C. J. Leslie

A. M. D. G.

RECORDS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

ROEHAMPTON
PRINTED BY JAMES STANLEY.

FATHER HENRY MORSE, S.J.,
MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.
Suffered at Tyburn, Feb. 1, 1645.
(*From the original portrait at Lanherne Convent.*)

A.M.D.G.

RECORDS

OF THE

ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

Historic Facts illustrative of the Labours and Sufferings of its Members in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.

VOL. I.

First Series.

By HENRY FOLEY, S.J.

"*Lapidati sunt, secti sunt, tentati sunt, in occisione gladii mortui sunt, circuierunt in melotis, in pellibus caprinis, egentes, angustiati, afflicti.*—Epist. ad Heb. xi. 37.

LONDON:
BURNS AND OATES, PORTMAN STREET,
AND PATERNOSTER ROW.

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ADDENDA.

ERRATA.

Page 201, line 12 from bottom.—*For* "Lincolnshire," *read* "Lancashire."

Pp. 141, 174, 181, 184, 188, 192, 332, 491.—*For* "RECORDS, Vol. I.," &c., *read* "Vol. II.," &c.

INTRODUCTION.

In the Prospectus of the Series of *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, lately issued, allusion is made to the small volume, *Jesuits in Conflict*, as having been adopted for Series I., though, on account of its difference in size and type from the rest, should a second edition of the volume (Series II. III. & IV.) be required, it was intended to reprint the smaller one and combine the whole into one volume of uniform size.

In compliance, however, with the suggestion of a friend, the Editor has determined to anticipate any second edition of Series II. III. and IV., and to reprint a new and revised edition of *Jesuits in Conflict* as a distinct series in the next issue.

The present therefore stands as Volume I. Series I. (the volume containing Series II. III. & IV. thus falling into its proper position as Volume II.), and it is introduced by a few paragraphs quoted from the prospectus issued, explanatory of the scheme of the whole work.

"With the exception of Father Henry More's *Historia Prov. Angl. Soc. Jesu*, which comes down to the year 1635, and Father Bartoli's *Inghilterra*, which ends in the year 1610, it may be safely asserted that no complete history of the English Province of the Society of Jesus exists; and in fact these works, being written respectively in Latin and Italian, and the former especially being extremely rare, may be regarded as virtually sealed books to the general public.

"The present Series is not intended to be a formal history, exactly and chronologically arranged, but simply a record of the labours and sufferings of the members of the English

Province S.J. in the propagation and preservation of the faith of our ancestors, during the most eventful and exciting times of its existence. It is compiled from various authentic sources, such as histories, State Papers, and manuscripts in the Public Record Offices at home and abroad, in the British Museum, Stonyhurst College, and other collections, &c.; and these have been arranged, as far as possible, in order of time and according to the ancient division of the English Province into Districts or *quasi* Colleges and Residences, embracing all the English counties, and each having its allotted circuit, its Rector or Superior, and a staff of missionaries under him. A truthful historical collection of this nature, besides facilitating the future compilation of a more concise history, supplies the reader at the present time with a general view of the works and sufferings of members of the English Province of the Society, during the period of which it treats.

"It is very difficult, we may say almost impossible, to make a perfectly satisfactory arrangement of such materials whilst in the process of collection; for, to use a mining term, these hidden treasures are constantly 'cropping up,' and we are thus driven, as in the present volume, to resort to addenda. In justification of which we would draw especial attention to the important letter of Father Parsons.[1]

"Though the Series is almost entirely limited to events bearing on the history of the English Province S.J., it enters necessarily on many points which concern English Catholic history in general, and also contains the records of many ancient families, both Catholic and Protestant, several of whose members belonged to the English Province of the Society.

"The history of each College and Residence will be respectively brought up to the year 1677 in distinct Series, and from that date, in one or two additional volumes, through the trying times of the terrible persecution known as 'Oates' Plot,' with the Revolution of 1688, and so on until about 1716, when, together with the more violent and bloody persecution, all records of public interest seem to have ceased.

"The whole work will contain either new and full lives or

[1] Addenda, p. 633.

shorter biographies of upwards of two hundred members of the English Province, martyrs and confessors for the faith *in vinculis pro Christo*, and other eminent Jesuits; each life comprising more or less of the history of its time.

"The Series will occupy from three to four more volumes beyond the one now in the press, including an entirely new *Collectanea S.J.*, rendered necessary by recent researches, to which will be added a catalogue of the *aliases*, or assumed names, taken by the members of the Province."

The Series will avoid as far as possible, consistently with the faithful record of historical facts and documents, any matter that may tend, in the remotest degree, either to engender controversy or renew the memory of long-suppressed dissensions. In such a Series cases may arise which, but for the extreme importance of the historical facts connected with them, would be passed by in silence.

One of such cases, and the only one we can recollect, arises in the present volume with respect to certain letters and documents among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, and the letters of Father Anthony Rivers, quoted in pp. 11, seq. To omit all notice of these documents would be (1) to pass over an historical fact of great importance and interest, and more especially this point, hitherto not so clearly indicated or dwelt upon, viz., that in the utter discomfiture of the Queen and Council, assisted by the combined forces of the Anglican Church and State, in their attempt to stamp out by blood and brute force the ancient Catholic faith and religion of our forefathers, they resorted to a deep-laid scheme of intrigue with a small number of the Catholic clergy, as stated in the text, with the avowed object of fomenting disunion in the ranks of the faithful, and of thus breaking their otherwise invincible phalanx; (2) because to omit the notice of these public documents would be to expose them to the risk of being handled in a hostile spirit by persons inimical to the Catholic faith, when they can be noticed under circumstances so favourable as the present.

We may add that the cruel edict of the Queen and Council against the priests and Jesuits (referred to in Father Rivers' letters), which is dated from Westminster, November 5, 1602,

and is of great length, fully bears out the infamously intriguing conduct of the Government.[2]

After declaring that "of late much contention and controversy hath arisen between the Jesuits and secular priests combined with them, on the one part, and certain of the secular priests dissenting from them in divers points, on the other part, thereby a great difference of offence against us and our State, betwixt one and the other sect, hath manifestly appeared, the Jesuits and the secular priests, their adherents," plotting for the invasion, &c., of the kingdom, and "also even to murder our person," the other secular priests "not only protesting against the same . . . but also offering themselves in their writings and speeches to be the first that shall discover such traitorous intentions . . . and to be the foremost by arms and all other means to suppress it . . . so that it is plain that the treason locked in the hearts of the Jesuits and their adherents is freighted with more violent malice, perils, and poison . . . than the disloyalty and disobedience found in the other secular priests that are opposite therein unto them," the edict then requires "all Jesuits and secular priests combined with them," as aforesaid, and who were then out of prison, "forthwith to depart the realm," and that "the other sort of the secular priests," then out of prison, "and in some things opposite unto the Jesuits," do depart the realm betwixt this and the 1st of January next ensuing, "except such of them as shall in the meantime present themselves to some of the Lords or others of our Privy Council . . . or to the bishop of the diocese, and before them acknowledge sincerely their duty and allegiance unto us, and submit themselves to our mercy, with whom we will then, upon certificate of such submission, take such further order as shall be thought most convenient."

Since the text was in type it has been found by comparing two of the reports, now among the State Papers, which were forwarded by the Government spy and agent in Rome to the Secretary of State, with the Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vol. iii.,

[2] This is the new edict—"surpassing in cruelty any that had hitherto been promulgated"—mentioned by Father Tanner, S.J., in the Life of Father Page, S.J., pp. 420, seq.

viz., May 25, 1602 (n. 13), endorsed—"Relation of the proceedings of the appellants, Rome, May 25, 1602," and September 14, 1602 (n. 22), headed—"Concerning the business of the appellant priests in Rome, from the 2nd of August unto the 14th of September," that the documents were derived from reports in the form of letters, without any signature or address, prepared probably for the Fathers of the Society in England and Spain. A rough copy of the former is in the handwriting of Father Robert Parsons.

The Editor acknowledges, with thanks, communications and assistance rendered him by the following—Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Deputy Keeper of the Rolls (for permission to inspect papers at the Rolls House); the Reverend Joseph Stevenson, of Oscott College; the Reverend D. H. Haigh, of Erdington; the Reverend Drs. Jessopp, F. G. Lee, and Bloxam; Thomas Arthur Young, Esq., of Kingerby House; Charles Weld, Esq., of Chideock; F. H. Salvin, Esq., of Whitmoor House; Charles A. Buckler, Esq.; the Reverend Mother Prioress of Lanherne Convent, for the loan of the portraits of the martyrs for the studio of the Woodbury Process Company, and for other valuable information regarding the martyrs.

His thanks are also due to the Reverend Members of the Old Clergy Chapter, for the inspection of manuscripts; to the Reverend Thomas E. Gibson, the author of the late beautiful antiquarian work, *Lydiate Hall and its associations;* to Father Purbrick, Rector of Stonyhurst College, for the use of manuscripts; to Fathers Murphy, Legnani, and Musto, for assistance in translations, and to Fathers Anderdon and MacLeod for revising and passing the volume through the press.

First Series.

THE COLLEGE OF ST. IGNATIUS;

OR,

THE LONDON DISTRICT.

THE COLLEGE OF ST. IGNATIUS, OR THE LONDON DISTRICT, S.J.

THIS was the first of the districts, or *quasi* Colleges. into which the wide-spread English Mission of the Society of Jesus was apportioned (November, 1662) by Father Richard Blount, the first Vice-Provincial; the Mission having been erected into a Vice-Province of the Society in 1619 by the Very Rev. Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the sixth General.

This College or District of St. Ignatius, called in some old catalogues *Domus Probationis Sti. Ignatii, cum Missione Londinensi*, or *Missione adjacente*, embraced the counties of Middlesex, Surrey, Kent, Berks, and Herts; and, among many other places of which no present traces exist, it served or visited those detailed below.

Bushy Hall, Herts.
Calehill, Kent.
Cheam, Surrey.
Dadman.
East-Hendred.
Enfield.
Faversham.
Great Waltham—Northend (Mrs. Wiseman's).
Hammersmith.
Hawkeswell.
Isleworth.
Kensington.
Lyford, Berks (Mr. and Mrs. Yates).
Linstead Lodge, Lord Tenyham.
London and suburbs.
Marshgate.
Pelham Forneux.
Richmond.
The Spital, Windsor.
Sittingbourne.
Sutton.
Uxenden, Harrow-on-the-Hill (Mr. Bellamy's).
Westminster.
Woodhouse, Chertsey (the Southcotes).

The average yearly number of the Fathers attached to it from 1635 to 1677 was about twenty-six. They were for the most part rather *Missionarii excurrentes* than fixed residents in any locality, traversing the whole district, visiting the houses of the Catholic nobility and gentry, and as times

and circumstances permitted, collecting the afflicted flocks together, instructing them and administering to them the rites of their holy and persecuted religion.

As to the *Ministeria Spiritualia* of the College, the records left us are so imperfect and scanty, owing to the loss and destruction of papers in troublous times, that it is impossible to form any correct idea. The blessed martyr, Father Henry Morse, as will be seen, converted about ninety families during his zealous labours in London in the time of the plague of 1636—1638. Including this number (probably an extraordinary one due to the circumstance of the plague) we may compute the average annual number of converts at about eighty.

The present series carries the history of the College down to the year 1677. A future volume will carry it on, through the terrible persecution under Oates' feigned plot and succeeding events, to about the year 1714. Probably no district of the English Province of the Society suffered so severely as this of St. Ignatius. It contained within its limits the very seat of the persecuting government, with its judicial courts and State prisons, which at one period, as we shall see, formed the principal residences of the Fathers, while Tyburn witnessed the deaths of seventeen and St. Paul's Churchyard of one of its martyrs for the faith, to say nothing of the numbers who died within its prison walls, noble confessors in the same cause. If, as we know, St. Ignatius earnestly prayed that the Society of Jesus, like its Divine Head and Master, should ever suffer and grow strong amid persecution for justice' sake, it was but meet that the College or District bearing the name of its holy Founder, should have its full portion of the blessed chalice of suffering. The following extract from the *Life of St. Ignatius* by Stewart Rose,[1] will illustrate this point. "In the summer of 1530, Ignatius came to London. That was a fatal year to England. The question of Henry's divorce was agitating not this country alone, but the whole Christian world. . . . The reports of his apostasy must have been as gall and wormwood to the heart of Ignatius, filling it at once with a righteous indignation at the wickedness of Henry and his counsellors, and with a consuming pity for a noble people. And, peradventure, as he knelt in prayer before our Lady's picture near the Tower, or traversed, deep in meditation, the long line of road that led to Tyburn, the veil of the future may have

[1] Longman and Co. 1870.

been lifted for the moment, and his prescient eye have foreseen the day and gloried in the thought, when his heroic sons, with others as brave and good, would encounter the ignominy and all the frightful horrors of a traitor's doom, rather than stoop to acknowledge, by word or sign, a supremacy as much opposed to the rightful liberties of a Christian man as to the inalienable prerogatives of the Vicar of Jesus Christ. No memory has been bequeathed to us of what befell the Saint during his short sojourn in this island: we are left therefore to our own conjectures. That he would visit the famous and not yet desecrated shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, either on his way to London, or on his return to France, we may regard as well nigh certain; and as more certain still that he would go sometimes to pray at the tomb of St. Edward the Confessor, in the Abbey Church of Westminster. It is probable, too, that he was hospitably received at the Charterhouse by the Carthusian monks, whose brethren in Paris were amongst his closest friends, and who, ere long would, with one unhappy exception, choose death in its most revolting forms, rather than admit Henry's impious claim. Some were hanged under circumstances of peculiar atrocity, the rest were left to perish of disease and starvation in prison.[2] With all these devoted men Ignatius had probably held conference on the miseries and dangers of the time. His chief haunts would be the houses of the Spanish merchants, who at that time clustered together near the river in the neighbourhood of Old Broad Street, where the Spanish Ambassador occupied what was called Winchester House. One thing only we know as an historical fact, that among his countrymen in London the Saint met with more generous benefactors than he had found even in the Flemish towns."

1601–3. We introduce Father Anthony Rivers, who at this period was residing in London, for the sake of noticing his interesting letters, of which a large collection is preserved among the MSS. of the Old Clergy Chapter, London.

Owing to the loss of records, we possess even less information than usual regarding this Father. Dr. Oliver in his *Collectanea S.J.* merely mentions that he was socius or secretary of Father Henry Garnett, the Superior of the English mission S.J. He frequently alludes in his letters to his "cousin," and, in an intercepted letter, dated 9th of March, 1603 (Public Record Office), from which we give an extract below, he

[2] *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers.* First Series, frontispiece.

mentions his "cousin Henry," so that Father Rivers may have been a relation also to that blessed martyr, unless indeed that term was used for the sake of concealment, or in another sense than that of relationship. Father Henry Garnett, in a letter written from the Tower of London to Mrs. Ann Vaux, dated the 3rd of April, 1606, after his condemnation, names Father Rivers, while giving some directions for the government of the English mission of the Society after his death. He names him (among others) as one employed in hearing the confessions of his brethren and other duties.

Father Robert North, *alias* or *vere* Duckett, in a letter, dated 30th of October, 1606, to Father Robert Parsons (as Signor Ingelberto of Venice) mentions Father Rivers: "I hope your old scribe Anthony is with you by this time, unto whom I desire to be commended, as also unto my godson Snipe."[3] This letter was written six months after the martyrdom of his Superior, Father Henry Garnett, and we may gather from it that his socius escaped from England, soon after that event and proceeded to join Father Parsons, his old correspondent. Two Fathers of the name of Rivers occur in Gee's list of Priests and Jesuits in and about London at the date 1623-4, one of these was probably Father Henry Floyd, *alias* Rivers, the other may have been the subject of our present notice. Father Anthony Rivers is chiefly known to us by the above-mentioned collection of letters, which are replete with interesting topics of foreign and home news of the day. Living, as he must have done, in the closest concealment, it is marvellous how he could have gained such varied and copious information, penetrating to the palace itself, and the secret motions of the State. Several letters of the series were intercepted, and are now among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London.

We have been permitted by the kindness of the Clergy Chapter to make full extracts from this interesting collection, of which our space will only allow us to give a portion.

Father Rivers commences all his letters with the pious heading "Laus Deo."

The first letter is dated London, 13th of January, 1601, addressed, "A molto Mag. Seren. Sign. Roberto Perino, Venegia," meaning Father Robert Parsons. Among other domestic and foreign news, we extract the following.

[3] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 71.

. . . "About some ten days since there arrived at London, Virginio Orsini, Duke of Graciano. His coming was some days before expected, and it was said he was sent by the young French Queen to give her Majesty thanks for a token which she sent the French Queen as a gratuity, and to welcome her into these parts. Howsoever, this Italian duke was honourably received by our Italian merchants into the city, and presently some noblemen were sent to invite him to the Court, where he hath divers times been sumptuously feasted, and in the best manner entertained. The Queen hath been pleased to have many pleasant discourses with him, and to dance before him, and he, as a well-experienced courtier, knew to make show of admiring herself as most excellent, and all her actions as incomparable. She invited him to go with her to her closet over the chapel, having before given order that the Communion table should be adorned with basin and ewer of gold and evening tapers and other ornaments; some say also with a crucifix, and that all the ministry should be in rich copes. The Duke, of curiosity, accompanied her, and she was very pleasant thereat, saying she would write to the Pope not to chide him for that fact, with other like discourses; and so, service ended, they returned. But herewithal many Papists are much scandalized, as also they were before by the instalment of the French agent at Windsor. Now the Duke is ready to take his leave, and meaneth presently to pass to the Archduke's court. Some suppose he is secretly employed about a peace or some other matter of importance. He hath been most kindly used by most of the Council and the nobility near London, who have many times feasted him, accompanied him on hunting, and used all other compliments that might seem grateful unto him. He was lodged at Alderman Ratcliffe's house, by order of our Italian merchants, especially Cursyons, who meaneth to defray his charge of lodging, diet, and other necessaries there, if he will permit it.

Visit of Duke of Graz to London.

Elizabeth's attention to him.

Takes him to her chapel.

At this time six of the Council have written to our Lord Mayor of London, commanding him, in her Majesty's name, with all speed, to cause the cross in Cheapside to be repaired, and the same and the figure to be set up as perfectly and precisely in all respects as it was before. The like command was sent by Mr. Secretary some years since, but our Mayor and aldermen

Elizabeth orders the Lord Mayor to restore the cross at Cheapside.

refused to obey,[4] pretending it was superstitious, and willing to set up in place thereof the picture of Justice. Now no more delays will be allowed, and all diligence is used that it may be finished before the Duke's departure, that he might make relation thereof in foreign parts, as though we were not so ill affected in religion, or the same so much persecuted here as abroad is supposed. . . .

"I specified in my last how Sir William Evers was brought prisoner to London, and the manner of his commitment there, and that it was thought some further matter would have fallen out against his brother, the Lord Evers, the Lord Willoughby, and others, about Scottish affairs. Since that time the matter hath lain, as it were, in a dream, and Sir William close prisoner, but not known where; some think still in the Minories, others in the Tower, some elsewhere; and so, what will become of it is as yet doubtful. And most probable it is that without very apparent matter we dare not further exasperate the Scottish King.

Sir William Evers prisoner.

[4] The hatred of the Puritans against the old crosses of London was bitter. In the collection of King's Pamphlets (British Museum) for the years 1641–3 are several squibs upon the famous Cheapside Cross, and in that of 1643, is a wood-cut, which, quaint as it is, suffices to show the original beauty of the erection.

In 1641 (n. 20, art. 9), we find the following "great charge exhibited against Cheapside Cross:"

"I. It was first consecrated and set up by authority from the Pope, to the intent it should be idolized.—13 *Eliz.*, 2 P, Rome.

"II. It attempteth against the estate regal, being prostituted unto by Papists and recusants.

"III. Contrary to the protestation, it is still pointed at, whereas it should be burnt and no more adored; yet as needless, still bowed to.

"IV. It is adhered to, and doth comfort the King's enemies, the Papists, &c., in that worship against which we have protested.

"It doth maintain and extol the worship authorized by the Bishop of Rome, which being done in these dominions, in despite of the protestation, is first a premunire, secondly high treason."—13 *Eliz.*, 2 P, Rome.

1642 (n. 39, art. 38) is "The remarkable funeral of Cheapside Cross, in London, with the reason why the Bishops, Jesuits, Papists, &c., refused to be there."

From this absurd squib we gather the following fact, that "the Golden Cross in Cheapside" received a mortal blow on Monday night, the 24th of January, 1642.

1643 (n. 105, art. 21), is the "Downfall of Dagon, or the taking down of Cheapside Cross, the 2nd of January, 1643."

From this article we find that the Cross was first erected by King Edward, who "built many more crosses in several towns at the death of good Queen Eleanor;" and "In 1441 it was repaired in a beautiful manner," and £6,000 given for its new erection.

Home news, Parliament, &c. Sale of jewels, chalices, crucifixes, to raise money, in contemplation.

"Our expected Parliament is at a nonplus; the Queen will not have it; and for provision of money it is ordered that more of the crown lands shall be sold, and divers jewels in the Tower, as chalices, crucifixes, and such like, are set to sale to the goldsmiths. Other sorts of plate are there melted, and thereof new money coined; and besides all this, it is feared that we shall have base coin of brass and other metals, but this is only in consultation amongst the Council, and as yet not determined. . . .

"The Earl of Essex is now altogether in his house, near Temple Bar, in no favour as yet with her Majesty, but growing again to wonted popularity by being often visited by many of the nobility, as the Earls of Worcester, Southampton, Sussex, Rutland, Bedford, and others, with many captains and cavaliers, and the whole pack of Puritans, insomuch as now it is thought both the Queen and Mr. Secretary stand in awe of him, and would make him surer if they durst. Not many days since, the Lord Treasurer sent his eldest son to visit him, and withal to tell him that he had dealt effectually with her Majesty in his behalf, and was in hope to have brought it to good forwardness, had not his lordship in three respects hindered him. The one in permitting base captains and rascals (as Capt. Baynam by name) to have free access unto him, who, being desperately bent upon all occasions, her Majesty might justly fear no good meaning. The second, for that his house was open to all comers, where he often feasted some of the nobility and many others, wherein he discovered himself to affect popularity. The third, by having so many chaplains and so many exercises or Puritan sermons, or, rather, conventicles, that he drew multitudes thither, that the Queen could not but take it ill. To these he answered that he knew no rascals that resorted unto him, and not being prohibited the speech of any, he saw no reason to withdraw himself from such as in good will pretended to visit him. To the second he said he could not but in civility invite such as came to him to such fare as he had, which was not feasting, and that otherwise he invited or sent for none. To the last, that these exercises were no conventicles, but rather spiritual conferences, which was his only consolation, and therefore hoped her Majesty would permit him to use freely that comfort, and for plurality of chaplains, he said he had but two of his own, confessing

The Earl of Essex.

withal that some others, coming either with their lords or masters, or without, and offering to make him a sermon, he neither did nor could refuse it, considering the pleasure and profit he reaped thereby, and so left Mr. Sachville, and he continued his courses as before; and surely, if they thus permit him to run on in this jollity any time, he will grow too headstrong for them, and then, woe to Mr. Secretary, against whom already libels begin to fly. . . .

Puritan riot in Banbury, cross destroyed, rioters punished.

"The inhabitants of Banbury being far gone in Puritanism, in a furious zeal tumultuously assailed the cross that stood in their market-place, and so defaced it that they scarcely left one stone upon another. The Bishop of Canterbury thereupon convented the chief actors before him, and by circumstances discovering their riotous proceedings, hath enjoined them to re-edify the same, and bound them over to receive condign punishment before the Lords in the Star Chamber.

The Queen paints her face, &c.

"It was commonly observed this Christmas that her Majesty, when she came to be seen, was continually painted, not only all over her face, but her very neck and breast also, and that the same was in some places near half an inch thick.

Cruelty of Lord Chief Justice to recusants.

"My Lord Chief Justice concurreth with all his industry to further Felton in his finding out the livings and goods of the recusants, and that course is with all extremity prosecuted without any commiseration, insomuch as many poor gentlemen that have wives and children are driven to great miseries, and more are like daily to succeed. The said Chief Justice hath promised her Majesty in a short time, by these means, to bring her in so much money and revenue as shall defray the greatest part of the charge of the wars of Ireland." . . .

His next letter, addressed to the same, is dated 22nd of December, 1601.

Watson's books, *Quod libet*, &c.

. . . "Four new books which you have not yet seen are on their way towards you. Now we have here two more, viz., the first tome of Mr. Watson's *Quod libet*, in his mother tongue, containing well near forty sheets of paper in quarto, wherein he promiseth ten other as big volumes of like tenor. And another book set out by one Arthur Copley, gentleman, full of apparent falsehoods

and slanders. All these contain such unpleasing matter, devised of mere malice, as they cannot but be ungrateful unto you. Yet here among the wisest they have done much good as discovering the authors' sinister intentions, who are now so far carried with passion, as to please the State, they respect neither conscience nor truth, no not so much as common courtesy. I shall send these by the first opportunity. If you see the other you may guess at the subject of these, saving that still they proceed in pains. *Ex ungue leonem*, &c."

12th February, 1602, *same to same.*

Sir Thomas Parry, Ambassador of France.

. . . "Sir Thomas Parry, a Knight of Berkshire, on the edge of Hampshire, by special command is preparing with all speed to go to reside our ledger Ambassador in France; in the mean Mr. Winwood, Sir Henry Neville's secretary, as our agent supplieth the place.

"All our greatest men here make great show of affection to the Scottish King, the most part as it is thought rather for fear than love. London undoubted is much addicted that way, and, as I hear, a great part of the northern counties in like manner. An agent of the Scottish King told a friend of mine of late that his master doubted nothing more than that he should obtain what he desired so greatly and without resistance, and so should neither have fit occasion to advance his friends and followers, nor to pull down our English pride and insolence. This his speech displeaseth as many as hear of it. *Ex ungue leonem.*

Advances towards the King of Scotland, &c. Scottish affairs, &c.

"A gentleman of late offering his services to a great Councillor as willing to go into Scotland, there to enter into the association with intent to discover all other English combined in the same, the project was not accepted, but the party advised rather to go into Flanders, there to give intelligence of what he could learn, with some other instructions, which he willingly undertook, and since the better to countenance his residing in those parts, warrants have been hence granted colourable for his apprehension; the man is very intimate with Barwis, son to Alderman Skinner, deceased; he married Sir Griffin Mowcham's sister. The said Councillor told one with whom he is sometimes very confident, of the aforesaid offer, saying he liked not to send such agents as would so soon

be perfidious into those parts for the King to work upon; rather he approved it far better policy to undercreep the Scottish agents here, concluding that he would be glad if the like practice might be as cunningly wrought against the son, as was against the mother, and by this you may guess what sincere affections they bear to the Scot, howsoever outwardly they make fair weather. Sir Henry Neville, Bromley, and Smith remain still in the Tower, but no proceeding against them hath [M.S. destroyed] formally indicted. The Earl of Southampton is there recovered of a dangerous disease, but in no hope of liberty. The Earl of Rutland, and the Lord Monteagle have got to be discharged of their confinement, but may not come at the Court. One Herston, *alias* Heryeon, a kinsman of Sir John Fortescue's, and follower of the late Earl of Essex in his prosperity, employed for secret service at Boulogne, when the Commissioners there met about the treaty of peace, hath ever since continued thereabout, and busied himself, as 'tis thought, more in French affairs than he had commission, by occasion whereof he was lately, under colour of further employment, called home by the Admiral, and upon his arrival was sent prisoner to the Tower. . . .

Nobles in the Tower, &c.

"We have had here about forty poor Spaniards in Bridewell, part of those that were brought into Kinsale and delivered to the Deputy by the Scottish flyboat. The rest are about Plymouth side; of these here some are dead, and some removed to the hospitals. They were first made to labour, but through weakness by many wants, they were soon disabled, and so it was countermanded. It was thought one Pisoll, a merchant of this city, should have had the charge to transport these and the rest to Lisbon, there to have exchanged them for English. I do not hear how it succeeds.

Spanish prisoners from Ireland.

"After our earthquake, we have now a new disease, which very few escape, viz., a great pain of the head, aching in the bones, burning and distemper in all parts. A gentle sweat at the beginning is a present cure, otherwise it continueth four or five days, and so ceaseth; few or none have died thereof, unless by their own unruly disorder.

Earthquake, and a new pestilence very like our influenza.

"Of the appellant priests being on their way towards you, I have understood as well by yours to me of the 22nd of January (for

The appellant priests on their way, &c.

which I thank you), as otherwise by their associates. The State favoureth them, and our Bishop is their chief patron. I hear of a proclamation penned, perused, and ready for the print, imparting her Majesty's satisfaction of their true allegiance, and thereupon authorizing all sorts to receive, relieve, aid, and comfort them, any law heretofore made to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Other relations of this subject I leave to my cousin and Father Randall;[5] God send you health, and soul's desire, and so with due remembrance of my best commendations, I take leave. Always yours,

"ANTH. RIVERS.

"Al Mag. Sig. Ridolfo Perino, in Venegia."

Full and frequent mention is made throughout these letters of a religious dissension existing at that time in England, which caused much trouble, and derived its chief importance from the fact of its having been mainly promoted and fostered by the Queen and her Council, as a means to promote division in the Catholic ranks, and thereby to weaken them. It is here noticed in order to bring out an undeniable fact. The whole weight of the authority both of Church and State had been completely foiled in a determined effort to stamp out the Catholic religion from the land, by the glorious combats and heroic constancy of its noble martyrs. All these resources were therefore now put forth to foment religious discord among the Catholics themselves.

Our earnest wish is to palliate to the utmost of our power, the conduct of the individuals with whom the State so shamefully tampered. The State papers to be quoted, and the allusions in Father Rivers' letters to the intrigues between the Government and the parties in question go towards this. God alone knows the fearful extent of the trials and temptations to which Catholics, both clerical and lay, especially the former, were exposed in those times of proscription and sanguinary hatred. Indeed the small number of those who fell under the

[5] Father Randall, who is several times named in these letters, was Father Richard Blount. See a letter of his signed R. Rand., Stonyhurst MS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 9, and addressed to F. Perino, Venice, 17 Feb., 1602. The cousin may have been Father Henry Garnett, the Provincial himself. He is several times named in the letters as writing to Father Parsons upon matters of information and business.

greatness of their trials is a direct proof of the Divine origin of the religion of our forefathers, the holy Catholic faith.

A small party among the clergy, not well-disposed towards the Archpriest (appointed by the Holy See in place of a bishop as head of the Catholic Church in England) and equally averse to the Society of Jesus, appealed to Rome upon various matters, and were known as the "Appellant Priests." Among other redresses they sought to obtain, was a change in the powers, if not a dismissal altogether of the Archpriest, and the recall by Rome of the Society of Jesus from England. The appellants being closely connected (as we shall see) with the Government, there can be but little doubt that the Privy Council knew beforehand the grounds of appeal. From one of the letters, dated 28th of July, 1602, of which we give an extract below, we learn the fact that the Queen herself is stated to have been the first mover of those dissensions which are said to have had their source in Wisbeach.

We refer our readers to some remarks upon Wisbeach in a late work of Father Morris.[6] Constant mention is made of the close intercourse between Bancroft, Bishop of London (to whose special charge the Privy Council had handed over the affair of fostering the dissension) and the appellants. His lordship seems to have had a scruple as to the lengths he was going to, for we find in the State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxiii. n. 40, February 1602, a letter from the Privy Council to him: "You have divers times had cause to confer privately with Romish priests, that you might be privy to their courses in laying open the malicious practices of the Jesuits, and to receive overtures from them of dangerous purposes contrived against the State, in which respect you have been driven sometimes to retain and sometimes to relieve them. As these proceedings have tended to her Majesty's honour and the good of the State, we let you know that she approves thereof, and is pleased that you continue them at discretion."

The State Papers abound with letters and reports upon this important Government scheme. The Privy Council had its active agents and spies in Rome. Several letters may be seen from Thomas Phelleppes, the noted Government spy and decipherer, to Secretary Cecil, inclosing reports from Rome. The agent in Rome seems to have dealt through Phelleppes. The reports are well written, probably by a Catholic, and evidently one friendly to the Archpriest's cause, and well

[6] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 264.

acquainted with all that was going on. It is a curious fact that the Privy Council should have adopted the reports of the Archpriest's friend, but Phelleppes tells Cecil, further on, his reason for doing so.

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxiv. n. 4, is a letter from Phelleppes to Cecil, inclosing one of three pages, dated Rome, 27th of April, 1602, relative to the affair. In it Bancroft is called the patron of the appellants, and the writer leaves it to his correspondent to judge how far the device of the appellants for bishops, or six archpriests, with two syndics or visitors, &c. would, if granted, content his Lordship of London, and adds that the matter is not likely to be ended so soon as some thought, "for His Holiness seemeth now to be inclined to have the matter ripped open from the bottom."

In the same volume, n. 25, June 4, 1602, *same to same*, is inclosed another long report of three and a quarter pages, from the same agent, dated from Rome, 25th May, 1602 (two copies are among the State Papers). It is headed—"A Note about the proceedings of the English Priests at Rome, that call themselves Appellants." He refers to his last report of 27th April, in which he informed him how earnestly the appellants denied being privy or consenting to any of Watson's or his followers' books, but only of two in Latin, and detesting the author, though hitherto he cannot understand that they have done the same under their oaths, nor yet condemned the scandalous and heretical propositions therein contained, under their own hands, though they offer to do it. This letter makes the following mention of Father Parsons—"Robert Parsons hath been forth of Rome for the most part since I wrote my last, being forced then to go to the port of Civita Vecchia (forty miles hence); the first time upon the request of the Duke of Feria, who, passing that way towards Sicily, where he is appointed Viceroy, wrote earnest letters desiring the said Father and Mr. Thomas Fitzherbert to come and meet him there; and they being scarcely returned from thence, Father Parsons was forced the second time to go thither with Cardinal Aldobrandino and the Duke of Sessa to meet the Countess of Lemos, Vice-Queen of Naples, whose husband being lately dead she returned into Spain, and was received with great honour at the said port belonging to His Holiness; and for that Father Parsons had been her *Confessarius* here in Rome, she was greatly desirous to see him, and the General of his Order took this occasion also to

despatch certain business with her for his religion. In his absence (says the writer,) I hear of little being done in the appellants' affairs, His Holiness and the Cardinals to whom the matter is committed seeming to be full weary thereof, to see so great clamour wasted upon so small grounds, and so obstinate contention continued about things of no substance." He says that the appellants are not only greatly offended when "the former books" are hinted at as attributed to them, but also when the least mention is made that they mean to drive the Jesuits out of England, they are highly offended, utterly denying the same. In conclusion he speaks of one of the leaders of the party remaining in Paris, "from whence we are informed of his and his followers' frequent treating with the English [Government] agent there, how to prosecute this matter and maintain this division; and the like, no doubt, do his correspondents there with you towards my Lord of London; and what good, or goodly effect, may finally ensue of this, every virtuous man will easily see."

In the same volume, n. 88, is another letter from *same to same*, inclosing another report, n. 88 (1.). This report is in two parts, both dated from Rome, and from the same agent. The first part, which is dated the 25th of May, 1602, is in some measure a repetition of the former one of the same date; the second part, dated the 15th of June, says—"The appellants are backed and seconded by the French, but the Archpriest's cause is liked and favoured by the best and most virtuous of all sorts."

In the same volume, n. 89 is a letter from *same to same*, with another report, 89 (1.), from the same agent. He thinks this will be his last report before the decision, "for that His Holiness seemeth to be resolved to despatch the whole affair quickly." The agent refers to his having sent with his last report a copy of a weekly gazette of advices of the 1st of June, "suggested, as it seemeth, by the appellants and their friends, giving news that Her Majesty of England was much devoted to the person of the Pope, commending highly his actions, and holding him for the undoubted Successor of Christ's Vicar upon earth (for so were the words), but especially commending the fact of absolving the King of France, all which the gazette said was understood to be most certain by fresh letters received by the aforesaid priests from England, and given up to two Cardinals, Borghese and Arigonius, to be conferred with His Holiness.

"And albeit the following two circumstances did much discredit the said relation, viz., for that no such letters were indeed given up to the said Cardinals, nor was it probable that the Queen of England did so greatly like the absolution and reconciliation of His Majesty of France to the Roman Church; yet, for that all good men wished that it were true, the matter ran current for certain days, until the news came of the death and martyrdom of three priests in London and one in York,[7] with some other laymen, and then it was easily discovered that the other was but a device to give some credit to these appellants, about their authority with the Queen and Council of England, which now by the event is seen to be little, and that Mr. Bancroft there doth but abuse them and their fellows that deal with him, and will leave them, I fear, all *bankrupt* in the end, if they leave not him first, as in wisdom and piety they ought to do. The good men dead are happiest of all, who, by this kind of juggling of others against them, have gotten to heaven themselves." He says—"It doth not appear what His Holiness can grant to these appellants of any moment after all is done, and consequently it seemeth that the fault of so many scandals raised by these tumults will rest upon them and their fellows in the end. For albeit they had received some exasperation by the sharp dealing of some towards them, yet no man can thereby justify so many exorbitant broils as have ensued." The writer then refers to the "opprobrious books, full of wicked and heretical propositions," to be very shortly, he understands, publicly condemned by the Inquisition; and that the common opinion of all in England, both Catholics and Protestants, is not unknown regarding them. . . . And in the end either they or their fellows will be found to have had part in these books, or else all will fall upon Mr. Bancroft of London to have feigned them of himself, and then will both Catholics and Puritans have just cause to write against him, first for forgery, second for apostasy, and already we have heard say that some pens are walking against him on both sides, and in the end it is thought he will get little by this new stratagem. And

[7] This strange report, put out by the appellants at Rome to mislead the Pope and Cardinals, we can readily imagine to have been devised by Bishop Bancroft, as part of his scheme. The martyrs were Thomas Tichburne, Francis Page, S.J., and Robert Watkinson, priests, and James Duckett, bookseller, hung at Tyburn—the former on the 20th, the latter on the 19th of March, 1692, with James Harrison, priest, and Thomas Bates, gent., at York, on the 22nd of the same month.

assure yourself, my good friend, that truth only and virtue will prevail in the end, and that Catholic religion in our country will grow most with God's help by this temptation, and good and constant men, being more proved, will be more known and esteemed." 23rd June, 1602.

Phelleppes, in his letter accompanying these reports, tells Cecil that, although he hears from the priests at Rome, he conceives that they do not always write the same that comes to the other side, and therefore he sends them what came from the Archpriest's friends. They differ, he adds, in their reports.

In the same volume, n. 106, *same to same*, Phelleppes incloses Cecil another report, 106(1.), dated Rome, 4th of August, 1602. It states (*inter alia*) that the "appellant priests," seeking to talk with the scholars of the College [English] at churches, &c., were checked by the Cardinal Protector, to which they answered that the prohibition was *contra jus naturale.* The Cardinal replied that their answer was *contra jus civile*, which made them see themselves esteemed as seditious companions and corrupters of youth, and fear a decree not to their liking. The agent also incloses a copy of a decree "that has been sent out by the Holy Office touching the cause of the appellants, who have obtained none of their demands—(1) The Archpriest is to continue his office as before, without any other associated to him. (2) The Fathers of the Society are not to be called out of England for any of their pretences. (3) All the Seminaries are to be governed as before. (4) All their books are condemned, not only as containing many injurious matters against the Jesuits and others, but also savouring some points of heresy. (5) They must not deal any more with the Council, or others in authority, to the prejudice of their companions, &c." In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxv., n. 6, is a letter from Mr. Charles Paget (a treacherous Catholic, and well-known Government agent and spy, a friend of the appellants, and deeply hostile to the Society) to Secretary Cecil, dated Paris, 15th September, 1602. He says (*inter alia*)—"Parsons and Thomas Fitzherbert have written to Owen and others that the Inquisitors at Rome have decided between the modest priests and broiling Jesuits—(1) That the Jesuits shall remain in England. (2) That the priests shall have their faculties restored. (3) That no books be written against each other on pain of excommunication.

(4) That the priests deal no more with the Queen and Council. (5) That the Archpriest and assistants remain in office as before. (6) That the Colleges continue as they did under the Jesuits' government. There is no news the last two posts from Rome from the priests, so it is feared their affairs do not go on well." In the same volume, n. 46, is a letter from Phelleppes to Cecil, inclosing, 46 (I.), a letter of one and a half pages, dated Rome, $\frac{4}{14}$th September, 1602, upon the subject, with the result of the appeal. It ends thus—"And truly, good sir, if a man consider well what hath been gained hitherto by all this long journey to Rome, and by the whole of this last year's travail and trouble, and by the contention of divers parties there, it is a pitiful thing, and a matter of much grief and compassion, that men dedicated and devoted to God's service in so high a degree and so holy a work as the mission of England is, should, by art of the enemy, be turned aside from prosecution of the said work, and falling one upon the other, seek to buffet and break heads, with the laughter of all their enemies and intolerable grief of their friends and superiors, and will not be pacified nor induced to follow their work again in peace with their fellows, which we hope now verily by God's grace all parties will do that have care, either of their own consciences with God, or of their credit with good men, seeing the infinite danger and scandals that do ensue of the contrary. Christ Jesus grant it, and preserve you for ever." Rome, 14th September, 1602.

In n. 46 (II.) we have "The last relation about the business of the Appellant Priests in Rome, from the 14th of September unto the 12th of October, 1602, wherein also the final determination of His Holiness is recounted." This was pronounced at a Congregation held 20th July, 1602. And after repeating the decision in substance, it adds the condemnation of the appellants' books for the reasons mentioned above. Dealing also with heretics in prejudice of Catholics is forbidden under pain of excommunication *ipso facto* and loss of faculties; as also the writing of all books on either side. All appeals are to be resolved to His Holiness or the Cardinal Protector alone, with whom in like manner the Archpriest was to deal in all his affairs immediately concerning his office and government, and not with the Superior or others of the Jesuits, for the avoiding of further strife. The Holy Father, while highly

eulogizing the zeal and piety of the Jesuits, makes this decision for the sake of peace.

The agent also sends "Answer of T. C. to a letter of his friend in Perugia concerning the late Brief of His Holiness, dated 5th October, 1602, about the termination of the English affairs, &c." "The following good results are likely to ensue from the Brief. (1) Ecclesiastical subordination is instituted, the laity and ancient priests being exempted from the same rule as the seminary priests. (2) The Pope's testimony of the sincere zeal and piety of the Jesuits will do them good among Catholics. (3) The appointment of three appellant priests as assistants to the Archpriest will promote peace. (4) The severe prohibition against dealing with heretics will do great good. (5) The prohibition of controversial books and exhortations to peace should influence the Catholics." N. 46 (IV.) is Pope Clement the VIII.'s Brief. N. 46 (V.) is a long letter from the Pope to George Blackwell, the Archpriest of England, with exhortations, &c. Of this letter there are three copies among the State Papers.

The voice of the Vicar of Christ had its effect, and the Government, seeing it could make no further use of these dissensions, abandoned its newly-adopted friends, and visited them with all the greater severity. The following extract of a letter of Father Richard Blount, under the assumed name of Randall (the letter referred to in our note above), will be found to bear upon this subject.

"This 14th of February [1602], a Puritan Scotchman of Oxford, with some others of the same University, is sent up to London, and there convicted in the Star Chamber for some bold speeches uttered against some of the Lords of the Council. The name of him which is the chief is Darnell, a young fellow of some twenty years of age. He had written a letter to some friend, wherein he taxed the Lord Treasurer and the Secretary, of Papistry, as also Sir John Fortescue, my Lord of Canterbury, and my Lord of London, saying that all of them made way for Papistry; that good laws were enacted against them but none executed, and a good proclamation lately set forth against priests, but it proved ridiculous, for that, by my Lord of London especially, and others, they were still countenanced, and that a priest [in the margin, Mr. Green in Framingham] lately apprehended and condemned about Coventry, was reprieved by a great Chancellor [in the margin, Mr. Secretary], sent for to London,

and there dismissed. Besides, he said, my Lady Buckhurst nursed Papistry in her lap, and that she heard Mass with my Lord Montacute in Salisbury Court. All which speeches he avowed with that boldness and impudency before all the Lords of the Council that they were not a little amazed to hear him. In fine, he was censured to stand upon the pillory, and to have one ear cut off in Cheapside and the other in Oxford. The Chief Justice told him he had done, amongst others, great injury to my Lord of London, affirming of his own knowledge that not any man in this land hath done greater service to this State than the Bishop, for, saith he, he hath put a disunion between the priests themselves; he hath caused them to write one against another, and to subscribe their names, which all the world thought impossible ever to come to pass. But of this Star Chamber matter I hope to send you more ample and particular relation."

This further promised information is given in a letter from Father Rivers to Father Parsons, addressed as Giacomo Creleto, Venice, 9th March, 1603, intercepted, and now in the P.R.O.[8] It says that the luckless Puritan "was conveyed on a horse to Cheapside, with face backwards, set on the pillory, and had one of his ears cut off, and would have had the other at Oxford, but the Countess of Oxford took the part of a zealous sister, and got the Queen to pardon it and to remit his fine."

With this short digression we resume our extracts from Father Anthony Rivers' letters.

The next letter is dated 3rd March, 1602, *to the same* (addressed to Cologne). Among other items of home and foreign news, he speaks of a debt of £300,000 owing by the King of France to England, of which there was great difficulty to recover payment, and a curious process was resorted to for its discharge, in a sham parley for a treaty of peace with Spain, to be communicated "in some cunning manner" to the French King, who would be sure (as had happened once before, in Henry VIII.'s time) "to yield to any payment the Queen will require."

Barwis the priest committed to the Gatehouse by the Bishop of London really for deceiving the Secretary of State.

"One of the agents employed for the effecting this parley was thought to be Barwis the priest, who for his labour is now by the Bishop of London committed to the Gatehouse, but with the liberty of the house. Divers men

[8] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxvii. n. 50.

diversely conjecture of the cause thereof, some affirming that Watson and he were at jars, others that he dissembled on all sides; but, as I credibly understand, Mr. Secretary was the principal cause of his commitment, for that he found him to juggle with him in his negotiation with the Flanders Nuncio, of whom he gave advertisement that he desired much to speak and confer with Mr. Secretary about the peace, and that he would put himself to sea, and be taken as a private man by some English ships, and be brought in to effect that desire, with such like devices, all which are discovered since to be untrue, and himself insufficient for such affairs, and so is made forthcoming to them [that] he slip not away, to tell more tales than he should. Some conceive that his commitment to that place may be of policy to undermine a Portugal Jesuit there, one Ferdinando, that was Procurator for Brazilia at the last General Congregation, being taken with sixteen others of his company going to Brazilia. John de Maduriera, the Superior, died at sea, seven were brought into England, the rest were set on shore about the coast of Spain. All these here are appointed to be exchanged for certain English in Spain; two are with Captain Ofley in London, two at Portsmouth, and two at Plymouth. My cousin hath had a letter from Ferdinando, which I suppose he will send you, by it you will fully understand all other particulars. . . .

Portuguese Jesuit Ferdinando in the Gatehouse prison, and six others in England, to be exchanged with Spain.

"The Lord Keeper, in his oration the last Star Chamber day of the last term, gave special charge to the Judges of Assize, Justices, and other officers to be very vigilant over three sorts of persons, viz., Jesuits, priests, and precisians, all which laboured the subversion of the State, which could not stand unless they were supplanted. Of three evils he said the Jesuits were the worst; that there was never any notorious treason but they were the principal actors, and so took occasion to speak of the books written by the priests against them, which albeit some might have suspected heretofore to have been published but in their names, yet not as he said by the arch-traitor Parsons his Apology, it was manifest they were the true authors, and that those their contentious humours were bred and nourished amongst themselves by pride and ambition. He spoke also much against the liberty that some priests enjoyed, affirming all such as received or relieved them to be within the compass of law, willing the justices to have regard thereunto, &c.

Lord Keeper warns the Judges, &c., against the Jesuits, &c., and especially names Father Parsons.

"Mr. Wade seemed of late to exult much that he was a principal nourisher of this faction, telling a friend of his what good effects it had wrought both for the justifying of her Majesty's proceedings, alleging the book and discrediting of the priests, referring his friend to the last chapter of the Apology.

"I understand that two principal men in every county have been appointed to make true certificate of the number of all recusants and such as are that way affected, and that the total amounts to above 20,000 more than were discovered at the like inquiry about four or five years past. . . .

Number of recusants increased.

"The Court hath been at Richmond these twelve days, but the Queen in many humours to have removed to Greenwich, by reason of an ache in one of her arms, expecting more ease by change of air. A cunning bone-setter or surgeon had lately a sight thereof; he said it was a wind with a cold rheumatic humour settled there, and to be removed by rubbing and applying of wet oils and ointments. Her Majesty told him he was mistaken, for that her blood and constitution was of its nature very hot. He replied that neither flesh nor blood in that part made any show thereof, but much more the contrary, whereat she was exceedingly displeased, commanding him from her presence, she being most impatient to hear of any decay in herself, and thereupon will admit no help of physic or surgery, fretting and storming when she feeleth any little pain, and sometimes retiring herself from all access for three or four hours together.

The Court and Queen.

Queen Elizabeth quarrels with her surgeon, and the reason.

"Mr. Secretary, about Shrovetide, got a wrench in his ankle, and by that means went not to the Court till Sunday last, and the next day returned again to his house. Here is an imagination that some jars have happened between Her Majesty and him, but of this no certainty. All the nobility seem weary of her passionate humours, and withdraw themselves from the Court by all devices possible.

The Queen's passionate humours.

"On Shrove Tuesday, at night, the Inns of Court came to Whitehall, and presented Her Majesty with the masking, dancing, and fighting at barriers, but had not the nimbleness of their legs pleased better than the strength of their arms, all had been marred.

Inns of Court games before the Queen.

"A preacher of Paul's Cross spake much of late against pluralities of religions to be per-

A preacher at Paul's Cross.

mitted in any one State, and yet concluded that, by the word of God, none ought to be put to death for religion, allowing only pecuniary mulcts.

"Sir Thomas Parry is not yet gone for France, but almost in a readiness. Felton hath at length obtained his long-desired suit, viz., 3s. 4d. in the pound of all that he hath already or shall hereafter entitle Her Majesty unto of the lands and goods of recusants, which will amount to 500li per annum, and this by the mediation of Sir John Stanhope, who, as most think, is to have two parts thereof. And now is Felton aloft, and yet 2,000li worse than nought. The Chief Justice maintaineth his proceedings, *quo jure quamvis injuria.* This benefit to himself will make him more eager in the pursuit. The state of recusants in that [M.S. torn] was never so miserable, as never being at an end of troubles so long as they find anything to be taken from them.

Premium to informers against recusants.

Miserable state of recusants.

"The Lord Keeper and Chief Justice do much mislike that, by the favour of the Bishop of London, the appellant priests have such liberty, and now it is expected that they and all others here imprisoned shall be sent to Framingham, except Edmonds in the Tower, whose arraignment it is thought is intended. . .

Father Edmonds *vere* Weston in Tower.

"The Bishop of London hath caused fifty of the Apologies [Father Parsons'] to be newly printed here by the Queen's printer, some say verbatim, some say with marginal notes. He causeth them to be bound with clean paper between every leaf, and so meaneth to present the Council and his friends therewithal.

"The Lord Chamberlain's lady, on Thursday last, was at supper suddenly surprised with a strange palsy, drawing her head and mouth clean awry, so as she is in as ill case as her husband. Some say she amendeth and recovereth speech, others think the malady incurable. The Earl of Rutland and the Lord Monteagle are released of their confination [*sic*], unto which they were bound for Essex's action, with proviso that they may not come to Court.

10th March, 1602, *to the same.*

"The Queen is still troubled with the ache in her arm, and is thereby much out of tune. Mr. Secretary hath not been at Court since the remove to Richmond, almost three

weeks since, he excuseth it by having wrenched his ankle. I was told he was there the second Sunday in Lent, but it was not so.

The unquiet or appellant priests, Bluett, &c.

"The unquiet priests have nothing relented but are rather in more jollity. They [M.S. torn, ? *boast*] that their agents, Mushe, Rompney, and Bluett, are already at Rome. One of great account told me, and I dare warrant it for truth, that Mr. Secretary of late said that he found himself abused by those priests, disavowing all good conceit of them, adding that he well perceived that they did notably *cogg* and lie touching the encouragement given them by the two Nuncios of France and Flanders to proceed in their voyage. And as to the Apology and Appendix, he said that the style of these was much more grave and sensible than the others. Especially he showed a dislike of the *Quodlibets*, as written with great and apparent levity &c.

"The Puritans have of late published a pamphlet partly against those books. I suppose my cousin will now send it you, with more full information of what is necessary." . . .

17th March, 1602, *to the same.*

The appellant priests and Bishop of London.

. . . "The Bishop of London persists to patronize them [the appellant priests], and he again is backed by some principal man. The Puritans have begun to oppose themselves to that course, as you will perceive by a printed pamphlet of theirs on the way towards you. Notwithstanding, I understand for certain that the Queen herself hath commanded this faction to be still nourished, upon conceit that thereby the College of Cardinals will be divided in opinion (if it stay there), and therewithal the Pope be distracted from determining the controversy, or soliciting the King of Spain or any other to endanger our State; besides that it will be a bridle to the Spanish to attempt anything, understanding of the disunion of such as he would most rely on, and so not trust to a broken staff.

The Secretary of State's opinion of all priests.

"Mr. Secretary, who rules all, disavoweth all good conceit of any priest whatsoever, setting it down for a ground that they cannot but wish, and as much as in them lieth labour the alteration of the present Government and advancement of their own designs; albeit for learning, gravity, and modesty, he attributes much more to the Archpriest's party, the other, in their books, discovering an apparent levity. . . .

The Duke of Nevers.

"The arrival of the Duke of Nevers is daily expected. The Earl of Northumberland is appointed to meet, receive, and conduct him. Many of the most rich hangings are fetched out of the Tower to adorn the Court, and great preparation made for his honourable entertainment. The general opinion is that he cometh of curiosity to see the Court and country, but in special I hear he desireth secretly a sight of the Lady Arabella, for that some great person here, bearing the French in hand, that it shall be in his power to dispose of the succession after her Majesty's death, by preferring whom he please to match with the said lady, this duke, albeit a married man, being a great favourite, is fed in hope thereof for himself (if his wife die) or some friend, and thereupon, under colour of some other embassy, undertaketh this voyage. How probable this may be I leave to your consideration, only this much I can assure you, that a house is here preparing privately in London, where the good lady, with those with whom she liveth, are expected soon after Easter.

The Lady Arabella, Duke of Nevers, &c. Politics.

"It is thought we have solicited the French King not to permit the Italian forces that are to come thence to the Archduke to pass through or by his dominions, and that the King hath consented, and thereupon gathereth forces to compel, if upon notice they divert not their course. Others think he cometh against Rochell, and some conceive he purposeth to keep promise with the Pope to subdue Geneva.

The Queen's health. Her plan of concealing decay of face.

"The ache of the Queen's arm is fallen into her side, but she is still, thanks to God, frolicky and merry, only her face showeth some decay, which to conceal when she cometh in public, she putteth many fine cloths into her mouth to bear out her cheeks, and sometimes as she is walking she will put off her petticoat, as seeming too hot, when others shake with cold. Mr. Secretary was thought married to Mrs. Bridges, but it is nothing so. His ankle is now well, and he a courtier in as good grace, and with as absolute command, as ever had any subject.

Barwis the priest. Armstrong escapes on the way to Framingham.

"Barwis hopes for liberty. Armstrong delivered from the Clink, to have gone to Framingham, gave slip to the party that took him in charge, whereat the unquiet are disgusted, as no way affecting him and procurers of his remove. He cannot again be found.

Poor Spanish soldiers in Bridewell relieved by the Papists.

"Here are many poor Spaniards in Bridewell that would have been starved if the Papists had not holpen. Awhile they had allowance from the Queen of 2s. 4d. the week; now that is taken away and they enforced to labour, with the bare allowance of the house. Eight are dead, many sick, and their misery great, and might be ransomed or exchanged if any means were made for them.

"Other matters I refer to my cousin and Sir Randall, and so, with due commendations and all good wishes, desirous ever to hear from you—*quid agitur?*—I take leave. Always yours,

"ANTH. RIVERS.

The Queen's wit on Dr. King's sermon.

"Dr. King preached lately at Court, and was very bitter against Jesuits and all priests. The Queen gave him great thanks, wishing all the *Kings* of Europe of his mind."

30th March, 1602, *to the same.*

. . . "By yours to my cousin I understood of the arrival of the agents, and saw a copy of the memorial exhibited against them. Their associates here make report of their very honourable entertainment by the French Ambassadors and others, and how Mark would not be seen for many days after, pretending he was busied in some serious exercise; with these and like untruths they seek to put heart into their confederates as though all were like to pass current for them. In the meantime one of their party called Atkinson showed himself in his proper colour, and it is probable more will follow him. He openly professeth himself an enemy and persecutor of the Archpriest and his adherents, conforming himself to the religion here established. He hath apprehended Tichbourne and Ruffett, two of his own brethren, and having now got commission from some in authority, he playeth the pursuivant, watching and searching where he may get advantage. Other particulars of the manner of his conversation before and since (by a special note herewith sent) you may perceive. It may be those there will deny him as one of theirs, if his hand be not among the records, it may go for excuse, albeit here it is manifest that he was ever opposite to his Superior, pretending that he was a Franciscan, &c. . . .

The appellant priests, Atkinson, &c.

"The Duke of Nevers, so long expected, is now as we

hear gone to the Archduke, and from thence to come hither, and so into Scotland. The Queen is much displeased thereat, and says that his coming hither is but a stale, thereupon much of the preparation is laid aside; yet many are of opinion that he cometh about some French device to break the intended treaty. The Lady Arabella is shortly to come to London, as occasion shall serve so shall you have further advertisement. Mr. Secretary affirmeth that the Flanders Nuncio did make offer of himself to him, to be a mediator to the King of Spain for peace; if it be so, there an end, if otherwise, then are both abused, and it must needs proceed from Barwis or Barneby, which if it could be disproved would much impair their little reputation, and more avert Mr. Secretary from the seditious who are still patronized by our Bishop, and persevere as heretofore, saving that yet we have no more work from the press, albeit I hear an answer to the Apology is penned and perused, and by the Bishop allowed, and so ready for the print. . . .

Duke of Nevers.

"ANTH. RIVERS.

"Al molto Mag. Sr. Il St. Ridolfo Perino, in Venegia."

7th April, 1602, *to the same.*

"I was right glad as well to understand of your good health, as also to hear how the appellants proceeded in their business, of which subject you gave full relation, for which I heartily thank you, and it will be good purpose for the satisfying of others who were before made believe by their associates that they had found very favourable audience with many assurances of very good success in their designs, all which we now perceive how consonant they are to former courses, hitherunto prosecuted by ignominious slanders and most untrue reports. I wonder with what face they can deny many of these books to be theirs, here are many hundreds that can aver they have published and dispersed them, justifying the contents, and in that regard none so busy as Bluett. Indeed, when the *Quodlibet* appeared, some of the modester of that party began to their families to disclaim such books, albeit all such as have dependence on them had all their libraries furnished with the twelve volumes, and how they have disposed of them since the breve as yet appeareth

The appellant priests.

Bluett.

not, this much I will speak confidently, that none of those either here or there, never did any public act that might argue so much as a dislike of those books: but these [MS. torn] I leave to my cousin and the procurators who can fully inform in that behalf. The Duke of Nevers landed at Dover the first of this month, after one account, and that night came to Rochester, the morrow, being Good Friday, to London. He hath since continued most with the French Ambassador. Yesterday he went to the Court. His principal negotiation is thought to tend to divert us from peace with Spain. As matters succeed you shall further hear. . . .

"It was thought the Queen would presently remove to Gravesend; now this French Duke's coming maketh it doubtful. On Richmond Green she walketh often with greater show of ability than can well stand with years. Mr. Secretary sways all of import, albeit of late much absent from the Court about London, but not omitting in his absence daily to present her Majesty with some revel or toy that may be acceptable. The other of the Council or nobility estrange themselves from Court by all occasions, so as besides the Master of the Horse, Chamberlain, and Comptroller, few of account appear there *mens hominum novitatis avida.*

The Queen.

The apostate priest Atkinson.

"In the relation of Atkinson, by the last opportunity, was contained how he robbed a gentlewoman, and accusing her of treason, procured her commitment to Newgate, attributing much to himself by reason of the favour of Mr. Secretary. Soon after the gentlewoman's husband acquainting Mr. Secretary therewith, he disavowed the protection of him or his proceedings, adding that he knew him long since for a very knave, and granted his warrant for the apprehension of him, and discharge of the gentlewoman, by virtue whereof both being brought before [M.S. damaged] to him he confessed the having of the jewels, &c., and that he had lost some of them to a base companion at Shovel-board, the remainder he restored, and notwithstanding this delict, he was favourably dismissed to proceed in the pursuit of Jesuits and priests.

"Now, I understand he is come to remorse, seeming in terms of desperation. The honester sort to whom he repaireth, are much perplexed what course to take with him. He desireth to be commended to St. Marco; it is said he hath been in like penitent humour once before."

"28th April, 1602, *to the same.*

"Myself being not altogether well at the last opportunity, I left the relation of our ordinary occurrences to my cousin and Sir Randall,[9] which I suppose they related at full, so as I shall not need to make repetition thereof, especially of the accident at the Clink (prison) on Low Sunday, where, either by the treachery of Atkinson (as most think), or by falsehood in fellowship amongst the discontented [*i.e.*, the appellant priests] themselves (as the manner of proceeding with Watson ministered suspicion), all their actions there being discovered at such time as probably they should have been most busy, the Chief Justice's men, with pursuivants and other officers, rushing in suddenly, with drawn swords, upon them, found their altars and massing stuff prepared, and three priests, Barneby, Clark, and Watson, with well near forty Catholics (most women and poor folks of the city), all assembled in the same chamber and some others adjoining, all amazed at this sudden accident.

Atkinson's treachery. Arrest of priests and Catholics, with altars, &c., in the Clink.

"The officers took the names of all; committed Barneby and Clark to close prison, convented the rest before Justice Dale, dwelling in Southwark, who committed the most part to divers prisons; some few, that either of frailty offered conformity, or had friends to sue for them, or probable excuses to allege were discharged, of which number was Mrs. Dawson, pretending to have come thither to Penkevill to have certain works drawn, which being wrought, she meant to present her Majesty withal. Mr. Watson was sent close prisoner to the King's Bench, and about twelve others, and amongst them one that went by the name of Waldgrave, supposed to be Dudley the priest. The next day Watson was sent for to the Bishop of Canterbury, where the Bishop of London also met him, willing his keeper to depart, delivering him a warrant under both their and Mr. Secretary's hands for Watson's discharge, offering, if any fees were due, that they would see the same discharged. They and Watson presently entered into secret conference, and after many kindnesses the Bishop of London conveyed him home with him and dismissed him, so as he walketh free as before, practises still his function, albeit few of the laity have any conversation with him. By his mediation most of the rest of the company that stood

Watson the priest before the Bishops of Canterbury and London, and discharged.

[9] Father Blount. See note, p. 11.

anything affected to the party, or had any money to give, are since discharged. The said Waldgrave had many solicitors in his behalf, and was soon released, so as there are of all that number not ten now remaining in durance.

Waldgrave, or Dudley discharged.

"Barneby and Clark had again the liberty of the house the next day, and leave to go abroad as before; thereupon going to my Lord of London, and complaining that promises were not kept, and that the injury was so violent, he told them the Chief Justice was of the Privy Council, and therefore he could not hinder it, but that he would entreat in their behalf that no more such usage might be offered them.

The Bishop of London in league with the unquiet priests.

"Watson imputeth the accident to Atkinson, and it is very probable that it was so, for that he hath daily access to the Chief Justice, and of late hath gone by the Chief Justice's footcloth, openly in the streets bareheaded, the said Justice secretly talking with him and laying his hand on his head.

Atkinson and the Chief Justice.

"You understood by my last, of the 7th of this month, what pranks Atkinson had played. Since then more have discovered themselves of his quality, viz., one Bomer, lately come from Douay, but not a priest. . . .

"It was expected that Clark should have been indicted at the same time for saying of Mass, and most of those so taken at the Clink for hearing the same, it being by some of them confessed and acknowledged. It was thought the Bishop of London hindered it. Atkinson walketh still the streets, and what priests or Papists of his acquaintance he can meet withal he urgeth to have what money they have or can make, or otherwise threateneth to apprehend, whereupon many are content to give to redeem their vexation. Bomer with his pursuivant, meeting with one Mr. Henry Pounde that had been a traveller, would have staid him as a priest and traitor. He required by what name they arrested him and what warrant they had, which they refusing to show, he drew upon them in the streets, hurt the pursuivant in divers places, and defended himself most valiantly against many prentices that came with halberts to assist the pursuivant, and had not his sword broken, he had beaten the whole street before him. Having

Clark and other friends of the unquiet priests are not tried, supposed at the instance of the Bishop of London.

Atkinson and Bomer's conduct.

Mr. Henry Pounde arrested by Atkinson and defends himself, but is overpowered and committed to Newgate.

wounded and hurt many, and being himself wounded and disarmed, he yielded and was carried before the Chief Justice, where he testified himself as no priest, and so wronged by their manner of proceeding. Notwithstanding for that he was a Papist and had been a traveller, he was sent to Newgate. The pursuivant is like to die; the gentleman is much pitied, and highly commended for his valour by all sorts. Bomer hath got another associate, one Pigrame, that sometime served Mr. Hesketh in Rome. This Pigrame, either of simplicity or malice, revealed to Bomer whatsover he knoweth, or can learn, yet I have not heard that actually he hath yet done anything of himself.

Two reasons for the severe persecution.

"Two reasons by men of good knowledge I have heard alleged as principal motives of this so sharp persecution. The one, for that the State understandeth that the appellants in Rome seem to allege as though they were by them employed to *incline* (*sic*) to [the] Pope to conditions for toleration in religion and revocation of his Bulls against the Queen, which, to show that it is false, and that they contemn the Pope and his proceedings, and that they hold it a blemish to their reputations any way to employ such base instruments in any affair, they thought good to give testimony to the world by the death of these [alluding to the executions of Father Page and others at Tyburn shortly before]. The other and most important, for that the Puritans, by the Bishop of London his familiarity with Watson and others, are grown to that insolency, that they spare not to impute ill affection in religion to the Principal of the Council, against whom they have secretly cast out threats tending to actual rebellion, and therefore a little to restrain them, they have so far condescended to their humour as to please them in this. However, this much I am assured of, that the Chief Justice, the day before their execution, going to the court to know the Queen's pleasure, she wished him to proceed, adding that she beshrewed his heart if he spared them or any other of their coat.

"The Puritans have of late printed a little pamphlet of about a sheet of paper, calling it, "Let *Quilibet* beware of *Quodlibet*." It is only certain brief notes taken out of the *Quodlibet* against the present State for fail in execution of justice, invalidity of our Parliaments, maintaining of the Pope's authority, &c. The Bishop is much displeased thereat, but it availeth little.

"The Duke of Nevers was honourably entertained by her Majesty. She danced with him and courted him in the best manner. He, on the other side, used many compliments, as kissing her hand, yea and foot. He behaved himself courteously to all. He would not be present with her Majesty in her closet at her service time but retired, and met her as she returned. He went religiously to the French Ambassador's to Mass, and is gone from hence into Holland, and from thence will go to Denmark, and so into Germany. His business is thought only, or principally, curiosity to see countries. Her Majesty gave him a rich jewel at his departure, and desired that this summer she might see here his sister, which he promised.

The French Ambassador's priest attends the martyrs, and is summoned by the judges. His bold conduct.

"The French Ambassador's priest came to see those priests the day before they were to suffer, and presently the judges commanded that he should be stayed and brought before them, whither, as soon as he came. he protested he was as ready to die for his religion as any other. They told him they were traitors, and for that cause condemned, commanding him not to come any more at them, and so dismissed him, albeit, by reason of his conference before with the priests, he believed them [the Judges] not, and seemeth disgusted with their conventing of him in so public manner.

"Edward Bennett and some other, the associates to the appellants, seem here desirous to have some end of these broils, and this, as it is thought, for that they have heard that their agents are like to have no very good success; yet still they add a caution that the Jesuits may not have so great sway.

The appellants and Jesuits.

"Here is great speech and probable likelihood of a general search to come very shortly, and all stand alert with the expectation thereof, so as every way the Papists are like to go to rack. Of late in York was executed a priest, called, as I take it, Matthew Harrison, for coming into the realm, and a lay gentleman for receiving him. His wife is also condemned for the same cause, but reprieved by the privilege of her state. You shall shortly have more ample relation of the particulars of the arraignment, of the execution of these and the others.[10] . . .

Threatened search and persecution. At York Mr. Harrison is executed, and a layman for receiving him—Rev. Jas. Harrison and Mr. Bates.

[10] We have but very limited information in Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs* regarding these two blessed victims of the persecution. The Bishop quotes Raissius' *Catalogue*, Dr. Champney's MS., &c.: "James Harrison, who by

The Bishop of London and the priests, Bagshawe and Barneby.

"Barneby lieth at the Clink, and receiveth ordinary packets of letters from Bagshawe by every post, which he carrieth to the Bishop of London. He is in prison, but placed there of purpose to that end. An honest Catholic being of late in Paris, and to come from England, Bagshawe desired him to deliver a packet of letters to Watson, which he not willingly undertaking, as not knowing where to find him, and supposing it dangerous to bring anything for a priest, Bagshawe told him there was no peril, and willed him to leave the letters with the Bishop of London for Watson, which he did, and the Bishop thanked him for them."

This letter likewise gives the narrative of the arrests of Father Francis Page, S.J., the Rev. Thomas Tichbourne, and Rev. Robert Watkinson, with their respective convictions and martyrdoms at Tyburn, and also that of Mr. James Duckett for the publishing Father Robert Southwell's books, all of which interesting matter will be found inserted in the Life of Father Page below.

5th May, 1602, *to the same.*

"I do think myself much beholden to you and your brother Nicholas for the great comfort you give us by imparting the proceedings of the appellants with you. Their asso-

some is confounded with Mathias Harrison (who suffered at York in 1599), and by others is called Mathias Harrison *alias* Hayes, in the Douay Records and Catalogues is called James, and is said to have been a native of the diocese of Lichfield, ordained at Rheims 1583, and sent from thence upon the English Mission in 1584. He fell into the hands of the persecutors a little before the Lent Assizes 160½, and being brought upon his trial, was sentenced to die, as in cases of high treason, merely on account of his priestly character (under stat. 27 Eliz.). Being told by his keeper the overnight that he was to suffer the next day, an unexpected piece of news (for the judges had left the town without determining anything of the time of his suffering), he showed not the least sign of disturbance, but, with a cheerful countenance, took his supper, saying, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." He drank up the chalice of his Lord the next day with great constancy and fervour, being executed at York 22nd March, 1602. "His head," says Raissius, "is religiously preserved by the English Franciscans at Douay."

With the Rev. James Harrison suffered also Mr. Anthony Battie, or Bates, a lay gentleman of Yorkshire, for having entertained the said Mr. Harrison in his house, knowing him to be a priest.

ciates here are in great jollity as though all went current on their side. I wonder with what face they can disavow the books published in their names. Thus much all men know here, that Watson justifieth all the contents of every one, and yet is he a member of their body, one that is present at all their meetings and consultations, and held a principal man among them. He and Charnock are daily conversant together. Already having obtained leave of his keeper to come from Framingham to London, as it is thought to consult with Colleton and his party for the publishing an answer to the Apology, justified the books and every syllable in them contained to be true. The Bishop of London, all the Protestant and Puritan clergy, in their sermons and exercises, publicly vouch those books as written by the priests, and not one of them hath openly contradicted the same. And thus much more I can say, a man of good credit told me within these two days that a Clerk of the Council hath related unto him, that the Bishop of London hath the hands of all such priests as repaired at any time unto him, or went under his protection, to all the books and to most of the pages of the same books subscribed, and albeit he seems assured that this is true, yet, for my better satisfaction, he hath promised me within a few days to be an eye-witness thereof himself. Bagshawe, Bluett, and Champney are undoubtedly of this number, and Mushe is thought the author of some of them. Of what credit the testimony of this my friend may be, I refer you to some friends in Flanders who have had assured trial of the party's honesty, and accordingly, as I guess, will give you to understand.

Appellants' suits.

Watson and Charnock, Colleton, &c., Bishop of London, &c.

Bagshawe, Bluett, Champney, Mushe.

"The arraignment and death of those that of late have suffered in these parts I partly touched in my last to you of the 28th of the last. Now the same being at large to be set down by one that had better means to know the particulars than myself, I refer you to that discourse, adding this only, that the false suggestion of the priests in Rome of being employed by the State about means for toleration, together with the exasperating of the Puritan spirit with their *Quodlibetical* humour, were the principal motives of this heat of persecution, which I doubt will break out to further extremities before it be quenched.

The priests and others lately executed.

Bagshawe.

"It is very certain that Bagshawe was at Paris within this month, and so neither he nor his gold came near Milan, and this certainty I have from an honest man who saw him there and brought a packet of letters from him to be delivered to Watson, or, if he could not be found, to the Bishop of London, which was done accordingly, with grateful acceptance of the Bishop. Barneby hath also received two great packets that have been seen to be brought him to the Clink by the French posts, and he hath presently presented the Bishop of London with them, and his residing in that place is thought purposely for that end, for that otherwise he might go where he list. . . .

"Sir Randall writeth of Atkinson, Bomer, Pigrame, and such like spying companions. My cousin also, as I suppose, relateth other occurrences. . . .

"We have had, these two last days and a night past, general searching and watching, to apprehend idle persons and such as could not give account of their life, to be sent for soldiers to aid the states. Atkinson was twice taken and dismissed by order from the Chief Justice, but the third time the Chief Justice commanded him to Newgate, where he remaineth laden with irons for what cause yet unknown, albeit it may be presumed not for any good quality, rather for cozenage or theft."

12th May, 1602, *to the same.*

"Revd. Sir,—I wrote to you something at large, the fifth of this month, since which the associates of the appellants are here in great exultation by reason of a letter which they pretend to have received lately from some agent of the good success of their affairs. The copies they disperse to all sorts. I have copied it out and herewithal do send it you. It seems to be written by Nicholas Fitzherbert, from Rome to Bagshawe, and by him was undoubtedly sent to the Bishop of London, and by him communicated to Watson and that party.

The appellants at Rome.

Nicholas Fitzherbert.

"My friend that informed of the Bishop's having all their hands to all the books, and most of the pages, averreth the same to be undoubtedly true, but as yet hath not been an eye-witness, which he hopeth shortly to obtain. In the mean he hath heard the Bishop and other greater persons

affirm the same. I think if Bluett be put to his oath he will not deny it unless he be deprived of all grace and goodness."[11] . . .

[11] The following brief notice of the Reverend William Watson, the author of the *Quodlibets*, is drawn from Mr. Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 379, who quotes the Douay Diary, Stowe's *Continuation*, and Echard's *History of England.*

"Mr. Watson was a native of Durham; educated in the English College, Rheims, where he received minor orders, 23rd September, 1583. Afterwards being ordained priest, he was sent upon the mission the 16th of June, 1586. He laboured several years at his function, and being an active man, and of good address, he is said to have been one of those priests that were sent into Scotland to induce the King to be favourable to his Catholic subjects, in the event of his coming to the English throne. His Majesty returned an answer to the general satisfaction of the party. Afterwards, Mr. Watson being accused as one concerned in Sir Walter Raleigh's and Lord Cobham's plot, a proclamation was issued to apprehend him the 16th of July, 1603. He was seized and committed to the Tower of London, thence, on the 10th of November, conducted towards Winchester, where he and several others of the pretended conspirators were to take their trial. The indictment drawn up against them was for raising a a rebellion with the intention of destroying the King, altering religion, subverting the Government, procuring an invasion, &c. As for Mr. Watson, he was charged with devising oaths of secrecy, and that he was, upon the success, to be Lord Chancellor." Mr. Dodd then refers to a former mention of an opinion many had of this conspiracy, and that the whole was little more than the murmurs of some disappointed courtiers, upon the Scottish King's accession to the crown. "As for Mr. Watson, there was not a missioner in England more unlikely to be concerned in such a contrivance. He had always been a professed enemy of the Spanish interest, as his writings were a sufficient proof. However, being mentioned on this occasion, he was obliged to make the best defence he could, and among other things alleged that the pretended treason against his Majesty was committed before he was crowned King of England. To which the counsel for the King replied, that the Kings of England never die, and that the coronation was no more than a ceremony, not essential to the character. Mr. Watson being condemned to die, suffered at Winchester, 29th November, 1603, together with Mr. Clark, a gentleman of the same cloth: and 'tis believed by many that the name of a Popish priest, and a plotter, being equivalent terms with the undiscerning part of the nation, these two persons were sacrificed purposely to make the pretended conspiracy to pass upon the common people, and discountenance a number of persons who had been favourites in the late reign, and were out of hopes of standing their ground in this. Our historians tell us that Mr. Watson asked pardon of the Jesuits before he died, having been the author of several books published against them in relation to the Archpriest and their encroachment upon the rights of the clergy. It was fitting indeed that he should make a disclaimer of that passion, and several groundless aspersions which he had uttered on that occasion. But there is no reason to think, what the same historians add, that the Jesuits cunningly engaged

20th May, 1602, *to the same.*

The appellants at Rome.

. . . "The appellants' associates here exult exceedingly, and give out confidently that the [MS. torn—? Pope] hath defined them to have incurred no schism, nor committed any sin, and that he hath [MS. torn—? rejected] all the accusations tendered by Father Parsons and the Procurators against them as frivolous and untrue, and will have no more speech thereof.

"A gentleman of Colleton's acquaintance, but of a contrary humour, meeting him of late, after some little discourse of these affairs, wished that he and his followers would come to some good end with the rest of their brethren; he answered that the matter was so far from ending, that it had scarcely begun, and so left him. . . .

Felton, proceedings against the recusants.

"Felton proceedeth still against all sorts of recusants with all violence, and his courses, be they never so unjust or unconscionable, are maintained by the Lord Treasurer, Chief Justice, Chief Baron, and Sir John Stanhope the Vice Chamberlain, who crops the corn, and leaves Felton and his ministers to feed on the straw, whereby they become as beggarly as any bankrupts in everybody's debt, but for this service protected. More for the present I have not."

2nd June, 1602, *to the same.*

"Revd. Sir,—I had now from your factor Nicholas[12] a letter, but without date, written as it should seem when Sir Morris was at Ostia, wherein he insinuateth that Clement is indulgent. I pray God it be not *ne quid nimis.* The associates to the

Mr. Watson in this plot, purposely to get rid of a troublesome adversary, and pay him home for the many affronts he had offered them."

The above statement is fully borne out in a letter of Father Parsons, annexed to a MS., "Breve relatione della morte di due Sacerdoti giustitiati nella città di Vincestria, Gul. Watsoni et Gul. Clarkei, 9 Dec. 1603" (Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, 1590—1618). It is there stated that Mr. Watson not only mentioned the Jesuits, but likewise the Archpriest, his "lawful Superior," and all the other Catholics who had supported him, and against whom he had written many scandalous books, "holding traffic with the Bishop of London and other heretics."

For further mention of Mr. Watson, the reader is referred to Father John Gerard's narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, *Condition of Catholics under James I.* (*vide* Index); *Troubles*, First Series, pp. 196—199, and *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 265—267.

[12] Father Nicholas Smith, the Socius of Father Parsons.

The appellants.

appellants exult *ultra modum*, and friends are much dejected to hear as yet of no better success, but *sic ut quimus quando ut volumus non licet.* I have seen their proposition for bishops, archpriests, assistants, syndics *et quid non? Spectatum admissi risum teneatis amici?* We hope the event will be more consonant to their deserts.

Atkinson, Barwis.

"Atkinson is still sick. Barwis hath promised some special service, which if he effect not, it is thought he shall but a while enjoy his liberty. Some guess it is for the discovery of the Archpriest, or some Jesuit against whom the State is bent to proceed with severity. The poor Spaniards in Bridewell are already sent to the galleys chained and used as slaves, and yet I think their condition better than it was in prison.

Spanish prisoners.

Appellants. Watson.

"I hear the appellants' associates, of which Watson is still the principal pillar and consulter, have of late printed some new book, as it is thought, an answer to the Apology; they have assemblies in the night, where they read it in private, no copy thereof can yet be had. We have here a new book of the contrary part, *A manifestation of their folly.* But I think England hath yet but one. It will exasperate them much, it toucheth to the point."

9th June, 1602, *to the same.*

Attempt upon James of Scotland's life.

"We have fresh news that the King of Scots escaped very lately, very hardly the violent hands of an Englishman that had offered to stab him. He is said to have been an apprentice of London, and a traveller, and there become a Papist, and by the Papists to be suborned to do so detestable a fact, others say he is a lunatic. Howsoever, the State here purgeth itself from all suspicion, attributing such attempts and advices to the Papists, and for confirmation we have sent the King certain intercepted letters of advices from Italy, in which intelligence was given that some such matter was in plotting.

"The young Earl of Gorye continueth in Yorkshire, after a secret manner, yet so that all the country well perceiveth it, and the King of Scots hath often complained by letters to the Queen and Council thereof, but findeth no remedy, and yet dareth not to show disgust. Mr. Secretary seeketh by all means to insinuate himself into the King's good opinion, but all is but policy, it being certain that he loveth him as little as

Appellants.

others. The appellants have continued in great jollity, averring to all their friends and others that all goeth current for them. However they may disclaim Watson's books, they no way disavow him, but use him in all consults and affairs as their grand counsellor, and special agent with my Lord of London and others.

Watson.

Too much pemeneye [*sic*] will work ill effects, and you cannot imagine the great inconvenience that will ensue. It is already a common received position amongst them, that it is not only lawful but meritorious to discover a Jesuit to the State. My Lord Chief Justice saith he hath information from them of all the Jesuits in England, what disposition they are of, where they keep most, and where their starting holes are, not doubting but that shortly he shall meet with some of them, and for that purpose another great and general search is intended.[12]

Appellants consider it meritorious to discover a Jesuit.

"Barwis is again by the heels in the Gatehouse, for that he being employed heretofore by the State into Flanders, he did not there negotiate according to his promise, and as he was instructed; besides, he assumed to act some later services, wherein also he failed.

Barwis.

"Atkinson seems to have *lucida intervalla;* he is still in Newgate, but in more variable moods than we have moons. All your brethren and friends are well, as you will understand by other means," &c.

Atkinson a lunatic.

(Same address as last.)

28th June, 1602. This letter is not in the handwriting ot Father Rivers. The signature is difficult to decipher. We believe it to have been written by Father Richard Blount, *alias* Randall.

"My loving good cousin,—I have yours of the 22nd June, which was very welcome to myself, and gave good satisfaction to many others, for so many are the tales, and those so confi-

[12] We have before referred to a document in the State Papers P.R.O., *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50: "The names of the Jesuits in England with the chief places of their abode," $160\frac{2}{3}$. It is endorsed by Cecil: "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England." Father Morris in *Troubles*, First Series, p. 191, gives a full copy of it, as a specimen of the accuracy of the information that Cecil sometimes, at least, received from his spies. From this letter of Father Rivers there can be but little doubt from whence that most accurate list issued.

dently reported, of these parties here, of the good success of their friends with you, that many are carried away with those brags and bravados that little look into the equity of their cause. The Manifestation and Appendix both are here very current, and are greedily read of Protestants as well as of Catholics, with good liking of all, and Mr. Bancroft had one delivered unto him, which he took in so good part that he told the gentleman (which was a Protestant) that if he had brought £100 he could not have done him a greater pleasure, and, scratching his elbow, said that this was that he looked for all this while, viz., that one should write against another. His lordship is in hand with a piece of work touching the incontinency of priests, for which purpose hath called unto him Tyrrell,[13] and some other such lost companions and two or three women that were exorcised heretofore, for being possessed, by some priests, and being now heretics, according to their confessions, compileth a book, which haply shortly you may see. Albeit Tyrrell hath refused to swear to the truth of such things as he hath confessed, which hath not a little troubled Mr. Bancroft, for that he meaneth nothing shall be said in his book but that which is avouched by the oath of others. And so I make no doubt but when matters are there ended with you, we shall have these *Quodlibets* and other such books laid upon their true authors, with their own hands to every page, so unwilling is the Bishop to have them fathered upon himself. I hope you have received a later book of Mr. Colleton's, with his own name unto it, no whit inferior to Watson's *Quodlibet* in many things, as malice, pride, want of learning, &c., but as for folly and falsehood I think it at least equal, if not superior. But assure yourself, howsoever matters be concluded there, here we shall still continue a faction so long as either some here be remaining which are the nourishers of it, or any of those return hither again which are now the promoters of it, for as for any brief that may come from Clement, Mr. Colleton's book in the beginning showeth of what account it is like to be with him if it be not to his own humour. But I hope time will so discover them as they shall be able to do little harm. In the mean, the drift of the Council is to cause some breach between the French and the Spanish, which would be very pleasing here,

Appellant priests' false reports.

Bancroft, Bishop of London.

Bancroft, Bishop of London and the apostate Tyrrell.

[13] This was the unhappy apostate Anthony Tyrrell. See his history, *Troubles*, Second Series.

and so in that respect it is very well that matters be referred to the [MS. defective], where justice and equity is to be looked for without any respect of persons.

The Queen's journey to Bristol, &c.

"This day her Majesty taketh her progress towards Bristol, which many are sorry for, because the journey is long, and her Majesty, by reason of her years, not so well able to travel as heretofore. But I hope the Bath by the way will help her shoulder.

The attempt upon the King of Scots.

"The man that was apprehended in Scotland upon suspicion to kill the King lieth still in prison and close. Mr. Secretary, for that the same man at Florence was employed by him to take away all surmise from the King of any evil intention in himself towards his Majesty, hath caused the host of this prisoner to come from Florence to Scotland to give satisfaction to the King on the Secretary's behalf, which every one here thought to be very unnecessary.

"I pray tell Mr. Robert that Belson hath not written anything of late. There is [a] foolish fellow that hath made a little pamphlet entitled *A Reformed Catholic*, but is not worthy the sending; and as for Belson himself, he purchaseth land for his children and liveth gaily by his neighbours."

30th June, 1602. Father Rivers to Perino.

The attempt upon James' life was not of intent, but passion.

"From Scotland we had advertisement of some treasons intended against the King's person by an Englishman, but the sequel shows it rather to have been some frantic passion of the man than any sinister intent against the King. The man's name is Dethicke; he had been an apprentice in London, with one Mr. Hickes, a mercer. After became factor for him and others in Florence, and there also did service for the State, in being the mean for conveyance of much intelligence by letter from Italy. About six months since he came to Paris, and from thence, with commendation from some Scotchmen, went to Edinburgh, where he saw the King, and, as some say, had conference with him, but, showing some distemper of head, was not permitted that free access which there is usual. Being lodged at a barber's house near the Court, he suddenly came down with his rapier drawn and killed one great James in the shop. Thereupon apprehended and examined what he meant by killing James, he said he had not killed the right James. Further it was proved that in France he entreated a Scotchman

to have accompanied him thither, saying that if one matter succeeded they would have good store of crowns. He is there in the Castle. Some say he hath confessed that he meant to have killed the King, others that, being come again to his wits, he denieth it. We say he was sent by the Pope and King of Spain to perpetrate so wicked a fact. Some that stand ill affected to Mr. Secretary make I know not what surmises, for that Mr. Hickes his brother is most inward with Mr. Secretary, and this Dethicke directed all letters to him. The Scottish King dissembleth as though it were nothing, and hath now sent Ashton his agent to receive his pension. The Queen telleth him she marvelleth that Dethicke is not hanged. . . .

The Queen.

"Her Majesty intendeth a long progress to Oxford and Bristol, but the ache of her arm rather increasing, and the like beginning also in her hip, it is thought she will not be able to perform it. Yet it is probable the baths of Bath would ease it, whither also she mindeth to go to visit the Lord Chamberlain, who continueth still there.

"Mr. Secretary ruleth all affairs of State, and holdeth still in special favour with her Majesty. The Lord Zouch is made President of Wales. The Lord Burleigh is again gone to the North.

The appellant priests.

"The associate appellant priests here exult beyond measure, and disperse divers letters from Mr. Bagshawe and others of the good success of their agents at Rome, some of which are imprinted in a new book lately published by Mr. Colleton, which is on its way towards you. The friends on the contrary part are much dejected, and will be more if the tide turn not the sooner. The Queen sent orders for the enlargement of Barwis, but I hear he is crossed again. One Trollope was taken in the North, and hath confessed himself a priest, but, for that he favoureth the appeal, he is sent for to London, to the end they should not there proceed against him.

Trollope a priest taken.

Fathers Edmond Weston and Wright.

"The keeper of Framingham saith he hath warrant for forty prisoners to be now removed from London to his custody. Some think that Edmond and Wright in the Tower shall be so too." . . .

7th July, 1602, *to the same.*

King of Scots.

. . . "Dethicke, that killed great James in Scotland, but missed the right James, as he is

found to have intended, is yet distract in the Castle of Edinburgh. The Queen hath dealt with Roger Ashton (agent for the Scotch King's pension) to have him either executed there or sent hither, which is rather desired, to the end we might with more severity proceed against him.

Appellant priests and Bishop of London.

"Barwis hath liberty for three months by the express command of Her Majesty, it is thought he hath promised some special service. Leake is escaped out of the Clink. Barneby is sent beyond the seas, and, as it is thought, carrieth above two hundred letters with him for the better assistance and instruction of the appellants in Italy.

"Colleton hath published a new book, almost as big as the *Quodlibet.* I hope by this it is on the way towards you. It passed the approbation of my Lord of London, and Thomas Mann, his familiar, a stationer, printed the same. The Bishop averreth to many of his friends (since he hath heard that the appellants at Rome deny the books published here in their names) that most of those books were written before they went, and that he hath their hands to every page of the same, and this he meaneth to publish to the world as soon as he shall hear that they are departed from Rome. Before that, he pretendeth he may not do it, lest they might there be punished; in the mean, to satisfy his friends, he inviteth them to his house, promising to make them eye-witnesses that it is true. And this he promised to a man of good worth, of late, who knoweth it to be true and would depose if he were present. He will take opportunity to see it within a few days, and then shall you hear more, only it may not be justified in public, lest danger follow. Mushe is thought to be author of the *Dialogue*, Bluett of the *Important Consideration*, Bagshawe of the *Sparing Discovery*, and divers others. Watson was but the prolocutor in adding the prefaces, as he confesseth. When the Bishop saw the new book of the *Manifestation*, &c., he exulted beyond measure, saying this would stir up the contrary party to more invective writings, which was the main point that he most levelled at. He termed both sides knaves, but the appellants good instruments to serve the State. He reporteth, and that very confidently, that he knoweth certainly that the appellants, by direct sentence of the Pope, are freed from the imputation of schism, and that it is adjudged to be neither schism nor sin. . . .

Mushe, Bluett, Bagshawe, Watson.

"The Bishop of London told a friend that he had not only their names to all the pages of the books, but also a particular note under the hand of the principal of that company, directed to one Smith, a priest, to whose care the print was committed, desiring and requiring him that, whatsoever treatise were brought him with his hand subscribed, it should immediately pass the press without further censure or examination, &c., and this supposed to be Bagshawe to [? or] Colleton," &c.

26th July, 1602, *to the same.*

Dethicke and King James.

"An Englishman that was Dethicke's host at Lucca hath been here, as it is thought sent for, and supposed to be employed hence for Scotland, to free all suspicion that his mad action or intentions were any way nourished or abetted from hence. All our great persons seek by all means to have the Scottish King well conceited of them, and he on the other side laboureth by many agents to entertain affections here, dissembling if he have any dislike; and I hear he hath in every part of his realm certain principal persons appointed immediately upon notice of the death of her Majesty to proclaim him, and to make what party they can for him. All this notwithstanding, I hear some have an intention to marry the Earl of Hertford's younger son with Arabella, and to carry it that way, but these *supra nos nihil ad nos.*

The Queen.

"The Queen's desire of a progress to Bristol as yet continueth, and appointed to begin on Tuesday next, but the Council labour what they may to alter, both for that they would not be far from London in these troublesome times, as also for that her Majesty's ache continuing in her arm, and beginning in her hip, they doubt she will hardly be able rationally to endure so long travel. She hunted on Monday last in Eltham Park on horseback, with good show of vigour and ability.

Appellant priests, Barwis, &c.

"Barwis pretendeth to have liberty for three months only, and, obtaining the same by special order from her Majesty, walketh securely. He hath given out that he will live retired from this time in the country, but I hear for certain that he is, or shall be presently, employed into some foreign parts, for some secret service which he hath undertaken. The appellants applaud still their associates' desired success in all their designs at Rome, and their patron,

Their patron the Bishop of London. The Bishop's opinion of Jesuits.

my Lord of London, averreth all contrary relations to be fiction, and lies of the Jesuits, who, as he saith, will supplant the Church of Rome and all States Christian. Colleton seemeth to affirm that something is added and diminished in his late published book, without his consent or privity. The Bishop being told thereof acknowledged that, it being sent to him and printed by his order and permission, he altered it in some few places, but little in substance. He saith the answer to the *Apology* is in printing at Paris, and another in a readiness here. The like shall be done to the *Manifestation*, which, he saith, tasteth too much of Father Parsons' style, viz., *to quip and pay home, but all under colour of consideration and charity.* Upon better advisement he will not yet let the appellants' names, subscribed to the books which they deny, be seen, but averreth still that it is so, and that, as soon as they are come from Rome, he will lay it open to the view of the world.

Colleton.

"Three workmen from monks' residence are lately arrived here.

Barneby a spy for Bishop of London.

"Barneby, that was thought a traveller, is again at his old trade, delivering here intelligence that comes to his hands to my Lord of London. Leake is also returned to the Clink, and pretendeth that he meant not to escape, but only to absent himself till the mission to Framingham was passed, whither are sent most of the ancient lay prisoners in London."

28th July, 1602, *to the same.*

. . . "The Appendix both in English and Latin, together with the *Manifestation*, have been here seen and read of many, and approved by most, and there is no doubt that many have been much comforted that were constant, and the faction no less amazed; yet they give out all shall be answered, and their protector, Sir Bancroft, for so is his name, calleth upon them to finish speedily, for that Thomas Mann (his printer for these matters) is now out of work. Colleton's book hath been very beneficial unto him, as having found good utterance to the consideration of the appellants, as written with a curious style,[14] judiciate

Bancroft of London and the appellants.

[14] The ancient meaning of the word, as denoting *accurate* or *scholarlike* need hardly be pointed out.

words, and great gravity, the same being also greedily bought by the ministry, who fill up their pulpits with priests' dissensions. I have seen the continuance of the *Relation* till the 23rd of June, as I did the two former. I think it will be to good purpose that their protector have a cooling card. He is now *in toto* insolent, railing at Jesuits beyond truth or modesty. It will be pleasing to the Puritans, and it cannot exasperate him further than already he is prone in affliction of the contrary party.

Wisbeach was the original of all these stirs, and moved by the Queen.

"All these stirs at home have had original from Wisbeach, and the Queen herself is said to have been the first motive of this division, remembering how Walsingham thought to have set a faction amongst the Cardinals, and afterwards to have nourished the like in the Seminaries. She, finding now fit matter to work upon at home, thought it good policy to set it forward, and so advised Mr. Secretary, and he posted it over to my Lord of London, who hath no less bestirred him in this than he did in Cambridge with his quarter-staff when any broils were on foot. The Bishop findeth great fault with the Pope, that of himself he doth not hear and determine the appellants' cause, but referreth it to two Cardinals, that are thought to be partial, and this he hath from the factions, whereupon they are nothing so insolent as heretofore." . . .

Appellants and Bishop Bancroft.

"We have had here much rain, lightning, tempest, and hail of admirable bigness, five inches and more about, which brake many of the windows of the Colleges at Oxford, but much more hurt to the fields by beating down the corn."

August 25, 1602, *to the same.*

"Very Rev. Sir,—I have now yours of the 27th of the last, and shall be glad to see your old friend's resuscitation when it may be found. This arrived in fit time to check the asseveration of the appellants' party, that they and their books were freed from all censures by the Inquisition: I hope by your next we shall know the end of these broils. My lord of London complained of late that the appellants had not heard anything in particular from their agents in Rome these eight weeks, imputing the impediment to the Jesuits that had intercepted their letters, now he hath received from Bagshawe, his agent in Paris, a kind of answer to the late Apology,

Appellants and Bishop of London.

Bishop of London and the Jesuits, Bagshawe, Dr. Ely,

composed by Dr. Ely, seen, allowed, and augmented by Drs. Bagshawe, Bishop, and Charles Paget, approved by two Sorbonne Doctors, and printed at Paris. All the copies are in the Bishop and Mr. Watson his disposition, yet by chance hath my cousin got one, of which and other affairs he writeth now at large.

Barwis and Watson.

"It was thought Barwis and Watson should have been employed for some service, for so they gave out to their inward friends; as yet they are here, walking the streets securely, but many times with empty purses.

"Mr. Wright, as I hear, shall be removed from the Tower to the Clink, and have leave to go into London at his pleasure, as Mr. Leake now doth. The Queen hath of late a sore fit of the stone. The young Earl of Clanricard, resembling much the late Earl of Essex, is growing to be a favourite, and it is thought the Secretary concurreth thereunto, for that such an one may many times prevail to persuade her to what they would when they dare not speak themselves.

The Queen and her progress.

"The progress of her Majesty was soon at a stay. After she had been most royally entertained and feasted at the Lord Keepers his charge in that behalf, amounting to about 4,000li, passing further into Oxfordshire, the weather and ways proving foul, aud the country murmuring to be hindered from their harvest business, by persuasion of some of the Council she suddenly returned to a standing house at Oatlands, and so continueth, yet with a desire to pass forward as far as the Earl of Hertford [Alcester], principally, as it is thought, of a covetous humour (as most of her late progresses have been), to receive rich presents and jewels, as by all owners of the houses especially of the nobility, have been accustomed to be given unto her. Monday next she hath appointed to set forward towards the Earl of Hertford. At her being at the Lord Keeper's, in her merriest vein, the Countess of Derby (his wife) moved that it would please her to accept of the Lady Strange and her sister to wait on her in her privy chamber, and to bestow them in marriages where she thought fit, or at least to give her leave to bestow them; at which motion the Queen was exceedingly passionate and commanded silence in that behalf. The younger, as is supposed, is contracted to the Keeper's son, and the parents hoped the Queen would have approved it, and made him knight. Now they are at a nonplus, and know not how to

proceed, &c. The Queen hunteth every second or third day, for the most part on horseback, and showeth little defect in ability, albeit her face and other parts resembling old age, argue no little decay. A country woman viewing her in the progress, told her neighbour standing near her that the Queen looked very old and ill; one of the guard, overhearing her, said she should be hanged for those words, and frighted the poor woman exceedingly."

15th September, 1602, *to the same.*

Poor Spanish prisoners in the Bridewell.

. . . "We have had many speeches of preparing our new galleys and sending such poor Spaniards as are here in Bridewell to the oar; but that stands at a stay, and those poor prisoners in great misery. The Papists relieve them with what they may, with apparel and sustenance, for which some have been taken in the manner [fact], and [laid] by the heels.

Jesuits, &c., Proclamation against.

