigh, “From Monopoly to Minority,” 139).

19. As Beale notes, the 1571 Act “against fugitives over the sea” was the first statute to mandate licenses for overseas travel, a stipulation that allowed the state to regulate the duration and destination of travel as well as keep records on those leaving the realm (*Education under Penalty*, 38). Among later examples, see James F. Larkin and Paul L. Hughes, eds., *Stuart Royal Proclamations*, vol. 1, *Royal Proclamations of King James I, 1603–1625* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 184–85, 329–36. For further discussion of the regulation of travel, see Mark Netzloff, *England’s Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 74–76.

20. William Allen, *An apologie and true declaration of the institution and endeours of the two English Colleges* (Mounts [Reims], 1581), sig. D.

21. Lewis Owen, *The running register: recording a true relation of the state of the English Colledges, Seminaries and Cloysters in all forraigne parts* (London, 1626), sig. L3v. Further associating the English Colleges with networks of international travel and commerce, Owen accused Jesuits of parasitically profiting from the hazards of travel by outfitting transatlantic ships with prayer boxes, which desperate mariners would fill during storms and other moments of crisis (sig. K2v).

22. Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 63.

23. *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, vol. 3, 1591–94 (1867; reprint, Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1967), 353–55.

24. This communication was often transmitted by Richard Verstegan, who has been described as “the single most important English Catholic agent in the Low

Countries" (Richard W. Clement, "Richard Verstegan's Reinvention of Anglo-Saxon England: A Contribution from the Continent," in *Reinventing the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. William F. Gentrup [Turnhout: Brepols, 1998], 25; also see Beales, *Education under Penalty*, 68).

25. Vincent may have been requesting Verstegan's *Theatrum Crudelitatum haereticorum nostri temporis* (Antwerp, 1587). As a counterpoint to Verstegan's text, Theodor de Bry's monumental twelve-volume *America* (1590–1623) transposed Verstegan's images of Protestant abuses against Catholics in England, Ireland, France, and the Low Countries to a depiction of Spanish atrocities in the New World.

26. Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds., *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, vol. 2, *The Later Tudors (1553–1587)* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969). All citations to this work will be given parenthetically in the text.

27. This classification was legally codified by the "Act against Jesuits and Seminary Priests" (27 Eliz. I, c.2) (1585).

28. Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 2:483. The April 1582 royal proclamation had similarly questioned whether those apprehended for vagrancy—"vagrant counterfeit persons"—were disguised seminary priests (2:489). All citations to Allen's *Apologie* are given parenthetically in the text.

29. John Donne, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. A. J. Smith (London: Penguin, 1971).

30. On official efforts to control the printing and dissemination of Catholic texts, see Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 2:469, 490.

31. On the question of Catholic loyalism in the early modern period, see especially Peter Holmes, *Resistance and Compromise: The Political Thought of the Elizabethan Catholics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), and Arnold Pritchard, *Catholic Loyalism in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1979).

32. The call for public debate was a recurring feature of the English mission: on this issue, see Thomas S. McCoog, S.J., "Playing the Champion': The Role of Disputation in the Jesuit Mission," in *The Reckoned Expense: Edmund Campion and the Early English Jesuits*, ed. Thomas S. McCoog (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1996), 119–39, as well as Lake and Questier, "Puritans, Papists," esp. 600–627.

33. For a related discussion, see Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 21–29, 55–78.

34. For such views of Allen, see Aveling, *Handle and the Axe*, 54, and Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 26.

35. Hannah Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism* (1951; reprint, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966), 280, 275.

36. Jacques Derrida examines the historical implications of the city of refuge in "On Cosmopolitanism," in *On Cosmopolitanism and Forgiveness*, trans. Mark Dooley and Michael Hughes (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1–24.

37. Persons returns to this idea in *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of Ingland* (Antwerp, 1595), defending the claim to the English throne of Philip II and his daughter, the Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, based on their Lancastrian descent; for discussion, see Michael L. Carrafello, *Robert Parsons and English Catholicism, 1580–1610* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998), 48–51.

38. A subsequent royal visit, by Philip III and Queen Margaret in 1600, is described in Antonio Ortiz, *A relation of the solemnetie wherewith the Catholike princes K. Phillip the III. and Quene Margaret were receyued in the English Colledge of Valladolid* (Antwerp, 1601). For background on Persons's founding of the seminaries in Spain, see Francis Edwards, S.J., *Robert Persons: The Biography of an Elizabethan Jesuit, 1546–1610* (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1995), 136–55, and Michael E. Williams, *St. Alban's College Valladolid: Four Centuries of Catholic Presence in Spain* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1986), 1–33.

39. Robert Persons, *Newes from Spayne and Holland* (1593), sig. A7v. Further citations to this source are given parenthetically in the text. Persons therefore describes the English Catholics executed during Elizabeth I's reign as having preserved Becket's legacy (*Newes*, sig. B5v).

40. Robert Persons, *A relation of the king of Spaines receiving in Valliodolid* (1592), sig. C1v. Persons also defines English identity in relation to classical and biblical precedents of exile, citing the example of St. Alban, the first exile and martyr of England, after whom the college at Valladolid was named (*Relation of the king*, sig. A2v).