"I hear of a proclamation penned and ready for press against the Jesuits and all sorts of priests, that whereas by their own books and writings, each against others, it appeareth manifestly that they are of turbulent spirits and practisers against the State, abusing moreover her Majesty's clemency by false and sinister reports as well at home as in other counties, that she inclined to toleration and to mediate with the Pope for revoking of censures, and the like, with a large preamble to this effect; therefore all such are straightly charged and commanded by a certain day to depart the realm, whereof if they fail, whosoever may be found with their receivers and abettors to be presently proceeded against with all severity, and for the discovery and apprehension of such all Justices of Peace in their circuits are commanded to make diligent and often searches in places suspected, and to authorize other petty officers to do the like, and in this Mr. Secretary is thought the chief agent.[15]

[15] These searches were most severe; in fact every residence of a Catholic of any respectability, from the noble to the shopkeeper, was known and registered by the pursuivants of the Privy Council. That Catholics and their holy religion were not utterly rooted out, was not due to the mercies of the State, but is a marvel to be solely attributed to the watchful Providence of God. Among numerous other reports with which the State Paper Office teems we subjoin the following as a specimen:

"*Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxv. n. 118. 1578, Oct. (?) List by Davie Jones of

Bishop of London and appellants.

"The Bishop of London is very busy with three chaplains, and as many scribes, in com-

the names and addresses of certain Papists in London, with particulars of those who keep chaplains, attend Mass, &c.

"Baron Brown of the Exchequer.

"Baron Lord of the Exchequer, in Red Cross Street.

"Mr. Geve and Mr. Dister of the Crown Office, in Fleet Street.

"Mr. Pierpoint, gentleman, of Grays Inn.

"The Lady Champion hard by in Billingsgate.

"Mr. Forman, upholsterer, dwelling at the Stocks in London.

"Mr. Smith, an attorney of the Guildhall, who keeps a chaplain, and dwelleth near to Blackwell Hall.

"Mr. Watson of the Guildhall, in Great St. Helens, who keepeth a chaplain called Jenkinson, a very old man.

"David Sadler, a saddler by occupation, in Fleet Street, keepeth one Browne, a common chaplain for Papists.

"Mr. Hobson of the Cock in the Poultry.

"Mr. Patrick, dwelling in a lane hard by London Stone, merchant adventurer.

"Mr. Pierpoint, dwelling in Buchlersbury, apothecary.

"Mr. Benedict Spinola.

"Mr. Alderman Cooper.

"Mr. Buckland, a rich man dwelling in Paternoster Row.

"Sir Thomas Offelye
"Mr. Ployden
"Dr. Atslowe
} To Baron Browne's house in Old Fish Street Hill to hear Mass.

"Dr. Smith, a physician, a little square black broad-faced man who was beyond the seas with Sir Francis Englefield, and came over about three years ago, his house in Christ Church by Newgate.

"Mr. Norden, an attorney in the Guildhall, who keepeth a chaplain called Brock, a very old man, who saith Mass in divers places besides his house, which is hard by Blackwell Hall.

"The Lord Chideock Paulett, the Spittal without Bishopgate, who hath a chaplain called Johnson, the which Johnson was lately examined by Mr. Dr. Wilson, and the Lord Bishop of London, who lay in the White Lion a good while after he was pulled out of his den at Paul's.

"Mr. Robert Hare, gentleman, repaireth to the said Lord Paulett's.

"Mr. Sanders, gentleman, who liveth much in the Inner Temple, repaireth to the said Lord Paulett's.

"Mr. Fletcher, an outward barrister, in the Middle Temple, dwelleth in Fleet Street, at the nether end.

"Mrs. Sopcot, widow, Islington.

"Mr. Lowe, at the Mitre at the lower end of Cheapside, vintner, married Dr. Bonner's sister.

"Mr. Justice Harris, St. John's, Islington.

"Dr. Burcott, the physician, who commonly heareth Mass at Mr. Browne's, the Baron.

"Dr. Good in Chancery Lane, useth to Baron Browne's.

"The Lady Paulett, widow, wife to Sir Hugh at &c., and who keepeth a chaplain called Parkinson, a notorious Papist, who sayeth Mass commonly in her house.

posing some new book against Jesuits, that it may be extant against the term. Charnock, Barneby, and Anthony Copley have also their general works finished, attending my Lord's approbation. Barwis is in the Marshalsea. Leake not going to Framingham as was supposed, but close prisoner in the Gatehouse. The appellants' company are resolute that no sentence can pass against them. They are so far from any quiet disposition, as, let Pope or potentate do what they can, all will be to little purpose; it hath taken too deep root to be so easily pulled up, some may show fair faces, but will carry hollow hearts. *Exitus acta.* God send all to the best.

Charnock, Barneby, Copley, Barwis.

"Always, &c.,

"THOMAS BLEINELL."[16]

22nd September, 1602, *to the same.*

Proclamation against priests.

. . . "The proclamation against all priests is daily in expectation to go to the press, and some very severe courses to follow upon the Papists; and for that purpose the Chief Justice is sent for to be in London ten days before the term, at which time the Papists doubt a general search in the city and suburbs.

Appellants and the Jesuits.

"The appellants begin to doubt now of their agents' success, and at Court it is common news that they cannot prevail by reason of the opposition of the Jesuits, and that a decree is passed against them, whereat some are disgusted, and that is thought some motive of the intended persecution. Barwis is yet in the Marshalsea, and so is Penkevill that came from Spain, as yet not further examined or dealt with, what I can learn.

Portuguese Jesuits in the Gatehouse.

"The Portugal Jesuit Cardino is commanded by the Secretary to be kept close prisoner in the Gatehouse, for that the delivery of Briskett is in no better forwardness." . . .

15th October, 1602, *to the same.*

. . . "The combat offered by Mowbray, a Scot, and accepted by Daniel Archdeacons, born in Geneva, upon the denial of suborning Daniel to have killed the

[16] Anthony Rivers here signs as above. All his letters are endorsed as from A. Rivers.

Scotland.

Scotch King, was not fought on the borders, as it was here certainly reported, but both are committed to the Castle of Edinburgh where they have been severally again examined. In the mean, the Scotch King hath many solicitors in England that labour to make all principal men for his party against her Majesty's decease, offering all present security under the King's own hand, for liberty of conscience, confirmation of privileges and liberties, restitution of wrongs, honours, titles, and dignities, with increase according to desert, &c. . . .

"On Monday, the sixth of this month, her Majesty dined with Mr. Secretary in his new house in Weybridge. He gave

The Queen.

her ten several gifts, the most part very rich jewels. I have heard the dinner and presents valued at 3000 li. The Queen was merry and well pleased. At her departure, she refused help to enter her barge, whereby stumbling she fell and a little bruised her shins, but they were soon well again. Divers days have been since appointed for her coming to dinner to the Lord Admiral now lying at Arundell House; this very day, as many times before, provision is made, but all expectation yet frustrated. She seems very inclinable to remove to Richmond, there to keep Christmas; now it is thought she will be persuaded to continue at Whitehall; now I hear for certain that she is come this day to dine with the Lord Admiral. The Earl of Clanricard holdeth still in good grace with her Majesty, many compliments pass between him and the Secretary, yet it is thought each underhand is undermining the other. The last week the Queen, the Admiral, and Countess of Worcester were invited to christen a young daughter of the French ledger Ambassador. The Lady of the Marquis of Northampton was constituted deputy; she, with the other gossips, attended on by many ladies and courtiers, went thither in great state and

Queen's lady deputy's conduct at a Catholic baptism.

pomp, where entering the chapel with the infant carried by the Lady of Effingham, and perceiving the priest and all things prepared according to the Popish use, delivered the child with the name immediately to a French gentlewoman, and returned to the banquet. Many others of the ladies and courtiers amused each other, and of mere curiosity stood to behold those ceremonies which were performed by the Chaplain in all decent manner.

"Three youths (Percivall, Codrington, and a third) expelled of late the English Seminary of Douay, were the last

week by two of Sir Thomas Parry our ledger Ambassador in France his men presented to Mr. Secretary in France, [whether] they yielded themselves unto Sir Thomas, or by any accident fell into hands of those his men, I cannot yet say; but this much I hear for certain, that those men brought letters also from Dr. Bagshawe to Mr. Secretary concerning these three. Upon their examination it is reported that one of them professed himself a Jesuit, but to renounce that Society as having been dealt with by some of his fellows to kill her Majesty, or fire her navy. All pretended to come for England to get money of their friends to pursue an appeal by them made to the Pope against the President. Mr. Secretary committed them to the Gatehouse, but with liberty of the house and leave to go abroad with their keeper, and one of them without a keeper at his pleasure. It is thought all three shall be sent over again as banished men, but for some further design.

Three expelled from Douay College are taken, examined, and sent to the Gatehouse by the Secretary. One said he had been a Jesuit.

"Here is much speech of a new Brief come from the Pope for the ending of all controversies between our Seminary priests. I have seen a copy thereof, and albeit it makes most for the appellants' party yet are they least pleased, and now as I hear are drawing new memorials to the Pope with many subscriptions to abrogate the office of Archpriest, tending, as they insinuate, wholly to the nourishment of a Spanish faction; and now the Bishop of London his printers (Thomas Mann and one Roberts) are by these appellants set on work with two new books, almost finished, one of them being intitled *Person's Commonwealth.*

New Brief from Pope to end all controversies between the priests.

The appellants prepare new memorials to abolish the office of Archpriest.

"Nothing is yet done for the execution of the proclamation, but it is to be expected that some search will be made these ensuing holy days. Bayley, the Dominican,[17] is still kept close prisoner in the King's Bench; and now I hear of an English captive serving the Archduke, he that landed some few days past near Berwick, apprehended there, and brought up and committed close to the Gatehouse." . . .

Bayley the Dominican.

[17] Andrew Bayley. This confessor of the faith, after enduring imprisonment in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, was sentenced to perpetual banishment in 1603, after which period we lose sight of him (Dr. Oliver's *Collections*—English Dominicans).

17th November, 1602, *to the same.*

"The Queen came to Whitehall from Richmond on Monday last; but whereas she ought to have come in great pomp, she was taken with some sudden distemper by the way, and so went in her close barge, whereby our Lord Mayor and citizens, that rode out in great state to meet her, lost their labour. She is not yet perfect well.

The Queen taking ill going to Whitehall.

"The Earl of Clanricard is in great and special favour with her Majesty, but hath many, and those of best worth, that envy and malign it. Watson and Barneby, as I hear, have submitted themselves to the Chief Justice, according to the form of the proclamation.

Watson and Barneby and most of the appellants conform to the proclamation.

"Momford that was with Tyrone, and Bayley, a Dominican Friar, were this week apprehended in London and imprisoned. Atkinson hath liberty, and walketh to apprehend whom of his acquaintance he meeteth, or else taketh money of them and saith he saw them not.

Momford and Bayley, O.P., arrested.

Atkinson.

"The proclamation is read in all parish churches of England. Great persecution is like to fall on the Papists. God send all may turn to the best."

In the Public Record Office are four of the same series of letters, which were intercepted, viz., 9th March 1603,[18] from Father Rivers to Giacomo Creleto, Venice (probably Father Robert Parsons).

"About ten days since the Countess of Nottingham died, her husband, the Admiral, keepeth his chamber mourning in sad earnest. About the same time died also the Lady Peyton, wife to the Lieutenant of the Tower. The Queen loved the Countess well, and hath much lamented her death, remaining ever since in a deep melancholy that she must die herself, and complaineth of many infirmities wherewith she seemeth so daily to be overtaken, as imposthumation near her head, aches in her bones, and continual colds in her legs, besides a notable disease of judgment and memory, insomuch as she cannot abide discourses of Govern-

The death of the Countess of Nottingham.

The Queen's sorrow and sickness.

[18] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxvii. n. 50.

ment and State, but delighteth to have old Canterbury tales, to which she is very attentive, at other times impatient and testy, so as none of the Council (but Secretary) dare come in her presence; all are in a damp at Court. Some fear present danger, others doubt she will not continue past the month of May,[19] but generally all are of opinion that she cannot overpass another winter.

Matter of succession —King of Scots.

"Matter of succession is now ordinary discourse, both in Court and country, but no appearance of any likely to prevail but the King of Scots, upon whom the far greater part of the realm seem to have fixed their hopes. Many have utter aversion that way, and would be opposite had they any potent competitor. In the meanwhile, continual posting is between London and Scotland, and the better to please that King, about Christmas the Queen sent him 2,000 li. sterling as a gift, and hath since augmented his pension 2,000 li. per annum. He, on the other side, omitteth no diligence to turn all things in a readiness, and of late, as we hear, hath made view of his forces, and is able to bring fourteen thousand horse into the field, the most part Scottish nags. In our north parts new captains are appointed over the trained companies, and view made to have all things in a readiness, troops are appointed for supplies. My Lord Burghley, the President, is sent down to see this done, and all this to withstand the Scot; but so subtle is the Secretary, that hardly can it be judged which way he will take, and he as yet ruleth all. Certain we are that his inward man is averted that way, and withal it is as certain that he is altogether opposite to the Spaniard, and now also in no very good terms with the French King, upon a jealous conceit that he also is tampering for the establishing this crown upon himself or some of his. That the Lady Arabella had a guard over her I advertised in my former. Since then some have bruited that she is married to the Earl of Hertford's grandchild, which is most false. In course they give out that she is mad, and hath written to her Majesty that she is contracted to one near about the Queen and in good favour with her, and offering, if he may be pardoned, to name him; whereupon some deem Mr. Secretary to be the man, others the Lord Mountjoye; some, forsooth, Grivell; some one, some another. And now [Lord] Brunker is again sent unto her, and as it is thought will bring her to Woodstock,

[19] The Queen died on the 24th of March, 160$\frac{2}{3}$.

where she shall be kept. What the design may be cannot yet be discovered, only it is observed that the Secretary, the Earl of Shrewsbury and his lady are grown very inward and great friends, and that many secret meetings are made between them, where, after serious consults, they despatch messengers and packets of letters, and this sometimes twice in a week.

Proposed defence of London.

"It is said that the Council have consented to have thirty thousand quarters of wheat to be put by, laid up in our storehouses of London, and that the ditches shall be cleansed and enlarged two feet; moreover, that a ditch and trench shall be made by the north of London from the Tower to Westminster, for defence of the suburbs, and it is thought but a work of fourteen days, as yet nothing is taken in hand.

"The Lord Treasurer and Sir John Fortescue have written to the Queen that her coffers are empty, that they are called upon for many payments for Ireland and otherwise, and have no means for supply, and so pray her Majesty's order for remedy. The Queen rageth thereat exceedingly, so as neither of them dare come at Court, and this is thought to augment her infirmities. In Ireland Tyrone, Tyrrell, and some other principal rebels are joined and on foot, making head with about three thousand followers. They have cut off a company or two of our garrisons. The Deputy wrote that the country was so discontent with the base money and other miseries that if Tyrone grew strong again he feared a general revolt, and so urged that Tyrone might be pardoned. Now the Queen hath given the Deputy authority to pardon him upon submission, and the Deputy is confirmed in his office for three years more. Mr. Secretary was earnest to obtain this of her Majesty, and overcame her with great difficulty, she pretending it most dishonourable to pardon a rebel that had made seven years' war with her; whereas she could not be permitted to spare Essex's head for one day's delict, and upon this, when she reflects, she falleth into great passion, and this also is thought one cause of her sickness. Notwithstanding, Mr. Secretary thinketh this pardon to very good purpose, and hath written to the Deputy that he promise it to Tyrone with any condition, for that it is of necessity either to have surcease of arms in Ireland or peace with Spain, and this he will in no sort endure to hear of, being (as it is thought) engaged to the States of the Low Countries to continue hostility with Spain.

The Queen's debt to the city of London, and mode of payment.

"The Queen oweth the city of London 60,000 li. They press hard for payment. Mr. Attorney hath found a quirk in the conveyance of their charter land, whereby, if other accidents withhold not from offending the city, it shall be forced to release that and contribute further.

"Our appellant priests will never be at an end. They follow the Bishop of London as heretofore. Little respect had of the Pope's Brief. All care taken by them to flatter the State, to which purpose they exhibited a memorial of allegiance, the copy whereof I sent you.[20] The three solicitors are still in the Clink[21] [and old Blue (Bluett) with the Bishop], but with leave to go abroad without a keeper [if they return at night]. 'Tis thought they and all their party shall be banished, being no further to be favoured by the State, than to continue and nourish faction and disunion.

Rev. Wm. Richardson, martyr.

"One William Richardson, a priest,[22] sometime of the College of Seville, was apprehended here about the end of the term, discovered by one whom he trusted to the Chief Justice, who four days after conveyed him to be arraigned and condemned at Newgate Sessions for being priest and coming into England, and the next morning he was executed at Tyburn. He answered stoutly at his condemnation and death, yet with great modesty and discretion. He moved many to compassion and to speak against the Chief Justice's cruelty, on whom alone be laid the guilt of his blood. Such spectacles do nothing increase the Gospel. All the rest of the Council seem to plead ignorance of the fact. He was less favoured for not favouring

[20] A copy of this memorial is in the Old Clergy Chapter's collection of MSS., and is copied in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii. Appendix, p. 188, n. 36. It is signed by—

Wm. Bishop,	John Colleton,
John Mushe,	Rob. Charnock,
John Bosevill,	Anth. Hebourn,
Roger Cadwallador,*	Rob. Drury,
John Jackson,	Francis Barneby.
Oswald Needham,	Rich. Button,
Anth. Champney.	

* The martyr (1610). He afterwards repented of the part he had taken in the disputes.

[21] The words in the brackets are supplied from the subsequent letter.

[22] Rev. Wm. Richardson suffered at Tyburn, 17th February, 1603. See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*.

the faction, his head and quarters were buried. You shall shortly have a full and perfect relation of all the particulars, which I suppose my cousin Henry will take order to secure.

"My cousin and Ortelio have, and do acquaint you with a secret which I have imparted with them for the intercepting of letters. Be alert for we are eager set and very barren of good intelligence from those parties."[23] . . .

9th March, 1603,[24] *from same to* Ridofi Nercico, Venegia.

Rev. William Richardson, martyr.

"In my last of the 16th of the last month, I advertised the apprehension of one William Richardson, a priest, sometime of the College of Seville (for so much he confessed upon his examination); that very day towards night the Chief Justice came to the sessions house and calling for the prisoner caused his indictment for high treason to be read, for being priest and coming into England contrary to the statute. He pleaded not guilty, and refused awhile to put himself on the country for that the jury were ignorant, the Chief Justice made the law, and upon him and his should lie the guilt of his blood. In fine he took witness that he was charged with nothing but priesthood. The Chief Justice asked him who was head of the Church. He answered, "The Pope." "Thou art a Jesuit," said he. "No," said the prisoner. "What dost thou think of Jesuits?" He answered that "they are good and religious men." "Thou art a traitor," said he. "As good a subject," saith he, "as your lordship, or any assistant on the bench." In the end, being urged, he put himself to the jury and forgave them. They presently found him guilty, whereupon he had judgment. He desired for that little time he had to live he might be amongst his fellow Catholic prisoners, complaining of un-Christian restraint in that place. The keeper was commanded to use him as before. The next morning he was drawn to Tyburn, and there executed accordingly. He prayed for the Queen, showed great courage, yet with mildness and discretion: many were moved to compassionate his case. The common thieves had a day's liberty to provide for death, he might not have that favour. Many inveighed against the Chief Justice's cruelty, such spectacles do little profit the Gospel. You shall have more ample par-

[23] It is a singular fact that this very letter, in spite of Father Anthony's "secret," was intercepted by the Government spies.

[24] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxvii. n. 51.

ticulars, in the mean I pray you suffice. His head and quarters were buried."

9th March, 1603,[25] to George Battista Galfredi, Venice.

This letter is mostly a repetition of the others. It says (*inter alia*), "The parties stayed at Dover were Thomas Hungerford,[26] Jane Leake, and some others. The skipper deceived them. The women were fully discharged, but the men lie by the heels in the Gatehouse."

Speaking of the Queen, now within a few days of her end, he says, "The rumours of Arabella much afflict the Queen. She has not been well since the Countess of Nottingham's death, rests ill at night, forbears to use the air in the day, and abstains more than usual from her meat, resisting physic, and suspicious of some about her as ill affected."

He then alludes to the "Appellants," and the final treatment they had received from those who had made them their tools. "When the appellants' forty days [allowed by the proclamation] are expired. . . . all but Bluett, and as many others as come in, will be banished. The Chief Justice will send the others as fast to the gallows, if he may have his will. He had Richardson executed the $\frac{17}{27}$ February: and when on his circuit would have put four more to death at Bury, but the Queen forbade it."

9th March, 1603,[27] to Giacomo Creleto, Venegia.

This letter is not in the same handwriting. It is signed in very indistinct initials. Mrs. Green in her calendar makes them A. A., but we believe them to be R. R., and the handwriting clearly to be that of Father Richard Blount, *alias* Randall.

Rev. William Richardson, martyr.

"One Anderson, *alias* William Richardson, a priest of the Seminary of Seville, was by a false brother betrayed here lately, and was delivered into the hands of the Lord Chief Justice, who acknowledged himself to be a priest, was sent to Newgate, and there for the space of a week was kept close prisoner, no man being permitted to come unto him; about a week after sessions, being he was brought to the bar whither the Chief Justice came of purpose, whilst other felons were in their trial, and, interrupting the Recorder,

[25] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxvii. n. 52.
[26] Father Thomas Strange *alias* Hungerford.
[27] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxvii. n. 53.

presently called for the priest who was there present, caused him to be indicted of treason for being priest and coming into the land, all which he confessed; but yet, because none were there to give evidence, the Chief Justice himself gave his own confession in writing to the jury, and caused them to consider duly of his case, who presently found him guilty, whereat the prisoner gave God thanks, and told him (the Chief Justice) that he was a bloody man, and that it was his manner to seek the blood of all Catholics. The Chief Justice asked him whether he were a Jesuit or no? He answered, No. Whether he knew Mr. Garnett or no? He said, No. What he thought of the Jesuits? He answered that they were reverend religious men. And herewith, willing the Recorder to pronounce sentence, he went from the Bench. The next morning he was executed, himself alone at Tyburn, where he died most cheerfully, to the edification of all the beholders, and not without great honour to the common cause, every one present giving him very high commendations and much compassionating the death of such persons; the very adversaries themselves being confounded at his constancy and little fear he had of death.

"That which is written to you touching the sickness of the Queen is most true and continueth still, and every man's head is now full of proclamations by reason thereof; what shall become of us afterwards? She much raveth of Tyrone and Arabella, and is infinitely discontented. It is feared she will not long continue."

4th April, 1603.

The last letter we have to notice is not an intercepted one. It is from Father Rivers to "Sigr. Augustino Cornelio, Venegia" [Father Parsons, we believe]. Elizabeth had now passed off the stage of life, dying on the 24th of March, 1603, and was succeeded on the throne by James VI. of Scotland and I. of England.

"In my last I insinuated that that very day the Lord Treasurer and Lord Henry Howard were to be created Earls, the one of Wiltshire, the other of Northampton, which was effected, and it was thought some should have been made Barons, which was intended, but the King being pressed for many, in fine resolved not to make any, and therefore only gave increase to the number of our knights by making that day about sixty.

King James' procession to the city.

"The next day, being the 15th of March, His Majesty with the Queen and Prince, attended by all the nobility of both sexes and the principal officers of his household, passed in most triumphant manner through London, where arches or pageants were made in the way; all the streets railed and adorned on both sides, and the Companies of the City standing on one side all in order from the Tower to Temple Bar. The Earl of Worcester was Earl Marshal, the Lord Mayor carried the sceptre, all the aldermen attended at the cross, and presented the King, Queen, and Prince with three fair standing cups of gold. The Earl of Arundell had his place as *primus comes*. The Queen rode in an open chariot, and gave good contentment by her pleasing countenance and affability to the people. The King kept greater state, saluting, by moving his cap, the Ambassadors of France and Spain, placed in several houses in Cheapside. The like he did to the aldermen. The Lady Arabella and the old Countess of Arundell followed the Queen in caroche, all the rest of the ladies on horseback; both lords and ladies were richly and gallantly attired; and so they passed to Whitehall.

"The $\frac{19}{29}$th of the same the King rode in his robes from Whitehall to Westminster Church, where the Bishop of Duresme [Durham] preached; that done, he went on foot to the Parliament House with all the nobility before him, the Earl of Arundell carrying his train; being seated under his estate [canopy of State], he made a speech of an hour long, which, because it is in print and I mean now to send it you, I forbear further to speak of. On the 22nd (O.S.) of the same, he went by water to the Parliament again, when Sergeant Phillips was presented as Speaker, and then the King reiterated his speech verbatim, for that many knights and burgesses complained that they were not admitted the first day. The 24th of the month being *initium Regium*, solemn tilting was held before Whitehall, where the Earls of Cumberland and Southampton ran with greatest commendation, old Sir Henry Lea being constituted one of the judges. By the way, you may be pleased to note that the Ambassadors of France, Spain, and Venice were all present at the tiltyard, all placed at the further end thereof, opposite to the King in three several chambers. The French had the right hand, who thought himself much honoured, the Venetian in the midst, and the Spaniard next the coming in, on the left hand, nearest the tilt, where he did not only see best, but was saluted by all the lords as they passed in and

out, which he held for a great grace, and so these two Ambassadors, emulous of each other, as in other places, were here both pleased by supposing each was highly favoured and better seated than the other, and with like humour did they apprehend the King's, Queen's, and Prince's salutations then, and before in Cheapside to be done more affectionately to each of them, whereas the King kept the same countenance to both; albeit the Queen was thought and observed to show more favourable countenance to the Spaniard. . . .

Fanatical Puritan Minister.

"The last week a fanatical Puritan minister exhibited a Bill to the Lower House for the abolishing of the bishops, therein termed anti-Christian, with other points for their constituting of elders, and new regiment [regime] in the Church party, for which the minister being convented before the House, he stood to the justification of all: whereupon the major part of the House being thought Puritans, some spoke in his behalf affirming that they knew him to be a lunatic, which he denying, and Dr. Paddy, a physician and a knight, being present as a burgess giving some reasons that it was not likely, the far major part of the House cried away with him to the Tower, so he was committed to the Serjeant-at-Arms, and some appointed to examine him to know his complaint, which he will not confess. As yet he is prisoner in the Gatehouse. By this accident the Puritans in the House were much confounded and have been since less malapert, all disclaiming that name, and many (before famous) now most unwilling to be thought such, wishing his Majesty would make an inquisition and cashier all such.

The King.

The 27th of last month his Majesty went on hunting to Royston, but either he is not well, or melancholy with these Parliament proceedings, for he hath there kept his chamber these three or four days, and few are permitted access to him. The Queen and Prince are at Whitehall, where this night the King is expected, there to keep Easter.

French Ambassador pleads for the Catholics with the King.

"The French Ambassador hath been, and is an earnest suitor to the King in the behalf of the Catholics, and is thereunto much solicited by Cecil, and Tempest the elder. The French seemeth to retain the patronage of the appellants, whose books, petitions,

The appellants.

and memorials, he exhibiteth to his Majesty, but as you will gather by the King's speech, neither they nor any other priests are like to find any favour.

"Since the time limited in the late proclamation expired,

Priests and Catholics.

little hath been yet done against priests or Papists, and I think very few or none departed upon the same, nor any certainty is yet known when the priests in prison shall be sent to exile. You heard by your brother Richard what Cecil gave out of the Bishop of London his words and intention against Jesuits. I am well assured the Bishop denieth all, saying that however those courses were approved in Walsingham his time, yet now he disliked them altogether, viz., to drive men to impatience, and to draw men into danger; and being asked what he would do by virtue of the proclamation, he said that it was principally procured by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, who should have provided that it might have been executed, now he being dead, it was yet uncertain what course therein should be taken.

The Bishop of London and Jesuits.

Dabscomtes' house searched through the priest Atkinson for a Jesuit, &c.

"The last week one Dabscomtes' house was searched in London by Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the clerks of the Council, being thereunto called and required by Atkinson the priest, under pretence of apprehending a Jesuit that would kill the King (a jest now over stale). In that search one Hill, an appellant priest, a western man was taken, and with him some eight persons (but neither saying Mass or Mattins). All were sent to Newgate, but since, all but the priest are released upon bail to appear at the sessions.

Colleton, the priest, writes a book.

"One Colleton, a priest, hath published a book which he entitled '*A supplication to the King's most excellent Majesty*, wherein several reasons of State and religion are briefly touched, not unworthy to be read and pondered by the lords, knights, and burgesses of the present Parliament, and others of all estates, prostrate at his Highness' feet by true affected subjects. *Nos credimus propter quod et loquimur* (2 Cor. iv. 13).' This book the French Ambassador presented the King withal, who beginning to read it fell into great passion, and with many oaths trod it under his feet, and yet after took it up and perused it. In like passion it is said he cast the *Three Conversions* into the fire. I hear the Puritans are busy in answering Colleton's book. I will send it you by the first opportunity.

The King casts the *Three Conversions*, &c., into the fire.

"The Spanish Ambassador hath yet done little for and in behalf of the Catholics, but referreth all such negotiation to the intended treaty. The Bishop of London, speaking in

Parliament against Mr. R. Paget, said the Papists grew insolent and wrote many books, bragging of their number, but their books should be answered, and it was necessary to curb their audacious proceedings, and he was most sure in his own knowledge that the Protestants were in number, in respect to the Papists, as a thousand to one." . . .

The following are extracts from two historically interesting letters of Father Richard Blount.[28]

14th July, 1606.

. . . "I have no news to answer you withal at this time saving that one Captain Thomas, Captain Newse with one Ball, the Ambassador, his household servant, are committed to the Tower upon the suspicion of a plot to murder the King and my Lord of Salisbury. This Newse discovered the matter, a fellow as is said that hath been this twelve months or more employed by my Lord Cary, but it seemeth the matter will come to nothing, for that Newse being but a half-witted fellow could not compass his design cunningly, and so he is now blamed for an ass as unfit hereafter for exploits. The Spanish Ambassador taketh the matter very tenderly and hath been very bold with his Majesty and Council, and given them well to understand that they prefer good wars before a dishonourable peace. And whereas Lord Salisbury charged the Ambassador that it would be proved that he had treason plotted within his house, the Ambassador told him again that whosoever he was that would say that he had treason plotted in his house, with his knowledge, he was a vain cavallero, y que mentisse nella gola. Which bravery of the Spaniard, together with the tidings out of Flanders of the desire of wars again with us of all hands, hath made us here more calm, and more ready to comply with the Ambassador and to yield unto him in some suits which he never could get before; for we begin now to fear the breach of peace, whereof we conceived a most base and abject fear in the Spaniard before, and thereupon rested most confident. Since this past, here is some hope conceived that if the Ambassador returned again with a letter to his Majesty disproving and condemning this powder treason, it is likely good might be done, especially if it were accompanied with some thousands of pounds to be offered

[28] *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 62, endorsed "Father Randall" and addressed to Father Robert Parsons, as Signor O. Hamiano.

for the furtherance of the matter; for that it is spoken that his Majesty and the Council are much ashamed of these wicked and barbarous laws [penal laws], and purpose at the next Parliament, if any suit be made, to make them all or most void.

"It is very ill taken here that the Archduke hath banished Gifford from his deanery, which Mr. Paget reporteth with very great spleen towards the Archduke, pretending the only reasons thereof to be Baldwin and Owen, two archtraitors, and for no other cause saving that he was much affected to the Queen of Scots, mother to his Majesty that now is. The truth is his absence is much lamented, as of a special intelligencer for these parts, which themselves here now are not ashamed to confess. Mr. Paget also, although old and almost worn out, yet hath he a most ample and favourable licence to watch, and live beyond seas, with condition to keep correspondence here, and thereupon by his licence is exempted from all these last new laws, and is suffered to enjoy all his living in those parts which Aguida de Costa allowed him hence, so that he plays his parts well, and gives good intelligence. It were very well to give notice of him beforehand to Mon. de Colbin for his better entertainment in those parts, for he cometh like another Downs to second Cecil and Champney, and to disturb all. . . . The priests are now at the point to be banished, amongst others, besides Norris, Floyd, and others, there is Thomas Stanney . . . he desireth much to be recommended unto you. He is a very good and virtuous man, moreover both in prison and out he giveth edification. The Archpriest seemeth now [to think] that Catholics may take the oath, whereat many do much marvel. The Jesuits are altogether against it. This is like to breed a scab, if a speedy decision be not sent, whereof many here would be very glad. Here are lately [taken] great store of books that came from your parts of divers sorts, and many imprisoned about them. Here is one apprehended, and almost no man escapeth who is once in chase."[29]

Extracts from second letter of Father Blount, under the *alias* of "R. Dagger," dated 1606, Aug. or Sept., and addressed "To my worthy friend, Mr. Snype, give these" (*Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 64).

. . . "His news of the state of Venice was very grateful, for that here are daily strange tales of the State, and of their

[29] Hugh Sheldon, Lay-brother, S.J.

great revolt from the See of Rome, as also of the banishment of all Jesuits, not only thence but all other parts of Italy besides . . . The last Sunday morning, the Spanish Ambassador's house was beset with constables, sergeants, and such like worshipful officers to apprehend all such as come out from thence when Mass was ended. There were some seventy Englishmen and women within, who, as they came out, were laid hands on and were sent to prison. To the number of twenty-six were taken coming from the first Mass, whereof the Ambassador being advertised, caused his gates to be shut, and all the residue of the English to remain within. And being now about dinner-time, caused all the provisions of meat for himself and his family to be brought into the hall, caused all the English to sit down, himself and his gentlemen waiting upon them, told them how sorry he was that the state of Catholics was such in England, for their religion only to be thus persecuted, willed them to have patience, to give no cause of offence to the State or his Majesty, besought God to make the King a good Catholic, and such like good comfortable words; took the cup and drank to them all, and finally would suffer none to depart after dinner, till such time as he had sent to the Recorder to complain of the dishonour offered him to beset his house in such disgraceful manner, wished the siege might be removed, which he giving order for, the pursuivants being now all called away, the rest of the number, about three of the clock in the afternoon, began to creep out one after another, and so by the good care of the Ambassador escaped, greatly commending the charity and zeal of his Excellency in this fact, and to say the truth, it hath got the Spaniard more love than any one thing that hath been done by them these many years. The first twenty-six lie still in prison.

"The state of recusants is most desperate by reason of the late barbarous laws against them, which so involve all sorts as morally no one man can escape utter undoing; which I suppose you have seen, as also the oath annexed, concerning which the Archpriest's opinion is that it may lawfully be taken, which opinion giveth liberty to some to go a little further, and to make no scruple of going to church, alleging that the reason which is yielded for the one doth also hold for the other, and so all generally take the oath, and very many fall from the Church, partly grounding themselves also upon Azor, who saith that it may be allowed to go to church with a protestation. In

these two points the Jesuits, and many other priests with them, do oppose now against the lawfulness of the one and other, and desire most earnestly a resolution from Paul [the Pope], for that now no less authority will serve to countermand the general opinion daily practised.

"Many Catholics sue for licences to travel, which are granted upon two conditions, first to pay a good round sum of money for the licence, secondly, to leave two parts of their lands to the King; or, if the sum of money be great, then may they go, paying to the King no more than they paid before their licence. . . .

"Here is now in printing the King's book of Mr. Garnett's death and arraignment, to which is added a preface of my Lord of Northampton, to prove no authority in the Pope to depose princes. . . .

. . . "As for the laws you hear of, they are now put in execution, the worst of all is that of servants, which is now inquired of in the country. Nevertheless, I doubt not if more workmen come they shall not be idle nor unwelcome, though a great terror be stricken into most men's hearts of the issue of these cruel laws.

"My Lord Montague is out of the Tower, and committed to his father-in-law, the Lord Treasurer. My Lords Mordaunt and Stourton be sent to the Fleet, which you know is a disposition to further liberty. Lord Northumberland remaineth in the Tower, and close prisoner. "R. DAGGER."

It may not be foreign to the scope of our "Records," if we subjoin the following account of a celebrated character of his day, taken from the archives of the English College, Rome, of which Father Robert Parsons was then Rector. This paper, which bears date 1598, forms the substance of his replies to the usual interrogations put to those who applied for admission to that College. To this we shall add, from Dr. Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 74, what is said of him by Anthony Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* who says that he unhappily again returned to the Church of England after his conversion to the Catholic faith. And in giving this account we may use the observation of Father Morris in his mention of Thomas Bell, once a Protestant minister and afterwards a priest, then an apostate and notorious spy of the Government. "It is instructive to learn the treatment to which he was subjected before he fell."[30]

[30] *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 300, note.

William Alabaster. "I am thirty-one years of age, and was born at Hedley in the county of Suffolk. I studied my rudiments at Westminster school, and at the age of sixteen was sent to Cambridge, where I spent fourteen years. The family of Alabaster is respectable and ancient, having come over with the Normans, and in Norman heraldry they are called the royal crossbowmen, and to the present day we bear upon our crest the crossbow as a mark of distinction, and of the first post of honour. My mother is descended from the Wintropps, a distinguished stock. My father having been born in reduced circumstances was in early life a Spanish merchant; affairs not prospering, he retired, and has now a small but sufficient income, and a Catholic, as I hope. I have many relations on both sides, some are London citizens and merchants, and well to do; some are morose heretics, others passed themselves off when in Spain, though privately, as Catholics . . . two brothers and three sisters still survive.

"My studies have consisted in the usual humanity course as far as rhetoric, also mathematics, history, criticism, philology, with almost all the ancient authors, both Greek and Latin. Also ecclesiastical history, with the sentences of the masters, the Summ. of St. Thomas, with Bellarmine, Suarez in 3a, Stapleton.

"I was born and brought up among Protestants, and was deeply immersed in errors; I was inflamed by Calvin, or rather by Calvinism, with hatred to the Catholic Church; all my studies, prayers, desires, &c., were directed against her. But when I had attained my twenty-ninth year I began somewhat to relax in this my fury, and jumped to the opinion that the Catholic and Protestant Church was one; nor did it much matter for salvation to which a person belonged, but yet that the Calvinist heretics were the first and purest, and in this idea I became firmly rooted. I then (building castles in the air) one while desired to write books in favour of Catholics; another, loading my shoulders with benefices and rich prebendaries; now, led by ambition to aspire after the highest honours of the kingdom; then I was intent upon marrying a lovely spouse, whose hand I had long sought, but had deferred it until I should come into possession of a prebendary, with nearly four hundred crowns a year, and this I did through the Earl of Essex, who had promised to arrange the matter for me immediately. When lo! living then in the Court (where it is equally difficult to do or to meet with good), and chancing to cast my eyes upon a certain book written by

one Reginald,[31] in defence of the Catholic cause, I had not got through the preface when so great a flood of daylight broke in upon my soul, accompanied with so unusual an interior joy, that upon the spot, exclaiming, 'Now I am a Catholic,' I immediately left all, Court, Earl, and prebendaries, and hastened back to Cambridge, and at once, by messenger, taking leave of my intended spouse, I retired into solitude, and gave myself up to prayers, tears, mourning, and fasting, that purged of the filth of my past life, I might with a calmer eye and heart imbibe the rays of faith and charity, and emulate the honour of Catholic discipline by newness of life. At the same time I earnestly implored of God to grant me a time of peace and stillness in which I might prepare myself by studying controversy, so as to be able to engage in combat with the heretics, should occasion offer, without fear of discomfiture. And so, by the goodness of God, it came to pass. In the meantime my friends, who were cognizant of the whole affair, advised me to seek safety in flight across the sea, before the thing should become public. I refused to do so, determining rather, with a confident heart, to wait to see what the pseudo-bishops would be able to say or do. At length I was arrested and kept in close confinement for seven months, and was frequently dragged before the Royal Commissioners, whom I attacked vigorously with a hundred or more reasons in defence of the Catholic truth; and I guaranteed that if they could answer only one, I would yield. What more! I so shut their mouths that they muttered, but durst not utter a single word, though I challenged, begged and entreated of them to do so. When they saw that in spite of their blandishments, threats, and entreaties I remained inflexible, they stripped me of all my dignities and property, and likewise of my ludicrous petty clerical functions, and remanded me back to prison. Finding myself deprived of all consolation from books, or of disputations or treaties with others, I made my escape, and am come hither."

Mr. A. Wood, *Athen. Oxon. in Fast.* vol. i. p. 144, quoted by Mr. Dodd, as above, says, "William Alabaster, of the same University [Cambridge] was incorporated [in Oxford] on the same day [11 July 1592]. He was born in Suffolk, bred in Trinity College [Cambridge], was the rarest poet and Grecian that any age or nation produced. Afterwards he attended as

[31] This was probably Cardinal Pole.

chaplain on Robert Earl of Essex, in his Cadiz voyage, where he changed his religion and wrote some motives for what he had done; answered by one John Rochester in 1598, and by Roger Fenton in the year following. But upon some discontent taken from the Romish party, he returned to the Church of England, and was made Prebendary of St. Paul's, London, D.D., and Rector of Pharfield, Herts. [He then gives a list of his works.] He died about the beginning of April, 1640."

In a note in *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 270 (taken from Stonyhurst MS. P. fol. 539), we find the following, "To Framlingham—went out of the Tower, Wright, Archer, Pounde, Alabaster, July 7, 1601."

One good work which the unhappy Alabaster effected before his relapse, was the conversion to the Catholic faith of Father Henry Coppinger, S.J., *alias* Bruning. He was born in the year 1580, and entered the English College as an alumnus on the 2nd of November, 1607, and was ordained priest in Rome on Palm Sunday, March 25, 1613. He is named in the Catalogue of English Jesuits seized with other papers at the Clerkenwell residence, in 1628. He there appears among the Suffolk missioners. His name is also found in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London.[32]

The following is taken from his answers to the usual interrogations put to the students on applying for admission to the College.

"Nov. 5, 1607. I am, I think, about twenty-seven years of age, born at Bury-St.-Edmunds, Suffolk, and was there brought up until my fifteenth year. I then went to Cambridge for seven or eight years, and took my degree of Bachelor of Civil Law. My father's name is Henry Coppinger, he still survives, but my mother has been dead for twenty years. My father is a tradesman, a tailor and draper. I have no brother living, and only one sister, a Catholic. All my relations are either heretics, or at least non-Catholics. My father was greatly inclined to the Catholic religion, but for fear of the times durst not profess it. I made my studies chiefly at Bury-St.-Edmunds and Cambridge. I was a schismatic until about my twentieth or twenty-first year; then, however, by the advice of Mr. William Alabaster, I resolved to become a Catholic and was received into the bosom of the Church by the Rev. Father Bickley, S.J.

[32] *Phœnix Brit.* vol. i. p. 435.

I have been as yet unworthy to suffer anything for the Catholic faith, beyond having been compelled to leave home for some years to avoid the persecution. I am come to Rome with the resolution of offering myself to the Society of Jesus."

The following extract from a letter of Father Edward Coffin, S.J.,[33] dated the 28th of May, 1611, will suffice to give

[33] Father Edward Coffin, *alias* Hatton, was a native of Exeter; born in the year 1570; entered an alumnus at the English College, Rome, July 26, 1588; received minor orders in November and December of that year, and took the usual college oath on September 29, 1589; was ordained sub-deacon and deacon in September, 1592, and priest on March 13, 1593. He was sent upon the English mission on May 10, 1594, and entered the Society of Jesus in England on January 12, 1598. He was on his way to the novitiate in Belgium, when, in company with Father Thomas Lister, he was seized at Lillo, a fortress nine miles north-west of Antwerp, built by the Dutch in 1584. Father Morris mentions the fact in *Troubles*, Series I. p. 166. It happened on a Friday, in the first week of Lent, 1598. Father Tesimond, in whose narrative it occurs, says: "On the following Friday two others of our Fathers, Thomas Lister and Edward Coffin, after having escaped all other perilous passes in the ports of England, whence they came, as obedience called, and other places of these heretical States, either because they were too quiet and modest, or because they could not pass themselves off as the occasion required, were taken in that very house, and in the room we occupied [at the inn], and were brought to Middleburg a day before we arrived at that city."

Father Coffin spent his noviceship, and indeed his first five years of religious life, in prison, having been sent from Holland to England.

The paper in the P.R.O. before referred to, endorsed by Cecil "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England," contains, among the names of the prisoners at Framlingham, "Mr. Coffin, *alias* Hatton." With the exception of a few months at that prison, he passed most of his incarceration in the Tower of London (the Beauchamp Tower), until the accession of James I. in 1603, when, *as a favour*, he was sent, with a large number of other priests, into perpetual banishment. Being summoned to Rome, he filled the post of confessor at the English College there for nearly twenty years, and was there professed of the four vows. Meditating a return to England, he left Rome for Flanders in September, 1625, but died on his way at St. Omers, April 17, 1626, aged fifty-six.

Alegambe, in his notice of Father Coffin, calls him a pious and learned man, and of primitive simplicity. The following notice of him is from the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. p. 84. Account of inscriptions on the walls of an apartment in the Tower of London.

"EDWARD CUFFYN, 1562."

"For whatever crime this person had been made a prisoner, he occurs afterwards as sent into exile, as one of an enterprising spirit, and fit to be deputed as a Romish emissary to England. Strype, in his *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 318, mentions a letter from Robert Turner, a native of Devonshire, public Professor of Divinity at Ingoldstadt in Germany, A.D. 1585, to Cardinal Allen at Rome, recommending an Englishman, one Edward Coffin, ready at his service, to be admitted into the English College at Rome (where Allen was chief), being a young man, a Catholic, and an exile, whom (as he flattered him) England loved, Rome adorned, banishment hath, as it were, ratified (sanxit), the patron and Father of Englishmen, Catholics, and exiles. That this man's request was that he might be chosen into the said College, having consecrated himself to God, to England, and Rome; and that he was a fit young man, of no ill note, and prepared *inire palæstram, juvenis feroculus*—ready to enter upon action, a fierce

some idea of the state of Catholics at the period; for to follow out this subject fully would carry us far beyond the scope of our series. He says:

"To Bancroft the pseudo Archbishop of Canterbury succeeds George Abbot, a brutal and fierce man, and a sworn enemy of the very name of Catholic. The King meditates the extermination of all Catholics; the prisons are everywhere crammed; the Catholics hide themselves in caves and holes of the earth, and others fly before the face of the persecutors into these parts. An infinite number of pursuivants riotously pass through every county of England, and it is incredible to tell how they harass and afflict the most innocent men; for, entering the houses and lands, they carry off everything—beds, tables, covers, clothes, chests, trunks, and especially money.

youth: very good qualifications for a Romish emissary." Dodd tells us "that he was born in Exeter; educated in the English College in Rome from the year 1588, and being ordained priest was sent upon the mission; and having laboured some years became a Jesuit, as it appears, making his profession in England in 1598. He was a great sufferer on account of religion, being several years a prisoner, and at last banished in 1603. He lived afterwards in Rome, and was, near twenty years, confessor in the English College. Though now advanced in years, he was desirous of seeing England once more, and being permitted, remained there a little while, and then died at St. Omers in the year 1626." The date of the above inscription upon the wall is evidently wrong.

Father Coffin's works were—(1) Preface to Father Parson's posthumous *Reply to Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln.* 4to. St. Omer, 1612. The Preface contains 120 pp., the Reply 543 pp. (2) *A Treatise on the Celibacy of Priests*, in answer to Dr. Joseph Hall, then Dean of Worcester, afterwards Bishop of Exeter and of Norwich. 8vo. St. Omer, 1610. (3) *The Art of Dying Well.* Written by Robert Bellarmin, S.J., and Cardinal. Translated into English for the benefit of our countrymen, by C. E., of the same Society. 8vo. 1621. 328 pp. (4) *True Relation of the Last Sickness and Death of Cardinal Bellarmin*, who died at Rome the 17th of September, 1621. 8vo. 1622. 101 pp. (5) *Motives for Renouncing the Protestant Religion.* By Anthony de Dominis, D.D., Dean of Windsor. 8vo. St. Omer. 1623. Translated in 1827 by Dr. Fletcher.

1605. Robert Seward, *alias* Robert Berington (a convert of Father Coffin), son of William Seward of Hereford, a principal citizen, and bearing civic dignity. His mother was one of the sixteen children of Mr. Berington, thirteen of whom still survived, all Protestants except one or two, who were schismatics, and he was the only Catholic. He studied Latin and music until fourteen years of age, and afterwards spent three years with a surgeon, was brought up in heresy until his seventeenth year, when by means of his master, Mr. Strange, and of Father Coffin, he became a Catholic, and went with the same master to St. Omers' College, where he spent five years in studying humanities, and was then sent by Superiors to Rome. Robert Seward entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on the 9th of October, 1605, and the above account (taken from the archives of the same College) contains his reply to the usual questions put to the students. He was born 1583. After taking minor orders in 1606 he entered the Society in the month of October, "beloved by all" (Diary of the English College). We are unable to trace him further from loss of the necessary records.

If they find the master of the house they thrust the infamous oath of supremacy upon him, and if he refuses to take it, they carry him off to the nearest gaol, there in poverty and chains, in darkness and squalor, in hunger and nakedness—*vel ducat vitam, vel animam agat.* The times of Elizabeth, although most cruel, were the mildest and happiest, in comparison of those of James," &c.[34]

The following extracts from the Whiteway Diary, in the British Museum, are illustrative of these times.

"15 Feby., 1620. The Lords of Parliament and forescore burgesses presented unto the King a petition for the restraining of the liberty the Papists and Jesuits; who answered them, that he knows better how to govern than they could teach him; that hereby he should make other princes to deal more violently with Protestants, but that he left them to be proceeded against by his lawes.

4 Dec., 1623. At this time a Popish lawyer about London was censured at the Star Chamber, for saying that King Henry VIII. did . . . the Protestant religion [an indelicate expression]—*to have his ears cut off, his nose split, his forehead marked with B for blasphemy, whipped about London, and fined £10,000 to the King.*[35]

8 May, 1624. This day proclamation was made in London, that all Jesuits, Priests, and Seminaries should depart out of this land before the 24th June next, upon pain of the severest censure of the laws.

27 March, 1625. Death of King James and proclamation of King Charles. His Majesty upon his death-bed recommended unto the Prince, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery his best servant, and charged him never to suffer a toleration of Popery in England. He made a worthy confession of his faith, and gave great testimony of devotion and piety. . . .

8 Aug., 1626. The Justices set about a benevolence to the King to supply his wants, in which was very little given, and that which was given was by Papists and Popish persons.

13 June, 1628. Dr. Lambe, the witch, was beaten to death in the London streets by the boys and apprentices. 13 Feb., 1632. The City of London was fined £1,000 for this death.

20 Jany., 1629. This day the Parliament met again at Westminster. . . . The House resolved to settle religion and to provide for the Suppression of Popery and Armenianism before they could conclude of any other business. They discovered also a formal College of Jesuits at London, but could not have the law executed against them, for all of them had procured pardons. Then the Parliament obtained of the King a general fast in London, &c.

[34] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 103.

[35] In *Jesuits in Conflict*, p. 76, note, a similar instance is given of the ferocious inhumanity of the criminal code of that day for such offences. "*Mr. Moore, an attorney, for speaking ill of Queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII., was sentenced to lose both his ears and to imprisonment during pleasure. He laughed while the sentence was performed in Cheapside.*"

3 Aug., 1629. This day there was a foul outrage committed by the gentlemen of Lincoln's Inn upon a pursuivant sent thither to apprehend one that had killed one of the King's deer. They shaved him, snipped his ears, washed him in the kennel, and kicked him out of the gate. The King took it much to heart.

1633, 27 November. This day *Patrick*, an *Irish Jesuit*, was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, for a traitor. His crime was this. Being in a gentleman's company in Spain, he swore he could never come into England, unless it were to kill the King. The same gentleman met him afterwards in London, and took acquaintance with him, and after calling his former words to mind, he revealed it to the Privy Council, whereupon he was apprehended and condemned and executed.[36]

1634, April 12. About this time the King granted a monopoly of coaches, who, for a set fee, carried all passengers up and down London streets, to the great vexation of the watermen, who many times fell by the ears with these new coachmen in the streets.

24 June, 1634. There were a great many notorious witches discovered in Lancashire this year, and many of them hanged. Some of the chiefest were brought to London to satisfy the curiosity of the King and Queen, who desired to see them play some of their feats.

25 Feby., 163$\frac{3}{4}$. The City of London was fined in the Star Chamber at £70,000, for suffering of Papists to plant in their plantation of Londonderry, in Ireland, and their patent for that and some other abuses which they excused were taken from them, which they much complained of, as having hard measure offered them.

22 Oct. 1634. I heard Allison, a coachman, and Robins, an alderman of Yarmouth, censured in the Star Chamber for slandering the present Archbishop of York, Dr. Neile, as if in the King's return from Scotland last year he should have petitioned him for a toleration of Popery. The alderman was fined £500 to the King, £1,000 to the Archbishop, and to acknowledge his fault. Allison was fined £1,000 to the King, £500 to the Archbishop, and to be whipped in the pillory at York, Yarmouth, and Ipswich. While he reported it [the sentence] Dr. Lawde [Laud], Archbishop of Canterbury, spoke wittily and bitterly, and Sir Thomas Richardson full of grids.

In 1623 there was a lull in the storm of persecution. The Court was extremely anxious for the marriage of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., with the Infanta of Spain, Doña Maria, and an unwonted freedom was practically, though not legally, given to Catholics.[37] On the treaty for the proposed marriage, amongst other stipulations, it was agreed that none of the penal laws against religion should be put in force; that the Catholic worship in private houses should be tolerated;

[36] We do not identify this person as either an English or an Irish Jesuit. The term "Jesuit" was as incorrectly applied in former as it is in modern times.

[37] See Father Morris's *Troubles*, First Series, p. 202.

that no attempt should be made to seduce the Princess from the faith of her fathers; and that the King (James) should exert all his influence to obtain the repeal of the penal statutes in Parliament. James swore to the observance of this treaty (which was a private one) at the Spanish Ambassador's, in the presence of four witnesses. It is difficult to see how he could have been in good faith. He had already protested that he did not mean to resign the power of enforcing the penal laws, if Catholics should embroil the Government; that he safely swore to the repeal of the laws, being sure that he could not effect it, and that he should not be bound by his oath if the marriage did not take effect. He would not have sworn at all, had he not promised to ratify every agreement made by Charles at Madrid.[38]

The enemies of the Catholic faith took alarm and succeeded in breaking off the match. In the following year, 1624, another treaty was entered into with the King of France for the marriage of his daughter, Henrietta Maria, with Prince Charles, which took place in the following year, soon after Charles ascended the throne. In this treaty Cardinal Richelieu required that every indulgence promised to the English Catholics by the Madrid treaty should be secured by that of Paris. This demand nearly broke off the treaty altogether; but at last the French Cabinet acquiesced, or seemed to do so, in the following compromise: "That the King of England, in a secret engagement signed by himself, by Prince Charles, and a Secretary of State, should promise to grant to his Catholic subjects greater freedom of religion than they could have claimed in virtue of the Spanish match, without molestation in their persons or property or conscience.[39]

[38] See Lingard, vol. vii. p. 248, note 2, and authorities there quoted.

[39] Lingard, James I. vol. vii. p. 275. In *Domestic James I.* vol. clxxvii. n. 29, State Papers, P.R.O. is a letter from James to Lord Keeper Lincoln, 26 December, 1624, ordering him to make out writs to the judges, &c., in the forms inclosed for the discharge from prison of priests, Jesuits, friars, and other Roman Catholics imprisoned under the penal laws, in consideration of the proposed marriage with Henrietta Maria of France. In vol. clxxxiii, n. 54, same reign, 13th February, 1625, just before the death of James, Lord Keeper Lincoln writes to Secretary Lord Conway, to say that he will send for any of the officers of the Archbishop of York complained of as too eager against Catholics, and privately warn them of the King's wish for discreet behaviour during the present negotiations. He desires a special warrant if his Majesty wishes him to command the judges to moderation, and will do it with as little noise as possible. He has been so careful, that no real cause of complaint has been given. But those who haunt the French Ambassador's house are mere beggarly rascals. His Excellency should be cautious not to favour the Jesuits, who are enemies to all Kings.

"The effect of this lull was instantly felt. In the year 1623 the English Jesuits reckoned the number of their converts at two thousand six hundred."[40]

There is a scarce book called "*The Foot out of the Snare;* or, a detection of sundry late practices and impostures of the Priests and Jesuites in England; whereunto is added a Catalogue of (I.°) Popish bookes lately dispersed in our kingdome; (II.°) the printers, binders, sellers, and dispersers of such bookes; (III.°) Romish Priests and Jesuites resident about London; (IV.°) Popish physicians practising about London." The author is Robert Gee, an apostate, and, as usual, replete with gall and bitterness against the faith he had abandoned and against its adherents. His knowledge of persons, &c., as a Catholic, rendered him a very effective agent against them, and his list may be regarded as, on the whole, accurate. It begins in proper order with the Bishop of Chalcedon (Vicar-Apostolic in England) and his Vicars-General of the North, South, and Western Districts. It next gives the names of seventy-five Jesuits, most of whom can be identified. The remaining priests are either secular clergy or members of various religious orders. As the list is an important historical document and exceedingly rare, we have reproduced it in an Appendix at the end of this Series.

In 1623 the number of Jesuits in the English Province was two hundred and forty-eight, including the English Colleges abroad, and a second Novitiate which had been commenced in London. In 162$\frac{7}{8}$, there were, according to a catalogue, eighteen novices there, all priests except four.[41] The greater number of these priests, though entered in the list as belonging to the London house of novices, would most probably have been employed, during their noviceship, in the country missions (a frequent arrangement in those days of persecution), coming to London at stated times.[42] Watched as they were, it would have been morally impossible for such a number to have lived together in community without immediate discovery.

[40] *Troubles, ut supra.*

[41] A copy of this catalogue is given in "the History of the Clerkenwell Discovery."

[42] Two instances occur in this list, viz., Father Henry Claxton *vere* Morse, and Father Edmund Bradshaw *vere* Arrowsmith, both subsequently martyrs; the former made his noviceship in the dungeons of York Castle, under the direction of Father John Robinson, *alias* Collingwood, *alias* Taylor, his fellow-captive (who was banished after fourteen years' confinement); the latter certainly made his, as best he could, in the Lancashire missions.

It is a matter of surprise that a Novitiate could have existed at all. The suburbs of Edmonton, Camberwell, and Clerkenwell, the successive residences of the Society between 162$\frac{4}{5}$ and 162$\frac{7}{8}$, were equally dangerous, and yet no suspicion appears to have been excited, until the preparations for a large meeting in March, 162$\frac{7}{8}$, which led, as we shall see, to the seizure of the house. The short account of that event given by Father Henry More, in his History of the Province, tends to confirm the idea that the novices did not always reside in community; and the monthly accounts of expenditure at the time lead to the same conclusion.[43] For many years the Superiors of the English mission of the Society had some house of general resort in or near London. Before, and at the time of the Gunpowder Plot, 160$\frac{5}{6}$, Father Henry Garnett, the Superior, leased a house called "White Webbs," upon Enfield Chace, for the use of the Fathers when assembled. This house often figures in the examinations of FF. Garnett, Oldcorne, &c., in the State Papers at that time. Father Oldcorne, in an examination in the Tower, March 5, 1606,[44] says that he was with Father Garnett at White Webbs in Michaelmas term, 1604, at which time there were Fathers Blount and Lister there, with Gilbert Gerard and others, to the number of ten with himself, but before that time they resorted ordinarily to White Webbs. In another examination,[45] being asked the reason of their meeting so often at White Webbs, he answered: "The cause of their meeting was, that twice a year, or once at least, they were, by their rules, to give an account of their conscience to their Superior, and to renew their vows, and for doing thereof they were allowed three days, and came thither commonly on the Thursday, but the other two days they made themselves ready for the Sunday; and he was there at least six times before he knew the name of the house to be White Webbs."

In the year 1619, in consequence of the great increase of the English members of the Society, the V. R. Father General Mutius Vitelleschi, the sixth General, raised the English Mission to the state of a Vice-Province, and appointed Father Richard Blount, Vice-Provincial. In 1620 there were scattered throughout England one hundred and nine members, viz.:[46]

[43] A short summary of these is given in the "Discovery" already mentioned.

[44] *Dom. James I.* vol. ii. Gunpowder Plot Book, n. 196.

[45] N. 198 of the same book, 6th of March.

[46] More's *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 443.

London district	19	Yorkshire	7
Leicestershire	12	Staffordshire	10
Wales	11	Northamptonshire	11
Suffolk	8	Lancashire	12
Lincolnshire	6	Worcestershire	5
Hampshire	8		

Father Blount, as we have already mentioned, divided the English Mission into so many Colleges, or *quasi* Colleges, and Residences, with Superiors and districts, and a proportionate number of members attached to each. That of London was called "the College of St. Ignatius," and had its headquarters in or near London. In 1622, the first Vice-Provincial Congregation was held in London at the residence of the French Ambassador in the Blackfriars. The Ambassadors' houses were in those times general refuges for the persecuted priests, being privileged by the rights of nations, though these rights were sometimes an inadequate protection against the inroads of the pursuivants. It is most probable that after the breaking up of White Webbs in 1606, there was no London residence until the year 1624, which may have been an additional reason for resorting to the French Ambassador's. In the year 1623, in consequence of the still rapid increase of members, the same Father General raised the English Vice-Province into a regular Province of the Society, appointing Father Blount the first Provincial.[47]

Father Blount had appointed Father Richard Banks the first Rector or Superior of the newly formed College, and truly, as we shall see, his was no bed of roses. Very soon after his appointment the following terrible accident, in the Blackfriars, London, occurred, perhaps the most tragical and unexampled of its kind in the annals of London history, resulting in the death of two of the most distinguished missioners of the College, and of a vast number of other persons.

These two missioners were Fathers Robert Drury, *alias* Bedford, *alias* Stanley, and William Whittingham, *alias* Redyate. The accident occurred at the residence of the French Ambassador, Count de Tillier, in the old Blackfriars. The place was called Hunsdon House, so named from the Lord Chamberlain, Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, cousin to Queen Elizabeth.

[47] A biographical sketch of this eminent member and founder of the English Province is given in Father Morris's *Troubles*, First Series. We have already given some interesting letters of his, and a further notice of him will be given in *Records*, Series VI., College of St. Thomas of Canterbury, Scotney Castle.

On Sunday, the 26th of October, 1623 (old style), while Father Drury was preaching in a large upper room to an assembly of about three hundred persons, the floor suddenly gave way and carried the lower stories with it, killing upwards of ninety persons on the spot, besides the two Fathers. Other deaths probably followed, to say nothing of minor injuries.[48]

There were, as might have been expected from the state of political and religious animosity at that time, many widely different accounts of this tragical event, which made a great impression upon men's minds, reaching even to the Court, and exciting compassion in the breast of the King himself. It was called the *Doleful Even-Song*, and a quaint and seemingly correct account of it is given in a small and rare book bearing

[48] Father Robert Drury, *alias* Bedford, *alias* Stanley, was a native of Middlesex. a missioner in London, and a celebrated preacher. After passing through his course of humanities at the College of the Society at St. Omers, he went to the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, and there joined the Society in October, 1608. We extract the following short autobiographical sketch from the scholars' interrogatories, in the archives of the English College, to which we add that of his eldest brother William. "1605. Robert Bedford (*vere* Drury). Was born in Middlesex eighteen years ago, and was chiefly educated in London. His father was William Drury, D.C.L., who died many years ago, and was converted, he believes, *in articulo mortis*. His mother, Mary Southwell, of Norfolk," a relative probably of Father Robert Southwell the martyr, who had a sister, Mary, married to a Mr. Bannister, "was in early life a Catholic, but falling into schism, was reconciled to the Church a year or two ago. He had three brothers—John, George, and William, and two sisters, all of whom, except the last, were Catholics. At the age of fourteen he was converted to the Catholic faith, chiefly by means of his eldest sister Bridget, and three months after was sent over to Douay for his humanity studies, where he ran the course with much more success than before." On the 28th Feb., 1612, as appears by a letter of his to Father Thomas Owen, dated Posna, 9th of March, 1612, he arrived at that city to study his theology, after nearly three months travelling during a most severe winter. This interesting letter, and another to the same Father Owen, dated Loreto, 15th of December, 1611 (on his way to Posna), may be seen in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iv. nn. 106 and 110. On being ordained he was sent upon the English Mission, where his piety and abilities conciliated great esteem. But it pleased God to call him to his reward in the fulness of life and health, whilst preaching in the afternoon of Sunday, 26th of October, 1623, at Hunsdon House, Blackfriars, London, as we shall see. William Drury, *alias* Bedford, an elder brother of Father Robert Drury was likewise an alumnus of the English College at Rome in 1605. He was then twenty-one years of age, born in Essex, and chiefly educated at London and at St. Omer's, where he completed his humanity course. His father was William Drury, who was a Doctor of Laws and Judge of the Prerogative Court. His mother was Mary Southwell, still alive, and lately converted to the Catholic faith. The former was received into the Church about sixteen years ago. His brothers, sisters, and nearly all his relatives, as far as he knew, were converts. He was taken into the Church by the efforts of his sister, who married Mr. Robert Abington, a gentleman of family and a staunch Catholic. This was four years ago, but his conversion was completed by Father Henry Standish, a Priest, and immediately afterwards he left England.

that title, from which some extracts will be made. A copy of this book, bound up with Father John Floyd's *Word of Consolation*, written on the occasion, may be seen in the British Museum. Another copy is in the library of St. Ignatius' Residence, London.

Since the present narrative was prepared in MS., this accident has been described again in a very interesting and valuable publication called *Old and New London*, part v. p. 201, with a print representing it. That account corresponds in most points with the present narrative, but adds an extract from a curious old pamphlet, entitled, *Something written by Occasion of that Fatal and Memorable Accident in the Blacke-friers, on Sonday, being the 26th Oct.*, 1623, *stilo antiquo, and 5th Nov., stilo novo, or Romano.* In this the author relates a singular escape of one of the listeners, which will be inserted further on.

The "Doleful Even-Song" was written by the Rev. Samuel Clarke, a Puritan, but with an effort towards impartiality which speaks much in the writer's favour.

THE DOLEFUL EVEN-SONG.

OR A TRUE, PARTICULAR, AND IMPARTIAL NARRATION OF THAT FEARFUL AND SUDDEN CALAMITY WHICH BEFELL THE PREACHER, MR. DRURY, A JESUIT, AND THE GREATER PART OF HIS AUDITORY BY THE DOWNFALL OF THE FLOOR AT AN ASSEMBLY IN THE BLACKFRIARS, ON SUNDAY, THE 26TH OF OCTOBER LAST, IN THE AFTERNOON. TOGETHER WITH THE REHEARSAL OF MASTER DRURY, HIS TEXT, AND THE DIVISION THEREOF, AS ALSO AN EXACT CATALOGUE OF THE NAMES OF SUCH AS PERISHED BY THIS LAMENTABLE ACCIDENT, &C. *London: Printed by John Haviland, for William Barrett and Richard Whitaker, and are to be sold at the sign of the King's Head.* 1623.[1]

ABOUT three of the clock in the afternoon of the aforesaid Sunday, in a large garret, being the uppermost, and from the ground the third storey of a high building of stone and brick, were assembled

[1] On the river side, between St. Paul's and Whitefriars, there stood in the middle ages three Norman fortresses. Castle Baynard and the old Tower of Mountfiquet were two of them. Baynard Castle, granted to the Earls of Clare, and afterwards rebuilt by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was the palace in which the Duke of Buckingham offered the crown to his wily confederate Richard the Crookback. In Queen Elizabeth's time it was granted to the Earls of Pembroke, who lived there in splendour till the great Fire of London drove them into the fashionable flood that was already moving westward. Mountfiquet Castle was pulled down in 1276, when Hubert de Berg, Earl of Kent, transplanted a colony of Black Dominican Friars from Holborn, and near Lincoln's Inn to the river-side, south of Ludgate Hill. . . . "The old city wall at first ended at Baynard Castle; the rampart advanced to Mountfiquet; and lastly, to please and protect the Dominicans, was pushed forward outside Ludgate to the Fleet, which served as a moat, the Old Bailey being an advanced work" (*Vide Old and New London*, part v. p. 200).

a multitude of people, men and women of divers ages and conditions, amounting to the number of two or three hundred persons, to hear a sermon there to be preached by one Master Drury, a Romish priest, and Jesuit of name and special note. To this garret or gallery (being situated over the Gatehouse of the French Ambassador's house) there is a leading passage by a door close to the outer gate of the said house, but without it, open to that street, by which passage many men and women used to have daily recourse to the English priests' chambers there.

There is also out of the said Lord Ambassador's with-drawing chamber, another passage meeting with this, and both leading into the said garret; which garret was within the side walls about seventeen feet wide, and forty feet long; at the upper end whereof was a new partition of slit deal, set up to make a private room for one of the priests, which abated twelve feet of the length. About the midst of the gallery, and near to the wall, was set for the preacher a chair, raised up somewhat higher than the rest of the floor, and a small table before it. In this place the auditory being assembled, and some of the better sort having chairs and stools to sit on, the many standing in throng, and filling the room to the door and stairs, all expecting the preacher, he came forth out of an inner room, clad in a surplice, which was girt about his waist with a linen girdle, and a stole of scarlet colour hanging down before him from both his shoulders. Whom a man attended, carrying in one hand a book, and in the other an hour-glass; an emblem not unfit to suggest to him, his auditory, and us all, that their and our lives not only pass away continually with the defluxion of that descending motion of the sand, but also even in such times and places may possibly forerun the same, and be overturned before that short hourly calendar should come to recourse.

Master Drury, the priest, as soon as he came to the chair, kneeled down at the foot of it, making by himself in private some ejaculation of a short prayer, as it seemed, about the length of an *Ave Maria.* Then standing up and turning his face towards the people, he crossed himself formally: premising no vocal audible prayer at all (neither before his text nor upon the division of it) wherein the people might join with him, for the blessing and sanctifying an action of that nature. Which omission, whether it were a lapse of memory in him, or a privilege of custom belonging to those super-eminent instructors, I dispute not, but leave it to the conscionable judgment of every Christian.

Immediately he took the book, being the Rhemish Testament, and in it read his text, which was the Gospel appointed for that Sunday, according to the institution of the Church of Rome, which day now fell upon the 5th of November by the Gregorian calendar, current ten days before ours, and accounted by the Romanists the only true computation. Whereupon some go so far as to make a numeral inference of a second reflecting tragedy. But for my part, I surrender all such judiciary calculation into the hands of the Highest, Who according to His Providence disposeth of times and seasons and of all events befalling in them. The said Gospel in the Rhemish translation is as followeth in these words: "Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened to a man being a king, that would make an account with his servants. And when he began to make the account, there was one presented unto him that owed him ten thousand talents, and having not whence to repay it, his lord commanded that he should be sold, and his wife and children, and

all that he had, and it to be repaid. But that servant falling down, besought him, saying, Have patience toward me, and I will repay thee all. And the lord of that servant, moved with pity, dismissed him, and the debt he forgave him. And when that servant was gone forth, he found one of his fellow-servants that did owe him an hundred pence ; and laying hands upon him throttled him, saying, Repay that thou owest. And his fellow-servant falling down, besought him, saying, Have patience toward me, and I will repay thee all. And he would not ; but went his way, and cast him into prison till he repaid the debt ; and his fellow-servants seeing what was done, were very sorry, and they came and told their lord all that was done. Then his lord called him, and he said unto him, Thou ungracious servant, I forgave thee all the debt because thou besoughtest me : oughtest not thou therefore also to have mercy upon thy fellow-servant even as I had mercy upon thee ? And his lord being angry delivered him to the tormentors, until he repaid all the debt. So also shall my Heavenly Father do to you, if you forgive not every one his brother from your hearts." Which when he had read, he sat down in the chair, and put upon his head a red quilt cap, having a linen white one under it turned up about the brims ; and so undertook his text, first showing in plain and familiar style the occasion of our Saviour's delivering this parable, then distributing the whole into parts, as they depended one on the other ; out of which he chose three principal points of doctrine, which he propounded to insist upon in that sermon, viz. (1) The debt which man oweth to God, and the account which he is to make unto Him of that debt ; (2) God's mercy in remitting this great debt ; (3) man's hardness of heart, and frowardness, both towards God and towards his brethren, together with the remedies which man may use for the procuring of God's mercy, and curing himself from this contagious disease of ingratitude.

Man's debt he amplified in regard of our creation and redemption, the spiritual and temporal benefits which we enjoy in this world and in God's Church, &c.

Upon the following parts he discoursed with much vehemency, insisting especially upon those words—I forgave thee all thy debt ; shouldest not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow, even as I had pity on thee ? And thence extolling the infinite mercy and goodness of God, whereby He doth not only give us all that we have, but forgives us all our trespasses and offences, be they never so deeply stained with the scarlet dye and tincture of our guiltiness. Which merciful bounty of our Heavenly Father is parabolized unto us by a certain man that was a king, &c.

Two or three of that auditory avow with joint testimony that in the process of the latter part which he handled, he earnestly laid open the terrors and burthen of the heavy debt of punishment which we are to pay at the last judgment, if the debt of sin be not acquitted before. Declaring withal the mercy of God in providing means to cancel this debt by the Sacraments ordained in the Catholic Church, in special by the Sacrament of Penance ; and therein by contrition, confession, and satisfaction. And thence inferring in what miserable case heretics are, who want all such means to come out of this debt, because they are not members of the Catholic Church. But whatsoever the matter or manner of his last speech was, I do not curiously inquire, as making interpretation of God's judgment in stopping the current of his speech at that instant. Lest in over forward censuring the same we should be

deemed as uncharitable as our adversaries, especially the Jesuits, are against those Churches and persons that admit not the Papacy.

Most certain it is, and over manifest by lamentable evidence, that, when the said Jesuit had proceeded about half an hour in this his sermon, there befell that preacher and auditory the most unexpected and sudden calamity that this age hath heard of to come from the hand, not of man, but God, in the midst of a sacred exercise of what kind or religion soever. The floor whereon that assembly stood or sat, not sinking by degrees, but at one instant failing and falling by the breaking asunder of a main sommier or dormer of that floor; which beam, together with joices and plancher thereto adjoined, with the people thereon, rushed down with such violence that the weight and fall thereof brake in sunder another far stronger and thicker sommier of the chamber situated directly underneath, and so both the ruined floors, with the people overlapped and crushed under or between them, fell (without any time of stay) upon a lower third floor, being the floor of the said Lord Ambassador's withdrawing chamber, which was supported underneath with arch work of stone (yet visible in the gate-house there), and so became the boundary or term of that confused and doleful heap of ruins, which otherwise had sunk yet deeper by the own weight and height of the downfal, the distance from the highest floor whence the people fell, to the lowest where they lay, being about two-and-twenty feet in depth. Of the gallery floor only so much fell as was directly over a chamber of twenty feet square called Father Redyate's chamber, and being the usual Massing room for the English resorting thither. The rest of the gallery floor, being not so much thronged, stood firm, and so was a refuge and safeguard to those of the auditory that had planted themselves at that end. From whence they beheld that most tragical scene of their brethren's ruin; themselves also being not only surprised with the stupifying passions of affright, and apprehension of that danger, which as yet they could not think themselves to have escaped, but also for the time imprisoned in the place itself, from whence there was no passage by door, or otherwise, unless they should adventure to leap down into the gulf of their fellows' woful estate. In this perplexity, dismay itself not bereaving them of counsel, but rather administering strength to their trembling hands, they with their knives opened the loam wall next unto them, and so making their passage thence into another chamber escaped that danger.

As for the rest (being the far greater part of this assembly), who in a moment all sunk down to the lowest floor, their case, as it can scarce be paralleled with a like example of calamity, so hardly be described with the due and true circumstances. Who can to the life express the face of death, presenting itself in so rueful and different shapes?

Quis talia fando
Temperet à lachrymis?

What ear without tingling can hear the doleful and confused cries of such a troop, men, women, children, all falling suddenly in the same pit, and apprehending with one horror the same ruin? What eye can behold, without inundation of tears, such a spectacle of men overwhelmed with breaches of weighty timber, buried in rubbish, and smothered in the dust? What heart without evaporating into sighs can ponder the burthen of deepest sorrows and

lamentations of parents, children, husbands, wives, kinsmen, friends, for their dearest pledges, and chiefest comforts in this world, all bereft and swept away with one blast of the same dismal tempest?

Such was the noise of this dreadful and unexpected downfall that the whole City of London presently rang of it, and forthwith the officers of the city (to whom the care of good order chiefly appertaineth), and in special Serjeant Finch, the Recorder, repaired thither the same evening, carefully providing for the safety of the said Ambassador's house and family, and for preventing all disorders in such a confusion that might arise by the confluence of the multitude, shut up the gates and set guards upon the passages. With all speed possible some were employed for the relieving and saving such as yet struggled for life under this heavy load, which could not so soon be effected, as they in charity desired; for that the ruins which oppressed the sufferers did also stop up entrance to the helpers, who thereupon were fain to make a breach in through an upper window of stone. From hence they hasted down with pickaxes and other instruments to force asunder and take off by piecemeal the oppressing load of beams, joices, and boards. At the opening whereof, what a chaos? What fearful objects? What lamentable representations? Here some bruised, some dismembered, some only parts of men; there some wounded, and weltering in their own and others' blood, other some putting forth their fainting hands and crying out for help. Here some gasping and panting for breath. To the most of them being thus covered with dust, this their death was a kind of burial.

"Have the gates of death been opened unto thee? or hast thou seen the doors of the shadow of death?"[2] Verily if any man could look in at those gates and return, he would report such a portrait as was this spectacle.

In this doleful task of withdrawing those impediments, laying forth the dead bodies, and transporting the maimed, all that night and part of the next day was spent, though charity and skill did whet their endeavours with all dexterity and expedition.

The next morning, according to the laws of our land, which provide that the King's majesty should have an account of his subjects dying *per infortunium*, the coroner's inquest was there impanelled upon the dead corpses, that after their view of them they might be buried with convenient speed.

By the said coroner and jury especial care was taken to survey the place and materials of the ruins, with all diligence for the finding out the immediate cause and manner thereof; the rather for that it was given out by some presently upon the mischance, that some Protestants, knowing this to be a chief place of their meetings, had secretly drawn out the pins, or sawed half asunder some of the supporting timber of that building, which was found to be a calumny no less ridiculous than malicious.

The most probable apparent cause of the sudden failing of that floor, charged with such a weight of people, was judged to be in the main sommier thereof, which being not above ten inches square, had in the very place where it broke, on each side, a mortise hole directly opposite the one against the other, into which were let the tenants of two great pieces of timber, called girders; so that between those mortises there was left not above three inches of timber. This sommier was also somewhat knotty about

[2] Job xxxviii. 17.

that place, which, in the opinion of architects, might make it more brittle and ready to snap in sunder. The main sommier of the lower room was about thirteen inches square, without any such mortise, and broke not (as the former) in the midst, but within five foot of one end, and more obliquely and shivering than the other. No foundation nor wall failed. The roof of the gallery with the ceiling upon it remain yet entire, as also a smaller filling wall, fastened to the rafters, which yet hangeth where the floor is gone.

This downfall was not to all deadly; to some only frightful, or in part hurtful, who being thus taken up out of the pit of danger, nay, plucked out of the very jaws of death, as also those other of this assembly who, as before said, fell not at all, but yet stood in the very brink of this mortal jeopardy, have all great cause never to forget this day, but to enter it in their calendar for a merciful and miraculous deliverance.

Of those that fell and escaped without any notable hurt, I hear of by name some persons of note, as Mistress Lucy Penruddock, of a worthy family, who fell between two that then perished, the Lady Webb and her own maidservant, yet was herself preserved alive by the happy situation of a chair, which, falling with her, rested hollow over her, and so became to her a shelter, or pent-house, to bear off other ruins; also the Lady Webb's daughter, though falling near unto her mother, and Eleanor Saunders, who was covered with others that fell upon her, yet by God's mercy recovered out of those bloody ruins. There was also a scholar (whom myself since saw and had speech withal) who was the easier drawn to that assembly because he formerly was inclining and warping to that side, as hath appeared by public evidence. He was also involved in this common downfall, whereout he escaped beyond expectation, being one of the undermost in that heap, and lying upon the very floor, and overwhelmed with the boards and timbers which lay upon him, yet not so flat and sad as upon others, but somewhat hollow and shelving, by the leaning of some of the timber against the wall. Out of this den of death he, with main strength and much difficulty, wrought himself, by tearing the laths of the ceiling and creeping between two joists, from under the timber, to a hole where he espied light, and then one of the Ambassador's family opening a door relieved him, being yet so astonished that he scarce was apprehensive of the courtesy done to him, who, thus refreshed, presently returned and used his best strength to draw others out of that snare which he himself had newly broken without any other detriment than of his clothes.

There was also (as he reporteth) a young girl of the age of ten years or thereabout, who then crying, said unto him, "O my mother! O my sister! which are down under the timber and rubbish." But he wishing her to be patient, and telling her that by God's grace they should get forth quickly, the child replied that this would prove a great scandal to their religion—a strange speech proceeding from a child of so tender years, who, even in that perplexity, seemed to have a deeper impression of public scandal than of private loss. A lesson fit for far elder to learn, *Ex ore infantium et lactentium*, &c.—"Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings Thou hast ordained strength." Moreover, one of the men that fell then saying, "Oh! what advantage will our adversaries take at this;" another of them replied thereto, "If it be God's will this should befall us, what can we say to it?" A pious answer and Christian resolution, borrowed, as it seems, from

the patience of the Prophet Daniel, *Tacui, Domine, quia tu fecisti* —"I held my peace, because Thou, Lord, hast done it."

A hard task it were to undertake the giving a particular account of the number and quality of those that any ways suffered in this fall, the diversity of reports according to men's private inclinations, enlarging or contracting the same. In general most evident it is that of the people that fell those that escaped best for bodily hurt were, at least for that time, deeply stricken in their minds with fright and fear; others were bruised or wounded, but not mortally, receiving only a gentle stripe from the merciful hand of a chastising Father; others for the present came forth, or rather were carried out with life, but enjoyed it for a short time, yielding up the same in their several homes within a few days, yea, some not many hours, as by after information to the coroner's jury yet depending may appear. But the greater number of those that fell never rose again, nor shall till the elements shall melt with heat and the ruins of a far greater fabric than that house (even of the whole earth with the works thereof) shall awake them and us all out of the bed of death to give account of what we have done in the body.

Of these whom it pleased God thus to call out of this world, the number is most currently estimated to be between ninety and one hundred. If any man out of affection to them, or curiosity, inquire more exactly of the coroner's inquest, there shall he receive answer that they in their inquisition sat upon only sixty-three persons; howsoever some of them had before told upon the place ninety-one dead corpses; whereof belike the rest were privately carried away by their forward friends, whose passionate affection could not endure the least delay from possessing those limbless objects of their love and grief.

Among those sixty-three, the men of whom most notice was taken were the chief guides of this flock. Master Drury, the then preacher, who breathed out his last in the acting that kind of function, (which, if employed upon the due subject, God's truth, and bent to the true end, God's glory) well may be wished of those that profess themselves God's workmen, to be their last work, that if a Christian is to be called suddenly, he may be found in the sphere of his proper element. "Happy that servant whom his Lord, when He cometh, shall find so doing."

The other was Master Redyate, a priest likewise and Jesuit, who is supposed at the very time of this fall to have been, not in the gallery itself among the rest of the auditory, but in his own chamber underneath (where he was seen to walk a little before the sermon), and so, though with shorter fall, yet was involved with and under the rest in this common ruin.

The bodies of the Lady Webb, the Lady Blackstone's daughter, and Mistress Vedall, were carried into Ely House,[3] in Holborn, and there buried in the back court-yard. The Lady Blackstone herself, being very dangerously wounded in the fall, yet surviveth.

Of St. Andrew's parish in Holborn there died twenty-six, whereof three were buried in the churchyard of the same parish. Captain Summer's wife and her waiting woman were buried in Blackfriars, she herself in the vault under the church, and her woman in the churchyard. Master Stooker, a Scot, and Master Bartholomew Baccin were buried in St. Bride's parish.

In the fore courtyard of the said French Ambassador's house was digged a great pit (eighteen feet long and twelve feet broad),

[3] l House, at that time the Spanish Ambassador's residence.

in which were laid forty four corpses in order, piled one upon the other, partners in the same bed, as a little before they were in the same passage to it. Upon this common grave, was set up in the earth a black cross of wood about four feet high, which, on Tuesday, in the afternoon, was by one of the Ambassador's servants taken up and carried into the house, lest (as it seemeth) any scandal shall be taken thereat by the people that then and after came to that house to view the stage of this mournful tragedy. There was another pit also (twelve feet long, eight feet broad) made in the said Ambassador's garden near adjoining, wherein fifteen others were interred.[4]

Beside these dispersedly here above numbered, there are heard of upon diligent inquiry of the jury and other divers more, increasing the list of this funeral troop, whose names follow in the catalogue.

A catalogue of the names of such persons as were slain by the fall of the room wherein they were in the Blackfriars, at Master Drury's sermon, the 26th of October, 1623. Taken by information of the Coroner's jury.

Master Drury, the priest.
Mr. Rediate, the priest.
Lady Webb.[5]
Lady Blackstone's daughter.
Thomas Webbe, her man.
William Robinson, tailor.
Robert Smith, Master Hicke's man, the apothecary.
Mr. Davison's daughter.
Anthony Hall, his man.
Anne Hobdin } Lodging in Mr.
Marie Hobdin } Davison's house

John Galloway, vintner.
Mr. Pierson, his wife, and two sons, } In Robinhood Court, in Shoe Lane.
Mrs. Vudall,[6] } In Gunpowder Alley.
Abigail her maid,
Two more in her house,
John Netlan, a tailor.
Nathaniel Coales.
John Halifax.
Mrs. Rugby, in Holborn.
John Worrall's son, in Holborn.

[4] Dr. Gouge, an eye-witness, says that the bodies of Father Drury and Father Whittingham (Redyate) were buried in the former pit with the forty-four. Their bodies, bound up in sheets, were first laid in the pit, with a partition of loose earth to separate them from the rest (*Vide* Heneage Jesse's *London*, vol. ii. p. 257). The Reverend Fathers of Charity, St. Etheldreda's, Ely Place, Holborn, London, in lately preparing for new buildings, found a number of skeletons. The Rev. Father Lockhart, in a letter to the Editor, dated 9th May, 1876, says: "We found buried four feet under ground eighteen skeletons, one being that of a priest, to judge from the position of the head to the east. We found also a small medal of St. Teresa and St. Isidore, a rosary cross, apparently of sandal wood, and an oval-shaped concave piece of glass, which I think must have been the glass before a crucifix. The skeletons were nearly all surrounded by the remains of coffins; certainly this was the case with the body of the priest. They were all re-interred as near as possible to where they were found, in the south-east angle of the crypt. We intend to put up a brass plate in the wall to mark the spot.

[5] An antiquarian friend, in a letter to the editor, says that Lady Webb was the wife of Sir John Webb of Canford, and sister to Sir Francis Tresham, who was implicated in the Gunpowder Plot, and of Sir Lewis Tresham, who was created a baronet.

[6] In Gee's list of Popish booksellers will be found "Vudell in Gunpowder Alley." The same antiquarian friend says—"Mrs. Vedall or Udall was probably of the same family as you call Sudall in the life of Thomas Pounde (*Jesuits in Conflict*), and which we should now call Uvedale. They were of Wickham, county Hants, much connected with the Poundes, Cottons, and other Catholic families."

Mr. Becket, a Cornishman.
Thomas Brisket, his wife, and his son, and maid, in Montague Close.
Mistress Summel, Marie her maid, } In Black-friars.
Andrew White's daughter in Holborn.
Mr. Staker, tailor in Salisbury Court.
Elizabeth Summers, in Gray's-inn Lane.
Mr. Westwood.
Judith Bellowes.
A man of Sir Louis Pemberton's.
Elizabeth Moore, widow.
John James.
Morris Beucresse, apothecary.
Davie Vaughan.
Ann Field.
A Pewterer in Fancy Street.
Francis Man.
Richard Fitzgarrat.
Robert Heifime.
One Medcalfe.
Mr. Manfield.
Mr. Simons.
Dorothy Simons.
Thomas Simons, a boy.
Robert Parker.
Anne Davison.
Anthony Hall.
Mistress Morton and her maid.
Francis Downes.
Edmund Shey.
Josilin Percy, servant to a knight.
John Tullye.
Robert Drury, Mr. Drury the priest's brother.[7]
Thomas Draper.
John Sturges.
Thomas Ellis.
Michael Butler, in Wood Street.
Edmund Rinals.
Edmund Welsh.
Bartholomew Banin.
Davie, an Irishman.
Richard Price.
Thomas Wood.
Christopher Hobbs.
George Causton.
John Bitten.
Clarentia, a maid.
Jane Turner.
Mistress Milbourne.
Frithwith Anne.
Mistress Elton.
Mr. Wulsteed.
Margaret Berrom.
Henry Becker.
Sarah Watson.
John Bevans.
Master Harris.
Mrs. Thompson.
Richard Firgift.
George Ceanstour.
Master Grimes.
Mr. Knuckle, a painter, dwelling in Cambridgeshire.
Master Fowell, a Warwickshire gentleman.
Master Gascoine.
Francis and Robert, } Both servants to Master Saule.
John Lochey, a scriviner's son in Holborn.
William, servant to Master Eirkum.
John Brabant, painter in Little Britain.
A man-servant of Mr. Bucket, a painter in Aldgate Street.
One Barbaret, Walter Ward, Richard Garret, } Inquired after but not found.

Father Henry More, in his History of the Province,[8] refers to this terrible event in his short notice of Father Drury; and also very briefly mentions Father William Whittingham, *alias* Redyate, who perished in the same downfall:—

"Five of ours this year [1623] exchanged this mortal life for death; and, if we regard the reports of the malevolent, the exit of two of them was a sad one; but if we look to facts,

[7] There is some mistake here, Father Drury's name being *Robert*. One of his three brothers is doubtless the person meant.

[8] Lib. x. n. 7.

it was glorious: for what could be more glorious for a Christian soldier than to fall while discoursing upon the precepts and praises of Christ?

"Robert Drury, called Bedford, after his lower studies at St. Omers, made his philosophy at Rome and his theology in Poland. He also taught rhetoric and philosophy there. Being recalled into Belgium, he gained great applause in his united offices of Prefect of Studies and Preacher at St. Omers, as also of Professor of Theology at Louvain; but greater praise still for his gravity of manners and firmness, combined with sweetness of disposition, and singular prudence. It being considered of much higher importance to employ these talents and virtues in the salvation of souls during that interval of tranquillity which England then enjoyed by reason of the treaty for marriage of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., with the Spanish Infanta, Father Drury was sent into our island. But he did not long survive; for whilst he was preaching to a numerous congregation of about three hundred persons, assembled in the upper room of a house, the floor gave way, owing to the breaking of a weak and decayed beam, and carried all before it. He was precipitated to the bottom beneath a mass of ruins of boards, beams, and human beings; and being either crushed by the weight, or smothered by the dust, was killed. Nearly eighty of his hearers perished. Among the victims was also our Father William Whittingham; a man from his very infancy of a most innocent life, of the mildest manners, and a stranger to all the more violent passions: by which virtues, conjoined no less with doctrine, he gathered much fruit; especially when, in company with Father John Percy, he was confined for many years in the narrow cells of Newgate Prison. In that very year (1623) he had converted one hundred and fifty to the faith. But he was especially distinguished by his catechising and instructing poor children; and was commonly known as *Sacerdos Pauperum*, 'the Priest of the Poor.'[9] Most of the

[9] Father William Whittingham entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on the 16th of October, 1607, aged about seventeen years, and took the usual College oath on the 24th of August, 1608, and in the same year he received minor orders. He left the College for Lorraine on the 27th of September, 1611, and entered the Novitiate of the Society at Nancy. The Diary of the English College adds that he had made there his philosophy and first year's theology, and was always and universally beloved for his remarkable virtues and candour of soul. We subjoin a short autobiographical account extracted from the scholars' interrogatories, in the archives of the English College: "1607. William Whittingham,

sufferers were interred in a large open vault or sepulchre, with the accustomed Catholic ceremonies, in the court of the ruined house, which at that time belonged to the Ambassador of his most Christian Majesty.[10]

"The heretics, dead to all feeling of humanity, insulted and assailed those who had been dragged forth from the ruins, not only with curses, but also with mud and stones, through the streets, and augured that this accident was a manifest judgment of God upon our holy faith. On the other hand, the Catholics consoled themselves with the assured hope of

I was born on the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1591, in a not very celebrated village of Lancashire, where I remained with my Catholic parents, Richard and Anne, for only two years. Afterwards I was taken to my grandmother to a town near York, called Pocklington, and there, until I was thirteen years of age, I applied to my rudiments, and (*proh dolor!*) unworthy of my good education, I fell into the superstitions of the heretics, and, without the least necessity, accompanied my schoolfellows to their churches. But afterwards, returning home in half a year, by reading pious books was restored to the ancient faith, and, before the lapse of another year, crossed over to Douay with my father's consent. Both my parents are of respectable families, and well-to-do, and, what is better than all, are Catholics. I have only two brothers, my eldest being married in England, and a Catholic. I have no paternal, but four maternal uncles, of whom the eldest, Robert Dowlman, and the youngest, William, are Catholics; the other two, Marmaduke and Peter, are Protestants, but not hostile ones. I made my elementary studies both at Pocklington and at Whalley in Lancashire." Paul Whittingham, one of the brothers of William, entered the English College as an alumnus on the 10th of October, 1606, at the age of seventeen. He took the usual College oath on the 24th of June, 1607, and received some of the first minor orders in that year. He died a most holy death in the College on the 11th of July, 1611, having been previously admitted to the Society. The following is an autobiographical sketch extracted from the archives of the same College. "1606. Paul Whittingham (baptized Adam). My parents are Richard Whittingham and Ann Dolman. I am seventeen years of age, and was born in the county of Lancaster, near the town of Preston, in the parish of *Gusnarch* (Goosnargh), in the village of Whittingham or Ashby. I studied at Gusnarch, then at *Hchippiam* [so written; probably Chipping, a small town between Preston and Clitheroe], then at Waulei (Whalley), lastly at Douay. My parents are of high birth, and my friends also, on both my father's and mother's sides. I have two brothers, one at Douay, the other in England and married. All my friends and relatives, as far as I know, are Catholics.

[10] There appears to be in the many reports of the accident—and it is but natural that it should be so—some little discrepancy as to the real locality: but the weight of evidence and the best authorities are in favour of its being in the old Blackfriars, where the French Ambassador lived at the time. This is confirmed by his immediately changing to another residence. As we have seen, the remains of Fathers Drury and Whittingham, or Redyate, were interred on the spot. The cause of resorting to these strange cemeteries, as we shall presently see, was the brutal conduct of the Bishop of London, who refused to allow the sufferers to be interred either in churches or churchyards. According to Gee's list, two other priests were at the sermon, viz., "F. Wilson lodging about Bloomsbury, and one that escaped at the Blackfriers." "F. Hilton, a secular priest, one that escaped at the same time."

the salvation and happiness of the deceased, most of whom on that very day had been to confession and Holy Communion. The mourners were also relieved by the piety of the three Ambassadors of the Catholic Kings, who caused the obsequies to be celebrated with a cenotaph, a funeral sermon, and the distribution of large arms. Lastly, a learned book was published by Father John Floyd, entitled, *A Word of Consolation*, which tended both to wipe away their tears and to counteract the calumnies of the adversaries, proving that accidents of this kind are not always indications of anger and vengeance, but frequently of grace and favour. Nevertheless, this event appeared to many as a presage of future calamities, and of the ruin of that hope which Catholics had imbibed from the [proposed] marriage of Prince Charles with a daughter of Spain." So far Father More.

The work of Father John Floyd is written under the assumed initials of "I.R.P.," and is entitled, *A Word of Comfort, or a Discourse concerning the late lamentable accident of the fall of a roome at a Catholic Sermon in the Blackfriers at London, wherewith about forescore persons were oppressed, written for comfort of Catholiks and information of Protestants. By I.R.P.* 1623.

He devotes a section of his book to the description of the infamous conduct of the people, under the head[11] "Reasons for Puritans, and the inhumanity of some of them." He says (*inter alia*)—"Will Puritans have a reason of God's permittance on their behalf? God permitted it to the end, that by occasion thereof, that might happen whereby they may see the rudeness of their pretended Holy Discipline, behold the inhumanity their heresy putteth into peoples' hearts, and so endeavour some remedy thereof: *Lest* (as a learned Protestant warns them) *under the pretence of rooting out Popery, they bring extreme barbarity into the Church.* For there did not want a multitude, that not only with contumelious speech—flowing from bitterness abounding in their heart; not only with *dirt*—the image of their contaminate soul; but even with *stones*—the instruments of *Jewish cruelty*, set upon the poor creatures hurt by that fall, presently as they were taken up from under the ruins and rubbish; that some gentlewomen were forced to leave their coach to save themselves in a house of their friends. This was not the fact of Englishmen, they are of more noble nature: nor of

[11] P. 42.

English Protestants, heresy hath not made them so wild; but of Puritans, not of the whole land, nor of all London (let us excuse as many as we may) but of one particle of London which Puritans boast to be their special nest. How behoveful it is that this people so pure in name, rude in manners, were taught the first rudiments of Christianity; that the doctrine of good works and Christian charity were more frequently preached unto them; that the fancy of sole faith were silenced, to wit that (if they once believe) *they never cease to be the children of God and gracious in His sight, though they commit murder an hundred times a day.* I confess that no circumstance of this accident doth so grieve me to the heart as this; not for any hurt they did therein to us, for the hurt was only to themselves. They showed themselves *more dead* in conscience for want of charity, than the others were dead in body for want of life; the beams that did oppress and bruise the bones of Catholics were not so heavy, nor so deadly, as were the beams of passion and hatred in the eye of these miscreants, bruising and wounding their soul *with the sin unto death;* it being better, as the holy King of Bohemia[12] said, '*to die an Abel, than to live a Cain.*' The cause of my grief is, that any in our country should be found so void of common humanity, to the discredit of our nation, this being done in the eye of the stranger, whence now it is spread abroad, to the horror of the Christian world," &c.

In another part Father Floyd compares the deaths of Father Drury, and Calvin and Zuinglius. Calvin died in despair, cursing and blaspheming and invoking the devil, eaten up with worms and lice, and emitting a dreadful stench, so that none could approach him; Zuinglius on horseback, sword in hand, fighting against Catholics. "Whilst this Father of the Society of Jesus, Robert Drury, died sitting in a chair, the seat and ensign of apostolical authority to preach, clothed with such priestly ornaments the church doth prescribe, for the more decent performance of that office: Zuinglius *with a sword in his hand*, stretching forth his arm to spill Christian blood; the other with the *sword of God's holy truth* in his mouth, the enemy only of sin and vice, spreading abroad his arms to gather into the bosom of God and His Church, souls redeemed with Christ His most Precious Blood. The one *exhorting both by word and example* his armed auditory to revenge, to murder, to massacre; the other (for that was the

[12] St. Wenceslaus.

subject of his sermon) preaching the precept of charity, persuading his devout auditors to love their enemies, to forgive injuries, to root revenge and rancour clean out of their heart. *From the eyes of the one sparkled fire of anger and martial fury*, not to be quenched but with the blood of his enemies; From the eyes of the other sprung tears of *devotion and piety*, which by sympathy caused waters of contrition in the hearts of his hearers, which flowing out at their eyes might serve as a *second baptism*, to wash their souls pure in the moment of dissolution and death."

We collect from two of the letters presently given, copied from the originals in the State Paper Office, viz., from those of Mr. Bannister and Dudley Carleton, Esq., that Father Drury, though brought up "in Papistrie," had fallen of late years into the reformed religion, and had again returned *in gremium matris Ecclesiæ*, and was actually preaching a recantation sermon. This was certainly incorrect, and was most likely one of the idle tales flying about on the occasion. Father More satisfactorily accounts for the good Father from his humanities at St. Omers, to his being sent into England.

Pennant, in his *History of London*, 1793, states—

House of the Blackfriars' fatal Vespers. The Count de Tellier, Ambassador of France in the latter end of the reign of James I., resided here. During his residence in England a dreadful accident, called the "Fatal Vespers," happened near his house. A celebrated preacher of the order of the Jesuits, Father Drury, gave a sermon to a large audience of British subjects, in a spacious room, up three pair of stairs. In the midst of the discourse the floor fell, and ninety-four persons besides the preacher perished. It is disgusting to reflect on the uncharitable bigotry of the times. The Protestants considered the accident as a judgment on the Catholics for their idolatry: the Catholics attributed it to a plot of the Protestants to bring destruction on their dissenting brethren.

Lyson's *Environs of London*, vol. iv. p. 410 (extracts from the *Eltham Register*), says—

Fatal accident. In 1623, Mr. Foord, the Vicar [of Eltham], in his zeal against Popery, has thus recorded a fatal accident which is mentioned by the historians of that time [Wilson, in his *History of James I.*, says, p. 241, that Father Drury, a Jesuit, the preacher, was amongst those who were killed]—"Let this be a pitiful remembrance to all posterity, that in the year of our Lord 1623, the 26th day of October, in the twenty-first year of King James his reign, there lay a French Ambassador in the Blackfriars in London, who being at Mass the same Sabbath day in the afternoon with a multitude of blind ignorant people, there fell (in the chapel in his house) a gallery in the said chapel, and crushed to

death four score and sixteen souls, besides a great multitude that had their arms and legs broken, so much was God offended with their detestable idolatry."

Thus the good parson of Eltham.

It is strange that Dodd in his *Church History* (vol. ii. p. 410), treats this terrible event lightly; and, in the face of all the reports of the time, together with the list of dead taken from the Coroner's Inquest return, makes the most reckless assertion that only *eight* persons were killed, including Fathers Drury and Whittingham, adding that, "in the meantime, false rumours were spread abroad about the number of the slain. Some pretended that they were above one hundred. Mr. Fuller, misinformed amongst others, mentions ninety-five. But, as it is usual to exaggerate matters on such an occasion, so it is easily perceived what motive some persons might have to misreport the matter."

At the end of the copy of the *Doleful Even-Song*, in the library of St. Ignatius' Residence, London, is an ancient MS. note, perhaps by one of the Fathers, as follows—

In the account of the killed about the middle of this book, it is given in by the Coroner sixty-three persons, but in the same page it is observed that ninety-one dead bodies had been counted before the coming of the inquest. It is still more affecting to observe that the list at the end gives ninety-eight dead, and it is not unlikely that several others among the inferior class suffered in that melancholy event who might perhaps have few or no friends to make inquiry after their remains. We do not find a list of any kind of the wounded; it is surely to be presumed that the number must have been very great, and that as several of those wounded *must* have died afterwards, how much must the list of the killed have been swelled, since the ninety-eight spoken of were destroyed on the spot?

There is also another note at the foot of the list as follows—

The particulars concerning those that suffered in this lamentable accident hath been so obscured that no exact account could be had of them; no marvel then that diligence of inquiry could not prevent some mistake in the catalogue formerly printed with this relation, which catalogue is now renewed and rectified by more certain intelligence than heretofore hath been related.

The following is the account of the singular escape of one of the listeners, referred to above.

When all things were ready, and the prayer finished, the Jesuit took for his text the Gospel of the day [he here shortly gives the substance of the discourse, which seems to have pleased the said listener, except as regards purgatory, penance, satisfaction, &c.]. While this exercise was in hand a gentleman brought up his friend to see the place, and be partaker of the sermon, who, all the time

he was going upstairs cried out, "Whither do I go? I protest, my heart trembles." And when he came into the room, the priest being very loud, he whispered his friend in the ear that he was afraid, for, as he supposed, the room did shake under him at which his friend, between smiling and anger, left him, and went close to the wall behind the preacher's chair. The gentleman durst not stir from the stairs, and came not full two yards in the room, when on a sudden there was a kind of murmuring amongst the people, and some were heard to say, "The room shakes," which words, being taken up one of another, the whole company rose up with a strong suddenness, and some of the women screeched. I cannot compare it better than to many passengers in a boat in a tempest, who are commanded to sit still and let the waterman alone with managing the oars, but some unruly people rising overthrows them all. So was this company served, for the people, thus affrighted, started up with extraordinary quickness, and at an instant the main sommier became broke in sunder, being mortised in the wall some five feet from the same; and so the whole floor fell at once, with all the people that stood thronging on it, and with the violent impetuosity drove down the nether room quite to the ground, so that they fell twenty-four feet high, and were most of them buried and bruised between the rubbish and the timber; and though some were questionless smothered, yet for the most part they were hurt and bled, and being taken forth the next day and laid all along in the gallery, presented to the lookers-on a woful spectacle of fourscore and seventeen dead persons, besides eight or nine which perished since, unable to recover themselves. They that kept close to the wall or remained by the windows, or held by the rafters, or settled themselves by the stairs, or were driven away by fear and suspicion, saved themselves without further hurt, but such as seemed more devout, and thronged near the preacher, perished in a moment with himself and other priests and Jesuits, and this was the sum of that unhappy disaster.

The Blackfriars' accident is thus noticed in the diary of W. Whiteway, of Dorchester, Esq. British Museum MS. n. 784—

26 Oct. 1623. This day being Sunday, about five o'clock in the evening, about three hundred Papists being assembled in Hunsdon House in Blackfriars, London, in a fair chamber, while the Jesuit was in his exhortation, and in the midst of the devotion, the loft fell down and bare down another loft, so that there were slain about one hundred persons, amongst whom were many great persons, whose bodies are stolen away by their friends. The meaner sort were buried there right, without mass or matins.

Rd. Linton, Clerk, late parson of Middleton, Norfolk, Popishly inclined, having heard of the fall of the house in London, the Sunday next before Christmas preached on the text—"Thou knowest not what evil shall be upon the earth," and took occasion to say of the accident, that he thought most of them were saints and martyrs, and desired to die no worse death.

Dr. Oliver, in his short notice of Father Drury, says—"The eulogium of this good Father may be seen in the preface to a book called *Father Robert Drury's Reliquary*, containing

his prayers and devotions." Father De Backers' *Bibliothèque des ecrivains, S.J.* mentions it under the head of Father Drury or Bedford, but takes its information from Oliver. We much regret not having been able to find it, as it would have been a pleasure to insert the Eulogium, and some notice of the contents of the *Reliquary*.

The following are copies of letters relating to the event, taken from the originals amongst the State Papers in the Public Record Office. They will be found to confirm the published accounts of this lamentable visitation and its extent, the brutal conduct of the Puritan mob, and that of the Bishop of London, who refused to allow the sufferers to be buried in either churches or churchyards, and the general excitement caused by the accident, penetrating even to the Court.

I.—*Domestic Iac. I.* 1623, vol. cliii. n. 103. Letter endorsed, "Mr. Secy. Calvert to Mr. Secy. Conway. The fall of the Ambassador's house in Blackfriers," &c.

"Sir,—I am even now advertized of a miserable and wofull accident that happened this evening at the French Ambassador's howse in the Blackfryers. That part of his howse which he made his chappell, being, as they say, an old garrett or gallery, fell downe suddenly in the sermon tyme, and with the ruine there of the Preacher, and diverse others slayne. The French Ambassador himselfe was not then present, as goode happe was, but no doubt is extreamely afflicted with the misfortune.

"As soon as I heard of it, I sent instantly away to Mr. Recorder of London requiring him to repayre presently to the Ambassadors, and by his authoritie to remove away those multitudes of people that flock to his howse upon this occasion, and perhaps some of them to ill purposes. And that he do offer his service unto his Lordship for his helpe and comfort at this time in any thing else that shall be needfull, intending myselfe to goe visit him, and offer him my service as soone as the press of the people shall be removed, and the passage to his howse be free. Your friend and servant,

"St. Martin's Lane, GEO. CALVERT.

"26 Oct. 1623.

"At 7 o'clock at night.

"One tells me even now that came from the Blackfryers, that there are above three score fetched out of the howse dead, and how many more are under the ruins, God knows."

II.—Same vol. n. 104. Letter endorsed by Sir John Coke, "27 Oct. 1623. Mr. Henry Bannister to my lord. To the right honourable and my very good lord, Lord Zouch," &c.

[Postscript.] There is newes that I hearde since the writing of this letter, which I briefly relate unto your L-pp. That vppon Sundaie last after evening prayer, neare Blackfryers' Church in a house that was my Lord of Hunsden's there was met a greate

companie of Papistes to heare masse[13] and a Priest, heretofore a Protestant there, and a greate number went to heare him ; but as they were at masse the house fell downe upon them and killed first the priest and about eightie persons also that came to heare him : and some few escaped.

III.—Same vol. n. 106. "Secy. Conway to Secy. Calvert. 28 Oct. 1623."

Deare Sir,—His Majestie was verie sorrie for the mis-accident that happened at the French Ambassador's. His Majestie hath sent one Mr. Maynard to condole with him, and to wish him according to that judgment and constancie the world gives him reputation of, patience and recoverie of contentment, and to present him all his good wishes. And I am, Sir, to pray you to send as exact a knowledge as you can of the number and the names of those that perished in that miserable accident. And withall I am to let you know that his Majestie took very well the judgment and humanitie you used towards the French Ambassadour, both by addressing the Recorder unto him, and visiting him yourselfe.

IV.—Same vol. n. 108. Mr. Maynard to Secy. Conway. Letter endorsed, "Oct. 29, 1623. Mr. Maynard giving an account of his message to the French Ambassador : the manner of the falling down of the house, and the persons killed."

Most honored Sir,—According to your directions I have wayghted vpon the French Ambassadour, who received his Majestie's message with all humble respecte and thankfulnes for his Majestie's wonted grace and favour towards him.

The place where the lamentable accident happened was in a tenement two stories above the Ambassadour's Garde-Robe ; the beames of the two stories brake, and one ceilinge served as a lid of a box to cover the other : the nexte roome to this garde-robe was his bed chamber, and by reason he suspects that quarter of the house to bee weake built, he intends to quit that house and seeke another.

I make noe question but your honour hath a liste of the deade mens names, &c.

JOHN MAYNARD.

V.—Vol. cliv. n. 8. London, 1 November, 1623. Dudley Carlton, Esq., to Sir Dudley Carlton.

. . . Of the lamentable accident in the Blackfryers, and slaughter of betwixt 90 and 100 devout Papists, by the fall of certain stages of the house where they were assembled on Sunday last at the sermon of one Drurye (said to be a Jesuite and slaine with the rest) your Lordship will have heard from diverse hands. The house joins with that of the French Ambassador, and was protected by him for the use of the Papists. It is observed to have been the greatest assembly the Papists have had in England these fifty years, and therefore the accident the more remarkable. The sermon was a sermon of recantation from the reformed religion,

[13] The writer was of course a Protestant.

into which the author was fallen of late years, but brought up in Papistrie, and now returning *in gremium matris Ecclesiæ.*

The dead bodies were for the most part buried in the place where they were slaine, and a great wooden crosse erected over them ; the Bishop of London not allowing them buriall in either Churches or Churche yards. There is no man of quality named to have died in this mischance. Some few gentlewomen and a lady or two of the meaner ranke. The Ambassador will dwell there no longer, but is very busie to get him another house.

VI.—Same vol. n. 17. London, 8 Nov. 1623. Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carlton.

My very goode Lord,—The next day after I wrote last, here fell out a pittifull accident in the Blackfryers, where the Papists had hired a house next to the French Ambassadors (that so they might be as it were under his protection) to holde their assemblies, saye mass, meet at sermons, and performe all other their exercises and rites after the Romish manner. A great multitude being met there on the 26th of the last moneth to heare Fr. Drurie, a famous Jesuite among them, preach in an upper roome, the floore sunk under them, or rather the beames and joysts not being able to beare the weight brake in the midst, being otherwise found upon search and view no way faultie or rotten, but strong and sound. Many perished, partly battered and bruised, but most part smothered, for the first floor fell with such violence that it brake downe a second vnder it, though the walls and rafe stirred not, but stood firm. Besides Father Drurie and one Reddiate, another Jesuit, the Lady Webb sister to Sir Lewis Tresham, Mrs. Somers and some few gentlewomen, we heare of none but mean people, to the number of ninety five or thereabouts, though some speak of more, for in the first confusion many were carryed away by their friends, and said to be concealed. If the day had not been so very fowle, many greater persons had been taken in the trappe, but God provyded better for them, though the Papists gave out yt was a greate blessing for them that perished, because their dying in this manner is a *supersedeas* from Purgatorie, and that they are gon directly to heaven, and their Priests will not allow yt to be called or thought a judgment, but onely a worke of God. A number were hurt, maimed, and lost their limbs, which found little helpe or comfort at first, our people being growne sauage, and barbarous, that they refused to assist them with drink, aqua vitæ, or any other cordialls in their necessitie, but rather insulted upon them with taunts and gibes in their affliction as they were carryed away all that evening and the following night (for the mischance fell about fowre of the clock in the afternoon about the middle of their sermon) and even in Cheapside, where they sholde be more civill, they were ready to pull and teare them out of the coaches, as they passed to their lodgings, or to the surgeons. But there was as good order taken, as might be on the suddain, to repress the insolence and inhumanitie of the multitude, and for reliefe of the distressed. The next day towards evening, all that were left, to the number of sixty, and odde, were buried in two pitts made in the court and garden of the house, where that night were two black crosses erected, but taken away by order from the Counsaile, a day or two after. I hearde the Lady Webb was buried with great solemnitie at the Spanish Ambassadour's in Elie house Chappel,

the rest in other churches, as their friends could procure. We look for some relation of the mishap in print, and there was one two days since, but presentlye called in again, for what reason I know not. Much discoursing there is of all the circumstances belonging to this business. Some discant much of the day, being their 5th of November (new style), but in my judgment nothing is more remarkable than that this was the first so solemn assembly of theirs yt I have known or heard of in England these three score years and more: and whereby you may see how bold and forward they are upon a little connivance, and yet yt sholde seeme they have better assurance than we are aware of, as you may perceive by this enclosed paper, which is yet but in few handes, and was once at the Greate Seale ready to be signed, howsoever yt was put off for a time. I commend our Preachers' carriage in this accident; for generally they do not dilate nor aggravate yt very much, and for those that I have heard, yf they touche yt at all, they do yt temperately and charitably. The French Ambassadour, though this mischance was so neare him, had noe manner of losses, nor any of his people: He himself was not at home, when it fell out, being gon to visit the Venetian Ambassadour, and upon the newes removed his lodgings to the Earl of Marche's in Drurie lane, where he yet continues for ought I heare.

VII.—Same vol. n. 55. Same to same. 21 Nov. 1623.

. . . Now having met with another pamphlet of the downfall in Blackfriars published not past two dayes since, by Dr. Goode, I wolde not faile to send it that you may have a full relation of that accident. One Parker that was bruised in the fall, and yet wisht he had perished among those holy people, was on mondaye last made *compos voti:* for, making a trade to carry over young gentlemen and women to be brought up and trained in those Seminaries and Cloisters, as he passed the bridge to go towards Gravesend with two youths and a maiden, the boat was overturned, and himselfe with one of the youths, one of the watermen, and the Novice Nunne were drowned, the other two escaped.

The papers seized at Clerkenwell by the Government in 162$\frac{7}{8}$, which we are now about to relate, show that the next fixed residence in the London district, was at Edmonton, in 1624. This house, for some cause or other, had to be given up in April, 1625, when another was leased from a Mrs. Milberie, in Camberwell, in the following month of May (1625). In consequence of the landlady's death this house was likewise given up in January, 1627, when a large residence belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Clerkenwell was taken, "upon the Broadway above Clerkenwell." In the account of the "Discovery" will be found "a note concerninge the howse and goods of the Erle of Shrewsbury," which, after the seizure, his lordship petitioned to have restored to him.

After the lamentable accident in the Blackfriars, the Provincial and Rector were destined to witness another and, to

the nascent College of St. Ignatius, a much more fatal downfall, in the seizure of their residence in Clerkenwell, and of seven Jesuits, together with a large quantity of their papers and all their furniture, by a warrant of the Secretary of State, in March, 162$\frac{7}{8}$.

Parliament was now filled with Puritans and determined enemies of the Catholic religion, who dreaded the cessation of active measures against it and the consequent revival of Catholicity, and were jealous of the dispensing power,by virtue of which royal prerogative Charles had, in fulfilment of his solemn engagement on his marriage, been so favourable to Catholics. The Commons therefore determined to limit this power, and to make the "Discovery" we are about to relate, a political handle for their own purposes. This, as will be seen, miserably failed and recoiled upon their own heads.

THE DISCOVERY OF THE JESUITS' COLLEGE AT CLERKENWELL, IN MARCH, 1627–8.

An account of this event, with copies of several of the papers seized, and of a spurious letter falsely asserted to have been also found, addressed to the Father Rector, S.J., of Brussels, appears in the *Camden Miscellany*, 1852–3, vol. ii., edited by John Gough Nicholls, Esq., F.S.A. It is prefaced by a very lucid and friendly article, from which, as connected with our immediate subject, we have made copious extracts. The copies of the State Papers inserted have been compared with the originals in the Public Record Office. The *Camden* writer briefly alludes to the state of Catholics on the accession of James I., the disappointment of their expectations in the King, and the prostration of all their hopes on the discovery of Catesby's Gunpowder Plot. At length the marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria of France, gave them a freer time under the Queen's patronage. The political and religious differences existing among large and powerful bodies external to the Catholic Church, increased the agitation of the times. Charles had twice met the people in Parliament without satisfactory results, and in 1628 a third Parliament was about to assemble, when the "Discovery" was made.

A mansion belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury at Clerkenwell was found to be occupied by a small community of Jesuits. They were suddenly surprised by a pursuivant, their persons arrested and papers seized, and it was resolved to make some

political use of the event. The Secretary of State, Sir John Cooke, who had taken the direction of the seizure, was further employed to write the narrative of the "Discovery." It was founded upon the papers of the Jesuits which had been seized, and which are still preserved in the State Paper Office, together with the original draft of the "Discovery" itself.[1]

The Council issued their warrant for the arrest of the Jesuits on the 14th of March, 1628, and it was executed the next day. On the 17th the Parliament met, and on the 24th, in renewing the motion for supply, Secretary Sir John Cooke made the following remarks: "The first sower of seeds of distraction among us was an agent of Spain, Gondomar; since that we have had other Ministers that have blown the fire. . . Whilst we sit here in Parliament, there was another intended Parliament of Jesuits, and other well-wishers, within a mile of this place; that this is true, was discovered by letters sent to Rome. The place of their meeting is changed, and some of them are there, where they ought to be. If you look in your Calendar, there is a day of St. Joseph. It was called in the letter the 'Oriental day,' and that was the day intended for their meeting. I speak this to see God's hand to work our union in their division."[2]

Two days after, the Commons had a conference with the Lords respecting a petition against recusants. Secretary Cooke was appointed to manage it. In his introduction of the subject

[1] P.R.O., *Dom. Charles I.* vol. xcix. 1628.

[2] Mr. Nicholls adds this note. "We may here append the current account of the discovery, which was sent to Mr. Meade at Cambridge by his London correspondent, in a letter dated 21st of March. All the statements it contains cannot be relied upon. They would be the flying reports of the town; but what Mr. Meade relates of Sir D. Digges' reply to Secretary Cooke is remarkable, and does not occur elsewhere. 'This day sennight, at Clerkenwell, were nine gallants taken in a fair-hanged vault, with their trinkets (for seven of them are found to be Jesuits or priests), together with their library of books, valued at £400, which moves men to think it was one of the Jesuits' Colleges. The suspicion of them grew by the abundance of meat the poor women that dwelt thereabouts bought and provided, which occasioned the search. At first they resisted with store of arms and weapons; but the sheriffs being sent for, those aforesaid were taken, though some are said to have escaped.' Mr. Meade added this note to the letter of his correspondent: 'Sir John Cooke declared unto the House on Monday that it was discovered by intercepted letters to be an anti-Parliament, appointed to begin, by commission from Rome, upon St. Joseph's Day. But Sir Dudley Digges answered that he could not believe it, and that it was not the Jesuits, but some malevolent persons about the Court, who wished ill to the Commons, that disturbed our Parliaments,'" &c. It will be observed further on that, in his conference with the Lords, the Secretary no longer talked of a *Parliament* of Jesuits, but only of a *concurrent assembly*.

he said, amongst other things, "And a little to awake the zeal and care of our learned and grave Fathers, it is fit that they take notice of that hierarchy which is already established in competition with their Lordships, for they [the Catholics] have a Bishop consecrated by the Pope, the Bishop hath his subaltern officers of all kinds, as Vicars-General, Archdeacons, Rural Deans, Apparitors, and such like;[3] neither are these nominal or titular officers alone, but they all execute their jurisdictions and make their ordinary visitations through the kingdom, keep courts, and determine ecclesiastical causes. And, which is an argument of more consequence, they keep ordinary intelligence by their agents in Rome, and hold correspondence with the Nuncios and Cardinals, both at Brussels and in France.

"Neither are the seculars alone grown to this height, but the regulars are more active and dangerous, and have taken deep root; they have already planted their Societies and Colleges of both sexes, they have settled revenues, houses, libraries, vestments, and all other necessary provisions to travel or stay at home; nay, *even at this time they intend to hold a concurrent assembly with this Parliament.*"

"Among the papers seized at Clerkenwell," continues the *Camden* writer, "are several which are of importance to the history of the internal government and policy of the Roman Catholics in this country; but the amount of the treasonable matter which they contain must have sadly disappointed the State lawyers, who, with others, were attempting to convert the 'Discovery' into an engine of political influence upon the Parliament. The 'Parliament of Jesuits,' imagined by Mr. Secretary Cooke, is by no means compacted into a substantial existence by the evidence of these papers, though it is apparent that they alone furnished the slight materials which were employed to conjure up the phantom. The Secretary, as we have seen, ventured to assert in the House that there was another intended Parliament of Jesuits and their abettors, the truth of which intention was shown by letters sent to Rome; and that they were to assemble on St. Joseph's Day, which was called in the letter 'the Oriental day.' The two documents suggesting these strange fancies are amongst those which belonged to Father Parre. In one of them, St. Joseph's Day (March 19), is appointed for a meeting, but with no further object than the ordinary business of the house, the promotion of novices. In the other, which is not a letter sent to Rome, but one written

[3] This no doubt refers to Gee's celebrated list.

from London by Arthur Sanders to Father Parre, then at some place near Barnstaple, the phrase occurs (underscored, perhaps by the Secretary's pen, or else by some one to direct his eye), of which Cooke made his perverted application to the day of St. Joseph. The words are not, however, *Oriental day*, but *Orientall joye*, and they allude to a religious function which was to be celebrated in honour of three members of the Society, who had consummated the crown of martyrdom in the mission to Japan.[4] The Secretary's mistake in this point was, perhaps, not wilful, but it betrayed him into a ludicrous error. The greater part of the letter treats of various private affairs, and it had been written a month before the seizure.[5]

"No doubt, therefore, can be entertained as to the amount of misrepresentation and exaggeration employed by Sir John Cooke in the matter. But, as with other crooked policies of the time, the excitement thus created recoiled with twofold vengeance on the heads of its authors. These consequences are more fully developed in the subsequent debates of the House of Commons, thus briefly noticed by Prynne."

A little before the beginning of this Parliament, a College of Jesuits, who kept together in commons, and had their officers and books of account duly kept, was discovered in Clerkenwell, near the church; their books, vestments, relics were seized on, and some of their persons (hid in private corners of their College) apprehended by Justice Long and sent to Newgate. But when they were to be arraigned, they were, by their powerful friends at Court (I know not by what warrants and special commands), released upon bail and conveyed out of harm's way, to the great offence and discontent both of the people and Parliament, which examined this grand abuse, but could not apprehend the Jesuits to do exemplary justice on them, so potent were their patrons.[6]

[4] The three Japonian Martyrs, S.J., St. Paul, St. John, and St. James.

[5] See the letter below.

[6] We are enabled through the kindness of a friend to give information as to the powerful intercessor with the King in behalf of the captured Jesuits, one of whom was Father Thomas Poulton, a son of Ferdinando Poulton, Esq., of Bourton, Bucks, the celebrated lawyer. An account of the Poulton family will be found further on. Giles Poulton, the second surviving son of Ferdinando, was secretary to, or otherwise associated in business with Sir Lionel Cranfield, who became soon after Earl of Middlesex. It was owing to this influence and connection that the condemned Father (for one of them had been capitally convicted) was reprieved, and with the rest released upon bail; and it was the son-in-law of the above mentioned Earl of Middlesex—the Earl of Dorset—who himself brought the reprieve and warrant for release from Charles I. to the Governor of Newgate. This Sir Lionel Cranfield was appointed executor and residuary legatee under the will of Catharine, widow of Ferdinando—hence also an additional reason for his interest in the family which he showed on more than one occasion.—[Communicated by H. Poulton, Esq.]

Among their papers there was found a copy of a letter newly directed by them to their Father Rector at Brussels, the extract whereof I met with in the new Archbishop's study, thus endorsed with his own hand—"March, 1628. A Jesuits' letter, sent to the Rector at Brussels, about the ensuing Parliament."[7]

The *Camden* article then proceeds at some length, and very lucidly, to show the suspicious character of the alleged letter of the Jesuits, and adds:

Under all the circumstances this letter is so intimately connected with the history of the "Discovery," that it has been thought desirable to annex it. It was considered sufficiently important in 1643 to be printed as a pamphlet, and Rushworth copied Prynne's version of it into his historical collections. All the copies, including the pamphlet, are exceedingly inaccurate and corrupt; by collation, however, its sense has been restored to the nearly perfect state in which it is now edited.

After the prorogation of Parliament in June, 1628, it might be presumed that the political use of the "Discovery" on the part of the Government would have been no longer entertained. It was not, however, so readily dismissed by those whose alarm had been wantonly excited, and whose religious animosities had received no adequate satisfaction. No legal process was taken against the prisoners until the month of December. Three of the Jesuits were then put upon their trial at the Middlesex Sessions, and one was convicted, but his name does not transpire.[8] The Parliament met for their second Session upon the 20th of January, 1628-9. On the 13th of February there was a committee for religion, Mr. Pym in the Chair, when—

Sir Walter Earle rose and addressed the House: If we speak not now, we may for ever hold our peace; when, besides the Queen's Mass, there are two other Masses daily in the Queen's Court, so that it is grown common with the outfacing Jesuits, and common in discourse, "Will you go to Mass?" or, "Have you been at Mass at Somerset House?" there coming five hundred at a time from Mass. Desires it may be known by what warrant the Jesuits lately in Newgate were released.

Mr. Coriton conceives that his Majesty's declaration, lately published, will be used only to our disadvantage. He desireth, therefore, that it may be taken into serious consideration.

Sir Richard Grosvenor made a long and bigoted speech, in which he complains of the decay of their religion, "which of late years had been much wounded by heartening of Papists and conferring offices on recusants," and recounts various "cares and pains" they had taken for stopping the current of Popery.

Sir Robert Phillips: If ever there were a necessity of dealing plainly and freely, now is the time; there is an admission of Papists and Jesuits, as if it were in Spain and France. This increase of Papists is by connivance of persons that be in authority; nine

[7] A copy of this clumsy forgery is still preserved in the library of Lambeth Palace.—Ed.

[8] This was probably Edward Parr, who was really either Henry or Edward More—the only one they could prove to be a priest.

hundred and forty persons in houses of religion, being Papists of English, Scotch, and Irish in the Netherlands, maintained by the Papists of England; and of this I shall deliver the particulars, that we may frame a remonstrance to the King, that unless there be some better performance of his Majesty's so many answers to our petitions, our religion will be past recovery.

Mr. Coriton: That these Papists, by laws or acts of State, may be removed from their offices, which we have just cause to suspect.

Mr. Selden moveth that these things may be debated in order. And first, for releasing the Jesuits that were arraigned at Newgate, whereof one was condemned; they were ten in number, which were priests who had a College here in London, about Clerkenwell; and those men could not attempt these acts of boldness, but that they have great countenance.

Mr. Secretary Cooke replied that a Minister of State had notice of those ten, and this College intended to be kept at Clerkenwell; that it is plain there was a place appointed for this College, and orders [? altars] and relics prepared. The Minister made the King acquainted with it, and I should not do my duty if I did not declare how much his Majesty was affected with it. He referred it to the special care of the Lords of the Council, who, examining the same, sent those ten persons to Newgate, and gave orders to Mr. Attorney to prosecute the laws against them. That this College was first at Edmonton, removed thence to Camberwell, and from thence to Clerkenwell. Ordered, that all knights and burgesses of this House should to-morrow morning declare their knowledge what hindrances have been to stay the proceedings against recusants.

February 14th.—Sir Thomas Hobby reported that he and the rest that were appointed for the service concerning the priests had examined the keeper of Newgate, who confessed the 1st of December he had received ten prisoners suspected to be priests, and said that at the Sessions, the 3rd of December last, three of them were indicted for priests, and one of them condemned, that was afterwards reprieved; and the night before the execution, Mr. Recorder sent a warrant to stay execution, which was seconded by a warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde; all the rest did refuse the oath of allegiance, and it was ordered that they should be kept till the next Sessions. The Earl of Dorset sent word to the keeper that his Majesty's pleasure was that they should be delivered, and a warrant came from Mr. Attorney to bring the priests before him who took sureties of them to appear twenty days after notice at the Council board; and so they were discharged. Hereupon—

Sir N. Rich said: I am confident the grace of the King hath been abused in this, that therefore the Privy Councillors of the House must know whether it was by his Majesty's directions or not. And it was moved that Secretary Cooke may first declare his knowledge in this.

Mr. Secretary Cooke thereupon made a long declaration to the House concerning those priests, and the discovery of them, and produced the papers that were found in the house amongst them upon search; and he said that it did appear that they were Jesuits and priests by the inventory of their goods; they had their chapel and library replenished, a common kitchen, buttery, and cellar; their household stuff is all marked with I+S, there is a monthly book of their daily expenses, and a contracted annual account in latin, under the Rector's hand. It appeareth that they had purchased £200 of lands per annum, and £60 in money did remain

over and above their expenses.[9] There were also divers letters, directions, and orders from a Popish father from Rome, and all parts beyond the seas. They had appointed a time for meeting, which was St. Joseph's Day, and then they should have said Mass. All their papers were delivered to Mr. Attorney, who recommended them to Mr. Long.

Sir John Elliot said: In all this I see his Majesty's goodness is clear, and we shall still retain the comfort of it. You see here is a ground laid for a new religion, and a foundation for the undermining of the State; and, when they should be brought to trial, then I see the over-officiousness of Ministers of State to interpose themselves to preserve these men to all our ruins. These men were in subjection to a foreign power, and disclaim our sovereign. What could be their purpose that laboured to find out a way to free them, but to seek our ruin? For I fear the drawing of their indictment was maliciously done for that purpose. The person that I look at first is the Attorney, whom we still find faulty in this matter of religion. When he saw the importance of the cause and directions from the King and Council, and yet in a cause that so much concerned the King, the people, religion, and all, he must take his own hand away, and put it to another; this negligence renders him inexcusable. The next is that great Lord, the Earl of Dorset. I find him to interpose himself herein. Let us fix it upon his person, and know by what warrant he did that which was done. I observe another person faulty also; I heard the priest was condemned, and Mr. Recorder made a reprieval. No man could vent his malice more to this kingdom than in the preservation of these men.

Sir F. Seymour, with vehemency, taxed both Mr. Attorney's affection and judgment herein, and declared that continual letters were sent from Mr. Attorney in stay of proceedings against recusants. You see how slightly he hath put over a business of this weight to Mr. Long.

Mr. Cross the pursuivant, being examined, said that there were eleven men in the new prison, and the keeper of the prison saith they were delivered by warrant from the Council board. It was ordered, that Mr. Recorder should be rather sent unto to be examined, than to be sent for as a delinquent, in regard that he hath formerly had the honour to sit in the Chair here.[10]

Mr. Secretary Cooke said that herein we shall find that the King being merciful in case of blood, gave directions for the reprieving of the condemned priests.

Sir J. Elliot: I doubt not but when we shall declare the depth of this to his Majesty, he will render them to justice that gave him such advice.

Sir N. Rich: These Jesuits are bound by sureties to answer further at the Council board. I wish their bonds were produced, that by examination of them we might find out the whole pack of their benefactors and maintainers.

Mr. Long the magistrate, being called, said that he, offering at the Sessions the evidence against them by order from Mr. Attorney, the Lord Chief Justice Richardson interrupted him, and told him he must speak to the point in issue, whether priests or no priests;

[9] Really £160, see accounts, p. 112. There is no evidence whatever of the purchase of land.

[10] Sir Heneage Finch, who had been Speaker of the former Parliament (1626).

and thereupon the Judges consulted amongst themselves, and so arose.

Mr. Selden declared that he was present at the Sessions, and plain treason was proved, and nothing done in it.

The further examination of this was referred to a select Committee.

February 16th.—At the Committee for religion—

Mr. Stroud moved that the Lord Chief Justice may be called to give an account of his stay of justice in the execution of the condemned priests, which he ought not to have done, though his Majesty signified his pleasure to the contrary.

The Chancellor of the Duchy said that this was a thing ordinary for a Chief Justice to do in Queen Elizabeth's and King James times; as also a declaration in the Star Chamber, that all condemned priests should be sent to the Castle of Wisbeach, and from thence (though the King had given no order for the reprieve) he might have taken warrant for his proceedings.

Mr. Selden made a report from the Committee for the further examination of Mr. Long, concerning the proceedings at Newgate against the Jesuits, whereby it plainly appeared "that the evidence tendered in the court at Newgate did clearly testify these men to be priests; yet the Lord Chief Justice Richardson did reject the same against the sense of the rest of the judges and justices present, whereby it is plain he dealt underhand with some of the Jesuits."

Ordered: That two members shall be sent to each judge that was present at the Sessions at Newgate, who were said to be the Lord Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas—Justices Whitlock, Jones, and Crooke.

Sir Henry Martin made report that he with others had been to the Recorder of London to know by what warrant he made stay of the execution of the priest. He denied that he gave any order or directions for the stay; whereupon James, the Clerk of Newgate, being there present, came to him, and said he was sorry that he had named Mr. Recorder, for Mr. Recorder had given no directions, but the warrant came from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde. Whereupon Sir H. Martin, with the rest of the Committee went to the said Lord Chief Justice Hyde, who told them that he gave his said warrant by command from his Majesty.

Sir F. Seymour made report to the House that he and others came to Mr. Attorney's chamber, but not finding him there, they went to Mr. Long, who showed them a letter from Mr. Attorney, directed to him (Mr. Long), which was all the instructions he had to prosecute the priests, and none else; but for the other men, he was to take them into a private room, and offer them the oath of allegiance, which, if they refused, then to proceed to *premunire.* After this, we went to Mr. Attorney, and desired him to give us an answer to every particular question, whereupon he set down the answer with his own hand, but seemed oftentimes loth to deliver it unto us; yet, at last, he did deliver it, which was as follows:[11] "I received order from the Council to proceed against the priests; and I did accordingly proceed against them, and I gave directions to have them brought before me from the several prisons where they were formerly committed, and I committed them all to Newgate, as the order from the Council directed, and I gave directions for

[11] Sir R. Heath's answer is printed at length in Rushworth's *Historical Collections*, fol. 1682, p. 657.

indictments to be drawn against them as for being priests, and I sent for and took the informations of the witnesses; and I sent for Mr. Long, who was formerly acquainted with the business, as I was advised to do by Mr. Secretary Cooke, and desired him to take special order therein at the Sessions. And I did not conceive that by the order I was directed to go thither myself, but if I had been so directed, and had so conceived it, I should not have declined the service. I know not, nor ever heard of any lands conveyed to the use of these persons, or of any foundation there; but there was some mention made thereof in some of the papers delivered to me by Mr. Secretary, but so generally as I knew not how to inquire thereof; but I did take care to entitle the King to the goods. I understood an indictment was preferred against three of them for treason, and the rest of *premunire*, and I, receiving command from his Majesty for their bailment, supposed them bailable." Hereupon it was ordered by the House that such priests as are not convicted and condemned should be proceeded against.

It appears according to Rushworth, p. 658, that the Attorney General, being again sent unto for a clearer answer, he said: "For the warrant which I received for the discharge of the prisoners, and the bond taken by me upon their deliverance, which has a dependence upon the warrant, and whereof ye require an account, I have attended his Majesty, but yet have no leave to show them; but the bonds being taken but in December last, I keep them with me, as I conceive was proper for my place, but shall be ready to deliver them when I shall receive a commandment for that purpose."

The next day, Mr. Selden reported that he and some others examined Mr. Long, who said that Mr. Cross the Pursuivant, coming from Mr. Attorney with directions, desired a warrant in writing, and so Mr. Attorney sent him a letter, before mentioned, and so he indicted them all as priests. And the same day they were to be tried he told the Lord Chief Justice Hyde that he had divers papers that did conduce to prove them priests or Jesuits, and he said he was ready to read them; and thereupon the Lord Richardson said, "We are upon a point, whether priests or no priests, and they must have right done them." Another judge said, "We came to do right to all." And the Lord Richardson asked him if he had any other evidence. He said he had no other but those papers, which he thought would give clear satisfaction. The Lord Richardson said, "All that was but discourse." He said, "What say you to the point—priests or no priests?" To which Mr. Long answered, "I saw not these men made priests, but in the house where they were taken were found copes and vestments for priests, and I am ready to open all this if you please, or to answer any questions which you shall ask concerning such things as I have read in the papers." The papers contained divers examinations, and yet none were suffered to be read but one, and that not being conceived a full proof, the rest were refused.

On the reception of this report, *Sir Robert Phillips* indignantly exclaimed: "Never was the like example or precedent; if the judges give us not better satisfaction, they themselves will be parties."

Sir Thomas Hobby reported from the Lord Chief Justice Hyde that he doth not remember any papers tendered by Mr. Long were rejected, or that he affirmed they were dangerous persons, and a College of Jesuits; but, howsoever, Mr. Long tendered

nothing to prove them so, but that he held divers papers in his hand.

Mr. Wandesford reported from the Lord Chief Justice Richardson, who said Mr. Long did discourse of the place and house, but did not press the reading of the papers ; neither knew he what was in the papers, nor doth he know of anything to prove the persons priests.

Sir T. Barrington, *Sir Miles Fleetwood*, and *Sir W. Constable* delivered the answers from the other judges, the Justices Jones, Whitlocke, and Crooke, which were still more unsatisfactory. They were to the general effect that each of them had come late to Court, and understood not the business that was going on.

The House resolved that Mr. Long should be summoned to attend on Thursday, the 19th of February, in order to make good his charge against the judges.[12]

It is not, however, recorded whether any further proceedings in the matter took place, and the Parliament itself was hastening to its premature dissolution.

On the 25th, the Sub-Committee for Religion presented to the House the "Heads or Articles to be insisted on," in the preamble to which they alleged the "extraordinary insolence" of the Recusants ; "for instance, the late meeting of a College of Jesuits in Clerkenwell, and the strange proceedings thereupon used in favour of them."

But on that very day the House was adjourned by the King's command to the 2nd of March, on which day occurred the last memorable struggle of this Parliament, when the Speaker was violently held in his chair, whilst the Commons passed their indignant protest—(1) Against innovation in religion, and (2) against the collection of tonnage and poundage unsanctioned by Parliament. The House did not sit again, and on the 10th of the same month, it was finally dissolved, not to re-assemble for twelve long years, but then to maintain a more successful struggle against arbitrary power.

Such was the close of the transactions consequent upon the discovery of the house of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell, an occurrence of trifling import in itself, but the origin of much bitter political strife, and one of the forerunners of the gravest consequences, as contributing to the alienation of the sovereign from his constitutional advisers.

Among our historical writers, few have noticed the discovery of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell. Echard gives some short account of it, derived from Prynne; and Mr. Disraeli, in his *Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I.*, has

[12] The proceedings, of which the foregoing is an abstract, will be found at length in Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, 1807, vol. ii. cols. 467, 477.

briefly noticed it, and has taken a correct view of "the wily secretary;" but he has partially misconstrued and misrepresented what Cooke said.

It is strange too that Father Henry More makes only a brief allusion to this event. As we shall see further on, there is some probability of his having been himself one of the Fathers seized. He says: "It happened that the Rector of London, with six of his Socii, were seized in a house appropriated to our purposes. A day had been appointed for the renewal of the vows of some, and for the solemn profession of others. The matter was not conducted so cautiously but that the neighbouring Protestants observed an unusual quantity of provisions and necessaries carried in, which excited suspicion. The envy too of the adjacent shopkeepers helped it on, for the extra supplies were procured from a distance to avoid suspicion, and not from their shops. They therefore gave information, and the house was surrounded about nine o'clock in the morning. The Pursuivants broke in, and searched the house from top to bottom. They seized the Rector, who was hidden in a cellar under ground, with the sacred vessels and altar furniture, and some Fathers; others were caught in other places. They were conducted to different prisons, and tried. One only was condemned to death, having admitted the fact of his priesthood, which could not indeed be concealed, as he had publicly lived and acted as a priest in the residence of the Ambassador.'[13]

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* 1628, vol. xcix. Endorsed "Jesuits' Clerkenwell." A copy is also in the British Museum, *Add. MSS.* 5506, p. 67.[14]

[13] More, *Hist. Prov. Angliæ*, lib. x. n. 14, p. 467. In *Records*, vol. i. Series IV., College of the Holy Apostles, we have given a short biography of Father More. Since that was written, it has come to light that he was in prison for the faith in 1632. In a letter from a London secular priest, named Clark, to Rev. Mr. Fitton, the Clergy Agent at Rome, dated 18th December, 1633, there is this passage: "Within this fortnight I heare there are 4 prisoners releesed upon bond—*videlicet*, Mr. Henry More, a Jesuit, out of the New prison, and Mr. Tresame, Agent for the Benedictines, out of the said prison, Father Bonaventure, a Franciscan, out of Newgate, and a fourth, whose name I know not." In the course of our history we give a list of priests in London prisons, as drawn up by Mr. Clark. Father More's modesty could alone have prevented his recording the fact of his two incarcerations.

[14] This is the original draft in the handwriting of Secretary Sir John Cooke. The papers referred to by the letters A to Z are annexed to the draft, except Letters B and C, which are missing. These papers have been copied from the originals.—Ed.

"The Discovery of the Jesuits' College in Clerkenwell."

About Chrismas last Humphrey Cross, one of the messengers in ordinarie,[15] gave mee notice that the neighbours in St. John's saw provisions caried into the corner house uppon the broadway above Clerkenwel, but knewe none that dwelt there.[16] In March following, about the beginning of the Parliament, Crosse brought word that divers lights were observed in the howse, and that some companie were gathered thither. The time considered, I thought fitt to make no further delay, and therefore gave warrant to the sayde Crosse with Mr. Longe, and the constables next adjoyning, to enter the howse, and to search what persons resorted thither, and to what end they concealed their being there. At their entrie they found one that called himself Thomas Latham, who pretended to be keeper of the howse for the Earle of Shrewsburie. They found another named George Kemp, said to be the gardener,[17] and a woman called Margaret Isham. But when they desired to goe further into the upper roomes, which (whilst they had made way into the hall) were all shut upp and made fast, Latham tould them plainly that if they offered to goe further they would find resistance, and should doe it at their peril. They therefore repayred to my howse, and desired more help, and a more ample warrant for their proceedings. And then both a warrant was granted from the Councell boarde, and the Sheriffes of London were sent for their assistance. But by this protraction, they within the upper roomes gott advantage to retire themselves by secret passages into their vaults or lurking-places, which themselves called theire securities: so as when the officers came up, they found no man above staires, save only a sick man in his bed, with one servant attending him. The sick man called himselfe by the name of Weedon, who is since discovered to be truely called Plowden. And the servant named himself John Pennington, as in the examinations may appear.[18] More they found not, til going downe againe into the cellars, Crosse espied a brick wall newly made, which he caused to be perced, and there within the vault they found Daniel Stanhop, whom I take to be Father Bankes, the Rector of theire College, George Holland, *alias* Guy Holt, Joseph Underhill, *alias* Thomas Poulton, Robert Beaumond, and Edward Moore the Priest. And the next day, in the like lurking-place, they found Edward Parre.

[15] In vol. cxix. n. 70, Dom. State Papers, 1628, is a note of the charges disbursed by this pursuivant, for (*inter alia*) apprehending seven Jesuits with their letters and papers at Clerkenwell. The total amount is £15 1s. 4d. Also in vol. cxxiv, same State Papers, a certificate by Cross of the priests and Jesuits taken by him since 12th March, 1628.

[16] At this place the original draft contains the following passage, erased by the pen—"Soone after the Erl of Malborough, who formerly lived in that howse, had a like advertisement by Mrs. Gawdy: and so had the now Bp. of London by other meanes."

[17] This was Brother George Kemp, S.J. We read of his accompanying Father John Gerard from Louvain late in October, 1614, to take possession of the new house at Liege (Father Gerard's Letters, Stonyhurst MSS.). He died at St. Omer's College, 22nd Sept. 1638.

[18] John Pennington, a Lay-brother, S.J., was a native of Lancashire. Born 1587, entered the Society 1625, and died at Liege 7th May, 1671, æt. 84, and is thus eulogized in the *Litteræ Annuæ* of that year—"Diuturnæ vitæ Religiosæ meritis gravis."

All theis Mr. Longe examined, but could drawe nothinge from them save formall denyalls that they were Priests, or had taken any orders from the sea of Rome, or that they knewe one another, or that they came thither otherwise than casually uppon acquaintance with Latham, who pretendeth that the howse is the Earl his master's,[19] and that the household stuffe, latin bookes, and most of the pictures are his Lordshipp's: but that the massing stuff, Jesuits' pictures, English bookes and manuscripts are all his owne, given him by his dead master, and by a friend beyond the seas. Yet upon their examination they confessed themselves to be Recusants, and contradicted one another, and ministred matter sufficient for their legal conviction, and for confiscation of the goods to his Majestie at the Assizes att Newgate, when they were indicted and proceeded against.

And that they are Jesuits indede, and the howse really hired and used for a College of Jesuits to exercise their religion, and other unlawful practises against our Church and State, appeareth, first, by the inventory of the goods and utensils; secondly by the accompts of their receipts and issues; and thirdly by the memorials and directions of their government, which are all found with them, and are ready to be shewed.

The Inventorie [A] is taken of everie roome in the howse, by which it appeareth that they have a chappel fitted with Altars, images, reliques, and pictures, and massing stuffe of all sorts; that they have a common librarie of many Popish bookes, printed and written;[20] that they have several Chambers and studies, furnished for their lodgings; that they have a common kitchen with offices and provisions of brasse and pewter, and of wood and coale; that they have a common buttrie, with tableclothes, trenchers, napkins, knives, forks, glasses, salts and spoons, answerable to their number; and a cellar of beere and wine; besides a confectionarie of spices and sweetmeats. And to shew who are the owners in proprietie of theis things, their howsehold stuffe is marked with S.O.,[21] as belonging to the Society, and theire pewter with S.J., for the Society of Jesus.

The accompts [B] which were also found in their studies, are in severall bookes and notes. First there is a rough booke containing the monthly disbursements of theire cater clerke of the kitchen, setting downe particularly all things in English. Secondly, there are divers loose notes [C] of particular men's expenses abroad, some in English, some in Latine; and thirdly, there is a contracted formal Accompt [D] of the said monthly expenses of the house in Latin, audited and allowed by Fr. Banxius, the Rector of the sayd howse.

Theis books contayne the accompts of the sayd Societie in a former howse they had at Edmonton from January, 1624, after their accompte, till the end of December following, when the accompts for that howse were made up thus—[22]

[19] Vol. cxi. same State Papers, n. 67, is a note of request of George, Earl of Shrewsbury, that his house in Clerkenwell, in which the Jesuits were taken, might be restored to his servants. 1628, no date.

[20] In one account, current at the time, the library is said to have been valued at £400.

[21] The mark of the English College S.J.—St. Omer.

[22] The title of the book—*Summa expensarum mense Jan.* 1624 *Edmuntonij ex temp. quo facta est visitatio.*

	£	s.	d.
Receipts—			
Remains of last accompt and alms	108	13	2
Receapts from Mr. Heis	44	0	0
Receapts from lodgers	75	0	0
	£227	13	2
Expenses—			
Bread and beer	22	13	6
Wine	11	16	4
Flesh	57	14	0
Wood and coals	23	10	4
Howse rent	44	0	0
Servants	18	0	0
Subsidie and payments to the Kinge	7	15	8
Spice and sugar.	9	3	0
Poore and Church	6	7	2
Candles, salt, &c.	17	15	3
Hire of horses and things about the house	8	15	1
	£227	10	4

So the expenses balance the receipts.

After December, 1624, according to their accompt, which begineth the year in Januarie, they left that howse at Edmonton, and setled not againe til May following, when they had taken a new house of one Mrs. Milberie, at Cammerwell, where they continued twentie months, as by the sayd bookes of their monthly accompts is manifest. For the title thereof is this—*Initium hujus domus* 2⁰ *Maij*, 1625. And so pursuing the moneths in order to the end, they are audited thus—"Summa omnium expensarum hujus domus Cammerwell spatio viginti mensium, hoc est, ab initio Maij, 1625, usque ad initium Januarij, 1627.

	£	s.	d.
In panem et cervisiam	38	17	0
In vinum	21	0	0
In carnes	63	1	8
In ligna et carbones	43	10	3
In pisces, ova, lac, butyrum	21	10	3
In conductionem Domus	45	0	0
In servos	27	0	0
In aromata, saccarum, &c.	17	13	6
In pauperes, paræciam, res templi, &c	9	7	6
In candelas, sal, &c.	23	19	2
In equos et alia circa domum	15	16	3
Summa expositorum a Maio 1625 usque ad Januarium 1627	137	1	5
Summa totalis omnium expensarum hujus Domus	346	18	1

Ita est, RI. BANXIUS.

After this collection of the 20 months' expenses, followeth in the next page a briefe note of all the accompts of both howses in this manner—"Rationes hujus domus ab ultima visitatione facta initio Januarij, 1624, usque ad præsentem Januarium, 1627.

	£	s.	d.
Accepta ex residuo computus præcedentis	60	0	0
Ex censu fundationis et alias a R. P. Provinciali	294	0	0
From our lodgers	75	0	0
Summa acceptorum	429	0	0
Summa expositorum	574	11	3

Exposita superunt accepta ex censu fundationis et a Rdo P. Provinli et dominabus	205	11	3
Exposita ex elemozynis incertis ad censum annuum 20li per ann.	250	0	0
Restat in pecunia parata	160	0	0

Nullum contraxit debitum.
Nichil domui debetur.
Ita est, RI: BANXIUS.

Besides the above mentioned accompts of the Clerk or Cater, and theis latin summarie accounts audited by the Rector Banxius, their is found a breife certificate or collection of the state of this howse for the year 1625 [E], which seemeth a direction for other yeares, and was to be presented (as it may seeme) to the Provincial, by the title whereof the name and nature of this College doth clearly appeare, which is this—

"Status rerum temporalium Domus Probationis Sti Ignatii Societatis Jesu 1625."

And soe follow their revenew, certaine and uncertaine, theire receipts and expenses. By which it may appear how they yearly purchase increase of revenew; and how they furnish theire howse with linen and wollen, and with other necessarie utensils at the howse charge. The paper itself is fit to be perused.

This and the former accompts contain sufficient of the affaires of this Societie til January last past, when there followed another interruption by the death of their Landlady, Mrs. Milberrie, of whom the howse was hired at Cammerwel. And then (as it semeth) they removed to this last howse at Clerkenwel, which was not setled till the first of March, as may appeare by the last pages of the English accompts of their Clerk or Cater, which beareth this title[23]—"The new house at London since the 2nd of March," where the words "at London" are rased, yet soe as they may be read; and the particulars of the first page are for brick, tile, lime, workmanship, &c.; and the second for carrying stuffe from Mrs. Dowthies; for washing the newe howse, for iron works, locks, keys, and irons, fireshovels, tonges, and such like; and for the table, and a striped bed; for wood, coales, beere, &c. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that they then removed to this new howse, and that the furnitures are not the Erle of Shrewsberies as is pretended, but bought at the howse charge. And that this is indeed the Howse of Probation of the Jesuits, according to the title.

Besides the inventorie and accompts, the third proofe is as evident by the memorialls, orders, and directions for the government of the members of this Societie, which are very remarqeable.[24]

I°. There is a general memoriall of directions [F] from the Provincial of the Jesuits to all the Superiors of this Society, containing 13 heades or rules.

[23] N.B.—These English accounts are not with the rest. They appear to be lost. This would be the account B that is missing.

[24] The Latin titles of these papers are given in the margin as follows—I°. "Memoriale ad omnes superiores 1625." And under, "Ex mandato R. P. Provincialis." II°. "Memoriale relictum P. Rectori Sti Ignatij per Congregationem Provincialem, 1625." III°. "Observanda a Mro Novitiorum." IV°. "Observanda a Ministro Sti Ignatii." V°. "Observanda ab omnibvs Sti Ignatij." VI° "Memoriale traditum Rectoribus a Congr. Provinciali, 1625." All subscribed—"R. BLUNT, Superioribus omnibus."

II°. A spetiall direction from the Provinciall congregation held 1625, to the Father Rector of this Societie, sent unto him by the Provinciall, Father Blunt, containing eight precepts.

III°. Spetiall directions from the sayd Provinciall to the Master of the Novices of this Societie, in six orders.

IV°. Spetiall observances for the Minister of the Societie, being three in number.

V°. Observances for all the Societie, in four points.

VI°. A post memoriall of directions and orders after the above named Provinciall Congregation, given to the Rectors in six heads, and to the Superiors of the Societie in four heads.

All which are recommended by a letter [G] from Richard Blunt, their Provinciall, to Father Stannoppe, whom he calleth Reverendum in Christo Patrem: for, though the superscription of this letter be torne, yet the last sillable of Stannoppe remaineth, and sufficiently discovereth him to be the Rector of this Societie for the present. And he may also seeme to be the same with Banxius, that signeth the accounts.

Besides theis directions from the Provinciall, there is found a letter from Odoardus Alocampi [H], written in the name of the said Provinciall: whereby the faculties granted to the Superiors of this order are set down in 10 heads.

There is also a later memoriall [I] of 16 particular heads of directions to the whole Societie, extracted by the said Alocampi. And another of 10 heads in latin, for directions of their letters to be written by the Consultors of the Societie to the General of the Jesuits [K]. And another in English, wherein these 10 heads are enlarged to 13 [L].

There is also a letter [M] from R. Man, which seemeth to be from the Provincial, R. Blunt, because his former letter to Stannoppe is of the same hande. And this letter, though it have no superscription, yet may seeme to be to the same Stannoppe, because it containeth directions to him as Superior or Rector of this Societie, first concerning yearly accompts to be sent to the General, whereof that of the year 1625 seemeth to be a precedent; and secondly, concerning their manner of cariage towards the Bishop of Calcedon, whom the Pope hath set over the Clergie of England; and thirdly, concerning releife to be sent to the English Colleges at St. Omer's and Lovain.

There is also a letter [N] of Mutius Vitellosius, General of the Jesuits in Rome, to Father Thomas Salisburie, one of this Societie, and happily of this number, mentioninge also Father Robert Frevel, another of the same note.

Lastly, there is a note of direction [O], by way of advice how to answer such questions concerning their going to church, or receaving, or other religious observances, which the Churchwardens or others may demand of them.

And to theis orders and directions there are annexed two Registers or lists of the names of all the Jesuits in this Province [P], one without title, but the other distinguisheth them by their orders and degrees, and by the times of their appearance.

Soe first by the Inventories and sorts of their goods; secondly by the amount of their receipts and expences; and thirdly by the orders and directions for their government, it hath appeared that this house was made a College of Jesuits.

Now further to shew that their proceedings and practices there

were against the peace and setlet [settled] government of the State, is manifest in theis points :

They doe not only refuse to take the oath of allegiance, but write letters against it to cause others to refuse, as by two particular letters [Q], found among their papers, doth appeare.

They acknowlidg subjection to a foren power, and have setled a government among themselves subalternal thereunto ; and as by this government they divide themselves and labor to withdraw all Papists in generall from their allegiance to his Majestie, soe, by a faction against the Secular Priests, they labour to divide the Papists amongst themselves, and to suppress all those that will hold any conformity to the State. Which, by a letter from the Pope [R] to the Bishop of Calcedon, the lay Catholiques answere to the said Bishop [S], an answere to that letter [T], with Ecclesiasticall Canons [V] propounded to the Bishopp (all found among their papers) doth manifestly appeare.

They erect new fraternities, and Eclesiastical observances and orders, contrarie to the lawes, namely, one they call the Sodalitie of the Chapelet of Our Lady [W], whereof manie little printed books were found in this howse to be scattered abroad. They spread false newes of lying miracles pretended to be done by the Fathers of their order, as two letters doe shewe [X]. They put in actual practice the orders of their profession, and have their dayes of solemne meeting to promote the Novices of theire Societie ; particularly this time of their discovery they had appointed St. Joseph's day, the 20 of March, for that solemnity, as appeareth by a letter from Wingfield[25] to Father Parre [Y], and by a copie of a monitoriall sent abroad by the said Wingfield, by commandment of the Provinciall, that everie one against that day should say a Masse and commend to God in theire Prayers a matter of so great waight, which how farre further it might extend is not yet come to light.

Lastly, the resort of Recusants which have planted themselves round about this House, as Mr. Long's particular register doth show [Z], giveth good grounds of suspition that they purposed to make head, and make a body here.[26]

So far Sir John Cooke's relation of this "Discovery."

Before commencing the copies of the papers in the alphabetical list in the secretary's narrative, we give

I. "A letter from some of the Lords of the Privy Council of England to the Lord Falkland, Lord Deputy of Ireland."[27]

[25] The two papers signed by Wingfield referred to by the letter Y are copied further on.

[26] The paper marked Z is referred to below. The *Camden Miscell.* (*ut supra*, note) observes that it is evidently an authentic list of the members of the Society of Jesus, found among their own papers. It has no title, but the endorsement seems to be theirs, the words "found in Clerkenwel 15 March, 1627, per Long," having been added in a different ink. It does not therefore answer to Sir John Cooke's description in the text, which seems to imply that it was a register kept by Mr. Long of all the Recusants living in Clerkenwell.

[27] British Museum Addit. MSS. 4791, p. 37 B.

My Lord,—Knowing that his sacred Majestie and his Privy Councill assembled for the calling of this Parliament, have formerly given you the reasons and urgent necessities for the same, we omit it; but by this late Discovery, here inclosed, wee are jealous that most of the members herein chosen be of a factious crue, and soe you will find by the coppie of the Discovery at Clerkenwell. There being taken amongst Recusants divers Jesuits, amongst whom severall treasonable papers were found, this being one amongst the rest, in which you may perceive the Papists' great spleen to his Grace the Duke, also the treasonable conspiracies against his Majestie, forraign and domestique. Notwithstanding the discovery thereof, for divers reasons wee have not sett this inclosed to publick view, his Grace and some others having acquainted his Majestie that they will undertake to find out the bottome of this mistery, and thereby pollitickly have advised his Majestie to permit the sitting of this Parliament from the 17th of this instant, the better to find out theire inclinations, and how they are affected according to this discovery.

Wee are sensible now Ireland was in some danger of an invasion by the French Papists and the Papists in Ireland, and they have held correspondence together.

The Jesuits be not only a subtill Societie, but also an audacious sort of people, fearing no punishment, noe, not the halter itself; soe that wee are at a nonplus how to banish, or to devise a meanes to chase away these wasps from his Majestie's dominions. His Grace the Duke propounded in Councill the other day, noe punishment fitter for the driveing out these sort of cattle than by, &c. [an infamous and indecent plan utterly unfit to mention]. Your Clergy of Ireland opposeing the Popish offertures lately made unto his Majestie (which your Lordship unto us have signified), have not onely, through God's mercy, protected that dominion, but alsoe saved his Majestie and this nation from future broyles. Thus concluding, wee bid your Lordship heartily farewell.

Your Lordship's humble Servants,
SUFFOLKE, SALISBURY, MORTON, DURHAM.[28]

Whyte Hall, March 2, 1627.

[28] In regard to the above document the writer in the *Camden Miscellany* (*ut supra*), speaking of the doubts cast upon the genuineness of the forged letter which follows next, says: "One of the manuscript copies of it in the British Museum is preceded by another document, which professes to be a despatch from a Committee of the Privy Council to Lord Falkland, then Lord Deputy in Ireland, transmitting both a 'coppie of the Discovery at Clerkenwel' and also a treasonable paper displaying the Papists' great spleen towards the Duke of Buckingham. The contents of this despatch (which is given above) are so strange, particularly the expressions it attributes to the Duke of Buckingham [too indecent to be inserted in these "Records"—ED.], that it may be supposed to have been forged by the same hand as the Jesuit's Letter, with the design of conferring on that letter a stamp of authenticity. The date which it bears is also inconsistent with its claim to credit as a genuine State Paper. This date is the 2nd of March, whereas the arrest of the Jesuits did not take place before the 15th, and the Discovery and Jesuit's Letter could not have been prepared to be sent to Ireland for some days later. . . . The signatures Morton and Durham are not what might be expected in a genuine document of this nature. The latter title, if meant for the Bishop of Durham, would scarcely have come last; besides which Morton is not a name familiar in the history of the period."

II. "A letter founde amongst some Jesuites, lately taken at Clerkenwell, London, directed to the Father Rector at Bruxelles."[29]

Father Rector,—Let not the damp[30] of astonishment seaze upon your most deare and jealous soule[31] in apprehendinge the suddayne and unexpected calling of this Parliamente. We have not opposed, but rather furthered it, soe that wee hope as much in this parliamente as ever wee feared any in queene Elizabethes' dayes.

You must knowe the Councill is engaged to assiste the Kinge by waye of prerogatyve, in case the parliamentarye waye should fayle.

You shall see this Parliamente will resemble the Pelican, which takes a pleasure to digge out with her owne byll her owne bowells.

The elections of the knyghtes and burgesses have been in such confusion, and [by] such apparent faction, as that wee were wounte heeretofore to procure with industrye and arte (when the Spanishe matche was in treatye), nowe it breakes out naturallye as a botche or boyle, and spittes and speues out its [own] ranchor and venome.

You may remember howe that [most famous and] immortall Statesman the Count of Gondemar fed kinge James his fancye, and rocked him asleep with the softe sweete sounde of peace to keepe upp the Spanishe treatye.

Lykewise, wee were [much] bounde to some emynent Statesmen[32] of our owne Countrye [for gaining[33]] tyme in procuringe those advantagious cessations of armes in the Pallatynate, and in

[29] It is curious to observe how many copies of this infamous and clumsy libel were spread abroad. The *Camden Miscellany* gives the following—*Harl. MSS.* 1323, p. 37, and 3786, f. 28. A copy in the State Paper Office, *Dom. Charles I.* 1628, vol. xcix. Edition printed for Ralph Rounthwait, 1643. "The copy of a letter addressed to the Father Rector at Brussells, found among some Jesuites taken at London, about the third yeare of His Majesties Raigne. Wherein is manifested, that the Jesuites from time to time have been the only Incendiaries and contrivers of the miseries and distractions of this kingdome. And how their designs are, by a perpetual motion, carried on by the same Counsels at this time as formerly they have been. London. Printed for Ralph Rounthwait, 1643." 4to., pp. 8. And on the second title, the same more briefly with this addition: "Shewing there is a perpetuall mischievous motion of the Jesuites for England's ruine." Imperfect copies in Prynne's *Hidden workes of Darknes brought to public light*, and in Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.*; also in Addit. MSS. (B. Mus.) 4791, f. 38. All the copies abound with errors which materially affect the sense, and that in the MS. Harl. 1323, perhaps shows as many as the rest; but, because at the same time it presents many of the best and apparently original readings, the Camden writer adopts it for the text. The most important variations of the several copies in many of these absurd errors are notified in the margin. To these we must add a copy in the Bodleian Library—*Clarendon State Papers.* It is endorsed, "This was counterfeited by a friend of the Duke of Buckingham, purposely to get him off." Another copy is also preserved in the Collection of MSS., Lambeth Palace Library, 930 (69), and two copies exist in the Cambridge University Library, King's College.

[30] *Dump* in Edition 1643.

[31] *Ardent and zealous* in Edition 1643, and other copies.

[32] *Statesman* in *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[33] *To gyve, ib. to regayne,* Edition 1643.

[advancinge[34]] the worth and power[35] of the Spanish nation and villifyinge the Hollanders; remonstrateinge to King James, that that State was most ingrateful [both] to his predecessor Queene Elizabeth and his sacred Majestie; that the States were more obnoxious then the Turke, and perpetuallie injured his Majestie's loveing subjects in the East Indyes, and lykewise that they had usurped from his Majestie the regallitye [and invaluable profitt[36]] of the Narrow Seas, in fysheing uppon the Englishe coastes.

Had the Spanishe match taken effect, which was broken by the heate and vyolence of our furyous enemy the Duke of Buckingham, Kinge James had deserted the Hollanders.[37]

Those great Statesmen had butt [one principall meanes[38]] to further their greate designes, which was to season[39] Kinge James that none but the Puritan faction, which plotted nothinge butt [anarchie[40]] and his confusion, were adverse to this happie unyon. Wee steere on the same course, and have made great use of [this anarchicall[41]] election. And wee have prevented[42] and anticipated the great one,[43] that none but the kinge's enemyes and his are chosen of this Parliamente.[44] The Parliamente vowes to begin where they left, and will never gyve over tyll they have extirpated him and his posteritye. On the other side [the same[45]] partyes whoe are to bee admyred for their indefatigable industrye incessantly foment[46] revenge and jealousie in moste of the parliament men, especiallye [they] worke upon the pryde and vayne-glorye of such as have been emprysoned, possessinge[47] them that they are the onely Fathers[48] and worthies of their countrye.

London is as much [distempered[49]] as ever Florence was; for the companyes are at oddes, and the common councill have opposed the magistrates against their owne[50] custome in electinge the knights, which hath bredd a great heartburninge in the cittye. Soe that twyce a daye wee cann divulge whatt we liste in Paules and the Exchaunge, and wee have alreadye rendred our irreconcyleable enemy the Duke as odyous as a toade; for the people are apt to believe any thinge against him. Wee hope to bee revenged on that ball of wyle-fyre, and [shortly to] quench his furye [and before two yeares be at an end wee hope to see the Duke in Spaine with a nayle in his forehead, carrying that illustrious Prince the

[34] *Adjureinge* in *Harl. MS.* 1323; *admiring*, Edition 1643.
[35] *Integritie* in S.P.O. copy; *honor* in Edition 1643.
[36] *Copy* in S.P.O.
[37] In the S.P.O. copy is a marginal memorandum to this paragraph—"leave out this wher the lines are drawn." It is accordingly so omitted by Prynne and Rushworth.
[38] *A principall end*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[39] *Set on*, Prynne and Rushworth; *seize on*, Edition 1643.
[40] *Oligarchie* in *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[41] *The averticall*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[42] *Prejudicated*, Prynne and Rushworth, and Edition 1643.
[43] The Duke of Buckingham.
[44] From this passage to that ending with "destruction" was not printed by Prynne; this corresponds with a marginal mark in the S.P.O. copy.
[45] *His owne*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[46] *Come out*, Edition 1643.
[47] *Persuading*, S.P.O.
[48] *Martyrs*, S.P.O.
[49] *Distressed*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[50] *Old*, S.P.O.

Count of Olivarez in his chaire about Madrid.[51] You shall see the same sworde that wounded us being drawne uppon the woundes with an oyle [that we have anointed it], shall make us whole. And [thus[52]] it shall be done. The Parliament as a great shippe hath dashed twyce against the same rocke, and wee have soe wrought against the severall [complexions[53]] of Parliament men, in charmeing the most temperate and wisest, that the best waye to overthrowe the Duke is by humble Petition to his majestie. With the vyolent sorte wee have taken a contrarye course, by workeinge uppon their passions, and inebriatinge their fancyes with probabillityes and presidents[54] that [it was[55]] never heard of, that Favourites have been Parliament-proofe; they wrestled for a tyme, butt att last the Parliament hath overthrowne them on their backes. Wee encourage them with all the witt we have to fall uppon the Duke, and persuade them nowe is the tyme or never, the Kinge beinge in such necessitie; insomuch that wee assure ourselves God hath forsaken and infatuated them, that they shall not only strike uppon the same rocke agayne, butt sinke and perishe[56] in the bottomless pitt[57] of destruction.

Wee have [now] many stringes to our bowe, and [have strongly] fortiffied our faction, and have added two bulwarks more; for when Kinge James lyved, you knowe hee was very vyolent against Armynianisme, and interrupted, with his pestilent witt and deepe learninge, our stronge designes in Holland, and was a great friend to that old rebell and heretique the Prince of Orange. Nowe wee have planted that soveraigne drug Arminianisme, which wee hope will purge the Protestants from their heresie, and flourishe and beare fruyte in due season.

The materyalls which buylde upp our [other] bulwarke are the [projectors[58] and] beggars of all rankes and quallityes whattsoever. Bothe these factions co-operate to destroye the Parliament, and introduce a newe species and forme of government, which is oligarchie.[59] [These serve as direct mediums and instruments to our end, which is the[60]] universall Catholique monarchie. Our foundation must be mutation.[61] This mutation will bringe a reluctation, which will serve [as soe] many vyolent diseases, as the stone, the gowte, the toothe-ache, [&c. to the] speedye destruction, or perpetuall and insufferable anguishe [of the body] which is worse then death itselfe.[62]

[51] This passage occurs only in the S.P.O. copy.
[52] *That*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[53] *Complaynts*, *ib.*
[54] *i.e. precedents.*
[55] *That were*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[56] *Split and wiache*, Edition 1643.
[57] *Sea*, S.P.O.
[58] *Promoters*, *Harl. MS.* 3786.
[59] *Elegant*, Edition 1643, in which this paragraph is altogether nonsense.
[60] Omitted in *Harl. MS.*, in Prynne, and Edition 1643.
[61] This word, which occurs in all the copies, is evidently a mis-translation of the Latin word *mutatio*, and implies the raising of money by way of loan. The next word, *reluctation*, is also evidently untranslated Latin: it occurs only in *Harl. MS.* 1323, being altered to *relactation* in *Harl. MS.* 3786, and to *relaxation* in the other copies.
[62] This passage, the original construction of which the *Camden* writer has endeavoured to restore as above, is obscure in all the copies. In Prynne and Rushworth it reads thus: "Mutation will cause a

Wee proceede [nowe] by councill and mature deliberation, howe [and when] to worke uppon the Duke's jealousie and revenge; and in this wee gyve the honor to such as meritt it, which are the Church Catholiques.

There is another matter of consequence, that wee take much into our consideration and tender care, which is to chace off[63] the Puritans, that they hange not in the Duke's eares. They are an impudent, subtile people, and it is to bee feered least they shoulde negotiate a reconciliation betwixt the Duke and the Parliament, [certainlye the Duke would have gladlye reconcyled himselfe to the Parliament[64]] at Oxford and Westminster. Butt nowe wee assure ourselves wee have handled the matter soe that both the Duke and the Parliament are irreconcyleable.

For the better prevention of the Puritans, the Armynians have alreadye blocked[65] upp the Duke's eares, and wee have those of our religion whoe stand contynuallye at the Duke's chamber to see whoe goes in and out, and wee cannot bee too circumspect in this regard. I cannott choose but laugh to see some of our coate, howe they have accommodated themselves;[66] you would not knowe them yf you sawe them, and it is admirable howe in speech and gesture they acte the Puritans. The Cambridge Schollars, to their woefull experience, shall see wee cann acte the Puritan better than they can acte the Jesuite.[67] They abused our Sacred Patron Ignatius in jeast; butt wee will make them smarte in earneste. I hope you will excuse my merry digressnige, for I confesse it unto you, I am att this instant transported with joye to see [how happily] all instruments and meanes, as well great as little, co-operate to our purposes.

Butt to returne to the maine fabrique of our foundation, which is Armynianisme. The Armynians and Projectours, it appeares in the premises, affect mutation.[68] This wee seconde and enforce by probable arguments. In the first place wee take into consideration, the Kinge's honor, and present necessitye, and wee shewe howe the Kinge maye free [himself] of the Wardshippes, as Lewis the [eleventh[69]] did; and to his greater glorye[70] and lustre howe hee may rayse a vaste revenew, and not be behouldinge to his subjects, which is by way of impositions and of Excise.[71] Wee instance the

relaxation, which will serve as so many violent diseases, as the stone, gout, &c., to the speedy distraction of our perpetual and insufferable anguish of body, which is worse than death itself"—following the State Paper Office copy. In the Edition of 1643 it is nearly the same, except in the words "and many violent diseases in the body, as the stone, gout, &c. And to the distraction or perpetuall," &c.

[63] *Stave off*, Prynne and Rushworth. In Edition 1643 both terms are omitted.

[64] Omitted in Prynne and Rushworth.

[65] *Locked*, Prynne and Rushworth.

[66] *Accoutred*, *ib.*, and Edition 1643.

[67] An allusion to the play of *Loiola*, written by John Hacket, D.D., afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and performed before King James at Cambridge, March 12, 1622-3. *Vide* Nicholls' *Progresses, &c., of James I.* vol. iii. p. 836. It was not printed till 1648.

[68] *i.e.*, *a loan*, as before.

[69] *Third* in *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[70] *Splendour* in Edition 1643. In *Harl. MS.* the words *and lustre* are converted into *and lastlye*, beginning a new sentence.

[71] *Imposition of Excise*, Prynne and Rushworth.

Lowe Countryes, and shewe whatt a masse of moneye they raysed to pay theire armyes by sea and land, meerely out of excise.[72] Then our Church Catholiques proceed to shewe the meanes howe to settle this excise, which must bee by a mercenarye armye of horse and foote. For the horse wee have it sure they shall bee forraigners and Germans, whoe will eate uppe the Kinge's revenewes, [and spoil[73]] the Countrye wheresoever they come, though they should be well paid: whatt havocke will they make then, when they gett not paye, or are not duely and monthely paid! Surely they will doe much more mischieffe then the Catholique[74] armye will doe.

Wee are provident and carefull that this mercenarye armye of two thousand horse, and twenty thousand foote, shal be taken upp and paid before the Excise be setled.

As in this inforcinge[75] the Excise the Countrye is most lykelie to ryse, yf the mercenarye armye subjugate the countrye, then the Soldiers and projectours shall bee paid out of the confiscations; yf the Countrye bee too harde for the soldiers, then they must [consequentlye[76]] mutinye, which is equallye advauntagious[77] to us.

Our superlative designe is to worke the Protestantes as well as the Catholiques to wellcome in a conquerour; that is by the meanes wee hope instantlye to dissolve trade, and hinder the buyldinge of shippes, in deviseinge[78] probable designes, and puttinge the state uppon the lyke expedition as that of Cales,[79] by takinge awaye the merchants' shippes, and puttinge them in hope to take the West Indya fleete[80] which was to finde a needle in a bottle of haye.

His Catholique Majestie shall not want our best endeavors and intelligence; besides he hath pistolettes and carvills,[81] which are still abroad to discover. Soe you cannott bee surprised in any harbour. When trayde is ruyned and shippinge decayed, whatt will become [of Excise? nay what will become] of noblemen's and gentlemen's revenewes. The Yeomen and farmers, in which consists the glorye of the infantrye of this kingdome, they will turn rogues, and will resemble the abject peasants of Fraunce, who are litle better than slaves.

[72] This portion of the alleged "Jesuit's Letter" might be supposed to have been founded upon what passed in debate in the House of Commons on the 7th of June, 1628, when Mr. Coriton declared that he had learned that there was a commission in the Crown Office "for enjoining of excise upon this kingdom," and that Burlemachi had a warrant of Privy Seal to disburse £30,000 for buying of German horse. (See the indignant debate which ensued in Hansard's *Parliamentary History*, 1807, vol. ii. p. 407).

[73] In *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[74] *Instead of* Catholique in Prynne and Rushworth, we hope, evidently corruptly. In Edition 1643, "then wee of the Catholique armye."

[75] *In forming*, Prynne and Rushworth.

[76] *Conffidentlye* in *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[77] *Disadvantagious* in *Harl. MS.* 1323.

[78] *Propounding*, Edition 1643.

[79] The Earl of Essex's expedition in 1596, as that of Coal's in Edition 1643.

[80] This is altered by Prynne into "so that they may not easily catch and light upon the West India fleet," &c. An evident perversion of the original. The whole remainder is omitted by Prynne.

[81] *He hath piscators*, *Harl. MS.* 3786. *He hath pistacheos and caravils*, Edition 1643.

Trade and shippinge is soe much decayed alreadye that London is as it were besieged[82] for want of fewell, for sea-coale is att three pounds the caldron.

When thinges are brought to this perfection, which will be (wee hope) by that tyme his Sacred Majestie hath setled his affayres in Germanye, all the people in generall [will long[83]] for a conquerour,[84] missinge their meanes and revenewes which should maintayne them accordinge to their severall rankes and quallityes ; then, we assure ourselves that the landes that were rent and torne from [the Church by] that ravenous monster Henry the eighth, shall be reassumed and restored by our mightye Protectour his Cattholique Majestie, to the recalling of those that are exiled, and deliveringe thousandes of soules that suffer persecution for the testimonye of a good conscyence. Joyne your prayers with ours in importuninge the Blessed Virgin Marye, and all the host of Angells and holye martyrs, to interceed for us, and noe question God will make haste to help us.

Thus hopeing to see Counte de Tillye and Marquesse Spinola here about July come twelve monthes, I reste. In the meane tyme wee praye for their happie successe in Germanye and the Lowe Countryes.

Your Friend

From the County of ———. J. M.

[The date and signature occur only in the printed copy of 1643.]

The learned writer in the *Camden Miscellany* remarks that "a stronger suspicion rests upon this document from the circumstance that, whilst the writer of the 'Discovery' carefully enumerates and describes all the more important papers which were found in the Jesuits' house, there is not among them one which answers to the description of the letter in question."

III. The following is a commencement of a letter in the State Paper Office, undated, but written in 1628, addressed by Sir John Maynard, K.B., who was then M.P. for Calne.

"To the Duke of Buckingham his Grace.

"My Lord,—I was astonished and amazed when my brother tould mee your Grace was not only jelious [jealous] of mee, but that yow did beeleve I had been malitious and trecherous agaynst yow. I know the Jesuites letter was the ground of your jelousy ; but, had your Grace leysure to peruse it, if yow doe but consider the circumstance of time (when Secritary Cooke spake of letters that he had intercepted of the Jesuites, and what wispering and caballing there was amongst Parliment men that sumthing contayned in those letters concerned the Duke, otherwise they had been published too humor the house) certanly could yow have seen how (like a whirlewind) they chopped aboute and shifted there opinions, yow would have smiled and not frowned at it." . . . He then speaks of other matters, which might have given the Duke

[82] *Frozen*, *Harl. MS.* 3786.
[83] *Linger*, *Harl. MS.* 1323.
[84] *Conquest*, Edition 1643.

offence, as "What I spoke of Dolbier,"[85] &c., and asks him, "Did you not in my Lord Craven's, and the City businus promise yow would never be jelious of mee: did yow not likewise, before the Parliament, give me commission too converse with your enimies and wright what I pleased? I confes I published A discourse too show yow were noe Arminian, too the which I annexed certayne resons why the Parliment should not medle with yow."

From these passages, the writer in the *Camden Miscellany*, with much reason, says, "It appears not improbable that the author of the Jesuits' Letter was Sir John Maynard.

He further observes, in his supplementary note upon the "Discovery,"[86] "It should also be noticed that the copy in the State Paper Office of the clumsily-forged Jesuits' Letter, is the very same which came from the study of Archbishop Laud, and from which Prynne printed." It bears the following indorsement—

3—x. A Jesuits Leter sent to y^e^. Rector at Bruxells, about y^e^. insuinge Parliament. [*In Laud's handwriting.*]

(7) 14. Arminianisme. [*In Prynne's handwriting.*]

This word probably refers to the passage of the Letter in the "Discovery" commencing, "Butt to returne to the maine fabrique of our foundation, which is Armynianisme."

It thus appears that the omissions made by Prynne, when he printed this document (or libel, as it may be more correctly called), were wilful omissions, and that the words "Leave out this wher the lines are drawn" came from his hand.

IV. Extracts from the Register of the Privy Council.

March 14, 1627 [8]. A warrant directed to George Long, Justice of the Peace of Middlesex, for the apprehending Jesuits and sending them severally to prison.

March 27, 1628. A warrant to the keeper of the Gatehouse, or to his deputy, to receive into custody and keep safe prisoners, the persons of George Hollande, Robert Beaumont, David Stanhop, and —— Parre, and to keep them until further order should be given.

The like warrant directed to the keeper of the new prison, or to his deputy, to receive into custody the persons of Joseph Underhill, Edmund Weedon, Edward Moore, John Pennington, servant to Weedon aforesaid, Margaret Isham, Thomas Latham, and George Kemp, gardener, and to keep them safe prisoners, until further order should be given by the Board. Signed by the Lord

[85] Colonel Dalbier was a native of the Low Countries, in the employ of Government there. He was at the time engaged in enlisting foreigners to be employed in England, a matter which excited the jealousy of Parliament.

[86] *Camden Miscellany*, vol. iv. 1859, p. 2 (of the paper).

President, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, Earl of Salisbury, Lord Viscount Grandison, and Mr. Secretary Coke.

At Whitehall, the 18th of April, 1628. Whereas a petition was this day presented to the Board by Humphrey Crosse, messenger, showing that the petitioner had taken great pains formerly in discovering of persons ill-affected in religion, and had of late by virtue of a warrant from Mr. Secretary Coke apprehended Father Muskett and Father Price, as also seven Jesuits within a house in Clerkenwell parish ; and that he had received no reward for the services aforesaid, nor any recompense for his great charges and disbursements in effecting thereof, and therefore made humble suit for such allowances as the Board should think fit. Their lordships, upon consideration had thereof, did think fit and order that Mr. Justice Long, Mr. Auditor Percy, and the said messenger, taking to their assistance two of the sworn apprizers of the City of London, shall take a view and just apprizement of all such goods as remain in the said house where the Jesuits were taken, and shall make a true inventory thereof, and return the same to the Board, to the end that recompense may be given out of the same to the said messenger, in recompense of the said service as shall be thought fit.

July 18, 1628. This day Joseph Underhill, a recusant, prisoner in the New Prison, in regard of his dangerous indisposition, which is certified by two physicians, had permission to remove from thence for the recovery of his health, upon the bond of himself and Drew Lovet, goldsmith, and Ferdinand Emerson, citizens of London, to make his appearance at the Board whensoever he shall be summoned.

At Whitehall, November 14, 1628. Order about recusants taken at Clerkenwell. For so much as concerneth the recusants who were taken at Clerkenwell, of whom divers are Jesuits, and the house where they were taken destined to be a college of that Order, as appeareth by that which was this day presented to the Board in writing by Mr. Secretary Coke. Whereas they are now in several prisons, it is ordered that they shall all be removed to the prison of Newgate, and such of them as are not yet convicted and condemned shall be proceeded against, until they be condemned, and then all of them sent to the Castle at Wisbech, according to the proclamation in that behalf. And likewise for so much as concerneth the goods taken in the aforesaid house, his Majesty's Attorney-General is required to take a course for entitling the King unto them.

It was at the house of the goldsmith Lovet, who bailed the prisoner Underhill, as stated in the preceding extracts, that the Jesuits and priests were supposed to meet in council, and are so represented in a curious print which was published in 1620[4], in the second part of Thomas Scott's *Vox Populi, or News from Spain.* It is given in illustration of the following statement, which is put into the mouth of Gondomar (who had been resident as Spanish Ambassador in England). "I will produce a letter unto me, subscribed with the hands of many of the chief among them, of the manner of their proceedings, and that you may know they spend not their time in England in vain. For I must, my lords, tell you I hold intelligence with the wisest and best learned among them, and wherever they are, *transeo per medium illorum.* Therefore I thought it not amiss by a draft to let you see them in their consultation, as they were wont to sit at the house of one L——, a

goldsmith in Fetter Lane by Holborn, in London. This L—— hath for many years closely kept a printing house, to the great furtherance and increase of the Catholic religion in that land, for by his means thousands and thousands of good books have been dispensed over the land, which albeit they are sold at an excessive rate, and he hath been a great gainer by them, yet are they printed and reprinted again, and much money gotten by them though uttered at third hand."[87]

The engraving, which is a most quaint and amusing one, represents eighteen persons seated about a square table, with the following inscription—

"*I have here set the true portraiture of the Jesuits and Priests as they used to sit at Council in England to further the Catholic cause,*"

On the table lie a bell (near the right hand of the President, Dr. Bishop), a cross, a lighted candle, a crucifix, and two books; and a seal and writing materials before one who appears to act as secretary. This is Father Palmer, who is attired in the costume of a gentleman, with a hat and feather.[88] The rest are all in ecclesiastical attire, with square caps. Their names (going round the table from Father Palmer) are Dr. Wright,[89] Dr. Bristow,

[87] There were, it appears, three brothers of this name, goldsmiths, and a fourth a priest named in Gee's list: "Father Lovett, brother to the three popish goldsmiths of that name." This was Father George Lovett, S.J. He was born in the year 1576, entered the Society 1611, and died in the novitiate London, August 1, 1640. Gee's list also mentions a bookseller: "Master Lovett in Holborn." In a deed of conveyance, dated March 20, 1662, relating to the ancient title of St. Beuno's College, S.J. Flintshire, James Lovett of the parish of St. Andrews, Holborn, Middlesex, goldsmith, and Elizabeth his wife, are named. She was daughter and heiress of Peter Ellis of Bryngwyn, county Flint, gentleman, the former owner of the property.

[88] Gee enumerates in his list two Jesuits [probably FF. Giles and Thomas Palmer] named Palmer "lodging about Fleet Street, very rich in apparel; the one a flaunting fellow, used to wear a scarlet cloak over a crimson satin suit." In another place Gee says, "If about Bloomsbury or Holborn thou meet a good snug fellow in a gold laced suit, a cloak lined through with velvet, one that hath good store of coin in his purse, rings on his fingers, a watch in his pocket, which he will value at about £20, a very broad laced band, a stiletto by his side, a man at his heels, willing (upon small acquaintance) to intrude himself into thy company, and still desiring further to insinuate himself with thee, then take heed of a Jesuit of the prouder sort of priests. This man hath vowed *poverty*. . . . Many of the Sec. Priests and Friars go as gallant as these, but the Jesuits have the superlative cognizance whereby they know one another, and that is, as I observed from this time, a gold hat-band studded with letters or characters. Perhaps at another time they may have another mark, according to their watchword given among them" (*Foot out of the Snare*, p. 50). Giles and Thomas Palmer were we believe *vere* Poultons.

[89] Gee mentions two persons of this name. "D. Wright, a grave ancient man; he lodgeth in the White Friars." Master William Wright, Jesuit, some time prisoner in the Tower, treasurer for the Jesuits (Gee's fourth edition). In an earlier edition, judging by the copy of the list in Morgan's *Phœnix Britannicus* 1732, 4to. p. 435, these two Wrights are described as one person. Master William Wright was Father William Wright, S.J. (See Oliver's *Collectanea* and Dodd, vol. iii. p. 114).

Father Barlow, Father Fisher,[90] Dr. Bishop, Father Pateson, Father Porter, Father Worthington, Father Aninear, Father Lovet, Dr. Smith, Father Ployden, Father Sweete, Father Heigham, Father Maxfeild, Father Curtice, and Father Wood. All the above are mentioned in Gee's list.

Copies of the Papers in the State Paper Office, in alphabetical order, as in Secretary Sir John Cooke's narrative.[91]

A. This is intituled, "An Inventorie of all such goods and household stuffe as was found in the house neere Clarkenwell, in the possession of Daniell Stanhoppe, Edward Moore, George Holland als Guido Holte, Joseph Underhill als Thomas Poulton, Thomas Weedon, Edward Parre, Robert Beaumonte,[92] suspected to be Jesuites or Seminairie Priests. And of Thomas Latham, housekeeper there, beinge seized by me George Long Esqre. one of his Ma^ts.^ Justices of the Peace of the County of Midd. the xix^th^ daie of Marche 162$\frac{7}{8}$. By vertue of a warrant from the Right Ho^ble.^ the Lords and others of his Ma^ts.^ Most Ho^ble.^ privie Counsell."

The long catalogue of goods here given is omitted, as being of no historical value.

Several pages are devoted to monthly accounts at Edmonton, Camberwell, and Clerkenwell, which are marked D in the Secretary of State's narrative. We subjoin the following brief extracts, as specimens of the expenditure of this formidable Jesuit opposition, or "concurrent Parliament." They increase our surprise how Sir John Cooke, the principal Secretary of State, could have attempted in so barefaced a manner to play upon Parliament and the country; and how these could have allowed themselves to be so easily duped. They were only too ready to lay hold upon any pretext, however absurd, to assist them in curbing the King's pledged indulgence towards his Catholic subjects.

[90] Probably Father John Percy *alias* Fisher.

[91] The Clerkenwell papers are bound up in one thick folio State Paper volume, *Dom. Charles I.*, State Papers, vol. xcix. 1628, marked on the back, "Jesuits, Clerkenwell." The great bulk of them, beyond those here copied, relate chiefly to the affairs of the Catholic clergy, secular and regular, and laity, in connection with the Bishop of Chalcedon and his appointment as Vicar-Apostolic in England. As they are of great length, and are not distinctly connected with the Society, a simple reference to them here is sufficient. It has been remarked that the seizure of these papers, and their careful preservation in the State Paper Office, were providential, especially as the Record Office is now thrown open to the public. They would otherwise hardly have escaped destruction during those disturbed times, in which we have so frequently to deplore the loss of many and very precious documents.

[92] *Vere* Robert Jenison *alias* Freville.

The accounts are endorsed, "The accompt of the expenses of the Society, approved of by Father Richard Banks," &c.

"At Camberwell, at Edmonton, at Clerkenwell. Found at Clerkenwell per Mr. Long, March 15, 1627."

For the sake of brevity we have translated into English, from the original Latin, the account of one month and the summary of a year, placing them in opposite columns.

The expenses for the month of January, 1624, *from the time of the Provincial visitation.*	£	s.	d.	*Expenses for the year* 1624. *Summary.*	£	s.	d.	
In bread and beer . .	2	3	0		22	13	6	
,, wine. . . .	1	2	0		11	16	4	
,, meat. . . .	6	1	0		57	14	0	
,, fish, eggs, milk, butter	1	1	0		44	0	0	And various house-keeping.
,, vegetables and fruit .	0	7	3		18	0	0	Servants.
					7	15	3	Taxes.
,, candles, salt, &c. .	0	19	6		17	15	8	
,, wood and coal . .	2	3	0		23	10	4	
,, spices, &c. . .	0	15	6		9	3	10	
,, alms. . . .	0	16	0		6	7	2	
,, horses and sundries .	0	9	0		8	15	1	
	£15	17	3		£227	11	2	

After these follow the Camberwell house accounts for twenty months, from the 1st of May, 1625, to the 1st of January, 1627—total expenditure (as above) £346 18s. 1d.

The summary for three years, from the 1st of January, 1624, to the 1st of January, 1627, was £574 11s. 3d. The income was £429, showing a deficit of £145 11s. 3d.

The next paper, marked **E**, shows in detail the monthly accounts for 1625.

The documents marked **F. G. H. I. K.** are nothing more than a collection of missionary and domestic regulations, signed by the Father Provincial, Richard Blount, and his Socius, Father Astlow or Astley (*alias* Alicambe), and are dated in 1625, the time of the Provincial visitation.

From the inventories of the furniture, and the valuations, made by order of the Privy Council by Mr. Long the magistrate, and his satellites, Crosse, Mayo, &c., we get a good idea of the size of the residence, &c., viz.—Hall, dining-room, library, ten bed-rooms, with garrets and the usual domestic offices.

The sum total of the valuation is £164.

Amongst the linen we find "several pieces of linen, cobweb lawn, small handkerchiefs [purificators], altar clothes, ante-pendants, and other altar linen, vi$^{li.}$ iij$^{s.}$ One fair alb of cambric, edged with needlework about the skirts, neck, and hands, l$^{s.}$ [50$^{s.}$]."

Eight other albs for priests, iiij$^{li.}$ x$^{s.}$ Two vestments of calico, laced with silk lace, v$^{s.}$ Five pieces of vestments of cope-work, and four ante-pendants, xxv$^{s.}$ Seven old priests' gowns of black stuff, at iiij$^{s.}$ the piece, xxviii$^{s.}$

The stock of books was very small. "A little trunk with 40 books in it, and three trunks more, xxv$^{s.}$ A dictionary, a *Flores Doctorum*, a missal, and a breviary, with about six books for a scholar." "One chalice, cup of silver, taken in the hole where Parr the priest was found, which are not appraised."

There was also "one old English bible, a book of Sir Walter Raleigh's works, and a Cooper's dictionary, not valued."

Among other things that "the said Mr. Long sent home to his own house for his own use," was the trunk with the forty books.

The same Mr. Long "gave to his son one Corpus case, with furniture, and other things belonging to the altar, being massing stuff, which he took out of the court cupboard in the dining chamber."

The same Mr. Long also carried off "two watches, one of them being cased with a needlework case of silk and silver, which he took out of the desk in the library."

The money in the house, £7 13s. 9d. was secured by Cross, the pursuivant.

L is endorsed, "Directions for the letters of the Societie,"

Poynts for the Annuall letters beside those which are in the rule "De formula scribendi."

1. How many reconciled & baptized.
2. How many generall confessions.
3. Extraordinary encounters in confirmatiō of Catholike religion.
4. Straung and notable conversions.
5. How many have bene recalled or kept frō taking the oath or falling otherwise.
6. What pticuler Benefitts have happened for the good of the Society.
7. How many have bene directed to the Seminaryes, or religious howses, men or women.
8. How many prisoners, or what p'secution hath befallen us or our freinds.
9. What reliefe prisoners or pore Catholikes have had by our meanes.

10. What good example or edification hath bene given by us or our freindes in life or death.

11. What opinion the Society hath in those [parts].

12. What charity or Almes hath bene given to the Society.

13. How many Attonmts. have bene made by those who were at dissension.

M is endorsed by the Secretary Cooke, "Rich. Man as it seemeth Provincial of the Jesuits. Directions. Relief for the Colleges of St. Omer & Lovain."

Most deare Sr.

These are to lett you vnderstand some thinges wch. I much desyre may hereafter be exactly observed. And first, Whereas Scævola[93] desireth that the annualls be sent so composed as that they may comprehend the whole yeares fruites of our mission, I desyre you will be carefull to comply wth. him therein; and from Christmasse to Christmasse cause all to be gathered and compiled in one after the due forme by him whom for that end I required long since you should appoint. This done, you may procure to send them unto me every Candlemasse terme at wch. tyme I shall hereafter ever expect them.

Secondly, whereas divers hitherto have made repaire vnto me for answeare of some businesse wch. might as commodiously have bin answeared by yourselfe and so dispatched, beinge they neither exceeded your power nor faculties; I desyre hereafter both that the ordination about comminge to London be more strictly observed then hitherto it hath bin, and that none repayre to me for answeare of any businesse wch. yourselfe can give, beinge that I am resolved in that case to refer them unto you, as our rule requireth and is necessarye to all due subordination.

Thirdly, because it hath pleased his Holinesse to graunt vnto the Clergy of England a Byshop, I greatley desyre that all be presently admonished that they take great care in their speaches and conversations with others never to mislyke thereof, but rather that they prayse and approve his Holinesses proceeding therein, hopinge that all will be for God's greater glory, and the good of our Country. And that we hope our Society will allways be readie to serve him here for the good of soules, no lesse then it doth the Bishops in other Countries; and that wee will all endeavor never to give him, or the clergy anie iust occasion of offence or exception against us, or anie of our proceedinges, in wch. I doe now more then ever desyre, and so far forth as I may, command that all warinesse and circumspection be observed by us.

Fourthly, that according to Scævola's expresse order, all bee admonished not to meddle wth. anie thinge belonginge to the temporalls of Mrs. Mary Ward or anie of her companie: and that in places where they reside, those only heare their confessions, who by name shall be designed for it by you and no others; and that none give them by word of mouth or send them in writing anie spirituall directions or instructions belonginge to their soule or conscience without the knowledge of the Superior, and finally lett all endeavor not to meddle in their businesses, and make the world know that the Society hath noe more to doe wth. them, then with all other penitents who resort vnto them; whereby I hope in a

[93] An *alias* for the Very Reverend Father General.

short tyme the manifold calumniations, wch. for their cause and proceedinges are layed upon vs will have an end.

Fifthly, whereas the Seminary of St. Omer's for want of beinge duely paid for such Schollers as are sent thither hath bin in evident danger to be dissolved, not beinge able to satisfye their creditors who continually call upon them, and unlesse efficacious order be presently taken it will not be possible to continue it any longer, which will much staine the good name of the Society, I doe by these, in the bowells of Jesus Christ, beseech every Superior by themselves, or others whom they shall appointe, to sollicite the due payment every halfe yeare for such [scholars] as have bin sent from the compasse of their district. And that they take all care punctually to observe those pointes wch. for this particular end have bin conceaved, examined, and approooved by me and my consultors for the present helpe of that Seminary, and the redresse of former errours, and are now sent you together with these, entreatinge also your prudent sollicitude for the recovery of arrearages, especially of these three last yeares viz. 1621, 1622, 1623. And finally that for such [scholars] as shall hereafter be sent after the receipt of these, expresse covenant be made in forme and manner as is sett downe.

Lastly, I cannot but with all affection entreate, as I did in time of the Congregation, that all such of ours as are able, will endeavor to send yearely an almes of £5 to the Colledge of Louvaine, who have otherwise little or nothing to live vpon but what myselfe from tyme to tyme send them, yf anie out of their liberality will send more they shall doe God and our Society therein greate service, and shall be partakers of those prayers wch. are said for Founders and benefactors *pro rata*, and so with my hartiest wishes I betake you to our Lord, and rest

Yours ever and all,

RICH. MAN.[94]

N. Indorsement in the handwriting of Mr. Secretary Cooke.

"Mutius Vitellesius, General of the Jesuits, to Thomas Salisburie, who had written unto him concerning the state of the Societie, with like acknowledgment to Father Frevel."

✠

Rde. in Xo. P. r.

Pax Chri.

Gratissimæ mihi fuere, quæ R. Væ. 16 Januarii, de statu familiæ, in qua commoratur, scripsit. Etsi enim imbecillior valetudo Rectoris et Magistri Novitiorum molestiam mihi aliquam pariat, ea tamen inde minus premor, quòd cùm hoc tempore ob publicas difficultates pauci admodum tyrones istic sint, studio, et industria, illorum instruendi, non ita magnum incommodum ex illorum infirmitate accipi credam. Quod si aliquando uberior istic seges laborum ipsis oblata fuerit, spero etiam divinam benignitatem illis vires et robur laboribus subeundis pares suppedituram. Interim gratias ago R. Væ. pro diligenti ac sedula sua scriptione, uti et P. Roberto Frevillo, qui etiam officio suo cumulatè satis fecit.

[94] The body of the above letter seems to be in Father Alecamp's writing. The signature is certainly Father Richard Blount's.—ED.

Quod ut R. Va. eidem significet, ac meo nomine amanter salutet, ab ea valde peto. Atque hisce me sanctis suis Sacrificiis ac precibus commendo. Romæ, 10 Aprilis.[95]

R. Væ. Servus in Chr'o,
MUTIUS VITELLESIUS.

P. Thomæ Salisburio, Londinum.

Direction of Letter "Al molto Magro. Sigr. mio Ossermo.
"il Sr. Thomas Salisburio
Londra."