41. *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1997).

42. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (1983; reprint, London: Verso, 1991), 12–19, 38–41.

43. As Haigh notes, Persons "was well aware of the needs of Wales and the North" ("From Monopoly to Minority," 147). Most likely, Persons is alluding to Gruffydd Robert's (Griffith Roberts's) *Y drych cristianogawl* (1587), the first Welsh-language text printed in Wales, and *Athrawaeth Gristnogawl* (1568), written by Morys Clynog (Maurice Clenocke), the Welsh rector of the English College at Rome; see Andrew Breeze, "Welsh and Cornish at Valladolid, 1591–1600," *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 37 (1990): 108–11, and Shell, *Catholicism, Controversy*, 13. Ortiz's account of Philip III's visit to Valladolid in 1600 also mentions a speech delivered in Cornish (sigs. D4–D4v).

44. Bossy discusses Verstegan's influence on Persons in "Catholicity and Nationality," 292–93.

45. Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial Myth in English History* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982), 47–48. Anthony G. Petti examines Verstegan's works in several articles, including "A Bibliography of the Writings of Richard Verstegan (c. 1550–1641)," *Recusant History* 7 (1963): 82–103. Among recent analyses of

Verstegan, see Donna B. Hamilton's articles "Richard Verstegan's *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605): A Catholic Antiquarian Replies to John Foxe, Thomas Cooper, and Jean Bodin," *Prose Studies* 22 (1999): 1–38, "Catholic Use of Anglo-Saxon Precedents, 1565–1625," *Recusant History* 26 (2003): 537–55, and "Richard Verstegan and the Catholic Resistance: The Encoding of Antiquarianism and Love," in *Theatre and Religion: Lancastrian Shakespeare*, ed. Richard Dutton et al. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 87–104. Also see Christopher Highley, "Richard Verstegan's Book of Martyrs," in *John Foxe and His World*, ed. Christopher Highley and John N. King (Burlington: Ashgate, 2002), 183–97, along with two essays from the same collection: Benedict Scott Robinson's "John Foxe and the Anglo-Saxons" (66–72) and Richard Williams's "'Libels and payntinges': Elizabethan Catholics and the International Campaign of Visual Propaganda" (198–215).

46. Richard Rowlands [Richard Verstegan], *The Post of the World* (London, 1576).

47. For example, Verstegan is listed under the name Richard Rowlands in *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), www.oxforddnb.com.

48. Graham Parry, *The Trophies of Time: English Antiquarians of the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 50.

49. However, Verstegan's subsequent career belied his earlier efforts to anglicize his identity, for he began to publish increasingly in Dutch, finally ceasing to write in English altogether after 1623 (Clement, "Richard Verstegan's Reinvention," 35). While possibly reflecting his gradual assimilation to Dutch culture, this transition also marks Verstegan's progressive rejection of a cosmopolitan position of unbound seriality. My analysis emphasizes that his transcultural position—as a writer who published in four languages (English, Latin, Dutch, and French) and was fluent in five others—was always offset, if not even contradicted, by the underlying desire for cultural homogeneity that pervades his work.

50. Verstegan presents the Britons as the ancestors of the Welsh, attesting to a racialized distinction between English and Welsh identities (*Restitution*, sigs. +4v, D4). He also acknowledges the possibility of a historical figure named Brutus but argues that he was more likely a Gaul general who had migrated from the Continent (sig. M3v).

51. Hamilton, "Catholic Use," 545.

52. Verstegan notes that even geological bodies are subject to forces of migration and, in an early version of the theory of continental drift, asserts that England was once physically part of the continent of Europe (*Restitution*, sigs. L4v–O4v). For an extended consideration of this issue, see Michael Windross, "Language, Earth and Water in Richard Verstegan's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence* (1605) and *Nederlantsche Antiquiteyten* (1613)," *Dutch Crossing* 24 (2000): 67–95.

53. Colin Kidd analyzes early modern uses of these scriptural events in *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); for his discussion of Verstegan, see 61–63, 77, 86–87, 111, 194, 218–23. McEachern also examines the topos of the Tower of Babel in *Poetics of English Nationhood*, 111–20.

54. Demonstrating the complicated national politics of the expatriate community, the pro-Scottish faction was led by Hugh Owen, one of the leading Welsh figures among Catholic exiles; for discussion of Owen, see Albert J. Loomie, *The Spanish Elizabethans: The English Exiles at the Court of Philip II* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1963), 52–93. On Persons's own "Scottish strategy" for the conversion of James VI, see Carrafiello, *Robert Parsons*, 24–31.

55. Verstegan notes that Margaret, sister to the Saxon King Edgar, had fled the Norman invasion by migrating to the Scottish court, where she married the Scottish king, Malcolm III (sig. Z2v). She thus offered a historical precedent for James VI and I's own joint title over England and Scotland, a claim deriving from the marriage of another English princess named Margaret, Henry VIII's sister, to a Scottish king, James IV.