O. Endorsed "Directions for answers."

"23rd May 1601." Of the lawful manner of answering to questions of going to Church, or receavinge or doing other religious actions.

1. First, in my judgment these questions tending religidm [religion ward] and to ye practise thereof: the answeare must be such as may be lawfull in a religious sense. For otherwise the answer giveth just cause that the demander conceave a sense dishonorable to God: So it is not lawful to say he goeth to Church, because he meaneth a pfane going to Powles,[96] nor that he hath receaved, because he receaved his rents, or a piece of bread, at home; or that he hath service: because he hath service of his man; or such like.

2. Secondly, if a man be demanded whether he doeth a religious action, wch. is by morall estimation of all men in this Cotry [country] appropriated to ye hereticall religion, it is no way lawful to say he doth it or will do it; such is this question—Go you to ye Church? Receave you the Communion? insomuch that altho' one had either heard Masse sayed indeed in a Church, or bene at Masse at Calis: he were bound to expresse those conditions, if he answer that he was at Churche; for otherwise he giveth just occasion (considering that there are no publick Churches of Catholikes in England) to be vnderstood of going to hereticall Churches.

3. Thirdly, if there were indeed use of hereticall Churches publickly for Catholicks, and hereticks also; then if an heretick asked a Catholick if he had been at Church, he might ansr. yea, tho' the heretick should imagine that he had bene at the hereticall Church, for that is the hereticks folly to vnderstand him so, without any prōble cause given by the Cathc.

4. Fourthly, whereas to heare divine service, and to receave, are thinges common to both religions, and so well known to all men so to be; it seemeth very prōble vnto me that a Cathk. may say (being asked whether he cometh to the Church) that he doth not, and that he hath service at home at his howse. Likewise that he hath receaved at Easter (so that he affirme not that he receaved the Commn.) My reason is: for that these beinge known as comon thinges to both religions, there is no pble cause to interprete these answeres as dishonourable to religion, neither is it any

[95] The year is torn away with the seal. Father Thomas Salisbury (*vere* Plowden) arrived in England 1623, so the date would be between that year and 1628.

[96] "A profane going to Powles," *i.e.*, a visit to the nave of St. Paul's for secular purposes. It was then the custom, inveighed against in the sermons of the time, for people to "walk Powles," in order to meet others on business, much as, in a later day, a merchant would appear on 'Change.

more dangerous to answer thus, then if a Protestant should argew a man to be no Papist, because he telleth him that he prayeth vnto God; whereas this Protestant esteemeth in his conceite, that Papists never pray.

5. Fifthly. Neverthelesse in these cases of the third and fourth proposition, there must be regard had, first, to scandall (which cannot be when a man is not a knowen Catholicke; or goeth by an unknowen name). Secondly, to the affirmative precept of confession of faith. For altho' these seeme to me not expresse denialls of Faith; yet may there be a question whether the particuler circumstances be such, that a man may be bound not only not to deny his faith, but also expressly to confesse it. Wherein must be considered those two conditions wch. St. Thomas[97] and all other sett downe; *honor debitus Deo, et utilitas proximis impendenda.* And therefore it seemeth that before a publick Magistrate, greater consideron is to be had, then before simple men, or Ch. wardens which come to inquire (at the least ordinarily, and when a person is unknowen).

6. Sixthly, in case there be no daunger of scandall, nor no certainty of the bond of the affirmative Precept of Confession of faith; it is always lawfull (wch. seemeth to be in all interrogations of Churchwardens, or such who go from house to house *pro forma*, and as it were of custome) to elude the interrogations not by equivocation (wch. in these cases may not be used) nor by any words wch. may seeme to promise to go to the Church, or to say we do go to the Church, but by other indifferent speeches. As, "think you that I will live like an Atheist! doubt you not but I will behave myselfe like a good Christian and dewtifull to God and to my Prince, Think you that I am one of the family of love? Think you I meane not to receave this Easter? If I receave not in this place, I hope I shall in another. There is no cause why you should call me in question for going to the Ch. When I am at home, my master (being sickly) hath need of my continual attendance, and if he send me abroade of messages, I may, if I will, step in to any Churches on a sodaine more commodiously thereabouts where my busines lyeth. Looke to yourselves, I may heare service at home, I may go to twenty places or Churches. Can you sweare I go to none?" These and such answers my be in my opinion framed.

7. Finally. Whereas in all morall matters either in common or particular (where there is no expresse definition of faith) there cannot be that certainty, as there is in other p'positions of speculation, it is sufficient to follow a pble. opinion; and neither being too bold, nor too scrupulous, comending the matter to God, and resolving to do nothing offensive to His Maiesty: to say or do that wch. wise men judge pble, or the example of vertuouse men hath approved: for in morall matters the practise of good men is of very greate moment; for it is to be p'supposed that the spirit of God guideth the multitude of his servants.

And this is most of all trew in the obligation of the affirmative precepts, wch. whereas they bind only *pro loco et tempore*, it is very hard to litte [light] just of the place and time when they bind, and so an errour admitted *bonâ fide* and of simplicity in these cases, can never be mortall, when there is no expresse denyall of Faith.

Hæc oia salvo melius Sentientium judicio.

[97] 2. 2. q. 3. ar. 2.

P (I). Indorsement in Secretary Cooke's handwriting, "A Register of the names according to their orders and times of appearance."

R. P. Richardus Banxius.
P. Robertus Frevillus.
P. Thomas Salisburius.
P. Joannes Clarus.[98]
P. Thomas Poultonus.

Novitii.

P. Nicolaus Lusherus.
P. Joannes Mannockus.
P. Franciscus Brownus.[98]
P. Robert Coccius.
P. Jo'es Gravenerius.
P. Gulielmus Elizæi.
P. Edmundus Bradshawus.[99]
P. Jacobus Jones.
P. Robertus Tempestus.
P. Franciscus Gardinerus.
P. Henricus Claxtonus.[100]
P. Christopherus Warnerus.
P. Nathanael Southwellus.
P. Jo'es. Dormerus.
Joannes Stephani.
Gulielmus Putnæus.
Jo'es. a Sto. Edmundo.
Thomas Gervasii.

Veterani Missionarij.

P. Joes. Fisherus.
P. Gulielmus Savillus.
P. Christopherus Grinwoodus.
P. Joes. Yvisonus.
P. Simon Swinburnus.
P. Sabinus Chamberus.
P. Henricus Morus.
P. Richardus Whitmorus.
P. Robertus Bucquus.
P. Thomas Ipslæus.
P. Timotheus Hayus.
P. Gulielmus Morsæus.
P. Henricus Belfildus.
P. Thomas Abercrombæus.
P. Franciscus Milesius.
P. Thomas Lathwaytus.
P. Joannes Radfordus.
P. Henricus Floydus.
P. Laurentius Worthingtonus.
P. Philippus Fisherus.
P. Odoardus Williamsonus.
P. Guido Hollandus.
P. Henricus Hawkenus.
P. Thomas Keelus.
P. Joes. Grimstonus.
P. Thomas Pricius.
P. Georgius Morlæus.
P. Henricus Wilkinsonus.
P. Joes. Pansfordus.[98]

In Missione Suffolciensi.

P. Petrus Simsonus.[98]
P. Gulielmus Brooksbæus.
P. Franciscus Yongus.
P. Henricus Copingerus.
P. Thomas Gulielmi.
P. Thomas Everardus.

P (II). *Nondum examinati ad gradum.*

P. Thomas Poultonus.
P. Nicolaus Lusherus.
P. Joes. Mannockus.
P. Jacobus Jones.
P. Franciscus Gardinerus.
P. Henricus Claxtonus.
P. Chr'ophorus Warnerus.
P. Nathanael Southwellus.
P. Joes. Dormerus.
P. Richardus Whitmorus.
P. Robertus Bucquus.
P. Timothæus Hayus.
P. Gulielmus Morsæus.
P. Franciscus Milesius.
P. Henricus Hawkinus.
P. Joes. Grimstonus.

[98] The list marked **Z** is a copy of this list **P** (I), omitting the distinctive headings and the names of Clare, Brown, and Pansford, and changing Simson into Benson.
[99] Father Edmund Arrowsmith, martyr.
[100] Father Henry Morse, martyr.

P (III). *Aderunt in S. Ignatio, a p^o. Aug: usque a p^m. Octob: Novitii.*

Ad renovanda vota circa p^am. hebdomadam Julii et Januarii, die quo monebuntur.

P. Rich. Whitmorus.
P. Rob. Frevillus.
P. Philippus Fisherus.
P. Joannes Pansfordus.
P. Gulielmus Elisæi.
P. Odoardus Williamsonus.
P. Henricus Wilkinsonus.

2^a. Heb.; Julii et Januarii die quo monebuntur.

P. Georgius Morlæus.
P. Thomas Keelus.
P. Jo^es. Grimstonus.
P. Robertus Bucquus.
P. Gulielmus Morsæus.
P. Thomas Pultonus.
P. Thomas Salisburius.

3^a. Hebdom. Julii et Januarii, die quo monebuntur.

P. Timotheus Hayus.
P. Franciscus Milesius.
P. Guido Hollandus.
P. Henricus Hawkinus.
P. Nicholaus Lusherus.
P. Joannes Mannochus.

Aderunt ad annuam recollectionem. P^o. die non festo post Dom. in Albis.

P. Thomas Abercrombæus.
P. Nicholaus Lusherus.
P. Jo^es. Mannockus.
P. Gulielmus Elizæi.

Sabb. ante Dom. 3 post Pascha.

P. Simon Swinburnus.
P. Sabinus Chamberus.
P. Tho. Keelus.
P. Guliel. Morsæus.

Die Martij post Dom. 4 a Pascha.

P. Joannes Fisherus.
P. Guliel. Savillus.
P. Henricus Floydus.
P. Robert. Frevillus.

Ipso die Ascensionis a prandio.

P. Jo^es. Ivysonvs.
P. Philippus Fisherus.
P. Chr'opho Greenwoodus.
P. Robertus Bucquus.

Post festum Corp^ris. Chr'i.

P. Thomas Lathwaytus.
P. Joannes Radfordus.
P. Laurentius Worthingtonus.
P. Henricus Belfildus.

Aderunt 2 Octob.

P. Tho. Pricius.
P. Georgius Morlæus.
P. Fran. Yongus.
P. Tho. Gulielmi.

15. *Octob.*

P. Jo^es. Grimstonus.
P. Guido Hollandus.
P. Henricus Hawkinus.
P. Francis Milesius.

3. *Novemb.*

P. Petrus Simsonus.
P. Gul. Broosbæus (*sic in orig.*) [Brookesbæus].
P. Gul. Williamson.
P. Jōa Pansfordus.

16. *Novemb.*

P. Henricus Coppingerus.
P. Tho. Everardi.
P. Hen. Wilkinsonus.
P. Timot. Hayus.

3. *Decemb.*

P. Rich. Whitmorus.
P. Tho. Blofildus.
P. Henricus Morus.
P. Jo^es. Clarus.

3. *Feb.* [blank]

16. [blank]

Die lu. post 1. Dom. Quadrag.

[Blank]

Die lu. post. Dom. 3 *Quadrag.* *Reliquo tempore supplebit per domesticos.*

[Blank] *Adventantes et aliter impeditos.*[101]

Y (I). Endorsed by Sir John Cooke, "1627. Feb. 13. Edward Wingfield to Edward Parre. To come to London to bee promoted on St. Joseph's day."

To his very louinge friende Mr. Edward Parr giue these.

Most deare Sr. These are only to aduertise you that my Mr. desyreth your presence here in towne about the 10th or the eleuenth of March next ensuinge wthout faile, that so preparinge your selfe you may, togeather with some others, be *prouided*[102] vpon St. Joseph's day, faile not to come and let me have a part in your best remembrances.

I am Yours ever and all

13th of feb. 1628. EDW WINGFD.[103]

Y (II). Endorsed by Cooke, "This note of direction to the Jesuits found at Clerkenwel."

Singuli dicent vnum sac. et in reliquis orationibus comendabunt Dnō Deo negotium quoddam magni momenti.

EDWD. WINGFD.

Mandto. R. R. Provlis.

Z. Endorsed, "The names of all those that are Priestes of the order of St. Ignatius." Cooke adds, "found in Clerkenwel 15 March 1627. P. Long."[104]

[101] The date of this Catalogue was 1624–5, as may be gathered from the list of novices.

[102] Sir J. Cooke substitutes this word by mistake for *promoted*.

[103] Father Wingfield is here called by his *alias* or by-name. His real name was Edward Astlow, or Astley, and he was very generally known as Edward Alecamp. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus of the Holy Father, in the name of Edward Alecamp (*vero nomine* Astley or Astlow), aged about twenty-one, on the 9th of October, 1605. After receiving some of the minor orders, he entered the Society in the month of November, 1608, and, as the Diary of the College says, "distinguished for virtue and learning." On entering the College he gives the following short autobiographical account of himself:—"My mother's name was Frances Wingfield. I was born towards the end of the year 1584 in London, and was educated in Essex. The condition of my parents and chief friends is not wealthy. I have two brothers and three sisters, all Catholics, as are also my relations. I was a Protestant until fifteen years old, and brought back to the Catholic faith by a relative, and reconciled to the Church by Father Roger Filcock [the martyr], by whose assistance I was sent from England [to St. Omer's College.]" In 1614 he was at the new College S.J. of Liege, and for some years subsequently filled the office of Procurator at Rome. At the time of the "Clerkenwell Discovery" he was acting as Socius to Father Richard Blount the Provincial. He died at the College of Ghent (the house of Tertians) February 6, 1646.

[104] This list Z is a copy of the list P (I), omitting the distinctive headings and the names of Clare, Brown, and Pansford; placing Henricus Belfildus next to Henricus Morus, and changing Petrus Simsonus (in Miss. Suffolk) into Petrus Bensonus.

"Letter of Father Arthur Sanders to Father Edward Parre." This is one of the papers bound up in the same vol. xcix., with those marked as found at Clerkenwell. See previous observations on it.

Sir—I have receaved these inclosed[105] to bee directed unto yow. They came *post festum;* soe yow will fynde tyme to celebrate *this Orientall joye,*[106] *which is* here highly esteemed.

I thought to have gotten a companion for Darrell, but hee had his excuses, and so I must expect a second passage of people from Olympio ;[107] ther arr five or six comminge, and I have made my choyce before hande of one who I knowe will not faile to prove fitt for yow.

I must now write unto yow for the tronke of myne which yow have in your custodie, of which I sent you the keye ; ther arr some calumniations raysed about itt, and I must not detayne itt any longer in my hands ; wherfore I pray yow faile not to send itt up by the carriers of Barnstable p. first, with every thinge that did belonge unto itt, for I must stande upon titles in this case, wher the giver is retrograde ; Send itt upp to Mrs. Elizabeth Whitinge in Fetter-lane, with a direction well nayled on, and a letter to my lodgings for my landladye. Bee sure to corde the tronke well, that the like error doth not befall mee, as itt did Mr. *Doctor;* the keye must come in letter as I sent itt to yow. I hope the thinges are removed from Shillinge &c.[108] *for itt concernes us all deepely to looke to the mayne chaunce ; lett itt be done whatsoever it costeth ; and as I wrott before conceale the owner's name.*[109] *Mr. Piggott is here still. Wee are thinkinge to reconcile him with an exercise precedent,* before hee goeth over, and then to turne him over to Calcedon. This [is] the opinion of our frends ; and I am like to follow itt.

Newes there is none, but the exorbitant marriage of the Lady Sydnam, who is married to the Lord Gray, a Scottish Viscount, she being of the age of fower score, and hee of fower and twenty.

Mr. Owen Tichbourne is come to London, and remembers his love to yow.

I pray yow sell my nagg, if you can, att the best rate yow may, and send me word how I may convay your little nagg to yow.

The six hundred pounds had like to have been utterlie lost ; but now itt is recoverable, yf I could bringe the partie to assign itt. Itt may be that, yf yow think itt convenient, I may in tyme procure an assignment for Combe of 100li. thereof. Lett him facilitate his landlorde therein, yf yow think good to mention itt ; otherwise I will not deale with itt. Yow wold little thinke how vehemently I have been charged by the yongest sonne of cossenage, and with solemne oathes that I have the three hundred pounds in my hande to my

[105] This refers to the Latin directions transcribed at the end of the letter.

[106] *Underscored,* as noticed above.

[107] *Alias* Rome.

[108] The latter part of this name is obscurely written, ? Shillingford, near Exeter? At Bowhey, Sir George Petre, who was a benefactor to the Society, possessed a house, but he sold his Devonshire property in the autumn of 1626 (*Camden Miscellany,* vol. ii. 1853).

[109] These two lines are underscored by the same pen as the words "orientall joye."

owne use, as Combe tolde him; but I knowe hee saith untrulie therein, and I have defended myselfe with silence. Hee is drawinge up articles against me for intermeddlinge in his father's estate. The olde man is insensible of these thinges now, and therfore I must have patience and answer with the best courage I can the fowlenes of his rage, who only hath opposed both this 600li. and the portions of his two neeces. God forgive him and make me wise in trustinge to better spiritts. I wish I wer delivered from him and his, and have endeavoured itt with best strength I can, but I see I must stande still to my olde taske.

I wold I could tell when yow woulde come neere London, that I might meete yow halfe waye, for my harte longeth to see yow. Nothing els occureth, but with my best wishes I rest,

Yours ever

London, this 15 of Feby. AR. SANDERS.

Mr. Weston wrott an excellent letter to me, which dothe admirablie content our master, and I pray yow thanke him for itt.

Then follows—

Ex concessione S. D. N. Urbani 8i possunt oēs n'ræ Soctis. Sacerdotes recitare officium et dicere sacrū de communi plurimorū martyrū de tribus martyribus nostris Japonensibus vid. Paulo Michi, Joanne Goto, et Didaco Quisai, in die eorū natali id est 5 Febij.

Singuli dicent unū Sacrū pro D'no Questore regio Joanne de Aruniega.

It'm tria pro quodam defuncto juxta intentionē uxoris ejus.

It'm tria pro Comite Nassau et Conjuge fundatoribus vivis.

It'm tria pro Principessa Bisignani fundatrice defuncta.

20 Janij. 1628.

(Directed) To my very lovinge frend
Mr. Edward Parr these dd.[110]

[The seal red wax, a small flaming heart.]

Endorsed by Cooke, "E. K. H. to Daniel Stanhop."

To his worthy freynde Mr. Danel Stannop, these be his. London.

Most deare Sr.

Quid retribuam tibi pro omnibus quæ retribuisti. Verily I have noe other way of recompence but by turning myself to an omnipotent Paye-Master, and saie "Retribuere dignare Dni." I cannot but thank you for the token which Coffin brought (of wch. he had spent half in his journey) much more for that which nowe I receyve from you at Tichburne's lodging; but most of all for that tender and fatherlie affection wch. you ever since I knewe you have expressed towards so miserable a creature as I am. God in heaven reward you for all, and make me grateful, yf not *in re* (which I shall never be able) at least *in voto*, in hart, in desire, in a perpetuall memorie. Sr. You knowe I am not a man of ceremonie; neyther shall my hart ever make my penn a lyer, while I write and

[110] In the list of the captured Jesuits, below, we find that Edward Parr is a bye-name or *alias* for Father Henry or Father Edward More. See note, p. 139, as to there being two Fathers More, Henry and Edward.

profess unto you that the respect and affection wch. I beare you is greater than I can write. Almightie God protect you from all your enemies.

And so I end. This 19 of June 1626.

Yours as you know

Mr. Daniel Stannop. E. K. H.[111]

Various papers relating to Dr. Richard Smith, the Bishop of Chalcedon, and the affairs of the secular clergy, &c., were seized at the house at Clerkenwell. It is doubtful whether the two following were among them, although now bound up in the same volume with the rest. They appear rather to be informations given to the Government by parties not Catholic, but containing some remarkable particulars of the principal Catholics, and will be found historically interesting. They are written by different hands.

Richard Smith was born in 1566, and was for a time a student of Trinity College, Oxford. He took his degree of D.D. at Valladolid. Two royal proclamations were successively issued against him on December 11, 1628, and March 29, 1629.[112] After the latter proclamation he left England, and did not return.

Richard Smith, an Englishman, borne in Lincoln; about the age of 60, brought up student in the Seminaries of Rome and Spaine. Afterwards divine to the Bishop of Lusson,[113] now Cardinal of Richelieu, by whose favor he was, about 4 yeares since, by authoritie from the Pope, made Bp. over the English Romane Catholics, with title of Calcedone and Ordinary of England, where he hath now appointed and substituted his inferior officers, dispersed throughout all the Countyes of this realme, with titles, powers, and formalities belonging to any Catholique Bishops wheresoever, as Vicaires Generalls, one for the South, another for the North, deanes, archdeacons, rurall deanes, notaries, apparitours, binding by oath (as appeareth by the same) all those his officers and other priests of his proper bodie, and particular Clergie, to advance the Spirituall and temporall good of this his English Secular Clergie, attributing to himselfe the decision of all causes *in primâ instantiâ*, as those which concerne Mariages, Testaments, Legacies, and such like, as well of Ecclesiasticall as Lay persons. Neverthelesse this his illimited and exorbitant Episcopall authority, titles, officers, and proceedings, are rejected, disapproved, and condemned by the chief Catholikes, as well Clerks as Layes, as a thing contrary to the Canons, practise, and lawes of Christian Provinces, but especially of this realme, tending to the confusion of Police in Civill and Ecclesiasticall matters, prejudiciall to souveraine auethoritie and order of this state, all which appeares by

[111] We are unable to trace the name of the Father who writes the above letter.

[112] See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii. pp. 143, 144.

[113] Luçon, to which see Richelieu was promoted at the early age of twenty-two.

their letters and reasons written both sides to Rome, their bookes and speeches. This considered, It resteth in his Majesties prudence and counsell to connive and tolerate this newe borne monstrouous infant, or by commanding diligent search and inquisition of the state and facte to dissolve and crush it in the cradle, by laying hold of the present occasion and opportunitie.

George Gage, Prisoner in the Clinke, Agent for the Bishop and his Clergie, and Seminarie of Douay in Artois.

William Harrvell, *alias* Farrar, called the Bishop's Secretary, and Notairy Apostolick, prisonner in the New Prison in London.

Muskette, Deputie to Mr. Colmiton, in the South, as some say, prisonner in the Gatehouse in Westminster.

[*Indorsed*] Bishop of Calcedone, that is over all the English Catholickes, and some of his officers.

Doctor Smith[114] lived ordinarily in the howse of the Lady Mordant Widow, Mother to the Lord Mordant, and Sister to the President of Wales, at Turvie in Bedfordshire, within 3 miles of Bedford, the howse in the midst of a Parck. From thence hee useth to goe[115] to the Ladie Dormers, in Buckinghamshire, at Wing, or Ivinge, or at Chander's, which is a howse in a wood neere Alesburie, and neere that place Anthonie Dormer her sonne entertaineth him at his howse within 2 miles of Missenden. Thence he useth to goe to Cowdray to the Lord Montague's; thence to the Count Arundel's at Wardour,[116] and thence to Grafton to the Lord of Shrewsburies; thence to Sir Basil Brookes near Shrewsburie,[117] and then into Lancashire. Hee travelleth in his coch with 4 horses accompanid with 9, or ten Preists. Hee seldom cometh to London; but employeth Fisher[118] most part at the Ladie Dormer's; and Collington[119] in Kent, at Sir Wm. Roper's; and Musket in London, at the Lord Sturton's howse at Clerkenwel,[120] [at] Maidenhead at Sir H. Gilford's, or in Drurie Lane, at the Lord Montague's howse;[121] and Barley[122] the Jesuit in Lancashire, and Umpton *alias*

[114] This is in Sir John Cooke's handwriting.

[115] It is remarkable how entirely this account of Dr. Smith's episcopal progress tallies with that given by Dodd of the first journey of his predecessor Bishop. See Dodd.

[116] In 1639 created Lord Arundell of Wardour.

[117] For an account of this leading Catholic, see Dodd, vol. iii. p. 58.

[118] The *Camden Miscellany* writer (*ut supra*), in a note, observes that there were two Fishers Jesuits, John and Philip. This is an error. Philip appears to have been the same with Musket presently named. Musket's *alias* was Fisher; he was a secular priest. See Dodd, vol. iii. p. 98. John Fisher was Father John Percy, *alias* Fisher, S.J.

[119] Collington is named in Gee's list of priests. See also Dodd, vol. iii. p. 83. His proper name was Colleton.

[120] Musket had been arrested by the pursuivant Crosse just before the seizure at Clerkenwell.

[121] During a debate in the Commons, June 5, 1628, Mr. Whitaker said, "There is a commonwealth of Papists, nobility, gentry, clergy, and commonalty, that serve the Duke constantly. In *Drury Lane* there are three families of Papists residing there for one of Protestants; insomuch that it may well be called little Rome." *Parliamentary History*, 1807, vol. ii. p. 406. 8vo.

[122] Probably the Barlowe in Gee's list, and named also in the extract from Scot's *Vox Populi* (the print of the Conclave).

Lathain[123] in the same shire (lately cum from Rome, lies in his brother's howse with a librarie worth 500li.)[124] and Dr. Lamb in the same shire who . . .[125] and Southwerck *alias* Bradshaw[126] in the same shire, where manie recusants have conveyed their estates since the proclamation, to defraud the King.

List of the persons arrested in the College at Clerkenwell. Record Office State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* 1628, March 15, vol. xcvi. n. 8.[127]

Guido.	George Holland	*alias* Guy Holt.
Th. Poulton.	Joseph Underhill	*alias* Thomas Poulton.
	Robert Beoment	These 5 were taken in a secret place.
	Daniell Stanhope	
Henrie.[128]	Edward More	*Edward Parr.*
	Margaret Isham.	
Ploydon.	Edmond Weedon sicke	*Thomas Weeden.*
	John Penington, his servant	These remain in the house.
	Thomas Latham, the Housekeeper	These 2 and the first 5 are committed to the New Prison.
	George Kempe, Gardiner	

Thomas Poulton, alias *Underhil is sonne to Poulton that abridged the Statutes.*[129] *This is released out of the New prison, by warrant from the board, upon bond of* 500li. *with sureties to be forthcoming.*[130] *Edmond Weeden* alias *Ploiden, a Priest, as may appeare by proofes* [*per*] *Crosse.*[131]

Frances Plowden writeth to Thom. Acton, and calleth him brother; so Acton seemeth to bee Weeden alias *Plowden.*[132]

[123] In Gee's list Latham and Umpton are named. Gee probably makes two out of one.

[124] In the margin is also this note imperfect, the paper torn: "A prime man: hath 1000li. in his purse . . . in the howse . . ." &c.

[125] A sentence not fit to be inserted.

[126] Probably Father Edmund Arrowsmith, *alias* Bradshaw, martyr.

[127] See the extracts from the Privy Council Register, already given.

[128] In the State Paper list, *Dom. Charles*, vol. cxxiv. n. 85, copied below, the name *Edward* More is given in by Crosse the pursuivant. Secretary Sir John Cooke himself places "Henrie" opposite Edward More in the above list. In consequence of the loss of catalogues and other papers of the Province, we are unable to trace any Jesuit *Edward More.* In a list of priests, secular and regular, in the London prisons, 1632, we find the following Jesuits, viz.: "Edward More, in the Clink," "Henry More, in the New Prison," thus showing two distinct persons. Edward More does not appear in the catalogue of Jesuits above; but he may have been on a visit at the time. Gee's list names Father More, Jesuit, and Father More, secular priest. Essex was the usual seat of Father Henry More's labours. With this note we must leave the question until further light is thrown upon it.

[129] Ferdinando Poulton, of Lincoln's Inn, Esquire. *Vide* "The Poulton family."

[130] This was done pursuant to an order of Council, July 12, 1628, see above.

[131] That is Humphrey Crosse the pursuivant, who made the arrest.

[132] All the parts of the above in italics are in the handwriting of Sir John Cooke. It is endorsed also by him, "The names of the persons taken at Clerkenwell."

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* 1628, vol. iii. n. 67. Endorsed "A note concerninge the house and goods of the Erle of Shrewsbury, wch. the Lord Vis. Conway required, where the Priests were taken in Clerkenwell."

"*Note concerninge the house and goods of the Erle of Shrewsbury, wh. the L. Visc. Conway required.*"

The Earle of Shrewsburie's house at Clerkenwell (uppon suggestion of having dangerous persons in it) was searched by Mr. Longe, a Justice of peace, and Crosse, in vertue of a warr. directed from divers of the Lords of His Mties. most hon. privie Counsell.

Upon the search divers suspicious persons (whoe by the lewdnes of the servant that kepte the house had been admitted) were found there.

The Earle hath informed his Mtie. concerninge his own innocence, and his Mtie. is fully satisfied thereof, and hath signified to my Lord Duke of Buckingham, that his said House and goods should be restored wch. now remayne in the custody of Mr. Longe, and soe have doone these foure moneths and more.

The Earle's humble desire is that his house and goods maie be forthwith restored to his Servant, whom he hath sent with the true inventory thereof.

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* 1628, vol. cxix. n. 70. Endorsed by Sir John Cooke, Secy. of State, "A note of charges disbursed by Cross at Clerkenwel."

"*A note of such severall services that hath bene done by me Humphrey Crosse, Messenger by vertue of warrants from the most Hon. Sr John Cooke one of the principall Secs. of State, and for disbursements of moneys about Clerkenwell bussinesse for wch. said Services hee humbly craveth allowance.*"

Imprimis.

Mr. Muskett and Mr. Price having sought for them at the least a twelve month, by his great care diligence and exps. of monye apprehended them, besides divers letters papers and writings, as also seaven Jesuites taken at Clerkenwell after a quarter of a yeare's observation by direction from Mr. Secretary Cooke.

Then follow some unimportant items.

Dom. Charles I. 1628, vol. cxxiv. n. 85.

"The names of such Preests and Jesuites that hath bene taken by me Humphrey Crosse one of the Messengers of his Mties. Chamber since the 12th of March last [1628] savinge this first man wch. I shall begin wth. all was taken some six or seaven monethes agoe, viz. :

"Imprimis.

Mr. Muskett.

Mr. Price a Benedictin.

Daniell Stanhopp Edward Moore[133] George Holland *alias* Guido Holte Joseph Underhill *alias* Thomas Poulton Thomas Weedon Edward Parr Robert Beamont.	All these Jesuites was taken by me at Clerkenwell in a secrett place in a bricke wall.

For which said service as yett I have receaved no satisfaction notwithstanding there is a statute that in whose house a Priest shal be taken, there is fiftie Pounds dew vnto him that takes him.

Since which tyme I have taken these Preists followinge—

Mr. Thomas Leeke Mr. Younge Mr. Harris Mr. Gage Mr. Drurye Mr. Dade.[134]	Some of theise be Benedictines, and some Secular Priests.

All these are committed as appeareth by theire severall warrants of committment.

Some to the Gate house ; Some to the New Prison ; And some to the Clincke.

And for any Preist that I am, or shall be charged to have suffered to escape for monye, I answer uppon my allegiance I have nott.

HUMPHREY CROSSE.

The following short notices of members of the English Province, more or less connected with the London district, have been kept distinct from the larger biographies, which are reserved for the end.

The notice of Father Yelverton belongs properly to the history of the College of the Holy Apostles, or Suffolk and Norfolk district,[1] but it is inserted here, as the information contained in it has only come lately to hand.

FATHER CHARLES YELVERTON, of the distinguished and ancient family of that name, was born in the year 1578, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus of the Holy Father, in the name of Charles Yelverton, *alias* Kempe, of the county of Norfolk, on the 15th of October, 1601, Father Robert Parsons being then Rector, and took the accustomed

[133] See note p. 139.

[134] The Rev. George Gage, a secular priest, and the Rev. Father Dade, O.P., the Provincial of the English Dominicans, are both frequently mentioned in the Life of Father Peter Wright, martyr. The latter was the martyr's fellow-prisoner in Newgate, and wrote an eulogy of him. See *Records*, vol. i. Series IV. part i.

[1] *Records*, vol. i. Series IV. part i.

College oath on the 3rd of November, 1602. He received minor orders in December, 1602, and January, 1603; was ordained subdeacon on the 5th of December, deacon on the 12th, and priest on the 18th of the same month, 1604. He departed for England in the month of May, 1609, and three [months [2]] later died in the Society. Dr. Oliver states that he entered the Society at Louvain on the 27th of July, 1608.

The following is taken from an autobiographical account written upon his entering the English College, and preserved in the archives of the same College.[3]

"*Charles Yelverton.* I am son of Humphrey and Elizabeth, of Bawsie, county Norfolk, twenty-three years old. I learned the rudiments of grammar when a boy, at Lyme Regis, from a teacher named Mr. Ivory. Afterwards for six years I gave my attention to literature, in the University of Cambridge. Three or four years after taking my first degree [of Bachelor?], I passed some months [say three] in the house of my uncle, Edward Yelverton, who at that time lived in a village called Wolverton.[4] There is another house of the same uncle near Norwich, where I remained a year or two, thence having removed by reason of the persecution, I went to Scotts (?) and stayed some weeks in the house of Anthony Bedingfield.[5] Afterwards, when I saw that he was alarmed, I went to Winston [in Suffolk], and passed three months in the house of a certain medical man, under pretence of needing his assistance. Then I went to the house of Mr. John Bedingfield, of Ridgfield, and stayed for a whole year, and when I saw that all the clouds had dispersed and all cause of alarm had gone, I appeared in public again. Then Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Knight [of Brome, county Suffolk], sent for me and invited me to stay with him, and there for three or four months I repeated the breviary with him, to whom at my first arrival I told my intentions and whither I wished to go. So having got my business finished, I went to London at Easter [?].

"My parents were noble, or, as we usually express it, 'gentry,' whose means were neither very great nor deficient. They had an income of £50 a year from their rents. The

[2] In the absence of any word here, we supply the probable one.

[3] The Editor is indebted to the Rev. Dr. Jessopp for the translation and notes here given.

[4] Presentments of Popish Recusants, September, 1597, in Reg. Ep. Norvic. "Edward Yelverton, gent."

[5] This place may be "Scolt" on the borders of Suffolk and Norfolk, or Scottar in Norfolk, or *Helme*, where Anthony Bedingfield lived.

parents of both one and the other survived them. One of my grandfathers (whose name is Francis Bastard) is now, and has been for forty years, a Catholic. Of my other grandfather I cannot say much as regards his religion. He was a squire and very rich, and a schismatic.[6] Each of my grandfathers had twenty children, of whom I have scarcely seen twenty. In whatever religion my father lived, he died in the bosom of the Church, as my uncle Edward Yelverton has very often told me. Two of my father's sisters are still alive, of whom one (Grisel) is the wife of Sir Philip Woodhouse, Knight;[7] the other (Jane) is the widow of Robert Lumner.[8] Both were Catholics, but one of them [Lady Woodhouse], on account of her husband's violence, which often used to break out against her, has lately relapsed into heresy. Another sister of my father (Martha) had as her husband Mr. Higham, county Suffolk. Another (Anne) was married to — Hawkins, whose sons, as I hear, live in London. When I was last in Norfolk, there were five brothers of my father's, of whom the eldest was a squire, and had £800 or £900 a year to spend after portioning his younger children.[9] The second is a judge, and has £1,000 a year to spend.[10] The third is called Edward; he is the

[6] Humphrey Yelverton died November, 1585; his father, William Yelverton, of Rougham, Esq., died August 12, 1586.

[7] She was widow of H. Le Strange, and married Philip Woodhouse about 1586.

[8] A mistake for *Edward* Lumner, of Mannington, county Norfolk. But as her husband died in 1588, Father Yelverton might easily fall into this error.

[9] Henry Yelverton, of Rougham, Esq., died June, 1601.

[10] Sir Christopher Yelverton's eldest son and heir was Sir Henry Yelverton, the judge who tried and condemned Father Edmund Arrowsmith at Lancaster, 1628 (see *Records*, vol. i. Series II.). Father Charles Yelverton's grandfather was William Yelverton, of Rougham, who died there, August 12, 1586, aged eighty-six. He was twice married, and had a very large family by both wives. His eldest son was Henry Yelverton, of Rougham, who died April 26, 1601; he was an esquire [armiger] with £800 or £900 a year. The second was Christopher Yelverton, made a judge on the 2nd of February, 1602, but as he was only Queen's Serjeant in 1597, his nephew probably used in his autobiography the word "Judex" inaccurately. Another son by the first marriage was Humphrey Yelverton, of Rougham. The eldest son of the second family was Edward Yelverton, of Appleton or Grimston or Wolverton, for he changed his residence often. He was his father's executor, and inherited about five thousand acres at Grimston and elsewhere in the county of Norfolk—that estate having been settled at the time of the second marriage. He was a very conspicuous Catholic and recusant throughout Elizabeth's reign, and was fined again and again. He married Nazarett, daughter of Edmund Bedingfield, of Oxburgh, and it was with him that Father John Gerard was domiciled for some months after his first arrival in Norfolk in 1588. The names of the other brothers are a little uncertain, and have therefore been omitted. Of the sisters, Martha married Thomas Fincham, of Fincham [?], and (2) John

only Catholic of the five, and has £300 a year; another has £500,[11] another £50[12] (if indeed the portions left to these last two by my grandfather are safe). The uncle whom I have placed last is a pensionary of the Queen.

"Three brothers of my mother are alive, of whom one is a barrister and rich. Two other brothers of my mother are Catholics, one is married, one is a student at Douay.[13] Among my relations I have Sir John Townshend [?], Knight, Charles Cornwallis, Esq., and many others. My only brother [Edward] is a gentleman-in-waiting in the house of Lord Morley, and is a

Heigham, Esq., of Giffords in Wickhambrooke. Anne married (2) John Hawkins, of ——— in Essex, and Grisel married (1) Hamer L'Estrange, of Hunstanton, and (2) Philip (afterwards Sir Philip) Woodhouse, of Kimberley. Jane married Edward Lumner, of Mannington, and was a steadfast recusant all her life. Father Charles Yelverton has evidently made a mistake about the Lumners, for Edward Lumner died in 1588.

"Humphrey Yelverton, the father of Charles, married, as his son relates, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Bastard, of West Winch, in the county of Norfolk, and had by her four children, Edward, Humphrey, Martha, and Anne, besides his son and heir Charles. Humphrey Yelverton died in 1585, and his will was proved on the 8th of November of that year.

"Elizabeth Yelverton died in June, 1590, at which time it appears that Humphrey, the third son, was dead, and also Anne. These died under age.

"Charles Yelverton appears, by the books of the University of Cambridge, to have taken the degree of B.A. in 1593. His name is entered as belonging to Caius College. We can therefore depend on the following dates:

"1578—Born.
"1590—Entered at Caius.
"1593—B.A. degree (ætat 15).
"1593—1595—With his uncle Edward.
"1596—With John Bedingfield.

Another paragraph, however, gives a different order:

"1578—Born.
"1590—Entered at Caius.
"1590—1596—At Cambridge.
"1597—Converted, and left Cambridge.
"1599—Came of age and inherited £250 by his mother's will, and some landed property. It must have been at this time that he went to Father Weston at Wisbeach."

[11] Possibly William Yelverton, of Hertford.

[12] Perhaps Sir Charles Yelverton, who died in debt, 1629–30.

[13] Douay Diary, p. 17, 1602—ordained priest, Robertus Bastardus, Nordovicen. Father Robert Bastard, having been seized and condemned to perpetual exile, was banished with other priests in 1606, and at the age of thirty-six entered the Society of Jesus, and commenced his noviceship at St. John's, Louvain, after completing which, he took his first or simple vows as a scholastic on the 1st of March, 1609. His death is recorded in the summary of the deceased of the Province for the year 1633: "Thomas [Robert] æt. 62. Formed Spiritual Coadjutor. Had spent twenty-five years in the Society, with great fruit of souls and edification to all. He was a native of Norfolk. Seized with severe illness, not without singular proofs of the Divine Goodness in his regard, after having received all the Last Sacraments of Holy Church, he slept in our Lord, November 21, 1633."—Ed.

Catholic. My only sister is married to a rich man, and is a heretic.[14]

"After I had completed my fourteenth year, my uncle[15] sent me—I had lost both parents—to Cambridge, where, under Dr. Perce,[16] I passed six years, without having any particular object in my studies. Sometimes I applied myself to the humanities, sometimes to philosophy; and as it is the fashion everywhere, I was at one time eager to learn Greek, and at another Hebrew. I passed as Bachelor of Arts, and on becoming a Catholic bade farewell to the University. I was a heretic, and my first distaste for the heretical ways arose from their having no fixed opinions. For at that time they were discussing about free will, faith, whether [the elect?] could be lost, &c. I read Calvin's *Institutes*, a book which gave me no satisfaction on the subjects under dispute. A book on the Contempt of the World fell into my hands, in consequence of which I began to be very ill at ease with myself on the subject of overcoming ourselves by chastity, poverty, and obedience. I went to Norfolk to see my friends, when by God's good Providence my uncle, Edward Yelverton, met me and invited me to his house, whether I would or no. On the road he inquired about University affairs. I found in his house many books dealing with controversy, which he lent me, and on my going away he gave me a book of Meditations. After some months, on returning to the University, I bought a Manual of Controversies. After a year or two I attended the profane Church, where I was overcome with the utmost shame, because I had got it into my mind that everybody, whether he knew me or not, was mocking at me for pretending to be a heretic when to my conscience I was a Catholic. On going home the fear of death tortured me, and I could find peace of mind nowhere. I left my brother at Cambridge, and again returned to my uncle to confer with him. He received me into his house with the utmost joy. 'You shall stay here,' he said, 'as long as you please.' Then after a month I hurried in the winter season to Father Edmunds.[17] Scarcely five months had passed before a report spread among my friends, without my knowing it, that I was a Catholic, and that I was either in

[14] Anne.

[15] Henry Bastard, of Great Dunham, to whom he was left as ward by his mother's will.

[16] *Not* Perne, who died April 26, 1589.

[17] Father Weston *alias* Edmunds.—Ed.

Spain or at Rome. I went to them on some money matters,[18] and they heaped reproaches on me for leaving the University, and others greeted me in the same way. After four or five days, warrants were sent out by the pseudo-Bishop of Norwich to take me. When I had got my money I went home, where I was pretty safe. After my departure the officers . . . of one of my uncles searched the house to take me.[19] Being warned of this, however, I kept in hiding for seven or eight months; and then again applying to my friends for the sake of getting my business finished, I was kindly received. After some time Father Edward Walpole and Mr. Gardiner came into Norfolk, and immediately the Justices, having received letters from the Council, searched the houses of all Catholics. My uncle was thrown into prison, and they searched for me through all Suffolk and Norfolk, thinking that, if I were taken, the priests would be apprehended too. I chose one place after another in which I could live in safety. At last, determining to make my way to Rome, I was apprehended with thirteen others in the boat and kept in gaol for six weeks. At last for a bribe I was let out, and by the same means having obtained letters dimissory from the Mayor of Dover, by God's help I arrived here.

"From the beginning of my conversion I made up my mind to this manner of life, and determined to labour according to my power for the honour of God and the furtherance of His Church in my native country, and with this end in view, to observe the discipline of the College."

Father Thomas Beveridge, S.J., *alias* Thomas Robinson, a resident in London, and a convert to the Catholic faith, gives this autobiographical account of himself, which has been extracted from the scholars' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome. He says that he was son of Robert and Bridget Beveridge; was seventeen years of age on the 13th of July, 1600; born at Sutton, Derbyshire; went to school at Staveley, under an Oxford tutor, William Margerison, until twelve years of age, when, on his death, as there was no other master fit to teach in those parts, he resumed his humanity studies at Chesterfield, three miles distant from his father's house. His father was of the middle class, sufficiently well off

[18] His mother left him £250, which he was to have at twenty-one.

[19] The passage would seem to imply that Sir Christopher Yelverton sent officers to apprehend him.

to educate his children. His friends and relations were Protestants, but his parents and brothers schismatics. When nine years of age, moved by the example of a brother, to whom he was affectionately attached, and who had determined to leave parents and friends, and take a journey to Rome for the sake of devotion and religion, he became from that time eager for Catholic books and indifferent about Protestant ones, and lived as a schismatic, unknown to any. When grown up, his father admonished him to consider about a state of life, whether the domestic, scholastic, mercantile, &c. Placed in this dilemma, ignorant what to do in such a variety of choices, he was inflamed, out of his great love of the Catholic religion, with a desire of making a journey to Rome, and was altogether out of conceit with the above-named states of life, for which he gives his reasons. His parents had just lost their eldest son, and he durst not open his mind to them ; however, his brother coming home from school, he revealed it to him, and he not only gave his consent and hearty approval, but promised to obtain a fulfilment of his wishes. Soon after this a letter reached his father, directing him to send his son to London, where he might be bound to an excellent special pleader, or to a merchant. . . . He went to London, and during the three weeks he lived with his brother there, Mr. Gervase Pierpoint interceded much with Francis Beverige to allow his brother to go to Rome, and used the influence of Father Wallis with him, and easily obtained the leave desired. Then, being reconciled to the Church by Father Stainford, he crossed over to Douay, and after studying for four months there, proceeded to Rome. So far his own account.

From the Diary of the English College, Rome, we learn that Father Thomas Beveridge entered that College as an alumnus, under the assumed name of Thomas Robinson, on the 24th of October, 1600, and that he received minor orders in the following year. He left the College for Belgium on the 24th of August, 1604, for the sake of recovering his weakened health, and proceeded from thence to England. Returning again to Belgium, he was admitted to the novitiate at St. John's, Louvain, on the 1st of February, 1607. Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, misled by the confusing *aliases*, mentions Thomas Beveridge's entrance to the Society, but continues his history under the name of Thomas Robinson, as though of a different person. He is named in the Catalogue of the English Province for 1655 as serving in the College of St. Aloysius, the Lancashire

District. He was professed of the four vows on the 12th of May, 1622; filled various offices of responsibility in Belgium, as Rector, Consultor, Professor of Theology and of Sacred Scripture, &c., and was eventually sent upon the English Mission in 1638. He died 27th of February, 1658, *æt.* 76.

1641. The following was probably a nephew of Father Beveridge. He states in his replies to the usual questions on entering the English College: "My name is Thomas Beveridge. I am son of Francis Beveridge, a physician, who was always a Catholic. I was born in Derbyshire; chiefly studied at St. Omers' College; and it is my desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The Diary of the English College mentions that he entered the College as an alumnus on November 5, 1641, aged about twenty-two years. He was ordained priest March 26, 1644, at St. John Lateran's, and was sent into England April 13, 1645.

Father Henry Belfield, S.J., *alias* Henry More, was a a missionary priest in London. We give his short autobiography, as taken from the scholars' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome; and we learn from the Diary of the same College that he entered as an alumnus under the name of Henry More, at the age of about thirty, on the 27th of October, 1606, took the usual college oath on June 24th, 1607, and was ordained priest on the 4th of October of the same year. He was not sent into England till the 21st of April, 1613 — *vir doctus, et magnæ virtutis.*

"1606, October 23. I was born at Winton [Winchester], where I was brought up and educated until my twenty-seventh year. My father was of a respectable family, and well off, but a schismatic. He is dead. My mother had always a leaning to the Catholic faith, and when I left England had resolved to embrace it. I have four brothers, of whom the eldest is a priest,[20] the third is a Catholic, the other two are of tender age. I have four sisters, of whom only the eldest is a Catholic, but the rest are not perverse. I know but few relations on my father's side; on my mother's, some are Catholics, and one, if not more, a priest. I studied at Winchester until I was seventeen years old, when I ceased, as my father wished me to embrace another course of life.

[20] Perhaps the Edward More named in the Clerkenwell history, supposing him to have adopted the same by-name.

"I believe that I was never a heretic, for I was never opposed either to Catholics, or to the ancient worship, but I was careless about religion, until in London the fear of a sudden death greatly excited me during a great plague then raging, and from that time I not only frequently conferred with my brother, but with a reverend and very learned priest, who wished to pass by the name of Radus Douet, by whom I was in a short time reconciled to the Church."

The summary of deceased members of the Society of Jesus, thus records his death: "*Æt.* 54. Professed of the four vows; employed on the mission after his noviceship, in which he ever proved himself an exemplary labourer, and gave the best example, until worn out by his toils and the effects of a slow fever, after receiving all the rites of the Church, he died in London on the 9th of March, 1632." He is named among the *veterani missionarii* in the catalogue of English members S.J. seized in the Clerkenwell residence, 1628. He may have been one of the two Fathers More named in Gee's list, 1624, and perhaps the Henry More seized with the rest at Clerkenwell, Sir John Cooke knowing only his by-name of More.

Father Edward Catcher, *alias* Burton, was, as we read in his replies to the interrogatories, son of Mr. Thomas Catcher, of London, where he was born in 1584, and there bred up. He entered an alumnus of the English College on the 27th of October, 1606, at the age of twenty-two. After receiving minor orders, in 1607, he was sent to Valladolid in order to complete his studies, and from thence into Belgium, on account of bad health. He entered the Society of Jesus at St. John's, Louvain, in 1609, and after filling various offices in the Society, of which, says Alegambe, *Bibl. Script. S.J.*, he was a pious and active missioner, he died in the English Mission about 1624, at the early age of forty. The Diary of the English College observes that he was distinguished for piety and learning. He translated into English Père Veron's sermons, preached before the Duc de Logville, as also his *Profligationem Henchæi Ministri Calvin*, printed at Douay, 1616. His father and relations were all Protestants. He studied at Balliol College, Oxford, and took his B.A. degree there, and was received into the Catholic Church on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, 1606. He relates that his conversion was chiefly brought about by conversation with Catholics, and by reading and comparing Catholic and Protestant books, which led him to discover the

corruptions of heresy, and to embrace the Catholic faith, by doing which he had incurred the hatred of his friends, and had forfeited his worldly expectations. Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, calls him by his assumed name of Edward Burton.

James Bardwell, *alias* Francis Denny, states in his replies to the interrogatories: "I am now in my twenty-third year, born at Diss, a mercantile town in Norfolk. My father was James Bardwell, of a respectable family, living on his own property, and died three years ago. I have three brothers and one sister. When I was about fourteen years old I was admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge. Three years after I went to London, and studied law in Clifford's Inn for some years. While living in London, I was introduced to a certain layman, who was in prison for the faith, and with whom I became very intimate, and by his means and reading controversial books, I was converted to the Catholic faith."

We find from the Diary of the English College that he was admitted as a convictor among the alumni there on the 17th of October, 1606, at the age of twenty-three, and received the first tonsure on the 1st of March, 1607. Having defended the theses of the whole of philosophy with applause, he left the College for England in September, 1609, to arrange his affairs, after which he returned and entered the Society in Spain. Father Bardwell's name occurs in a list of benefactors to the College of the Holy Apostles or the Norfolk, &c., district, giving an annual sum of £12 to one of the Society who was to live at Redlingfield, then in the hands of the Bedingfields, "a family now extinct," says the old MS. (1682), "and the estate sold." His sister Frances gave another donation, and Father Richard Blount, the first Provincial, ordered "£8 a year to be paid thereout to Mr. Robert Bardwell for life, "which lasted for forty years." These benefactions were made about the year 1633; but we can obtain no further particulars of this Father.

$160\frac{5}{6}$. Father Robert Seward, S.J., *alias* Robert Berington (a convert of Father Coffin), states in the interrogatories that he was son of William Seward of Hereford, a principal citizen, and bearing civic dignity. His mother was one of the sixteen children of Mr. Berington, thirteen of whom still survived, all Protestants except one or two who were

schismatics, and he was the only Catholic. He studied Latin and music until fourteen years of age, and afterwards spent three years with a surgeon; was brought up in heresy until his seventeenth year, when by means of his master, Mr. Strange, and of Father Coffin, he became a Catholic, and went with the same master to St. Omers' College, where he spent five years in studying humanities, and was then sent by Superiors to Rome.

Robert Seward entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on the 9th of October, 1605. He was born in 1583. After taking minor orders in 1606, he entered the Society in the month of October of the same year, "beloved by all."[21] We are unable to trace him further, from loss of records.

Father Thomas Cooke, S.J., *alias* Colford, was born in London in $158\frac{9}{96}$, and entered the English College, Rome, in the name of Colford or Cloford (*vere* Cooke), as an alumnus, on the 16th of October, 1607, and took the usual College oath on the 24th of August, 1608; was ordained priest on the 5th of January, 1614, and entered the Society in the same year.

The following is an extract from Thomas Cooke's autobiographical account, among the students' interrogatories in the archives of the English College.

"1607. My proper name is Thomas Cooke. I shall be twenty-two years of age on the next feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury. I was born in London, and for some time brought up there. I was then taken for a time into Hertfordshire, and committed to the care of my maternal grandmother, and, if I remember correctly, a little while afterwards I returned to London with my mother, whom after a lapse of some time I lost. The cause of her death I cannot easily tell, but there is a lady who imputes it to anxiety brought on by the neglect of my father, and, being my mother's own sister, and a good authority, I assent to this. My mother being dead, I was confided to my maternal uncle, and carried into Kent to be nursed, and remained with my nurse for about three years, and was then sent back to my uncle, who had recalled me. I accordingly returned to London, and my uncle took me to another part of Kent, and placed me with a certain heretical minister, who was a relative, as I have heard. The same uncle again recalled me to London and committed me to the care of a certain citizen there, whom I soon left; for my

[21] Diary of the English College.

maternal aunt, the wife of Mr. Colford, who was then living in England, asked for and obtained leave from her brother for my accompanying them to Belgium, and I always lived with him and my aunt until I was admitted to St. Omer's College.

"As far as I know, both my parents were heretics, as also are all my other relations, with the exception of my maternal aunt and her husband, Mr. Colford. My mother was of a high family, but I am unable to say whether my father was so or not; but yet I gather from the words and actions of others that he was beneath my mother's rank, and that her engagement to him caused great indignation and ire to all her relations, especially to her grandmother, who took it in very ill part when she heard of the marriage. But my father afterwards became a rover, traversing I know not what seas and lands, and deserted me and the rest of his family.

"As to the names and states of all my relations, as I was but a child when I left England I am unable to speak. I well know one uncle on my mother's side—Edward Cooke. Another uncle, his brother, I scarcely know except by his name, William. I think my aunt Mrs. Colford's name is Thomasine. I remember to have seen one of my father's brothers, whose name, unless it is William Cooke, I know not. I have an elder sister, and three brothers younger than myself. I understand that I have a step-mother, whom I have never seen, nor heard any description of, only that she seems to be rich.

"I was a heretic until I left England, and was instructed by my uncle, William Colford, in Belgium in the principles of the Catholic religion."

From the above account it would appear that Thomas Cooke was a nephew of Sir Edward Cooke, and that his aunt, Mrs. Colford, was Sir Edward's sister. But it is difficult to reconcile this with the historical fact that Sir Edward was the only son of his father, Mr. Robert Cooke.[22]

In a status of the English College, in Stonyhurst MSS., *Anglia*, vol. iv. n. 4, 1613, he is described as the son of a merchant, a youth endowed with the sharpest abilities and many gifts. He was professed of the four vows on the 5th of August, 1625, and was sent upon the English Mission in 1629; in the Catalogue of the English Province, for the year 1655, he is noticed as a missionary Father in the College of

[22] See the biography of William Cooke (or Coke), in this Series, one of Sir Edward Coke's sons, a convert of Father Alexander Baker.

St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales district. He had filled many high and responsible offices in the Order, such as Superior, Spiritual Father, Socius, Master of Novices, Penitentiary at Loreto, &c.

We find him mentioned in a letter of Father Edward Leedes (*alias* Courtney) the Provincial, to the Very Reverend Father General Paul Oliva, dated London, the 18th of May, 1663. He says that being unable to send to Rome the usual informations regarding a new Rector for the College of Liege, in consequence of a sudden storm of persecution that had arisen, he had in the interim appointed Father Thomas Colford Vice-Rector, "upon whom we may depend. I beg your Paternity's confirmation of the appointment; he is indeed a man of mature age, of a very particular disposition, very religious, and most tenacious of domestic discipline." He died in England on the 18th of August, 1670, æt. 81.

Father Alexander Baker. We possess but little information regarding this Father, and cannot trace the date of his birth nor his entrance into religion. He was probably living in London in 1615, the date of William Cooke's conversion.

In 1620 he was acting as Procurator (probably in London) for St. Omer's College. Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London, under the year 1625,[23] is a manuscript treatise by Father Alexander Baker in defence of the doctrine of regeneration by baptism, as held by Catholics, showing the difference in opinion from Protestants. In the same year, 1625, we likewise find the following mention of this Father in Rymer's *Fœdera*,[24] from which we gather that he had been imprisoned for religion and pardoned through the intercession of one of the Foreign Ambassadors, to the chagrin of the Privy Council and Parliament.

1625. 1 *Car. I.* Die Martis, viz. 9° Die Augusti, 1625. Domini tam Spirituales, quam Temporales, quorum nomina subscribuntur, præsentes fuerunt. Epus. Lincoln. Dom. Cust. Mag. Sigil. &c. &c.

The Lord Archbishop of Canterbury reported the conference with the Commons this morning touching religion to this effect, that they presented a petition to his Majesty, desiring this House to join therein with them, the effect whereof is that—

Whereas the Lords and Commons did at their last meeting this Session petition his Majesty for advancement of God's true religion, and suppressing the contrary; unto which his Majesty vouchsafed as well by his own mouth as by the Lord Keeper, on the 11th of

[23] *Dom. James I.* vol. clxxxix. n. 25.
[24] Vol. xviii. p. 392.

July last, to return such an answer as gave them assurance of royal performance thereof.

Yet at this meeting they find that on the 12th of July last, his Majesty hath granted a pardon unto Alexander Baker, a Jesuit, and ten other Papists, which, as they are informed, was upon the importunity of some Foreign Ambassador, and that it passed by immediate warrant, and was recommended from the principal Secretary of State, without paying the ordinary fees.

And divers copes, altars, chalices, &c. being found in the house of one Mary Esmond, of Dorsetshire, by two Justices of the Peace, who thereupon tendered her the oath of allegiance, and upon refusal committed her to the constable, from whom she made an escape and complained to his Majesty, the said principal Secretary did write to those Justices in her favour.

All which they humbly desire his Majesty to take into consideration, and give a due, effectual, and speedy redress therein.

The said petition, pardon, and letter were read.

The Lord Archbishop further reported that, as touching the pardon, the Commons insisted much upon three points. (1) The date of it; (2) its dispensing with so many Statutes, &c.; (3) that it was solicited by the principal Secretary of State, Lord Conway. And they added these circumstances: That this Jesuit was formerly imprisoned, and being now at liberty his conversation will be very dangerous to the perverting of many of his Majesty's subjects: that heretofore, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, if any such were convicted and pardoned (for she pardoned none before conviction, as their fault might be first known), they were banished also, not to return upon pain of death, which is prevented by this pardon. They concluded that this pardon and letter were both procured through the Foreign Ambassador's importunity, which is of dangerous consequence to give the subject any dependency upon them.

The Lord Archbishop having ended—

The Lord Conway made an excuse as to the date being the next day after the King's promise to Parliament, that the King had at Christmas last promised the French Ambassador certain graces for the Papists, and the pardon was dated from that time, &c. &c.

As touching the not paying the fees, Mr. Benbowe demanded £50 for the fees, and the Ambassador complaining thereof to the King, they were altogether given up. [He then meets and excuses the letter to Mrs. Esmond, &c.]

This pardon, &c., led to a petition from the Commons to the King, amounting to a remonstrance. Father Baker is thus introduced into it: "Yet at our present meeting we find that on the 12th of July last your Majesty hath granted a pardon to one Alexander Baker, a known and notorious Jesuit (who had been formerly released for the like offences), and also to ten others of the Popish religion."

In the records of Douay College are several attestations of Sir Toby Matthews' priestly character, dated about 1630. Among the rest is one by Father Alexander Baker, S.J., that he had himself been an eye-witness to the said Sir Toby Matthews saying Mass in the chapel of St. Ignatius in the Church of the English College at St. Omers.

Father Baker died 24th of August, 1638.

THE POULTONS OF BOURTON.

THOMAS MORE of Bourton, co. Bucks, of the same family as Sir THOMAS MORE, Lord Chancellor—Henry VIII. = ANNE, daughter and co — STAVERTON, Berks.

- ALICE MORE, elder daughter and co-heir. = GILES POULTON. (*Vide the Desborough Poultons' Pedigree.*)
- JANE, younger daughter. = THOMA Nor BRO

- FERDINANDO PO Fellow of Ch bridge. A Died 1617.

- ANNE = ALBAN BUTLER.
  - ELIZABETH, only daughter and heir. = FRANCIS PLOWDEN of Plowden-Salop, and Shiplake, Oxon (his second wife.)
- WILLIAM, died an infant.
- FRANCIS, eldest surviving son and heir. = ANNE, daughter — MORG
  - A daughter born after 1619.
  - FERDINANDO in Baptism, but Jo Confirmation. Born 1601; e Society of Jesus at Watten, an it in 1621, being a novice.

- GILES, S.J. (*alias* PALMER). Born 1600: entered Society of Jesus 1621; a Professed Father 1635; died November 20, 1666, *æt.* 65.
- THOMAS. Born 1603.
- FERDINAND, S.J. (*alia* Born 1605; entered Soc 1625; a Professed Fathe May 6, 1666.
  - CHARLES. Died an infant.
  - GILES. Died 1625, a year old.

- WINEFRID.
- BRIDGET.
- CATHERINE. Died 1672.
- MARY = WILLIAM SAUNDERS of Welford, co. Northampton.

- MARTHA = RICHARD WRIGHT, banker, London.
- FRANCES. Died 1753.
- MARY AGNES. Died 1745.
- CHARLES. Died an infant.

Nuns O.S.B. Dunkirk.

PEDIGREE OF THE POULT

JOHN PO
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r of
co.

ROOKE, of Great Oakley,
npton, ancestor of the
es, Baronets, of same place.

THOMAS (second son).

GILES, youngest son; ancestor of the POULTONS of Bourton. = ALICE, of T co. I THO

TON of Bourton. = (1st wife) ANNE, daughter of THOMAS UNDERHILL of Nether Etington, co. Warwick. = (2nd wife) CATHERINE, daughte of WILLIAM JACKMAN o Wing, co. Bucks. She die 1618.

GILES, second surviving son.

THOMAS, (S.J.) Born 1577, or about 1583; died February 27, 1637 (see text).

FERDINAND (S.J.) B according to Eng. Co Entered Society of J 1613. Killed in Mary sion, S.J., 1637 (see t

in ed ft

ALEXIUS.

JOHN.

WILLIAM, *alias* SACHEVERELL, secular priest; born 161 text). Supposed to have been chaplain in the family Right Hon. Lady Mary Somerset, and to have died Will proved in London in that year.

'ALMER). of Jesus 41; died

JOHN, S.J. (*alias* PALMER, and *alias* CONIERS). Born 1610; entered Society of Jesus 1650; died 1657.

WILLIAM, S.J. (*alias* FRANCIS PAL Born 1613; entered Society of 1633; died September 27, 1641, (see Addenda, Poulton family).

ORGE. Died 1712, S.P.

ELIZABETH.

MARY. Died 1624.

FRANCES. Died 1652.

FER

ZABETH. ed 1733.

ANNE. Died 1720.

FRANCES. Died 1694.

Nuns O.S.B. Dunkirk.

ANDREW, S.J. Born 1654; entered Society of Jesus 1674; a Professed Father 1692; a Master at Jesuit College, Savoy, London 1687; died at St. Germain, France, 1710.

HENRY. S.J. Born 1679; entered Society of Jesus 1709; died in Maryland Mission S.J. 1730.

GEORGE, S.J. Born 1689; entered Society of Jesus 1710; died at Watten 1739.

GILES, S.J. Born 1694; priest 1719; entered Sc Jesus 1721; a Professed 1731; died in London 1 last male of the eldest br

'ON OR PULTON FAMILY OF DESBOROUGH CO. NORTH

For Fourteen Generations Lords of that Town.

ULTON of Desborough = JANE, daughter and heir of RICHARD, Lord of
ırd II. to Henry IV.) Desborough. She died 1452.

O
O
O

A After three generations,
GILES of Desborough. = CATHERINE, daughter of THOMAS LOVETT,
Died 1553. senior, of Astwell, co. Northampton.

elder daughter and co-heir HOMAS MORE of Bourton, Bucks—of the family of Sir MAS MORE, Lord Chancellor.

JOHANNA.

MARIA.

MARTIN, eldest sc died 1549.

r f l

PHILIP = RACHEL, daughter of THOMAS POPE of Boughton, co. Northampton.

WILLIAM, S.J. (see Adden Father Lanman (p. 176, te Poulton, who is supposed to of Giles, and the first of t of the Society of Jesus.

AN born 1584, ll. Diary. esus about ELL land Mis- onl ext). ter

5 (see of the 1673.

MARTHA = WILLIAM PENN of Penn, High Sheriff of Bucks 22nd James I.

MARY = —— TROUGHTON.

El

GILES. Born 1580.

EDWARD. E died 1583

GIL MER). Jesus æt. 28

HENRY, S.J. (*alias* MATTHEW PALMER). Born 1615; entered Society of Jesus 1635; drowned near St. Omer 1640, *æt.* 25 (see Addenda).

CHARLES, S.J. (*alias* P 1616; entered Societ a Professed Father martyr for the Catholi gate prison February

DINAND of Desborough. Mar- ried 1649; died at Dunkirk, 1679.

= MARY, daughter of —— GIFFORD of Black Ladies, co. Stafford. She died 1674.

GILES, of co. Warv 1688.

WI

THOMAS, S.J. Born 1656; Entered Society of Jesus 1685; died April 1, 1725.

FERDINAND of Desborough. = JULIANA, daugh Born 1651; married 1674; died 1708.

GARTER of ton, by MA of —— JAC

MA rdained ociety of Father 752 (the anch).

THOMAS, S.J. Born 1697; entered Society of Jesus 1716; a Professed Father 1734; died in Maryland 1749, of which Mission there he was Superior.

JOHN, a priest. Died in London 1748.

ANDREW, a merchant in Maryland. Died 1716. S.P.

FRANCES. Died 1748, an infant.

FRANCES. Died 1744, an infant.

MARY CATHER Born 1739.

MARY OSBORN = MARTIN POULTON. (*Vide Poulton Pedigree.*)

MARGARET OSBORN = W

= MARY, daughter of MORRIS OSBORNE of Kelmarsh.

ANNE = EUSEBY ISHAM of Pytchley, from whom the ISHAMS, Baronets, of Lamport.

Poulton family). names a Father e been a brother amily a member

GILES of Desborough. Died March 22, 1557. = ELLENA, daughter and co-heir of —— FU and relict of WILLIAM BRADBURY of Bury, co. Essex.

ENIA, a O.S.B. text).

URSULA = —— STYLES.

JANE = JOHN BROOKE of Great Oakl co. Northampton, from wh the BROOKES, Baronets, same place.

1582;

JOHN of Desborough. Entered at Oriel College, Oxford 1593, and died 1641. = FRANCES, second daughter of JOHN WOLLASTON, of Ruislip, co. Middlesex, and of Rowington, co. Warwick.

ER). Born Jesus 1637; 4; died a ith in New- 690, *æt.* 74.

GEORGE of Desborough. Born 1598; married 1620; died 1654. = JANE, daughter of THOMAS HUTCHINSON of Owethorpe, co. Notts, by JANE, daughter and co-heir of —— SACHEVERELL of Ratcliffe-on-Soar, co. Notts.

mborn, . Died

= MARY, eldest daughter of FRANCIS REEVE, uncle to Sir THOMAS REEVE, Chief Justice of Common Pleas.

ANNE = EDWARD LUCY, of Kingswoodbury, co. Herts.

of ROBERT Northamp- A, daughter N of Wing.

GILES, eldest son. Died from wounds at battle of Melasso, 1718.

WILLIAM, a priest; chaplain to Duke of Norfolk. Drowned at Gainsborough (second son).

FRANC Lo 17

ROBERT of Desborough. Died 1716, S.P.

FERDINAND of Desborough. Died 1728, S.P.

FRANCIS. Died an infant (first son).

JOHN. an i (third

MARY MARTHA. Died an infant, 1736.

TERESA or EUGENIA, a Benedictine Nun at Ghent. professed July 13, 1768.

ALFRED. I an infant.

LLIAM PALMER of Bowdon co. Northampton.

EDWARD OSBORN = (1st wife) ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN CATESBIE of Thorplibinham, co. Leicester. = (2nd wife) BEATRICE, daughter of WILLIAM MUSCOTT.

A

MARY OSBORN = RICHARD HAMPDEN of Rowell, co. Rutland. (*Vide Poulton Pedigree.*)

ISABELLA = EDWARD WYKEHAM, of Swalcliffe, co. Oxon, from whom the Viscounts WENMAN.

AGNES = MYLES HAMPDEN, of Rowell, co. Rutland.

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GEORGE of Desborough. Born 1553; died October 26, 1598. = ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN ISHAM, of Lamport, co. Northampton, High Sheriff 23rd Elizabeth. She died May 12, 1584.

JOHANNA.

ELIZABETH = EDWARD BARON, of Kettering, co. Northampton.

GI

ANNE = CHARLES THIMELBY of co. York, supposed to have been the Capt. Charles Thimelby killed at the battle of Worcester.

ELIZABETH. Born 1608.

EDWARD. Died a year old.

WI IS, banker in ndon. Died 10,

MARY, eldest daughter of JOHN COKE of Witham. Descended from Sir EDWARD COKE, Chief Justice of Common Pleas. She died 1742.

BRIDGET. Died 1715.

ANNE. Married twice.

MA Died nfant son).

WILLIAM (second son and heir) of St. Margaret's, Westminster. Died 1792; buried at Desborough. = MARY, only daughter of ROBERT SMITH of Poolthorn, co. Lincoln.

ANNE. Died 1735.

Died

ALFRED GILES. Born 1745.

FERDINAND WILLIAM. Died an infant, 1750.

JOHN FRANCIS. Died an infant, 1752.

[*To face page 155.*

THE POULTON FAMILY.

THE Editor is indebted for the following information relative to the Poulton family to H. N. Poulton, Esq., of the Poplars, Mitcham, and likewise for the materials of the annexed pedigree, which has been somewhat abbreviated, being intended primarily to show the members of the family who entered the ecclesiastical state, either as seculars or religious. From it we gather that no less than twelve members entered the Society of Jesus, and two or three others are supposed to have done so, but from the loss of records their names and individuality cannot be satisfactorily ascertained.

The Pulton or Poulton Family.—This family is said to have come over from Normandy in the reign of William the Conqueror, and to have settled in Kent, whence different members migrated to the counties of Northampton, Oxford, Gloucester, Wilts, &c. The name is supposed to have been derived from a town in Normandy; and a somewhat similar name was given to a manor near Canterbury, held by them in the reign of Henry I., from Geoffrey, Earl of Perch. William de Poltone and Sir Stephen de Poltone, Knight, are mentioned as owners of it in the register of St. Radigund's Abbey, as is their descendant, Sir Robert de Polton, who in the reign of King Henry III. gave it to the Abbey of St. Radigund at Bradsole, with all its immunities, privileges, and appurtenances, to hold free from all service and secular payments. About the same time Sir Alexander Monins, of Poltone, Knight, married Jocelyn, daughter and heiress of Sir Robert de Polton, who bore for his arms argent, on a fesse sable three bezants, between three mullets, sable. The estates of this branch of the Polton family consequently passed to Sir Alexander Monins and his heirs. Other branches of the family also appear to have held good positions in the various counties in which they were located. The one who perhaps attained the highest rank was Thomas Poulton, LL.B., who was successively Prebendary of Sarum and York; Rector of Hatfield, Hertford; Archdeacon of Taunton; by Papal Bull dated July 15, 1420, Dean of York; Bishop of Hereford, 1420; Bishop of Chichester, 1423; and Bishop of Worcester, 1426. This distinguished Prelate died at Rome, while taking part in the election of a Pope, A.D. 1435. He bore for his arms argent, three mullets of six points pierced, sable.[1] Another ecclesiastic of note was Philip Poulton, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and Archdeacon of Gloucester. He died about A.D. 1461, leaving his lands in Abingdon and elsewhere for the purpose (among others) of building and endowing a college at Oxford, to be called Poulton Hall, which, however, was never done, the funds provided for that purpose having been surrendered to the Crown for certain privileges. The will in question is preserved in the Archives of the University of Oxford.[2]

[1] Vide *Concilium zu Constanz*, f. 42.
[2] Reg. Acad. Aaa, p. 194.

The Poultons of Desborough.—As a family, however, the most important branch settled at Cransley, in Northamptonshire; but towards the end of the fourteenth century John Poulton exchanged a portion of his estate in that parish for another situated at Desborough, in the same county. This John Poulton of Desborough, about the year 1400, married Jane, daughter and heiress of Richard, Lord of Desborough, whose great-grandfather, Richard de Desborough, about A.D. 1200 married Amicia, daughter and heiress of Richard de Costentein. The first of the family who settled at Desborough was then John Poulton, and from that time until the middle or latter end of the eighteenth century, or for about three hundred and seventy years, these Poultons held their estates at Desborough, looked up to as one of the first families in the county. It is indeed extremely probable that had it not been for their attachment to the faith they professed, some members of this branch of the family would have been advanced to high honours; for in addition to being one of the oldest families in the kingdom—descended, according to a pedigree in the College of Arms, from our old Norman Princes—the family estates were very extensive, comprising, in addition to the lordship of Desborough and other less important possessions, manors and lands in Cransley, Kelmarsh, Broughton, and Hargrave. The Poultons of Desborough were staunch Catholics. At the commencement of the Civil War they ranged themselves on the side of Charles I., although in his reign, as well as in the reign of James I., they suffered severely for their attachment to their religion, as a reference to the State Papers of those days abundantly testifies. They were indeed supposed to have been implicated in the Gunpowder Plot; and to this day a cottage at Desborough is shown as the place where this nefarious scheme was concocted. Concocted at Desborough, and at the house of a tenant of John Poulton, it may have been; but that he was privy thereto was disproved by his subsequent conduct in sacrificing his fortune, and venturing his life in defence of his sovereign. As has been said, no family in England suffered more on account of religion and loyalty. In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. their estates were sequestered, and they themselves repeatedly fined; notwithstanding which, throughout the Civil War, they (with perhaps one notable exception) fought for their King, barely escaping with their lives. At the Restoration in 1661 it might therefore naturally have been supposed that such devoted loyalty as was shown by the Desborough Poultons would have met with some sort of recognition, or at least that they would have been free from further persecutions. This, however, was not the case, and under such circumstances as those herein briefly described, the wonder is, not that the family estates at last passed into other hands, but that they remained in the possession of the same family—from father to son—for so long a period as three hundred and seventy-five years.[3]

The head of this family in the time we treat of, in the reign of Elizabeth, was George Poulton, of Desborough, county Northanpton, who died in 1578, and was succeeded in the

[3] They were connected by marriage with the Palmers, Thimelbys, Coniers, and many other families of influence and position of the same faith as themselves.

family estates by his eldest son, John Poulton. The eminent lawyer, Ferdinando Poulton, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, author of the *Abridgment of the Statutes at large*, was sometime Fellow of Christ's Church College, Cambridge, and the representative of a junior branch of the family. His father, Giles Poulton, the youngest son of Giles Poulton of Desborough, married, about the year 1533, Alice, elder daughter and co-heiress of Thomas More, of Bourton, in the parish of Buckingham, of the same family as the martyred Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas More. Thus it will be seen how Ferdinando Poulton became possessed of his Bourton estate. Besides being a very celebrated lawyer, he must have been a man of very varied knowledge, judging from the account presently given of him by his son, Father Thomas Poulton. Bred up a Protestant, he was happily converted to the Catholic faith in the year 1598. His knowledge of the cruel penal laws against Catholics, no doubt, contributed to this happy event. He appears to have been assisted in his work on the Statutes by Sir William Cordell, Master of the Rolls. His first work was an abstract of all the penal Statutes, published as early as 1560, and he continued his labours till a late period of his life. To follow them out with greater facility, he took a lodging near the Record Office in the Tower of London, and applied for an order to the Keeper of the Records to deliver to him the Parliamentary rolls, one by one, to be used by him at his lodgings. He was then, perhaps, about the year 1611, "almost forescore." He was, as were the chief of his race, buried at Desborough.[4]

Father Thomas Poulton (*alias* Brookes and Underhill) was the third surviving son of the above Ferdinando Poulton by his second wife, Catherine, and was born, according to his own account, in the year 1577, though Mr. H. N. Poulton thinks, upon good grounds, supported by baptismal registers, about 1583. We leave him, however, to tell his own story, which is taken from the usual interrogatories put to the students on applying

[4] In Sir John Beaumont's poems is an elegy, "To the Memory of the Learned and Religious, Ferdinando Pulton, Esquire"—*Vide* Grosart, the "Fuller Worthies' Library," Edit. 1869, p. 190. The monument to the above in Desborough Church was "Hic jacet sepultus Ferdinandus Poulton de Borton in parochia et comitatu Buckingham natus in hac villa vir omni virtutis et doctrinarum genere quondam illustrissimus necnon sedulus scriptor et propagator legum hujus regni. Obiit 20 die Januarii An. Dom. 1617, ætatis 82." See also *Introduction to the Authentic Edition of the Statutes*, vol. i. pp. 23, 27, 53; and a list of the titles and editions of the works of this laborious man, in *Watts' Bibl. Brit.* art. "Pulton."

to enter the English College, Rome, and preserved in the archives of that College.

"My name is Thomas Pulton. I was born in the village and parish of Barton, Bucks. I spent my infancy, as well as my childhood, from my eighth year to my fifteenth, at home in my father's house, and made my humanity and other ordinary courses of studies, under a local schoolmaster. I am now (1610) thirty-three years of age. My father's name is Ferdinand, my mother's, Catherine. Regarding my parents, who still survive, although decrepit, my father was always in desire, and for twelve years past has been, a Catholic. My mother, indeed, too feminine, deterred by the severity of the laws, yet persists in schism; both of them are descended from genteel families, which remain the same to the present day. My parents' income is sufficiently ample for them. My father from his cradle has been always given to studious habits, his great forte being philosophy and jurisprudence, and a touch of theology also, especially in these days of his old age, for he wrote and printed a work upon the *Four Last Things*, and translated into English the first volume of Cardinal Bellarmine's *De infantia nascentis Ecclesiæ.* He wrote, moreover, two books upon the laws of England, and is yet writing.

"I have three brothers Catholics, one older and one younger than myself; the third is justly excluded from the unity of brothers, having voluntarily excluded himself from the unity of the Church.

"I have six sisters, all Catholics; five of them are respectably married, and publicly profess their faith, and do not blush to defend and promote their religion to the utmost of their power. My sixth sister, aspiring to loftier things, has consecrated herself to Christ in religion.

"As to my relations and friends, I have many who are Protestants, but the majority are Catholics, and are ready, for the sake of Christ, gladly to lay down their lives and fortunes.

"As to my schooling, I have already stated that I made it at home until I was fifteen years old. I then turned to mercantile pursuits for ten years in London; so that the classical knowledge I had gained before, I have now forgotten. Hitherto I had always persevered in heresy, and most pertinaciously too; for I greedily swallowed down the sermons of the heretics. The Divine mercy was unwilling that I should any longer be kept in this labyrinth of errors, or make further progress in the hurtful doctrine of the Protestants; but He was

pleased to open the eyes of my darkened understanding. I was converted by means of a book written by Father Robert Parsons of happy memory, *De resolutione.*[5] On reading which, a marvellous light broke in upon me. I shed floods of tears for many days; moreover, the tremendous judgment of God was ever thundering in my ear, so that I could neither eat, nor sleep, nor take my usual recreation, but spent my nights in prayer and my money in alms. I read Bede, and Stapleton, and other books about the conversion of England; and even before I became a Catholic, it seemed to me how delightful it would be to leave the world; and, as though rapt to the heavens, I despised the sordid earth.

"Queen Elizabeth died a year after my conversion [1603], and for the sake of business, and avoiding future storms (for I was not free), I was sent into Ireland, from whence I returned again after one year to London; where, as report ran, the plague raged with such fury, that in the course of one week *three thousand three hundred* persons fell victims to it. My parents becoming alarmed at the danger, recalled me into the country, where, after spending two entire months, the Reverend (and to me ever venerated) Father John Gerard induced me, by his sweet and winning conversation and exhortations, to make a spiritual retreat, in which the fervour of my former good desires returned with so great a flame, that nothing could satisfy me but Jesus and the Society called by His name. I determined to bid adieu to parents and country; and, in order to accomplish my proposed end, to apply myself earnestly to study, which, however, through various hindrances, I was prevented doing for three years. At length in my twenty-seventh year [1604-5], having happily arranged my earthly affairs, I came to St. Omer's College, S.J., where I made my humanity course.

"From the time of my conversion, by the singular favour and fatherly Providence of God, I have ever, and on all occasions, possessed a courageous heart. For I had a master who was a citizen, not only powerful, but holding a post of high authority; and he assailed me both by promises of promotion and by threats, and various other kinds of reasoning; but confident in God, I was not in the least alarmed, and with a bold front, and countenance raised to heaven, I openly and intrepidly confessed and defended my faith. The consequence

[5] Parsons' *Christian Directory*, said to have converted as many souls as it contains words.

of this was, that a companion of mine, remarkably precocious both in talent and judgment, was converted, and became my companion also in the true faith, which occasioned both of us incredible joy. The citizen himself stormed, and immediately caused my companion to be cast into prison. Oh! how unhappy I was that I could not become the companion of my friend in chains, who had become mine in the faith.

"Moreover, my younger brother, now in his studies at St. Omer's, moved by these examples, was converted, and joined himself to us in faith with heart and soul, utterly renouncing heresy.

"I consider the following worthy of special notice—that, having been detained in England for three years [from St. Omer's] on various matters of business, and chiefly in London where, according to my former custom (particularly after my conversion) I kept two lodgings, one in the centre of the city for my worldly business, the other in the suburbs, which I used also as a chapel, and entertained priests and pilgrims there, for the purpose of celebrating the Divine mysteries, this lodging, on the very feast of Pentecost itself, was betrayed; all the furniture, both sacred and profane, plundered, and the Catholics with difficulty escaped; whilst I, together with the priest, was forced to fly away in all haste, and seek a far distant asylum. Here, for the first time, I was surnamed a traitor to my country. Oh, pious treason, ever to be venerated by me!

"In 1608, being sent by Superiors on several accounts from England, I remained away for two months, and then returned; and in the meantime having settled my affairs, I got back again safely to St. Omer's. But lo! I had scarcely set foot within the College precincts, when the Fathers received a letter from England stating that I had been searched for all over London by the pursuivants of the Privy Council. Not out of love for me, I believe, but to cast me into prison for the good works I had done there, always most opposed to their heresy and Establishment; for I had been engaged in collecting subscriptions from pious individuals for building the new College church of St. Omer's."

Thomas Poulton was admitted an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on the 19th of October, 1610, and took the usual College oath on the 1st of May following. He was ordained priest at Rome on the 8th of December, 1613. We cannot trace the date of his entry into the Society. In 1628

he was living in London, and was one of the six Fathers seized at the residence of the Jesuits in Clerkenwell, passing then under the name of Underhill. He was afterwards liberated on bail, as we have already seen in the history of the Clerkenwell discovery. We find his name written in Gee's list: "Father Poulton, son to that Poulton that made the book of Statutes." Father Thomas Poulton died on the 27th of February, 1637.

Father Ferdinand Poulton (*alias* Brookes), the youngest son of the lawyer, was born in 158$\frac{4}{5}$, and entered as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on the 7th of October, 1612. After he had received minor orders in 1613, he joined the Society, and according to a note in the Diary of that College, left it after some years; but he evidently rejoined it, for in a list of the members of the English Province in their mission of Maryland, is the following entry: "Father Ferdinand Poulton, shot by accident in crossing St. Mary's river." This was in the year 1637. We extract the following autobiographical account of Father Ferdinand from the same collection of students' interrogatories of the English College, Rome. "I am twenty-seven years of age, was born at Bourton in Bucks, where I was brought up until my fifteenth year, when I was sent to London, and lived there for six years with a merchant, and from thence I came to St. Omer's College, where I made my humanity studies. My parents are Ferdinando and Katherine Pulton, both of high families; my father is a barrister. My brothers are Francis, Giles, and Thomas Pulton; my sisters, Anne, Martha, Mary, Eugenia, and Ursula Pulton. My relations, Gabriel and Robert Jackman, are Protestants. I studied for six years in my native village, with indeed but little fruit; afterwards, for seven years, at St. Omer's. I was a Protestant until twenty years of age, when I was converted by the Reverend Father Gerard, and, as a first agent, by my brother Francis' wife, Anne Pulton. My master, who was an heretical citizen of London, dismissed me on account of my conversion. Intending then to go to St. Omer's, I was seized on the sea-shore, and imprisoned for a fortnight."

John Poulton (*alias* Brookes), a nephew of the above Father, was born in 1601, in the same county of Buckingham. He was also a student at the same College in 1619, and from the College Diary we gather that he entered the Roman Novitiate of Sant' Andrea, and being afterwards sent

to the novitiate in Flanders, did not persevere, but left soon after his arrival in 1621. The following is the short account he gave of himself on entering the English College. "Ferdinand Pulton in Baptism, John in Confirmation. I was born in the county of Bucks, and am eighteen years of age, and was brought up at my father's house, Bourton, half a mile from Buckingham. My parents are of the higher class. I have three brothers, and no sister. My relations are partly Catholic, partly Protestant. I made my humanity course of studies, and also studied music, at St. Omer's College, and, thank God, was always a Catholic."

Father Ferdinand Poulton (*alias* Palmer), who was born in 1605, and entered the Society in 1625, was a Professed Father, and a zealous missioner in Lancashire for many years. After the Restoration in 1660, he was actively engaged in the London mission. During the plague, which made such frightful havoc in the metropolis, he multiplied his exertions and sacrifices for the relief and consolation of the sufferers and plague-stricken. In the midst of these meritorious labours he caught the infection, and passed, a martyr of charity, to a glorious crown, on the 6th of May, 1666, at the age of sixty-one.[6]

Father Charles Poulton (*alias* Palmer) was born in 1616. After suffering much in Oates' Plot, 167$\frac{8}{9}$, in which he was hunted up and down like a wild beast, he eventually died in Newgate prison, after a long and cruel imprisonment, on the 7th of February, 1690, at the age of seventy-four. He died repeating the beautiful hymn of St. Francis Xavier, *O Deus ego amo Te.* A longer notice of this Father will be given in a future Series, on "The History of Oates' Plot, and the Revolution of 1688."

Father John Poulton (*alias* Coniers). The following is an extract from the students' interrogatories and the Diary of the English College, Rome. "My name is John Pulton; my father's name is likewise John Pulton, and my mother's Frances Walliston [Wollaston]. I was born in the town of Desborough, in the county of Northampton, where I was brought up until sent to St. Omer's College.

[6] Further mention is made of him, under the name of Palmer, in *Records*, Series II., pp. 3 and 18, seq. It was not then known that he belonged to the family of Poulton.

"My father is in the condition of an Esquire, whose wealth corresponds with that of a Knight. I have seven brothers and only one sister. Some of my friends are Catholic, some Protestant. I studied at St. Omer's for five years, and was always a Catholic. After remaining at St. Omer's for five years, I returned to England, and, after staying there six months, I am come to Rome for my higher studies."

The Diary of the English College says that he entered the Seminary as a convictor among the alumni, in the name of John Coniers, aged twenty-one, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector, on the 22nd of July, 1631. He took the usual College oaths on the 25th of May, 1634, and having received minor orders, was ordained priest on the 12th of October, 1636, and left the College for England on September 21, 1638. At the age of forty he entered the Society, and at the end of his two years' novitiate was sent into England, and there died in 1657, aged forty-seven.

Father Giles Poulton (*alias* Palmer) was born in the year 160$\frac{0}{1}$, entered the Society in 1622, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in 1635. He died in England in 1666, aged sixty-five.

Andrew Poulton (*alias* Palmer) was born 1654, entered the Society in 1674, and died at the Court of James II., at St. Germain's, the 5th of August, 1710. He was one of the masters of the College of the English Province, S.J., in the Savoy, London, 1687, and with great difficulty escaped to Belgium upon the breaking out of the Revolution in 1668. Further notice will be given of him in the History of Oates' Plot.

This Father published a pamphlet in 1687, entitled, *Andrew Poulton's remarks upon Dr. Tennyson's late narrative.* The following passage tends to illustrate the pedigree. "Now to show how great favour the priests and Jesuits found with the Committees of those times, I take the liberty to inform the world that my father had six uncles, Jesuits, and yet was not only himself committed to prison by the rebels for his religion and his loyalty to his King, but his house was also for a long time possessed by a Committee minister, and two of his brethren were for three years educated in another Committee minister's house at Kettering, Northamptonshire, where they were obliged, being under age, to go to schismatic service, though it pleased

Almighty God, of His infinite mercy, to reduce them into the bosom of His Spouse the Catholic Church, out of which none of our family ever died. Nor do I believe ever any one family in England was more frequently pillaged, or more severely sequestered than ours; yet, I bless God, I am so far from having any indignation against that party, or entertaining any hatred towards them, that I rather glory in our having had occasion to suffer for our King and our religion."[7]

THOMAS POULTON, born 1656, entered the Society of Jesus 1685, and died at Ghent, April 1, 1725.

THOMAS POULTON, a nephew of the above, was born 1697, and entered the Society of Jesus 1716. He was raised to the degree of a Professed Father 1734, and became Superior of St. Ignatius' Residence in the Maryland mission of the English Province, where he died in 1749.

GILES POULTON, a brother of the last named, was born 1694. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, at the age of twenty, on the 16th of October, 1714, after making his course of studies in humanity at St. Omer's College. He took the usual College oaths on the 1st of May, 1715, and after receiving minor orders, was ordained priest April 8, 1719. When he had completed his higher studies, he left the College for the Novitiate at Watten, September 24, 1721. He died in London in 1752, having passed his examination for his profession of the four vows.

This Father was the last male heir of the elder branch of the Poultons of Desborough. Soon after his death, upon the passing away of the old estates to strangers, a monument, surmounted by the family arms and motto (*Deum et puritatem ama*), was erected in the chancel of Desborough church, giving a short history of the family from about the year 1200, and commencing as follows: "Sacred to the memory of the honourable family of

[7] Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 493, says: "Andrew Poulton made himself remarkable by the conference he had with Dr. John Tennyson, parson of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. It was held in Long Acre, September 29, 1687. He wrote (1) The total defeat of the Protestant rule of Faith; (2) Account of the Conference with Dr. Tennyson; (3) Remarks on Dr. Tennyson's account of the Conference." "Under such circumstances" [recounted by Father Andrew Poulton], "it would indeed seem a matter of surprise that the estates remained in the same family, from father to son, for so long a period as three hundred and seventy years. A reference to documents in the State Paper Office will abundantly prove Andrew Poulton's assertions as to the persecutions this family endured for the sake of their religion."—MR. H. N. POULTON.

the Poultons, who for fourteen generations were lords of this town of Desburgh or Desborough. Descended from princely,[8] most noble, illustrious, and holy progenitors of this kingdom. Besides this lordship, they possessed manors and lands in Cransley, Kelmarsh, Broughton, and Hargrave in this county."

George Poulton, S.J., born 1689, entered the Society of Jesus, 1710, and died at Watten in 1739.

Henry Poulton, born 1679, entered the Society of Jesus 1709, died in the Maryland mission of the English Province, 1712.

Another Father Poulton earlier than any of the preceding referred to in p. 176 below, is believed to have been a son of Martin (see pedigree).

Eugenia Poulton, who belonged to the Bourton branch of the family, and became a religious, is stated in the records of the English Benedictine nuns in Ghent to have been "a daughter of Ferdinand Poulton, Esq., of Desborough, Northamptonshire, who, becoming a nun in the Monastery of the English Benedictines in Brussels, was chosen Prioress, and was one of the four that were permitted to go out and lay the foundation of a house of their Order at Ghent in the year 1624, whereof she was chosen the second Abbess. She governed the community seventeen years, and died November 9, 1645, having resigned her dignity three years before."[9]

William Poulton, who also belonged to the Bourton branch, was son of Francis and Anne Poulton. The following extract regarding him is taken from the records of the English College, Rome: "October 26, 1652. William Pulton (*alias* Sacherell). Born at Irtingborough, in the county of Northampton, and am now thirty-seven years of age. My father is Francis Pulton, and my mother Anne Morgan; both are Catholics and of high families. I had three brothers and one sister, but all are dead. My relatives are Catholics of the same name, living at Desborough, in the said county. I was always a Catholic, and studied for five years at the English College of St. Omer, S.J., and am come to Rome for the purpose of embracing the ecclesiastical state." (Signed, William Sacherell.)

[8] According to a pedigree in the College of Arms, they traced their descent, as previously stated, from the Dukes of Normandy.—Mr. H. N. Poulton.

[9] See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii.

The Diary of the English College says that he was admitted as an alumnus at the age of thirty-seven, Father Thomas Babthorpe being Rector, October 26, 1652; that he took the usual College and Propaganda oaths on the 1st of May, 1653; was ordained priest on the 20th of June, 1655; and departed, *en route* for England, September 2, 1657.

Father Nicholas Hart (*alias* Strangeways, and Hammond) was a native of Kent, and born about the year 1577. We learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, that he was admitted as an alumnus of that College on the 31st of October, 1599, being then about twenty-two years of age: that he was there ordained priest on the 28th of December, 1603: that he left Rome for England on the 8th of May, 1604, where, in the following year, he was admitted to the Society, and that being at length seized by the Protestants and banished in 1612, he completed his higher course of studies at the College of the Society in Louvain.[10] He was made a Professed Father in 1622. The following extract is, with the exception of the spelling, an exact copy of the original, preserved amongst the interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome. In this single instance the original text is in English, and is probably an autograph.

"My true name is Nicholas Hart. I was born in the village of Kennington, in Kent, and at the age of nine was sent to Westminster School, where I studied for four or five years. I afterwards spent two years at Oxford, and then studied the law in the Inns of Court and Chancery, London; and so much for my education.

"My parents were of families of the higher class, and were able to spend £200 a year. My father *ab initio* was a schismatic, descended from a Catholic stock, by the father's side, but not the mother's. He is now a Catholic, and has been so for nearly ten years, but without suffering persecution, I think. My mother was born of a Protestant stock, but after her marriage, I believe, she became a schismatic. She is now dead. My sisters and my brother are dead, and my father is at this present time a widower. I have one paternal uncle, a schismatic; and another relation a heretic and persecutor, and a Justice of the Peace. . . .

[10] This is an error. He was arrested soon after the Gunpowder Plot in 1606, and being banished a year afterwards, proceeded to complete his higher studies at Louvain.

"I have been always from my infancy a schismatic, and was ever very much given to devotion, until I came to the age of sixteen or seventeen, at which time I came to live at the Inns of Chancery and Court, in London; and there falling into bad company, grew by little and little to leave the good desire which I always had before unto devotion, and did begin a most lewd course of life: and at length, falling from one sin unto another greater, and by long custom of sinning I grew to have no sense or feeling of sin, insomuch as there was no sin so heinous that I would not have attempted; this only being odious unto me to go unto the Church of the heretics; also, when I entered into the bad course of life I had this purpose, that after I had by that means made myself famous unto the world, and made experience of diversity of vices, that then I would return to a good course of life; to the end that, as I had been before famous for vice, so then in like manner I might be famous for my virtue: and oftentimes I had this good motion to come into my mind, whereby I was moved to cry out, 'What! O God! reputed for a saint in my youth, and now shall I become a devil?' After that I had continued in this course of life for the space of two years or thereabouts, one night, as I and my companion walked in the streets, meeting with two other gentlemen, it happened that one of them jostled my companion as we walked together; whereupon afterwards, in multiplying of words and in choler, we jostled upon the other in the streets, and my companion and one of the contrary part had so received some little hurt, and so we were parted. Afterwards, I and my companion purposing to go into the fields with the others and so to end it, in that he had received some hurt before, and both of us an injury: in this time, I considering with myself how dangerous a matter it was, and that I might perchance be slain, I called to mind this sentence which I had often before read, *Nulla salus extra Ecclesiam;* therefore, thought I, I will go and be reconciled, and then I care not whether I be slain or no: and I was reconciled in the Marshalsea, by Father Stanney, a Franciscan Friar, who lived there prisoner, and I never made my ghostly father acquainted with my purpose. Also, after this, I continued my bad course of life for the space of a twelvemonth and a little more, in more high degree of wickedness than before. All this time, I persuaded myself there was no man that did live out of mortal sin: and did think that all that were Catholics, if that they did but observe diligently to confess all those mortal sins which

they had committed and could remember in their confessions, that then they did presently after death, without passing through Purgatory, first ascend up to heaven; but yet, notwithstanding, I had never a desire or a readiness to die, unless that it were forthwith so soon ever I had been at confession, and then I seemed not to care what kind of death had happened unto me. It pleased God, in this my wicked course of life, to visit me with a sickness, even in that instant when I did not think much to have confessed myself in my vileness:[11] and I, perceiving myself by little and little to languish away, thought I, it is now time to begin to say some prayers; the which I did, as a *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*, and such like. Well, it pleased God that my sickness every day increased; and I continued in a most extreme heat in my stomach for the space of a fortnight or three weeks without any intermission, but now and then I took some rest in the night in my sleep. In the time of my sickness it was demanded of me whether I would have a priest to come to me, or no, and I forthwith answered in the affirmative, and also it was told me that I must prepare myself, or not at all, for I could not have a priest whensoever I would. And when the priest came to me, I was in danger of death: yet notwithstanding, during the time of his presence, I, through shame of my sins, lay as though I had been asleep, and would not confess myself in my sickness. I purposed that, if it pleased God to give me life, I would become a new man; and recovering some six or seven weeks or more before Michaelmas, one week day was the first Mass said that ever I heard; and until Michaelmas I [determined] to continue my former course of life and so take my leave of those wicked pleasures: being moved with a kind of sorrow I had for that great grief my father sustained throughout my bad course which I did then follow; also the consideration of my own undutifulness and my father's most exceeding love towards me; also in that my friends did cry out against me, saying that I would shorten my father's life, and that I would be the cause of his death; also I was persuaded to amend my life by one Mr. Strange, who lodged in the same house where I did lie, and a Catholic; and in like manner by divers other of my friends.

"When Michaelmas drew near, I then did begin to think upon my purpose; and lest that I should pass Michaelmas day, I did begin to examine my conscience some three or four days

[11] That is, he had no difficulty in confessing without a purpose of amendment.

before, and on the night before I purposed to go to confession, I was very much tempted by one of my former companions to eat flesh, it being a fasting day, at night, I endeavouring by all means possible to shun his company, and could not, but that I must needs sup with him, I being loath to seem unto him to refuse to eat flesh. In this great perplexity and vexation of mind, also thinking that if I should this night eat flesh, truly it were a more heinous offence than all the rest that I had before committed, and so millions of times calling upon the name of Jesus, it pleased God that by this means I was delivered, for we walking home together to supper, it came into his mind to go into a confectioner's shop, where he did so fill himself with sweetmeats, that he had no stomach unto his supper, and I in like manner used the same excuse, and so went the next day morning to Friar Stanney again to make my confession unto him. At that time, before I went unto confession I purposed most certainly ever after, by the grace of God, to live out of mortal sin, and to amend my former course of life. Presently, after that I had been at confession and made this purpose, it pleased God to give me great comfort and tranquillity of mind. Also, about some two or three days after that I had been at confession, I had an earnest desire to go over and to enter into that Order of religion which was the most strict, and in which I might do God most service, which I did think to be the Order of the Franciscans, in that I had so heard. Also at this motion I was very much perplexed and troubled in mind, in that I knew not how possibly I might compass it; and at that time in which I was in this perplexity, there happened to be others in my chamber, who were talking of going over, to whom I made my desire known; but yet at the first, I thought with myself not to acquaint any, because I did pre-suppose that they would but laugh at me for uttering it, persuading themselves that it was but some melancholy conceit, and in like manner it would be passed over. So, as soon as I had uttered my mind unto them I received great comfort from them, in that one of the company, called by the name of Mr. Strange, forthwith promised me to acquaint me with Father Garret [Gerard], for at that time I had never seen nor spoken with any of the Society, and presently, so soon as he was named, because that I had heard such great fame of his great resolution with which he suffered the torture in the Tower of London, I was inflamed with such an earnest desire towards him and all the rest of the Society, but especially to

speak with him, and did think every day a year; and afterwards I had many lets and hindrances before that I could either see or speak with him, that I did often break forth into words and say, 'O God! it is a far greater cross than this which I have deserved through my heinous and abominable sins.' Also at that instant I had a motion come into my mind, to be of the Society of Jesus, in which I humbly thank God I have been ever since most constant; albeit I have had many temptations to allure the contrary. In like manner I have oftentimes since that time, considered with myself, that the Order of the Capuchins is the more strict, but none more profitable in God's Church than the Jesuits, and in this consideration my mind hath always remained firm and constant to be of the Society. Likewise when I had talked with Father Gerard, I was greatly comforted through his most sweet counsel, and chiefly next unto God, I have been instructed in that which hath always been most in my spiritual good." He concludes by promising obedience to the College rules and declaring that his intention is to be of the Society, having received a vocation to it in England two years before.

Father Hart died on the 27th of July, 1650, aged seventy-two, in the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales district. The Annual Letters for that College for 1650, state that he had been forty-five years in the Society, and a Professed Father for twenty-eight years: that more than forty years before his death, being then engaged in the English Mission, he had been apprehended during the night, with Father John Fisher (*alias* Percy), soon after the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot [1605/6], and thrust into prison; but that, no shade of suspicion resting on him, he was after a year's imprisonment banished for life. Father More[12] refers to this event: "Father John Percy was not suffered long to remain in safety. He was living in an ancient resort of Father Gerard [Harrowden—Lord Vaux's], with his companion, Father Nicholas Hart, assiduously applying himself to the usual functions of his ministry. It had been reported to the Privy Council that two men most dangerous to the State lay concealed in that house. About four o'clock in the morning of All Saints (1605-6), one Pickering, a Justice of the Peace for Northamptonshire, hastened thither with a troop of horsemen. Having secretly effected his entrance, both the Fathers were arrested while they were scarcely awake, and the sacred furniture of the chapel, and no small number of books,

[12] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. viii. n. 24.

were taken. He treated the two Fathers and the lady of the house for some time at his own residence, and then conducted them, with the sacred furniture, surrounded by javelin-men, in a sort of triumph to London. On the way, falling in with certain students, they had a discussion. Father Percy contended that faith without charity would not justify. Father Hart made sport with their tutor, to whom he put the following brief question: 'Dost thou know God?' 'Certainly,' replied the other. 'Dost thou keep, or dost thou think it possible to keep the commandments?' 'Certainly not,' said he. 'Therefore,' rejoined Father Hart, 'St. John, in his Epistle, condemns thee as a liar; for he says: *Qui dicit se nosse Deum, et mandata ejus non custodit, mendax est, et in hoc veritas non est*—"He that saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not His commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him,"' The by-standers laughed, and advised the schoolmaster not to contend with one stronger than himself. Arriving at the Palace, London, they were taken to the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster. Salisbury, looking out at the window of the Palace, said, on seeing the cavalcade arrive: 'Those are not the ones I sought for.' And this turned out to be the case, for no steps beyond mere threats were taken against them. Although for the first month they were kept in close confinement, and no admittance to them allowed, yet for the following eleven months of their incarceration, they were changed to a more commodious part of the prison, to their own comfort and the great consolation to their fellow-prisoners.

"At the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador, they were released, and sent into exile. On landing, Father Hart went to complete his theological studies in Belgium. Urged by his zeal for souls, though at the risk of his life, he returned again soon after, and resumed his missionary functions with renewed zeal and intrepidity. Four years before his death, he was again apprehended and imprisoned; and he hoped this time to have suffered death for his faith, should it have pleased God so to recompense his missionary labours; but he was set at liberty after a few months. He died of palsy, which had disabled his left side. He was an exact observer of religious discipline, and greatly given to prayer. Some years before his death he adopted the practice of making an hour's extra mental prayer every day (besides the prescribed hour every morning); and to this he added, after his last imprisonment, another half-hour, in thanksgiving for that occasion of

suffering for God. He was indeed animated with an ardent zeal, both for prayer and the salvation of souls. Having heard that an order had been issued for the apprehension of some Catholics, and that an active search was made for them, he hastened to visit them, though strongly dissuaded from so exposing himself, in order to fortify them before their trial with the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. Though they were all subsequently taken and imprisoned, yet he escaped. In his last illness, he showed that his zeal was unabated. Having chanced to hear that a Catholic female servant had married according to the Protestant rite, he sent for her master, and remonstrated against this scandal, and would not be satisfied till he was told she had repented and confessed the sin. He was held in high repute for sanctity, both in life and after death."

Father Nicholas Hart, under the name of *Hammond*, is incidentally noticed in the confessions and statements of some of the parties in the Gunpowder Plot as having been their confessor.[13] His name occurs in the statement of William Handy, servant to Sir Everard Digby, who says that at a meeting at Dunchurch, Mass was celebrated and the Sacrament administered by Hart, a priest. In the *Gunpowder Plot Book*, n. 168, he is called *Hammond* in the confession of Robert Winter. In the same book, n. 177, January 21, 1606, is a voluntary statement of Mr. Ambrose Rookwood who says he told Father Hammond, on the 7th of November, two days after the discovery of the Plot, in confession, that he was sorry he had not revealed the Plot, it seeming so bloody; and that after his confession Hammond absolved him without remark. In the same book, n. 178, Henry Morgan declares that in his confession to Father Hammond on the 7th of November, 1605, he said he knew not the conspirators' intent, but joined them for the cause of religion, &c., and that Father Hammond absolved him. All these examinations were extorted upon the rack. Some of the conspirators under torture made too free a use of the names of Jesuit Fathers, but all exonerated them afterwards. Mr. Thomas Winter, for instance, upon the scaffold, and Mr. Tresham, in writing just before his death, fully exonerated them of all knowledge of the Plot.

Father More, *Hist. Prov. Ang. S.J.*, lib. viii. n. 25. p. 383, says: "Father Nicholas Hart (whom we find in *Eudæmon-Johannes* under the name of Hammond) was charged with having

[13] P.R.O. *Dom. Jac. I.* vol. xvi. n. 42.

heard the confessions and absolved the conspirators, two days after the discovery of the Plot: but as no charge of the kind was alleged against the prisoner, it is a great proof of his innocence."[14] Besides that there were many reasons for justifying the absolution given, which Eudæmon explains. "But," continues Father More, "had Salisbury lived, he was not wanting in art and malice to have made away with the most innocent by calumny. But in that same year he died suddenly, on returning to England from the baths, eaten up with vermin, whose memory King James complimented by the remark, 'Our ears will now be rid of lying tales.'" Father Hart is named in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London in 1623-4.

Father Henry Lanman (*alias* Butler) was a native of Suffolk, born in 1573. After making his humanity studies, he entered as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, October 24th, 1600, and took the usual College oath on the 5th of August following. After receiving minor orders, he was ordained subdeacon on the 7th, deacon on the 14th, and priest on the 20th of December, 1603. "He was sent," says the Diary of the College, "by the Supreme Pontiff into England, on account of his health, after completing his second year's theology, on the 19th of September, 1605, having lived in the College five years to the great edification of all, and without complaint from any one. He was a zealous labourer in England, and after a time entered the Society of Jesus." On applying for admission to the English College, he gave, according to custom, a statement regarding his antecedents, family, &c., from which we make the following extracts.

"1600, October 10th. My name, as was that of my father, is Henry Lanman. I was born at a village called Westhorpe, Suffolk, where Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, formerly had a residence. I spent there but a very short time of my infancy, for when a little child I was taken to London; and being then, I think, about seven years of age, was sent to Malton in Northamptonshire, to my paternal uncle Roger Lanman, about two miles from Northampton. I lived with him for upwards of six years. About the beginning of the third year, I was intrusted to the care of a tutor named Hooke, a zealous Puritan, to learn my Latin rudiments. He lived at Northampton, and was so devoted to preaching sermons, and so

[14] His innocence, *i.e.* even of the State charge of connivance.

sought after, that I was greatly neglected, and made but little progress. On this account, after losing the greater part of a year there, leaving Hooke, I went to a public school in the same place, of which the master's name was Sanders; and after studying there for nearly four years, my father recalled me home to Westhorpe. From thence I was daily sent to Bacton, a neighbouring village, where I studied for nearly two years under a schoolmaster named Cuttam. After this, my father took me again, trusting to get Sir Christopher Hatton, who had shortly before been appointed Lord Chancellor, and in whose service he had been for many years, to place me with some one in the Chancery, by whom being educated and well prepared, and grown older, I should be fit for some appointment; and he was sure of obtaining this from Hatton had he lived. Hatton agreed, and after spending one year at home with my father, he recommended me to one Howley, one of three clerks of the 'Petty bag,' as it is called among the law students; he was also a Justice of the Peace for Middlesex. I spent nearly four years with Howley, in fact until his death, which was shortly preceded by that of Hatton himself. All expectations of anything from the Chancery being now lost, and having as yet gained but little or no knowledge in that quarter, the idea was abandoned, and I returned to my father.

"After the space of half a year, or little more, I was taken into the family of Viscount Montague, among the upper class of retainers; and spent six years in his service, with the interval of about a year, during which he was suffering an inhuman incarceration for his constant profession of the Catholic faith; nor was he allowed to have any Catholic attendant, not even myself, to assist him, until he obtained a little freer custody. In this interval I lived with my father. At length Lord Montague took me again, and retained me until, obtaining full liberty, or at least as much as he desired, he retired to his own house in the country, and through his great favour and liberality I have been enabled to make my journey hither.[15]

"I am twenty-seven years of age. My mother's name

[15] This was Sir Anthony Browne, of Cowdray House, Sussex, one of Queen Mary's Privy Council, and created by her first Lord Viscount Montacute. He died October 15th, 1592 (see the Life of his nephew, Brother William Browne, S.J., with pedigree of the family in *Records of the English Province, S.J.* vol. i. Series IV. He is also frequently named in Father Morris' *Troubles*, Series II.

was Haward. My family was of the middle class, and in moderate circumstances.

"My father was the youngest of three sons, and whatever property he has was acquired by the merit of his own labours during his twenty-three years' service with Sir Christopher Hatton; although he (Hatton) was during the whole of that time (with the exception of about half a year) attended upon by the Queen's guards, who are specially assigned for the protection of the royal person. For such was the wish of the Queen herself, who promised my father that whatever service he rendered to Hatton she should regard as gratefully, and esteem it equally, as though rendered to herself. And on this account, though freed from the burthen of actual service, he nevertheless, by order of the Queen, received his salary, and enjoyed this not only during the life of Hatton, but (a most unusual thing) even until the present time.[16]

"I am the eldest of four sons, and the only Catholic. I have four sisters, three of whom are married, but only the eldest is a Catholic, and her husband, whose name is Berwick, and a gentlemen, has been lately received into the Catholic Church. The rest, with my father, are schismatics, as are my relations I believe on both sides.

"My mother's family was of Walsingham, in the county of Norfolk. She had, when living, two brothers, John and William Haward, who both studied for a time at Cambridge, and were esteemed well-educated men. John however is not so reputable, he is a bitter heretic, and a parson besides, and rector of St. Mary's Woolchurch, London. The other lives alone in Norfolk, and is a Protestant. My mother lived for many years a Catholic, but, on the death of Hatton, she relapsed through fear of persecution, and died about four years ago [1596] a schismatic. None of my relations, except my sister and her husband, are Catholics.

"Up to my twenty-third year, I was a schismatic. My conversion came about as follows. Among the domestics of Lord Montague were many Catholics. One of them, with whom I was exceedingly intimate, often talked with me about religion; and his arguments raised within me doubts, and an inclination towards the Catholic faith, to encourage which he furnished me with many books, which I read and re-read with

[16] Sir C. Hatton was the well-known favourite of Elizabeth. He died without issue, November 21st, 1591. He had built a country house a Stoke Pogis, Bucks (note *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxxxv.).

much satisfaction, especially those written by Rastell and Harding against Jewell. These, however, produced no other effect than in drawing me a little from attending the churches of the Protestants. At length, to free me from this state of doubt, I was taken by the same friend, whose name is William Coningsby, to Mr. Winckfield, a priest; and by his means, through the help of God, I was reconciled to the Catholic Church, on the Saturday within the octave of Corpus Christi, 1596. After three years, and turning over many books of controversy, I felt a strong inclination for study, which daily increased; and before I had finally made up my mind to it, I happened to meet with Father Jerome Platus' work *On the happiness of the Religious State:* and before I had read it through (after first consulting with Father Pulton), I decided upon embracing a religious life, if I could possibly accomplish it. I also consulted the archpriest, and asked him if he could further my views. He wrote accordingly in my favour to Father Garnett, who answered that he was well pleased with my proposal, but gave me this sound advice, that I should more closely examine my vocation, and not be in too great a hurry to enter religion, having lived in great freedom. And fearing lest I might fail under religious discipline and from long years of close application to study, he advised me to enter the English College first. I at once acquiesced in his advice; and this the more readily, as my design was but recent, and only conceived at Christmas. Afterwards, when all preliminary arrangements were made for my passage, I went to Gravesend, the place of embarkation, on the 17th of May, and there assumed a military disguise; and after waiting a whole week for the wind, I went on board, and arrived at Calais on the 5th of June, and thence proceeded to St. Omer's, having been delayed on the voyage five days in Zealand. After a stay of six weeks at St. Omer's, and visiting Brussels, I arrived here in Rome."

The *Litteræ Annuæ Prov. Angliæ* for Louvain for the year 1614, announcing Father Lanman's death, state that he had been eight years in the Society, which fixes the date of his admission to it in 1606, soon after he left the English College. He specially distinguished himself by his great efforts and anxiety to assist all, though he was himself but weak in body, and his constitution broken down by continual sickness. He was both Spiritual Father and Prefect of health at the Novitiate of the English Province, St. John's, Louvain,

during the time of a contagious fever there, which carried off three others, and lastly himself. During this visitation, he served the sick with such zeal, alacrity and joy, that he left scarcely anything for others to do. He waited on them day and night, consoling and encouraging them in every way that charity could devise, seldom indulging himself in sleep, prodigal of labour, and with invincible courage despising the no slight risk of contagion. He would himself wash the clothes, the vessels, and bodies of the infected, employing himself when needful in the meanest duties, and administering with his own hands the prescribed medicine at the proper time. Such assiduous attention from one who was himself so great a sufferer from severe ailments, afforded the greatest edification to his fellow-religious. It may be that he himself foresaw his approaching end, and that this would be his last opportunity of exercising his charity.

He soon after took the fever, and died on the 5th of June, 1614. He exhibited both in his religious life and during his severe and malignant sickness, a wonderful suavity and meekness. He was never remembered to have spoken sharply, nor observed to change countenance; self-possessed even under the sharpest pains, and smiling in the very hour of death, he was an edifying example of Christian patience and resignation to the holy will of God.

Father Thomas Talbot, Rector of St. John's, Louvain, in a relation of his death, says that he earnestly entreated him to tell the Fathers and Brothers that he derived the highest consolation from the fact of his being a member of an Order specially dedicated to the help of souls.

Two scholastic novices of great promise and a lay-brother, mentioned below, were carried off by the same pestilence.

Nicholas Harrington, who made his usual humanity course of studies at St. Omer's, and his philosophy at Seville; having entered the Novitiate of Louvain, in 1613, at the age of twenty-seven years, he died on the 16th of May, 1614, immediately before the removal of the Novitiate to Liege. He was remarkable for his observance of religious obedience and discipline. On being seized with the deadly fever, he begged earnestly for the last Sacraments, and received them only just in time. The day before his death, out of an intense sentiment of Divine love, he broke forth into a most vehement invective against his own sins, earnestly imploring pardon with

tears, and promising, should he recover, a thorough amendment of life; with great fervour of soul he offered to undergo any severities whatever for Christ's sake. After receiving the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, he rendered up his soul to God.

ROBERT WIGMORE, *alias* CAMPIAN, another scholastic novice, belonged to the ancient Catholic family of that name in Herefordshire. We reserve his biography for insertion in the history of the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales district.

CHRISTOPHER MICHAEL (or MITCHELL) was born in 1585, and entered the Novitiate of Louvain in April, 1612. He had just ended his two years' probation, and taken his simple vows as a lay-brother on the 29th of April, the feast of St. Catherine of Siena, to whom he had a special devotion, when he was seized with the fever, which proved fatal to the scholastics just named. In his past life, and in his last sickness, he gave no ordinary example of innocence, patience, and obedience, but especially of religious modesty and simplicity, whereby he wonderfully gained the affections of all. He was very devout to our Blessed Lady, and in his illness merited to obtain so sensible a sweetness of filial affection towards her, that the very mention of the names of Mary and of her Divine Son gave him fresh strength and joy. He died on the 17th of May, 1614, at the age of twenty-nine.

1628. THOMAS GERARD, *alias* KELLAM, states, in his replies to the interrogatories, "My father died when I was a little child, my mother is still alive, and is married to a second husband named Thomas Kellam. I was born in the county of Essex, near London, in which city I lived and was brought up.

"When I was a boy I frequented a school for two years, but until I became a Catholic I studied common law. My father is of the higher class, and held in esteem among his neighbours; his father dying in the Catholic Church (thanks be to God), left three sons and an only daughter. Of these my father was the youngest and the only survivor. My parents are Protestants.

"I once lived a heretic or schismatic, and was converted by reading the Life of St. Ignatius, and the works of the Reverend Father Robert Parsons. I left England about a year and a half ago, and determined to go to Rome, both for the sake of

devotion to visit the holy house of Loreto, and for study. "I have suffered but little for the Catholic faith, except the loss of the care of my parents, and of my means of support."

The English College Diary states that he entered the College as an alumnus of the Pope, on the 10th of June, 1628, aged about 23, in the name of Thomas Kellam *vere* Gerard, and of Yorkshire. He took the usual College oaths and was ordained priest the 26th October, 1631, and sent into England the 15th September, 1632, having spent two and a half years in the study of casuistry, and conducted himself admirably in the College.

In a Catalogue of the Province for 1655, he is called Thomas Kelio, and is stated to have entered the Society 1629, and to have been raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 6th April, 1645. He had filled many important offices in the Order, and for the last sixteen years of his life had been employed upon the English mission, and in 1655 was a missioner in the London district. He died the 6th July, 1665.

1652. George Cotton, *alias* Blount, who in his replies to the usual interrogatories says: "I was born in London, but brought up in the county of Surrey in my father's house until my fourteenth year, during which period I made my rudiments, and was then sent to St. Omer's College where I studied humanities for three years.

"My parents are of high birth, but have now lost the greater part of their property for their profession of the orthodox faith; nevertheless, they have faithfully adhered to it. I have three brothers living, and two died in their infancy; two sisters and one dead; one maternal aunt abjured her faith for the sake of her husband, and died in the darkness of heresy. I was always brought up a Catholic." (Signed, George Blount.)

The English College Diary states that he entered the College as an alumnus, at the age of seventeen, on October 22nd, 1652, and on the 16th September following, left for the novitiate at Watten. He entered the Society in the latter part of 1652, or beginning of 1653, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in the year 1671. In 1674 he was serving in the College of the Holy Apostles, at Bury St. Edmunds. Father John Warner, then Rector of the English College, S.J., Liege, in a letter to the Very Reverend Father General, dated 3rd February, 1679, speaking of the persecution then raging in England, and

the consequent flight of many of the Fathers, says, that Fathers Cotton, Morgan, and Thompson had made their escape to Belgium in disguise. Father Cotton died in London, 3rd May, 1697.

The sight of the martyrdom of the Reverend John Southworth was the beginning of the vocation of the following member of the English Province, whose account of himself we give from the scholars' interrogatories, kept in the English College, Rome.

1654. "My name is WILLIAM CARLOS, *alias* DORRINGTON, the eldest son of my father of the same name. I was born in the town of Brerewood, Staffordshire, where I was brought up till my twelfth year. The civil war having broken out, I spent my thirteenth and fourteenth years in Tonge Castle, of which my father was the governor. My father being taken prisoner and sent into banishment, my mother returned to Brerewood, where I lived until I had completed my eighteenth year; at which time my father secretly returning to London from Spain, but not being allowed to live in England, escaped into Lower Germany and took me with him as companion, where I spent my nineteenth year, and in my twentieth year we joined the Scottish army of King Charles II., at Worcester, and being there separated from my father in the battle, I journeyed towards London and remained there until this my twenty-fourth year.

"My parents were of the middle class, but reduced to the lowest condition by the war. I have an only brother who lives with my parents, who are Catholics.

"I made my humanity studies at Brerewood and Tonge, and was always a Catholic, and left London on the 4th July, 1655. On witnessing the execution of the most blessed martyr, Mr. Southworth, I resolved to seek Rome, in order, as far as in me lies, to render some service, however unworthy, to Holy Church.[17]

"It is my sole desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state." (Signed, William Carlos.)

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus on the 9th of September, 1655, at the age of twenty-

[17] Rev. John Southworth was the fellow-labourer of Father Henry Morse, S.J., martyr, in London, and was hung at Tyburn for the Catholic faith and priesthood on the 28th June, 1654.

four, and left for the novitiate of the Society at Messina in Sicily, on the 6th of May, 1656, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 22nd January, 1679, and died four days after. He served the mission of Kelvedon in the College of the Holy Apostles for some time.

PETER PELCON, *alias* BARTON, who says, in his replies to the students' interrogatories: "I am son of Daniel Pelcon and Catherine Peters; was born in London, and am in my twenty-first year, and was brought up there until my seventeenth year and then sent to my parents at Amsterdam. My parents on both sides are of the upper class, I have a younger brother a Protestant. I have studied my humanities, with what success others must judge rather than myself.

"Until my seventeenth year, I was brought up in heresy, and was converted in Holland, partly by my own efforts, partly by the assistance of the Reverend Henry Ebbe, a priest, and in 1653 I proceeded to Rome from Holland for the sake of study and devotion. I cannot tell as yet, what I shall have to suffer on account of becoming a Catholic; that will depend upon those who are my procurators." (Signed, Peter Pelcon.)

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that Peter Pelcon entered, age 21, as a convictor among the Pope's alumni, on the 12th of April, 1654. He received Confirmation in the Church of St. Mary Magdalene, 11th April, 1655, and left the College for England, 23rd May, 1656, and afterwards entered the novitiate at Watten. We are unable from loss of records to follow out this Father's history.

RICHARD CORNWALLIS, of a distinguished Norfolk family, a distant relative of Father Edward Walpole, and a convert of Father John Gerard (as in the case of Father Charles Yelverton),[18] belongs properly to our records of the College of the Holy Apostles, the Suffolk and Norfolk district,[19] but the information regarding him having been very recently obtained, we take the present opportunity of supplementing it.

The following autobiographical account is extracted from his replies to the usual interrogations put to students on entering the English College, Rome.

1598. "My name is Richard Cornwallys. I am in my thirtieth year, and was born at the monastery of Coxford, in

[18] P. 141, *ante.*

[19] See *Records*, vol. i. Series IV. part i.

Norfolk.[20] I passed my boyhood in my father's house, and repaired to Norwich to be taught my rudiments of grammar at the public school in that city.

"My father is Henry Cornwallys, Esquire, who was not long since, by the goodness of God, reconciled to the Catholic Church. My mother was Anne Calabutt, descended from a very ancient family, but now died out and almost extinct, and she herself died not long ago. I have a younger brother and two sisters by the same parents, and two half brothers by the same mother, one of whom exercises the priestly functions in England. My most distinguished relations are Sir Thomas Cornwallys, Knight, and a Catholic; Sir William Cornwallys, who married one of the daughters and heiresses of Baron Latimer, and his brother Charles, who are not Catholics.

"I lived for ten years, more or less, in Gunville and Caius College, Cambridge, and studied rhetoric, logic, and physic for three years, and the remainder of the time was spent in the study of jurisprudence and humanities. At the usual time I took my degree of M.A."[21]

After speaking of his health he continues—

"Having been from infancy brought up in the crookedness of heresy, I daily proceeded with an inflexible mind to worse, until the Father of Mercies, of His infinite bounty beholding me, deigned three years ago to receive me into the bosom of His Spouse, using chiefly the means and ministry of my said brother, the priest, and of Father Gerard of the Society of Jesus. Having been reconciled to the Catholic Church, and thinking of going to Rome, upon landing at Flushing I was arrested by the Governor and detained for six weeks in custody; at length being sent back to England and deprived of my fellowship, as they called it, which I had obtained in the College, I was again thrust into prison for another six weeks. I do not shrink from suffering greater things than these for the Holy Apostolic See whenever called upon to do so."

He then desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life, and promises due observance to the College discipline.

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as an alumnus of the Holy Father, Pope Clement VIII.,

[20] Spelman tells us that Coxford Priory was inhabited in Queen Elizabeth's days. It came into the hands of the Calibuts at the dissolution, and appears to have been occupied last by Thomas Gardiner, Esquire, who married Anne, daughter of William Calibut, Esquire, and a sister of Father Edward Walpole's mother.

[21] He was likewise second wrangler of his day.

by order of his Eminence, Cardinal Cajetan, the Protector, Father Robert Parsons being rector, on the 30th November, 1598, in the name of Richard Fincham (*vero nomine*) Cornwallys.

He took the usual College oaths on the 28th February, 1599, and signs "Richard Fincham." Having received minor orders, he was ordained priest on the 5th June, 1599, and sent into England the 4th May, 1601. He lived with edification in the College, was a good missioner in England, and died at length in the palace of the English Ambassador in Spain; and his death was so holy, that the Ambassador himself gave a testimonial of his admirable piety.

1607. JOHN RUDGELEY, who in his examination says—"On the 22nd of April last, I was twenty years of age; was born in London, and there brought up at home most of my life.

"My father is a learned lawyer, a schismatic; my mother is a Catholic, and both are of high families. I have an elder brother, Thomas, a Catholic, and two others, as far as I now know, heretics, namely, Peter and William; six sisters heretics, I think. I have several relations; one called Stonor, others Lental, others Atkinson. I claim Mr. Southcott, a Catholic, as my guardian; I have also an uncle and maternal aunt, the latter a lover of Christ, the former of the error of the schismatics.

"I studied my humanities at St. Omer's College. I lived after the manner of the heretics until my seventeenth year, and likewise observed their customs until the said year. This was the beginning of my conversion; my guardian, Mr. Southcott taught me to make the saving sign of the Cross, which, although I did not know the virtue of it, nor why I made it, yet I know that I observed it as diligently as I could, especially when I went to bed; and when I went out I perceived that women on meeting did so, and I thought that if these women should be witches, they might likewise be magicians (with which these parts are greatly pestered), and this thought used frequently to fill me with fear. During all this time I was accustomed to frequent the profane temples of the heretics, or rather halls of devils. But after some time, the same person who had taught me to make the holy sign of the Cross, sent me to St. Omer's College, where the Reverend Father George Douley (Deoleus) converted me. I spent four years and a half there, and am sent to Rome

for my higher studies. It is my wish and desire to enter the ecclesiastical state."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of Burgess, on the 16th October, 1607, and was ultimately ordained priest on the 16th April, 1612, and left for England 30th April, 1614, having lived with great edification, and completed his philosophy and theology.

1615. SIR HENRY GAGE was of the Catholic family of that name of Haling, Surrey, and was half brother to Dr. Francis Gage, the President of Douay College. In the life of Father Peter Wright the Martyr,[22] we have made some brief mention of this pious and loyal soldier. The following is an extract from his replies to the usual interrogatories so often quoted.

"I was born and brought up in London until I was nearly twelve years of age, when I was sent to St. Omer's College. My parents and principal friends are of high birth, and sufficiently wealthy; some have been despoiled of their property for their faith, but yet not altogether reduced to abject poverty, nor so poor as to appear to be in want. I have three brothers and one sister; nearly all the rest of my relatives and kinsfolk are Catholics. I made my humanity studies for full five years at St. Omer's, and was a Catholic from my cradle. I left England by stealth, and am come to Rome with the batch of students from St. Omer's College, for my higher studies." (Signed Henry Howard.)

The Diary of the English College states that he was admitted as a convictor among the alumni of the Holy Father (Father Thomas Owen being then Rector) on the 17th of October, 1615, æt. 18, by order of his Eminence Cardinal Farnese, the Protector, and departed for England on the 23rd of September, 1618, having completed the course of his philosophy. He became an eminent man in the world, and after some years a distinguished colonel in the English Legion in Belgium; then, crossing over to England, he fought under the royal standard of his King, Charles I., and having admirably accomplished great feats against the Parliamentary forces, he gained a distinguished name and favour, and was so esteemed by the King and nobles as to be appointed Governor of Oxford. Here he had to encounter jealousies. After a little time he was slain before

[22] *Records*, vol. i. Series IV. part i.

Abingdon, and, as is credibly believed, by the musket-ball of a traitor. He breathed out his soul in the arms of a Father of the Society of Jesus, his confessor, in the year 1645. This Father was Father Wright, afterwards a glorious martyr.

WILLIAM COOKE (or COKE). Connected with the biographies of Fathers Thomas Cooke and Alexander Baker, already given, being a relative of the one, and the convert of the other, we cannot omit to mention William Cooke. His conversion was a very remarkable instance of the mysterious ways of Divine Providence, for he was one of the two sons of Sir Edward Cooke (or Coke), by his second marriage,[23] who was one of the bitterest and most dangerous enemies of the Catholic religion, on account of his brilliant legal talents and of his high position in the State. The following is an extract from the students' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome. "1621. By order of my uncle I am called Colford. I am twenty-one years of age this Christmas, and was born and respectably bred up in the county of Kent. My father is Edward Cooke, who was once a learned lawyer, but, from his circumstances, a great heretic. I have one brother and one sister; no Catholic friends except a maternal aunt, the wife of Mr. Gabriel Colford,[24] and Father Thomas Cooke, *alias*

[23] Sir Edward Coke's first wife, whom he married in 1582, was the daughter and heiress of John Paston, Esq., of Huntingfields, Suffolk, by whom he had ten children. She died in June, 1598. In November, in the same year, Sir Edward married the widow of Sir Christopher Hatton, of Stoke Pogis, daughter of Thomas Lord Burghley, and granddaughter of the Lord High Treasurer. This Hatton was the celebrated favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Chancellor. Sir Edward, falling into displeasure at Court, was discharged from his office of Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas in November, 1616, and died on the 3rd of September, 1633.

[24] We learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, that Gregory Colford, of Essex, at the age of eighteen years, entered the College as an alumnus in 1613, and died most piously in the College on the 19th of December, 1615, after having received the minor orders. The summary of the deceased of the Society of Jesus for the year 1625 mentions the death of Gabriel Colford, on the 3rd of May: he was born in Brussels, was then twenty-two years of age and in his second month's noviceship at Watten; but whether a scholastic or a lay-brother novice is not stated. He died of a malignant fever, and was no doubt a son of the above Mr. Gabriel Colford, who had retired to Belgium. The following is an extract from the students' interrogatories, English College: "1613. Gregory Colford. I am in my nineteenth year, was born at Antwerp, and educated at Brussels. My father and mother are still alive, and are of no mean extraction, and sufficiently well off. Both have been Catholics for twenty-three years. I have an only brother, my junior, and five sisters living, and two dead, twins; also many relations, mostly heretics, except three. I studied Greek and Latin at Brussels, and was then placed at St. Omer's College, and in these two I have spent eight years. I was always brought up a Catholic."

Colford. I have studied humanities at Brussels for nearly the last three years.

"Until my fifteenth year, like my father, I was a heretic, but by the help of my maternal aunt and of the Reverend Father Alexander Baker, I became a Catholic.

"For about half a year past I have determined to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The English College Diary contains the following entry. "William Colford, *vere* Cooke, of Kent, twenty-two years of age next December, having received the Sacrament of Confirmation, was admitted among the alumni of the Holy Father the Pope, by the Reverend Father Thomas Fitzherbert, Rector, by order of his Eminence Cardinal Farnese, Protector, September 29, 1621. He took the accustomed College oath on the 16th of May following, received the tonsure and the other minor orders in June, 1622, was ordained subdeacon on the 30th of November, deacon the 15th of December, and priest at St. John Laterans, 1624. Having completed his theological studies, he departed for Belgium, September 14, 1627. The Bishop of Ypres sent for him, to become his domestic chaplain. He behaved himself admirably here."

We insert the following autobiographical sketches of several alumni of the English College, Rome, who were all more or less connected with our present Series, or with Fathers of the District, and most of them were sufferers for the Catholic faith. They are extracted from the students' interrogatories and responses in the archives of the English College, and will be found historically interesting.

1599. John Copley, who states—"I was born at Louvain in Flanders, and am twenty-two years of age. Nine days after my birth I was sent over to England, where I was nursed and brought up until my ninth year. I then went to Liege on my mother leaving England, and remained there a year with her. On her then returning to England I was sent to Douay, where Father Nicholas Smith took charge of me, my mother having commended me to him. I remained there for a year in the College of the King, learning my rudiments. When Father Smith became a Jesuit, he sent me to Valencia, where, after spending half a year in grammar, he again called me to Douay, where I was placed in the English College and studied syntax for a year, and then when the College of St. Omer was

erected [1593], Father Smith was made Minister and summoned me thither, where I remained for a year and a half, and made my poetry and commenced rhetoric.[25] I was then sent by Superiors with Father Baldwin and five other students to Spain, by way of Cadiz, viz., with William Worthington, John Iverson, Thomas Garnett, James Thompson, and Henry Montpesson. The journey was unfortunate, all of us being captured at sea by the English fleet, and taken to England; I alone was separated from the rest, and was first sent to the Bishop of London, where, after six days, at the intercession of some of my friends I was released, upon condition only that the same friends gave bail in £300 for my not leaving the kingdom. I then remained with my friends at my own expense for two years, being myself free. I was my own master during this time and spent it in worldly pleasures, hunting, society, and

[25] Father Nicholas Smith was, as we gather from the summary of the deceased English members, S.J., a native of London. Born in the year 1559; entered the Society of Jesus in 1591; was a professed Father, and died in England the 4th of January, 1630, aged 71, being then Superior of one of the residences of the English Province, and having previously filled other posts of responsibility. In 1597 he was at the College of Avignon, as we find from an intercepted letter of German Pole to his brother, Father Gervase Pole (see *Records*, vol. i. Series III. part ii. p. 291). Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, refers to a letter of Father Parsons to Father Edmund Campion, then at Prague, dated from Rome, 28th November, 1578, stating that this youth had just entered the Society at Rome; that he was born in Paternoster Row, London, and was a nephew to —— Smythe, M.D. From this it would appear that he had previously entered and left the Society, and had been re-admitted in 1591. Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 137, says that he was the first Jesuit confessor appointed for the English College, Douay, in 1600, through Father Robert Parsons, and Dr. Worthington, the President, jointly with the concurrence of Cardinal Cajetan, the Protector. Father Smythe acted as Secretary or Socius to Father Parsons for some time, and in that capacity wrote a letter (see Stonyhurst MS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 16), dated 26th of May, 1602, addressed to two Fathers, Jackson and Hunt, giving them admirable advice on their entering the dangerous English mission. He says (*inter alia*) —". . . I crave of you that I may be partaker of your holy and happy labours in that hot service of our Lord's to the which you are called, and I wish I myself were worthy to accompany you. These are therefore to salute you both in Father Parsons' name very heartily, and to wish unto you prosperous success in your journey for the greater glory of God, and behoof of such poor souls as in our miserable country expect your spiritual help and assistance. . . ." In a commission issued by the Privy Council for the banishment of Jesuits and seminary priests, dated 19th February, 1620 (copied in *Troubles*, Series III. p. 295, seq.), the name of N. Smythe occurs as then prisoner at Durham. If this is the same Father, he would probably have been included in the batch of sixty priests who were taken from various prisons and sent into banishment in 1618, upon occasion of the treaty of marriage which was then on foot between Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain, at the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador. In the P.R.O. State Papers, vol. clxxxix. n. 21, is a MS. sermon by Father Nicholas Smythe, from Proverbs xix. 18.

such like vanities, until at length the desire of a better life brought me hither.

My parents were of noble families. My father is called the noble Baron de Hoo[26] and Wells, and Lord Thomas Copley de Gatton. My mother was of the family of Luttrell's, from the southern part of England. I have two brothers and four sisters, the third of whom married Mr. John Gage, and her name is Margaret, who (with her husband) was condemned to death, after an imprisonment of two years, on account of a certain priest who sometimes said Mass in their house, and who afterwards became a martyr.[27] On the appointed day being carried in a cart with her husband to the place of execution, with their hands ignominiously bound, she received a letter on the very way respiting the sentence. Neither she nor her husband were pardoned nor restored by the Queen: but this happened, viz., that during her husband's life the most illustrious Baron Charles Howard of Effingham took possession of his estates and income, which to this day he possesses by the Queen's gift. My father fled from England on account of religion, and died in Flanders in the service of the King of Spain, the Queen of England having, in consequence of his flight, confiscated and possessed the entire of his property during his absence. I have a Catholic uncle, Mr. Gage of Firle in Sussex, and the following relatives, Mr. William Shelly, Mr. George Cottam, Mr. de Lides,[28] Mr. de Price, who are Catholics, and their whole families. Mr. Skinner, Mr. Cripps, besides a part of the family of the Southwells profess likewise the Catholic faith. The Rev. Father Robert Southwell, now a martyr, is a relative on the part of my father's sister.

"I have Protestant relations and kinsfolk; on my father's side the families of the Lanes, Sidneys, Howards, Hungerfords, Careys, and many others; on my mother's side the families of the Luttrells, Windsors, Sugers, Warwicks, Cliffords, Malletts, Stuckleys, and many others.

[26] Thomas Copley of Gatton, co. Surrey, claimed the Barony of Welles through his great-grandmother, and that of Hoo through his grandmother. See also *Troubles*, Series I. p. 51 *note*.

[27] Father Thomas Garnett, S.J. See his life in *Records*, vol. i. Series IV. p. 1.

[28] Although the name in the original MS. is as above, we suspect it to be a mistake for *M. de Sevyss*, for in *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlvii. n. 78, 1594 (the Confession of Hugh Cahill), is the following passage: "Monsr. Sevyss, a captain of horsemen under the Duke of Parma, about Bruxells—which Monsr. de Sevyss did marry a daughter of the Lady Copley of England."

"When a boy, living with my uncle, Mr. Southwell, I was sometimes sent to the Protestant church; but I was not then responsible. From the age of seven years I have always been brought up in the Catholic faith."

The pilgrim book of the English College says that he was admitted to the scholars' habit. The College Diary however does not record this.

1600. JOHN BROWNE, who states—"I am about twenty-two years of age, and was born in a certain town in the county of Lincoln called Louth, where I was educated at a grammar and music school. I made my humanity studies only in that town. I was at Cambridge and making progress there in my studies, when my father purchased a place for me in Maudlin College from Sir William Wray, knight, who not keeping his promise with my father, I left Cambridge, and all my studies for the space of three or four years, during which time I lived at my pleasure, sometimes with my father, sometimes with one and then with another friend, until a certain relative sent for me to enter the service of my Lord Willoughby Berwick, where I believed that some military appointment was in store for me; but being disappointed, I asked for and obtained from the same Lord Willoughby a letter of introduction to Flanders to Sir Everard Morris, knight, Governor of a certain town there, having a great desire of the military life. After living quietly there for four months, unable to obtain any military engagement, I again returned to England, and went to my friends in my native place, when living among them I began to be disturbed in mind, how I know not, and to live a negligent life.

"My parents are genteel, and I am the heir; they always lived upon their own estates, the annual rental being some £400 per annum, but having spent the greater part of his property, my father lived as a poor gentleman. I have three little brothers and one sister, and many relations, some poor, some rich; all, with my parents, are Protestants. One relation only, now dead, was Catholic.

"My conversion was as follows: I have before said that I lived a negligent life and discontented, but how it came about I know not; but this perturbation of mind brought me to reflect upon myself and my iniquity, and this to such an extent that I sometimes had a vehement desire of leaving all worldly things, and thinking how to live to the honour

of God alone, I felt that the eremitical life was the best to accomplish it, not thinking at all about religion, but merely as to the most suitable place in all England for accomplishing it, but I readily perceived that there was none. I now began to feel a disgust for the whole religion of England, and I was ignorant of any religion. In the meantime I was by chance in conversation with a certain schismatical relation upon the subject of religion, who showed me an ancient book (as far as I recollect) by St. Austin, where he treats of the fire of hell, and of another fire. My friend asked me what other fire this was? I replied that I was ignorant. I reflected upon the antiquity of the book, and was much perplexed at the undoubted confirmation of the doctrine of purgatory; and at length I laboured to go over to France to become a Catholic (for I had a certain persuasion in my mind that the Catholic faith was the true one), but, as I was making my arrangements to carry out my plan and embark, I was arrested by certain persons employed for the purpose, and detained in a most foul prison for three or four days, so foul that I believed I should have died from the very squalor of the place. They then brought me to London before Lord Cobham, who, after a very long examination as to whether I was a priest, had received letters to carry to France from my Lady [? Lord] Montague, or from Sir Alexander Culpepper, knight, with many other things, all of which I denied. He sent me with the examination before the Lord Treasurer, who, after scrutinizing the confessions, committed me to prison, where by the exertions of Father Barneby, and of a certain Father Singleton, I was confirmed in the Catholic faith; and wishing to make my confession, and to receive the true Confirmation, the same Father Singleton advised me to postpone it until I was released; and this because of the great risk I should incur of life, for should they once discover me to be a Catholic (in conscience and by oath) I should be hung, partly because I had been captured in a most dangerous time, partly because at the same time I had stayed at the houses of the said Lord Montague and Sir Alexander Culpepper, who were both Catholics; with many other reasons he added to show that there would be no hope of my life. I remained in this prison, which was called the Marshalsea, for about half a year, where I was most grievously handled. A friend procured my release from this place by giving bail in a £100 penalty for my appearance in twenty days whenever called for.

"On my release I crossed over to Holland in the disguise of a soldier, and was compelled to serve there for one month under a certain general, until I could find an opportunity of flying hither, which, when I did find, I escaped with the greatest danger of life."

He then declares his desire of embracing the ecclesiastical life.

The Diary of the English College states that he was admitted as John Brown, *alias* Whittington, æt. 22, as an alumnus, on the 1st of November, 1600, took the usual College oath on the 5th of August following, and in the same year received the minor orders; that he lived for a year or more in the College sufficiently quiet, but never exhibited any specimen of fitness; and at length, at his own request, was dismissed with the intention of entering the Franciscan Order, but they did not receive him, being scarcely *compos mentis*.

1603. JOHN JACKSON—"I am son of Thomas Jackson, citizen of London; aged twenty-two years and three months, and born in London where I was brought up until my tenth year. My father was a Protestant, and is dead; my mother married a gentleman of family, called Nicholas Compton. I have one sister a Protestant. I have no friends or relations Catholics, as far as I know. I studied in London until I was ten, and afterwards in the village of St. Albans for three or four years. On my father's death I gave up my studies, being then just entering upon Cæsar's Commentaries and Greek.

"On my father's death I went to York, my mother having paid a certain barrister a sum of money to teach me for two or three years, during the vacations, the rudiments of the English law. He being in London, a quarrel arose between his younger brother and myself, on which account after spending three months there, I resolved to return to my mother. On leaving, his elder brother (for he had three) persuaded me to accompany him to his mansion until his brother returned. Whilst I was there, a certain noble Catholic virgin had lately arrived, with whom I very frequently conversed upon the subject of the Catholic faith, and who satisfactorily removed many doubts from my mind; and some others we postponed for the time as she said she was going to her grandmother who lived near, in a day or two, who would remove every doubt from me. She produced many

probable reasons in support of the points upon which we had before treated, and which had appeared to me as contrary to reason; but from the information given me by the brother of the Rev. Father Wright,[29] I abandoned these opinions. On my departure this noble lady gave me a Rosary, the Office of the Blessed Virgin, and the Psalter of Jesus.

"I knew another lady, who lived near us, and was sister of Mrs. Clitheroe, a most devout Catholic, and she disclosed much about the priests, but wished to delay, because, as she said, I was very young and the times most perilous; at length, to all the domestics uniting, I affirmed that my tender age was incapable to receive such grave mysteries. But on their urging that a youth of thirteen was capable, I absolutely refused until another year or two had passed over, in which time (said the lawyer) I fear that I shall find you a Papistical youth, and interrogating me whence I had got such a book, I said that I had borrowed it among others, out of curiosity alone. He went back, however, to London, and I heard no more until I returned; but learning that there were Seminaries abroad where Catholic youths were boarded, at Douay, &c., and hearing that the Reverend Master Dr. Worthington was the president there,[30] I sought out for a letter of introduction to him, but could find no one that knew him, except one of his own name and a relation, living in a house in the village of Brikesart in the county of Northampton, where he exercised hospitality; I went to his house as a guest, and making many inquiries from him, found at last that he scarcely knew Dr. Worthington by sight, but well knew that he was the President of Douay. But returning, I resolved (by the help of the Blessed Virgin) to seek Douay; and going to the village of St. Albans, where a relative of mine lived, and complaining to him of the hardness of my mother, and begging money of him for a certain purpose, he gave me two golden angels, and lent me 40s. with which I joyfully departed.

"Being in London, my only care was to begin my flight, and procuring some necessaries, I went to the port of Billingsgate, but finding the vessel gone, I thought to remain that night and embark in another in the morning; but my father found me about ten o'clock at night in the inn and made me return home with him.

[29] See Life of Father William Wright, in *Records*, vol. i. Series III. part ii.

[30] See his Life in *Records*, vol. i. Series II.

"After that, I went to another lawyer for about three months, and then I lived with a certain nobleman in the Queen's Court for about a month and a half. From thence I accompanied another nobleman into Warwickshire, with whom I lived for about a year and a half; in his service were three Catholics, who had lately been in that of the noble Baron Vaux, and at the same time I became acquainted with a Mr. Vallence of Lincoln's Inn, a Catholic, with whom I very frequently conversed, and gained much knowledge of the Catholic faith.

"I returned again to London, and after three months went to the Queen's Court, where I lived for nearly two years with a nobleman, by whose intercession and that of other noblemen, I obtained a residence with the illustrious English Ambassador in Paris, who in the month of December last sent me back to England with three Catholics and others. After spending December, January, and part of February, I returned again to France, and after a month or thereabouts a certain Irish priest named Mr. John Lea, Confessor in ordinary in the Church of St. Saverin, received my confession; after which I went to the Nuncio of the Holy Father resident in Paris, who absolved me from heresy, and gave me a letter of introduction to his Eminence Cardinal Borghese, with which I am come hither."

He then earnestly desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state for the glory and honour of God and His Blessed Mother, and to aid in the salvation of souls and his country's conversion.

The Diary of the English College states that he entered it as a convictor among the alumni of the Holy Father, æt. about 23, Father Robert Parsons being Rector, on the 1st of July, 1603, and received the sacrament of Confirmation on the 19th of the same month. He left the College on account of some impediments which rendered him unfit for the ecclesiastical state, and going to Spain died there on the 20th of April, 1605.

1604. JOHN CHAPPERTON, who states—"I am about twenty years of age, born at Cirencester, in the county of Gloucester, in which place, but chiefly in London, I have spent my life.

"My father is of the ancient stock of the Chappertons, which, although overclouded by misfortunes, has yet a sufficiency of means left it, and has not altogether lost its

splendour. My mother is of the old and venerable family of the Georges. My father as to property is rich enough, but in faith a heretic. I procured my mother very lately to be reconciled to the Catholic Church, and I hope she will persevere, in spite of the ways of her husband and the importunities of her relations. I have only one brother, and not many relations; but they are rich and respectable, and nearly all of them infected by the heresy of Calvin.

"I made my studies as far as rhetoric, first at Cheltenham, then at Eton College; after that, for a short time only, at Oxford, for I had scarcely commenced my studies there when I was recalled by my father, who did not altogether approve of my adopting the scholastic life. After spending much time in idleness, remitting studies altogether, I was taken to London, by the consent of my father, by a certain barrister a relative, where, though much against the grain, I applied to the study of the English civil law. Not making much progress, and feeling my soul secretly leaning towards the Catholic truth, and enraptured by the sweetness of the sensation, and a fixed desire of reclaiming my father and friends, I began by degrees to be distracted in my legal studies, and in the end altogether abandoned them. After this, intent only upon the investigation of the truth, I applied myself entirely to reading Catholic books (giving up all Protestant authors of every kind), by both English and Latin writers, and I truly and ingenuously confess that from these I have derived all the knowledge I have. . . . As a boy, I was totally imbued with heresy; but as a youth, and of a more mature judgment, I assented to certain articles of the Catholic faith (for instance to the doctrine of free will and the Sacrament of the Eucharist). I very often sincerely and earnestly begged of the good and great God knowledge and counsel as to the rest. God granted my desire, for by chance conferring with a certain schismatic upon these matters, and asking of him books the more completely to satisfy me, he supplied me with them. I read the books, and by reading became (as to faith) a Catholic. But (which I ever deplore) I did not at once openly profess my internal conviction of the faith, but spent the next year of my conversion in the most dangerous and foul crime of schism. During this time, my relative, Thomas Strange,[31] returned to England from these

[31] This was probably Father Thomas Strange, *alias* Hungerford, whose seizure at Dover is shortly referred to by Father Rivers, p. 57. His biography will be given in the series of Records embracing the Residence of St. George (the Worcestershire district).

parts on this account (I am silent regarding his other kindnesses towards me)—always most obsequious and loving to me —by whose just and valid reasons I was excited to the desire of the ecclesiastical state of life, which he approving of, promised me the means of accomplishing. This he effected, and procured me to be made a Catholic, which being done, and all preparations made, privately leaving parents and friends, we started together for France. We were driven by adverse winds into Dover, and there seized, and ordered to appear before the Governor and other city magistrates. They tendered us the oath made in the time of Elizabeth that she was head of the English Church, which we refused, and were sent to London to appear before the Privy Council, by whom we were examined, and cast into prison. A little after this, Queen Elizabeth died, and James ascended the throne, by whose orders, after being detained in certain prisons, we were released under heavy sureties by our friends to appear at any time when called upon, and sent by them to York Castle, twenty days' journey from London. Putting off for a time the journey, I was again seized (with some other youths, alumni of this College, who were accompanying me on my journey) and brought before Lord Buckhurst, the Treasurer of England, who contrary to all hope kindly dismissed us. Having by the Providence of God escaped this danger likewise, I went to Cirencester and remained with my parents and friends, where I experienced the incommodities of a prison itself in the bitterness, the anger and neglect of my parents, and the reproaches and importunities of my friends. I resisted however, as it was just, mindful of the cause and occasion. A relation who was my greatest hope in these troubles, returned to London, and having prepared for the journey and the necessary means of accomplishing it, he promised to write to me from London to let me know an opportune time to come; and in order to prevent my friends scrutinizing the letter, he promised to write it in citron juice. He departed, and according to promise wrote his letter, having previously sufficiently instructed me, as I thought, in the art and method of reading it. Not rightly understanding what he had taught me, I could make out nothing about my journey, although he had specially written regarding it. I wrote back, but on reading my letter, my relation, unwilling to lose the opportunity and favourable wind, departed from England, and left me, deceived by my unhappy

error, involved in many miseries. However, before leaving, he procured the means by which in a short time I could follow; but those who had promised the means broke faith in the matter. In the interim, I tarried at home laden with many private and public grievances. I received nothing further from my said relative, on which account I was deliberating upon a state of life, and upon entering the military one, when I received a letter from him at St. Omer, entreating me to come and wondering at my delay. This changed my mind, and I made all ready for the journey. Whilst doing so, the pursuivants were sent by the Privy Council with a magistrate's warrant to seize and bring me before them. By the providence of our good God, this came to my knowledge in time, and meditating flight, I left my wretched and unquiet home, amidst the greatest dangers, and arriving in London, reached St. Omer's College, from whence the Fathers there and my said relative have sent me hither."

We do not trace him further, neither in the Diary of the English College, nor in the pilgrim book.

1608. JAMES ROPER. The following brief autobiographical account of the conversion to the Catholic faith of a Protestant minister's son, carries us back to our Yelverton family history,[32] and it is further interesting, as furnishing another among the many direct instances of conversion by means of the work of Father Robert Parsons, *The Christian Directory.* He states—

"My name is James Roper, about thirty-two years of age, and was born at Winton, near Ipswich in Suffolk. Being deprived of my father, I was brought up by Robert Wolfreston, Esq., a relative of my mother in Ipswich, and after some years in the house, and with the sons of Sir Philip Parker, Knight, always engaged in learning until I went to Cambridge and proceeded M.A. in Pembroke College. I left the University, and lived for many years with Sir Philip Woodhouse, Knight, in the county of Norfolk, where, thanks be to God, I became a Catholic, and then went to London, where I lived with Mr. Sachevill, a man of rank, for two years, and then proceeded to Rome. My father was a Minister, or parson, of Suffolk. My mother was a lady of Norfolk. He had two brothers, but now none, nor sisters; many relations heretics, none Catholic except one. I was a heretic for a long time,

[32] P. 141, seq.

but by the exertions and conversations of Edward Yelverton, Esq., and of his sister the mother of Sir Thomas Woodhouse, Knight, but chiefly by the assiduous reading of the Rhemish New Testament, of Father Parsons' *Directory*, and the little book of Father Costerus, I embraced the Catholic faith about the year 1602. I greatly desire to enter the ecclesiastical state."

He is entered in the English College Diary as an alumnus in the name of Philip James, *vero nomine* James Roper, æt. about 30, Father Robert Parsons being Rector, on the 6th of May, 1608. After receiving all the previous orders, he was ordained priest on the 18th of April, 1609, and leaving the College for England died at Loreto.

1613. Henry Thompson, a convert of Father Robert Parsons in Rome, who states—"I am in my twenty-third year, born in the county of Herts, at a place called North Mimms [near Hatfield], but was brought up in the county of Bedford, among heretics.

"My parents are of high birth, with means accordingly—they are I believe Protestants. I have two brothers, one of whom, my elder brother, is a knight, the other is my junior. I have two young sisters. My father has one sister, now a widow, with four daughters, all of whom are, I believe, married to Protestant knights. I learnt Latin when a boy, and at the age of fifteen went to Cambridge, with my eldest brother, and studied there for about a year.

"I was always a heretic until my nineteenth year. When I was about eighteen, it happened that my brother was compelled to retire from England, and taking me as his companion, we came to Italy. Landing at Venice, we spent four or five months there together; my brother then wished to go into Germany, but, as I preferred Italy, I stayed on at Venice for three months longer, when my money being nearly all spent, I found an Englishman who, why I cannot tell, invited me to accompany him to Rome, and after that into Spain; the proposal pleased me. He spoke likewise of religion, of the oath which Protestants thrust upon the Catholics, and which appeared to me to be clearly unlawful, and I resolved never to take it, but I had not as yet determined to become a Catholic, not having been instructed. We arrived at Florence, where my conductor persuaded me to leave him and go alone to Rome, to the English College, which I did rather

from necessity than for the sake of changing my religion. I addressed myself to the Reverend Father Parsons, who treated me beyond my deserts. Shortly afterwards it pleased God to afflict me with severe sickness, in which time by the Divine grace I was reconciled and became a Catholic. After two years I returned to England, where I was seized with a priest in his chamber, on account of the Catholic faith, and kept in custody for about three days, but at length, on payment of two hundred gold crowns, I was released."

The English College Diary states that he was admitted as a convictor among the alumni, in the name of Henry Anderson, æt. 23, on the 12th of October, 1613, by Father Thomas Owen, the Rector, and left again for England on the 25th of October, 1620.

1620. ROBERT ROOKWOOD, *alias* RAULEY.[33] "I was born the 28th of July, 1588, and according to that computation I am now in my thirty-third year. My native place was a little village called Ewston, in Suffolk. I was brought up at home entirely until my thirteenth year, where I was accustomed to make my juvenile studies under the care of an aged Marian priest, who had been the parish pastor of the place.

"My father was Edward Rookwood of Ewston, Esq., my mother Elizabeth Brown, daughter of William Brown, of the family of Viscount Montague, but she died before I can recollect, leaving three sons, of whom I was the youngest, and four daughters. My father still survives; but on account of his debts, he is obstructed from his patrimony, and detained by a certain creditor in prison.

"All my brothers and sisters adhere to the Catholic faith, in which they were brought up, except my eldest brother, who has fallen away from it.

"As to my relations, the nearest is Sir Anthony Brown, of Elsing, in the county of Norfolk, knight, my mother's eldest brother, who is a Justice of the Peace; he is a Catholic, but secretly. Of my other relatives I can speak but little, only that there are but few of them but what are Catholic.

"After I was thirteen years old I was sent to a public school at Brentwood, Essex, the head master of which was

[33] This autobiography belongs strictly to the College of the Holy Apostles, or the Norfolk and Suffolk district, but, for the reason before stated, it is inserted here.

John Greenwood, who afterwards resigned the charge, and died a Catholic. There I spent two years, and then returned home, being then fifteen years of age; where, abandoning all care of study, I took to hunting and such like sports, in which I was constantly immersed until I was twenty-eight years old, when I was exhorted by a certain Father of the Society of Jesus, who had sometime previously named the subject to me, to undertake this kind of life; but I resisted on account of my age, which appeared to me to render me but little fit to apply to study, still he advised me to do so notwithstanding this great difficulty. For this end, by the advice of certain friends, I went to St. Omer, where I have studied humanities for about three years. As to the results, I can only say that however meagre they have been, they have exceeded my expectation, and more than equalled my former fourteen years' schooling.

"I was always brought up and have lived according to the Catholic rite, except that for two years in which I attended the public school, by the order of the master, the threats of the rod, and a certain current report that my father, with the family, had conformed to the laws, I allowed myself to be led to the Protestant temples. I have suffered nothing on account of religion, except sometimes a beating by the master for not going to church.

"But on my first starting for St. Omer, when sailing between London and Gravesend with many others, we were arrested by Crosse the pursuivant of the Privy Council, carried back to London, and taken before the Bishop of London and examined, and because we refused to take the condemned oath of supremacy, we were committed to Newgate prison. Here I was detained for seventeen weeks, after having in vain made every effort to obtain my liberty, until on a certain night, when I and a fellow-prisoner were being led through the streets to a room in which we were confined, apart from the rest, watching an opportunity, we gave our guards the slip and farewell, and happily arrived, he at Douay and I at St. Omer's.

"When I was under age and under my father's protection, it was my constant desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and my father was entreated by many priests to allow the usual expenses for my being educated accordingly, but he would never give his consent; I therefore diverted my mind from all further thought and care about it; but as it has pleased

God, beyond all my expectations, again to open the way for me, I desire this state of life beyond all others."

The English College Diary states that he entered in the name of Robert Rauley, *vero nomine* Rookwood, æt. 32, among the Pope's alumni, on the 3rd of October, 1620, took the usual College oath on the 2nd of May following, and after receiving minor orders, was ordained priest on the feast of the Holy Innocents, 1621, and left for England 21st of September, 1626.

1620. EDWARD HOWARD, *alias* or *vere* HARRIS, who states —"I am nearly twenty years of age, was born at Romford, Essex, where I was brought up for several years. My father is a schismatic indeed, but well affected towards Catholics; my mother was a Catholic from her cradle. My father is a knight, and my mother, on her grandfather's side (who likewise was a knight), was a lady of high rank.

"I have two sisters, one of whom is married to a man of high birth, Nicholas Lamer, who for a long time remained here [in Rome]. I have no brothers. All the rest of my paternal relations are heretics. When I was seven years old my parents sent me to school at a place called Herne [Harnei], in Essex, where I learnt my rudiments for three or four years.

"After I had passed my time in study successfully, being always involved in the darkness of heresy, it occurred to my father to send me to France for the purpose of learning the language, and I lived for the space of a year with a certain heretic in Paris (not being as yet a Catholic). After this, upon my mother's persuasion, my father sent me to St. Omer's College, that I might there be instructed both in letters, virtue, and piety, where the Reverend Father Thomas [Roger] Lee, who is now dead, gave me admirable instructions in the precepts of the Catholic faith, and at length I was brought from the darkness of error to the true light of the Gospel. Here I made happy progress in the classics for seven years, and from thence am now come to this most desirable place." [He feels himself strongly incited to embrace the ecclesiastical state.]

The English College Diary states that he entered as Edward Howard, *vero nomine* Harris, aged twenty, as an alumnus of the Holy Father, Father Thomas Fitzherbert being Rector, on the 3rd of October, 1620, took the usual College oath on the 2nd of May, 1621, received the minor orders in the month

of July in the same year, and being found unfit for study, was allowed to depart for England on the 4th of April, 1622.

1627. HENRY AYSCOUGH, the subject of the following autobiographical sketch, was a convert of one of the Capuchin monks in London, probably attached to the Queen's household. He states in his examination—"I am the son of Clinton Ayscough, now dead, and Ann Marshall. I was born in the village of Tumby, Lincolnshire, and brought up there until my thirteenth year; I have lived and studied in various places, London, France, Douay, St. Omer. My parents were both of high families. My grandfather was Sir Henry Ayscough, Knight, who married the sister of Sir Edward Dymock, Knight, and his eldest son and heir was my father's brother, Sir Walter Ayscough. My parents were moderately well off. I have neither brothers nor sister, but many relatives, some rich, some in middling circumstances, and some poor; but all Protestants except one uncle. I was a heretic until seventeen or eighteen years of age, at which time I was urged by a certain English nobleman, whom I had met in France, to embrace the Catholic faith, and, for the sake of doing so, I addressed myself to an Irish Capuchin living in the city, by whom I was converted to the faith, through the grace of God. I left England seven or eight months ago, and am come to Rome for the sake of study, and that, after entering the priesthood, I may be of use to my country."

He is not entered in the English College Diary, nor do we trace him further.

1628. OLIVER CHRICKLOW, *alias* JOHN GERARD, who states —"I am son of Ralph Chricklow the elder, and Catherine Tootell his wife, of Clayton, in the parish of Leyland, Lincolnshire, deceased. I was born and bred there. My parents were of the middle class. I have a brother and sister and friends, most of them Catholic. I studied at various places. I always was a Catholic, and was instructed in the first principles of religion by Father Squire of the Society of Jesus. I left England two years ago, and am come to Rome to study philosophy and theology for my country's sake, and came here by the help of God and the Reverend Father Scroop of the Society of Jesus. On my way to the Seminary of Douay, about four years ago, with other relations of mine, we were seized between Dover and London and cast into

prison, but were afterwards liberated at the cost of much money and loss of time."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of John Foster, October 18, 1628, and was ordained priest at St. John Laterans on the 1st of April, 1634, and sent missioner into England, April 18, 1635. A man of remarkable virtue and of deep humility.

1645. GEORGE SIMEON, who states—"I was born at Haly, a suburban village in the county of Suffolk, and am the only son of Sir John Simeon, Knight, and Anne Sullivard, daughter of a knight; passed my four first years at my native place, and then spent some years with my parents in London, but the plague raging there, they again retired to the above-named village, where, bidding farewell to my parents, sisters, and nearly all my friends, I proceeded to my uncle, the Reverend Father Andrew Sutton, *alias* Sulyvard, priest of the Society of Jesus,[33] in the county of Derby, for the sake of gaining virtue, learning, and music under the Fathers of the Society, in the house of a most noble Catholic.[34] But after that I travelled with my parents for health's sake, accompanied moreover by the same uncle, into the parts of Moravia, and for five years, to my great consolation, I applied myself to study at the English College of St. Omer, my music being somewhat neglected. To my great grief, my uncle was obliged by necessity to leave me, and having by his persuasion finished my humanity course there, I came to Rome for the purpose of applying myself to my higher course.

"The condition of my parents and friends was sufficient for their state before the troubles of these times. They were always Catholics, except, I think, one uncle, who lived a Protestant, and died a Catholic. I have no brothers, but five sisters, three of whom were educated in convents; one is a religious, and another wishes for that state, but is too young."

The English College Diary states that he was admitted as a convictor among the alumni, 1st November, 1645, and was recalled to England by his friends, 26th May, 1647.

[33] Father Andrew Sutton entered the Society at the age of twenty-two, and was professed on the 5th of August, 1641. In 1655 he was serving in the College of the Holy Apostles, and died 7th March, 1673.

[34] This was Stanley Grange, near Derby, the seat of Mrs. Anne Vaux, sister of Lord Vaux of Harrowden, who enabled the Fathers of the district to keep a small college there for the education of youth (see *Records*, Series III. part ii. "College of the Immaculate Conception," p. 316, and Introduction, p. xiv.).

1649. THOMAS BROWNE, *alias* DIXON, who says: "My mother is dead, but my father, Sir John Browne, knight, who lives at Bromley in Kent, is alive, and who by manufacturing cannon, first for the King, and now for the Parliament, is sufficiently notorious, and, as far as I know, his total means depend upon this trade, which varies according to circumstances.

"My eldest brother is dead, but I have a younger one living in England, who married the daughter of Walter Dobbett, Esq., of the parish of Streate, near Lewes, Sussex. My only sister married Thomas Hely, of Worcestershire or Staffordshire, and now lives in London with her husband. All with all my friends are heretics.

"I was born twenty-four years ago at Bromley, and was brought up a heretic till my eighteenth year, when I was sent to Holland with the intention of studying at Leyden, where from religious doubts I neglected my philosophical studies, but for which, I may truly say, I was unfit, not having been well grounded in my humanities. About a year afterwards I went into Flanders, and from thence, in three months, I returned to England through Holland, having been converted. As to my conversion (after God), I have to thank a man as renowned for his virtue as for his high birth, Thomas Whittenhall, a model to all good Catholics, especially for piety, who living in the same house with me, his pious conversation, by the help of God, happily disposed me to the Catholic faith; but, as far as I recollect, I was not received into the bosom of the Church for a year and a quarter after he had left me, when, by means of a certain master of Greek and French, of Leyden, I was taken to a religious of the Order of St. Dominic, named Father Collins, who absolved me.

"My father appearing to me to be more averse than before, on account of religion, by the assistance of the Reverend Father Syrill, I am come to Rome for the sake of study, the better to serve my country, whether as a layman or priest as may be decided."

The English College Diary says that he entered as a convictor, æt. 24, on the 28th October, 1650, and returned again to England the 10th April, 1651.

The following extracts from a letter dated London, April 5, 1630,[1] afford some clue to the state of Catholic affairs at that date.

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 80.

"Matters with the Frenchman stand thus. The Ambassador Extraordinary, who is very shortly leaving this, seemed to be greatly rejoiced, because the Capuchins, dressed in their habits, preached to such great assemblies of persons and with such applause; imagining indeed that this glory was in great part to be ascribed to himself. But the affair turns out otherwise than he had expected; for the King and his Council are so grievously offended with this unexpected zeal, that they have issued a proclamation prohibiting any one in future from attending either the Queen's or the Ambassador's chapels. And as regards the Queen's chapel, certain persons are charged to stand at the entrance and prevent people from going in. With respect to the Ambassador's residence, as this course cannot be adopted on account of the special immunity granted to it, pursuivants are placed in ambush who apprehend those who are entering. By this means about forty have been taken in various places and cast into prison, from whence after four days they are brought up before the Council and severely reproved and warned not to frequent those places in future, and finally are dismissed on payment of a fine. The French Ambassador takes this very ill, and from his view of it, his departure is much apprehended: and so no stone is left unturned to induce the Council to withdraw the proclamation, and restore again the liberty to Catholics to frequent the chapels of the Queen and Ambassadors, but the attempt is in vain. Nor could the Queen herself, who instantly petitioned for a revocation of that decree, obtain any redress. We may therefore believe that the Capuchin Fathers will repent them of their zeal, which has given occasion to this proclamation so troublesome to all Catholics.

"In all counties out of London the persecution daily rages more and more against Catholics, who are despoiled of their goods (than which nothing is more intolerable). The most wicked men are bent upon this work, who have been long experienced in the art of persecution."

From various letters and papers in the Public Record Office, &c., we find the following places of residence and "resort" of the members of the College in and about London, viz.—

1627, &c. At the Lady Savage's house; at the Countess of Buckingham's house, the Porch in the King's Garden (this lady was converted by Father John Percy, *alias* Fisher); in

the "White Lion" or else "The Red Lion" in King Street, was a lodging-house; the Duke of Buckingham's house, Chelsea. A place of meeting was "The Jerusalem Ordinary, Fleet Street, or The Red Cross in Chancery Lane.[2] At Lord Montague's house in Drury Lane, kept by one Capes, and bought by Lord Montague for such persons."

Drury Lane was in fact in those days, as we have seen, so full of Catholics as to be called *Roma Parva.*

The following "informations" are taken from the State Papers, Public Record Office.

Dom. Chas. I. 1632, [?] undated, vol. ccxxix. n. 132. Endorsed by Secretary Cooke, "Informations per Southwell."

In Drurie Lane ther doeth dwell Bleues, Luttnor, Mr. Edmunt Leuttal, and Mr. Antonio Boges, and others, all of a row, and they all are regularlie in the top of their houses, to goe one to another, and soe into Bleueses' house, and ther is a privie waye to convaye thim away threw his stables into the felldes; and at Bleueses ther lyeth Father Foster the Jesuit: He is the Lady Lusnart's confessor; and at Mr. Antonio Bogeses lyeth Father Fisher, and he is his confessor: and all ther refuge is to Bleueses house; but these are all harbourers of priests and Jesuits, dangerous, as I thinke, to the State of this kingdom.

Soe, if it may please your honor to graunt and give a speciall warrant to search these houses above-named, for Popish sem. priests and Jesuites, and Popish stuffe and reliquekes and boukes, I dow not doute but wee shall dow the King good service, and soe give y honor good content.

Same vol. n. 133. Same informer.

There is one Coupe, a pretended servant to the Lord Mounttegew of Coudraie, wich is convicted, haith taken a house in Drurie Lane in the Lord Mounttegew's name, but my lord never come at this house yett: and this Coupe is a convicted recusant; but because it is said to be the Lord Mounttegew's house noe ofisher [officer] deare enter it, and without special warrant given by your honor to search it, altho' wee know ther be dangerous persons therin, as in this house is the meeting of a many Jesuites and priests, and Father Moskett, which is the Pope's Archdeacon for

[2] From the earliest times Fetter Lane and Fleet Street were places of great resort for Catholics. The following is extracted from a State Paper information, as an instance, among many other similar notices: "In Fetter Lane a gentlewoman, Mrs. Fuller's house appointed receptacle for Papists to hear Mass said by one Harding, once questioned for conspiring the Queen's death by sorcery. Hither resort Babington and Barnewell, one of Ireland, the other of Derbyshire, gentlemen of good account but bad disposition. These are the Pope's white sons, for divers pieces of services which they do to Rome against this realm. Also one Mr. Dodge, Sir C. Hatton's man."

London, ther to sett in Councell for ther Popish designments, as if your honor please, shall bee aproved to your honor.

My Lord Conway did give a speciall warrant to one of the forttie [forty] messengers that had noe skill in this besiness to search the Lord Stornorn [Stourton] his house for Father Mosket, and he did search the Lord Stortton his house, and toke one man there, but meste [missed] of Father Mosket, and yet hee was in the house at that tyme, on the other side of the house by a grate lybarie [library], as may be aproued to your honor.

The following passages from an original letter of the Rev. Mr. Clark, sending news to Rome[3] dated February 8, 1633, will be found interesting and will throw light upon the period, and upon the jealousy entertained by Protestants against the good Queen Henrietta Maria.

This day a certain lawyer, that brake the church-windows at Salisbury in contempt of images, is to be censured in the Star Chamber.

Not long since, there was a minister of Essex that, preaching at Cambridge, in the prayer of his sermon, prayed God either to convert the Queen or confound her; for which he hath been deeply censured in the High Commission Court and degraded. The King is so much offended with him for it, that he threatened to hang him. There is also a plea commenced in the Exchequer Court, against twelve, viz., four ministers, four lawyers, and four merchants, who had a plot to buy up certain impropriations of benefices in many places of the land, and thereby to set up the silenced ministers again; but the plot being discovered, all will be forfeited to the King, and perhaps the parties also censured in the Star Chamber.

The Lady Wootton, a Catholic Baroness of Kent, is censured in £500 fine by the High Commission, through the malice of some for putting the word *Catholic* upon her husband's tomb, and not consenting to take it away again herself; with order to have that word blotted out by the officers.[4]

The Annual Letters of the English Province during the times of persecution are for the most part very scanty in consequence of the great difficulty and danger both to the writers and receivers of letters in those days. This will be more fully explained when we come to the Annual Report for 1645–9.

In the year 1635, we read in the Annual Letters that one of the Fathers was apprehended by the pursuivants, and brought before the Council. Influential friends had procured for him, some time before, a royal licence protecting him from

[3] Old Clergy Chap. Collection, vol. c. ii. p. 236.

[4] See interesting mention of the Wootton in *Records*, Series III. p. 253, seq., with the conversion of Pickering Wootton, which led to that of his father, Lord Wootton, in 1605.

the penalties to which he might be subjected by law for the performances of his missionary functions. The Lords of the Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury taking a leading part, set aside the protection and ordered him to leave the kingdom, and to bind himself by oath never to return again. The Father refused to take this oath, as inconsistent with his religious obligation to return to England, should his Superior order him to do so. In consequence of this refusal he was heavily fined, and, though old and infirm, was committed to prison, confined in a narrow and loathsome cell, and treated with much inhumanity by the gaoler. After a few months of suffering he was released, at the urgent intercession of the Queen.[5] This year, too, the members of the Society suffered much from the attacks of enemies whose envy was excited by their zealous labours in maintaining the Catholic faith and the interests of the Holy See. These persons desired their expulsion, but failing in that, strenuously laboured to excite the ill-will of the King and Queen, and of all parties against them. Against these attempts the Superiors proceeded to act, as far as might be done prudently and wisely. Being bound to vindicate their own and their subjects' characters from calumnies fabricated against them, they defended themselves in writing with such moderation and prudence, as to win the good opinion of all equitable men and all who were not hopelessly prejudiced against them.

The Fathers nevertheless, according to opportunity of time and place, laboured in their vocation, and besides the domestic care of families with whom they resided, added forty-nine souls to the Catholic Church. The rest of this year's report, and also that of 1635, will be found embodied in the life of Father Henry Morse the martyr, and relate entirely to the terrible plague of London, and the labours of that devoted servant of God amongst the plague-stricken. In the following year, 1637, the plague still prevailed, affording to the Fathers an opportunity of exercising their zeal and charity, nor were they backward in availing themselves of it. They found themselves called upon to administer relief, not only to the spiritual, but corporal needs of the poor Catholics. For in the distribution of the general fund raised for the relief of the poor, all participation therein was inhumanly denied to those who were known to be Catholics. In addition

[5] This was Father John Percy, *alias* Fisher, whose life will be given in the course of this Series.

to the alms placed at their disposal by their wealthier Catholic friends, they applied to their brethren throughout England to raise pecuniary aid, and by their united exertions a considerable sum was obtained, more than eight hundred gold crowns.[6] On the first appearance of the pestilence, a competent number of the Fathers was specially devoted to administering the aids of religion to the sick. As the infection spread, a proposal was made to the Fathers by the secular clergy that some priests should be specially deputed to take the principal management of this charitable labour. The proposal was accepted, and Father Henry Morse *alias* Claxton for the Society, and the Reverend John Southworth for the secular clergy, were deputed for this perilous undertaking. Both, by the goodness of God, escaped death, though Father Morse was attacked, and brought to the verge of the grave. Their devotedness and charity, however, were soon after requited by a painful imprisonment and subsequent judicial murder upon the gallows of Tyburn. Father Morse was executed February 1, 1645, and the Reverend John Southworth on the 28th June, 1654, solely on account of their priestly character.[7]

In this year, besides their services amongst the plague-stricken, some remarkable conversions to the Catholic faith rewarded the labours of the Fathers.

In 1639 there were thirty-nine Jesuits labouring in London and the district of St. Ignatius. Several of the Fathers held controversial discussions with Protestant ministers, and were even admitted to confer with some of the chief nobility, useful works on religion were also published with the hope of future spiritual profit.

1640. In this year, as the civil disturbances increased, the condition of the Catholics became more alarming, and the Fathers were driven into closer concealment; yet even thus they made forty-two conversions. The death of an eminent Father is recorded, viz., Father Charles Thursley, on the 31st December, 1639, nearly seventy-seven years of age. He had been an inmate of the prisons, both of London and of York, for his faith. In conjunction with another Father, he once expelled an evil spirit from a

[6] £200 sterling, taking the gold crown at five shillings.

[7] The reader will remember the case of Father William Carlos (p. 180) who on witnessing Mr. Southworth's martyrdom resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state, and eventually entered the Society of Jesus.

youth by the exorcisms of the Church in the house of a nobleman, his host. The fame of the miracle spreading abroad, the Protestant Archbishop of York caused him to be apprehended in the same house. Though the martyr's crown was not awarded to him, he nevertheless gained rich merit by patiently enduring his sufferings in prison. He died in London of the fever after his release from prison.

The reports for the year 1641-44 are chiefly occupied with accounts of two eminent martyrs of the Society, viz., Father Thomas Holland and Father Ralph Corby (or Cor bington). They both suffered at Tyburn for their priestly character, the former on December 12, 1642, the latter on September 7, 1644. These particulars will be embodied in the lives of those martyrs.

In No. 48 *King's Pamphlets*, British Museum, Article 7, we find the following letter to Queen Henrietta, stated to be from a Jesuit, but we trace no member of the Society with the initials attached to the document.[8]

[8] It was a very usual thing, especially in ancient times, to nickname priests *Jesuits*. Many instances are recorded, and sometimes lead to confusion. Among the same collection of *King's Pamphlets* we find the examination and condemnation of five Jesuits, who, on reference, prove not to have been of the Society. So also in No. 29 of the same pamphlets the "Confession of John Browne, a Jesuit, in the Gatehouse" (1641). Two cases of earlier date occur, viz., William Blagrove, 1566, and Thomas Heth, 1568 (*Lansdowne MSS.* 981, folios 35, 67). If either of these were members of the Society at any time, we have no record of the fact. Their cases are extraordinary, and the attempt to libel the Society by calling them Jesuits is so flagrant, that a short notice of them may be pardoned. *Lansdowne* 981, folio 35, has: "1566. Account of William Blagrove, Jesuit, hanged at York, May 10, 1566." He is named also by Strype (*Annals Eliz.*), who calls him a Dominican, and says that being suspected to be an impostor, he was seized, and treasonable papers found in his closet. He was so hardened that when he went up the ladder, he laughed in the Archbishop of York's face, telling him that those converts he had drawn unto him would hate the Church's liturgy as much as his Grace did Rome. This man is said to have pretended himself to be a Puritan minister, in order to encourage division among Protestants, &c. In the case of Thomas Heth, the *Lansdowne MSS.*, as above, give an original letter from "the Society of Jesuits at Madrid" to Thomas Heth, a *Jesuit* in England, under the garb of a poor minister, instructing him how to act his part in sowing heresies, and declaring their certificate to the council of Cardinals, that there is no other way to prevent people from turning heretics, and for the recalling of others back again to the Mother Church, than by the diversities of doctrines.—Dated, Madrid, October 26, 1568. This absurd forgery, professes to be signed by "Samuel Malt," a name unknown in the records of the Society. Strype in his Annals of Elizabeth, (Edit. Oxon, 1824, vol. i. part 2, p. 272), speaking of the "craft and diligence of the Papists to overthrow the reformed religion in England by preachers under the garb of Puritans, spreading dissension," &c., says: "A remarkable instance fell out this year (1568). Thomas Heth [Heath], brother to Nicholas, late Archbishop of York and Lord Chancellor under Queen Mary. He was sent over by the *Jesuits*, being himself *one of that Order*, with

A Letter written by a Jesuit to the Queen's Majesty, March 22, wherein he uses divers subtle insinuations to her Majesty for the King's Majesty repealing and recalling of the laws and proclamations against the Jesuits, priests, and recusants, with a brief consideration of the reasons intimated in the letter, and a just confutation of them.

Most mighty Princess,—It has always been accounted honourable for great personages to have pity and compassion of afflicted and distressed souls, but especially if they were guiltless and innocent, and suffered for good—yea, for God's cause.

A most fit occasion for exercising this heroical act is now offered to your Majesty, by the manifold molestations inflicted upon English Catholics, the truth of whose religion and innocence is briefly evinced in our many treatises, for which cause I have thought it no presumption to commend them to your royal protection.

The history of Esther is not unknown to your Majesty, and we doubt her example deserveth no less imitation than admiration. By her mediation with King Assuerus, the nation of the Jews was delivered from a universal overthrow, and why should not Queen Mary prevail as far with King Charles for ancient Christian Catholics?

Can any one doubt but that he would extend the golden rod of clemency towards the dearest spouse—yea, rather divide his kingdom than deny her request. His Majesty is already informed of former services performed by Catholics, both to his grandmother of happy memory and himself, for which they crave no other recompense or reward but the recalling and repealing of such

instructions to pretend himself a preacher of the purer religion. He had an old budget full of erroneous doctrines to disseminate here, of foreign Anabaptists, Arians, and Enthusiasts. And these doctrines he was warily to mix with those of the Puritans. This man, after six years' preaching up and down the country, applied himself to the Dean of Rochester as a poor minister desiring some preferment. The Dean gave him a turn of preaching in that cathedral. In his sermon he had some strokes that looked towards Puritanism: for he said concerning the prayers that were made for Peter by the Church without ceasing (which was his text) that they were not such prayers as were then used by the Church of England. By hap in the pulpit he let fall out of his pocket a letter writ to him under the name of Thomas Fine, from one Malt, an *eminent English Jesuit* in Madrid, which contained directions how he should manage himself in his mission. This letter being taken up by the sexton, and brought to Gest, the Bishop, he examined him, and made so close a use of this letter, that he made him confess himself at length a *Jesuit*, though at first he pretended that though he had been a Jesuit, he was fallen off from that Order, that, indeed, he was not so wholly of the Episcopal party, but laboured to refine Protestants, and to take off all smacks of ceremonies that did in the least tend towards the Romish faith. After this they searched his chamber, where, in his boots, were found beads, a licence from the Jesuits, a Bull from Pius V. to preach what doctrines that Society pleased for the dividing of Protestants; and in his trunk several books against infant baptism and divers other dangerous papers stuffed with blasphemies were seized. In the month of November he had his sentence from the Bishop, and stood in the pillory three several days at Rochester, his ears were cut off, and his nose slit, and his forehead branded with the letter R, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. He died a few months after, not without suspicion of poisoning himself. All this was taken out of the Register of the See of Norwich."

proclamations and laws as their adversaries have procured against them.

This did Queen Esther obtain of King Assuerus for the Jews, thus we Catholics beseech your Majesty to motion for us; but yet notwithstanding that earnestness which good Mardochai used, who spared not to tell the Queen, making some difficulty [?] that though she held peace, the Jews should be delivered by some other means, but that she and her father's house should perish, only we will urge that which immediately followeth, who knoweth whether this was the cause of your Majesty's coming to the crown, that you might be prepared against such a time.

This also we add, which makes the matter more easy, we desire no man's harm, but our own good; we wish for no man's fall that we may rise; we would rejoice, but would have none to sorrow. When our country was separated from the Catholic faith and the Church of Rome, all was done by great force and violence, we hope when we shall return all will be compassed with a contrary course, and we would willingly admit that exposition which one hath made of St. Edward's vision if it had no other difficulty in it than this. Two monks which this holy King had been familiarly acquainted with in Normandy, and were now saints in heaven, appeared to him, and told him of his country's coming to a better estate, by proposing unto him this problem: A green tree being cut from the body, let it be separated the space of four acres from the root, which, when man's hand compelling it, no necessity urging it, returning to the body, shall come again to the ancient root, and taking sap, shall flourish and bear fruit again, then, &c. By this green tree, saith my author, we may very well understand the kingdom of England, of which St. Edward and those holy monks censured the cutting it from the body, was dividing it from the See Apostolic for the space of four acres, that is for the time of four princes' reign, King Henry, King Edward, Queen Elizabeth, and King James.

Wherefore, now what are we to expect but that without all compulsion of constraint it should return to the body and root again, and begin to flourish with Catholic doctrine, and bear fruit of good works by receiving the sap of grace, which cannot be out of the virtue of the Catholic Church, which consisteth of the aforesaid head and members.

Thus he: and howsoever (as I said) the rest may be *exproved*, we should like passing well this felicity and sweetness without force and violence, and therefore do earnestly wish that as the separation between King Henry and Queen Catherine was a great beginning of that other breach, so the inseparable love of King Charles and Queen Mary might restore us the ancient union. The very attempting of this noble and godly enterprize deserveth immortal praises.—Your Majesties' most faithful servant and humble orator,—M. C.

"The brief consideration" is a short effusion of low bigotry against the above reasons.

1644. The general observation upon the times runs thus—"At the meeting in the latter part of the preceding session of the parliament, which still exists, the civil commotion by which the tranquillity of the kingdom had been already disturbed,

became greatly increased. Catholics, and especially priests, became the special objects of public hostility. Their enemies not only urged rigorous execution of the penal laws already existing, but sought to exterminate them by plunder and confiscation of their property, and every kind of outrage to their persons. In this state of things, and especially after the dissensions had broken out into open war, the Fathers had great difficulty in obtaining anywhere a safe refuge, and they could rarely find an opportunity of passing from one place to another to afford spiritual aid to the suffering Catholics, or of communicating by letter, or otherwise, to their superiors."

The circumstances of one conversion that took place in London in 1644–5, deserve particular mention. A Protestant knight, residing in London, who had married a Catholic lady, was taken ill and reduced to a state of imminent danger. Being strongly attached to his own religious persuasion, he firmly opposed all the endeavours that were made to induce him to embrace the Catholic faith, and expressed his determination to die a Protestant, and to secure by every means in his power, a Protestant education for his only son. This resistance to the earnest and constant entreaties of his wife, overwhelmed her with grief. One of the Fathers visited her, and suggested that there might be hope of her husband's conversion if she would seek the favour of God by a work of charity, highly pleasing to Him—the procuring some Masses for the relief of the souls in purgatory. The lady hastened to comply with this recommendation. On the very day on which the first of these Masses had been offered, the sick man sent for his wife, and of his own accord declared his intention to embrace the Catholic faith, saying that he felt an overpowering influence of prayer to that effect, which he could no longer resist. He begged that the Father, whose name had been mentioned to him, should immediately be sent for. It was night when the Father attended; and, filled with pious admiration at the change thus wrought by the right hand of the Most High, he found the sick man full of sentiments of religion and penitence, and heard him repeatedly declare that his mind had been completely subdued by the efficacy of some most potent prayers. Having made a worthy confession, he received the Sacrament of Penance, and the other sacraments which are conferred on the sick, with excellent sentiments of piety. He lived nearly a month, constant in the profession of the faith which he had embraced, and in prompt obedience to the spiritual directions of his instructor,

and he died after frequent invocations of the blessed names of our Lord and His holy Mother, in a manner which afforded great comfort and edification to those around him, and a lively hope of his eternal happiness.

Another instance occurred this year of a special grace granted in consequence of charitable relief to the faithful departed. Two brothers had long continued in a state of violent enmity to each other. Having been induced to perform works of piety for the souls in purgatory, they found their angry feelings subside, and became cordially reconciled.

1645–49. The report makes a general remark, that during this period the number of priests who suffered for their faith was less than in some of the preceding years. It was perhaps found that the extreme severity tended rather to animate the zeal of the missioners than to shake their constancy, and that many Protestants were thus brought back to the Catholic Church. Yet the hatred to Catholicity, borne by the popular party (which since 1645 had been advancing to sovereign power) had not diminished, but rather increased in intensity. They daily avowed their determination not to be satisfied with lopping off its branches, but wholly to root it up out of the land. The Catholic laity were therefore treated with great severity, and every effort was used to find out and apprehend the missionary priests. It will be easily conceived that the accounts received from them during this period were very scanty and imperfect. In sending letters by the ordinary means of conveyance, there was danger lest they might be intercepted, and so afford some clue to the discovery of the writer, and of those who harboured him. Hence their letters were so brief, and couched purposely in such obscure terms, that little detailed information could be gathered from them. This want of information is the more to be regretted, as during this time the condition of the missionary priests afforded frequent instances of dangers incurred and escaped, and opportunities of practising great evangelical virtues, the recital of which would be both interesting and edifying.

"An ancient Catholic family in Kent was at this time represented by a noble widow lady, with a son and daughter under age. A person of inferior, though not of the lowest condition, had conceived a hope of raising himself to wealth and distinction on the ruin of this family, and he had been heard to say that he would draw blood from that house, or that his own should flow. He thought he should succeed if he could prove that noble widow to have harboured a priest. On

Christmas Day, on which he rightly judged that a priest was likely to be found in such a house, having procured a warrant and a sufficient force, he came to the house about eleven o'clock in the morning, after all the religious services of the day, which one of the Fathers had been performing, were over. The house was a moated one, and the water was frozen; the enemy who knew the localities, sent a man over the ice, who got into the house and admitted some others. Coming unexpectedly on the lady, who was walking in the hall, they told her that they were come to hear the last Mass. She answered with much self-possession—that they were come in vain, for that no such service would be performed there that day. Disregarding this evasive answer, they proceeded upstairs, and one of the party went to the door of the room where the Father was, and repeatedly tried to open it, but in vain, though the Father afterwards declared that the key was in the door, and that there was nothing whatever to prevent the opening of it. The lady with her children and servants, long anxiously watched for an opportunity of warning the Father of his danger; one of the servants at length contrived to get to him unobserved, and he hastened to conceal himself and the vestments, &c., in a hiding-place. The whole hostile party of not less than sixty persons, spent six hours in searching the house without success, and did not retire till it was dark. The plotter of this mischief had a daughter twelve years old. As he reached his own house on his return from his unsuccessful expedition, the girl, though previously quite well, began to bleed at the nose, without any apparent cause. The blood continued to flow, though medical men of the neighbourhood used every means to stop it; and on the third day she died of exhaustion. The afflicted father could not help seeing, in this occurrence, an unexpected verification of his sanguinary threat, and he desisted from his hostilities against Catholics."

As long as the Puritan party continued to be the most influential, hostile proceedings against Catholics were of frequent occurrence, and many instances of danger and imprisonment might be mentioned, which it would be tedious to relate. When the influence of the Independents gained the ascendant, the claim of religious liberty which this party professed to maintain, disposed them to treat Catholics with greater lenity, where they did not render themselves obnoxious by their active zeal for the

royal cause. In the midst of the war which desolated the country generally, and of the persecution which especially afflicted the Catholics, there were yet, during this period, not a few persons reconciled through the ministry of the Fathers to the Church of Christ. Indeed there were circumstances in the condition of the country which were well calculated to create in reflecting people sentiments favourable to Catholicity. For on the one side they saw, in the mortal strife which the Protestant sects were waging against each other, a natural effect of the spiritual pride which at the so-called Reformation had thrown off all legitimate religious authority in religion, and which now with apparent inconsistency, but with real identity of principle, led each of those sects to seek to subdue and destroy the others. On the other hand, they saw the Catholic Church united and unchanged, enduring with high-souled courage and fortitude the assaults of its enemies; they saw the Catholics bearing with Christian constancy, not merely a common share of the general calamities, but bitter and unrelenting persecution from the popular and Puritan party, and not much better treatment from the Royalists, whose cause they, notwithstanding, maintained at the sacrifice of their fortunes and lives, from the sole principle of duty. They saw them thus practically proving that they preferred the treasures of their faith to all the wealth of the world, and all temporal considerations. Amongst those who thus embraced the faith, was a member of the University of Oxford, a Doctor of Divinity, and holding a high office there. Casting himself at the feet of one of the Fathers, he sought through his ministry instruction in the faith of Christ, and forgiveness of his sins in the Sacrament of Penance.

There was another convert, a person of distinction amongst his party, who had been lord lieutenant of a county, and was in high favour with his sovereigns, having repeatedly had the honour of entertaining them at his house. He sought admittance into the Church, that he might more justly estimate, and more faithfully discharge the duties which he owed to God and to man. Other instances occurred, too numerous to be related, of persons of birth and acquirements, who, comparing the unchangeable faith of the Church and the constancy of her children, with the "variations" of the sectaries who had left her, felt themselves compelled to acknowledge and embrace the truth. One instructive instance

deserves to be particularly mentioned, that of a person of rank, who was greatly respected by Catholics as well as Protestants for his upright and honourable conduct. It was no obstinacy in error that withheld him from embracing the truth, but his attachment to his temporal possessions, and all considerations had been urged in vain to induce him to prefer to this temporary interest the eternal welfare of his soul. One of the Fathers, being at length introduced to him, began by calling his attention to the words of our Saviour, *Quærite primum*—"Seek first the kingdom of God," &c., and so strongly urged the truths expressed in these Divine words, that the worldly man seemed to yield, and only asked for a delay of a few days that he might conclude some business he had in hand. But his prudent instructor would not thus be put off. He laid open to him the usual arts by which the enemy of mankind is wont to frustrate man's good intentions, by inducing him to defer putting them in practice. He forcibly represented to him the uncertainty of life, the awful justice of God, and the eternal punishment of sin. To strengthen these good impressions, he placed in his hand the book of Father Parsons (the *Christian Directory*), and called his attention to that part of it which treats of these terrible truths. As he silently watched the effect of those passages, he observed after some time, that the reader paused, and raised his eyes to heaven, while deep sighs revealed his interior emotion. The Father waiting no longer, threw himself upon his knees, exclaiming, "Come let us beg of God that He will no longer suffer you to remain in error." Grace was victorious. He joined in the prayer, and rose from it with a full determination to embrace the Catholic faith, and to prefer the service of God before all human consideration. He carried out his resolution with no longer delay than was needed for his instruction, and a satisfactory preparation for the Sacrament of Penance.

The same report, after mentioning that nine of the Fathers were in prison together at one time, amongst whom was the Vice-Rector of the College, and that the prison became the principal residence of the district, goes on to say, that the first of those who were captured during these four years, was taken at Dover on his way to attend the Provincial Congregation about to be held at Ghent.[9] This Father was in less fear of

[9] Dover and the neighbouring coast seem to have been formerly a great resort for pirates and other desperadoes, as appears by the following extract from a paper marked "Ad martyria Anglica spectat" (*Angl. Hist.*

being stopped, since his complexion, dress, and language were those of a Spaniard; but as he was about to go on board the vessel, his appearance, for whatever reason, excited the suspicion of a person who chanced to be standing by, and he named it to others. The Father was detained and taken before the Governor. His person was closely searched. He had no papers nor other documents about him which could show who or what he was. Other articles, however, betrayed him—his rosary and some instruments of penance, with which, in imitation of St. Paul, he was wont to "chastise his body."[10] Some laughed and others looked grave, as the Father good humouredly explained the use and purpose of these implements, in the presence of a crowd of persons who had gathered

1590—1618). "It will not be unpleasant to those who are out of the reach of the tyrannical violence of the heretics, to give a relation of a certain devoted and courageous priest, who for many years had suffered much trouble and loss at the hands of the persecutors. Arriving once at the port of Dover, he was betrayed and seized by, I know not, what cunning of those lynx-eyed searchers. After enduring, with invincible courage, a load of insults and ignominy heaped upon him, on account of his priesthood, they finally sewed him up in a bear or bull's skin, and exposed him in the public streets, to be torn in pieces by dogs, and sported with as a monster; but, by the goodness of God, he was rescued through the interference of some humane persons standing by. Dover is a town and port from whence you may see Calais in France, which is within an ordinary passage of a few hours. Its ancient name was *Dorobernia*, and it is not improbable that it was distinguished by the same privilege now enjoyed by Canterbury, because in this place was first received St. Augustine, the Apostle of England, sent by St. Gregory the Great, as Ven. Bede in his history relates." The paper then describes Dover, as being at that period (1604), with all the neighbouring sea-coast, a very nest of pirates, and a most safe station and receptacle for stolen property and spoil, from Holland, Zealand, Belgium, and France, and likewise piratical plunder taken upon the seas. In fine, it was a general resort of all the most abandoned characters, pirates, robbers, and rogues. "Those from the Huguenot parts were alone welcomed. Here were very recently to be seen merchandise from the extreme Indies, which had been plundered by the pirates upon the seas, and exposed for sale, the richest silks, and such like. Sacrilegious plunder may likewise be seen there, exposed for sale in the market-place and shops, such as chalices, patens, crosses and crucifixes, gold and silver candlesticks, bells, some broken, some sound; iron window frames, door leaves, pieces of consecrated altars, ornaments and other articles of church and altar furniture. These sales were not only public, but were announced, by leave of the magistrates, with the town-crier's bell; and not only so, but these miscreants vociferate their own praises for the mutilation or murder and desecration of so many religious men and women they had effected; so many images of saints and sacred hosts they had found and broken up and desecrated in the churches; so many holy altars and relics of saints defiled or broken to pieces, or burnt, and so many missals, breviaries, and books, and treasures of libraries, and precious manuscripts torn up and destroyed." The MS. continues at greater length, but we think sufficient is given to show the anti-Catholic hate of the good Dorobernians of that period.

[10] 1 Cor. ix. 27.

around; and he playfully invited a Protestant minister, who stood forward among the spectators to practise the use of these arms of Christian warfare. The Governor treated the Father kindly, but could not venture to do otherwise than send him in safe custody to London. There he was again examined before the magistrates, but nothing further was found to support the suspicions entertained against him beyond the possession of the articles above-mentioned, and his use of the Spanish dress and language. In his defence the Father stated that he was a native of England, that forty years before he had gone to reside in Spain; that having returned to England for the benefit of his health, he had taken up his residence at the Spanish Embassy, where he had been employed as an interpreter, as many knew, who had seen him so engaged, and that he had resided nowhere else. This statement did not prove satisfactory. The Father was committed to Newgate prison, and subsequently brought to trial. Though the witnesses produced against him were persons of no credit, and there was neither truth, or consistency in their evidence, the Father was convicted, and received sentence of death. This would have been executed, had not the Spanish Ambassador positively claimed him as one of his household. This claim was reluctantly admitted, only on condition that the Father should be sent out of the country. About the same time a mob broke into the residence of the Imperial Ambassador in his absence, before daylight, and seized a large quantity of property which the Catholics had been permitted to deposit there, as in a place protected by the right of nations; and with it some of the clothes of the Ambassador, which were sold by auction. Two of the Fathers were also discovered there, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Secretary of the Legation, committed to gaol, and afterwards sent out of the country.

Another Father had passed the night in the house of a respectable citizen, but he had not escaped the observation of the neighbours, who in the morning suddenly surrounded the house, knocked violently at the door, and threatened to break in, if it was not immediately opened. The Father, in attempting to escape by the garden at the back of the house, found men with dogs stationed among the surrounding trees and hedges. Their shouts announced that they saw him. He now rushed into the adjoining house, and begged the mistress of it to help him to escape, or conceal himself. She chanced to be a Catholic, but did not know him. She bade him go up

to the room above, where he found two boys on a low truckle bed, sick with the small-pox. He contrived to creep under this bed, and was speedily followed by the men who had seen him from the garden. They sought for him all over the house, never suspecting that he had sheltered himself among sufferers from a loathsome and contagious disease, though a neighbour from without repeatedly called to them to examine all the beds. After a lengthened search they concluded that he had contrived to escape from the house, and went away.