56. Despite his more inclusive sense of the English mission's reach (see n. 43 above), Persons consciously organized his colleges on the basis of students' nationality, trying to avoid the type of conflict that had arisen in Rome. At Valladolid, for example, he "refused to consider an amalgamation with the Irish students," effectively expelling the latter group, who went on to establish the Irish College at Salamanca (Thomas Morrissey, "The Irish Student Diaspora in the Sixteenth Century and the Early Years of the Irish College at Salamanca," *Recusant History* 14 [1978]: 246).

57. Christopher Highley, "The Lost British Lamb': English Catholic Exiles and the Problem of Britain," in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David J. Baker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 40.

58. Anthony Munday, *The English Roman Life*, ed. Philip J. Ayres (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 79. For a recent discussion of Munday, see Donna B. Hamilton, *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2005).

59. However, Jesuit control did not establish "English" authority over the college; although the English students had petitioned for an English rector, Clynog's successor was actually an Italian, Alfonso Agazzari (Munday, *English Roman Life*, 91 n.). Similarly, St. Alban's College in Valladolid was most often led by a Spanish rector in this period (Williams, *St. Alban's College, Valladolid*, 261–63).

60. See Charles Dodd, *The History of the English College at Doway* (London, 1713), sig. C3, and Thomas Hunter, S.J., *A Modest Defence of the Clergy and Religious, in a Discourse directed to R. C. Chaplain of an English Regiment, About his History of Doway College* (London, 1714), sig. D7.

61. *Letters and Memorials of William Cardinal Allen*, 82, quoted in Bossy, "Catholicity and Nationality," 294. The difficulties that Leslie faced in establishing a Scottish College on the Continent were evidenced by its frequent relocation, from Paris (1580–90) and Douai (1593–95 and from 1608 onward) to Louvain (1595–1608) (Beales, *Education under Penalty*, 269).

62. On internal colonialism, see Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies*, esp. 1–15, 135–210.

63. John Nicholls, *John Niccols pilgrimage, whrein is displaid the liues of the proude popes, ambitious cardinals, lecherous Bishops, fat bellied Monkes, and hypocritical Iesuites* (London, 1581), sig. O6. Because the student body consisted of nearly an equal number of commoners and gentry in this period, class position—like national origin—was a crucial factor in the seminaries; see Bossy, *English Catholic Community*, 415.

64. According to Beales, the national quarrel at Rome led many colleges to resist admitting Welsh students, thereby limiting Welsh contributions to the mission even further (*Education under Penalty*, 45). Even though 218 Welsh students were enrolled in the English Colleges from 1568 to 1642, few of these priests returned to minister in Wales (Breeze, "Welsh and Cornish," 110; Haigh, "From Monopoly to Minority," 133, 135). As a point of comparison, Englishwomen similarly dominated English cloisters on the Continent, constituting over 93 percent of the total population, with relatively few nuns coming from Ireland (1.8 percent), Scotland (0.5 percent), or Wales (0.7 percent) (Walker, *Gender and Politics*, 39).

65. Allen, *Apologie*, sigs. K8–L1v, L5.

66. Persons similarly invoked the memory of earlier Saxon missions in his work, and he proposed reviving these efforts by drawing on the English Colleges to staff missionary efforts in northern Europe (Bossy, "Catholicity and Nationality," 293).

67. By contrast, in Allen's historical narrative, the initial conversion of the Britons was accomplished by the church in Rome, a cosmopolitan venture that served as a precedent for the English Colleges' reconversion of England (*Apologie*, sigs. C, K7).

68. For a list of institutions, see Edward Petre, *Notices of the English Colleges and Convents Established on the Continent after the Dissolution of Religious Houses in England*, ed. F. C. Husenbeth (Norwich: Bacon and Kinnebrook, 1849).

69. For analysis of the political contexts of Catholic Emancipation, see Colley, *Britons*, 324–34.

70. On this point, see Derek Beales, *Prosperity and Plunder: European Catholic Monasteries in the Age of Revolution, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

 IO

*The Lives of Women Saints of
Our Contrie of England*
Gender and Nationalism in Recusant Hagiography

Catherine Sanok

The advent of English nationalism is often attributed to a specifically Protestant understanding of self and state, as the almost inevitable consequence of the country's liberation from the homogenizing influence of Rome. But several of the discourses associated with an emerging national identity have antecedents in late medieval traditions as well as adherents among early modern Catholic writers, who—like their Protestant countrymen—were interested in developing myths of national identity to establish the authority of their own religious practice. So, for example, the antiquarian project associated with figures like William Camden and Robert Cotton was also pursued by Catholic writers and in particular by Catholic hagiographers, who figured England in terms of its ancient religious history in legends devoted to native saints.¹ Nicholas Roscarrock—who produced an encyclopedic Catholic collection of native saints' lives (ca. 1610–20)²—borrowed books from Camden and clearly understood his work as both a contribution to a shared scholarly project and a defense of a specifically Catholic nationalism.³ Roscarrock's work was never published, but other Catholic legends of native saints were available in printed editions: Roscarrock used John Wilson's *English*