One of the Fathers, when the influence of the "Independent" party then prevalent, caused Catholics to be treated with greater lenity, found himself enabled to devote his services to sufferers from the plague which had broken out again. His ministry was very fruitful, he reconciled many Protestants to the Church, and to many who were destitute of all human help he administered the rites of religion, and afforded temporal relief and comfort by means of the alms which were placed at his disposal. Animated by the Spirit of God, he succeeded in inspiring those whom he attended with sentiments of lively contrition, entire conformity to the will of God, and even spiritual exaltation in the midst of their sufferings, and in the agony of death. His name thus became spread abroad among those who were in health, and many of them, disregarding the danger of communicating with one who was in such continual attendance upon the infected, made general confessions to him. While engaged in this exercise of charity towards the sick, the good Father was pursued by sectarian hostility. He assumed the various disguises of a physician, a lawyer, or a man of business, but he was nevertheless discovered or suspected, and he not unfrequently had to escape by the window. Though of a weak constitution and delicate health, and called at all hours of the day and night to attend the sick, visiting them often during the morning fast, he neither took the infection nor was he prevented from offering the Divine Sacrifice.

In 1650—51 the Annual Report mentions twenty-three Fathers employed in the district. There were seventy-eight conversions, ten of which were those of men of station and influence. Some particulars are also given relating to the martyr, Father Peter Wright, who suffered at Tyburn, 29th of May, 1651.[11] "His impressive preaching and untiring zeal, the purity and truthfulness of his character, his high-

[11] See the Life of Father Wright, *Records*, Series II.

minded sentiments, and the singular urbanity and kindliness of manner with which he won the affections of all who knew him, caused even many Protestants to lament and reprobate his cruel death. It was remarkable that from the immense multitude of spectators who witnessed his death, there was not heard one cry of gratification or triumph. Those who were near enough to see him, distinctly observed with admiration the tranquil and pleasant expression of countenance with which he met his death. Even as he hung, his features wore rather a smile of pleasure than any indication of the agony of death. This peace and joy was the result of the complete victory which in life he had obtained over himself and all his passions, and his features after death seemed to show that it had been to him but a passage to eternal life. His precious remains were obtained and embalmed by his brethren and remained amongst them, animating them with a desire of imitating his virtues and sharing the glory of his triumph."

The death of FATHER EDMUND NEVILLE, *alias* ELISEUS NELSON, is recorded in the year 1648, in chains for the faith. Father Tanner,[12] in his short notice of this venerable Father, calls him a noble confessor of Christ *in vinculis*, and when free an apostle. He states him to have been a native of Lancashire, born in the year 1563, of a family of wealth and station. He was heir to an ample patrimony in Westmoreland, but renounced all in hope of eternal riches, convinced of the vanity of all temporal things, and preferring the reproach of Christ to the delights of princes. Quitting his native land, he went to Rome, and entered the English College at the mature age of forty-three, as an alumnus, in the year 1606, as Edward Neville, under the assumed name of Eliseus Nelson. He took the usual College oath on the 30th of March, 1608, and was ordained priest the 12th of April, 1608. On entering the English College he gave the following autobiographical account of himself, in reply to the usual interrogatories put to the students:

"My name is Edmund Neville. I was born in the county of York, and brought up with my relation Sir Thomas Hesketh, lately of Rufford in the county of Lancaster, Knight, now dead. My parents were John and Beatrice; my father was a knight, enjoying a corresponding fortune, until all his

[12] S.J. Apost. Imitatrix.

property was confiscated by the late Queen Elizabeth, and he was driven from his country into banishment, leaving eight infants, without any means of support, in the care of relations, begging his food and clothing from foreign princes; and for some years before their deaths my parents lived upon an allowance made them by his Catholic Majesty, and they retired in their old age, in the greatest poverty, into Flanders.

"I have no brother, and five sisters; my relations on either side, both Catholics and Protestants, are many of them of the highest families in the counties of York, Lincoln, Stafford, and Lancaster. . . . I made my studies partly at Douay, and was recalled before their completion by Father Baldwin, and sent back to England, and I obeyed him, preferring the common good and obedience to my private advantage. . . . I was never a Protestant, although a schismatic until my twenty-eighth year, when, by the help of God, I became a Catholic. This was effected by the Holy Spirit alone, without the persuasion of any one, and, as it were, in the midst of my earthly delights, and far from any such a thought, and I resolved upon this step solely by the conversations of Mr. Christopher Anderton, who at that time was my companion, and who exhorted me to lead a better life. I began to reflect, and quickly determined to yield, and from that same hour (it was in the commencement of Lent), although I did it rather in joke, I observed the entire Lenten fast, contrary to my usual custom, and to this I was certainly moved by the Holy Spirit, and then calling in a priest named Bancroft, was, by his help, made a Catholic the following week. I was then living and studying *ad libitum* in one of the Inns of Court in London. I never suffered any direct persecution either against my person or property, but I consider that I have suffered much indirectly (as I may say), having lost in the persons of my parents for the profession of the faith, as before mentioned, all the property to which by right of succession I was entitled. Besides this, I have been obliged to labour much; to watch often, to live a clandestine life, with no abiding home, obliged to fly from one town to another; always on the look out for the ministers of persecution, and to suffer injuries and to bear reproaches and insults; with the care of four sisters, and to support them as I could; visiting the poor afflicted Catholics in prisons; seeing the wealthier mulct in innumerable fines, and others oppressed with misery and want, and in passing by to witness the servants of God hanging upon the gallows;

lastly, to hear in silence sacred things and the Most Holy Himself blasphemed. Truly, in all these I may say that I have suffered something for the Catholic faith."

Having obtained from the Holy See the necessary dispensation from the College oath, in order that he might enter religion, he was, by the same authority, removed from the English College and placed for a short period in the monastery of another religious order in Rome, in order to test the stability of his vocation to the Society. Passing through this ordeal, he entered the novitiate of the Society at St. Andrew's in the following year. After the completion of his two years' noviceship, he was at once sent to the English Mission. In due time he was admitted to the degree of a Professed Father. He taught the humanity course in one of the Continental Colleges of the English Province for some years, and returning again to England, resumed his labours in that mission, and continued them with great zeal and fruit until his death. By the sweetness of his manners, his virtue and learning, he endeared himself to all, and rendered the highest service to the cause of religion.

During the heat of the civil war in England, Father Neville became suspected as a priest, and was seized by the parliamentary soldiers. He was then eighty-five years of age,[13] and had been for some time bedridden. He was dragged out of bed, thrown into a cart, and carried off in triumph amidst the insults, scoffs, and ribaldry of the soldiers and rabble, to a neighbouring prison, where he was detained in the depth of winter, and suffered severely from his fetters, hunger, thirst, and cold. Here he must have perished but for the charity of a pious lady, who supplied him during the nine months of his incarceration with necessaries for the support and preservation of life. At length he was removed to London, and summoned to the bar for trial; but, as no evidence of his sacerdotal character could be produced, he was discharged from custody with scarcely a spark of life left in him. Very soon after he contracted a disease, brought on by his sufferings, and was freed from the prison of the body, and his happy soul winged its flight *in libertatem filiorum Dei*, at London, in the year 1648. Father Tanner, quoting Southwell,[14] mentions especially his sufferings endured in the hold of a vessel, in which he had probably been brought from the country prison to London for

[13] Fathers More and Tanner state eighty-seven.
[14] Alegambe, *Bib. Scrip. S.J.*

trial, his patience under which excited the astonishment even of the soldiers who guarded him.

Alegambe states that he was the author of *The palm of Christian fortitude; or, the glorious combats of the Christians in Japan*, 8vo., 1630. He had also prepared for the press, *The Life of St. Augustine, Doctor of the Church*, which the late Dr. Oliver thinks has never been published.

The annual report for 1650 records the death of FATHER MATTHEW BAZIER, *alias* GRIMES, on the 11th of August, 1650, aged forty-two, in a London prison [Newgate], of gaol fever, caught from the foulness of his dungeon and his sufferings there. He was a native of Rouen, and being a foreigner, was enabled for a time to exercise his priestly functions with comparatively greater freedom than his brethren. He was a zealous and most efficient missioner, and laboured especially amongst the poor, towards whom he felt and showed in his whole conduct a sincere and ardent affection. His zealous labours could not remain long unobserved. He was several times arrested and examined, but suffered to go at large again, when he resumed with unabated vigour his ministerial functions. At length stronger suspicions were raised, and he was again seized and committed to prison. Though he might have purchased his liberty for a moderate ransom, he refused to do so. He died after a few months' confinement. His last and only regret was, that he was not allowed to suffer death for the Catholic faith upon the public gallows, although dying a martyr for the same cause in prison. His memory was cherished and venerated by his brethren, and honoured by all the Catholics who had known him.

The same report mentions upwards of three hundred and sixty converts to the Catholic faith in the London mission. One was the case of a certain *energumen*, or obsessed person, who, on renouncing heresy, was freed also from the evil spirit; thus confirming the truth of that saying of St. Ambrose,[15] *Certum est omnibus, hæreticorum principem esse diabolum.*

The following notice is also made of FATHER JOHN ROBINSON.[16] "At London, Father John Robinson was appre-

[15] *In Apoc.* cap. ix.

[16] Father Robinson was a native of Cumberland, born 1588; entered the Society at the advanced age of forty, in the year 1628, and was made a formed Spiritual Coadjutor on the 17th of April, 1644. He appears to have served for a long period in the London mission, and was eventually sent by Superiors to Watten, where he died in the Novitiate, on the 30th of September, 1669, aged eighty-one.

hended through the perfidy of the wife of a mariner, whom he had received into the Church during the absence of her husband. He, on his return, induced her not only to renounce the service of God, but to betray him who had taught her to serve Him. Under pretence of illness she sent for the Father, who was seized by two officers who were waiting for him, and taken before a magistrate. He was confined two weeks in a dark prison, after which, through the interests of friends, he was treated with less rigour. He was detained in prison four months longer, until the sitting of the Criminal Court, when he was brought to trial. Although the woman who had betrayed him, swore that she had been to confession to him thrice, the jury, with the concurrence of the Court, acquitted him, and he was discharged.

1654. The following relates probably to some place in this College, as Father Matthews was then employed in it.

"FATHER MATTHEWS carried back the Catholic faith into a populous town, in which there had been no Catholics known of within the memory of any one there, by making some conversions in it. Among these was a woman, born in the Barbary States, and brought to England in her infancy, where she had been trained up a Protestant. She was a person of remarkably good sense, and did honour to the faith she embraced by her exemplary piety and rectitude of conduct.

"Father Matthews also contrived at this time, at no small risk and inconvenience, to obtain access to the Catholics confined in the Tower of London, and to say Mass there daily, to their great comfort and benefit. Several other instances of the zeal of this Father are recorded." [17]

Another of the Fathers (1654) was apprehended this year on his landing at Dover. He was thought at first to be a spy of the royal party, but on examination was suspected to be a priest and a Jesuit. He was committed to custody in Dover Castle. On the same day, a few hours later, three other persons who had come over with the Father were also apprehended, two of them on suspicion of being priests, and the third a youth of noble family. They had been observed to be acquainted

[17] Father Francis Matthews was one of the Matagon family, born at Liege in the year 1617. He entered the Society in 1635, was professed of the four vows of religion in 1650, and died at Ypres, a victim of charity in attending the plague-stricken, on the 8th of November, 1667, in the fiftieth year of his age. He was a clever catechist, and, as we have seen, rendered zealous and efficient service to the Catholics in prison. The tact required for, and the danger attendant upon such a service in those times can hardly be conceived.

with the Father, and had gone with him to the same inn. They all underwent a long and close examination. One of the two former persons declared that he was but slightly acquainted with the Father, and the other had never seen him before he had met him on the journey. There was every likelihood of obtaining much more satisfactory evidence from the noble youth, on account of his ingenuous disposition and unsuspecting age, and the clear proof he had given of his intimate acquaintance with the Father; for, when the latter was arrested, the youth had followed him in tears through the streets, calling him by his name, and asking him what he should now do, and whither he should go. But, as Providence would have it, when they came to examine the young nobleman they did not put any question to him relating to the Father. The Governor of the Castle being informed of these proceedings, went in the evening to the apartment in which the Father was confined, and had a long conference with him. After asking many questions concerning the religion of Catholics, and their controversy with Protestants, he informed the Father of the apprehension of the three other prisoners, and of his examination of them, but asked few questions about the two men, and none at all about the youth. He told him that the former would be detained until the Council should give orders concerning them, and that the youth, of whose noble character and talents he expressed the highest admiration, would be set at liberty and forwarded to London in a hired carriage the next day. As this noble youth was the chief object of the Father's solicitude, he could not sufficiently admire and thank the Providence of God, Who had so wonderfully preserved both the youth and himself. He was subsequently sent in custody from Dover to London, and a month later set at liberty through the assistance of his brother, a secular priest, who by great exertion had procured for him the interest of many influential persons, and the bail required for his release.

The following information from a Government spy is interesting, as showing one of the modes adopted for inflaming the minds of the populace against Catholics and their clergy.[18]

9th August, 1653.

The information of N. N., lately inhabitant in Spain and now in London, given in Spanish, and translated into English by W. C. and S. C., the sum whereof followeth.

[18] From Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 403.

In this city of London, and throughout the territory of England, &c., swarm a very numerous company of Jesuits, monks, and friars. They have their General or Superior in the Spanish Ambassador's house, in which almost every chamber is turned into a chapel, where are altars and idols.

The English that come thither on Sundays, and at other times to hear Mass, and make confessions, &c., are a very great number, by which many are hardened in their superstitions, and many proselytes made. When I beheld this, being an eye-witness of it, and deluded to join in Mass with them, God in mercy made it an abomination to me, and my soul was grieved to see this State so grossly abused, and so many silly souls cheated, and God so highly provoked to anger thereby; so that this informant judgeth it a very great service to God and to this State to make this discovery.

There are many Irish Jesuits among those; they all call themselves chaplains, and *padres-des-aimés*, fathers of souls. The late Parliament made a decree for restraint to this growing evil, and for banishing and sending away these dangerous guests, which made them hush a little while; but in a few days that fear was over, and all are returned to the old vomit, and they are more numerous and bolder than ever. This informant also sayeth that those employed by this State to pry into the abuses aforesaid are every month, by collection made among the Papists, bribed with money; by which, instead of detecting and punishing, they hold a great amity and familiarity with them. The informant aforesaid saith that... And what he is informed of the Spanish Ambassador's house is true of the houses of the Portuguese Ambassador, and of the French also, in theirs in proportion.

Also that any Papist of quality in the land hath some of this crew haunting their houses, without search or control. That they mingle themselves with all sorts of men in all disputes, heightening the animosities between parties; glorying and rejoicing in nothing more than in the present war between the two Commonwealths; openly expressing they will tear and destroy each other, and so become a prey to the King of Spain; and that this will be a just reward for their heresy and rebellion. And lastly that they doubt not but shortly to behold the return of the Catholic religion (as they term Popery) into England, the Ministry being sufficiently suspect already, and ready to fall, and people broken into a thousand opinions, and very many shaking off all form of reformed ways, and thereby capable of the old form.

Of what tendency and consequence the premises are, it is submitted to the consideration of the honourable Council of State.

1655. Extract from the Catalogue of the English Province for 1655, showing the Missionary Fathers of the district at that period.

Domus Probationis Sti. Ignatii, cum Missione Londinensi.

Nomen.	Patria.	Ætas.	Temp. in Soc.	Gradus.
Thomas Carvellus, Rector	Lincoln	49	23	Prof. 13 Dec. 1643
Gulielmus Sadlerus	Essex.	46	25	Prof. 18 Dec. 1645
Joannes Haydonus	Londin.	52	26	Form. 14 Julii, 1641
Thomas Worslæus	Louvain	58	40	Prof. 8 Dec. 1629
Robertus Staffordus	Stafford.	63	38	Prof. 29 Junii, 1628
Thomas Nevillus	Essex	57	34	Prof. 2 Aug. 1635
Franciscus Hanmerus	Lecestren.	62	45	Prof. 7 Aug. 1633
Jacobus Bettamus	Stafford.	51	30	Prof. 4 May, 1640
Gulielmus Waringus	Lancast.	45	23	Prof. 11 Nov. 1646
Gulielmus Aplebæus	Ebor.	64	26	Prof. 3 Nov. 1641
Joannes Robinsonus	Cumberland.	64	27	Form. 17 Ap. 1644
Carolus Florus	Essex.	63	39	Form. 22 Feb. 1628
Thomas Thompsonus	Cantian.	41	23	Prof. 7 Aug. 1649
Georgius Smithæus	Dunelm.	44	24	Form. 29 Julii, 1648
Thomas Harcottus	Essex.	37	20	Prof. 8 Dec. 1652
Gulielmus Talbottus	Lancast.	59	37	Prof. 30 Junii, 1633
Alex. Pagias	Derbien.	46	24	Form. 19 Jan. 1644
Guliel. Martius	Mecliniensis	39	21	Prof. 25 Nov. 1646
Thomas Bartonus	Lancas.	49	24	Prof. 15 Aug. 1642
Thomas Matthæus	Leodien.	37	20	Prof. 6 Dec. 1650
Thomas Farmerius	Buck.	61	34	Prof. 6 Sep. 1632
Henricus Gasquinus	Buck.	58	38	Prof. 25 Oct. 1630
Richardus Strangius	Northumb.	44	24	Prof. 21 Nov. 1646
Josephus Walkerus	Stafford.	35	15	
Thomas Kelio	Hampton.	50	26	Prof. 6 Ap. 1645
Robertus Fitzwilliamus	Hibern.	49	8	
Joannes Humphredus	Wallus	45	16	Form. 23 Nov. 1654
Mauritius Neoportus[19]	Somers.	44	20	Prof. 23 Nov. 1648
Robertus Vitus [20]	Northumb.	34	14	
Thomas Salisburus	Oxon.	61	38	Prof. 15 Oct. 1630
Odoardus Worslæus	Lancast.	34	14	

Unfortunately, there is a hiatus of several years in the annual reports of the Province (from 1656 to 1669), owing to the loss or destruction of records, which we have so constantly to deplore. We propose to supply it, in some measure, by the following biographical sketches of two eminent Fathers who presided over the English Province during a considerable portion of those trying times, viz., Father Richard Barton (whose true name was Bradshaigh), and Father Edward Courtney (whose real name was Leedes).

1656—60. Father Richard Bradshaigh, or Bradshaw, *alias* Barton, was Provincial of the English Province during

[19] Newport. [20] White.

this eventful period, and witnessed the great political change in the collapse of the Commonwealth, and the restoration of the Monarchy. Father Richard Bradshaigh,[21] or Bradshaw,

[21] Four direct members of this ancient family of Bradshaigh of Haigh Hall, Wigan, now represented by the Earl of Crawford and Balcarres of Haigh Hall, joined the Society of Jesus. (1) Robert Bradshaigh or Bradshaw (*alias* Robert Barton) of whom we possess few particulars, beyond the fact of his having entered the Society in the year 1614. He was probably the Robert Bradshaw named in Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, in the list of forty priests sent into banishment in 1606. We do not trace him further. (2) Father Richard, noticed in the text. (3) Thomas Bradshaigh or Bradshaw (*alias* Barton), born in Lancashire in the year 1606, brother to Father Richard. He entered an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on the 16th of October, 1626, and took the usual Propaganda and College oaths on the 2nd of May, 1627. He was ordained priest the 4th of May, 1631, and, having obtained the requisite licence from the Holy See, entered the Novitiate of St. Andrew's, Rome, on the 7th of September, 1631 (English College Diary). On entering the College he stated in his replies to the usual questions—"My true name is Thomas Bradshaw. I am in about my twentieth year, and was born and brought up in the county of Lancaster. My parents are Roger and Anne Bradshaw, who are of high families. I have seven brothers and six sisters. My chief relations are uncles and aunts, all Catholics, except one uncle, Alexander Bradshaw, who is a Protestant. I made my studies as far as rhetoric at St. Omer's College and was always a Catholic." He was made a Professed Father on the 15th of August, 1642, and was sent upon the English mission about the year 1649, having filled various posts in his Order at Rome and other places. In the Catalogue of the English Province for 1655, he is named as a missioner in London. He died on the 7th of October, 1663, probably in London, aged fifty-seven. (4) Peter Bradshaigh or Bradshaw (*alias* Barton), born in Lancashire in the year 1610; entered the Society in 1631; was made a Professed Father on the 25th of November, 1646, and sent upon the English mission in 1650. The College of St. Aloysius or the Lancashire District seems to have been the chief seat of his missionary labours. He had previously filled various responsible offices in the Society, and died on the 17th of April, 1676, aged sixty-six, after serving the mission for twenty-six years. Fathers Richard, Thomas, and Peter were three of the sons of Roger Bradshaigh, Esq., of Haigh Hall, and probably Robert was an elder brother, or else a paternal uncle. Their sister Jane married Nicholas Blundell, Esq., of Crosby. After our notice of Father Richard Bradshaigh, the Provincial, we shall give a very interesting memoir of his nephew, Brother Richard Blundell, S.J., the fifth of the family who entered the Society. We find the following members of the Bradshaigh family students at the English College, Rome, viz., Alexander Bradshaw, who gives the following short account of himself in his replies to the usual scholars' interrogatories: "I was born in the village of Hardwicke near Worcester on the 10th of March, 1572. I am therefore twenty-seven years of age. I was educated until sixteen, in the Public College School of Worcester, founded by King Henry VIII. When about seventeen or eighteen years of age I was sent to Christ's College Cambridge, where I remained for the space of three years, grossly abusing the flower of youth and precious time in idleness; I then for the sake of enjoying liberty went of my own accord to London, when it seemed good in the opinion of my excellent guardians to send me to Oxford, and I was placed under the sole direction of the President, Dr. Willis [Willessi]. But (for shame I say it) I conducted myself wickedly, and despised these infinite benefits and gifts of heaven, and uselessly spent the rest of my life, going from bad to worse, partly in the Inner Temple, London, and partly in the

alias Barton, was born in Lancashire, we may presume at the ancient family seat of Haigh Hall, Wigan, in the year 1601–2. He entered the English College, Rome, as a convictor among the alumni,[22] on the 4th of October, 1623, under the assumed name of Barton;[23] and on the 28th of August, 1625, he entered the Society in the same name, probably St. Andrew's Novitiate, Rome, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 22nd of July, 1640. In 1642 he was Rector of the College of Liege, the theologate of the English Province, and had previously

house of the noble Lord Thomas Burgh, Baron of Gainsburgh. My father was born in Lancashire, and was a Master of Arts, and principal of the Public College School of Worcester. My mother was the daughter of Goothlake Edwardes, Esq. I have an elder brother and two sisters, well married, and many relatives, but blinded by the depravity of heresy. As to my vocation, I am unable to deny the error of my past life. Alas! I remained too long in that obstinate and perverse opinion of the heretics; for the future, by the help of the good and great God, I will strive to do better. To confess the truth, this English book against Charke and Hanmer" [by Father Robert Parsons. See Life of Father Walsingham, *Records*, vol. i. Series III.], "which I hold in my hand, first clearly exposed to me the fraud and coloured faith and hidden dissimulation of the heretics. It is my earnest desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life." We do not trace in the Diary his admission to the College, but the pilgrim book states that he was received into the English College, November 14, 1599, in order to be instructed in the Catholic faith, and was admitted to the scholars' habit. Edward Bradshaigh, who entered the English College as an alumnus on the 5th of October, 1623, was ordained priest on the 20th of February, 1628, and left for England on the 16th of May, 1630, having lived at the College with great edification for piety, and applause for learning. Christopher Bradshaigh, who states in his replies—"I was born and brought up near Wigan in Lancashire. My parents, as are nearly all my relations and friends, are of the rank of esquires, and are Catholics, and all are sufficiently rich. I studied my humanity course at St. Omer's College, as far as rhetoric. I was always a Catholic, and have no fixed intention as yet to enter the ecclesiastical state." (Signed, Francis Neville.) He entered the English College as a convictor or boarder among the alumni, aged about twenty-five, on the 1st of November, 1642, and left the College, after making his course of philosophy, on the 18th of September, 1645.

[22] That is, as a boarder, paying his own commons, and not as one of the Pope's alumni.

[23] On entering the English College he gave the following brief autobiographical statement in reply to the usual interrogatories put to the students: "My true name is Richard Bradshaigh. I am in my twenty-second year, was born in Lancashire, and for the most part brought up there. My parents are Roger Bradshaigh de Haigh, in the county of Lancaster, Esquire, and Ann his wife; the former, who had been brought up in the Catholic religion, left it in his youth. At length, however, by the goodness of God, about six months ago, he again embraced the true faith, and I hope will persevere in it until death. My mother, brought up a Catholic by her parents, has never professed any other religion. I have seven brothers and six sisters, all of whom are Catholics. I received some local schooling until my fifteenth year, when I gave myself up to hunting and such like youthful sports; but, by good fortune being sent to St. Omer's College, I applied myself to humanity studies. I was always a Catholic." He lastly promises to observe College discipline, and signs Richard Barton.

filled many important offices in the Order. In 1655 he was living in Paris. He was chosen Provincial of the English Province in 1656, and filled that post until 1660. Several of his letters addressed to the Very Reverend Father General Nickell, upon English affairs in 1659–60, are preserved.[24]

The following are a few extracts. They clearly show how wearied the nation had become of the existing state of things, with the change of feeling in favour of the Restoration, and the reverse of fortune that had attended the leaders of the Commonwealth.

London, $\frac{13}{23}$ January, $16\frac{59}{60}$. (No. 44.)

The changes in fortune were never more remarkable at this period than upon the stage of the Republic; they who yesterday reigned supreme, and were dreaded, and had expelled their rivals, are to-day in their turn brought low and into fear, and themselves driven off by their rivals. Lambert, lately the chief of the military faction, and who, by his truly imposing army, had rendered himself formidable to all, now lies prostrate in the mire, for, being stripped of all military and civil honours, he is ordered to pass an inglorious life at a distance from London, in the county of York.

London, $\frac{9}{19}$ February, $16\frac{59}{60}$. (No. 45.)

Our Parliamentarians are now wholly occupied in arranging affairs military and religious. Since the greatest part of them are Presbyterians, they shape their rule of faith to suit their own sect and the Calvinistic school. They reject archbishops, bishops, and every order of the hierarchy. They order that this symbol be proposed to and believed in by all, as the rule of the faith of the Anglican Church. But, as certain decrees do not pass the Seine, so symbols of this kind do not cross the Thames. It seems passing ridiculous to the sages that the cobblers of this civil Republic (which yet after so many years and such great efforts they are unable to patch up) should go so enormously "beyond their last." Moreover, the Senate fulminates fresh thunders against Catholics, priests, and Jesuits, and have enacted that the severe laws formerly passed against them by Elizabeth and James, shall be again revived and brought into force. Proclamations to this effect are soon to be issued, and a reward of eighty golden crowns offered to each one apprehending a priest.

London, $\frac{13}{23}$ April, 1660. (No. 48a.)

. . . A certain Gifford an apostate, a deserter from the faith and his order of St. Benedict, having obtained from the Council licence to apprehend priests and search the houses of Catholics, not only threatens the orthodox flock, but, proceeding beyond threats, he examines the houses of any one he chooses, accompanied by a military escort. As yet, however, he has taken nothing for his pains.

London, $\frac{20}{30}$ April, 1660. (No. 49.)

. . . The apostate Gifford, on Palm Sunday itself, even in the morning, a thing most unusual here, searched the houses of the

[24] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. v. nn. 44—57.

principal Catholics, assisted by a body of military; hence causing a scattering and trepidation amongst the Catholic flock. The wretched man tore the palms from the hands of many who carried them, and, what is more shameful, spent the money he basely took in the plunder, in the public-houses and places of ill-fame.

One —— Phillips, a monk and a priest, has very recently followed his example in regard to apostacy. He has not yet turned a persecutor—*sed qui gravius crimen non exhorruit, à minus gravi haud multum abhorrebit.*[25]

London, $\frac{2}{12}$ May, 1660. (No. 50.)

Scarcely ever in the memory of the Fathers did a more joyful day for this city and island dawn than the 8th of May last, on which day Charles Stuart, in solemn form, with the most magnificent pomp and incredible applause, was proclaimed King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and Defender of the Faith. Never at any other time was there shown such great attachment and veneration for a King. And at the same moment that the herald openly pronounced the name of Charles II., the joyful multitude raised so great a shout as to drown the sound of trumpets, drums, bells, and the roaring of artillery, all of which resounded at the same moment. I have not leisure now to give full details, but a printed account of the whole proceedings will be issued in English, which shall be sent. We expect the King from Belgium in a short time. A deputation is gone for him.

R. Barton.

London, $\frac{18}{28}$ May, 1660. (No. 51.)

Amongst other news of preparation for the King's reception, Father Barton mentions a resolution of Parliament, declaring the murder of Charles I. a barbarous homicide and detestable crime, and denouncing the leaders in it, even Cromwell and others who were then dead, to be guilty of high treason, &c.

London, $\frac{15}{25}$ June, 1660. (No. 52.)

. . . (*Inter alia*) he mentions a report that the King was about to create a fresh batch of heretical bishops, at which the Presbyterians were incensed, and that it might perhaps tend to enkindle the flames of a future war.

The old oath of allegiance is commenced to be renewed, and it will doubtless cause the greatest trouble and even danger to Catholics. No one will charge the King with this step, but it is to be ascribed alone to the evil wishers to Catholics.

London, $\frac{7}{17}$ December, 1660. (No. 57.)

Long ago the living regicides received the punishment of their crimes, now also the dead ones are to be punished. For it has been decreed by the Government that the bodies of Cromwell, Bradshaw, Ireton, &c., shall be disinterred, placed upon hurdles, and dragged through the streets of London to Tyburn, and there, after being publicly disgraced by hanging upon the gallows, shall be at last buried beneath the gallows itself.

Father Richard then goes on to mention the disgrace and punishment of Cromwell's family, &c.

[25] "But he who dreads not to commit the more grievous crime, will not greatly shrink from a lesser one."

After ceasing to be Provincial, Father Bradshaigh was appointed Rector of the English College S.J., St. Omer, and died in that office nine years after, on the 13th of February, 1669, at the age of sixty-seven. "Ubi nonum jam annum felicissimé regebat insigni præsertim vigilantia et consilio, quibus apprime valebat."[26] Dodd, in his *List of Controversial Writers*, page 12, calls him a learned Jesuit, and says that he was the author of a treatise on *The Nullity of Protestant Ordinations*, against Dr. Bramhall. Alegambe, in his *Biblio. Script. S.J.*, does not mention this fact.

We give the following autobiographical account of one of Father Richard Bradshaigh's converts, a son of Dr. Cosins, the royal chaplain, who became a student at the English College Rome.

"1652. My name is Charles Cosins. I am nineteen years of age, and was born in the county of Durham. My father is a Protestant. I was educated in England, both at Cambridge and Peterborough. My parents were John Cosins, domestic chaplain to the King of England, formerly an ancient and distinguished name, and Frances Blackiston, a lady of high birth, who had two sons my seniors, and now dead. I have four sisters living. I know scarcely any relations on my father's side, having been separated from my friends by the raging of the civil wars in England. On my mother's side, indeed, I know more, both of the Blackiston family and others, whose progenitors and chief relations were distinguished Catholics, and still profess the same faith.

"My mother dying when I was a boy of eight years of age, my father, who survived, having been despoiled of all his property in the cause of King Charles I., followed Charles II. into exile to France.

"Having embraced the Catholic religion by means of reading, by discussion, and of my own persuasion, I was reconciled to the Church by the Reverend Father Richard Barton." (Signs Charles Blackiston.)

He entered the English College as an alumnus in the name of Charles Blackiston *vere* Cosins, aged nineteen, on the 26th of October, 1652, and was finally ordained priest on the 24th of February, 1658, and sent to the English Mission on the 20th of April, 1659.

[26] *Litteræ Annuæ.*

Brother Richard Blundell. As being so nearly connected with the Bradshaighs (or Bartons) we avail ourselves of the present opportunity of introducing the following edifying memoir of this holy youth.

We have before stated that Jane, the sister of Fathers Richard, Thomas, and Peter Bradshaigh, was married to Nicholas Blundell, Esq., of Crosby. According to Burke,[27] he had two sons and six daughters, and died in 1631. Richard Blundell was, we believe, the younger of the two. His elder brother William was a loyal defender of the royal cause, and had his thigh broken at the siege of Lathom House. Richard was born in the year 1625–6, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on the 7th of September, 1645. After making his higher studies he took the usual College and Propaganda oaths on the 22nd of May following, and received the minor orders in the Church of St. Andrea della Valle on the 1st of July, 1626.

On entering the College he made the following statement—"Richard Blundell, youngest son of Nicholas Blundell and Jane Bradshaw, who on account of divers persecutions for the orthodox faith, fled from her native county of Lancaster into Cheshire, and there brought me into the world, her eleventh child; but ten days after my birth sent me back to her own home to be nursed, and there I lived to my thirteenth year, under various tutors, both Catholic and Protestant, but with little fruit.

"My present condition is not unlike that of my country, that is miserable. Only in this I consider myself happy, that, snatched away from all the troubles of my friends, I am so fortunately landed at this port of happiness. But, notwithstanding that my parents were oppressed by the multitude of their children, they have provided for each one an annual pension for their respectable maintenance. My father, son of William Blundell, Esq., was born, or at least suckled, in prison, where his parents for a long time lay on account of their faith. He, when a youth, married Jane Bradshaw, the eldest daughter of Roger Bradshaw, Esq., the fruit of which marriage was thirteen children, of whom six only are now alive, who left orphans, mourn over the premature deaths of their parents. All my relations to a man, as far as I know, are and always were Catholics. Of these four uncles are

[27] *Landed Gentry.*

priests, two sisters and three [paternal aunts nuns. Besides these, I have many other connections.

"When I was thirteen years old, I went to St. Omer's College, and there studied my humanities for four years, with the enjoyment of excellent health and spirits."

After defending a course of philosophy with great applause, he was seized with illness on the 22nd July, 1649. He had long petitioned to be admitted into the Society; his wish was at last granted, and he died happily on the 7th of August, 1649, "to the deep grief of all, and to his own desire."

The following is a copy of a letter of Father George Gray to Father Richard Bradshaigh, giving an account of the death and virtues of his nephew.[28] Father Gray was Provincial 1671—1674.

"Pax ejusdem,

"Revde Pr in Xto

"I remember I gave you notice of the sickness and danger of your nephew, Richard Blundell, by letter on the 31st of July last; but it pleasing God so to dispose as to take away by untimely death so hopeful a youth, and so near allied unto you, I was loath to bring you the first tidings of so ungrateful and sad an accident, and therefore willingly suffered myself to be prevented by others in that mournful duty. Now, since time hath somewhat closed the wound and digested the grief, I presume again to touch that subject and make you a brief relation, principally of what passed in his last sickness; but withal to set down in a short summary his demeanour and carriage during his abode at Rome. I trust it will be no less to the honour of God than the comfort of his friends, to say nothing of my private respect and obligation to yourself, and indeed the satisfaction of my own devotion or affection towards the dead party whom I really loved and esteemed for his known goodness and worth.

"Coming to Rome in November 1645, he began his higher studies; partly out of youthful improvidence and inconsideration of his greater good, partly out of a gust and delight in matter of humanity he neglected his logic as insipid and dry, and gave himself to the reading of prose and verse, both Latin and Greek, as more relishing to his palate. Whereupon at the year's end, he found himself extremely cast behind and

[28] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vii. The modern style of spelling has been adopted.

overrun by far slower wits than his own. Hence, as it were, ashamed, and withal stirred up with good admonitions and friendly reprehensions of his uncle, your brother Thomas (who I verily think, next after good motions from above, was a chief secondary cause or instrument of his happy change) he began to repent himself of his folly, and resolved to recompense his time misspent with well husbanding the future. Now, because he had but hitherto laid such shallow grounds of philosophy, and divers of his emulous companions had got the advantage before him, he was desirous to begin anew, and make another year's stay in logic; which desire of his, though with some difficulty of Superiors, was in fine consented unto. This favour obtained, he buckled in good earnest to his business, and to cut off at the root all occasion of former temptation and distraction, he brought me a number of those humanists and curious books, entreating me to keep that depositum till I should think it for his greater good to restore it. A great sign no doubt of a sincere change, and, as I may say, of a true conversion, as it was in those new Christians mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles—'Multi autem ex eis qui fuerant curiosa sectati contulerunt libros, et combusserunt coram omnibus.'[29] This change in his diligence and studies was accompanied with another change of manners and discipline, for now you might have seen him more frequent at his devotions, more exact in observance of order, more composed in his exterior carriage, in a word, more complying with all duties of studies, piety, and collegial discipline. And indeed I note it by many experiences, that those who take to heart the employment of laudable appointed studies are generally also observant and regular, and more addicted to the practice of virtue. Before the year came to an end, it well appeared what good wit and constant industry can do when they mutually correspond and lend a helping hand; for his profit was so notorious, that none doubted but that he would make a solid philosopher in time. These good beginnings of his were mainly prompted by one or two accidents, which happened in the self-same year of his stay in logic. The first was this. Two of his companions of the same course with him, whom he esteemed much, the one for his candour and known virtue, the other for his good parts and sympathy of nature, made a generous resolution of abandoning the world, and consecrating themselves to God in religion, viz., in the Society of Jesus; which resolution was so

[29] Acts xix. 19.

absolute, that they were determined to accept entrance, even in the Indies, or in whatsoever part of the world that gate should be opened unto them. And *de facto*, after much difficulty, Rev. Father General offering to admit them in the Province of Lithuania, they with all cheerfulness embraced the offer, and presently put themselves in order to begin their journey of above[30] miles, and that on foot and in the end of June, when the heats of Italy began to be more scorching. They departing, Richard not only resented with some grief the loss or absence of his friends, but moreover found himself secretly touched with the spur of emulation; and his looking upon the late example seemed to reprehend him interiorly. 'Tu non poteris, quod isti et istæ? An vero isti et istæ in semetipsis possunt, ac non in Dño Deo suo?'[31] And this the more, because the inspirations which formerly he had had in this nature, but cast asleep, as he feared by his own negligence, came now to revive again, and prick his conscience with a just remorse. Being in this agitation of mind, behold another unexpected accident. A third school-fellow, and one most dear unto him for the straight knot of friendship betwixt them, falls sick of a malignant fever, and in a few days is taken away by violence of it. This student's death being very exemplary and full of virtuous acts, but principally the fearful combat which sensibly he suffered (by all probability) with the ghostly enemy in his last agony, made deep impression in the soul of his surviving friend, who seemed not only to have good reason to say with St. Bernard in a like occasion—'Omnino opus mortis, horrendum divortium. Quis enim tam suavi vinculo mutui nostri non pepercisset amoris, nisi totius suavitatis inimica mors?[32] But moreover by occasion of his companion's death he entered into these serious considerations. Oh! how swift and short is our mortal life! How uncertain our abode here! How vain and fading all human hopes! How fearful and dangerous our last period of life, the combat and agony of death! Against which combat he prudently concluded the only armour of proof to be, besides a great trust in the mercy of God, a pure conscience, or innocent and virtuous life. And to the end these wholesome reflections might have an object whereon to feed, and so become more durable, he procured to have in his study-place a dead man's skull, with this motto inscribed in his own hand writing—'Mihi hodie, cras tibi.' In

[30] Number omitted. [31] St. Augustine, *Conf.* l. viii. cap. xi.
[32] *Serm.* xxvi. *in Cant.*

this mirror of human mortality he daily glassed himself, following the counsel of the great St. Austin[33]—'Ne pereas, vide in hoc speculo quid es, et quid eris.' All these forementioned motives concurring together, gave him a strong impulse in the pursuit of virtue, as manifestly appeared in his proceedings afterwards. For hereupon we marked in him a palpable increase in virtuous exercises, a diligent and exact use of the holy Sacraments of Penance and Eucharist, a frequent reading of spiritual books, a contempt of himself and all human respects, a study of mortification and victory over himself. Witness his often demanding of voluntary penances, his frequent desiring to be told and to hear of his faults and to be reprehended for them, his leaving off certain changes in diet and conforming himself to the community, his serving the sick with such care and assiduity and with singular example of patience, humility, and charity. Which office he procured first with a pious kind of importunity, and being once in possession of it did in a manner challenge it as his due. This virtuous carriage of his being noted by all, moved Superiors to make him Vice-Prefect of the Logicians, though he himself was only beginning his physics; this charge being commonly committed to some one of the more mature and exemplary. He thought himself now more obliged not only to continue, but rather to promote in his good course begun, as constantly he did with special edification of all, having always a watchful care not to lose any ground gotten, or relent in his good purposes. When upon the occasion of a tragedy exhibited in Shrovetide (wherein he had a long and most laborious part both for acting and dancing), he conceived himself to have been much distracted as well in his studies as devotions, to the end he might recall his necessarily dispersed thoughts, and recover again himself, he retired for some days into the Spiritual Exercises, with no less fruit of his own, than good example of his neighbour. But not content only to do well himself, he endeavoured according to his present means and opportunity to incite others to a virtuous life. Hence it was that he made a mutual league, as it were, of sworn brothers with two other companions virtuously inclined, that they should mutually communicate their goods one with another, and lend assistance by prayer and other means as well in their studies as exercises of piety. And though private familiarities become prejudicial to common charity in

[33] *In Specu. peccator.* cap. vi.

communities, yet his particular friendship being grounded in virtue and tending to virtue, did not anything hinder the duty of common charity. Neither was it perceived that they either haunted overmuch one another's company, with special notice of others, or were backward in conversing freely with the rest. Among other written papers containing piety and devotion found in his primer after his death, this sentence was one, writ in three several hands in the same paper, and subscribed by three in this manner—"Nos ergo in omni tempore sine intermissione in diebus solemnibus et cæteris' (thus far the first), 'quibus oportet, memores sumus vestri in sacrificiis, quæ offerimus, et in observationibus' (thus far the second), 'sicut fas est decet meminisse fratrum Machabeorum 1, cap. xii.' (so the third). The subscription was thus—R. B. E. B. G. B.

"Another special means did also much conduce to this young man's progress in virtue, to wit, the reading of the life of one Edward Throgmorton, student formerly in his seminary, where he lived with great good example, and died with opinion of sanctity.[34] There perceiving with what perfection he had performed all those daily actions, which the discipline of the house exacteth, he was much encouraged to express that pattern in fresh colours of emulous virtue. Neither did his application to practices of divine virtue anything prejudice his study of human sciences; nay, without controversy, it prospered with greater advantage, as plants of a terrene nature, and growing in the soil of the lower element flourish the more, the more they partake of the celestial influences, and are watered with the rain and dew of heaven. Though truly I must confess it seemed wonderful on one side to see him so attentive to spiritual things, and on the other to embrace such a latitude of studies and several sciences, and yet in all of them to make a progress very remarkable. Philosophy he knew so well, as that one would have deemed it to have been his only employment, and his public defension of it in the Roman College may, questionless, be ranked amongst the most plausible. In several parts of mathematics he was conversant, and cunning in arithmetic, cosmography, geometry, perspectives, specular reflections, and other curiosities. In humanity exceeding good, both in verse and prose. In languages well read; for besides his knowledge of English (his mother's tongue), Greek, and Latin, he was well advanced in the

[34] The life of this saintly scholastic will appear in our series of *Records*, "Residence of St. George."

Italian, Spanish, French, and Low Dutch, besides the foundations laid also for Hebrew. To all this add his study of Holy Scripture, holy Fathers, and ecclesiastical history; and then, finally, consider that most of all these were not superficially tasted or posted over in haste, but seriously and solidly studied, brought into compendium, and painfully written in a fair character with his own hand. But, after all this, if we further consider his upright and sincere intention in the seeking of knowledge, to wit, not for pleasure or gust, not for curiosity or vain reputation, but to make himself a fitter instrument for the service of his Creator and the help of his neighbour, we must needs confess that he was no vulgar one, but an excellent and most hopeful youth, who, not past as yet the spring of his years, was already entered the autumn of virtue. What hath been said of his good intention in studies is very certain, as will appear by what shall be related afterwards.

"In this meantime, whilst he went on always laudably employed both in studies and devotion, his vocation to religious life daily increased, inflaming his heart with ardent desires of putting it in execution. But, alas! what could he do? His hands were tied, and he could not stir. He had an obligation of the Collegiate oath upon him, debarring him from religion for divers years. He foresaw the difficulty of procuring a dispensation, and the few friends who could or would solicit for him; for those of the Society withdrew themselves, lest they might seem to allure him. Notwithstanding, he resolved towards the end of philosophy (for before he despaired of any desired effect) to attempt with all his endeavours the achieving of his main business. And seeing that within the space of one year two students of his Seminary had been absolved from their oath, and permitted to enter among the Discalced Carmelites, he was not only encouraged to correspond with his vocation by their good example, but also put in hopes of the like success in the like cause. Wherefore despatching in May his public defension (which, as I said, came off with extraordinary and singular applause) he buckled in good earnest to the following of his pious suit. He drew memorials now to particular officers *De Propaganda Fide*, now to the whole Congregation; he made frequent and tedious voyages, and that in the very heat of summer, now to one cardinal, now to another; one while to present his petitions, another while to receive his answer; this day wearied with long expectations of audience, and at last sent back without it, another day after

audience, either discomfited with opposition, or suspended with doubtful answers, or put off till another time, or referred to treat with other persons. In this negotiation, with no less labour of body and danger of health, than solicitude of mind, he spent great part of the summer, when perceiving some sadder thoughts to gather into clouds upon the serenity of his mind, to disperse them he took his pen, and upon this theme —'Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo' (or indeed alluding to his desire of the Society of Jesus, and absolution from oath, he changed the words of the Apostle thus—'Cupio absolvi et esse cum Christo Jesu'), he vented his grief in a sweet ode and amorous complaint, which, as it proved by the event, was the swan's doleful note before his funeral. For not long after he was taken with his last sickness, which began on the 22nd of July, 1649, the feast day of St. Mary Magdalene. On which very day being Vacance or Recreation day, he came to his *confessarius* in the afternoon, and with singular candour unfolded to him his present state of mind; principally relating how much he resented the oppositions and crosses in his suit, which nevertheless, as he confessed, had nothing dulled his desires, but set them more on edge; and seeing, said he, all human means have hitherto either failed me or little availed me, I find myself moved to make my recourse in a particular manner to God and His saints. Wherefore, with your good liking, I desire to make a formal vow to Almighty God, in honour of St. Francis Xavier, of procuring to my uttermost to be sent missioner into the Indies for the conversion of souls, if by his intercession I obtain dispensation and leave to enter the Society. When answer was given him that vows of that nature were great and glorious acts, and consequently required a due deliberation before they be proceeded unto, and withal a strong courage and constant virtue for their performance, and that therefore he should do well to consult the matter longer with Almighty God, by holy prayer and examine of his motives, and then undoubtedly God's goodness would not be wanting to inspire him for the best. He presently conformed himself to this advice, and so resolved to do. Moreover, in his conference with his ghostly Father he treated about his studies, what matters he might most profitably read, what method were best to hold, what good intentions he might use. And last concluded all with inquiring after means to make progress in virtue, and overcoming his imperfections, for which purpose he agreed to take for some weeks the particular

examen of St. Ignatius, set down in his book of Spiritual Exercises; entreating, finally, his confessor that he would not be wanting to rouse up his laziness, as he termed it, for so he desired, and so he conceived it to be necessary. This conference, as I said before, was on the 22nd of July, being Thursday, when staying in the garden and open air later than ordinary in the evening with the rest of the students, by reason of an extraordinary recreation, he perceived himself to be struck with a pain and heaviness of head, which, notwithstanding, he made no account of for some days, deeming it to be at the most an accidental catarrh, and therefore continued his wonted exercises, viz., serving the sick, as he used to do being well. But at length, that is, on the Monday following, the 26th, seeing the indisposition to relent nothing, yea, to increase with a more than ordinary heat all over his body, he was forced to manifest himself. Whereupon confined to the infirmary and his bed, he was visited the same day by the physician, who neither then, nor six days after (though a prime and famous doctor of Rome) discovered any malignity in his fever; and indeed it was a treacherous one, making little show by exterior signs of its inward malice, for both water and pulse were dissemblers, and as I groundedly conceive, the patience and virtue of the sick man took away the suspicion of danger, he never complaining of any excess of heat or any other pain. But finally on the 2nd of August his tongue, appearing scorched and blackish, gave notice of the hidden and slow furnace within. Besides, his countenance sensibly falling away sufficiently manifested a decay in the vital parts. Whereupon the physician betook himself to the last remedies and caused the vesicatory to be applied, but all in vain; the evil had got too much ground about the heart, and maintained it in despite of all antidotes, but little and little consuming the root of life. So that on the 5th of August the physician himself was out of hopes of recovering him, and gave orders that he should be acquainted with his danger, to dispose himself the better for death. When this news was told him, though for a day or two before he seemed mostwhat to be in a drowsy slumber, and his senses stupefied by the approach of death, yet upon this intimation he presently roused himself out of the slumber, and with a ready and lively apprehension (yet without sign of fear) began to dispose for the other world, resolving to spend the small remnant of his short time in a due preparation to long eternity. Wherefore desiring to be free

from company and visits, he first recollected himself, and by an exact examen of conscience called to account the whole course of his life from his infancy to that hour, reducing all things to a clear method, and helping himself with a threefold industry (which he had learned in the Spiritual Exercise), viz., by considering the places where he had dwelt, the manner of the conversation, and lastly, the exercises and functions wherein he had been employed. So that coming to his confession he proceeded with such readiness and order from the beginning to the end, as though he had learned it by heart, or read it out of a book. Only now and then would he insist upon some points, bending all the forces of his soul to make intense acts of hearty contrition, hatred of sin, and the love of Almighty God, earnestly begging of his ghostly Father to help him in this main business, and to suggest proper motives of grief; telling him moreover that he put himself wholly into his hands to be directed by him for the greater good of his soul, not only in the present action, but till he should give up the ghost. I formerly mentioned the pure intention he had in his studies, and now again repeat it and confirm it. In his last and general confession of the 5th of August (that is, two days before he died) made in order to death, after an anxious, yea, scrupulous examen of himself upon this very point of studies, he found not in his conscience whereof to accuse himself, having had daily for his aim in them God's greater glory, and his own and neighbours' spiritual good. And yet that he was most sensible even of seeming venialities in his said confession, appeareth out of this. Calling to mind in his last examen the ode or poem before mentioned, he feared he had taken some disordinate delight or content to hear it recited and sung by others. The fault doubtful but the repentance sure, insomuch that he urgently entreated to have it taken and burned in satisfaction of whatsoever offence he might have committed by occasion of it. Coming at last to make that purpose (which is usual and requisite in the Sacrament of Penance) of never offending his Lord and Creator more, he vented his inward devotion in most significant and pathetical expressions, how from the bottom of his heart he detested all offence of God, how firmly he resolved to love and serve Him with all the powers of soul and body. Though he had thousands of ages to live and as many lives to lose, all those ages would he employ, all those lives would he spend, in the sole service of Jesus in Whom was all his hope, his help, and safety. In this heat of devotion,

being the feast day *Ad Nives*, he received the Holy Communion, as he had done five days before on the feast of St. Ignatius, but neither time by way of Viaticum, hoping Almighty God would give him (as He did) time and opportunity of a new increase of grace by another Communion. After he had received and made some reflection, he desired means might be made to hasten the business of his admittance into the Society, *pro articulo mortis*, which business was already set on foot at his own request, and solicited with Father Montmorency, Vicar General, by Father Lewis Spinola, his master in moral philosophy, and one who loved and esteemed him very much. In the meantime his fever went on hourly consuming him, so that the next day, the 6th of August, in the afternoon the physician counselled us to give him the Viaticum, as was done about twenty-two of the clock; which he received with a singular show of piety, humbly and publicly craving pardon of all for his scandals given, and begging a memory in their prayers for his soul after death. Immediately before he received his Viaticum he had done the like in private to most of his companions, for calling to his ghostly Father, he asked him leave that he might speak with the students, every one apart, namely for these two motives—First, to cry them mercy for his bad example and so to give them the best satisfaction he could, secondly, to request them to be mindful of him in their prayers for the relief of his soul. Wherefore leave being granted and his companions one by one called, with great resentment of sorrow, even with tears in his eyes, he demanded pardon for all his disedification, even descending to particulars wherein he conceived he might have offended them. To some he recommended in pithy and significant terms peculiar devotion to the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, from whose immaculate breast, in our greener years, we suck the first milk of virtue, and by whose sacred hands the first roots of salvation are planted in the elect, she having and executing that order from God. 'In electis meis mitte radices.'[35] The conclusion of his speech with every one was a bidding them farewell, and desiring their wholesome remembrance after his death.

"Not long after his Viaticum received, came Father Spinola with authority from Father Vicar General to receive him into the Society. At whose arrival, as it were overjoyed, he prepared himself with great alacrity, raising up his con-

[35] Ecclus. xxiv. 13.

sumed body, and stretching out his feeble arms, to be invested in the usual garment of the Society. Then taking into his hands the Book of Constitutions, and signing himself with the holy cross, he read the form of vows with a voice so loud, strong, and distinct, as though he had been a sound man, or reading in a pulpit to the Community; and indeed so eagerly as a man half starved with hunger doth eat when he finds the desired food. Having ended his vows, he embraced all the standers-by with such a cheerful countenance and jubilee of heart, that he moved them all to tears of joy and compassion, especially when they heard him smilingly say that he was now no more the sick man, that he felt no pain at all, that in fine he was well.

"After some time spent in pious discourse, being bid by Father Rector to let his cassock be taken off before his companions came in, to the end that no kind of ostentation might be made of his admittance, he felt in himself an inward repugnance, extremely desiring to show himself vested in religious weeds and make profession of what he was. Nevertheless, the Superior persisting in what he first determined, the young soldier of Christ made it an occasion of his first victory, saying he was now religious and would obey his Superior.

"The same day, a little after sunset, he received Extreme Unction with the like sense of devotion as he had done the other Sacraments, answering himself unto the priest, and demanding pardon for his offences.

"From which time forward his senses decaying notably, he spoke very little, only this, when he was called upon and bid to pronounce, 'Jesus! Maria!' he would do it distinctly, till the morning on the 7th of August, 1649; when little and little he grew wholly speechless and insensible of what was said or done about him, and so lay in that manner till the point of midday, when his time being out, his soul loosed from the fetters of its earthly prison flew up, as we piously conceive, to the liberty of the sons of God, to the embracements of his Beloved—'Qui pascit et cubat in meridiê.'[36]

"Thus did this excellent and singular youth consummate his mortal course, leaving behind him to his surviving friends as well a sweet odour of his virtuous life, as a compassionate grief of his untimely death. But, however, blessed be the disposition of the heavenly Husbandman, Who without regard

months reaps His corn when He finds it ripe, and makes

[36] Cant. i. 6.

His vintage when the grapes are full and sweet. To Him, I say with St. Bernard, lamenting the death of his brother Gerard, and so I end, changing only one piece of a name—'Justus es Domine, et rectum judicium tuum. Ricardum tu dedisti; Ricardum tu abstulisti; etsi dolemus ablatum, non tamen obliviscimur quod datus fuit, et gratias agimus quod habere illum meruimus.'[37]

"Dear Father, had I not already gone beyond the limits of a letter, I would here adjoin a parcel of the Annual Letters of this present year concerning your nephew, wherein is compendiously set down great part of what is here more largely declared. Howsoever, I send it to you with these enclosed, and bid you adieu, craving part in your Holy Sacrifices, both for myself and the deceased party, though the conceit we have here of his virtue makes us confide he little needs the wonted relief of prayer and Sacrifice.

"R.æ V.æ Servus in X.to,

"G. G.

"Rome. 21 December, 1649."

Certain facts regarding Richard Blundell, an alumnus of the the English Seminary, extracted from the Annual Letters of the said Seminary. An. 1649.

Richard Blundell (the third among those who have died this year) was carried off by a premature death. He was a young man about twenty-three years of age, but who already by the recommendation of solid virtue and the renown of a manifold learning had raised in his day great expectations. Possessing with an excellent ability a trusty memory, and, as I may almost say, a pertinacious industry, he daily made constant progress, and this in various kinds of literature. Nor did his literary ardour oppose any obstacle to his study of virtue. If any one of the College fell ill, he would immediately go to the Superior, and earnestly demand for himself the duty of attending the sick, and as far as possible his pious importunity was complied with. He so eagerly aspired after the Society, that he would not have refused to be sent to the Indies, provided only that he might be there found worthy of admission. Whilst daily violently burning with this intense desire, and leaving no stone unturned whereby to obtain dispensation from the College oath, he was suddenly seized with a malignant fever, and, to the great grief of all, was

[37] *Serm.* xxvi. *in Cant.*

carried off in the flower of his age and hopes. However, the day before his death he obtained leave to take his vows, which truly he performed with such feeling and expression of overflowing joy, that, being at midnight, he seemed almost to forget both sickness and death. He openly declared that he no longer felt any pain, and pouring out tears of joy he caused the bystanders also to mingle theirs with his.

At length, having caused each of his fellow-collegians to be sent for, and humbly begging pardon for all his offences, and with an earnest exhortation to the study of piety and devotion, especially towards the most holy Mother of God, he departed this life to the deep grief of all, and to his own delight.

The following brief autobiographical account of another of the Blundell family is extracted from scholars' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome—"Blundell John, of Lancashire, son of Robert and Anne Blundell. I was baptized by a Protestant minister in the month of April, 1637. I am nineteen years of age, and was educated at home. My parents and relatives were always of the higher class, and sufficiently well off, but have suffered great losses on account of their professing the Catholic faith. They were formerly Protestants, but since their conversion have been constant in the faith. I have brothers and sisters, and was always a Catholic, and studied at St. Omer's College."

The Diary of the College states that he entered as a convictor, in the name of Molyneaux, and left soon after on business.

In the year 1660 Father Edward Courtney (whose real name was Leedes) succeeded Father Richard Bradshaigh as Provincial. Fathers Thomas and Edward Leedes (*alias* Courtney) were the sons of Sir Thomas Leedes, Knight of the Bath. Sir Thomas is mentioned in the Annual Letters for the College S.J. Louvain, 1618, as being a benefactor to the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary lately established in that house, and of which Sir Thomas had been the first prefect and had presented it with a silver chalice and paten.[38] Both of these Fathers were natives of Sussex.

[38] We find also in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iv. n. 47, that in 1617 Sir Thomas Leedes was Prefect, and Sir Ralph Bapthorpe Secretary of the same confraternity. We read in Father More's *Hist. Prov. Angliæ S.J.* l. ix. n. x. p. 406, that many Catholic families had retired to Louvain, where in 1614 they were alarmed by a summons to appear in England under pain of losing their possessions. On a remonstrance being made by

Thomas, the elder, was born 1594, and on the 17th day of October, 1615, at the age of 21 years, entered the English College, Rome, as a convictor among the alumni, under the assumed name of Courtney, and after receiving minor orders in October, 1618, entered the Society of Jesus on the 11th of November in that year.

On entering the English College, he made the following statement in answer to the usual scholars' interrogatories—"My name is Thomas Leedes. I am son of Thomas and Mary Leedes (both were originally of the same name) of Wappingthorne, the ancient family residence in Sussex, where I spent my first thirteen years, afterwards partly in London, partly at Oxford, and the rest at St. Omer's College. My father's estate was ample. as it was left to him entire by his father. He was a schismatic for some time, although my mother was always a Catholic. My father was first created a Knight of the Bath, and then Lord Lieutenant of the county, and gained a great repute for prudence and equity, and at his departure left behind him an incredible blank. For by the pious importunity of his wife, and, indeed, moved by Divine impulse, he at length determined as soon as possible to embrace Christian liberty. Having arranged his family affairs, he went into voluntary exile in Louvain, and thus chose a port of salvation. He took with him from the mother four sons and two daughters, scarcely out of their infancy. The eldest son, being the heir, and living at Court, married the daughter of Sir Thomas Mounson, Baronet, a man most hostile to the true faith, and in great favour with the King. Of kindred indeed and relatives I have abundance, but none in whom I durst fully trust. I made my early studies under various masters, both at home, at London, and Oxford, and lastly at St. Omer's College.

"A little more than eight years ago my father, out of fear of the penal laws and of the Earl of Salisbury, persuaded me to frequent the Protestant churches. But after three years, growing older, and with the consent of Mr. Stillington, my father having been reconciled, being converted by Father Michael Walpole, I crossed the sea, and by the advice of

the Spanish Ambassador, King James disavowed the summons, whereupon the authorities of Louvain expelled the pursuivant from the town. Father Morris in *Troubles*, First Series, p. 296, "St. Monica's Convent," mentions a Mrs. Barbara Leeds, and a Sister Mary Leeds, a nun, probably of the same family.

the Reverend Father Lee, entered St. Omer's Seminary, where, as the fame of that College daily and greatly increased, and it was remarkable beyond all others for concord and unity, I spent the rest of my time there, and selected this as a house distinguished for piety and learning."

He subsequently became Vice-Rector of the English College, Rome, on the 24th of February, 1639, and succeeded Father Thomas Fitzherbert as Rector on the 17th of August, 1649. Four years later he was appointed Penitentiary at St. Peter's. We do not trace his subsequent career nor the date of his death, which probably occurred between the years 1650 and 1655, his name not appearing in the Catalogue of the Province for the latter year. Father Thomas Courtney wrote a report to his Eminence Cardinal Barberini, the Cardinal Protector of England, upon the affairs of our distracted country. A copy of it in Italian is preserved in the old Clergy Chapter collection, London, with the well-known handwriting of Father Grene upon it—"Discourse by Father Thomas Courtney upon the affairs of England." It bears no date, but we believe it to be about 1649—50. A translation of this report is here appended.

Most eminent and illustrious Lord,—Although the great zeal, which your Eminence has for so many years displayed in your assiduous application to the public good of the kingdom of England, and of religion, assures everyone that you will not allow any occasion to pass without taking some advantage of the actual circumstances of the times; yet, confiding in your goodness, I take the liberty humbly to supplicate your Eminence to cast a rapid glance on the state of affairs, as well civil as ecclesiastical, that we may with greater facility consider the most opportune means to maintain Catholic faith in the midst of these troubles, and to move the obstacles and impediments which might occasion its damage.

There is no doubt that the government recently introduced into England, manifestly threatens the thorough extirpation of the monarchy and the complete ruin of the Catholics; the former being abolished by a public decree, and the latter excluded from all favour and advantage whatsoever, and overwhelmed by the most rigorous application of the penal laws, especially those Catholics who for conscience' sake refuse to take the oath of supremacy, and deny all rights and powers of the Pope and every dependency upon him. But, on the other side, that new government is so violent and unruly that it is impossible for it to last long. I pass over the fact that all the fundamental laws of the kingdom have been upset, the ancient form of the parliament and of the tribunals destroyed to such an extent, that no one knows how or what to style the new government, for it is not aristocratic; the upper house and the peers of the kingdom having been virtually suppressed, and the aristocracy abolished. It is not democratic, because, though in appearance the supreme authority resides at present in the

Commons' house, which is composed of the representatives of the people, nevertheless really and truly that house is nothing more than a mere tool to execute the will and commands of the chiefs of the army, principally of Fairfax and Cromwell, who despising all the laws manage the public affairs according to their caprice, and intending as their only end, to share amongst themselves the spoils of the provinces, the possessions of the Crown and of the Church, and the private property of the most ancient nobility of the kingdom. Therefore I do not know what name can be given to this Government except that of Janisaries or Pretorian soldiery. The extortions, impositions, taxes, and other charges are so exorbitant, that they have in a few years robbed and oppressed the subjects more than all the Kings together of the Norman dynasty. On this account the hatred of every class against the present Government is so universal and intense, that they are only waiting that an army under the command of the legitimate King appears, to rise *en masse* against the authority of such cruel tyranny and to return to the primitive state of the monarchy.

But the state of the ecclesiastical government and of the religion of the nation is in much greater confusion. All that which had been settled in matter of religion under Edward VI., Queen Elizabeth, and King James, or under his son and successor, Charles I. (put to death with so unexampled barbarity) in the meetings of the Parliaments, in the convocations and general assemblies of the clergy, or in the national synods of the Protestant bishops, has been cast aside and for the present banished, as relics (to use their own terms) of Popery and of anti-Christianity, leaving it under pretence of a regard for tender consciences, to the free will of every one, except that of Catholics, to believe or to act as they like in matter of religion, independent of any tribunal either civil or ecclesiastical. Hence arose the name of "Independents," with the reserve, however, that they should not disturb the present Government, for this is the only great sin of heresy; and all other errors (provided they do not touch Fairfax and Cromwell and their adherents) are lightly let off as things unimportant in the matter of everlasting salvation, and which ought to be tolerated in order, as they pretend, not to disquiet tender consciences. Hence arise a numberless variety of sects, without order and subordination. Their meetings are held rather in private houses than in the churches, in which everybody preaches and teaches whatever he likes in such a manner, that the very Protestants themselves of sense and judgment ingenuously confess that they are now utterly in the dark as to what ought to be believed in matter of faith, and call the Catholics happy whose faith is directed by certain and unvariable rules. And for this reason alone many are already converted to the Catholic religion, and numberless others would follow them if human respect or fear of the penal laws did not deter them.

I have entered fully into these particulars, in order that your Eminence may be assured of the little foundation for the assertions of some that the interests of the King and of religion in England have been reduced to the utmost term of desperation, and that every attempt to apply a remedy to it would be vain and useless, which is so far from the real fact that, especially in the event of a general peace taking place, we can firmly hope for the restoration of the King with great advantages to the Catholics, to whom his

Majesty on all occasions shows himself benign and favourable. Wherefore now, whilst he is occupied in becoming a Catholic and finds himself in need of help, it would be the fittest time, by means of negotiations and good arrangement, to obtain from him favourable conditions for the Catholics, and to instil into his mind pious sentiments of religion, and undeceive him in regard to many erroneous ideas, and convince him that the Roman Catholic faith is no cause of perturbation to kingdoms and crowns, but rather the Protestant heresy, which, without doubt, is the first and principal cause of all the evils both in England and in his other dominions.

In Scotland the affairs of religion are not so much disturbed as in England, for their doctrine is reduced to the principles of Calvin, and the discipline and the ecclesiastic government to a body composed of preachers and laymen, with a certain subordination which has some appearance of a hierarchy; but this government partakes more of the form of a democracy than of any other government, and is very dangerous to religion; but on account of the tyranny and insolence of the preachers, it is equally odious to the nobility of the country, and to such an extent that, in the event of a popular rising, it would like to overturn it altogether.

The State politic, after the late troubles, is reduced to the Parliaments composed of members chosen from the people, and the assembly of preachers has great influence over their resolutions and civil decrees, whence the royal authority, under the pretext of their covenant and solemn engagements, is almost suppressed. Notwithstanding they have recognized Charles II. for their legitimate King, but with such limitations and conditions, that perhaps it would not be prudent for his Majesty to go in person to that kingdom.

The factions are divided. The chief, which is supported by the nobility, would have the present King restored in all his prerogatives and the pre-eminence of the ancient monarchy. The second is composed of those who have taken a principal part in the first rebellion against the late King and in the betrayal of his royal person to the Parliament of England. These, though outwardly they profess to desire a monarchical government under the present King Charles II., nevertheless, conscious within themselves of the offence committed against the royal dignity, seek, under various pretexts either of State or religion, to make the return of the King to that country not only difficult but almost impossible. And these are, as it is believed, not only incited but also largely bribed by the Parliament of England, which was the subtle means employed by Queen Elizabeth to ruin Queen Mary and to introduce heresy into Scotland.

The third faction is made up by the populace, which, although it does not prevail nor predominate as that of England does, is however powerful, being especially incited and ruled by the suggestions and counsels of the preachers. This party also seeks the restoration of the King, but restrained by conditions entirely favourable to the power of the Parliament, to the authority of the preachers, and the Calvinistic or Presbyterian Government planned and established by the covenants, but excluded and rejected by the Parliament of England, which is the present cause of the misunderstandings existing between both kingdoms.

But the real ground which has moved the Scotch to recognize Charles II. for their true and legitimate King and heir of the crown

is that they know very well that, when the English have established and ensured their republic, they would turn their arms against Scotland to subjugate it, as a conquered province to England, and to escape this evil, they (the Scotch) have judged that the best means would be to retain some form of monarchy, hoping that, in event of war being waged against them by the Parliament of England, they would be helped not only by foreign forces obtained by the King but also by a great party of English, who, either out of motives of conscience or of hatred to the present government, long for the ancient monarchy.

Father Courtney then enters at some length into the state of affairs in Ireland.

Father Edward Leedes (Courtney), with whom we are more immediately concerned, was born in the year 1599. At the age of nineteen he entered as an alumnus of the same English College on the 9th of October, 1618, under the assumed name of Courtney, and took the usual College oath on the 1st of May following; he entered the novitiate S.J. at St. Andrew's, Rome, on the 28th of August, 1621, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 30th of August, 1634. He was Rector of the English College S.J. St. Omer, from the 27th of July, 1646, to July, 1649, twice Rector of the English College, Rome; then appointed Provincial of the English Province 1660—4; and lastly Rector of the English College S.J. Liege. He ultimately retired to St. Omer's College, where he died on the 3rd of October, 1677, in his seventy-ninth year.[39] In the month of October, 1634, Father Leedes was arrested in London and committed to the Gatehouse prison, Westminster, upon a charge of having written against the oath of allegiance and supremacy which had been formally condemned at Rome. The only information we possess regarding the affair is gathered from papers in the Bodleian Library, and the Public Record Office, London.

[39] He was the author of the beautiful life and martyrdom of Father Peter Wright, S.J. who suffered at Tyburn, May 29, 1651 (Antwerp, 1651), with a fine portrait of the martyr by C. Gallo. A copy of this gem sold at Bindley's sale, February 27, 1818, for twelve guineas. This life has been translated for the first time into English and appears in *Records*, Series IV. He also wrote *Manipulus Regius SS. Heroidum, Britanniæ oblatus Reginæ Sueciæ Christinæ.* Fol. Romæ, 1656. Also in a very long Latin letter to his brother Thomas, then Rector of the English College, Rome, dated April 24, 1637, an account of the treacherous assassination of the Burgomaster of Liege, the Count Sebastian de la Ruelle, and the riots consequent thereon in that city. The original letter is preserved in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*. vol. iv. n. 100. This has lately been translated into French and published by the Sociéte Archeologique de Liege, through the Rev. Alfred Neut, S.J.

From these we find that Father Edward Courtney (for the reasons stated in his letter of remonstrance against the great injustice inflicted upon him by his long incarceration untried and unheard, notwithstanding his repeated demands for a trial) had written the treatise both in defence of his own conscience, and in confutation of the Rev. Thomas Price *alias* Widdrington who defended the heretical oath. This so stirred up the anger of Charles I. that he ordered him to be arrested, which was accomplished on or about the 28th of October 1634.

The date of the Father's release from prison is uncertain. He was still in confinement on the 26th of May, 1636, the date of his letter to Secretary Windebank.[40]

Endorsed October 29, 1634. "Draft of my letter to his Majesty upon the apprehension of Mr. Courtney."[41]

It may please your Majesty,—The diligences I have used in searching for Mr. Courtenay, the author of that bold and seditious discourse against the oath of allegiance, have encountered so happily, as he is apprehended and committed close prisoner to the Gatehouse here in Westminster. Of this, if I mistake not, it concerns your Majesty's service very much, that your Majesty have present account, to anticipate importunity, which may otherwise work powerfully in favour of the delinquent. But your Majesty in your princely wisdom will distinguish of offences, and judge which are fit for your mercy and which for example; long may your Majesty do so, to the great blessing of your people, and among them, though of least consideration, of your Majesty's most humble and obedient subject and servant,

FRANC WINDEBANK.[42]

October 29, 1634.

[40] Bodleian, Clarendon State Papers.

[41] In Windebank's own hand.

[42] Sir Francis Windebank was eldest son of Sir Thomas Windebank of Hainshill, Berks, knight, sometime clerk of the signet. Being sent to Oxford he was entered in St. John's College, where he became very intimate with Dr. William Laud, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who took so particular a liking to him, that, when he was promoted to the see of London, and had a powerful interest at Court, he procured for his friend Windebank the post of Secretary of State, in the place of Sir Dudley Carleton, deceased. To this office he was sworn on the 15th of June, 1632, and about the same time received the honour of knighthood. [Laud's attachment to Windebank and patronage of him, was one of the charges against the Archbishop upon his trial. See paper quoted in Life of Father Morse, in this Series]. Windebank had always been a great friend to Catholics, and was suspected of holding private correspondence with the Pope's agent to the Queen, then residing in London. This and some other negotiations being afterwards alleged against him, and articles of impeachment brought into the Parliament which met at Westminster on the 3rd of November, 1640, obliged Sir Francis to retire into France, where he remained until after the battle of Edgehill. He then returned to England, with a design to pay his Majesty a visit at Oxford, where he then kept his Court. He was not, however, admitted. Returning into France he died

It seems from the following extracts of letters from Father Wilford, the agent of the Benedictines in Rome, to Father Leander in England, that the latter had written against Father Edward Courtney's observations upon the oath.[43]

Rome, April 13, 1635.

. . . I am very glad to have had your letters, for now I know what, and how I am to urge in your name; which I shall now do, both more boldly and constantly than hitherto I durst have done, some aspersions having been laid upon you which I have endeavoured to remove, and will do more efficaciously by virtue of your letter, which you sent to Mr. Barlowe, about what you had writ concerning Mr. Courtney and the oath. Here your good name was once more called in question as a defender of the oath, and that you confessed so much, which I knew not how to answer till I saw what you had writ to Douay.

Rome, April 15, 1635.

. . . Then we entered into discourse concerning what you had writ against Mr. Courtney. He [the Secretary, Mgr. Buccahilla] said you had done maliciously; first, because you had written against one who defended the Catholic cause; second, against one who was in prison for the Catholic cause, which was *addere afflictionem afflicto;* third, that you writ against him that writ for the oath, and nothing in defence of the oath, which gave an occasion of scandal. To the first I answered that you did what you were commanded to do, and showed the tenour of your letter to that effect. He answered in this case you were not to obey any commands. To the third I answered that you had also presented reasons against the oath, according as the letter imported.

The secretary then asked if Father Leander would be willing to publish reasons in favour of the Catholic cause against the oath, to give satisfaction to the world and clear himself. The agent promised to write to Father Leander and ascertain.

6th of June, 1635. To his worthy friend Mr. Leander Jones, these:

Worthy Sir,—I have nothing of yours to answer, those I understand you writ by Paris not being yet come; neither have any

at Paris on the 1st of September, 1646, a zealous member of the Catholic Church. He had several sons, viz., Sir Thomas Windebank, the eldest, of the Privy Chamber to Charles I.; Colonel Francis Windebank, governor of Blechingdon House, in Oxfordshire, which he surrendered to Cromwell upon the first summons. Being tried on that account he was condemned to die, and accordingly shot in April, 1645, at a place near Oxford, called Broken-hayes. Some imagine that the supposed demerits of the father had no small influence over his prosecutors. He had another son named Christopher, a zealous Catholic. His fourth son, John, took degrees in physic abroad, and practised at Guildford, Surrey (A. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.;* Panzani's *Memoirs MS.*, quoted by Dodd, *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 59).

[43] Bodleian, Clarendon State Papers.

great matter to say, unless I repeat the text of desiring you to send me the copy of what you have writ concerning the oath and Mr. Courtney; that you will be pleased not to proceed in that matter, but stay your pen from writing on that subject, for it is impossible to please all parts. . . .

Nothing will be done in the matter of Bishops till Signor Gregorio [Panzani] sends information.[44]

Sir,—May it please your honour.[45]

Out of the observance I carry to your honour's commands, which shall be, if it please God, the cord and compass whereby I will rule all business that shall be committed to me, I found means before I left London to speak with the old gentleman, Mr. Smith[46] (I think your honour called him), the same man that had speech with you about Mr. Damport's book. I told him I had heard that I was esteemed their [the Jesuits'] enemy, but, having such a journey in hand, I was desirous not to leave so ill an opinion behind me, and to clear myself, they should find me so far from it, as I would serve them in anything they would command me. Whereupon he writ a letter by me to one of those now resident in the Emperor's Court, and recommended me to him very friendly and fully in it. He concluded with me that, in proof his treaty with me was real, he would beg a kindness from me, and that was that I would use some means to procure Mr. Courtney his liberty. I assured him I would do what lay in me, and let me therefore humbly recommend it to your honour, and if your honour shall please to let the old man know that I have done so much, it would confirm my proceedings with them. I take leave,

Your honour's most humble servant,

WILLIAM HOWARD.

The Hague, April 22, 1635, S.N.

To the Right Hon. Sir Francis Windebank, Knight, Principal Secretary of State to his Majesty.

[44] Father Leander's real name was John Jones. He was born in London in 1575, was connected with the Scudamore family of Kentchurch, Herefordshire, educated at Merchant Taylors, and elected scholar of St. John's College, Oxon, 1591, æt. 16, and was chamber-fellow with William Laud. He was converted to the Catholic faith at Oxford, where he had studied for the law, but persecution on his conversion obliged him to return to London, where the plague was raging, by which his parents and brothers were carried off a few days later. The shock changed his sentiments, and induced him to enter the holy order of St. Benet, which he did at St. Martin's Monastery, Compostella, some years later, after studying theology at St. Alban's, Valladolid. As a scholar he had few equals, excelling in Oriental languages. By Queen Henrietta Maria his services were much appreciated. After discharging the highest offices in his order, he died in London on the 27th of December, 1635, according to Oliver, or December the 17th, 1636, according to Dodd, "much lamented and very nobly attended to his grave, which was the first made at Somerset Palace in the Queen's Chapel, consecrated but four days before" (See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 112, quoting Wood's *Athen. Oxon*, also Dr. Oliver's *Collectanea O.S.B.*).

[45] Bodleian, Clarendon State Papers.

[46] Probably Father Henry Floyd, S.J., who lived in London, and passed under the name of Father Francis Smith.

To the Right Hon. Sir Francis Windebank, Kt., Secie. of State to his Majestie.[47]

Right Honourable,—I have received by my brother many promises of your honour's favor, for which I am humbly thankful, together with your honour's particular advice of a remonstrance to be added to my petition to his Majestie, importing some acknowledgment of offence and promise of abstayning from wrytings of the lyke nature. Concerning wch. I thought it my dutie to present unto yr. honor my best deliberation and reasons in manner following.

That my petition is now already in presence of his Maties. knowledge and viewe, therefore not to be altered by me without incurring censure of presumption to myselfe or suspicion unto others. That as it is, it, both in respect of the motives and request thereof, abstracteth from the cause (wch. hath been vngratefull), and is in both respects a very reasonable and fayre subject (as I hope) for his Maties. royall grace and compassion. That I am absolutely ignorant of the cause of his Maties. indignation, wch. I could never procure hitherunto to be made knowne unto mee by any accusation or intimation either publick or private, and am so divided betwixt the cause of refusing the oath (wch. is the only legall cause whereon I stand committed) and other causes of my book suggested and libelled by adversaryes behinde my back, but concealed from mee, never layd unto my charge by his Matie. or the State, and justice and my tryall so often refused mee therein, upon mine owne suite, as I should never have the least suspition of any such ground of his Maties. displeasure now, but that yr. honr. alone seemeth still to my brother to intimate this cause only, and not the other.

My humble suite therefore to yr. honor is, that you will bee pleased to prosecute your noble promises to effect in the petition already depending. And if his Matie. shall please in his answer unto itt, to lett me vnderstand the particulare cause of his indignations and my great suffrance, and what hee requireth of mee. If itt be the prejudice of the essentiall and necessary dutie of Christianitie and my religion, I shall patiently and meekly submitt my life and bodye to his Maties. greatest severitie. But, if itt be any temporall offense, I appeale unto his Maties. royal justice, in any way either legall or extraordinarie, as his Matie. shall please to have the truth examined. And what I cannot rationably and with apparent truth acquit myself of, I will be as submissively sorry for and implore his Maties. mercie with as much humilitie for it as ever subject did. But to be compelled by mere punishment and violence, whout any respect of the causes meritt, to injure my Christianity and religion, or my loyaltie and innocencie by an unjust and extorted confession, either by particular expression or evident implication of words or facts, wthout any discussion or conviction at all, either religious, rationall, or legall, is not an act wch. I hope his Matie. will ever require, or is lawfull for a subject to obeye in.

After this information of my resolution, I humblye beseech yr. honor of your noble favoure to supplye 2 things unto his Matie. on my behalfe (1) That although it were a necessary act of Christianitye for mee to seek the satisfaction of myne owne conscience wch. is alsoe allowed by the oath itselfe; though it were a necessary act of loyaltie for mee to shewe in disproof of Mr. Howard, that the motives of my refusing the oathe were not

[47] Bodleian, Clarendon State Papers.

treasonable intentions towardes his Matie. or defect of allegiance, but most necessarye causes of Christian fayth and salvation, apparently contayned in the Apostles' Creed and 10 Commandements. Though the provocation of his Matie. and the States' authoritye under so great menaces to make proof and defence of our owne innocence by publick wryting might justlye seem unto anie subject an ample warrant, yet I wrote not those lines for the press, nor ever published anie copie at all of them, as most unjustly is informed; but for satisfaction of mine own conscience by a private conference wth Preston, a man approved by the State for that end, as by this letter inclosed may unquestionably appeare. To this I shall humbly beseech your honor to add my humble promise to meddle no further by wryting in this matter of the oath, or other causes of religion. And, as it shall please God to inspire his Matie. uppon these motives, I shall rest finally contented, w out ever troubling his Matie., your hon^r.^, or my poor tyred friends any more for mee, well knowing that our suffrances here are not worthy the reward of future glory, when wee shall be judged by Him to Whome wee must all stand or fall. If your honor shall vouchsafe these charitable favours expressed, you shall oblige,

Your honor's poor distressed Beadsman,

EDWARD COURTENAY.

The 23rd of April.

Endorsed August 10, 1635. "Mr. Preston to Mr. Haywood the Lord Arch-p's chaplain."

To the Reverend and my very respected Mr. William Haywood, Chaplaine to the Lord Archp. of Canterburie's Grace.

Croydon.

Rev. and much respected Sir,—I have received Mr. Howard's answer to Mr. Courtney with your approbation for the printing thereof, for which I give you the most hearty thanks, and which hath made me the more bold to send you, by the same bearer, my trusty friend, these other papers to peruse with your good leisure concerning Mr. Courtney's declarations, and his conference with Mr. Widdrington, which I would willingly have printed with the rest, if it may stand with my Lord Grace's good liking; and perchance it would not be amiss if some few copies of these declarations were published by themselves alone, before the rest; for they would, in my opinion, give good satisfaction to divers Catholics; abate somewhat of Mr. Courtney's courage in labouring so earnestly to come to his trial, and to justify himself from having maintained any seditious doctrine in his book; would cause the answer to his arguments to be the more greedily desired; and also they might with less difficulty be sent to Rome, that the Pope and Cardinals may see what doctrines, concerning his authority, the impugners of the oath maintain; which perchance would cause them to make some moderate declaration, which they are loath to do, concerning the same.

When you have perused them, I pray you acquaint my Lord's Grace especially with the advertisement to the reader, and with that towards the end, concerning the best way to end this controversy, and to add or alter what you shall think fit. And also I beseech you the next time you see Mr. Sec^y.^ Windebank, you would be pleased to inform him what you think concerning the conve-

niency of printing this answer to Mr. Courtney's arguments, &c., who perchance is of opinion that it would do little good, but be an occasion to multiply answers and replies without any necessity; for, besides that if his arguments should pass without being answered, they being so extremely cried up by the impugners of the oath as unanswerable, it would prejudice the cause and the credit of the King and State, and make Catholics believe that they could not be answered, nor they take the oath with a safe conscience. I, for my own part, assure myself, and I think you are of the same opinion, that the more replies they make the more they will discredit themselves, overthrow their own cause, and confirm ours.

I have only two difficulties, which I write to you in confidence, wherewith I would have acquainted my Lord's Grace only, if I could have had fit opportunity to have spoken with him here alone; and to come to Croydon, an infirmity which I have had for many years will not suffer me to ride. The one, that divers Catholics will cry out against me and Mr. Howard, for writing against Mr. Courtney at such an unseasonable time, when he, being close prisoner, cannot answer for himself, and also in taxing him with dangerous and seditious doctrine, whereby he may be brought in danger of his life, which God is my witness I do not desire nor intend any harm, but all good unto his person; and I desire only to maintain the truth, and the King's sovereign right in temporals. The other, that about Christmas last, the Italian Oratorian [Panzani] sent hither from Rome, signified to me that some had informed him that I was printing a book in favour of the oath, which would hinder the fair course then intended betwixt his Holiness and our King; for then he made show to procure of his Holiness some moderation or moderate declaration concerning the oath, to whom I answered by the same messenger he sent, for I never to this day spake with him myself, that I would be very loath to hinder, but rather to the uttermost of my power would further any such fair course; that I had heard indeed some books concerning the oath were ready, when time should serve, for the press; naming to him the answers to Mr. Courtney and Dr. Kellison, and that I would do my best endeavour to dissuade the publishing of them, whereby this fair course betwixt his Holiness and our State should any way be hindered.

But now I perceive that they intend at Rome no such moderation concerning the oath, and that deponibility, which is the only chief thing denied in the oath, must not be meddled withal; and Mr. Skidmore hath had a check from thence, for showing the weakness of Mr. Courtney's arguments against the oath, which they say he should rather have endeavoured to confirm; and our Procurator sent me word that the Pope's nephew our protector told him that his Holiness and the Lords Cardinal were grievously offended with me, being informed, and suspecting me to be the author of Mr. Howard's book, or to have had a hand therein: and that they had thought to have proceeded most severely against me, but first they would hear my answer. To whom I answered that if his Holiness and they would make known to me any one thing either against faith or good manners, contained in any book whereof they suspected me to be the author, I would forthwith retract the same; and if otherwise they would proceed against me, I must have patience, and defend myself in the best manner the laws of God and nature would give me leave. If, therefore, it

would please his Grace to lay his command upon us for printing the aforesaid answer to Mr. Courtney, I think we might the more easily excuse and answer the former difficulties. . . . And so with many thanks and all good wishes, and my kind commendations to Mr. Bray, I commit you to God's protection this 10th of August, 1635.

Yours ever to serve,
THOMAS PRESTON.[45]

Accompanying this letter is a short paper of "Remarks upon certain declarations made by Mr. Courtney relative to the doctrine taught in his book."

The following is an endorsed instruction of Charles I. for Brett, sent to Rome October 28, 1635.

Charles R.,—Our dearest Consort the Queen having made choice of you as a person of trust and integrity, to be employed at Rome for her special affairs. [After cautioning him that, in these times of differences in religion, he is by no means to meddle with anything which refers to that subject, remembering that he is sent to Rome merely for matters of State and intelligence, and

[45] The apostate Gee, in his list of priests and Jesuits resident about London, makes the following note upon Thomas Preston: "Father Preston, a Benedictine monk, a man who hath written verie laboriously, both in Latin and English, in the defence of the oath of allegiance and against the Pope's usurped power over Kings, in the name of *Roger Widdrington*. Though hee be happy in his discourse, and potent in his nerves of his unanswerable arguments, yet hee was unhappy in his casual choice of that name; which, to conceale his owne, hee chose to prefix upon the booke: the said Roger Widdrington being a man (as is thought) not much favoring those tenets, wherewith his name was unworthily honoured. Sure I am that in the north parts where hee liveth, hee hath by one engine or another, of late seduced great multitudes to Popery, and carryeth so strong a hand in that country, that hee that would oppose him should find it a hard task. As for Master Preston, hee is a man much hated and persecuted by the Jesuiticall faction, who would faine pack him to Rome in a cloak-bag. I heere hee is a man of weake and sickly disposition of body, not likely long to live. His physicians tell him that if hee change aire, the citye and suburbs of Rome are very unwholesome for him, especially the stifling aire of that part of Rome which is neere the *Holy-house* or *Inquisition*. . . ." Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 420, calls him Roger Widdrington *vere* Preston, a learned Benedictine monk and missioner in England in the reigns of Kings James I. and Charles I., the great champion of the oath of allegiance, who published several books on that subject against Bellarmine, Suarez, Fitzherbert, &c., which were censured by the See of Rome. He stood out for a long time, notwithstanding his Holiness' threats and the earnest persuasion of friends, and encouraged several, both clergy and regulars (who had an extraordinary opinion of his parts and learning) to join with him. But at last he submitted, before being visited by any express censure or declaration. Dodd gives a list of thirteen of his works. Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea O.S.B.*, says that he died in the Clink Prison, Nov. 13, 1640. He had been apprehended by the persecutors soon after his coming to England in 1603, and on his liberation retired to the Continent. His happy submission gives us every reason to hope that he died a martyr *in vinculis* for the faith.

that he is to keep himself strictly within this circle, except in such particulars concerning Church government as may be intrusted to him, the King then continues]. "You must mediate with the Pope to carry a gentle hand towards such Roman Catholics here as are moderate and peaceful and well affected to the Oath, that they may not suffer for their obedience and conformity, to the disservice of us and the discouragement of those that would follow their example, were they not in fear of censure. This we shall take very well; whereas, on the contrary, without satisfaction in this business of the oath, you must assure them there can be no good intelligence between us and that party. And hereupon you are to take notice of a base and seditious discourse, written not long since by a Roman Catholic, one Courtney, against the Oath of Allegiance; and you are to press earnestly for some exemplary punishment to be inflicted upon him for daring so presumptuously without licence from that See to awaken that subject which of late hath been prudently laid asleep, not without the knowledge, as we understand, of the Pope himself; and which cannot be agitated but with his diminution and the irritating of all Christian princes against him. If you find them difficult in this, you shall then assure them we will take the business into our own hand, and execute the rigour of our laws upon him.

And because there hath been great labouring of late by some of that party to bring into this our Realm a Roman Bishop, who might take upon him jurisdiction in matters of Government over those of that profession; you are to let them know that we utterly dislike that proposition, and will never give way to the setting up of a foreign jurisdiction within the jurisdiction of the Church of England, which will be continually fighting one with the other, and so raise distraction both in Church and State, to the danger and perhaps utter destruction of the Roman party itself.

And for as much as we find that the number of Jesuits increaseth daily here, who being for the most part practical and overbearing in matters of State, may become dangerous, and yet we are not willing but upon great necessity to use remedies which our laws do provide against them; you shall therefore use the best means you can for their revocation, that so this mischief may be prevented quietly and rather by the hand of that See than by ours which must fall more heavily upon them. In the meantime you are to discover what intelligences they hold, both here and there, and diligently to observe their ways, and to give advertisement of them hither. . . . You shall hold acquaintance and converse chiefly with those who are most moderate, and best affected to us and our State. And yet, if any Jesuits or others of their party shall visit you, you may admit them, and use them kindly respectively, observing well their ends, and advertise them hither; and you *are to make use of them for our service*. . . .

. . . Immediately after your arrival at Rome you shall send privately for Father Wilford Read, Promoter of the Benedictines, and use his advice and assistance in your negotiation; and sometimes, as business shall require, you may take him to you for your interpreter; being as we understand, a moderate man and of good affections to our service, and one whom you may trust.

At Hampton Court, October 28.[46]

[46] The original of these royal instructions to the Queen's agent in Rome is signed and dated by Charles I. himself.

The next document is endorsed by Windebank, "Courtney's Remonstrance to the Secretary."[47]

To the Right Honourable Sir Francis Windebank, Knight, Secretary of State to his Majesty.

The humble remonstrance of Edward Courtney, prisoner.

Right Honourable,—Perceiving long since by costly experience that his Majesty leaves no way open for passages from me to him but by your honour, and that door also left me only to my ruin, not to my relief, I understood my case to be plainly desperate, and so I conceive it to remain still. Therefore my confidence is only in God and my cause; and my resolution and expectation, the worst that can be done unto me. Wherein I am confirmed by his Majesty's no less refusing me the benefit of common justice and right of a subject, after two petitions for it, than the least degree of compassion after so long sufferance. But time increasing the evidence of my rigorous punishment, and diminishing more and more the colour of desert, which, even to those who should peep through chinks and crannies for it, grows daily more invisible; the laws violated, justice standing affrighted at this precedent of me, all men admiring what conclusion will ensue these long unusual premisses; somewhat, it seems, now at length is resolved to be done, and your honour hath intimated it unto my Lord of Rutland to be my banishment; but it is expected I should petition it as a favour. Whereunto I answer, though *omne solum forti fit Patria;* and any man may judge my condition here must needs be amended by any place whatsoever; yet I will not in this cause make suit for anything which is either pardon or penalty. My reason is not stubbornness, which indiscretion is far from me, as, if occasion served for the manifestation of truth, should appear; but for that my cause is Christ's, and only the essential duty of a Christian and of a good subject; which, to betray and make an offence by a cowardly and false subscription, were to make Christ an offender, and a sin of that which God hath commanded for our salvation. My refusal of the oath is a refusal of many demonstrable abjurations of five articles of the Apostles' Creed and three of the Ten Commandments; also a refusal of abjuring four, or rather many more of his Majesty's laws and statutes of greatest importance for the government of this kingdom; and lastly, a refusal of an evident and clear abjuration of the lawfulness of his Majesty's title to the possession of this kingdom; which I think every subject is bound to defend, and myself will ever do with my blood. And all these inconveniences are incurred merely by swearing the oath to be an oath of allegiance, although all other questions of doctrine were forgiven. My writing against the oath was for a disputation with Mr. Preston, a famous defender of it, for satisfaction of my conscience, which is a necessary Christian duty, it being an act rather of an infidel than of a Christian to take an oath of this famous danger, forbidden by the Holy Catholic Church of my creed, with contempt of all fear of God and regard of Church, creed, conscience or salvation. The occasion inducing me unto it was his Majesty's and the State's own public leave and provocation, by whose command Mr. Howard's book was written, which professeth no other argument nor end for the writing thereof

[47] The original document is undated, but we can fix the date from other sources as being about the 28th of December, 1635.

but to provoke Catholics to show lawful reasons, if they could, for refusing the oath; which therefore by this leave, being also otherwise due both by religion and justice, and for the manifestation of truth, God's glory, and the satisfaction of mine own conscience, I performed out of a greater affection and confidence in the piety and honour of his Majesty and the State, than the wiser caution of those who, notwithstanding so large a protection and just motives, abstained from it.

What am I then chargeable withal for this act, which is not an essential duty of Christianity, and of a good subject? For other accusations of State matters in my book, I know the laws, the judges, the jury in such cases to be rigorous, Papists odious, his Majesty's indignation to me to be implacable; yet, by two petitions I have appealed to the rigour of law for the trial of all charges of this kind, with disclaim of all favour or pardon; yet can neither be allowed justice or acquitted. I have seen the gorgon-headed arrows of this kind shot at me by weak Leander and perfidious Widdrington, solicited by them to the State, and divulged over the kingdom by reports and writings, to dip my fame in mine own blood if they could to stain it. Yet these accusations dare intrude anywhere, saving to place of public trial and justice, though upon any advantages whatsoever; where I should soon turn the edge of these blades upon the heads of their own masters, if but matter or form of justice would be allowed me. The objection that I have written against my allegiance; you see the inconveniences which that only assertion incurs: that I have written against a law; you see by the authority of how many and what laws I have done it. And, lest you should think I send you words and not deeds, I am ready, if leave may be granted, to send you a plain, solid, and evident demonstration of all these particulars, which if any man by equal and free disputation can answer and defend the oath to be of allegiance, I am ready to take it; more conformity than which, neither Christianity, reason, or any virtue divine or moral, can allow to be demanded or performed by any man. But, sir, to frame some convenient end for a business begun from irritations of malice, which, in discussion, now prove to be more inconvenient than good service; it is my obligation, after God and His cause, to express my duty and respect of his Majesty and the State. If his Majesty's indignation be such that after so long continuance of punishment, it will not end but in more; since the honour of God will not suffer me to petition a penalty or pardon for His Divine commands, if his Majesty, of his absolute power and pleasure, will banish me my native country, I beseech the favour to have five months liberty to repair the ruins of my poor fortunes so eaten into by the charges of these troubles and my other debts, as in a shorter time will not remain any foundation at all for the building of a strange residence; which, after the time expired, shall receive a Christian after fourteen months' close imprisonment, banished his native soil, for refusing to abjure the Apostles' Creed and the Ten Commandments, and for writing part of his reasons against such abjuration, to dispute them for the satisfaction of his own conscience, by the leave and provocation of the King and State.

But if his Majesty incline to dispose of me not for respects of indignation but of council; if he please to let the period of my suffrance rest in a free liberty, whatsoever all characters adversaries in secret may have given of me, his Majesty shall find them

infallibly disproved by my careful suppression of what hath passed, and future comportment, free from touching the designs of State or factions of Catholics, so much as with a thought. For it is apparent that the rents, which the weak hands of childish policy amongst Catholics daily made in the garment of Christ, must be sewed with prayers and not with pens, which are needles to wound but not to amend such tearings. Neither had I meddled with this present argument, but that it was a public assault of our universal faith and fidelity, directed to us all, with a provocation of defence. But the paradise I shall propound myself in this world for hereafter shall be retirement, never to be heard of any more by his Majesty, except in some matters befitting my obligation, and the service of his Majesty and my country in an honourable and unquestionable way.

This remonstrance I humbly desire may be by your honour presented to my Lord of Canterbury's Grace, who sits, I know, at the helm of his Majesty's Councils in these matters, to be reported by you both unto his Majesty; and my brother shall attend your honour for his Majesty's disposure of me according to his royal wisdom. And I shall account myself by this favour obliged ever to pray for your honour.

Dom. Chas. I. 1636, vol. cccxxii. p. 18.

F. Edward Courtney to Sec. Windebank.

To the Right Honble. Sir Francis Windebank, Kt. Secy. of State, &c.

Right Honble.—I understand that it hath pleased his Matie. in consideration of the hand of Almighty God wch. is over us, to vouchsafe his grace unto prisoners, amongst whome those wch. are imprisoned by command especially wth. his M^ties.^ particular notice, have the most immediate respect unto it, which maketh mee boulde to request this favour of your honor to know his M^ties.^ pleasure concerninge myselfe. And leaste the defect of those motives of acknowledgment and submission, wch. your honour stayed my petition upon should interpose betwixt his M^ties.^ grace and mee, I submitt these reasons to his Maties. favorable aspect or any other honourable persons, whome y^r.^ honour thinketh them fitting to concerne.

I protest in generall I have done nothing either before my imprisonment by wrytinge, or since my imprisonment by inconformitie, out of any motive of stubbornes, disobedience, or undutyfull inclination to his Matie. or the State, but merely for necessitie of conscience, respects of Christianity, and my obedience to the Catholick Church of my creed, and defense of mine own and all Catholicks' loyaltie and fidelitie to his Matie. against the unjust calumniations of Mr. Howard's book. And therfore I humbly beseech there may be due distinction apprehended betwixt an act of voluntary and presumptuouse wrytinge, out of intention to impugne the authoritie by which the oath is established, and an humble act of defense provoked both by authoritie and unjust accusation in matter of treasone. Alsoe betwixt a publick hostile act of wryting for the Press directed to the adversary, and a private secret wryting for consultation of conscience directed to a persone (though scandalous) yet p'fessing himselfe externally to bee of the same religion, Christianitie itselfe requiring deliberation in oaths of so greate importance and difficultie.

If I should acknowledge my wryting to be of the former offensive nature, I should infinitely wrong the truth and mine own innocence, but it being manifest by the act itselfe, that it is of the latter kinde, what man will acknowledge defense of loyaltie to be disloyaltie, obedience to his Maties. owne provocatione to be presumption, and the private necessary seeking of satisfaction of conscience to avoyd rash or false swearing, to be worthy of his M^ties.^ blame?

Howsoever, for the future, I shall be careful nevermore to endanger his Maties. displeasure by accepting controversies or challenges of like nature. Which if your honor will be pleased favourably to offer for preparation of his Maties. grace unto me, you shall oblige

Your honour's humble servant to be comanded,

EDWARD COURTENAY.

May 26, 1636.

The Annual Letters of the College of St. Omer for the year 1677 thus notice this eminent Father: "We have had too no little loss in the death of Father Edward Courtney, who died on October 3, for we are deprived in him of a great example of probity and virtue, of which he gave a bright proof in these last years of his life, which he had asked Superiors to be permitted to spend amongst us, that so he might be the better prepared to die, surrounded by a circle of his brethren praying for him. . . . He had filled almost all the offices of the Society in our Province. He taught humanities at Sinuessa [Mondragone] and Ancona; professed rhetoric at Rome with great applause for erudition and eloquence. At Liege he taught philosophy with similar applause, and also delivered controversial lectures. He preached at Antwerp for two years to the English merchants and other English residents, was Socius to the Provincial, and four times Rector of Colleges, chosen as Procurator for the English Province at the ninth General Congress, and finally Provincial in the most difficult times, in which there were serious deliberations in England of emancipating Catholics, and banishing the Jesuits for ever, and which storm he prevented from bursting upon us by his wisdom and industry, and especially assisted by a vow he made in honour of St. Francis Xavier. He was also involved in other most difficult times and intricate affairs, but conquered all by his indomitable perseverance and firmness. He was equally distinguished for his prudence and virtue, which rendered him dear to God and man. The most close observer of his conduct could never discover any fault in him. All his actions were ruled by piety, religion, and modesty. His most frequent conversation was of God and

heavenly things, and if the subject turned upon any other matter, he would season it with the salt of wisdom; so that a grave man who was intimately acquainted with him, and often in his company, observed that he never left him without learning something from him. His piety towards God was remarkable, and he appeared always absorbed in Divine contemplation. His countenance and whole person seemed to breathe devotion and singular modesty, exciting all who beheld him to the same. His charity to his neighbour was equally large, and in the service of others no labour was too great, and when in his old age he was received into our College as a retired veteran from England, he was ever ready in the service of others, for he acted as our Spiritual Father in delivering domestic exhortations and instructions to the scholars, both moral and doctrinal, besides explaining the Christian doctrine to the Lay-brothers; and though he could scarcely stand, yet when called down to the gate to hear the confessions of the Italian soldiers, he made all haste to descend to console them. At last, a little before his death, for his own consolation, and exciting in his heart the love of God, he composed some pious meditations on a happy death. After the physicians had advised him of the close proximity of death, of which he also had a personal presentiment, he spent the remainder of his time with God alone, panting for a happy immortality, until having received the last Sacraments in the midst of his brethren, as he had long desired, he gave up his soul to his Creator."

Father Courtney, when Provincial, in order to implore the favour of heaven upon the persecuted Province (so severe was the heat of persecution) obliged its members by vow to fast on the eves of St. Francis Xavier for a period of ten years. Father John Warner, when Provincial, succeeding the martyred Provincial, Father Whitbread, November, 1679, did the same for the space of seven years, and in an address he delivered to the College of Liege, at his visitation in that year, in announcing it, quotes the example of Father Courtney.

During the time of his Provincialate, he wrote some interesting letters to the Very Reverend Father General Paul Oliva, dated from London. From those which are still extant we give the following extracts.[48] In the first, dated "London April 6, 1663," he shows that the same anti-Catholic feeling of hostility existed amongst the Lower House of Parliament, as

[48] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angliæ*, nn. 63—66.

in the time of Charles I. He speaks of the kindness shown towards the English members of the Society by the Lord Chancellor and other leading nobility, and, what was a source of greater joy, the ready willingness of the King to favour all Catholics, as exhibited in his recent declaration; and in that third Parliament the Lord Chancellor had spoken out boldly and eloquently in their behalf. Yet in the midst of their hopes, a cloud had arisen in the Lower House of Parliament which greatly troubled them. "For, contrary to all expectation, the members violently oppose the King's manifesto, and instead of favours which were hoped for by the Catholics, they are striving to introduce and enact more severe laws than ever against them. They obstinately demand the expulsion from the kingdom of all priests and Jesuits by the issue of a new proclamation. Hitherto the Upper House has not consented, and the King is highly displeased with this animosity, and now the Lord Chancellor is endeavouring to appease them."

Father Courtney then speaks of the Lord D'Aubigny, whose promotion, earnestly desired by the King and Queen and Queen-mother, was so very favourable towards establishing a better feeling in regard to Catholics. Nor did this animosity of the House of Commons arise so much from hatred of the Catholic religion as from the efforts of various parties by whom they were beset and inflamed. He hopes that all will be arranged by the wisdom of the King and Council, although it seemed most probable that some edict would be carried against the priests and Jesuits.

In a second letter dated May 18, 1663, he speaks highly in praise of the kind intercession of the Lord Belinger with the King and Lord Chancellor and others of the nobility, which had been so effectual as easily to dispel the calumnies raised against us, and had abundantly satisfied the King and Chancellor, although they keenly felt their repulse; alluding probably to the Commons having passed a vote for the issue of a proclamation against priests, &c.

He says, "The desired promotion of D'Aubigny may lead to the re-opening of an interchange of communication between the Holy See and England, and greatly tend to mitigate that flame of animosity which now burns in the Parliament against the Sovereign Pontiff and Catholics. But as it may seem otherwise good to God, it is for us patiently to submit to the abyss of His judgments, and to wait for milder times from heaven.

For the times are changed for the worse, and we fear more severe things from Parliament, unless the kindness and leaning of the King towards his Catholic subjects, so faithful to himself, shall assuage these fears.

"The time fixed in the edict for the priests to consult their safety in voluntary banishment expires in six days. Already many are gone over to France and Belgium. Those who are bold enough to remain are looking out for hiding-places and safe positions. For great severity is feared in the beginning from the magistrates and minor officials, whose violence the King will be unable to suppress, so long as they are backed by the rigour of the laws passed by Parliament."

In a third letter, dated June 22, 1663, he thanks God that they again enjoy their former tranquillity. "Nor does the late edict otherwise trouble them, than as it obliges all to act more cautiously, and to detain some in situations where they are less known, and to send others across the water to Belgium and France. The Parliament still sits and will last on until July, although warned by the King some time ago to bring business to a close as early as possible. The Lower House has been occupied a long time in investigating some foul work in the sale of offices by courtiers, to the loss of the Treasury, after the restoration of Charles II. This inquiry is carried on with such caution, that many think some parties high at Court will be called to justice. The affair at length went to sleep, and was remitted entirely to the King. They are deciding now for placing upon some more secure basis the annual Crown revenues of the kingdom. The past year the revenues had increased to four million and eighty thousand Roman scudi,[49] but since the revenue which was assigned to him does not reach his Majesty, they are making careful inquiries into certain frauds of the receivers and collectors, and to arrange how to supply the deficit. They then entered upon a discussion about military arrangements for the greater security of the kingdom and the royal persons. The subject of religion was then deferred to the last sittings of the Parliament, and in these debates the Catholics fear that something new will be resolved upon against them. But as the Commons know that this step would be most odious to the King, and as hitherto, on account of so many dissentients, they have been unable to agree, we hope that nothing will happen. The old and existing statutes are truly so severe, that if they

[49] £918,000, at 4s. 6d. the scudo.

were put into execution, one year would suffice to extinguish the ancient religion of England. In the beginning of July, or a little later, the Parliament will break up for some months."

Father Courtney then mentions some talk about a dissolution of Parliament, which it was not thought would be a wise measure for the King, who could get on with the present one; but, were a new one to be summoned, there was danger of the Puritan and Calvinist party getting the majority, who were hostile to monarchy and kingly power.

In a fourth letter, dated June 29, 1663, he gives a short account of the celebration of the Queen's Jubilee in her chapels. The Papal Bull of authority, translated into English, was exposed on the doors of both chapels. Being as yet quiet and safe, the divine functions were duly celebrated in both the royal chapels, and in those of the Catholic Ambassadors, with as great an attendance and security as formerly. Each festival and Sunday his Excellency Lord D'Aubigny appeared with his suite at her Majesty's chapel, where was also a full choir of monks.

They were expecting again next August from France the Lord Abbot of Monte Acute, the High Almoner of the Queen-mother, in whose chapel the Capuchin Fathers in their habits publicly said office and preached. Their Superior, Father Cyprian, showed great kindness to our Fathers, and omitted no occasion of commending the Society to the Queen-mother.

"When this session of Parliament is over, we shall be more secure. Within a few days it will commence to break up. Therefore they more sharply urge on certain measures to be disposed of, as I named in my last letter. They have resumed this week the debate on religion, so long deferred; and, as is reported by a majority of votes, have decided to pass a new edict for staying the progress of the Roman Catholic faith, but it has not as yet passed into effect, nor is it fully debated. Hence we are certainly assured by men of great authority, that it will never pass in a full house, nor obtain the sanction of the law. The assent of King and Lords is requisite, which we hope will never be granted, although the supplies which the King asks of Parliament may perchance depend upon his giving his royal assent. In the formulary of the new decree much is contained, which, if enforced, will in course of time entirely overthrow the Catholic religion in England. Amongst other things, the children of Catholic parents are to be forcibly taken from them and brought up in the new Protestant

opinions. Any one embracing the Catholic faith, immediately upon conviction, his property is to devolve to the next heir, &c."[50]

Father Edward Courtney, when Rector of the English College, Rome, received among many others the three following alumni:

(1) JAMES HOGLEY, *alias* DRURY, who owed his conversion partly to Father Parsons' works, says in his replies to the usual interrogations: "I am son of James Hogley and was born at Dunham, county Norfolk, in which I was brought up until I was about eight years of age, and then for two years at a village called Broughton [? Baighton] in the said county, under the care of my uncle, a Protestant minister, who taught me my grammar, and from thence I went to schools, first at Sahan Tony and afterwards at Norwich, where I was occupied for five years in studying humanities. Then, after spending a little time at Cambridge, I studied law at Furnival's and Lincoln's Inns, London, until my twenty-sixth year, in which year I made a pilgrimage to the Holy City.

"My parents are of the class commonly called gentlemen, sufficiently well off. I have neither brother nor sister, but many non-Catholic relatives.

"Because I always lived in heresy, yet by these helps, first by reading books by Father Parsons, Nicholas Causin, Herman Hugo, Thomas à Kempis, Arthonius de Granada, and other anonymous writers, then by the sedulous exertions and industry of Father John Parker, Provincial of the English Province of the Society of Jesus,[51] and lastly assisted by Divine grace, I embraced the Catholic faith, left England in the month of August last, and have sought Rome and this College for the sake of making my philosophy and being well instructed in the faith of Christ. It is my determination to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The English College Diary states that this convert entered as a convictor among the Pope's alumni, in the name of James Drury, æt. cir. 28, by order of his Eminence Cardinal Francis Barberini the Protector, Father Edward Courtney being Rector, on the 25th of November, 1655. He received the Sacrament

[50] It appears that the King was compelled "reluctantly" to yield his assent to these unjust and tyrannical measures (see Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. ix. p. 93).

[51] *Vere* John Heton, not Provincial, but Superior of the Lancashire district.

of Confirmation in the name of Edward Drury in the Cathedral Church of St. John Lateran, June 4, 1656. On the 2nd of September, 1657, he left the College *en route* for England on family business, but was drowned on the way, near Leghorn.

(2) THOMAS WARREN, *alias* SPENCER, who says of himself—"I am the son of Thomas, a colonel in the service of the King of England. I was born in London, and educated at Eton College, and am in my twenty-second year. All my friends are of good estate. I have two sisters living. My mother is dead. I have a step-brother and sister living, both heretics. I studied for three years at St. Omer's College. I lived in heresy for many years, but at length through the diligence and help of Father Clayton, by the goodness of God I became a Catholic, and left England three years and a half ago, and am come to Rome, having a desire to render help to my country and friends, and I earnestly wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

He entered the English College, æt. 22, on the 4th of November, 1653, and was ultimately ordained priest on May 5, 1658, and sent into England April 22, 1659.

(3) The future Dominican Father, THOMAS MOLYNEUX, who says—"I am twenty-five years of age, I believe; was born in London, and educated in various private schools in England until my seventeenth year. I then remained at home for some time. After this I spent four years in the service of Mr. Plowden, a very respectable gentleman. On his death I went to London, that I might there study the laws of the country as a preparation for entering upon my future life. I then went to the English College S.J., St. Omer, for the purpose of studying humanities; then to Padua to study medicine, but, by the inspiration of God, neglecting this, I spent two years more at St. Omer's in study, and am come hither among the scholars sent from thence.

"My father, Edward Molyneux, Esq., was the only son of Thomas Molyneux, who was a general in Ireland in the service of Queen Elizabeth, and was descended from the very ancient family of Molyneux. My mother was Ursula Syddenham, the third daughter and co-heiress of John Syddenham, Esq. My father's circumstances were but middling. I am his only son, and have an only sister. Nearly all my relations on both sides are Protestants. My parents were Catholics, converted shortly before my birth.

"I am come to Rome, after making a spiritual retreat at St. Omer's College, and despising all human things I have firmly resolved to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

He entered the English College among the alumni of the Holy Father, æt. 25, on September 24, 1655, and left again for France on July 20, 1656, in order to assume the habit of St. Dominic. After two days' journey, finding the way stopped, he returned, and finally left on February 10, 1657. He died at Bornhem, December 19, 1708, æt. 78.

The annual reports are again resumed.

1669. In this year the members of the Province numbered two hundred and sixty-six. A great part of these resided in the four houses in Belgium, the rest in the English mission, or in Maryland, labouring to produce fruit to eternal life. The English mission possessed one hundred and twenty-two Fathers, each industriously employed in his own locality, according to its division. These labours consisted in assisting the spiritual needs of all, in gaining souls, attending the sick, and counselling those in health, exhorting friends and combating enemies, reconciling variances, hearing confessions, assisting the dying, &c. Hitherto great peace and tranquillity had favoured their labours, and no kind of obstacle was put in their way by the Government. "But the fruit of all" (we quote the words of the Report) "is in the hands of God Who gives the increase, while he who plants is nothing, and the produce is not always according to the labour. Prosperous and pleasant days of sunshine are often less conducive to fruitfulness than wintry snows and cold, which more firmly root and strengthen the stalk, and fill the garner with more copious harvests. This may be a reason for the success of the labours of ours falling short of our desires and expectations, and we hope it may be doubled in the ensuing year. In the whole of England the conversions were six hundred and four, five hundred baptisms, &c. To this may be added what lately occurred to a Catholic gentleman at Canterbury. He had been sick for a year with a quartan fever, and, having tried all remedies in vain, was advised by one of the Fathers to have recourse to St. Francis Xavier for a cure, making a vow to him; and in a few days he was miraculously freed from the fever, and to fulfil his vow sent an offering to the College of the Society at Mechlin in Belgium."

1670. The report for this College mentions that there were twenty-one members in the London district, all of whom were priests except one lay-brother.

The fruit of the labour of the Fathers in England altogether amounted to six hundred and fifty-six converts to the faith, five hundred and three baptisms, three hundred and eight general confessions, one hundred and one Extreme Unctions, enemies reconciled forty-five. "The gain of souls and the fruit of their industry have been greater in former years, but there is good reason for the present diminution. The last year it was decreed by Parliament that no meetings should be held of any kind, under pretext of religion, except in public and approved churches of the realm, and that no family should dare to call together to any exercises of religion any except its own domestics, and four at most besides; and by common assent it was agreed by all Catholics to obey this law. For which reason both our priests and almost all other missionaries have kept themselves within the prescribed limits, and have esteemed it a happiness to be able freely, though privately, and with limited attendance, to offer the Holy Sacrifice securely, and perform other duties of the priesthood. Hence, having fewer opportunities of intercourse with others, there have been fewer converts. Besides, when writing these reports, several of the accounts of the Fathers have been wanting, by which considerable addition would be made to the numbers given. Moreover of that which we have dated in October, nearly a quarter of the year is short, during which much more will have been done. Amongst the converts was an old man of eighty, who was so eager to be received into the Church that he twice walked on foot eighty miles to accomplish it. At Canterbury this year a regiment of soldiers was quartered, and many of them were attacked with long intermittent fevers, and when all remedies had been tried in vain, they were told that there was a Catholic woman in the town, who, by the power and virtue of some water, as a febrifuge, worked wonderful cures. Upon this, many of the sick soldiers went to her and earnestly requested her, offering her money also, to give them some of this medicinal water. She did so willingly and gratuitously, and those who took it recovered health and strength, and praised and extolled their benefactress. Soon after, the husband of the woman, a Protestant, fell sick with the fever which was likewise quickly cured by the blessed water. At his entreaty she told

him it was nothing else than holy water, blessed by and used in the Catholic Church. A similar thing was done by a Catholic lady in London, who cannot be supplied fast enough with holy water, so great is the concourse of people asking for it as a cure for the fever; but, as it would be inconvenient that the matter should be publicly known or suspected, she colours the water before giving it out for the sick."

In 1671, one hundred and thirty-two members were scattered about through England, all except one lay-brother being priests. Some were in private noblemen's families, where they preserved in the household the Catholic faith, others going on excursions, visiting the Catholics at stated times, administering the sacraments, &c. The report gives five hundred and eighty conversions, four hundred and seventy-eight baptisms, and three hundred and forty-five general confessions in England. In the College of St. Ignatius there were twenty Fathers. On the 24th of July, Father Joseph Simeons died, a man of great virtue, prudence, and learning.[52]

[52] Father Joseph Simeon, whose real name was Emmanuel Lobb, was a native of Hants, born in the year 1593. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, under the assumed name of Joseph Simeon, on the 13th of October, 1616, being then in his twenty-third year and took the College oath on the 3rd of May, 1617. On entering the College he made the following statement in reply to the usual interrogatories: "My name is Emmanuel Lob. I am in my twenty-third year, to the best of my knowledge, and was born and brought up at Portsmouth, Hants. My parents were of the lower class and poor, and, alas! heretics. My father died two years before I left home. I have two brothers, one older, one younger than myself. When I was barely eleven years old, by order of my mother, I passed over into Portugal, to learn that language, with a view to the mercantile life. Here I was soon after converted to the Catholic faith by Father Henry Floyd, S.J., at that time living in the Professed House of Lisbon. The same Father Floyd persuaded me to lay aside other pursuits and take to study, and after a while I was sent to St. Omer's College." Having received minor orders in 1617, he left Rome for Belgium on the 14th of September, 1619, and was received into the Society at Liege. He was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 25th of January, 1633. Father Simeon ranks high among the members of the English Province for talent, piety, and great usefulness; he was acquainted with various branches of literature, sacred and profane, and possessed the faculty without which the rest goes for little, zealous and conscientious industry. He had great courage and firmness of soul, and was most exact in the observance of the rules and religious discipline, remarkable also for his constant self-possession, prudence, and wisdom in the management of affairs. Inflamed with zeal for the salvation of souls, he devoted all the time he could spare from his other duties to the help of his neighbour. After professing rhetoric and the *belles lettres* at the English College of St. Omer for five years with great reputation, he became professor of theology, philosophy, and Sacred Scripture at the English Theologate, S.J., Liege, for several years. In 1647 he was appointed Rector of the English College, Rome, and in 1650 of the said English

1672. "Though in this year twenty-one Fathers and one lay-brother are reckoned as belonging to the London district, still there are few of these in London, and still fewer

Theologate at Liege. He was also instructor of the Tertian Fathers at Ghent. Being subsequently sent to the English mission, he was at one period Rector of the College of St. Ignatius. In 1667 he succeeded Father John Clarke in the office of Provincial Prov. Angl. When residing in London, in the beginning of 1669, the Duke of York, whose convictions had already been advancing towards the Catholic faith, was more sensibly touched in conscience, and began to think seriously of his salvation. He sent for Father Simeon, who had the reputation of being a very learned man, to discourse with him upon that subject, imparted to him his intention of being a Catholic, and treated with him about his reconciliation to the Church. After much discourse, the Father very sincerely told him that, unless he would quit the communion of the Church of England, he could not be received into the Catholic Church. The Duke urged his opinion that it might be done by a dispensation from the Pope, alleging that his case was very exceptional, and also the advantage it might bring to the Catholic religion in general and especially to those of it in England, if he might be allowed outwardly to conform as a Protestant, at least till he could make public profession with more security to his own person and advantage to them. But Father Simeon insisted that the Pope himself had not the power to grant this, since it was the unalterable teaching of the Catholic Church that evil is not to be done that good may follow. This was afterwards confirmed to the Duke by the Pope himself, to whom he wrote upon the subject. Till this time James had followed the common belief that dispensations in such cases are by the Pope easily granted; but Father Simeon's words and the letter of his Holiness made him feel it to be high time strenuously to use all means to enable him to declare himself, and not to live in so unsafe and uneasy a condition (*Life of James II.*, by Clarke, vol. i. pp. 440, 441). Father Joseph had the happiness of reconciling the Royal Duke to the Catholic Church soon after. In a very rare 20mo. book (London, 1704), "*An Abridgment of the Life of James the Second*, extracted from an English MS. of the Rev. Francis Sanders, S.J., Confessor to his late Majesty," by Father Francis Brettonneau, S.J., "done out of the French from the Paris Edition, 1703," we read "whilst all Europe applauded the victor (meaning the Duke's desperate engagements with the Dutch Fleet) they were plotting his ruin in England. He had made his abjuration to Father Simeon, an English Jesuit; and, though the measures he took were always most prudent, and he did not yet declare himself to be Catholic, it was nevertheless mighty difficult for him not to discover himself to the Protestants that he had separated himself from their communion. The Parliament rose up against him, and from that time measures were contrived and taken to deprive him of his right to the Crown. This affair busied the cabal for several years. There were some Bishops of the Church of England, who, seeing the injustice of so violent a precedure, would have stopped the blow, and for that end they addressed themselves to the Duke himself. They prayed him only to accompany the King to chapel when his Majesty went to the Protestant prayers. They humbly represented to him that that might allay the tempest which had been raised against him and hinder the Bill of exclusion, which he was threatened with, from passing. But they could not persuade him, and received for answer no other words from him but these: "My principles do not suffer me to dissemble my religion after that manner, and I cannot consent of myself to do evil that good may come of it" (p. 14, seq.). Father Simeon died in London, 24th of July, 1671, æt. 77. He wrote (1) two Latin Tragedies, *Zeno* and *Mercia*, 8vo, Rome, 1648, pp. 235; (2) *Quinque Tragediæ*, 12mo, Liege, 1656; (3) *Answer to Father Pierce's Sermon Preached before his Majesty on the 1st of February*, 1663 (*vide* Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.*).

engaged in missionary labours. Certain it is that the Catholic faith has made more progress in London this year than in any previous one hitherto, so much so, that it seems now, as though for the first time, it had ventured to leave its obscurity and show itself in public daylight to the people. The permission, by the King's favour, of allowing the Catholics the free exercise of their religion in private houses has opened the way to numbers to search into and discover the truth. Hence also sermons and instructions for the people have been more frequently given in the public chapels of the Queen and the Ambassadors by priests of various Orders. One of our Fathers, Father Thomas Thompson, a preacher well-known in England, discoursed all through Advent in English to a large congregation, and, as we greatly hope, with much fruit in the chapel of the French Embassy.[53] At the same time Father Nicholas Patonillet, the famous French preacher, gave sermons in French at the Portuguese Ambassador's and preached also every Sunday in the year; and there were present some of the first nobility, not only Catholics but Protestants, the King himself and his brother the Duke of York several times attending, and listening to the preacher with much satisfaction. One hundred and eighty converts were received, fifty-five were baptized, and sixty made general confessions. In the summer, when the King's fleet put to sea against the Dutch, one of the first of the Catholic nobility asked for Father Thomas Mumford to be confessor to himself and other Catholics on board the Admiral's ship; and in that office he showed so much prudence and charity, that he gained the affection of all, both Catholics and Protestants, and to the former he gave great consolation and assistance, bringing many of them to a general confession. Moreover, he won great reputation for himself and to the Society for zeal and intrepid courage, by braving all dangers, and exposing himself during a bloody battle which lasted many hours in assisting all who needed his services."[54]

1673. "The College of St. Ignatius and the London Mission numbers twenty-four Socii. There have been ninety-eight conversions, forty-one baptisms, fifty-six general confessions, and

[53] This Father will be noticed in a subsequent Series of *Records*.

[54] A memoir of Father Thomas Mumford (*vere* Downes), who died in the Gatehouse Prison, December 21, 1678, a confessor for the faith, will be given in the History of Oates' Plot.

eight persons were received on their death-beds. It must be noted that numbers have been deterred from embracing the true faith by fear of persecution, and on account of the late decree of the Parliament. Many also, who have embraced the faith through the assistance of our Fathers, have persevered in it and do so still. Noblemen of high rank and some of the chief officers of the State, both civil and military, with great pensions, have preferred to resign all these rather than be forced to take the impious oath or go to the Protestant 'Supper of the Lord,' or subscribe the late decree. Nor has this constancy been exhibited only in men of rank and fortune, but in officials of a lower grade whose livelihood depended on their stipends. Strong in the faith they have preferred a life of poverty and almost of beggary to the loss of the Catholic faith by taking the oaths. And assuredly this fruit may be reckoned among the glories and the proofs of the Catholic faith in these the children of the Church, who may well be compared with the confessors of old."

1674. "Part of the Fathers dwell in London occupied either in the public duties of the Order, or in the more immediate missionary work for the good of souls. Two of the number are with the Queen, two with the Duchess of York, and three more engaged in procuratorial affairs. The rest are either residing permanently with private families, or assisting Catholics scattered many miles asunder by administering the Sacraments or by other pious offices; and in the like manner our Fathers are occupied in other Colleges and residences throughout England. The fruit of the labour of the Fathers in this College has been for this year ninety-eight conversions, sixty-three baptisms, sixty general confessions, and fourteen persons attended at their deaths. Among the converts to the faith is a Protestant minister and his wife, who gave up a rich benefice for the sake of religion. A lady of good family, ripe years, prudence and piety, during this last summer, gave a bright example of Christian fortitude and constancy. Some years before she had been leading a pious life in Rome, with other religious ladies; being summoned to trial and accused of not attending the Protestant worship, and of keeping a Catholic girls' school, she boldly refused the impious oath of the King's supremacy in spirituals proffered by the Court, and was thrown into prison. As however the accusers could not give legal proof nor evidence of the charges, she was

liberated. Both the lady and her school, which she still retains, are under the direction of our Fathers."

1675. "Most of the Fathers reside in the city, the rest are in the adjacent counties and in friends' houses. The fruit of souls has been less this year, partly on account of the fewness of those engaged in missionary work, and partly because several of these, for a great portion of the year, have been called elsewhere. Nevertheless, the converts have been forty-four, amongst whom there are three or four fugitives, or apostates from a religious order, who being brought to a better state of mind have either returned to their order, or with the leave of their Superiors have entered another, having abjured their heresy and apostasy. A lady of good condition was so averse to the Society and its members, that she was continually speaking against them, and in every way heaping dishonour and abuse upon them; but being better informed by one of the Fathers, she has so entirely changed her opinion that she now holds the Society and its members in the greatest esteem. Thirty-four have been assisted on their death-beds, and received the last Sacraments. At the end of the year a circumstance occurred which seemed not a little to touch the honour of the Society, and almost to bring a scandal upon it. It is briefly as follows: A certain French apostate, under the fictitious name of Dr. de Luzancy of the Sorbonne at Paris, but whose true name is De Chastelet, son of a Parisian actress, meeting with Father St. Germain, S.J., who was also a Frenchman and preacher to the Duchess of York, an office which he fills with the commendation of all, entreated him to pay him a visit, having matters of great importance to confer upon with him privately. The good Father went to him, and he made his disclosure, saying that he repented of his shameful apostasy, and entreated the Father to assist him in making his abjuration, and returning to France. Father St. Germain, thinking the man sincere, the more so because after two or three days he received from him a written and signed recantation in abjuration of his apostasy and heresy expressed in the fullest terms, undertook the business, and endeavoured to aid him to the utmost of his power. The treacherous apostate deceived the good Father and reported him to the Privy Council and Parliament as guilty of high treason for having attempted, contrary to the laws of the realm, to bring him back from the Protestant religion and the Church of England to the Roman

Catholic Church: and moreover charging him with having, together with two armed companions and under threat of death, or at least of violent expulsion from England, compelled him to write out and sign a recantation dictated by the Father. Upon these two charges deposed to upon oath, the Father was immediately by sentence of the whole Council and the King himself declared guilty of high treason, and a public proclamation with a reward of £200 was ordered for his arrest and production before the Privy Council; and thus the good Father, unheard and innocent, was condemned as guilty of the highest crime. However, the whole affair was secretly conveyed to the knowledge of the King and the chief councillors, who were satisfied that the charges against the Father of threats and violence were false, and that the recantation had not been forced upon the man, but was voluntary. Under the circumstances of the case the Fathers of the Society and other noblemen and persons of intelligence in the state of affairs, judged it the more prudent course to withdraw Father St. Germain from the storm, and send him secretly out of England, rather than permit him to appear and make his answer before unjust and prejudiced judges, from whom no justice was to be expected. And so he was conveyed secretly to France, from whence he might answer the charge in a printed pamphlet, which at this moment he has almost finished writing. Meanwhile so many things are daily published by our adversaries themselves and the ministers of heresy, concerning Luzancy's impostures and villainies in France, that all reasonable persons are now convinced that the pretended charges of threats and violence offered to the man by the Father are merely shameful fabrications."[55]

[55] Echard, *Hist.* vol. iii. p. 396, asserts that Father St. Germain obliged him to sign the recantation, and tried to send him by force to France. Anthony Wood, *Fasti. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 872, gives the history of Luzancy, who, after wandering about, "at last was a preacher-errant here and there, but chiefly at Montdidier in Picardy, where counterfeiting the name of Luzancy (his real name was Beauchatteau, his mother's name) he by a bill signed in that name cheated the Demoiselle Cartier of a piece of money, by which and other pranks being exposed to justice he fled away to England," taking for a short time the name of De la Marche, and then resuming that of Luzancy. He came to London without shoes, clothes, or money, or any recommendation. He then became a violent preacher against his former faith, at the Savoy Church, London, making a formal act of apostasy, July 11, 1675. This man was taken notice of by some of the Protestants, and the Bishop of London "took care to have him ordained, with a design of putting him in a condition of becoming one day a great defender of the Church of England. All which being done in a hurry, it was to little purpose for the pastors and several masters of families of the Savoy Church to cry out against it." One Protestant

1677. "The members of this College number twenty-seven. Six of these belong to other provinces and are at Court, three Portuguese with the Queen, and two with the Duchess of York, one of whom is an Italian, the other a Frenchman. All of them are chiefly employed in preaching. The rest of the Fathers, according to place and opportunity, are engaged in the usual duties of the Society, or in missionary work; as may be observed likewise of other residences and Colleges in England."

We would gladly have given in our *Records* some account of the various prisons and dungeons of London in which priests were confined during the times we have treated of, for they were the seat alike of the sufferings and zealous labours of the members of this College, and became at one period (as we have seen in the annual report for 1645—1649, pages 213 seq.) the principal residence of the College. To do so, however, would lead us far beyond our proposed limits, and indeed the subject furnishes matter sufficient in itself to form a volume. In *Jesuits in Conflict*, "Life of Thomas Pounde, S.J.," page 36, will be found a brief account of these prisons. There were at that time three, at three several gates of the city—the Newgate, Ludgate, and the gate called (from the Domus or Abbey) Gatehouse, Westminster, formerly the western gate of the monastery. On the other side of the Thames there were five—the King's Bench, the Marshalsea (the seat of the marshal or chief magistrate), the Hall of Winchester (commonly called the Clink), the White Lion, and the Compter (house of reckoning, Normisterion or Computorium). Three others were scattered through the city—the Fleet (from its proximity to Fleet Ditch), another Normisterion or Compter (in the Poultry), and St. Bridget's Fountain or Bridewell in which debtors and vagrants were confined. Last came the too celebrated Tower of London, which was used for the confinement of delinquents of the higher class, traitors, assassins, and the greater offenders. In this place we read that Thomas Pounde was thrice immured, and found it more like a sepulchre than a prison, having been confined in underground cells, damp, contracted, and fetid, without a loop-hole to admit a ray of light. To

clergyman for writing and exposing the real character of this man, was actually "suspended" by the same Bishop of London (See Dodd's *Church Hist.* vol. iii. p. 271). Luzancy, it seems, not only betrayed Father St. Germain to the Council, but also Father de la Colombière who was likewise a preacher and Queen's confessor at St. James'.

Newgate for the most part were committed robbers, murderers, witches; it was in truth the *colluvies* of the malefactors of London. No prison was more odious than this. It formed usually the last stage to Tyburn. Much information regarding these dens of woe may be gathered from the various biographies given in our Series of *Records* of the martyrs and confessors who sanctified them by their presence.

The following is a copy of a list of priests in the various prisons of London in 1632, taken from the original preserved in the Old Clergy Chapter Collection.

Seculares in carcer:

George Muscott
Wm. Drury
Edw. Canon
Thomas Leak
John Southworth } *Clink.*
Rob. Hare
John Smith
Richard Walker
Wm. Walgrove
John Hawkesbey
Tho. Colds } *New Prison.*
Thomas Reynolds
Peter Curtese
John Stewkley } *Newgate.*
N. Harris, *Gatehouse.*
John Morgan, *Fleet.*

Benedict. in carcer:

Tho. Preston
N. Herbert
N. Holmes } *Clink.*
N. Laurence
N. Young } *Newgate.*
Alban Roe, *Fleet.*
N. Cox [?Tresame], *New Prison.*

Jesuitæ in carcer:

Ed. More, *Clink.*
Hen. More, *New Prison.*[56]
Hen. Floyd, *Fleet.*

Alii in carcer:

Tho. Dade, Dominic, *Clink.*
Jno. Palmer, Capuch., *Fleet.*
N. Abbott Cogarday, *New Prison.*
N. Valentinus, O.S.F., *Newgate.*

Among various places in the country frequented by members of the College of St. Ignatius were three, especially connected with the annals of the English Province; namely, Lyford in Berks, the seat of Mr. Yates and the scene of the arrest of Father Edmund Campian; Sutton Place, the ancient residence of the Weston family; and Uxenden Hall, where Father Robert Southwell was arrested.

Lyford, Berks, is a township and chapelry in the parish of Hanney and hundred of Ock. The house of Mr. Yates was evidently an ancient moated and turreted one, as we learn from the following account of the capture of Father Campian.

[56] See footnote page 139; also note page 108, giving extract of letter from the Rev. W. Clarke, secular priest, London, to the clergy agent in Rome, dated December 18, 1633, mentioning the release of Father Henry More in the same month. Mr. Clarke was the writer of this list.

George Elliot,[57] a man of infamous character, who had been in the service of the Dowager Lady Petre, the widow of Sir William and mother of Sir John Petre of Ingatestone Hall, Essex, had lately apostatized, and turned Government spy and informer. He had given information to the Earl of Leicester concerning priests and those who harboured them; and now, armed with the fullest power for searching and apprehending, was on the watch for Father Campian. Meanwhile the Father was welcomed back to Lyford with exceeding joy, and for two days he and the Catholics of the neighbourhood were filled with consolation in their mutual intercourse. On Sunday, July 16, 1581, more than sixty Catholics and Oxford students were assembled to hear him preach. As he was preparing to say Mass, the traitor Elliot came to the house with a pursuivant. A fortnight before he had gained admission to hear Mass at Mr. Moore's house in Oxford, which, with Lyford, were the only two Catholic houses he knew in Oxfordshire and Berks, as appears by a letter of his to Leicester.[58] It was to be expected that he should search first one and then the other for his victim. An old fellow-servant of his at Mr. Roper's of Orpington, Kent, was then at Lyford. This man knew that Elliot had been trusted both by Mr. Roper and Lady Petre, and knew not of his apostasy. The traitor, talking with him on the drawbridge in the guise of one weary in body, but more thirsty in soul for the consolation of hearing Mass, this servant owned that Mass would be celebrated, but was unable to admit any stranger without Mrs. Yates' leave. This, with much ado, he at last obtained, and as he was letting Elliot into the house, he whispered to him that he was a lucky man, for that at Mass he would also hear Father Campian preach. This was everything that Elliot could desire, he begged a moment's delay to send away, as he said, the heretic who had come with him to the house, and thus sent off the pursuivant to a neighbouring magistrate, ordering him in the Queen's name to come to Lyford with a *posse comitatus* of a hundred men to apprehend Campian, against whom he had a warrant. Then with all devotion he let himself be conducted to the chapel. There he heard

[57] A description of this traitor is given in Mr. Simpson's *Life of Campian*, p. 218, seq.

[58] A copy of this letter or report of Elliot is given in a note in p. 586, seq. *Records*, Series IV. "College of the Holy Apostles."

Father Campian's Mass and sermon, which was on the gospel of the day, the ninth Sunday after Pentecost: "When Jesus drew near to Jerusalem, He wept over it." The text was apt in its application to England, once among the most faithful of nations, now so fallen and changed as to be the subject of the Church's bitter tears. "Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets;" every part of the sacred text, combined with the circumstances of the day and his own presentiments to raise the eloquence of the preacher to its highest pitch. It was the swan's death-song. Elliot had with him the warrant for the Father's apprehension, and as he had been instructed, if possible, to take him *flagrante delicto* in his vestments, he more than once thought of exhibiting the warrant then and there, but prudently forbore to do so. In due time, after Mass, the assembled company sat down to dinner, after which Father Campian was to ride towards Norfolk. Elliot was pressed to stay, but refused, and excited some suspicion by his abrupt departure; not enough, however, to make Mrs. Yates do more than place a watchman on one of the turrets to give notice of the approach of any danger. Dinner was not over before the watchman had to announce that the place was beleaguered with armed men. The company broke up in confusion. The Father was the first to speak. No resistance was to be made. He was the man they sought; if he departed, perchance he might find means to escape, if not, at least his capture might satisfy the pursuivants, and deliver the rest of the house. But they forced him to stay, telling him that the walls of the house were pierced in every direction with galleries and hiding holes, and that he would have a much better chance by remaining where he was. There was no time to deliberate. The two chaplains, the Rev. Mr. Ford and Rev. Mr. Collington, hurried him away to a hiding-place, excavated in the wall above the gateway, where was a narrow bed on which they bestowed themselves, lying side by side, with their hands crossed over their breasts or lifted up in prayer, and there, after mutual confession and absolution, they lay all that afternoon, expecting every minute that the wall would be broken in by the searchers.

Meanwhile the armed *posse* had already surrounded the house, and set a guard at every outlet. A chosen number, led by Elliot—Judas Elliot as he was thenceforth called alike by Catholics and Protestants—demanded admission to the

house. They entered; he led them into every chamber, sought with them every corner, but no priest could he find. The searchers, all Berkshire men and quiet neighbours, who had no taste for this employment, showed no zeal; the afternoon had been spent, the walls had been sounded, the men were tired. They laughed at Elliot, and determined to give over their search. Before leaving, the magistrate went to Mrs. Yates, to ask her pardon for the vexation and trouble he had been obliged to cause her, he had only obeyed the Queen's warrant that had been brought to him by one who took upon him more than he was entitled to assume. Mrs. Yates was very glad to be rid of her importunate guests, and probably showed too much satisfaction at their departure.

When they were once outside the house they fell upon Elliot for having spoiled their Sunday's holiday and their credit with their neighbour Yates and the rest of the county. Elliot was roused, he accused them of remissness in the search and the marked favour they had shown to the notorious Papists, he would report them to the Council, they had not broken the walls nor searched the hiding places. Was Campian to be found under a bed or with the rest of the family? The justice of the peace replied that he had no warrant to break down or destroy. "But I have," said Elliot, as he drew out the warrant, and proceeded to read and interpolate it. One of the party, suspecting him, looked over his shoulder and detected the fraud, whereupon Elliot ordered him to be arrested as an abettor of the Jesuits. This decided act alarmed the rest, and made them more readily submit to an order for the renewal of the search. The priests had already crept out of their hiding-hole, and the house was in a fervour of congratulation and thanksgiving, when the magistrate returned with his men. Mrs. Yates remonstrated with him for treating her, a poor sick woman, in this vexatious manner, and burst into tears. The justice laid the blame on Elliot, he must obey the Queen's warrant, &c.; he would, however, try to moderate what he could not prevent, and allowed Mrs. Yates to retire to any room she chose, where she might sleep in peace, and where his men should not molest her. She had her bed made up in the part of the house where the priests were concealed, and there remained during a renewed search of the rooms and walls, which was continued till late at night, when she ordered

the men to be well entertained. Their long excitement and fatigue, and the good refreshment soon had their effect, and the sheriff's men composed themselves to sleep. When Mrs. Yates was assured of this (strange as such an act of imprudence must appear) she caused the priests to be once more called from their hiding places, and with great earnestness importuned Father Campian to preach one more sermon to her community. Her servants found it vain to resist. The Father had to preach then and there. "She knew," she said, "that she should never hear him again." Excited by his eloquence, the audience forgot the prudence beseeming the garrison of a besieged place, and as the congregation broke up, by the accidental fall of one of the priests the sentinels at the door were awakened, the alarm was given, Mrs. Yates' room searched, the walls sounded, every closet explored, but to no purpose. The assembly had passed out through the secret passages, leaving no trace.

Day dawned, and the sheriff's men and Elliot himself were in despair, and they again loaded him with reproaches. When the Judas first came, Mrs. Yates had directed a servant to attend him, ostensibly to serve him, but really to give the household every possible warning of his proceedings. Descending the stairs with this servant, upon whom he was venting his ill-humour, he suddenly clapped his hand on the wall over the stairs, and exclaimed: "We have not broken through here." The man, who knew that it was the fatal spot, turned deadly pale and stammered out that he should have thought walls enough had been broken up already. Elliot remarked his confusion, called for a smith's hammer, broke in the wall, and there in a little close cell, on a narrow bed were the priests lying, their faces and hands raised towards heaven. They had confessed their sins to one another, and had received for their penance to say once "*Fiat voluntas tua*," and thrice to invoke St. John Baptist. Father Campian had attributed his preservation at Dover on landing to that great Saint's protection.

Besides Father Campian and the two chaplains, there were taken Mr. Edward Yates[59] (the eldest son), Mr. John Cotton,

[59] Father John Yates, *alias* Vincent, who was one of the sons of Mr. Yates of Lyford, in a letter to Sir Francis Englefield, given in our account of Father John, says that he had heard nine years since from William Gifford, at Rheims, who knew him at Louvain, that Edward Yates, the writer's eldest brother, had married Gifford's sister, and had three or four children, and was living at Buckland, near Farrington.

Mr. William Hildesley, of Benham, Berks, Humphrey and James Keynes, Philip Lowe, John James, William Webley, and John Mansfield. The sheriff (Humphrey Forster, of Aldermanstone, Esq.) was absent at the time Elliot summoned the *posse comitatus* of Abington to assist him. Had he been there, the proceedings would have been of a more lenient kind. When he heard of it, he hastened to Lyford. He had admired Father Campian's eloquence in the schools of Oxford, and the report of his sanctity had given him a secret inclination towards his religion. On his arrival, he sent a messenger to the Privy Council for their instructions. In the mean time the Father was treated as an old friend, rather than as a prisoner. He had the place of honour in the house and at table, and his gentle manners conciliated his keepers quite as much as the orders and example of the sheriff. They waited at Lyford for three days for the answer of the Council. On the fourth, orders came to the sheriff to send his prisoners, under a strong guard, to London.

FATHER JOHN YATES, *alias* JOHN VINCENT, was, as there are good grounds for believing, a son of Mr. Yates of Lyford. He was born in the year 1550, and received into the Society at Louvain in 1574, by Father William Good.[60] He travelled

Mr. John Cotton of Warblington, Hants, was a great sufferer for his faith. His death is noticed in the *Litteræ Annuæ Prov. Ang. S.J.* for the Residence of St. Mary, or the Oxfordshire district, anno 1638. He is stated as having died that year, leaving behind him a blessed memory with all good people. He was a man of good family, but far more illustrious for his faith and virtues. He had been so involved in the various storms of persecution, that scarcely any portion of his life, even to extreme old age, had been exempt from troubles. He had barely attained his twentieth year when he was seized together with Father Edmund Campian, and was thrown into the Tower of London, where he lay a whole year in chains. He was probably one of the Oxford students who had accompanied Father Campian on his fatal return to Lyford. He afterwards spent many years in prison at Winchester and other places. Being again cast into the Tower of London in the time of King James, he remained there for five years, in the strictest confinement. He was then liberated. He was always sincerely attached to the Society of Jesus, and his house was for many years a constant hospice, opened not only for its members, but for his Catholic neighbours of every grade. It went by the name of the Common Refuge. Here he would excite his neighbours to acts of virtue and piety, especially to a frequentation of the sacraments. He is stated to have died a saintly death. His name appears in a return made by a spy, and endorsed by Earl Salisbury: "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England.—Mr. Lister [Father Thomas Lister] with Mr. Cotton of Warblington, in Hampshire" (*Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50).

[60] A biography of this eminent Father will be given in a subsequent volume of *Records*—"The College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales District."

thither in company with Father Robert Parsons, who thus mentions him in his autobiographical notes: "In 1574, I went to Louvain in the company of a godly man, Mr. Thomas Yates, afterwards of the Society, and now in Brazil." As twenty-four years had elapsed before these notes were written, Father Parsons has mistaken the Christian name of his travelling companion. Three letters from this Father, all signed John Vincent, the by-name he had assumed, addressed respectively to Father William Good, February 2, 1589, Father Richard Gibbons, and Sir Francis Englefield, both dated June 21, 1593, fell into the hands of the English Government, no doubt intercepted by English cruisers. In one of these he mentions his own brother Thomas. From these letters we gather that he was at Rome in 1575; and in October of that year went to Coimbra, where he completed his noviceship. Being ordered to the Brazilian mission, after spending half a year at Lisbon in the study of moral theology, he arrived, in December, 1577, at All Saints' Bay, in Brazil,[61] the chief city of the Province, with many Fathers and Brothers of the Society, amongst whom he was the only Englishman. The chief College of the Portuguese Province was there. He was afterwards sent to a native village to learn the language of the country. Here he spent three years, and in 1581 was ordained priest. From that time to the date of his letters he was exercising his Apostolical functions, "in perils of rivers and fierce people," and had a mission to the mountains and woods five hundred miles off. He returned thence after ten months' absence, with two hundred converted heathens, and would have brought one thousand but for the hindrance offered by the Portuguese, who were more desirous of dominion over the people than of their salvation. He expresses his want of an English grammar, to aid him in the formation of a Portuguese grammar which he had written. He gives an abstract of his missionary work from 1581 to 1592: baptisms nearly 700, which were "so few for lack of Gentiles to be converted;" confessions 27,400; Communions 16,700; marriages 580; burials 1,560; Extreme Unction 520.

In his letter to his friend, Sir Francis Englefield, he mentions his family, having received news of the deaths of

[61] Bahia, *Todos-os-Santos*, the scene of many of the labours and of the death, at a venerable age, of Father Antony Vieira, S.J., undoubtedly the most celebrated preacher in Portugal, and a great missioner among the aborigines of Brazil.

his father and mother, for whose souls he had obtained the suffrages of the College of All Saints. His father dying in prison, or upon sureties for the Catholic religion, he supposes his soul to have gone straight to heaven. We have already seen in the account of Lyford that Mr. Edward Yates was amongst those seized with Father Campian, and that Father John Yates speaks of him as his brother, in his letter. His aunt was prisoner in Oxford, and one of his sisters a Nun of Sion. In Father Morris' *Troubles*, Series I., "The Imprisonment of Francis Tregian," p. 139, mention is made of Mary, the eldest daughter of Mr. Tregian, "whom Mr. Thomas Yates of Berkshire hath taken to his wife without dowry, so enjoined him by his father's command; and of her, now being four years married, hath issue two children, the one male and the other female." This Thomas must have been the brother of Father John Yates. In his letter to Sir Francis Englefield he says that his youngest brother, Thomas Yates, after living some time beyond seas, had come to England. We have no record of the death of Father John Yates. The following are extracts from the three letters:

JESUS + MARY.

Most Reverend Father in Christ,—

P.C.

The manifold consolations which I received, and do continually receive, with the receipt and lecture of your large letter (dearly beloved Father), full of comfortable news and true signs of the great love that your Reverence doth bear unto me, I cannot with words and writing declare. *Deus totius consolationis* recompense your Reverence for me with His Divine comfort. I did not only rejoice in receiving of yours, but also by understanding that mine were delivered safely unto you, being certain that your Reverence would be very glad to hear the news that therein I gave you of this country, and chiefly of myself and my proceeding in this so high a vocation. Therefore in this second I will be the briefer, reporting the same into two points. In the first I will briefly answer unto the particularities of yours. Secondly, I will give you to understand some news of me and of my accustomed ministries in the Company these four years past since that I wrote, and sent the other, that could not be but somewhat tedious unto your Reverence, being so large as it was.

The letter which you say that you delivered unto Father Manore Rodriguez, Assistant, written in February, 1584, I received not. I suppose that the French pirates who took a ship and certain of our Fathers that were coming hitherward were the cause of it, wherein as I conjecture by your letter which our Father Procurator brought, you gave me news of one Brother Oswald Tesimond, then a novice in Nole, for in the roll of those that be of the Company after that you wrote his name you say in Latin *de* 9°. *in litteris* 1543, wherein I think that your Reverence did err

the year of our Lord, writing 1543 for 1583. If that which you did write of him be worthy of the writing, I pray you to write it again unto me.

As concerning Mr. Slade's going out of our Company, what can a man say more but *Judicia Dei abyssus multa*, and *multi vocati, pauci vero electi.* God grant him to live worthily in whatsoever vocation he is in.

As concerning the advice which your Reverence doth give me in taking heed how I do write unto our countrymen as touching the persuading of them to enter in religion and change of life, I do let your Reverence to understand that I did never like well of such persuasions, in particular our Lord's motions to such estates are to be followed to the end that those which do feel them in their souls may more freely choose the estate which is more convenient for their salvation, and I do not doubt but that *inimicus homo* doth sow *zizania* and seed of division. In what country soever our Company is, this is her common persecution.

By a letter that one William Gifford did send unto me from Rheims these two years past (of whom, as of a man known unto me, your Reverence likewise doth make mention in your letter where you do count the foolish madness of Sir John Throcmorton's son-in-law, whose wife you say is William Gifford's aunt, who I know not, or at the least I do not remember him) I do understand not only the death of my father, but also of my mother for whose souls the alms, that our Fathers and Brothers of this College in the Bay of All Saints did, I send inclosed for your Reverence, to show it unto whom you may think good of my brethren and acquaintance. He likewise gave me news of my eldest brother married I conjecture with his sister, and of my youngest brother that lived a little while in Rheims, and afterwards returned back into England, and doth live but a lewd life. Our Saviour of His great mercy have mercy upon them in the midst of the perils of their souls' health. The verity of God cannot but be true, saying *duo in lecto; unus accipitur, alter relinquetur.* If with that letter I do not write unto him, I pray your Reverence briefly to write unto him, giving him many thanks for his letter that he sent unto me, when I little did think I was had in memory of any of our countrymen.

Two years ago likewise I received another letter from Madrid of Sir Francis Englefield, wherein he briefly gave me the news that then he had, referring all other news unto your Reverence. I mind to write unto his worship acknowledging his loving remembrances that he hath of me.

I wonder much that Mr. Babington, who was, or is a fellow of Christ Church, Oxford, is not known of our countrymen, chiefly of some of them that were students at that University. I have not yet asked of this Babington that is in this country if that he be seen [? son] of him that was the keeper of the Fleet. I suppose that he be gone from the city of the Bay of All Saints unto another that is one hundred leagues by sea called Pernabuki; neither when he was here I was conversant with him, neither with other our countrymen that were here, neither was I their confessor, because they were very dangerous to deal withal in matters of the Catholic faith, so that I am glad that they be gone all from here. Of the not so lamentable as glorious death of the most Catholic Queen of Scots we have present news. Of her son good news is of every Christian man to be desired. If your Reverence have any of him, I doubt not but I shall be made partaker. . . .

News of Father Thomas Felie are these. Since that I wrote unto your Reverence in my other letter of him in the year of our Lord 1586 he was sent from St. Vincent's with other three of our Company into another country far from thence which they call Tucuniâ, near unto Peru, at the petition of the bishop of that place unto our Father Provincial of this Brazil land. And in the way by sea, near unto the great river of Plate, they were taken by an English pirate, by name Robert Waddington, and very evilly handled by him, and robbed of all those things that they carried with them. The which pirate afterward, in the year 1587, came roaming along this coast from thence until he came to this city, the which he put in great fear and danger, and had taken it if these new Christians (of whom we have charge) had not resisted him; so that of one hundred and fifty men that he brought with him he left near unto three score slain. Of this matter in other letters I doubt not but that your Reverence shall hear. To turn now to the news of Father Thomas Felie. I do give you this knowledge of him, that he was very unapt to learn this Brazil's speech; but he did always edify with his virtuous life and obedience all those with whom he was conversant. Unto whom I have sent the letter which your Reverence did send him, and with the same I sent unto him his portion of the blessed grains and images that came into my hands, as also the roll of his countrymen that be of our Company. While he was in this Brazil land he took not the holy order of Priesthood, as I do hear, he took the same in the place where he is now resident, which is as far from hence as Portugal from hence.

When I do remember the estate wherein I did see Flanders and the other Low Countries, and do hear the lamentable news of the destruction of their churches and Catholic faith, I cannot but lament the same. Almighty God, as He hath begun to reduce the same unto the old estate, vouchsafe to make the end better than the beginning, and to perfect it unto His honour and glory.

Of our countrymen which be of our Company, as it appeareth by the roll which your Reverence did send me of their names, and of the students in the English College, very much desired of me, I know not more than Father Thomas Marshall, Father Robert Parsons, and Father Thomas Metham, and Brother Thomas Hunt, who as I suppose was my condisciple in the Middle Temple, and concaptive for the Catholic religion in London, and now companion in the religious company of the glorious name of our Sovereign Jesus, whereof I do wonderfully request and desire of Christ our Lord his perseverance therein. If I do not mistake him, I pray you, good Father, in my name to salute him most heartily, and to make him partaker of the news which I do now send unto your Reverence of me, and to desire him to write unto me a brief letter of his vocation *ut gaudium meum sit plenum;* for of me your Reverence may give him large information.

Of the students I know none. Of the Vavasours I knew and was very familiar with three of that name, that is to say Edward, George, and Ralph; perhaps those two be their brothers or kin. Of Mr. William Stafferton I have no notice, although that we be both of one place in England, neither I think that he hath any knowledge of me, but howsoever it be, I do give many thanks unto Almighty God for their estates, one and other, and do send them my hearty recommendations, and will not forget them in my devout prayers as long as I shall live in this vale of misery.

Of those things which your Reverence doth write that you do send me with your letter, I received no *Agnus Dei*, neither the twelve leaves *de vita*, containing every leaf $\frac{1}{x}$ mysteries. All the rest our Father Rector did give me with your letter—that is to say, the blessed beads, the description of the English persecution, eight leaves of the images of saints, the martyrdom of Father Rudolfo Acquaviva, the history of the twelve English martyrs in the English tongue, and *Trophæa Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, with the book *de* 10 *rationibus Patris Campiani*, which are gifts not to be cast away, but to be much esteemed, both for themselves, and chiefly for the great love with which your Reverence did send them unto me. This country is so bereaved of good things (what may your Reverence look for from a country of poor naked people !) that I am not able to send you more than this answer unto your letter, and many thousands of thanks for the loving remembrances which your Reverence hath of me in the head and place of all goodness. I had these years past a pair of sweet beads of balsam determining to send them unto your Reverence, but by order of our Father General, from thence we were forbid to send such beads out of this country to whatsoever man and person ; for which cause receive, your Reverence, my good will, and the great love that I do bear unto you in our Lord instead of gifts and presents, and of such that come unto your hand do you not let to send me always my portion, for the which our Lord will reward your Reverence plentifully for me, and I will not leave to have you always in remembrance in my cold devotion. Hitherto I have made answer unto the particularities of your Reverence's letter. Now, to make an end I will give your Reverence some news of me, *ob mutuam consolationem.*

Since that I wrote the letter which our Father Procurator did give unto your Reverence from me, I was for the most part resident in this village of the Christian Brazils (which beareth the name of St. Antony), exercising the common functions of our Company with them for their salvation, as I have already largely in my other declared unto your Reverence, wherein the knowledge and speaking their language (which I have much more perfected than when I did write the other) is to me a great aid, whereby I do not hide the talent that Christ our Lord hath given me, but do procure daily to multiply the same, that I may be found in the rendering of my account *servus bonus et fidelis*, although that (when I have done that that I ought to have done) *inutilis.*

In the space of these four years I was sent from this village into two missions, the first in the year of our Lord 1583, for the space of six months unto the Eugines, and farms and fabrications [workshops] of the Portuguese that be in the circuit of this city, the Bay of All Saints, for to help their slaves and freemen with the remedies of their salvation ; catechizing the infidels before their baptism, and baptizing them ; confessing and marrying the Christians, whereby did redound much glory to God and profit of their souls, who have no other remedy for to save themselves than that which Almighty God doth give unto them by our means, by the which they be brought to the knowledge of their Creator from their foolish and blind superstitions, and to live according to His holy commandments. Not only the Brazils were by us helped with these ministries, but also their lords, masters, and families, as it is the custom of our Company. For this mission (by occasion of a certain erroneous sect which certain ignorant Brazils did preach

and teach their countrymen far from the true doctrine of the Church, making one to be their Pope, and others to be his Assistants, confessors and preachers of divers devilish doctrines, whereby the new Christians of this village, in the absence of our Father who succeeded me did fall into their errors by ignorance, I was sent hither again, where in a short time they were reduced unto their former belief and Christian life; and since their fall they stand more firmly than ever they did in the doctrine and life of Christians. Our Lord be praised for it!

The second mission was in the year of our Lord 1584, from hence near to five hundred English miles all by land, more than three hundred from the sea, into a country of those Brazils of the same language, called Rari. In the which mission, first going thitherward (not passing by villages, neither by the countries of Christians, but by lands of divers sorts of infidels of different speeches and customs, many of them living in the fields and woods, like unto wild beasts) we passed many dangers of death, hunger, and thirst for lack of victuals and water, making peace with the ignorant and beastly people for to pass more safely (nevertheless they killed four of our disciples, Christians); and lying every night in the fields and woods, passing also *pericula fluminorum*, upon rotten trees, and not in boats. And when we came to the end of our voyage, there did not want matter of patience, by reason that at our entrance into their country we found many white men, Portuguese, who a little before us came from their country (which is a village called Pernambuke) to buy slaves and freemen of the Gentiles of the said Rari for hatchets and garments, who (after that we had applied to some thousands of the said infidels to leave their countries and customs and to come with us to dwell along the sea-coast in villages to be made Christian) did not fail to speak evil of us, of the life of the new Christians, and to move them with fair lying words to like well of their Gentile life, which is eating one another, by reason of their wars, wine, and wives, as in my other I declared already unto your Reverence. Whereby you may see how the white men be Christians *nomine tenus* only, and worse in a certain sort (by means of their covetousness and gains in buying and selling freemen) than the selfsame infidels be, so that my companion was forced to go with the Portuguese to the said Pernambuke to procure licence of their captain for to let the Gentiles to go with us to the habitations of the white men of this [MS. damaged]. And I likewise was constrained for the safety of the lives of our disciples, which the Gentiles did threaten to kill, to turn home with a flea in my ear, bringing with me no more than two hundred infidels, of more than a thousand that had come with me if the said Portuguese had not hindered them in the way. These are the practices of the enemy of mankind, and of his ministers, blinded with the desires of the goods of this deceitful world to shut so open a gate for infidels to come to the knowledge of God and His holy law, where are more than threescore thousand of souls that live and die worse than brute beasts. Almighty God give them the remedy that is convenient for their salvation! And I do not think that I took this mission in vain, since that by holy obedience I did gladly embrace it. Although that our Lord permitted this to ensue, so nevertheless we do hope for a great conversion of Gentiles; God grant me the true zeal to spread His holy name and law *Genti absq. consilio.*

The notes of the baptisms by me since that I wrote the other are more or less 300; confessions, 6,500; partakers of the most holy Sacrament of the Altar, 2,600; marriages, 90. My bodily health very perfect (God be praised for it), that of my soul through my fault imperfect, for the which I have need of your Reverence's remembrance of me in your Masses and prayers. These are the news of which presently I have to make your Reverence partaker. I rest to desire you to make me partaker of such which you there have, and to recommend me to our Lord as I do you.

Your Reverence's unworthy servant in Christ,

JOHN VINCENT.

From this St. Antony's Church, the 2nd of January, 1589.

Rev. in Christo Patri P. Gulielmo Good, S.J. in Coll. Anglicano, Romæ.

JESUS + MARY.

Right Reverend Father in Christ,—

P.C.

Two letters sent from your Reverence to me came safely to my hands, the first dated the 11th of February, 1591, and received of me in June following; the second, dated the 25th of August, 1592, delivered to me in the month of April, 1593, with one of Sir Francis Englefield. Unto the first I sent my answer, with other three letters, in January, 1592, the one for Father William Good, another for one Mr. William Gifford, at Rheims, the third for Sir Francis Englefield, and the fourth for Father John Howling,[62] all the which letters, as also mine for your Reverence, except mine for Father John Howling, I have no intelligence what is become of them. I do not much marvel seeing the seas so full of pirates. And before the receipt of your Reverence's second to me, I wrote and sent my answer to Father John Howling, for whom my letters hath better hap than for Sir Francis Englefield and your Reverence. But howsoever it be, such comfort I received with the receipt of yours and of her companion, that by words I am not able to explicate. *Deus totius consolationis consolare* your Reverence in reward of the consolation that with yours you gave me. Perhaps your Reverence hath now received my former letter, and therefore supposing the receipt thereof, it shall not be need for me to repeat word by word the contents therein, neither should I be able to do it if I would, for that many things which did then occur me I do not now remember; nevertheless, the abridgment thereof I will briefly set down, for the doubt that I have whether your Reverence hath received the same. . . . [We omit much of this abridgment, the substance of it having been already given in the previous letter.]

In this fifteen years and a half that I have been in this equinoctial region I, God be always praised, have had good health, except in two several years two dangerous agues. I live now with one companion in a little village of them, not occupying me in converting Gentiles (for they are now very rare in the circuit of this city, by reason that the Portuguese, with wars and captivity, hath utterly consumed them), but in confirming the new Christians in the faith that they have received, so that I do but exercise a

[62] Father John Howlett died at Wilna in 1589. *Oliver.* Father Howlett does not seem to have been in Lisbon. Dr. Oliver does not mention Father John Howling.

curate's part, being nevertheless contented in this my vocation, and judging myself unfit for to live in any other part of the world besides this, unless my Superior by his proper motion should call me from hence. The various news which your Reverence gave in your letters did greatly glad me, not differing from it which Father John Howling more fresh, almost four months, did also write to me. The manifold necessities of the Church are always written to us, and here doth not want a few. Whereof I do make a daily recordation in my devoutless suffrages, maxim of my native soil, using every day in the week a particular devotion for the reduction of the same to the Catholic Church (according as your Reverence desired of me in your letter). The news which your Reverence doth give me of yourself, and of Father Parsons (to whom I do now write), doth make me very joyful, seeing the heroical zeal that you have of the remedy of our nation, from whence do sometimes certain heretical pirates come into these parts of the world, to exercise their piracy and irreverence to the churches and images; but hitherto he that sayeth, *Mihi vindicta et ego retribuam*, hath chastened them according to their facts with the loss of the most part of their ships and men.

From this village of St. Antony, almost forty miles from the city of the Bay of All Saints, in Brazil, the 21st of June, 1593.

Your Reverence's unworthy brother in Christ,

JOHN VINCENT.

Although that in my former letters I have described the same, nevertheless if they came not to your Reverence's sight, I will leave to set down briefly the sum of my priestly works since my taking priesthood, this is from the year 1581 until 92, thinking that your Reverence will not a little rejoice in our Lord over it, helping me to give hearty thanks to His Majesty for this His singular gifts. . . . [He repeats the account which has already been given.]

A muyto Rdo Pe ẽ Xo o Padre Ricardo Gibbonio, da Compa de Jhs no Collegio de Madrid en Espanha do Brazil.

Jesus + Mary.

Right Worshipful Knight,—

P.C.

My humble commendations to your Worship premised, I do let you to understand that your Worship's letter dated the 28th of July, 1592, came happily to my hands in the middle of the month of April of this present year, 1593, received of me with such joy and gladness as by words I am not able to declare, being so copious of consolations, notwithstanding the relation of the miserable state of Europe, and specially of England, therein contained; whereunto in this my third, which I have already written unto your Worship, I do briefly answer, and straightways in the beginning thereof I do most humbly thank and gratify your Worship's sincere affection towards me, and the like remembrance of me, not deserving neither the one nor the other by any merit of mine, although that I have not been forgetful of your Worship since my departure from you in my indevout prayers, as bound thereunto for divers causes pertaining to me and my parents in time past, for the which the faithful Payer of every good work for His sake, our Lord, shall give unto your Worship the plentiful payment. As I said before, this is the third letter that I have written unto your

Worship since my arrival on to this barbarous Brazil, the first in answer to one of your Worship's, dated at Madrid, the 16th of April, 1584, the which came to my hands some years after the date thereof, the which my answer (containing therein my humble commendations and thanks for your Worship's memory of me, and for the various news sent to me, and a brief rehearsal of my affairs in this rustical region) I sent to your Worship by one Father Christopher Gonnea, Visitor of this province, in the year 1589, who, although that he was robbed by the pirates, yet, as I was informed, he did safely come to land with all his letters. This Father is presently Rector of the College of Evora in Portugal, but the cause why my letters for your Worship were not delivered I know not. The second I sent in the year 1591, with other four, for Father Good, Father Gibbons in Coimbra, in answer to one of his, to Father John Howling, and to Mr. William Gifford at Rheims, answering to each one of theirs to me. Of the receipt of two of them only I have notice, that is to say, of mine to Father Gibbons, who answered it and came to me with your Worship's, and of one other to Father John Howling in Lisbon, who likewise made answer thereunto two or three months before that I received your Worship's. As of those which I sent to your Worship, to Father Good, and to Mr. Gifford I have had no answer hitherto, such is the world by sea and by land; and before the receipt of the second which your Worship wrote to me, I had answered to that which Father Howling sent me (God grant it cometh to his sight), who perhaps before that this my third shall be delivered to your Worship, will give you news of me and my affairs, as he hath done already of another that I wrote to him, as he hath signified to me in the last of his that I received, for the which cause I shall be in this more brief, giving your Worship to understand that going in forty and three years of age, with a white head, I never had better health of body than now at this present (God be always praised) I do enjoy, exercising amongst these silly souls in their language (which I understand and speak almost as well as my native speech, as also the Portuguese tongue) the ordinary ministries of our Society. Your Worship was the first that gave me intelligence of the death of William Good, from whom I received two or three letters, the last dated the 30th day of November, 1584, full of spiritual comforts and various news of the parts of Europe, with divers images of the English martyrs, and a book of the new martyrs in England, in the English tongue, so that by his death, precious as I hope in God's sight, I am deprived of many consolations which he was wont to give to me; and to tell all in few words, who did regenerate me in Christ for the entrance into this our religion, for the which I doubt not but that he hath received long since a rich reward at God's hand, so that I cannot tell to whose hands the last letters for him were delivered. . . . Father William Good gave me intelligence that at the leastwise one of my aunts was a prisoner in Oxford, and that, as he had heard, I had a sister of mine a nun of Sion. I left in England two, married with Catholic gentlemen, Mr. Plate and Mr. Arden, and three unmarried; perhaps one of them be her that Father Good doth make mention of. Your Worship may easily know the truth from Rouen, from whence they do sometimes write to your Worship; for I have a printed letter in the Spanish tongue, written to your Worship by one of the Sisters of that holy convent, touching her imprisonment in England and her deliverance from thence, set out by Father

Robert Parsons. The blinded Queen of England, and lamentable estate thereof, is to be commended from the bottom of our hearts to the merciful and mighty goodness of Him *Qui percutit et sanat, mortificat et vivificat, deducit ad inferos et reducit*, in our continual prayers, *ut avertat flagella iracundiæ Suæ*, to the end that they may enjoy the true prosperity and peace of body and soul obtained by the One only Catholic and Roman faith, and not by so monstrous heretical division as the devilish ministers hath between themselves, void of the peace temporal, cordial, and eternal. The like remedy is to be used for Scotland and other heretical regions, and happy be they that suffer for the Catholic faith and justice, but most happy those that have died in that cause and not for treason, forged and imagined by stark traitors and seekers of their profit, honour, and delights in this life only, and not the perfect dignity of their Prince and country. Of the convent of the Carthusians I have no news of any person since my coming out of Flanders. Perhaps your Worship forgot it in your letter. And to that which your Worship doth write of the Earl of Cumberland, I do answer that so full of rovers are the seas that they do issue into these countries, and as far from hence towards the South Pole as England is from hence towards the North. The first of them was the famous Drake, as I think your Worship has already heard; another in the year 1587, called Robert Widdrington, with three ships, who, as in the first which I wrote unto your Worship, after that he had done the harm that he could in this city without going out of his ship, was after only two months' space forced with the loss of many of his soldiers to seek a better fortune. The third was one Thomas Candish, who departing out of England the 26th of August, 1591, with five ships of his own, for to sail into the South Seas (where five years past he came with two ships and took a great ship laden with gold, silks, and much riches, with three boys of Japan, and so with the loss of one of his ships, returned rich into England). Upon the words of the boys of Japan to lade his ships at his pleasure, and to turn after three years finished into England, he came into the coast of this region, a hundred and fifty leagues from hence towards the Southern Seas, and arrived at a village called St. Vincent; and taking the same with much artillery, misusing and violating the churches and relics of saints in the Christmas week last past, and after a month and a half space there victualling his ships, he departed thence towards the Strait called Magellan with six sails; but before he came thither he lost with stormy weather two of his ships with men and munitions, and not able to sail for the Straits by reason of contrary winds, he turned back towards the foresaid village; and being in the height where he lost the former two sails, with a storm of seven days he lost two other great ships with men and all, and after arrived at the said village with two sails, where for lack of victuals and his men dying with hunger he sent a boat on shore with twenty-six soldiers, the best that were left, who (except two or three, one of whom is a Japan boy) were all slain by certain Portuguese and their slaves. Thus, seeing himself without ships and men, he came sailing with his two ships hitherward, and willing to enter another village, called Spiritu Sancto, for to furnish him of those things that he did lack, he lost other forty men, and were then taken alive eight persons. Seeing now that the water and earth did fight against him, he burnt one of his sails for lack of mariners and masters and went his ways, whither no man knoweth, with one only, well whipped with the

scourge of God for the irreverence he committed against His Divine Majesty and His saints, especially against a holy head of one of the eleven thousand virgins of England. Two of the said eight that were taken be here prisoners, one of them an Irishman the other an English, of Cornwall, called Robert Arundell, kin, as he hath written to me (for I have not yet seen him), to Sir John Arundell, of whom if your Worship hath any news I would be glad to know, for this prisoner writeth that he died in London, Catholic, and yet his body was carried into Cornwall with great pomp to be there buried, which I cannot believe, that a Catholic man shall be suffered to be buried after that sort. This youth seemeth to have little knowledge of the Catholic religion. I have written to him what he must do concerning religion; God give him the light of grace for to believe and work according to the laws of God and of His holy Church. A scroll of the names of the captains and masters, all dead except the general and one other or two, I send to your Worship; for perhaps some of our countrymen in those parts did know some of them. This is touching me and my affairs, and the news of the English pirates, and the answer to your Worship's letter; the Father of our Society, called Abedenella, of whom your Worship doth make mention, came not into this province. I suppose that he went into New Spain and Peru, whither the Spaniards do use to go, and the Portuguese to come into this land, far distant from the other. Having this nineteen years been absent from the nearmost priests and gentlemen which I did know in Flanders, I have clean forgot their names, except a very few, as the Earl of Westmoreland, Mr. Bailie, Webb, Bradshawe, Vatchell, Sladd a little time of our Company, Fen, Henshawe. If of these or of others that your Worship do think that I did know, you have any particular news for me, I beseech your Worship to make me partaker thereof. In my second letter, if I do well remember, I requested of your Worship certain books newly set forth by our English men in the Latin or Spanish or the English tongue, and also the Revelations of St. Bridget, wherewith I should be much comforted in this banishment, wherein I live as yet contented with my vocation, and will not change it for any other region, for that I see that I am unapt for any other besides this. . . .

The following accounts of two other members of the Yates family who entered the English College, Rome, are extracted from the interrogations and replies of the students, preserved in the archives of the same College.

1602. JOHN PLATTS therein states: "I was born at Buckland, Berks, in the house of my maternal grandfather, John Yates, who is of the family of Lyford, where Father Campian was seized, and he was the eldest son of his father, by the first marriage. I was bred up at Buckland until ten years of age, near which time I was placed in the common school of Magdalen College, Oxford, and there lived for more than half of that year with Dr. Case. The rest of my life I spent at home with my father, for the most part engaged in field

sports and other such occupations; also with other gentlemen, the chief of whom were Mr. Bridges of Shefford, and Lord Windsor, with whom I lived for an entire year. My father is a gentlemen inheriting possessions of £500 a year from his father, but which have been somewhat reduced on account of his sons and wife being Catholics. He was always a schismatic, but content to allow his wife, my mother, to keep a priest constantly in the house. He had nine children, three sons and six daughters, of whom six are Catholic; the names of the principal houses where he usually lived are Petwick, Chalow, and Sparsholt, and not far off were the Fettiplaces, Yates, Hydes, and other leading families of those parts. I have connections and relations, many of whom are Catholics, and the rest well affected towards religion.

"I was converted to the Catholic faith when twelve years of age, by the Rev. George Snape, the chaplain at Mr. Bridges, where he was afterwards arrested. I fled from England to escape the hands of the heretics, by whom a little before I had been seized, because, with other gentlemen, I had been present at Catholic sermons. I first went into Lorraine to gain a little experience and learn the language, and here I first gained my vocation to the ecclesiastical state. I then made a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loretto, where I made my general confession to Father Talbot, after which time my only desire was to come hither."

We do not find him entered in the Diary of the English College. He was probably a nephew of Father John Yates (Vincent) and son of the Mr. Platts named in the Father's letter above.

John Yates, *alias* John Hopton, born at Weston, county of Gloucester, and living at Buckland, Berks, twenty-one years of age and not as yet confirmed, was admitted as an alumnus by Father Robert Parsons, Rector, on the 10th of March, 1603. He left again for England on the 20th of August, 1603, upon some affairs of business intending to return and prosecute his studies either in this College or at Douay.

We gather from the following autobiographical account that he returned to the English College in 1604: "I am son of Edward Yates de Bokeland [Buckland], Berks, Esq., a Catholic, now deceased, and brother of Edward Yates, Esq., a Catholic, now living; I was born in the house of Sir George Gifford, Knight, at Weston, in Gloucestershire. Was partly

educated at home in the country, and partly with my uncle, Alexander Brett, Esq., a Catholic, in Somersetshire, partly at Magdalen College, Oxford, partly with my uncle, the said Sir George Gifford, in London, and the remainder in Holland and Hungary, which, on account of religion, I lately left for Loretto, from whence I have made my way to the English College, Rome."

Sutton Place, near Guildford, Surrey, the second of the country residences mentioned above, was long a chaplaincy or mission of the Fathers of this district. In the last century we trace Father Charles de la Poole there from about 1725, until his death on the 27th of July, 1740, at the age of seventy-one. This ancient seat of the Weston family is now the property of F. H. Salvin, Esq., whose mother was a Webb Weston.

The head of the family of Salvin is of Croxdale in the county of Durham, the ancient seat; the second house is of Burn Hall in the same county; and the third Sutton Place, near Guildford, a curious and fine old house, built of brick and terra cotta about the year 1530 by the ancestor of Mr. Salvin, Sir Richard Weston, Knight.

The Westons kept the faith, as many interesting evidences show. For instance, some years ago a most beautiful embossed leather casket, iron bound, containing relics of several of the martyred priests, was found in a cupboard behind the wainscot panelling of the chapel, in the east wing of the mansion, and a curious printed volume, entitled *A sure haven against shipwreck*, was concealed between the floor and ceiling. Hiding holes have frequently come to light, which were probably made by "Little John," that useful cunning joiner of those times.[63] Indeed they were greatly needed, as Sutton Place was often searched most savagely, and must have given much trouble, for it was surrounded by woods and covered such an extent of ground that the exits from it must have been as numerous

[63] This was Brother Nicholas Owen, *alias* Little John, S.J., who died a martyr for the faith, suspended upon a Topcliff rack in the Tower of London, where he was divers times hung up for several hours together, to compel him to betray the hiding-places he had made, up and down the land; but not a word could they force from his sealed and faithful lips. At last "they tormented him so long, and so often, that his bowels gushed out together with his life." This noble martyr was seized at Henlip Castle, near Worcester, with Fathers Garnett and Oldcorne, both martyrs. Full lives of the three martyrs will be given in the "History of the Residence of St. George," in a future series of *Records*.

as bolt-holes in a rabbit warren. At all events we know that on the 5th of November, 1578, it was searched by order of the Privy Council for "Popish priests;" and again it was searched in Sir Henry Weston's time on the 14th of June, 1591, for one Morgan, "a massing priest" (perhaps not called by his right name), supposed to be "lurking there in secret sort." [64]

A member of this family, as we shall see below, entered the Society in 1625, and died the death of the saints within two years after. Dodd, in his *Church History*[65] (quoting Father Bridgewater's *Concertatio*), mentions another member of the family, Mr. Salvin, Prebendary of Durham, who, opposing the Reformation in the first of Queen Elizabeth, was deprived. Mr. Peacock, in his *Yorkshire Catholics*, mentions three members of the family as having been presented with others to the bishop's court, viz., in page 97, under the head of "Egton," "Dorothie, wife of Ralph Salvin the elder, Esquier," with a long list of others, "Recusants for viij yeares last past." In page 108, "Lythe." "Recusantes reteyned. [Among others] Francis Salvin."

Father Ralph Salvin, *alias* Smith, of the diocese of Durham, was born in the year 1600, and at the age of twenty entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus for his higher studies, on the 3rd of October, 1620, and took the usual College oath of the students on the 2nd of May following. He was ordained priest on the 21st of December, 1624, and entered the Society at St. Andrew's, Rome, on the 25th of March, 1625; and on the 21st of April following, after having (says the Diary of the English College) lived there with great delight since the feast of the Annunciation, he was sent, on account of his weak health, to the novitiate at Watten, there to complete his noviceship. Within a month after having reached it he died of consumption on the 11th of April, 1627.

We subjoin the following autobiographical account given by Ralph Salvin on entering the English College, Rome, 1620.

"I willingly consent to answer the questions as to my own and my parents' names, and lastly the place of my birth, and although I cannot of myself say where I was born, yet I have

[64] Communicated by F. H. Salvin, Esq.
[65] Vol. ii. p. 108.

heard it from my mother, whose name is Anne;[66] for my father, whose name was Gerard Salvin, died two years before King James came into England (160$\frac{2}{3}$), having become a Catholic the same year of his death.

"My name is Ralph Salvin, and I do not think that I have yet attained twenty-one. I was not born at my father's house called Croxdale, two miles or thereabouts from Durham, but in a less noted place called Chillox, because (as I have been informed) the plague was raging near my father's house; after the pestilence had subsided, I was carried home, and there brought up both in the Catholic faith and in such learning as is usual to boys of my class.

"I made my humanity course of studies at Durham, in the greatest peace and liberty of conscience for three years, until being frequently insulted by the son of a certain Justice of the Peace called Wren, with a son of the Lord of Durham, or, if I may be allowed so to speak, the Bishop of Durham, who presides in that office, with the opprobious name of Papist, a violent quarrel arose between us, in which I knocked one of them down, and on that account I was expelled.

"It is my desire to remain in the College to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life, and to observe all the rules. I went to St. Omer's College by the advice of Father Tolley, where I have spent the greater part of five years (the two first years excepted), not only with great delight and tranquillity of soul, but also in the enjoyment of excellent health and spirits, and it is my firm determination and wish, after embracing the ecclesiastical state, to return to the help of my country.

"Of my father and mother I have already spoken. I have two brothers, of whom one, who is my senior and enjoys the paternal inheritance, nearly five years ago married the daughter of Mr. Robert Hodgson, a gentleman of family, he professes, defends, and cherishes the Catholic faith; the other, who is my junior, has ever been a Catholic from his infancy. I have three sisters, the one married, the others unmarried, all of whom, except the married one, together with my younger brother, were Catholically and politely brought up in the

[66] Gerard Salvin of Croxdale, Esq., married Anne, daughter of Humphrey Blakiston, Esq., of Great Chilton. His will bears date August 28, 1602. He was buried September 19, 1602. The will of his son Ralph, S.J., the subject of this notice, is dated at Paris, August 8, 1625. He is supposed to have left money to the Durham mission. Gerard Salvin, eldest son and heir of the aforesaid Gerard and Anne Salvin, married Mary, daughter of Robert Hodgson, Esq., of Hepburn, co. Durham. [Communicated by F. H. Salvin, Esq.]

house of my mother called Butterwick. The majority of my friends, uncles, and paternal aunts are Catholics."

The summary of the deceased members of the English Province S.J. thus eulogizes Father Salvin.

"Father Ralph Smith, a Northumbrian, died April 11, 1627, aged twenty-eight, in the third year after his admission to the Society, having taken the vows of a scholastic a month previously. He had been living a little before in the English College at Rome, where he had taken the part of those among its pupils who at that time were seriously attacking the Society. But after he had discovered how false (to use his own words) and unfair were the charges made upon the innocent Jesuits, he was so full of sorrow and distress that he thought he could not otherwise free himself for his regrets than by entering the Society, and he accordingly with great earnestness and constancy begged and obtained of the Pope leave to do so. He had scarcely been six months in the novitiate when he began to be attacked by the disease of which he died. While suffering from it he gave to all a most signal example of patience and resignation, so that many asserted that they had never witnessed anything of the kind more remarkable. To those who visited him and inquired after his health he used to answer that he was well enough. In his medicines, in his food, in everything, he never showed the least dislike or repugnance. He used to proclaim with much earnestness the universal charity which he experienced from all. Of death and the life beyond the grave he spoke with wonderful resignation, and used to say that he was ready to die whenever it pleased the Divine Majesty, and that he desired nothing else than that the will of God should be done. His body was so emaciated by a long consumption that the skin was worn through by his bones which stood out bare, and he was covered with sores. Of this he never said a word till one of the Brothers perceived it by chance. When he expressed his surprise, Father Smith answered: 'You see, dear Brother, the dross of my sins had to be burnt out of me somehow.' He considered that his disease was the result of grief on account of his attack on the Society. He esteemed his vocation very highly, often saying that he did not care to have his life prolonged beyond the time when he could take his vows: a wish which by the goodness of God was granted to him. At length, having set a bright example of patience, humility, constancy, and contempt of the world, he passed to a happier life; ripe, as we hope, for heaven."

FATHER ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J.,

MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.

Suffered at Tyburn, Feb. 21, 1595.

(Sketched by Charles Weld, Esq., from "vera effigies" formerly in the College of the Society of Jesus in Fribourg.)

THE SOUTHWELL PEDIGREE.

JOHN SOUTHWELL, of Felix Hall, Essex, M.P. for Lewes, 28 and 29 Henry VI., 1450—1. = A. B.

- ROBERT, of Felix Hall = CECILIA, daughter of THOMAS SHERRINGTON, Esq. (according to *Blomefield's Pedigree*). ISABELLA, daughter of JOHN BOYS, Esq., of Norfolk (according to *Grosart's Pedigree*).
  - RICHARD = (1st wife) AMY, daughter and heiress of Sir EDMUND WYCHINGHAM, of Wood-rising, Norfolk, by whom he obtained that manor, and quitting Felix Hall, fixed his seat there—a noble mansion and fine park, in the family for many generations.
    - Sir ROBERT (died S.P. 1513).
    - FRANCIS (Auditor of the Exchequer to Henry VIII.) = DOROTHY, daughter and co-heiress of WILLIAM TENDRING, Esq.
      - Sir RICHARD (Privy Councillor to Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary; Master of the Ordnance and Armory; Visitor for suppression of Religious Houses, Norfolk; one of the Executors of Henry VIII., and High Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster). = (1st wife) THOMASINE, daughter of Sir ROBERT DARCY, of Danbury, Essex. = (2nd wife) MARY, daughter of THOMAS DARCY, of Danbury, Esq.
        - RICHARD, of Horsham, St. Faith's, Norfolk, living there 1585—6. Died prisoner in the Fleet. = (1st wife) BRIDGET, daughter of Sir ROGER COPLEY, of Roughway, Sussex. (2nd wife) MARGARET, daughter of JOHN STYLES, Parson of Ellingham.
          - RICHARD, of Spixworth, Norfolk. = ALICE, daughter of Sir THOMAS CORNWALLIS of Brome, Suffolk, whence descended the SOUTHWELLS of Kinsale, in Ireland, Barons DE CLIFFORD.
          - THOMAS
          - ROBERT, S.J., Martyr. Born 1560—1; entered the Society of Jesus October 17, 1578; ordained Priest 1584; left Rome for England May 8, 1586, with Father Henry Garnett, Martyr; suffered at Tyburn for the faith of Christ February 21, 1595; æt. 35.
          - MARY = EDWARD BANNISTER, Esq., of Idsworth.
          - Four other daughters.
      - Sir ROBERT, Master of the Rolls.
      - FRANCIS.
      - ANTHONY.
  - JOHN (ancestor of the SOUTHWELLS, now represented by Viscount SOUTHWELL, Ireland).

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As Lyford is memorable in the history of the English Province, on account of the capture of Father Edmund Campian in 1581; so is Uxenden Hall, the residence of the Bellamy family,[67] for that of Father Robert Southwell, on Sunday, the 5th of July, in 1592. The life of this Father being of especial interest and importance, we give it at considerable length, as introductory to the several lives which follow.

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF FATHER ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

No complete or consecutive Life of Father Southwell having as yet been written, the object of the following pages is to collect the scattered materials and arrange them in chronological order. For this purpose recourse has been had, among others, to the following sources: Father More's *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.;* Father Bartoli's *Inghilterra;* Tanner's *Vita et Mors Jesuitarum pro fide interfectorum;* and also a manuscript biography arranged in chapters, which was preserved in the archives at St. Omer's College, but upon the expulsion of the English Jesuits by the French Parliament in 1762, it was taken by them to their new College at Bruges, and finally, upon the destruction of that College in 1773, being carried off by the Belgic-Austrian Government, it is now preserved in the Public Record Office, Brussels, with a large collection of other papers of the English Jesuits. This manuscript was seen and used by Bishop Challoner in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.* We also quote from a manuscript in the Stonyhurst collection,[1] entitled, "A brief discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr. Robert Southwell, Priest of the Society of Jesus." This latter manuscript corresponds, in some portions *verbatim*, with More, Tanner, &c., and was written by Father Henry Garnett himself. Two copies of this manuscript exist, one in Italian, the other in English. In our extracts from the latter of these the spelling has been modernized, that they may be understood with less effort. The Southwell pedigree has been worked out from the information given in the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart's volume, *The complete Poems of Robert Southwell, S.J.*, and from the Harleian MSS.

[67] For detailed accounts of this ancient Catholic family, *vide* the late Mr. Richard Simpson's article in the *Rambler*, 1857, vol. i. "Seizure of Father Southwell," and Father Morris' *Troubles*, Series II.

[1] *Anglia*, vol. ii. n. 1.

The present Life is intended rather to present the reader with the religious and missionary career of the martyr, than to discuss his literary works. For a complete collection and history of these, we refer to Mr. Grosart's volume.

For the sake of more convenient arrangement, this biography is divided into chapters.

CHAPTER I.

HIS LIFE BEFORE TAKING HIS RELIGIOUS VOWS.

FATHER HENRY MORE,[2] after his biographical sketch of Father John Cornelius, S.J., martyred in Dorchester, thus introduces Father Southwell to his readers: "As Father Cornelius in the western parts, both living and dying, diffused abroad the bright rays of piety and constancy, so did Robert Southwell and Henry Walpole similarly adorn and honour the southern and northern parts in the spring of the following year; the former at London, the latter at York, rivalling the invincible martyrs of the early Church, both in their zealous ardour in the propagation of the faith, in enduring the most cruel torments for it, and in their glorious end."

As we may see by the annexed pedigree, the family of Southwell is ancient, and throughout well connected. It is said to have derived its name from the town of Southwell in Nottinghamshire, where its chief branch continued to reside until the reign of Henry VI.[3] "Robert Southwell was," says Father More, "third son of Richard Southwell, of Horsham St. Faith, about three miles from Norwich, a man of rank and wealth."[4]

Blomefield, in his *History of Norfolk*, says: "The site of this priory, with the lordship, lands, appropriated rectory, and the rectory and advowson of Horsford, were granted about the 36th of Henry VIII. to Sir Robert Southwell, of Wood-rising in Norfolk, and Edward Ebrington. Richard Southwell, Esq., held it in 1588, who sold it to Sir Henry Hobart, the judge, and his son Sir John inherited it."

Robert Southwell was born here in 1560–1. Father More relates the following extraordinary anecdote of him, when an infant. Being left for awhile in his cradle alone, a vagabond

[2] *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.* p. 172.
[3] Rev. A. Grosart, *ut supra*, quoting Collins.
[4] Pitzens, S.J. by mistake says Suffolk.

woman or gipsy, passing that way, carried him off, leaving her own child in exchange, Robert being a remarkably beautiful babe. The fact having been soon discovered, the gipsy was pursued, and apprehended not far from the house, and the infant restored. The event was to the martyr, in after life, a subject of perpetual gratitude to God. "What," he would exclaim, "had I remained with the gipsy? How abject, how void of all knowledge and reverence of God! In what shameful vices, in how great danger of infamy, in how certain danger of an unhappy death and eternal punishment!" When he returned as a priest to England, he made ceaseless efforts to restore the nurse who had discovered the theft, and whom he regarded as an instrument of the Divine mercy towards himself, to the bosom of Holy Church, the mother of all.

He made his early studies at Douay,[5] whither he was sent by his father at an early age, his master in philosophy being the celebrated and saintly Father Leonard Lessius, S.J., by whose example and familiar acquaintance he conceived his first ideas of entering the Society of Jesus.

At the age of fifteen his father sent him to Paris, to be more secure from the plague of heresy at home. He spent two years in the same lodging with Mr. John Cotton, a man of good family, of approved virtue, and solid faith.[6]

Father Thomas Darbyshire, S.J., an exile for the faith, was at that time residing in Paris.[7] Young Southwell was introduced to him, and placed himself under his spiritual direction. The Father, who soon discovered the generous disposition and greatness of soul of his young penitent, applied himself to elevate his thoughts to loftier aspirations than those of earth, and to convince him of the baseness and brief duration of material things, in which the heart of man can find no true repose. The seed took root in a good soil; the young man determined upon a stricter rule of living. Meditating upon the election of a state of life, and finding himself moved to embrace the religious state, he was held, for the space of three months, in an agony of perplexity between the ancient order of the Carthusians and the Society of Jesus. He recounts his feelings during those three months to his intimate friend, Mr. John Cotton. It pleased God

[5] St. Omer MS. See a copy in *Collectio Cardwelli*, pars. iii. *Vitæ Martyrum*, Stonyhurst MSS.

[6] See footnote, p. 284, for short account of Mr. John Cotton.

[7] See Life of Father Darbyshire, *Jesuits in Conflict.*

in the end to relieve him from his anxiety, and suddenly restore him to complete peace and tranquillity of mind, by showing him that he was called to consecrate himself to His service in the Society of Jesus. This decision was arrived at, as he himself relates,[8] in order that he might the better be enabled to imitate Christ crucified, to expiate the debt due for the sins of his fifteen years' life in the world, and to have at hand a faithful and experienced guide directing him in the way of salvation and perfection of spirit, through the great support to be found in the certainty that he was doing the will of God, where there was so strict a profession of holy obedience. The means thereby afforded of spending all he had or could possess, little or much, whether in nature or grace, in the salvation of souls, and, as he afterwards confessed, the great reward of martyrdom, were then already in his heart. Such was his ardour, that he made application with all earnestness to be admitted at once to the Society. On account of his extreme youth, and in order to secure perseverance in his good purpose by giving him opportunity for more mature counsel and reflection, it was deemed prudent to postpone consent for a time. He took this refusal so deeply to heart, that, shutting himself up in solitude in his room, he gave himself up to earnest and long prayers to God, with many tears, that his desires might be granted. The better to move the Divine mercy, he macerated his tender flesh by severe mortifications. He composed likewise in English a pious lamentation, which, according to the St. Omer MS., is at this day preserved in the English College, Rome, entitled, "The complaint of Robert Southwell when, after petitioning to enter the Society of Jesus, he was for a long time deferred." In this complaint he compares himself to Agar cast forth of the house of Abraham, saying that he has greater cause of grief, because excluded from a more worthy family. "For who can hinder my dying of grief when I behold myself parted from that Company, separated from that Society, torn from that Body, wherein my very life, my love, my whole heart and every affection are centred?"

Father More[9] gives a copy of this complaint from the autograph, in order, he says, to afford the pious reader some idea of the ardent flames of heavenly love which burned in that youthful breast, and the effusions which so tender a pen was enabled, by the grace of the Holy Spirit, to pour forth.

[8] Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, vol. v. p. 91. [9] Lib. v. n. 13.

Agar, beholding the child whom she nourished at her breast dying of thirst in the desert, and herself devoid of all means of succouring him, had not so great a cause for weeping over her misery as I have at my heavy calamity. She was an outcast from the house of Abraham, rejected by him upon whom devolved the special duty of protecting her, separated from the consort of her familiar friends, devoid of assistance and counsel, she wandered about, seeking among the brutes and wild beasts for the welfare she hoped not for among human kind. This my calamity surpasses her indigence, this my solitude is greater than hers, this my misfortune exceeds her banishment. For I wander about an exile from a place, as far surpassing the house of Abraham in dignity, as a body does a shadow, or truth a fiction. Inflamed from on high with the greatest desire to join myself to their happy number who upon earth, imitating the choirs of angels, so entirely devote themselves to God as to have His glory alone in view in all their undertakings, begun and ended ; I have erred from the mark at which I aimed ; I am cut off from the hopes I had greedily indulged in, frustrated of the expectation upon which alone I leaned. I live, indeed, bodily among men, while my mind dwells in one vast solitude ; and there, finding nothing upon which to feed, sadness consumes it, and it is forced to ruminate on its own bitter cares. No food is able to delight him to whom delight itself is bitter, no solace is pleasant where grief and tears are rife. To a fish drawn out of its element what are all the delicacies which earth can offer? Deprive the beast of its pasture, and it will turn with distaste from the clearest fountains and crystal streams. Who, then, more than I, might be consumed with grief and mourning, beholding myself severed from that number, from that Society and body, where is centred all my life, my love, my whole delight. Weep, my soul, over this thy widowhood, and spare not thy grief ; lament this thy misfortune and let thy inward sighs and groans sound incessantly in the ears of thy Redeemer, from Whom alone is consolation. Let love soften the hardness of thy heart, and the icy cold of thy soul dissolve with fervour ; that so with gushing eyes and floods of tears thou mayest be able to exclaim with the Prophet : "Laboravi in gemitu meo, lavabo per singulas noctes lectum meum, lacrymis meis stratum meum rigabo." Admit no consolation to thy grief, no mitigation of thy sorrow, till thou shalt enjoy thy Jesus, and acknowledge thyself His faithful spouse ; that freed from this long divorce He may embrace thee in the arms of His most tender love. Embrace the feet of the Crucified, and with words mingled with tears pour out before Him this thy lamentation. He may perchance mitigate His rigour and return to His wonted mercy. Say to Him, Turn upon me, O Lord, Thy loving eyes ; behold! the seed which Thou didst long since implant in my soul had already taken root and sprung up, when this sudden tempest rushing in blighted hope in the bud, and there is danger, unless a milder air breathe upon it, lest it be wholly withered and perish. Remember, O Lord, that already the appointed day of my espousals has passed, and I, as yet a widower, am looked down upon by all, and abandoned by Thyself am despised as an abortion. There is no other refuge for me, nor do I seek consolation from any but Thyself alone. Thou hast ravished my heart to Thyself by Thy amiable sweetness, and needs must I deliver myself up as Thy servant. Thou hast conquered me, my Jesus! Thou hast conquered me in a two-fold combat. For when Thou didst first assault me by Thy holy inspirations I

resisted, as though, forsooth, my being chosen to Thy Society was rather for Thy pleasure than mine own profit. Thou sawest, O Lord, my weakness, and by fresh batteries didst assail the bulwarks of my heart: and when I could find no refuge, compelled by necessity, after many struggles, Thou hast delivered me and conquered me by Thy almighty hand. Now do I pay the due penalty of my past ingratitude; and, rejected from the dignity of Thy espousals and fallen to the condition of a miserable captive, too late I weep my past folly and fruitlessly mourn the tardiness of my assent. Alas! where am I, and where shall I be? A wanderer in a dry and parched land. I feed on the insipid and bitter gall of grief; wearied with the tedium of my boundless solitude, I languish while I live; and life itself is a burthen to me. Farewell heavenly delights, wherewith Thy lambs are fed in the pastures of Thy Society; farewell, sweetest savour of devotion which Thou dost pour out into their breasts, and sprinkling their hearts with the choicest dew of heavenly consolation, dost excite delightful tears, the tokens of supernatural consolations. These favours are not communicated to aliens, they are the privileges of souls admitted to the inner chamber of the King: now feeding on the spiritual delights of Paradise, then resting upon the couch of love they take a repose that transcendeth all delights. What budding germs of perfection, what flowers of grace, what abundance of happiness is found in these pastures! Happy souls that are both loved, and love! While they live with Thee Thou are sweeter to them than life itself, for they do not even love to live, unless to live by loving Thee. Happy souls thus drawn to your true centre, happy ye who are anchored on so safe a shore. Even as innocent babes in their cradles do you securely rest. Your hearts are not oppressed by a load of worldly cares. Your burthen and weight is love, a light and pleasant load; for love doth not oppress but elevate; it mitigates grief itself by sweetness, and recreates the fainting spirit of a desolate soul by the expectation of the unspeakable fruit of eternal consolation. It presents the full breasts of celestial nourishment to its babes; it feeds those who are in progress with more solid food and fortifies the perfect with invincible constancy. Sometimes with you, indeed, *tempora mutantur*; for the Spouse delays that He may prove your faithfulness. He withholds the clouds of celestial gifts that they may not always pour down their accustomed rain of graces, and at times He will change His countenance from sweetness to severity. These trials are but incitements to a stronger love, attracting even while they repel. He artfully desires what is still bestowed upon you in abundance. He casts water upon the furnace that it may burn the fiercer. He retires, only that He may rush more swiftly and closely to your embrace. Your sorrow, brief in itself, is mingled with joy, for you have at hand the memory of past delights; and when you see the ship riding in secure roads, with a skilful captain at the helm, fear must be light where no scruples of sin exist and, removed from the breakers, you sail close to port. But woe is me, who am still compelled to winter in the world, daily tossed about amid the waves of carnal desires, and dashed against the rocks of occasions of sin. What fear possesses me! What doubts of salvation agitate my soul! What dangers assail this hapless bark! Who would forbid me to weep in my misery? Who would stifle the sighs and groans within my breast? Who could wonder if my very soul, oppressed by grief, should attempt to migrate from so dire a tomb, that it may be

dissolved, and be with Christ? If I undergo deserved punishment from Thy justice, O Lord, may Thy will be done! I will patiently bear to be rejected by man; but I count not that the greatest evil. I fear lest these kalends denote a heavier punishment in store, and are but a mournful twilight to a long continuing night; in which, since I languish with perpetual expectation—an expectation more bitter than death that lessens not, but aggravates my languishing, and while the body, through the grief of the afflicted soul, must succumb, what remains for me to desire, but that my Christ would deliver me from this miserable prison? Amen.

Thus did young Southwell mourn to himself, and before Jesus the beloved author of the Society. Bartoli, apologizing for not giving the lamentation at length, expresses his admiration that its author was but a youth of sixteen, worthy as it is of a more mature age and experienced pen, and showing such talent, piety, sound reasoning, and noble sentiments and affections, expressed with such admirable force, and at the same time such sweetness.

Father Tanner thus briefly refers to his great love for the Society. "I know of none," says he, "after the most holy founder of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius himself, that entertained a greater affection or a greater esteem for his vocation than did Robert Southwell. St. Francis Xavier formerly wrote in a letter to his brethren in Rome, invoking the loss of his soul should he ever decline from the affection of his most beloved religion: *Si oblitus*, he said, *fuero tui O Societas Jesu, oblivioni detur dextera mea.* But that Robert went as far as St. Francis in his lofty conceptions of the Society, or rather surpassed him, will appear by his own writings on the subject."

His ardent desire to enter the Society daily increasing, and finding no opportunity of attaining it either in France or Belgium, he set out for Rome in company with John Decker, who was also seeking admission to the Society.[10]

[10] John Decker, according to Drew's *Fasti Societatis Jesu*, was a native of Belgium, and died at Gratz in Styria, January 10, 1619. He is named in the St. Omer MS. as the equal and companion of Father Robert, and accompanied him to Rome from Flanders to petition for the Society. He is described as a man alike eminent for religious perfection and learning. In his last agony he sighed out, "Come, Lord Jesus, come," and died saying *Ego venio.* He would never break his fast from Holy Thursday until Easter Sunday. He had compiled a chronological work, filling three volumes, the result of forty years' labour. When some wished it to be published and others suppressed, he declared that he was prepared without any perturbation of mind to throw the manuscript into the fire, if his superiors wished it. Father Decker was the first to introduce the method of teaching philosophy and theology, which is now, says Father Drew, in general use in the schools, as being more convenient. He wrote a beautiful letter from the novitiate at Naples, dated September 29, 1580, to his dear friend Robert Southwell (Stonyhurst MSS.). In speak-

The St. Omer MS. states that Robert Southwell's principal motive for entering the Society was his desire for the glory of the triple crown of virginity, learning, and martyrdom, which appeared to him to be nowhere more secured. Thus

ing of the happiness of the religious state, he exclaims: "Blessed be the God and Father of Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who calleth me to the Society of His Son. Blessed, and blessed for ever be our Lord Jesus Christ, Who has deigned to enrol me, so unmindful of His benefits, in the number of those walking the strait path. Would that I could lay open to you, my brother, my joy, and with how great pleasure and desire I bind myself to spend my life in the service of God. Good God! Thou hast already fulfilled Thy promise. I receive the hundredfold in this life; but rather a thousand than a hundredfold." Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.*, gives a list of the works of this learned Jesuit, and enters into fuller particulars of his life. He was born 1560, and made his philosophy, as did Father Southwell, under Father Leonard Lessius. He entered the Society 1578, and was sent to Naples to make his noviceship. After completing it, and studying his theology, he returned to Rome to finish his studies, and was ordained there. He then returned to Belgium, and was professor of philosophy at Douay, where he also taught scholastic theology, and afterwards at Louvain. He was then sent to the very flourishing College of Gratz, of which he was made Chancellor. He was afterwards appointed Rector of Olmutz, and at the expiration of his term of office returned to Gratz, where he died. He was professed in 1592. A man of great talent and learning, and remarkable for his sweetness of manner and self-abjection, he was most circumspect in all his actions, keeping his eyes ever fixed upon the ground, and his hands modestly composed, being of a virgin innocence, which he preserved intact till his latest breath. Towards his superiors he ever maintained the simplicity of a novice. He had so great a veneration for the Most Holy Eucharist, that he would always say Mass at the high altar, and when sick communicated daily. He never spoke of his own actions, however important, and made every effort to stop those who wished to praise him. So great was his fervour in prayer that his soul was frequently rapt in God, and his sighs and voice broken with sobs testified the exuberance of his feelings. From the first he had possessed the gift of tears, and in the novitiate was permitted in his cell to give free vent to them. In familiar conversation he dwelt chiefly on pious subjects, or matter drawn from sacred antiquity, and withal maintained a certain agreeable and modest pleasantry so as to be troublesome to none. Even when suffering from sickness and old age, he would admit nothing extra in point of food or living. His only occupation at home was prayer and writing, for he was distinguished in sacred literature and theology, and every kind of erudition and eloquence. In the height of his sickness one would have thought him rather a spectator of another's than the subject of his own pains, for his incredible desire of dying prevented his making their severity known to others. There is good evidence that he had a certain fore-knowledge of his death, for on the feast of the Presentation of our Lady, as he was going to say Mass, turning to his server, he said: "Now I release you, my brother; since this is my last time of saying Mass." And so it came to pass, for a severe humour in the foot compelled him to take to his room, to which he was confined until his death. A short time before his death, he sent for two youths, Belgian students at the College, named Gerlac and Gobelline, and exhorted them to remain and prosecute their studies where they were, and not return to their country as they meditated doing. Upon their persisting in their designs, he foretold to the one that he would not rest in his paternal sepulchre, and to the other that after suffering many calamities in Belgium, he would return a voluntary exile to Germany. After the lapse of some years, both predictions were fulfilled.

for some time he thought of asking for the Indian mission, so as to meet a glorious death for Christ; and this thought endured until he found that his desire could be more effectually secured in his native country. At length, in 1578, at Rome, and before he was seventeen, he was enrolled among the children of St. Ignatius. The date of this event, so central in his short life, is noticeable. It was on the vigil of St. Luke, October 17, and we may conclude that, as the vigil of St. Luke was also St. Faith's day (old style), he chose that day in honour of his native place, Horsham St. Faith. He spent the greater part of his noviceship at Tournay, whither he was transferred from Rome.

His joy upon being admitted to the Society was intensified by its having been postponed, as we gather from a writing of his, which Father More alone of his biographers appears to record.[11] "Remember," says he, "and often recall to mind that day, when inflamed with an ardent desire of entering the Society, thou didst so often and so earnestly beg admission. Remember the tears thou didst so constantly shed, and sitting solitary in thy chamber with what sighs and sobs of grief thou didst break forth, while reflecting upon thy postponement. How happy didst thou not reckon those, who being admitted were inebriated with the good they so ardently desired. How close and how sweet didst thou not think must be that union between God and the members of the Society! What thoughts didst thou not entertain of them, when seeing them in prayer, so truly absorbed in the contemplation of God! How delightful to thee was then the hair-shirt! How sweet to hold communion with God! that since it was not permitted thee to be of them, thou mightest at least tread in the footsteps of their virtues by imitation, like a pilgrim following after them to thy country. Remember, Robert, that thou art now no longer standing outside, languishing with desires, but art a son of the same Lord Jesus Christ, a member of the same Society, and that thou who formerly wast an admirer of others' virtues art now become thyself an example to be seen of others, and therefore that the opinion thou didst conceive of them, not being as yet one of them, and that esteem of their happy condition and perfection of life, are now entertained of thyself by those who now aspire, as thou then didst, to the same Society. So that as by the example and converse of such as are now thy brothers in the Society, thou wert then con-

[11] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 176.

firmed in thy vocation, so they who now are labouring with the like desires may also be confirmed by thy modesty, meekness, and charity, and the exercise of other virtues belonging to that mode of life they purpose to embrace."

Determined, as he was, to build in his soul a spiritual edifice, that should be superior to whatever storm might assail it, he began by laying its foundations deep in the grace of self-knowledge. For this he frequently meditated upon the following passage from Anth. Suquetts' *Via Vitæ*: "What was I, O Lord? What am I? and what shall I be? I was nothing, I am nothing, and I may be perhaps worse than nothing! I was conceived in original sin, I am full of actual sin. Who can say but that I may be condemned to the punishment of hell? Miserable was I in my entrance, more miserable am I in my passage; I shall perchance be more miserable in my exit. I was unclean from the first; I am now a sack of dung; I shall be the food of worms. When I was nothing, I was in no peril of damnation, but without hope of salvation. Now am I in doubtful hope and grave peril; I shall either be blessed by gaining what I hope for, or most unhappy by inheriting what is now my danger. As I was, damnation was impossible; as I am, salvation is scarcely possible;[12] so shall I be either condemned for evermore or saved for evermore. What I have been I know, for I was the worst; what I may be I know not, because uncertain of grace; what I shall be I cannot tell, because doubtful of salvation. What I was, O Lord, forgive; what I am, correct; what I shall be, direct—direct from past evils to present good, and to future rewards. Amen."

The author of the St. Omer MS. gives an extract from young Southwell's manuscript reflections upon his vocation to the Society, expressive of his great joy and esteem for the Order.

How many are there who sigh and yearn day and night, their every thought centred upon the means whereby they may gain admission to the Society? How constantly does the happy state of those who are admitted come before their minds? How often do they desire the same happiness, with all the affection of their hearts? How many are there who, seeing thee walking through the streets, are melted into tears on beholding themselves deprived of the possession of so great a good? Thou also, delighting in its possession, how inflamed should not be thy love of God! How grateful for so high a favour! Seculars, on seeing thee, reverence thee because of the sanctity of life and virtue which should be

[12] "If the just man shall scarcely be saved," &c. (1 St. Peter iv. 18).

found in a true son of the Society, and they expect far more from thee than from the devoutest layman. Thou oughtest therefore in thy works and all thy actions to answer their expectations.

In another place he says—

Consider how great perfection is required in a religious of the Society, who should ever be ready, at a moment's notice, for any part of the world, and for any kind of people, be they heretics, Turks, pagans, or barbarians. Uncertain as to the nature of the employment to which God may call us, we should be ready prepared in every virtue, to enable us to dwell among them with fruit and edification. Hence we should reflect upon the virtues necessary for a life among the Indians; how great patience, what charity, what composure of speech, of gesture, and of every motion, and what great union with God! Likewise for him who may be cast by the heretics into chains, macerated by hunger and thirst, tempted by a thousand solicitations, tortured by the rack and various torments. . . . The ancient Fathers were accustomed, upon falling into any fault or error, to remove the occasion. For instance, if any erred in conversation, he shut himself up within the walls of the house, to consort no more with men, which indeed was a proof of great virtue. But a higher degree is proposed to us. For those, on seeing the enemy, resolve upon flight and, retiring to the garrison, remove themselves from his power; but these should always live with the enemy, keep him ever in sight, engage him in continual combat, yet never yield nor be overcome. Errors committed in conversation are not to be altogether corrected by silence, but by a more guarded speech; and the motions of impatience should be overcome, not by flying the occasions, but by a firm resistance.

These, and many other similar maxims, indispensable to those who have to deal face to face with the adversary, he deeply impressed upon his heart; they were the principles upon which his actions in after life were founded, and which in the end rendered him worthy of the palm of martyrdom.

CHAPTER II.

FROM HIS TAKING THE SIMPLE VOWS IN RELIGION, TO HIS DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND.

After completing his two years' noviceship, in which he proved himself a model of every virtue belonging to that state, Southwell was admitted to the first or simple religious vows of a scholastic of the Society of Jesus, on the feast of St. Luke, October 18, 1580. He was then sent back to Rome for his course of philosophy and theology. Here he maintained the same high character for talent, application, and virtue. He gave proof of the first two by a public defence of the whole course of

philosophy. After completing his theology, and being admitted to Holy Orders, he was appointed Prefect of Studies at the English College, Rome. At that period the Seminary bore a high repute for the talent and attainments of the youths composing its classes, so that a large measure of these qualities was needed in the Prefect himself. Southwell embraced the opportunity of applying himself to the study of his native language, in which he became no mean proficient, as the remains he has left behind him, both in prose and verse, abundantly show. Father Tanner says that he continually, by day and night, with tongue and pen, by verse and prose, strove to combat heresy, to persuade to the faith, and to inculcate virtue, and with such success that, from the great numbers he reconciled to the Church, he was reputed in his own time to have been the support of Catholicity against the impious rage of the Queen.

"It is indeed," he adds, "the highest testimony, and a most unusual one, to the excellence of Father Southwell's writings, that they were not only read after his death by his enemies, including Queen Elizabeth herself, but were reprinted by them in editions brought out at their own expense."

Southwell's life at the English College was not more distinguished by his mental gifts than by sweetness of manner, a grave and edifying modesty, and a constant application, amid the severest stress of studies, to the "one thing necessary." He was strenuous in enforcing discipline, but especially earnest and successful in drawing others to follow him along the narrow way of Christian virtue. For himself, he was jealously careful that the first fervour of his noviceship should not cool under the influence of conflicting interests and unremitted employments. He carefully noted down the inspirations he received, whether immediately from God or through the ministry of others, that he might frequently revert to them as points of meditation upon the principal axioms of a perfect life. Father More gives us details of some of these.

I. The love of God [he says] is inseparable, insuperable, insatiable. For if we often so greatly love a fellow-man as to be neither satiated with his society nor wearied by his commands, and are eager to disclose all we have to him, how much more are all things to be familiarly laid open to God, Whose converse hath no bitterness, and cloyeth not? And, as the turtle-dove that has lost its mate delights in its own solitude, perches not upon the green bough, but rejoices in the desert places and upon the mountains, do thou likewise fly what appears verdure to the world, follow the Beloved to the eternal hills, and abide in them alone.

II. Right intention, like the eye, may easily sustain injury. Nor does it suffice alone, however right it may appear. The action should be right, both in itself and in its attendant circumstances; congruous as to place, time, and mode.

III. Prayer. In the time of prayer, consider thyself as then unfit for aught else; thus thou mayest the more easily collect thy thoughts, and insist on that alone.

IV. In things prescribed to thee by obedience, this will universally hold: be assured that thou mayest fully leave to Superiors the free disposal of thyself and all thy affairs, since Christ declares, *Qui vos audit, me audit.* When, however, after a thing has been maturely ordered by human counsel, a Superior suddenly changes his mind, and disposes of thee otherwise than had been decreed, what else doth it indicate but that God wills that those who commit themselves entirely to Him should be ruled, not by the counsels of men, but of God? Neither let the thought disturb thee as to what thou mayest consider more fitting, *ad majora*, or that such and such things of greater merit are rather to be sought for, and to which thou mayest even consider thyself bound by the laws of nature. For all these matters are known to God, Who provides not only present but future things unknown to thee. But if it should be asked, Why doth God call thee to a Society whose institute it is to assist their neighbours and friends? Why not to some other Order, of Carthusians or hermits, secluded from these active duties? Reply first in the words of Christ: *Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo, scies autem postea;* or with St. Paul: *Quis cognovit sensum Domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?* Then, that God uses man's nature itself for the good of each one, and thus He saw that this Society would be the fittest for thee. Indeed, that thou wast not moved at that time to embrace a life of perfection by those or these considerations. Then, that God gave thee the talents thou possessest, the more clearly to perceive the things most conducive to thy salvation, and also to enable thee the more easily to conquer the subtle wiles of the enemy, and more fervently to love God; for it is just that love should more ardently follow the greater knowledge of God.

V. Indifference. It is considered that no greater misfortune can happen to a member of the Society than that through his own fault he should be judged by his Superior not to be indifferent for anything whatever; for inasmuch as any one departs from this spirit of indifference, so much does he depart from the immediate direction and influence of God, and, mingling his own will with that of Superiors, he gradually degenerates from the *modus vivendi*, which he professed in religion, to the secular state; he injures his own tranquillity, and is often an obstacle to the most important affairs. Lastly, that good desires are not always inspired by God to the intent they may be carried out in actual accomplishment, and therefore, though I burn with desire of dying for Christ, I am not on that account forthwith to strive to procure a mission to the Indians or heretics. For God is pleased to give those impulses in order to prove the mind by such virtues as are specially suited for preparing it for suffering with fortitude, or for constancy in action, which are indeed everywhere necessary; the rest is to be subjected to the determination of Superiors.

VI. Our conduct towards others. In every action, never commit to another what thou canst do thyself, nor defer till to-morrow what should be done to-day, and have a care of the least fault. Show

thyself prepared for all, preserving evenness of soul and countenance; also inwardly reverence those with whom thou art in most familiar intercourse. Be sparing in jests, never mingle satire in thy conversation; indulgence in this proceeds chiefly from pride and a too great liberty of soul, and very frequently, whilst it seems to please the listeners, it is on the contrary highly displeasing. Consider, finally, how great perfection is required in a member of the Society, who should be in readiness at any moment to assist all in any part of the world, be they Jews, Turks, infidels, heretics, or barbarians, or perhaps bad Christians not far remote from barbarians. Our vocation is not to be inclosed in cells, far from intercourse with men, but to combat openly, and while rebuking the irregular desires of others, we must be watchful that we are not overcome by our own. Among the loquacious observe moderation of speech, among the irascible guard the temper, among the lovers of pleasure beware of self-indulgence. Those who reprehend the crimes of others should be themselves far removed from every vice, for the least blot in a religious is a great deformity, and he whose duty it is to move others to perfection of life should himself exhibit that patience, charity, modesty, meekness, and union with God which he professes.

He desired also to exercise himself by the daily events which occurred in so wide an intercourse with others. "What if my Fathers and Brothers, losing the good opinion they seem now to entertain of me, should despise me? What would thy feelings be should they reprehend thee as a wicked person, or hate thee, or treat thee with indignity, as a dog or a buffoon? What if, labouring under dangerous sickness, and almost all hopes of suffering more for Christ gone, and by a slow fever thou shouldst be cheated of the martyr's crown? What if become a mute, or ulcerous?" Thus he would prepare himself for evenness and indifference of soul, and conform himself to the will of God, as to an omniscient and most loving Father; regarding zeal itself, whether for helping souls or for martyrdom, as among the frauds of the enemy, if it should diminish this especial grace.

The author of the St. Omer manuscript biography (who is followed by Tanner,) gives the following maxims laid down by Father Southwell as rules for his after guidance. The author apologizes for their length, but gives them as a true portrait of the martyr's soul.

I. Thy soul is espoused to the Crucified, wherefore it behoves it to be crucified, with the body. As similarity induces to friendship, so does dissimilarity to disunion. Nor, indeed, is it at all becoming that with a suffering Spouse, afflicted with infinite dolours, and crucified to gain the affections of His beloved, she should herself be flowing with delights. Nor is it allowable that she should be engaged in any delight or interest save in the imitation of her Spouse, which is the bond of love.

II. A member of the Society of Jesus, a son of the Blessed Virgin, thou art come from the very interior of Christ; therefore needs must thou be crucified with the rest.

III. Become, as thou art, a companion of saints, an inhabitant of the house of God, a soldier in the army of Christ, a foundation-stone of the Church; thou art hence become a fisher of souls, a model of life to seculars, and a mirror of virtues; a labourer in the harvest of Christ, an inseparable servant of Him, a declared and public enemy of the devil, the world, and the flesh; a leader of the blind, a staff of the lame; all things to all men.

IV. Thou canst no more henceforth call anything thine own that is or can be in thee; neither memory, understanding, or will; nor canst thou refuse or desire anything of these or of thyself, but as prescribed by Superiors; nor dispose of anything, even the least. But thou art thus so entirely become the bondsman of God and of His vicars, that the full disposal of thyself is wholly theirs and not thine own.

V. Thou art clearly held by the same ties with which our blessed Fathers Ignatius and Xavier were; thou art of the same Society, and bound to the same perfection, as far as in thee lieth. Whence, although thou mayest sometimes seem to have acquired some degree of perfection, still thou art not yet arrived to that degree to which those blessed Fathers attained. Understand therefore that thou hast as yet done nothing, nor responded to that grace which the character of the Society and the Holy Spirit is wont to impart, therefore thou shouldst ever aspire to perfection.

VI. Thou art so given up to God, and become His perpetual bond-slave and servant, as to be no longer able to will or not to will anything of thyself; therefore know for certain that whatever may befall thee happens by His peculiar Providence: yea, thou shouldst on no account, even in the least matter, propose anything whatever regarding thyself, nor desire the accomplishment of this or that, unless thou first commend it to the Divine Providence; for there is nothing of so small importance but that some defect may be committed in it, and hence we ought, even in the least things, to cast our whole care upon God and our Superiors, and willingly receive whatsoever comes from His hands, as from a most loving Father. Knowing that, however grievous and incommodious it may be, He permits it to happen, either to prevent a greater evil or to impart some more excellent gift, which, however, requires a previous disposition.

VII. Let this thought often occur to thee. What wilt thou answer if the Superior shall tell thee thou art unfit and useless for the Society, and oughtest therefore to leave it, as Superiors no longer desire to retain thee in it, since thou art a burthen to it, &c. Thou mayest answer thus: "If you wish me to depart, do you go first and make the trial, and when you have experienced the profit gained by your departure report it to me, and if its pleasures surpass the things I here enjoy, perhaps I will follow too. Also, that religion is made not for the perfect, but the imperfect; and if here, among the perfect, I am imperfect, how can I with a safe conscience be dismissed, to the manifest peril of my soul? Also, if Christ suffered death for me, and to His own cost patiently bore my miseries, why cannot the Society, far inferior to Christ, take these upon itself?"

VIII. Thou shouldst always carry thyself as a novice, with that fervour and humility, that reverence and modesty which thou

knowest is required in a novice, ever remembering what the rule enjoins, to esteem all in thy heart as thy Superiors, striving to acknowledge God in each one, as in His image; yea, esteeming thyself happy when thou art able to afford them assistance in any lawful thing; seeking occasion of yielding to any of them, or of succouring them. And as far as possible, always choose the lowest and worst things for thyself, in all things yielding to others the better part.

IX. Consider attentively what thou art following, what thou art about, how great a favour thou hast received from God in having been enrolled in the Society, confirmed in it, and bound by its vows. How many noble, graceful, and holy youths are there who, like exiles from their country, like thirsty stags far from the fountains of water whilst thou art sleeping and reposing in security, are consumed with bitter tears and heavy sorrow, &c.

Imbued with these holy thoughts, Southwell's esteem for his vocation continued greatly to increase. Tanner gives the following MS., contained also in the St. Omer biography, as pourtraying the great constancy, obedience, and genuine spirit of the Society which the future martyr possessed.

I. I, Robert Southwell, in the presence of Almighty God, and the whole court of heaven, do profess, declare, and truly believe, from the most evident and manifest proofs, from the whole course of my past and present life, reflecting the matter closely and diligently in the Lord, that it is simply and absolutely better for me to be in the Society of Jesus, and ever to live and die in it, than in any other Religious Order, and *a fortiori*, than in the world, or in any other secular state of life. And I do profess *in præsentia*, free, as I hope, from all feelings of passion, inflamed with the highest desire of attaining my salvation, and of following out my purposed end, that I will hold to this, resolutely and firmly, during the whole course of my life. And I pray that this my writing may be produced as a testimony against me of this my desire before Almighty God in the Day of Judgment, that if ever hereafter, deceived by any diabolical temptation, I shall think otherwise, and be forgetful of this my declaration, such a thought may be deemed as null and void, and of no weight whatever; wherefore as the best and securest for me, I will endeavour (by the Divine assistance, and being, as I hope, in the grace of God, unconscious of any mortal sin, or any depraved or perverse inclination) to provide for future dangers. I detest, abhor, renounce, and abjure, and by every means execrate and reject, and to the end of my life inclusively, desire it to be detested, abjured, execrated, and rejected, from my whole soul and intimate affection. And I do resolve that, although all the angels of heaven, all the men of the entire world, and lastly, all creations, should be condemned and annihilated unless I quit the Society, on account of none of these will I go.

II. Although all the Fathers and Brothers, nay even the Superiors themselves should depart, and myself alone be willing to remain in the Society, I will be alone, and alone will dwell in it.

III. Though an angel should descend from heaven and bid me not remain in the Society, or if I should have but one single Superior who would tell me the contrary, I would despise and

reject the word of the angel, and follow the judgment of that Superior.

IV. Although the entire Society should be in opposition to the Superior in matters relating to his office, and wherein he, by authority and right of office may, and *ex officio* ought to determine and order, I will cling to him, although the contrary side should possess reasons however efficacious and plausible, and be supported by men the most renowned in the whole world for learning and piety. Yea, although the Superior himself should be a man in other regards wicked and nefarious. Or, if in a case affecting myself individually, rather than others, it should be doubtful whether the Superior either ought, or could act so, I will suspend my judgment and remain neutral; if, however, it becomes needful to incline one way or other, I will wholly incline to the Superior's side. Again, in my present state of calmness and serenity of soul, I declare and affirm, that should it happen that I myself am disturbed and tempted, especially in matters relating to vocation and obedience, which may God avert, I resolve to cast my eyes back upon my past state, and seriously to reflect; and always to embrace with indifference, the will of God declaring to me by my Superiors, at all times and in every state, that it will be better for me in regard to the affairs of the soul, fully to comprehend the necessity of the religious life and the manifest danger occurring in the world; and from this true and good apprehension, so reasonable and agreeable to God, firmly and inviolably to resolve before God and all creatures, that it is absolutely the best, the most necessary, and fittest to me to live and die in the Society of Jesus, to the praise and glory of God, and in no other state whatever. Understanding all these things, and whatsoever things else according to the constitutions of the same Society.

The following noble expressions show his great desire of suffering, and the care he took to prepare himself for undergoing what severities soever he might encounter.

With what face or eyes wilt thou behold Christ fastened to the Cross; with what sentiments prostrate thyself at His feet to beg the benefit of so great an effusion of blood, and to petition for new graces, if thou fliest from bearing any slight adversity, or from the service of thy neighbour? If the whole world might be purchased for a single penny, wouldst thou not esteem him mad who should hesitate or absolutely refuse so to expend a penny? What therefore remains? Or why wouldst thou shun him who imposes any hardship upon thee? For by one such act of mortification thou mayst purchase the kingdom of heaven. On the contrary, why not rather render him thanks who offers thee a penny whereby to purchase immortal glory? Since in very truth God gave His life for thee, more precious than that of all the angels of heaven, what great matter dost thou think it to offer thy life for His cause and love, a life to be esteemed a shadow rather than a real existence?

Divinely armed and instructed by such sublime thoughts no wonder he should have been carried direct to the palm of martyrdom, to which, inflamed by these ardent desires, he aspired.

CHAPTER III.

DEPARTURE FOR ENGLAND, AND LIFE THERE UNTIL HIS SEIZURE.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL had for some time, as we have seen, cherished the idea that it became a soul, ardently desiring union with God, to desire therefore the mission to the Indies and savage heathens. When, however, he saw a more certain opportunity of shedding his blood for Christ offered him in his native land, he yearned after that mission with his whole heart, and earnestly sued for it.

A few years previously (1580), the English mission of the Society had been commenced in the persons of Fathers Parsons and Campian, of whom the latter was martyred at Tyburn on the 3rd of December, 1581, and the former now awaited a supply of companions. In the interval several others were sent. In 1586, the 24th of March, Father Southwell was assigned as companion to Father Henry Garnett, who had been appointed Superior of the Mission in place of Father Parsons. Father Southwell was then in the flower of his age, not more than twenty-five, confirmed in sanctity and virtue, admirably instructed to the kind of warfare he was there to wage, and inflamed with an unquenchable desire to rescue his fellow-countrymen from eternal ruin. He had been ordained priest the previous summer, 1584. The two Fathers left Rome on the 8th of May, 1586.[13] They were both, says More (as Father Southwell declared to Father Parsons, when parting with him on the Milvian Bridge), *two arrows shot towards the same goal*, as the event proved. Both of them indeed gained the crown of martyrdom in defence of the faith. Father Southwell expresses his desire for this blessed end in a letter written from the English College to the Very Reverend Father General Claudius Aquaviva, dated February 20, 1585 (10 kal. Feb.). "I add this one thing only regarding myself, that there is nothing I desire more, or that can possibly be more grateful to me in this life, than, as may seem good to your Paternity, that I may expend my labours at present upon the English; the more so as it seems, under Divine inspiration and by promise of the English themselves, the highest hope of martyrdom. And this indeed I cease not to implore from God; may He deign of His mercy to hear me, also for a long time to preserve your Paternity safe to us."

There is another letter of his extant, which was dated from

[13] Bishop Challoner's date, 1584, is incorrect.

the last Continental port from which he embarked and handed to a friend. It expresses in lively colours the apostolic zeal and fervour of this great soul.[14]

JESUS + MARIA.

Reverend Father in Christ,—

P.C.

Being now exposed to extreme danger, I address you, my Father, from the threshold of death, imploring the aid of your prayers that, as once you reawakened in me the breath of life when I was ready to die, so now by your prayers I may either escape the death of the body for further use, or endure it with courage. I am sent indeed into the midst of wolves, would that it was as a sheep to be led to the slaughter, in the name and for Him Who sends. Truly, I well know that many with open mouths stand gaping at me, both on sea and land, not as wolves only, but as lions going about seeking whom they may devour, whose fangs I less fear than desire them; nor do I so much dread the tortures, as look forward to the crown. The flesh indeed is weak, and profiteth nothing. Yea, while pondering these things, it even recoils. But the Lord is strong in battle; He Himself will be at my right hand, and I shall not be moved. And He who instructs by His example, doth not withhold His aid; nor will He, Who leads to the combat, forsake the combatant. Stay me up, therefore, my Father with the flowers[15] of prayer, which ascend in the odour of sweetness; encompass me with the apples of works, that if I must needs faint, it may not be from fear, but love. If I should be in the happy choir of martyrs, were it the least among them (a thing I dare not hope, yet I vehemently desire), I will not be, God willing, unmindful of those who now remember me; nor will I be ungrateful in heaven towards those who desire well, to whom even on earth I desire all that is most grateful. Plead, therefore, my Father (perhaps I now address you for the last time), plead with the Common Father and Lord Jesus, my cause—nay, your cause, and that of the whole Church, that I may so sustain it, representing it as I do, that I may faithfully and courageously accomplish that which God, the angels and superiors, demand of me, even should it be at the cost of blood and life itself. May God grant it, to Whom I commend thee, myself, and all of ours. I beg you to salute Father Rector, and the rest of the Fathers and Brothers for me. Farewell.

Your Reverence's brother and servant in Christ,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

From the Port, July 15, 1586.[16]

[14] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* pp. 182, 183.

[15] "Fulcite me floribus, stipate me malis, quia amore langueo" (Cant. ii. 5).

[16] Mr. Simpson (*Rambler*, 1857, vol. i. p. 98) thinks that "the port" was probably Nieuport, in the Low Countries, but certainly not "Porto," as Mr. Turnbull calls it. None of the biographies of Fathers Southwell and Garnett detail their landing in England. But we find in the P.R.O. London, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxci. n. 35.—"July, 1586. A secret advice to Walsingham from a spy without name or date: Two Jesuits arrived upon the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk, the one called Southwell, son to Mr. Southwell of Norfolk, the other Allen, son to Widow Hone, whose last husband was judge of one of the Sheriff's Courts in London." As Father Garnett was the only companion of Father Southwell, we must suppose this name of Allen to have been an *alias* he assumed.

Father Southwell addressed another letter at the same time to a certain Father of the Society, between whom and himself the closest friendship had existed since his boyhood, and to whom, with fraternal confidence, he disclosed that he had never to that day asked anything of God in vain. Two petitions yet remained to be granted, and these from boyhood he had constantly desired and prayed for; that he might give to Christ his Redeemer life for life, blood for blood; and that this final sacrifice might be preceded by many and severe labours for the salvation of souls. Both were granted. Having spent nine years in cultivating the vineyard and in sufferings he did, as we shall see, at last shed his blood for Christ, and gain a martyr's crown.

Father John Gerard makes frequent and interesting mention of Father Robert Southwell in his personal narrative.[17] A certain Protestant gentleman, to whose house his brother, a Catholic, had taken Father Gerard, was somewhat suspicious at the Father's first coming, seeing an unknown man arrive in his Catholic brother's company, and perceiving no reason why his brother should make so much of him. "But after a day or so he quite abandoned all mistrust, as I spoke of hunting and falconry, with all the details that none but a practical person could command. For many make blunders in attempting this, as Father Southwell, who was afterwards my companion in many journeys, was wont to complain. He frequently got me to instruct him in the technical terms of sport, and used to complain of his bad memory for such things, for on many occasions when he fell in with Protestant gentlemen, he found it necessary to speak of these matters, which are the sole topics of their conversation, save when they talk obscenity or break out into blasphemies and abuse of the saints, or of the Catholic faith. In these cases it is of course desirable to turn the conversation to other subjects, and to speak of horses, hounds, and such like." Again, "On my arriving in London, by the help of certain Catholics I discovered Father Henry Garnett, who was then Superior. Besides him, the only others of our Society then in England were Father Edmund Weston [William Weston *alias* Edmond], confined at Wisbeach (who had he been at large would have been Superior), Father Robert Southwell, and we two new comers. My companion, Father Oldcorne, had already arrived, so the Superior was rather anxious on my account, as nothing

[17] *Condition of Catholics under James I.*

had been heard of me; but yet for that very reason hopes were entertained of my safety. It was with exceeding joy on both sides that we met at last. I stayed some time with the Fathers, and we held frequent consultations as to our future proceedings. The good Superior gave us very excellent instructions on the method of helping and gaining souls, as did also Father Southwell, who much excelled in that art, being at once prudent, pious, meek, and exceedingly winning. As Christmas was nigh at hand, it was necessary to separate, both for the consolations of the faithful, and because the dangers are always greater in the great solemnities."

Again (after an account of a meeting at Father Garnett, the Superior's house, to renew their religious vows, &c.),[18] "Next morning, about five o'clock, when Father Southwell was beginning Mass, and the others and myself were at meditation, I heard a bustle at the house-door. Directly after I heard cries and oaths poured forth against the servant for refusing admittance. The fact was that four priest-hunters, or pursuivants, as they are called, with drawn swords, were trying to break down the door and force an entrance. The faithful servant withstood them, otherwise we should have been all made prisoners. But by this time Father Southwell had heard the uproar, and guessing what it meant, had at once taken off his vestments and stripped the altar, while we strove to seek out everything belonging to us, so that there might be nothing found to betray the presence of a priest. We did not even wish to leave boots and swords lying about, which would serve to show there had been many guests, though none of them appeared. Hence many of us were anxious about our beds, which were still warm, and only covered according to custom, previous to being made. Some, therefore, went and turned their beds, so that the colder part might deceive anybody who put his hand in to feel. Thus while the enemy was

[18] Father Tesimond, who was present, says that the house was called Morecrofts at Uxbridge (Stonyhurst MSS. Father Grene's Collection, *C.* fol. 185; note by Father Morris, *Condition of Catholics*, p. xxxviii.). This however is more than doubtful, for, as we shall see, Father Gerard with Father Southwell went off together, but Father Oldcorne remained, his dwelling or residence, Henlip House (Worcester), not being far off. From Uxbridge to Henlip House is upwards of eighty miles. It is more probable that this meeting took place in Warwickshire, a great resort of Father Garnett, or, more probably still, at Harrowden, Northamptonshire, the residence of Lord Vaux (*Vide* Stonyhurst MSS. the Autobiography of Father Tesimond, *Troubles*, First Series, p. 150).—Ed.

shouting and bawling outside, and our servants were keeping the door, saying that the mistress of the house, a widow, had not yet got up, but that she was coming directly, and would give them an answer, we profited by the delay to store away ourselves and all our baggage in a cleverly contrived hiding-place. At last these four leopards[19] were let in. They raged about the house, looking everywhere, and prying into the darkest corners with candles. They took four hours over the business, but failed in their search, and only brought out the forbearance of the Catholics in suffering, and their own spite and obstinacy in seeking. At last they took themselves off, after getting paid, forsooth, for their trouble. So pitiful is the lot of the Catholics, that those who come with a warrant to annoy them in this or the other way have to be paid for so doing by the suffering party, instead of by the authorities who send them, as though it were not enough to endure wrong, but they must also pay for the endurance of it. When they were gone, and were now some way off, so that there was no fear of their returning, as they sometimes do, a lady came and summoned us out of the den—not one, but many Daniels. The hiding-place was under ground, covered with water at the bottom, so that I was standing with my feet in water all the time. We had there Father Garnett, Father Southwell, and Father Oldcorne (three future martyrs), Father Stanney and myself, two secular priests, and two or three lay gentlemen. Having thus escaped that day's danger, Father Southwell and I set off next day together, as we had come. Father Oldcorne stayed, his dwelling or residence being at Henlip House, not far off."

Again, after the arrest of Father Gerard: "Sometimes they would bring me up for examination, when they had anything new against me. . . . Young was so bare-faced as to add, 'How much more sensible is Southwell, who after long wilfulness, is now ready to conform, and wishes to treat with some man of learning.' 'Nay,' I answered; 'I will never believe that Father Southwell wishes to treat with any one from any wavering in his faith, or to learn what to believe from a heretic; but he might perchance challenge any heretic to dispute with him that dared, as Father Campian did, and as many others would do if you would let them, and appoint

[19] Alluding to the expression of St. Ignatius the Martyr, regarding the fierce and brutal soldiers who were conveying him from Antioch to Rome for his martyrdom.

proper umpires.' Then Young seized hold of the book, and kissing it cried, 'I swear upon this book that Southwell has offered to treat, with a view of embracing our religion.' 'I do not believe he ever did so,' said I. 'What!' said an officer of the Court, 'do you not believe his oath?' 'No,' was my reply, 'I neither can nor will believe him, for I have a better opinion of Father Southwell's firmness than of his [Young's] truthfulness; since perhaps he thinks that he is allowed to make this statement to beguile me.'"

Father Gerard, in his narrative of the Gunpowder Plot,[20] refers thus to Father Southwell, among other distinguished sufferers: "What a famous man, and how much beloved, was Father Southwell, whose excellent parts England cannot forget; and if it would be so ungrateful, yet his works there extant, so full of spirit and eloquence, both in prose and verse, would suffice abundantly to make the cruelty of his persecutors much accused, and his life so shortened much lamented, who living would have been so profitable and pleasing to all sorts. His value and high merit before God was much to be seen in that he was delivered over by God's ordinance to encounter, hand to hand, the cruelest tyrant of all England, Topcliffe, a man most infamous and hateful to all the realm for his bloody and butcherly mind. And this man had Father Southwell many weeks together in his house alone, to use him at pleasure; where he kept him in his boots, as he was taken, with bolts of iron upon his arms, and in a chamber without any bed or straw to lie upon, where he was to turn himself upon his side, and lie upon the floor like a dog when he list to sleep, as full of lice as he might hold. There also he put him nine times most cruelly upon the torture, which Father Southwell at his arraignment professed was more grievous to him than nine deaths could or would have been."

Frequent mention is also made of Father Southwell in *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, Second Series, "Life of Father Weston," &c. Upon a statement by Father Weston that Father Southwell wrote a brief description of the Babington Conspiracy, Father Morris remarks: "This account, though it is so unlike anything else we have from his pen, we should be very glad to find. If it was printed, as Father Weston suggests, we have not been able to identify it." Father Weston says, "I also received letters encouraging me to martyrdom from

[20] *Condition of Catholics*, p. 18.

the same Father Robert and Father John Cornelius, both of them now martyrs of the Society."

After some years' exercise of his Apostolical career he wrote the following letters, from which the reader will be able to gather the misery of those times, and acknowledge the constancy of Catholics and the martyr's own desire of suffering for Christ. The first letter we take from Bishop Challoner's translation from Bishop Yepe's *History of the Persecutions in England*, p. 647.

1. As yet we are alive and well, being unworthy, it seems, of prison. We have oftener sent than received letters from your parts, though they are not sent without difficulty; and some, we know, have been lost.

2. The condition of Catholic recusants here is the same as usual, deplorable and full of fears and dangers; more especially since our adversaries have looked for wars. As many of ours as are in chains, rejoice and are comforted in their prisons; and they that are at liberty, set not their hearts upon it, nor expect it to be of long continuance. All, by the great goodness and mercy of God, arm themselves to suffer anything that can come, how hard soever it may be, as it shall please our Lord; for Whose greater glory, and the salvation of their souls, they are more concerned than for any temporal losses.

3. A little while ago they apprehended two priests, who have suffered such cruel usages in the prison of Bridewell, as can scarcely be believed. What was given them to eat was so little in quantity, and withal so filthy and nauseous, that the very sight of it was enough to turn their stomachs. The labours to which they obliged them were continual and immoderate; and no less in sickness, than in health; for, with hard blows and stripes, they forced them to accomplish their task, how weak soever they were. Their beds were dirty straw, and their prison most filthy.[21]

4. Some are there hung up for whole days by the hands, so that they can but just touch the ground with the tips of their toes. In fine, they that are kept in that prison truly live *in lacu miseriæ et in luto fæcis*.[22] This Purgatory we are looking for every hour, in which Topcliffe and Young, the two executioners of the Catholics, exercise all kinds of torments. But come what pleaseth God, we hope we shall be able to bear all in Him that strengthens us. In the meantime we pray that they may be put to confusion who work iniquity; and that the Lord may speak peace to his people, that, as the royal prophet says, "His glory may dwell in our land."[23] I most humbly recommend myself to the Holy Sacrifices of your Reverence, and of all our friends.

16 January, 1590.

[21] A copy of this letter in the Archives of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster adds these important words: "Nor are they allowed even to buy food for money, unless they would have such as they would rather pay to put from them than to obtain."

[22] Psalm xxxix. 3.

[23] Psalms xxiv. and lxxxiv. 9, 10.

The second letter we take from a translation given in the *Rambler*, 1857.[24] "We have found," says the writer of the article,[25] "in the State Paper Office (*Dom. Eliz.* 8 March, 1590, n. 51), a much more perfect copy of the second of these two letters, containing some details of the martyrdom of Christopher Bayles, that are omitted by the venerable Bishop [Challoner]. Our translation is more literal than graceful."

We have often written to you, but as I have lately heard, few of our letters have come to you, through the false dealing of one, about which Father Williams will tell you. We are still tossed in the midst of dangers, and indeed in no small peril; from which nevertheless we have been hitherto safely delivered by the grace of God.

We have altogether, to our great comfort, renewed the vows of our Society, spending some days in mutual exhortations and conferences. *Aperuimus ora, et attraximus spiritum*—"We opened our mouths and drew in the spirit." I seemed to myself to behold the cradle of nascent Catholicity in England, of which we now are sowing the seeds in tears, that others may come to carry the sheaves. Yet we have sung the song of the Lord in a strange land; and in this desert we have sucked honey from the rock, and oil from the hard stone. But this our joy ended in sorrow, and we were dispersed by a sudden alarm; but in the end we escaped with more danger than hurt. I, and another of us, in avoiding Scylla fell into Charybdis; but by an especial mercy of God we escaped both dangers, and are now at anchor in harbour.

Among others, there was lately taken Christopher Bayles, of the county of Durham, a scholar priest of the Roman College, then of that of Rheims. For twenty-four whole hours he was suspended by the hands, just touching the ground with the tips of his toes, cruelly tortured and wearied by various questions, to all which he gave this one answer, "That he was a Catholic priest, and had come to recall such to Christ's fold, and never intended nor wished any other thing." From Bridewell, formerly a house of correction for strumpets and cutpurses, but now for Catholics, he was removed to another prison, and there put in the same cell with a Puritan heretic, whence he was shortly taken to be tried and capitally condemned, on the express count that being a Priest ordained by Papal authority he had come into England. They asked him whether the Pope might depose the Queen; and he answered that it was in the Pope's power to depose princes for just reasons. When they were about to pass sentence upon him, they asked the usual question, whether he could produce any reason why he should not be put to death. "I should like to ask you one question," said he; "was St. Augustine, whom Gregory II. [I.] sent into England a traitor guilty of treason, or not?" He was not, they said. "Why then do you say that I, sent by the same See, for the same purpose, am a traitor, when nothing can be urged against me, that might not have been urged against St. Augustine?" They had nothing to answer to this, but their "Away with him; crucify him."

While he was being drawn on the hurdle to the place of

[24] Vol. i. p. 104. [25] The late Mr. R. Simpson.

execution, he sang psalms. When he had got up the ladder, he said, "God forbid that I should glory save in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ;" then lifting up his hands to heaven, and signing himself with the sign of the Cross, as well as he could with his manacled hands, he said, "You have come to see a man die—a common sight; a priest—neither is that unusual! I wish you could see my soul as well as my body, and behold the way in which it departs; for then I am sure that you would both sympathise and rejoice with me, no less than you now with such hatred imprecate curses on my head. From my soul I pardon all men, and desire all men to pardon me! Then asking all the Catholics to pray for him [for he said that the prayers of the heretics would do him no service], he fell to his prayers, and shortly afterwards with fearless countenance and mind he bravely and constantly underwent death. He suffered on Ash Wednesday, in the most crowded street of London,[26] very many of the heretics praising his piety and constancy.

Then the hangman, with hands all bloody with this butchery and quartering, hastened to another street,[27] to execute a layman, a man of probity, who had been condemned to die for comfort of priests and giving them alms. Before his death, while he was sitting with a lighted candle in his filthy and dark dungeon, seeing the form of a crown on the head of his shadow, he put up his hand to feel what could cause such an appearance; but finding nothing, he changed his place, to try whether it came from some peculiar position of his body; but, as he walked, there was the same appearance, which moved when he moved, and stood when he stood, and so remained visible for a whole hour, like a diadem upon his head, to foreshadow his future glory. He told this a little before his martyrdom to a pious woman.[28] Horner was the man's name; and he gained the palm of victory with as great constancy as the other.[29]

With these spring showers, as it were, the field of the Church was to be watered, that the tender plant might rejoice in such dewdrops. We also are expecting (unless, perchance, we are unworthy of such an honour,) our day to come, as that of the hired servant. In the meantime we earnestly beg the prayers of your Lordship and all the rest, that the Father of Lights may restore to us the joy of His salvation, and confirm us with His princely spirit.

Your Lordship's obedient servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL.

March, 1590.

[26] Fleet Street, on a pair of gallows erected over against Fetter Lane, and was there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, 4th March, 1589—90. Challoner's (*Missionary Priests*).

[27] Smithfield.

[28] "This friend," says Bishop Challoner, in his account of the martyr Horner, "wrote the whole account to Father Robert Southwell, on the 18th of March of the same year."

[29] See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs*. The martyr had been once before imprisoned for harbouring priests, and at that time was kept so long in a filthy dungeon, that from dampness one of his legs mortified, and had to be amputated. While under the operation, God was pleased to favour him with a vision, which so strongly drew his attention, and so sweetly entertained him, that he was not at all sensible of the pain.

The letter is endorsed: "This relation was translated into Spanish, and presented to all the grandees of Spain, to make them conceive that the number and persecution of Catholics in England was great."

At the time of Father Southwell's arrival in England (1586) the country was in a most disturbed state. The year before, seventy priests had been taken from their dungeons, and, as a favour from the Queen, sent into banishment. The real or supposed plot of Francis Throgmorton had been condemned, and not long after that of William Parry. To this, again, succeeded the rising of certain nobles, followed by the execution of some, and proscription of others among them. These were the events of 1585. After the lapse of a few months, sanguinary laws were enacted against the priests who remained in the country. The captivity of the Queen of Scots also filled men's minds with rumours and suspense. Every place was haunted by spies and pursuivants, so that to the protection of God alone could be ascribed the safe landing of any one in England.

That the newly-established Church was then in a "declining state" through the exertions of the Seminary priests, we may gather by the following interesting paper, prescribing the means to stay the said "decline." It probably formed the groundwork for the sanguinary Act of 27 Elizabeth.

1586. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxcv. n. 114. Endorsed—"The meanes to staie the declininge in religion through the Seminaryes offending in practise."

THE MEANES TO STAIE THE DECLININGE IN RELIGION.

Recusantes.

It is first to be considered how theie be hinderers of the coorse of relligion and how theie be principall instrumentes to drawe the well affected, weakly instructed to fall away, wch. will appeare by considerācon of theis things following.

1. Theie offende in example.
2. Theie converte by p'sūacon.
3. Theie releeve secretly Jesuites and Seminaries, the poison of this estate, wth. monny bothe abroade and at home.
4. Theie traine up theire children in erronyous religion.
5. Theie corrupt theire servants attendinge on them also.

The Remedies.

For the first, theie are to be removed from the places where

they may most hurte in example, and the penaltie of the lawe is to be inflicted uppon them, if it shall not be thought meete to yelde som quallificāon.

For the seconde, theie are to enter into bondes that theie shall not pleade nor deale wth. anie of her Maties. subjects in pointes of religion, wch. if theie shall refuse to do then to be committed.

For the thirde, to enter into the like bondes not to minister directly nor indirectly anie reliefe unto Jesuites or Semins. neither abroade nor at home, whereof for the clearing of themselves they are twice in the yeare to be put to theire oathe.

For the fourthe, the buishoppes of the diocesse are to be ordered to provide learned and sounde teachers for the traininge up of the children. And the said recusants by order from my L.L. are to enter into bonde to send theire children by a day to be appointed by the buisshoppe to sooche place as by the sayd bysshope shall be in that behalf provyded.

For the last, theie are to be limyted touchinge theire nombr, and some yearlie penaltie to be sett on the heades of suche theire servants as shall offende.

Seminaries.

Of this kinde of people there are two sortes, som restrained and som abroade.

Mischiefe wrought by the restrained.

Theie are instrumentes at hand by reason of the corruption of theire keepers to drawe her Maties. subjects from theire obedience in point of religion.

Theie are receivers of newes both from the Courte and cittie, wch. theie distribute to theire p'tisons [partisans] bothe within the realm and without.

Theie are also setters of plotts bothe for attemptes against her Maties. pson. and invasion of the realme.

Mischiefe wrought by them abroade.

Theie runne from contrey to contrey, from house to house, and do drawe by p'suasion nombres of her Maties. subjects to fawle awaie in religion.

Theie hould a kinde of correspondencie wth. these restrained, and are distributers of such newes as theie receave from them.

Theie put the ill affected of this realme as theie run through the contrey in comforte, that theie shall have forren support for the change and alteracōn of religion.

Remedies for the restrained.

The execūcon of them, as experience hathe shewed in respect of theire constancy, or rather obstenacy, moveth manie to compassion and draweth some to affect theire religion uppon conceite that suche an extraordinarie contempte of deathe cannot but proceade from above, whereby many have fallen away. And therefore it is a thinge meete to be considered whether it were not convenient that som other remedy were put in execūcon. And in case the execūcon of them shall not be thought the best coorse, then is it to be considered what other waye were fit to be helde wth. them. There are of these seminaries two sortes, som learned

and politike wthall and of great p'suasion; others simple, havinge neither zeale, witt, nor learninge. For the first, theie are to be sent to Wisbiche, or some such like places, where theie may be under honest keepinge and be restrained from access and intelligence, for that beinge banished they might doe a great deale of harme.

For the second, theie may be banished as others before uppon penaltie to be executed if theie returne. Suche as were banished and are returned are to be p'sently executed.

Remedie for those abroade.

Admonition is to be given by proclamation that suche as shall after the publication thereof receave them, shall be p'ceeded against by the last statute. That such as have receaved them since the making of the said statute, and shall reveale the same unto the next justice within xxtie. daies after the said publication, and shall enter into bonde for not receavinge of them in time to com, to be freed from the penaltie. And in case theie shall not reveale it, then to be subjecte to the lawe.

That the said Jesuites shall have a time limyted to de'pte the realme and to be freed from the penaltie, so as theie de'pt before the time limytted.

All in keepers and other victualrs. to be bounde by the justice in case any gest [guest], not knowen to be well affected, or not to have cause to remaine for necessarye busines in the places where the said hostes shall inhabit, and shall remaine there above one night, to be presented to the next publique officer to be appointed by the justice for the examininge of suche persons as by the said in keepers and victualrs. shall be produced before them.

The wonder was that any Catholic priest, whether secular or religious, could exist at all under such a state of things. Father Southwell, however, and his companion and Superior Father Garnett, escaped, arriving safely in London a few days before the 22nd of July (St. Mary Magdalen's day). They were received at the house of Lord Vaux of Harrowden, in the suburb of Hackney,[30] where they spent some months, their noble host receiving them with open arms from love of the faith, of which he was a truly zealous professor, and out of affection to Father Robert Parsons, by whose exertions he had been restored to it.[31] From hence he wrote a letter to the Very Rev. Father General, which probably never reached its destination; for in the Public Record Office, London, is an abstract of it, furnished to Walsingham by some of his spies. The following is a copy.

[30] Lord Vaux had been imprisoned and fined for receiving Father Campian at his house at Hackney.

[31] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 184.

1586. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxci. n. 29. Endorsed—"Extract of a letter written by Father Robert ye 25th July, 1586, to the Principall of the Society of ye Jesuites."

At his cominge to London he spoke with divers Catholikes in prison, and with the partie to whom he was commended from the Pr. [priest], at whose howse he was well enterteyned, and saide Mass upon St. Magdalene's day, and the next day was sent for to another place.

Hee coming into the realme did greatly encourage all the Catholykes here, who did before complayne that they were, as it were, forsaken by the Societie.

Many priests have been taken of late, but not so hardly used nor kept as before tymes, and some alsoe for money released and set at liberty.

In the court there is somewhat saied to be in hainde, which if it take effect, the Catholiques are then to looke for all extremities, but if it go not forward, then is hope for all quietness. That the Catholiques which since the making of the last statute, were stroken in some feare, do now begin to feare lesse and lesse, and to gather their spirits hygher. That in iij or iiij shires together there is not one priest, though desired of many, and unlesse some supplie be sent over, the Catholique cause will be very much impaired. It was propounded to the Earl of Arundell by the counsill and (as was thought) by the Queen, that if he would but cary the sworde before her when she went to church, and stay there till the end of the prayers, he should be set at libertie. But he clerely will do nothing that shall not be lawfull and agreeable with the dutie of a Catholick.

A certein preist was taken in mariner's apparell, and brought to the Court into the Queen's presence, who asked him merely whether he would convert her. He answered he wod do his endeavours willingly. But she replied that he must first convert her women, and so after many mockings he was committed to prison.

That divers preists do their dutie wonderfully, as well in confirming as converting many, and in other offices of a preist, so that the heretickes do terme some of them to be conjurers and enchaunters.

That he likewise doth employ himselfe diligentlie in hearing confessions, and other duties of a preist without feare or fainting.

The writer of the article in the *Rambler*, already referred to, observes:[32]

Alas, for the poor Catholics who were now beginning to fear less and less, the matter in hand at the Court resulted in the sanguinary statute of 27 Eliz., assigning the penalty of death to all harbourers and comforters of seminary priests or Jesuits. The Anglican Bishops could not endure the spectacle of so many of them "doing their duties wonderfully well in confirming and converting," and were continually demanding that the reviving religion should be repressed by any violence requisite; and the Queen and Parliament were not slow to second their advice.

[32] P. 100.

The letter, of which the following is an abstract, made by the Secretary of State at the time,[33] was probably intercepted, like the one given above; and indeed it seems to have been written shortly after.

He shows that his coming over and name are descried already.

He procured Father Richard money to apparel himself, but said he saw him not, for fear of taking; and writes that Father Richard's fellow is taken.

That Father Tirrell, a man that hath done much good, is taken, and two days before the writing hereof two others;[34] as also Martinus Arraius, who, as he hears, hath procured by money to be pardoned his life, but shall be banished.[35]

That Father Cornelius (called by the Protestants a conjurer and enchanter) is in safety, and doth much good by his singular gift in preaching.[36]

That Fathers Brushford and Stafferton and Christopher are well, and profit much.[37]

Complains of the want of priests; and that three whole shires, having great store of Catholics in them, have one priest amongst them, and so divers other places.

Desires to be commended to one Roberts, a Londoner, and speaks much in praise of that Roberts' mother, and that she looks for her son's coming and desires it.

He dispraises one (whom he calls blind, and puts a word in cipher in the margin for his name), blames him of covetousness; that himself got to see that man's congregation here by means of one Emerford. That he begins to reclaim himself.

He heareth ill report of one whose name he sets down in cipher that that party had dealings with one (whose name is likewise in cipher) and at his command went into France and is returned. He fears this man is a dissembler, and complains much of the danger they are in by such false brethren.

He desires to be recommended to his brethren of the seminary, in particular to Antony Burley, Messingham, Elmer.

That he saw one Matthews' brother well, and in good case; but writes that Humphrey, one Parmensus's brother, is condemned to die with Tirrell, but the execution yet deferred.

He desires further to be commended to Father Leonard Vicatiatus, Humfredus, and Father Hoffœus, Father Secretary, and Father Maggius.

[Subscribed] ROBERT.

[33] *Dom. Eliz.* 1586, n. 755, undated.

[34] Rev. Anthony Tyrrell. See *Troubles*, Second Series.

[35] Martin Aray, Ara, or Arre, sent in 1577 from Rheims to Rome to help to found the English College. Sent on the English mission 1579. Captured in 1586, but by a money payment "had favour to be banished," but still remained as a priest in the north of England (*Harleian MSS.* 360, fol. 10, quoted in *Rambler*, *ut supra*).

[36] He was martyred at Dorchester, July 4, 1594. His life will be given in the next volume of *Records*.

[37] Father Brushford's confession may be seen *Lansdowne MSS.* 96, a. 63. His biography will be given in the next volume of *Records*.

The writer in the *Rambler* remarks that, secluded as Father Southwell was, he must have had wonderful versatility to enable him to become "the chief dealer in the affairs of our State of England for the Papists," as he was described by Boord, a spy, to Lord Burleigh, in 1591, Father More observes[39] that nowhere in England does a priest live so closely confined as in the mansions of the Catholic nobility: for in those great establishments, among large numbers of Protestant servants, there were but few Catholics, either because few were found fit for the principal offices, or because it was deemed safer, on account of the laws, not to retain many. The priest was therefore stowed away as far as possible from sight and hearing, and one or two only of the domestics were admitted into the secret. He spent his days and nights shut up in his room [generally in the attics] "like a sparrow, solitary upon the house-tops," cautiously opening his window for a breath of fresh air, and moving about carefully, lest he should be overheard. He said Mass in the presence of a few, and during the day conversed with fewer still. Some small portion from the nobleman's table was stealthily carried to him by a servant, sufficient indeed to support life, but certainly not much to pamper the appetite. The seasoning, however, was a mind ready to receive whatever came, which condiment, unless he brings with him, he must needs live the greatest pauper in the wealthiest house.[40]

Such did Father Southwell find the house of the Countess of Arundel. But we find from "informations" that he went about London a good deal, "*using* to Mr. Cotton's, Fleet Street, and sometimes to Dr. Smith's,[41] and even occasionally making excursions into Sussex and into the north. In his dress he did not adopt the extravagant disguises which many priests of that day thought it necessary to affect, attiring themselves as gallants, with feathers in their caps and hawks on their fists, with slashed satin doublets and velvet cloaks, mounted on good horses, with lackeys running by their side. On the contrary, he was wont to be apparelled in 'black rashe,' with 'clothes more fit than fine,' as he sings of himself —a man not very remarkable, of moderate stature, with auburn hair and beard."[42]

[39] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 184.

[40] Upon this interesting subject, see the *modus vivendi S.J.*, *Records of the English Province*, vol. i. Series II. III. IV. p. 3, "College of St. Aloysius."

[41] See note in p. 48 of this volume.

[42] *Rambler*, *ut supra*, p. 106. See State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxli. n. 35, copied below.

The Countess of Arundel was at that time mourning the condition of her husband, the noble confessor and afterwards martyr for the faith, Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, then a prisoner in the Tower of London. His father, the Duke of Norfolk, having been accused of a design to marry the captive Queen of Scots, and likewise of complicity with other enemies of Elizabeth (especially with the Sovereign Pontiff and the King of Spain) had been beheaded by Elizabeth in 1573. His grandfather, for many light causes, says Camden,[43] had also met with the same fate; as also his great grandfather many years before. Philip Howard, warned by the fate of his ancestors, by the severity of the laws against Catholics, and the influence of his adversaries at Court, meditated retiring privately to the Continent. He therefore wrote a letter to Elizabeth, giving the reasons of his retirement, which was to be handed to her Majesty after his departure: but his design being detected by the treachery of one of his suite, he was detained and sent to the Tower. A year passed away, and no charge was brought against him. He was then summoned before the Star Chamber under a charge of assisting priests, contrary to the law, and for having held correspondence with Allen and Parsons, enemies of the Queen; that he had designed to retire from the country in order to fight for Spain, &c. He was condemned to a fine of ten thousand pounds, and to be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. That "good pleasure" did not seem to meditate his release; for, after three years' confinement, a capital indictment was preferred against him. According to Camden, the counts in the indictment were similar to those which had been alleged against him in the Star Chamber in 1586. He was, however, condemned; and this flower of the prime nobility of England, scarcely in his thirty-third year, was left to wither the rest of his life in a dungeon. He suffered ten years' imprisonment, and devoted these, both day and night, to prayer and penitential exercises; dying on the 19th of October, 1595.[44]

The noble martyr did not indeed die, as was expected, by the axe, but strong suspicions were entertained that he was carried off by means of slow poison. He was buried in the chapel of the Tower, in the same grave with the Duke his father. After a lapse of nearly thirty-six years, in 1624, Lady Arundel obtained leave from James I. to remove her

[43] *Ann.* 15 Eliz. [44] More, pp. 184, 185.

husband's remains. They were taken first to her house at West Horsley in Surrey, where they were inclosed in an iron coffin, and were soon afterwards conveyed to Arundel, and there deposited in a vault built by herself for her own burial and that of her descendants. The inscription over the martyr's relics is in these terms:

Philippi Comitis olim Arund. et Sur. ossa veneranda hoc loculo condita, impetratâ a Jacobo Rege veniâ, Annæ uxoris dilectissimæ cura, Thomæ Filii insigni pietate a Turri Londinensi in hunc locum translata sunt anno 1624. Qui 1mo ob fidei Catho. professionem sub Elizabetha carceri mancipatus deinde pœnâ pecuniaria 10,000 lib. mulctatus, tandem capitis iniquissime condemnatus, post vitam in arctissima custodia in eadem Turri an. 10. mens. 6. sanctissimè transactam, piissime, 19. Oct. 1595, non absque veneni suspitione in Domino obdormivit.[45]

In the meantime, Father Southwell encouraged the afflicted Countess both by conference and written spiritual exercises, not only to endure her solitude patiently, but, out of love to her better Spouse, Jesus Christ, to embrace it with joy, and by more frequent prayer to devote to God that service she was unable to render to her absent lord. At that time also he wrote a longer letter of consolation, which became most useful to all Catholics in helping them to endure their sufferings.[46]

[45] *Vide* More, *ut supra.* Also *Lives of the Earl and Countess of Arundel,* by the late Duke of Norfolk, 1857.

[46] Mr. Grosart, in his book, p. lxviii. mentions a fine copy of this rare volume, in the library of Jesus College, Oxford, with the title—"*The Triumphs over Death;* or a Consolatorie Epistle for afflicted minds, in the affects of dying friends. First written for the consolation of one, but nowe published for the generall good of all, by R.S., the author of *St. Peter's Complaint* and *Mœoniæ,* his other hymnes. London: Printed by Valentine Simmes for John Busbie, and are to be solde at Nicholas Ling's shop at the west end of Paule's Church, 1596 (4to)." Mr. Grosart adds that there was a previous edition in 1595. Father Southwell also wrote a book entitled "*An Epistle of Comfort to the Reverend Priests, and to the Honourable, Worshipfull, and other of the Lay sort, restrayned in durance for the Catholic faith.* By R.S., S.J." An edition of this work was printed at Paris (Mr. Grosart queries the date 1593), 8vo. 214 pages, a copy of which is in the British Museum. An edition of the work was also printed (we believe) at St. Omer's College in 1616, 16mo. 419 pages. A copy is preserved in the library of the College of St. Ignatius, S.J., London. Mr. Walter, in his edition of the poems of Father Southwell, 1817, makes extracts from this epistle, and at p. 6 infers that it was written in prison. But from the Author's Preface we believe it was written when he was chaplain at Arundel House, Strand, and was composed especially for the consolation of the noble Earl in the Tower (see likewise the references to it by More and Bartoli). An edition of *Marie Magdalen's Funeral Teares,* in prose was printed for the *Antiquarian Classics* (vol. iv. London: Printed by J. Haviland, 1834, 20mo. 204 pages). Prefixed to this little gem is a short biographical sketch of the martyr's life taken from the *Retrospective Review,* with an engraving of the Father in the Jesuit habit, with rope and knife.

We find also the following, among other letters which he addressed to Lord Arundel, to exhort that noble soul to endure with fortitude. It was dated after the sentence of death had been passed.

Amongst the most certain proofs of the immortality of the soul, of a future life, and of a general judgment, this specially is ranked, that we see the good here oppressed and the wicked exalted, virtue loaded with afflictions, vice with honours. For since in all other human affairs things are adapted and accommodated to the nature of each one in particular, and of all in general, and reason itself teaches that praise and reward is due to the good and punishment to the wicked, who can imagine that God, the Governor and Disposer of all things, should be so provident and consistent in matters of the lowest order in the chief portion of the universe, yet should in regard to man be, as I might say, so careless or so preposterous. There is therefore another time for the due adjustment of this inversion of things, another life, another place, in which vices which are here lauded will be there punished, and virtue here oppressed will be there adorned with merited praise and reward. By which kind of argument, although the whole reasonings to the contrary easily fall and vanish, so those men who do not reflect upon these things attribute all to fate and chance, and, as it were, to a certain order of nature, conceiving that the omnipotent Author of the universe, and the all-prudent Governor (should any such exist in their minds) would have distributed rewards and punishments by a more equitable arrangement. But they who are taught in the school of Christ know certainly that this life is a warfare, a pilgrimage, and an exile; they truly understand that neither upon the journey is rest to be found, nor in exile their country, nor is the crown to be expected before the combat is finished. Those indeed persuade themselves a present *peace*, whose desire is rather to be conquered than to conquer and *rest*, to whom it is sweeter to eat the garlic of Egypt in idleness than to be satiated with milk and honey in the land of promise, though to be gained only by present labour. This solitude may be a *country* to those who, to their incredible loss, prefer to slumber upon the journey in a miserable roadside inn, rather than proceed on to the heavenly Jerusalem, the city of true peace, and to the fruition of eternal delights. But if the reason is sought for, why God in this life so unequally apportions punishments and rewards, this is to be referred to His most perfect justice, which leaves no perverse action unpunished, no virtuous deed without its due reward of praise and honour. Truly the base goods of this life are far remote from and an unequal reward to virtue; eternal punishments likewise are heavier than the expiated sins of the pious deserve, if you consider how much they have here mourned and repented them. Therefore their faults are corrected in this present life by afflictions; merits are reserved to be recompensed by eternal rewards. On the other hand, what there is of good in the wicked, since it merits not eternal felicity it is recompensed by temporal. Since no measure of human miseries is an adequate punishment for mortal sins, they are chastised by the rod of eternal torments. . . . It is better for you to depart hence whilst in the best and most courageous dispositions of heart. Far more desirable is it to sail upon a calm sea, favoured by the breeze of the Divine Spirit, than, uncertain of

eternity, as to the safety of the soul (presently most certainly to be placed in safety), to be still exposed to danger in the dubious waves. There is a certain maturity of grace as of years, and may be you have indeed attained to the measure of the gift of Christ. Had Judas been taken out of this life after his first vocation, he would have been saved. If death had seized Saul obedient, he would not have committed self-murder. Had Solomon died in the fervour of his piety, there would have existed no problem among the living regarding his salvation; but because they did not correspond with grace and persevere in virtue, they were taken away, malice changing their understanding; they vanished away in their own imaginations. Many are fearful in death. First, it is certain; the time, the place, the manner and state, uncertain; lastly, it is especially terrible when doubtful as to the things to follow. These fears either do not exist in thee, or are light. The time, the manner, the place is certain; the recompense to follow (by the assent of the Universal Church) indubitable. Lastly, the present condition of your soul is such that you can expect at no other time to possess; the mind also, and the entire senses, whereby you are able to judge of death, what it may be; for it will not be so unpleasant on account of the loss it will bring, as delightful on account of the miseries it will cut off: "Neque tam erit fugienda propter vitam quam terminat, quam amplectanda pro enarrabili felicitate quam inchoat." For your *cause* (by whatever name it may be defamed, and under whatever colour deformed in the eyes of men) is *religion*. The form of the accusation itself speaks this; all the more prudent and sedate think it; all the rest of the charges alleged prove it. Proceed with the patience and equability you have hitherto done, and whatever is said by the envious, that of the Psalmist will be true in this your calumny: "In memoria æterna erit justus; ab auditione mala non timebit." Many sigh for thee, the tears of many flow for thee; never was dying man more justly lamented. Men everywhere predict that your constancy in death, your humility in suffering will far more profit the Church of God than all the labours of a longer life, so indignant are all men with this iniquitous sentence. Martyrdom ever confers the highest honour on any man; to you it will bring a double palm, for you will be able to say with the Psalmist, "Præstitisti decori meo virtutem," since you will have crowned nobility with the glory of the Cross of Christ. If thou hast sinned, no sacrament more powerful than such a death, no satisfaction more valid; if you are well-deserving (which indeed I think), no crown more excellent, no laurel more glorious than martyrdom. Let, therefore, neither passion, nor fiction, nor sword, nor the glory of splendid attire, nor bribes, nor entreaties, nor any other violence separate thee from the charity of Christ. Thou art born that thou mightest be of God; that thou livest, is from God; thou encounterest this death for God; that death will confirm the vacillating, will render the strong yet stronger still. Friends applaud, strangers stand astonished, the adversaries are confounded, whilst you beget for yourself in both orbs an eternal name. A happy beginning gains a more happy conclusion [for him] whom hitherto neither a long imprisonment nor the sentence of death terrifies, nor the hope of pardon nor deceitful promises softens. The cause is God's, the conflict short, the reward eternal. Lastly, to treat of the affairs of your soul. I would not that you afflict yourself too much by fasting, prayers, and penitential works, in order that you may be the

stronger for the last combat. Your desire of confessing (the means being now precluded), and the contrition of a humble heart, expressed by shedding your blood in this cause, will be as full a remission of sins and of all punishment due for them as in baptism—so great is the prerogative of martyrdom. I desire you the happiest issue of the conflict begun, and I hope, by the help of God, to see each other hereafter in glory. Farewell.

Father Southwell is frequently mentioned in the life of the Earl of Arundel published by the late Duke of Norfolk.

My dear and Rev. Father [writes the Earl], this being the last time that I think I shall ever send unto you, I shall be very ungrateful if, wanting all other means of expressing my thankfulness, I should not now at least acknowledge it in words ; and as I must needs say, I could not be more bound to any man, nor to any but one of your calling, so much ; and all this in a time when such comforts were most welcome, and even to the benefit of that which in all men is most precious, so in heart, our Lord, Who sees all secrets, sees my goodwill and thankfulness, and I doubt not will reward you amongst all your other worthy merits for these bestowed on me, His most unworthy servant ; and in as much thankfulness and good will as my heart can conceive, I remain yours till the last moment.

The love and respect borne to each other by those chosen souls were indeed both marked and touching. When some years after, Father Southwell was apprehended and imprisoned in the Tower, whenever the Lieutenant made mention of him in the Earl's presence, as he often did, Lord Arundel spoke with great respect of him, calling him on one occasion, "Blessed Father." And when the Lieutenant expressed his displeasure, saying, "Term you him 'Blessed Father,' being, as he is, an enemy to his country?" the Earl defended him, saying, "How can that be, seeing yourself hath told me heretofore that no fault could be laid unto him but his religion?" And the Lieutenant telling him at another time that his (the Earl's) dog came into Father Southwell's chamber whilst he was there with him, he answered that he loved his dog the better for it; and the Lieutenant in a scoffing manner saying it might be the dog came thither to have his blessing, the Earl replied it was no news for irrational creatures to seek blessing at the hands of holy men; St. Jerome writing how those lions which had digged with their paws St. Paul the hermit's grave, stood after, waiting, with their eyes upon St. Antony, expecting his blessing.

And again,[47] speaking of some of the Earl's more prominent moral virtues: "Thirdly, in his willingness to be advised

[47] *Lives of the Earl and Countess of Arundel*, p. 137.

of his faults, oversights, and imperfections," we read the following passages from one of his letters to Father Southwell:

"What fault soever you shall upon your own knowledge find to be in me, and tell me of, I will always endeavour and desire to amend." And this he really ever performed, as appears by divers of his letters to his lady and others, wherein he gave order for the amending of some things whereof he had been advised by the said Father, whose directions he had resolved so exactly to observe, that in a matter which did no less concern him than his life, he thus writ unto his lady: "Assure him from me" (says he, speaking of Father Southwell), "that I will not, for any worldly respect whatsoever, God willing, go one inch farther than he doth direct."

We have already mentioned that Father Southwell sometimes issued forth from his solitude when chaplain to the Lady Arundel. Father More[48] also states that he occasionally stole out of doors to assist the Catholics, and that the Countess assisted him in this work of spiritual mercy. Towards those whom he gained by labour and danger, she took her part in contributing the expenses. During the times of her occasional absence, he withdrew himself to his usual solitude, that with the Prophet, "Præstolaretur cum silentio salutare Dei, et tacendo levaret super se." How preferable he considered this vicissitude to an unsettled and wandering life, appears from a letter he wrote to a priest who was going about without any fixed purpose or abode.[49]

I am much grieved to hear of your unsettled way of life, visiting many people, at home with none. We are all, I acknowledge, pilgrims, but not vagrants; our life is uncertain, but not our road. The curse made Cain a vagabond and wanderer upon the earth. Conscience wounded by sin renders life also uneasy. Inconstancy is a disease of the mind, always changing to new places, never able to find a holy thought wherein it can rest. Variety of company is the mother of idleness and instability, and is more apt to corrupt than to perfect the disposition, however good. Who is more sunburnt than he who is always travelling? A change of objects maybe feeds the eyes, but they suffer heavier damage from the wind and dust. Virtue is seldom found in the highway, and rare is the company from which you come forth more innocent. Experience is dear, if bought with danger to a good life. It is better to be ignorant of other men's manners, than to be a stranger at home. It is difficult to adapt one canvass to so many different models. Diversity begets confusion, but perfects not art. It is difficult to imitate even one thing correctly. Graft your thoughts into some good stock, suck the sap from a fruitful root. Change of juices does not ripen, but rot the fruit. He who is familiar with all is friend to none. You will never be your own, if always with everybody. Among many strangers you will have but few friends. Transplant not your mind into such varieties; suffer it to take root

[48] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 188. [49] *Ibid.* pp. 188, 189.

in some one soil. Plants frequently transplanted sooner wither than blossom. It is an unwholesome appetite that tastes of everything and relishes nothing. He who sips of all and sticks to none, is unsteady of heart. Recall then, your senses. Restrain your wandering mind. Think upon a new course. Count yourself worthy of something to which you may in future adhere. Be at home somewhere, and there live by rule; then go forth to other places, like a guest looking towards home. Imitate the bees which suck the honey from the flowers, and immediately return to the hive, and there go about domestic duties, which begin with prudence and end with profit. I wish you to place a measure to your social disposition, not as I would cage a bird, or condemn an owl to the dark. There is a medium between mute solitude or silent obscurity, and a continual change of company; both these extremes are equally bad; the mean between them is best when we converse, whenever there is a call to do so, and collect at stated times. Set before your eyes nature herself; the seasons, day and night, are lessons of this kind of life. Some circumstances call us abroad, others invite us to retirement. Learn while at home how to behave in company, and instruct your mind how to nourish in secret holy thoughts, which in the exercise of every virtue will prove to you sweeter than all possible delights; wherewith may you live both a long and a holy life (which from my heart I wish you). Farewell.

Among the first cares of Father Southwell was the reconciliation of his father to the Church.[50] He was wealthy, and had married a lady of the Court, who had formerly been governess to Queen Elizabeth, and had taught her Latin. Although remaining a Catholic at heart, he had neglected his duties, abstaining from the sacraments of the Church; in fact, he was a time-server, and, under cover of the laws (which exempted all those who conformed to the Protestant prayers from proscription) preserved both his possessions and Court favour. Father Southwell wrote a long letter to him, which had the desired effect, as he subsequently congratulates both himself and his father, thanking God for having given his father to him in the beginning as a pledge of future gains, and a most acceptable reward for his future efforts. We read in the pedigree above of his dying in the Fleet prison. Although this beautiful letter is very long, we feel it impossible to omit it in any biography of the martyr.[51]

To the worshipful his very good father Mr. R. S. his dutiful son R. S. wisheth all happiness.

In children of former ages it hath been thought so behoveful a point of duty to their parents, in presence by serviceable offices, in absence by other effectual significations, to yield proof of their

[50] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 189.

[51] A manuscript copy of this famous letter is preserved in the Bodleian Library, and another among the Stonyhurst MSS., dated 1589.

thankful minds, that neither any child could omit it without touch of ungratefulness, nor the parents forbear it without nice displeasure. But now we are fallen into sore calamity of times, and the violence of heresy hath so crossed this course both of virtue and nature, that these ingrafted laws, never infringed by the most savage and brute creatures, cannot of God's people without peril be observed. I am not of so unnatural a kind, of so wild an education, or so unchristian a spirit, as not to remember the root out of which I branched, or to forget my secondary maker and author of my being. It is not the carelessness of a cold affection, nor the want of a due and reverent respect that has made me such a stranger to my native home, and so backward in defraying the debt of a thankful mind, but only the iniquity of these days, that maketh my presence perilous, and the discharge of my duties an occasion of danger. I was loth to enforce an unwilling courtesy upon any, or, by seeming officious, to become offensive; deeming it better to let time digest the fear that my return into the realm had bred in my kindred, than abruptly to intrude myself, and to purchase their danger, whose good will I so highly esteem. I never doubted but that the belief, which to all my friends by descent and pedigree is, in a manner, hereditary, framed in them a right persuasion of my present calling, not suffering them to measure their censures of me by the ugly terms and odious epithets wherewith heresy hath sought to discredit my functions, but rather by the reverence of so worthy a sacrament, and the sacred usages of all former ages. Yet, because I might easily perceive by apparent conjectures, that many were more willing to hear of me than from me, and readier to praise than to use my endeavours, I have hitherto bridled my desire to see them by the care and jealousy of their safety; and banishing myself from the scene of my cradle in my own country, I have lived like a foreigner, finding among strangers that which, in my nearest blood, I presumed not to seek. But now, considering that delay may have qualified fear, and knowing my person only to import danger to others, and my persuasion to none but to myself, I thought it high time to utter my sincere and dutiful mind, and to open a vent to my zealous affection, which I have so long smothered and suppressed in silence. For not only the original law of nature written in all children's hearts, and derived from the breast of their mother, is a continual solicitude urging me in your behalf, but the sovereign decree enacted by the Father of heaven, ratified by His Son, and daily repeated by the instinct of the Holy Ghost, bindeth every child in the due of Christianity to tender the state and welfare of his parents, and is a motive that alloweth no excuse, but of necessity presseth to performance of duty. Nature by grace is not abolished, nor destroyed, but perfected; neither are the impressions razed or annulled, but suited to the ends of grace and nature. And if its affections be so forcible, that even in hell, where rancour and despite and all feelings of goodness are overwhelmed by malice, they moved the rich glutton by experience of his own misery, to have compassion of his kindred, how much more in the Church of God, where grace quickeneth, charity inflameth, and nature's good inclinations are abetted by supernatural gifts, ought the like piety prevail? And who but those more merciless than damned creatures would see their dearest friends plunged in the like perils, and not be wounded by deep remorse at their lamentable and imminent hazard? If in beholding

a mortal enemy wrought and tortured with deadly pains, the strongest heart softeneth with some sorrows; if the most frozen and fierce mind cannot but thaw and melt with pity even when it knows such person to suffer his deserved torments; how much less can the heart of a child consider those that bred him into this world, to be in the fall to far more bitter extremities, and not bleed with grief at their uncomfortable case? Surely, for mine own part, though I challenge not the prerogative of the best disposition, yet am I not of so harsh and churlish a humour, but that it is a continual corrective and cross unto me, that, whereas my endeavours have reclaimed many from the brink of perdition, I have been less able to employ them where they were most due, and was barred from affording to my dearest friends that which hath been eagerly sought and beneficially obtained by mere strangers. Who hath more interest in the grape than he who planted the vine? who more right to the crop than he who sowed the corn? or where can the child owe so great service as to him to whom he is indebted for his very life and being? With young Tobias I have travelled far, and brought home a freight of spiritual substance to enrich you, and medicinable receipts against your ghostly maladies. I have, with Esau, after long toil in pursuing a long and painful chase, returned with the full prey you were wont to love, desiring thereby to ensure your blessing. I have in this general famine of all true and Christian food, with Joseph, prepared abundance of the bread of angels for the repast of your soul. And now my desire is that my drugs may cure you, my prey delight you, and my provision feed you, by whom I have been cured, enlightened, and fed myself; that your courtesies may in part be countervailed, and my duty, in some sort, performed. Despise not, good sire, the youth of your son, neither deem your God measureth His endowments by number of years. Hoary senses are often couched under youthful locks, and some are riper in the spring than others in the autumn of their age. God chose not Isai himself, nor his eldest son, but young David to conquer Goliath and to rule his people: not the most aged person, but Daniel, the most innocent youth, delivered Susanna from the iniquity of the judges. Christ, at twelve years of age, was found in the temple questioning with the greatest doctors. A true Elias can conceive that a little cloud may cast a large and abundant shower; and the Scripture teacheth us that God unveileth to little ones that which He concealeth from the wisest sages. His truth is not abashed by the minority of the speaker; for out of the mouths of infants and sucklings He can perfect His praises. Timothy was young, and yet a principal pastor: St. John a youth, and yet an apostle; yea, and the angels by appearing in youthful semblance, gave us a proof that many glorious gifts may be shrouded under tender shapes. All this I say, not to claim any privileges surmounting the rate of usual abilities, but to avoid all touch of presumption in advising my elders, seeing that it hath the warrant of Scripture, the testimony of example, and sufficient grounds, both in grace and nature. There is a diversity in the degrees of carnal consanguinity, and the pre-eminence appertaineth unto you, as superior over your child; yet if you consider our alliance in the chief portion, I mean the soul, which differenceth man from inferior creatures, we are of equal proximity to our heavenly Father, both descended from the same parent, and with no other distance in our degrees, but that you are the eldest brother. Seeing, therefore,

that your superiority is founded on flesh and blood, think it, I pray you, no dishonour to your age, nor disparagement to your person, if, with all humility, I offer my advice unto you. One man cannot be perfect in all qualities, neither is it a disgrace to the goldsmith if he be ignorant of the carpenter's trade; many are deep lawyers, and yet small divines; many very clever in feats of body, and curious in external accomplishments, yet little experienced in matters of mind. For these many years I have studied and practised spiritual medicine, acquainting myself with the beating and temper of every pulse, and travailing in the cure of maladies incident to souls. If, therefore, I proffer you the fruit of my long studies, and make you a present of my profession, I hope you will construe it rather as a dutiful part than as any point of presumption. He may be a father to the soul that is a son to the body, and requite the benefit of his temporal life by reviving his parent from a spiritual death. And to this effect did Christ say, "My mother and brethren are they that do the will of My Father which is in heaven:" upon which words St. Climacus shows on what kindred a Christian ought chiefly to rely. "Let him," he says, "be thy Father that both can and will disburthen thee of the weight of thy sins." Such a Father as this Saint speaketh of may you have in your own son, to enter your family in the pre-recited affinity; of which happily it was a significant presage, a boding of the future event, that, even from my infancy, you were wont in merriment to call me your father; now this is the customary style allotted to my present estate [as a Father of the Society of Jesus]. Now, therefore, to join issue, and to come to the principal drift of my discourse; most humbly and earnestly I am to beseech you, that, both in respect of the honour of God, your duty to His Church, the comfort of your children, and the redress of your own soul, you would seriously consider the terms you stand in, and weigh yourself in a Christian balance, taking for your counterpoise the judgments of God. Take heed in time that the word Thecel, written of old against Baltassar, and interpreted by young Daniel, be not verified in you; remember the exposition, "you have been weighed in the balance and found wanting." Remember that you are in the balance, that the date of your pilgrimage is well nigh expired, and that it now behoveth you to look forward to your country. Your strength languisheth, your senses become impaired, and your body droopeth, and on every side the ruinous cottage of your faith and feeble flesh threateneth a fall. Having so many harbingers of death to pre-admonish you of your end, how can you but prepare for so dreadful a stranger. The young may die quickly, but the old cannot live long. The young man's life by casualty may be abridged, but the old man's life can by no physic be long augmented. And, therefore, if green years must sometimes think of the grave, the thoughts of sere age should continually dwell on the same. The prerogative of infancy is innocence; of childhood reverence; of manhood maturity, and of age wisdom; and seeing that the chief property of wisdom is to be mindful of things past, careful of things present, and provident of things to come, use now the privilege of nature's talent to the benefit of your soul, and strive hereafter to be wise in well-doing, and watchful in foresight of future harms. To serve the world you are now unable, and, though you were able, you have little wish to do so, seeing that it never gave you but an unhappy

welcome, a hurtful entertainment, and now doth abandon you with an unfortunate farewell. You have long sowed in a field of flint, which could bring you nothing forth but a crop of cares and afflictions of spirit, rewarding your labours with remorse, and for your pains repaying you with eternal damages. It is now more than a seasonable time to alter your course of so unthriving a husbandry, and to enter into the fields of God's Church ; in which, sowing the seed of repentant sorrow, and watering it with the tears of humble contrition, you may reap a more beneficial harvest, and gather the fruit of everlasting consolation. Remember, I pray you, that your spring is spent, and your summer overpast ; you are now arrived at the fall of the leaf, yea, the winter colours have already stained your hoary head.

Be not careless, saith St. Augustine, though our loving Lord bear long with offenders; for the longer He stayeth without finding amendment, the sorer will He punish when He cometh to judgment. His patience, in so long expecting, is only to lend us respite to repent, not any way to enlarge our leisure to sin. He that is tossed with variety of storms, and cannot reach his destined port, maketh not much way, but is sore turmoiled ; so he that passeth many years and purchaseth little profit, hath had a long being, but a short life : for life is more to be measured by merit than by number of days, seeing that most men by many days do but procure many deaths, while others in short space attain a life of infinite ages. What is the body without the soul but a mass of corruption? and what the soul without God but a sepulchre of sin? If God be the way, the truth, and the life, he that goeth without Him strayeth, he that liveth without Him dieth, and he that is not taught by Him erreth. Well saith St. Augustine, that God is our true and chief life, from Whom to revolt is to fall, and to return is to rise. Be not you, therefore, of the number of those who begin not to live until they be ready to die, and then after a foe's dessert, come to crave of God a friend's entertainment. Some think to share heaven in a moment, which the best scarce attain in the godliness of many years; and when they have glutted themselves with worldly delights, they would fain pass at once from the diet of Dives to the crown of Lazarus, and from the servitude of Satan to the freedom of the Saints. But be you well assured, God is not so penurious of friends as to hold Himself and His kingdom for the refuse and reversion of their lives, who have sacrificed the principal thereof to His enemies and their own brutal appetites, then only ceasing to offend when the ability of offending is taken from them. True it is that a thief may be saved upon the cross, and find mercy at the last gasp, but well, saith St. Augustine, that though it be possible, yet is it scarcely credible, that his death should find favour whose whole life hath deserved wrath? and that his repentance should be accepted, which more through fear of hell and love of himself than love of God, or hatred of sin, crieth for mercy. Wherefore, good sire, make no longer delay, but being so near the breaking up of your mortal house, take time, before straitened by extremity, to satisfy God's justice. Though you suffered the bud to be blasted, and the flower to fade ; though you permitted the fruit to perish and the leaves to wither away ; yea, though you let the boughs decay, and the very trunk corrupt, yet, alas ! keep life in the root for fear the whole become fuel for the fire. Death hath already spoiled you of the better part of your natural force, and hath left you now to the last lease of your

expiring days ; the remainder whereof, as it cannot be long, so doth it warn you speedily to ransom your former losses. What is age but a calendar of death, and what does your present weakness import, but an earnest of your approaching dissolution? You are now embarked on your final voyage, and not far off from the stinted period of your course, therefore, be not dispurveyed of such proper provisions as are behoveful in so perplexed and perilous a journey. Death in itself is very fearful, but much more terrible in regard of the judgment that it summoneth us unto. If you were stretched on your departing bed, burthened with the heavy load of your former trespasses and gored with the sting of a festered conscience; if you felt the hand of Death grasping your heart's-strings and ready to make the rueful divorce between body and soul; if you lay panting for breath and bathed in a cold and fatal sweat, wearied with much struggling against the pangs of death, oh, how much would you give for one hour of repentance, at what a rate would you value one day's contrition! Worlds would then be worthless in respect of a little respite; a short time would seem more precious than the treasures of empires. Nothing would be so much esteemed as a moment of time, which is now by months and years so lavishly misspent. Oh, how deeply would it wound your heart, when looking back into yourself, you consider many faults committed and not confessed, many good works omitted or not recovered, your service to God promised but never performed. How intolerable will be your case; your friends are fled, your servants frightened, your thoughts amazed, your memory distracted, your whole mind aghast and unable to perform what it would, only your guilty conscience will continually upbraid you with most bitter accusations. What will be your thoughts, when, stripped of your mortal body, and turned both out of the service and house-room of this world, you are forced to enter into uncouth and strange paths, and with unknown and ugly company to be carried before a most severe judge, carrying in your own conscience your judgment written, and a perfect register of all your mideeds: when you shall see *Him* prepared to pass the sentence upon you, against whom you have transgressed. He is to be the umpire, Whom by so many offences you have made your enemy; when not only the devils, but even the angels will plead against you, and yourself, in spite of your will, be your own sharpest impeacher. What would you do in these dreadful exigencies, when you saw the ghastly dungeon and huge gulf of hell breaking out with most fearful flames? when you heard the weeping and gnashing of teeth, the rage of those hellish monsters, the horror of the place, the rigour of the pain, the terror of the company, and the eternity of the punishments? Would you then think them wise that would delay in such weighty matters, and idly play away a time allotted to prevent such intolerable calamities? Would you then account it secure to nurse in your bosom a brood of serpents, or suffer your soul to entertain so many accusers? Would not you, then, think a whole life too little to do penance for so many iniquities? Why then do you not, at least, devote the small remnant and surplus of these your latter days in seeking to make an atonement with God, and in freeing your conscience from the corruption that, by your treason and fall, has crept into it; whose very eyes that read this discourse, and very understanding that conceiveth it, shall be cited as certain witnesses of what I describe. Your soul will then experience the most terrible fears, if you do not recover yourself

into the fold and family of God's Church. What have you gained by being so long enslaved to the world? What interest have you reaped that can equal your detriment in grace and virtue? You cannot be now inveigled with the passions of youth to make a partial estimate of things, and set no difference between counterfeit and current, for they are now either worn out by the touch of time, or falling into reproof by the trial of their own folly. It cannot be fear that leadeth you amiss, seeing it were so unfitting a thing that any craven cowardice of flesh and blood should daunt the prowess of an intelligent man, who, by his wisdom, cannot but discern how much more cause there is to fear God than man, and to stand in more awe of perpetual than of temporal penalties. An ungrounded presumption on the mercy of God, and the hope of His assistance at the last plunge—the ordinary device of the devil—is too palpable a collusion to mislead a sound and sensible man. Who would trust eternal affairs upon the gliding slipperiness and shifting current of an uncertain life? or who, but one of distempered mind, would attempt to cheat the decipherer of all thoughts, with Whom we may dissemble, but Whom to deceive is impossible? Shall we esteem it cunning to rob the time from Him and bestow it on His enemies, Who keepeth account of the last moment of life, and will examine in the end how that moment hath been employed? It is a preposterous policy to attempt to fight against God. It were a strange piece of art, and a device of exorbitant folly, while the ship is sound, the pilot well, the sailors strong, the gale favourable, to lie idle in the roads; yet when the ship leaked, the pilot lay sick, the mariners faint, the storm boisterous, and the sea in a tumult of outrageous surges, then to launch forth, to hoist up sail, and to set out for a voyage into far countries; yet such is the skill of those cunning repenters, whose thoughts in soundness of health, and in the perfect use of reason, cannot resolve to cut the cables and weigh the anchors that withhold them from God. Nevertheless they feed themselves with a fond presumption that, when their senses are astounded, their minds distracted, their understanding confused, and both their body and mind racked and tormented with the throbs of a mortal sickness, that then, forsooth, they will think of the weightiest matters, and become sudden saints, when they are scarce able to behave themselves like reasonable creatures. If neither the canon, civil, nor common law alloweth a man, punished in judgment, to make any testament or bequest of his temporal substance, being then presumed to be less than a man; how can he that is distracted with an unsettled conscience, distrained with the fits of his dying flesh, and maimed in all his faculties, be thought of such due discretion as to dispose of his chiefest inheritance, the treasure of his soul, and the concerns of a whole eternity in so short and stormy a moment? No, no: they that will loiter in the seed time, and only begin to sow when others reap; they that will riot out their health, and cast their accounts when they can scarcely speak; they that will slumber out the day, and enter on their journey when the light faileth them, let them blame their own folly if they die in debt, and fall headlong into the lapse of endless perdition.

O, dear sire, remember that the Scripture terms it a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God, Who is able to crush the proud spirit of the obstinate, and to make His enemies the footstool of His feet. Wrestle no longer against the struggles of your own conscience, and the forcible admonitions that God doth

send you. Embrace His mercy before the time of rigour, and return to His Church, lest He debar you His kingdom. He cannot have God for his Father that refuseth to possess the Catholic Church for his mother; neither can he attain to the Church triumphant in heaven, who is not a member of the Church militant upon earth. You have been, alas! too long an alien in the tabernacles of sinners, and strayed too far from the folds of God's Church. Turn now the bias of your heart towards the sanctuary of salvation and the city of refuge, seeking the recovery of your wandering steps from the paths of error. Return with a swift force, and hasten with jealous progress to Christian perfection; redeeming the time because the days are evil. The full of your springtide is now fallen, and the stream of your life waneth to a low ebb; your tired bark beginneth to leak, and grateth oft upon the gravel of the grave; therefore it is high time for you to strike sail and put into harbour, lest, remaining in the scope of the winds and waves of this wicked time, some unexpected gust should dash you upon the rock of eternal ruin. Tender the pitiful state of your poor soul, and henceforth be more fearful of hell than of persecution, and more eager of heaven than of worldly repose. Had the pen that wrote this letter been dipped in the wounds of the Saviour, and His precious blood been used instead of ink; had one of the highest seraphim come in the most solemn embassy to deliver it unto you, do you not think that it would have strained your heart, and wrought upon your mind to fulfil the contents, and alter your course according to the tenor thereof? Doubtless you will not deny it. Then, good sire, let it now take the same effect, seeing the difference has been in the ceremonies and not in the substance; and that very God, Who should then have invited you to your correction, saith of such as I am, though most unworthy, "He that heareth you, heareth Me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth Me!" I exhort you, therefore, as the vicegerent of God, and I humbly request you as a dutiful child that you would surrender your assent, and yield your soul a happy captive to God's merciful inspirations, proceeding from an infinite love, and tending to your assured good. I have expressed not only my own, but the earnest desire of your other children, whose humble wishes are here written with my pen. For it is a general grief that filleth all our hearts, whom it hath pleased God to shroud under His merciful wing, to see our dearest father, to whom both nature hath bound and your merits fastened our affection, dismembered from the body to which we are united, to be in hazard of a farther and more grievous separation. O, good sire, shall so many branches enjoy the quickening sap of God's Church, and, shooting up higher towards heaven, bring forth the flowers and fruits of salvation; and you, that are the root of us, lie barren and fruitless? Shall the beams be bright, and the sun eclipsed? Shall the brooks be clear, and the head-spring troubled? Your lot hath no such affinity with the nature of a phœnix that you should reap your offspring from your own ruins; you are not so tied in the straits of the pelican as to revive your issue by murdering yourself; neither we a generation of vipers that cannot come to life but by our parent's destruction. Yea, rather it is the thing we have chiefly in request, that we may be as near linked in spiritual, as we are in natural consanguinity: and, that living with you in the compass of our Church, we may, to our unspeakable comfort, enjoy in

heaven your most desired company. Blame me not, good Father, if zeal of your recovery has carried me beyond the limits of a letter. So important a truth cannot be too much avowed, nor too many means used to draw a soul out of the misery of schism. Howsoever, therefore, the soft gales of your morning pleasures lulled you in slumbers; howsoever the violent heat of noon might awake affections, yet now in the cool and calm of the evening retire to a Christian rest, and close up the day of your life with a clear sunset; that leaving all darkness behind you, and carrying in your conscience the light of grace, you may escape the horror of eternal night, and pass from the day of mortality to the Sabbath of everlasting rest: and humbly desiring that my sincere affection may find excuse of my boldness, I here conclude.

The following short letter was written by Father Southwell to his brother:

Understanding that you were resolved upon a course which most nearly toucheth the salvation of your soul, I received such contentment as a sincere and most faithful love feeleth in the long desired happiness of so dear a friend. But hearing since, that you will dwell in danger and linger in new delays, my hopes hang in suspense, and my heart in grief, angry with the chains that thus enthral you, and sorry to see you captive to your own fears. Shrine not any longer a dead soul in a living body: bail reason out of senses' prison, that after so long a bondage in sin, you may enjoy your former liberty in God's Church, and free your thought from the servile awe of uncertain perils. If all should take effect that your timorous surmises suggest, yet could not even the misery of your present estate, with the loss of your patronage, and keeping you in this disfavour of God, have either left you any greater benefit to lose, or any deeper infelicity to incur. Weigh with yourself at how easy a price you rate God, Whom you are content to sell for the use of your substance, yea, and for the preventing a loss which haply will never ensue. Have you so little need of Him, that you can so long forbear Him? or is He so worthless in your estimation that you will venture nothing for Him? Adjourn not, I pray you, a matter of such importance. Remember that one sin begetteth another, and when you yield to nurse daily this venomous brood in your breast, what can you look for, but, that like vipers, they should compass your destruction. Custom soon groweth to a second nature, and being once master of the mind, it can hardly be cast out of possession. If to-day you find yourself faint, fainter you are like to be to-morrow, if you languish in the same distaste without cure, and suffer the corrosive of sin to consume you without opposing its violence. How can you flatter yourself with an ungrounded hope of mercy, since to continue in it so long, is the surest way to stop the fountain of it for ever? The more you offend God, the less you deserve His favour; and to be deaf when He calleth you, is to close His ears against all cries in the time of your necessity. If you mean to surrender your heart to Him, why do you lend so much leisure to the devil to strengthen his hold; and why stop up the passages with mire by which the pure waters of grace must flow into your soul? Look if you can upon a crucifix without blushing; do but count the five wounds of Christ once over without a bleeding conscience. Read your sins in those characters, and examine your thoughts whether the sight do please

them. Alas! if that innocent blood move you not, or if you can find still in your heart to open afresh such undeserved wounds, I would I might send you the sacrifice of my dearest veins, to try whether nature could awake remorse, and prepare a way for grace's entrance. Sorrow puts me to silence, and therefore, brother, I must end, desiring you to have pity on yourself, whose harms make so bitter an impression on Agar's mind. God of His infinite goodness strengthen you in all your good designments.

Father Southwell mourned over the general depravity of the time, and observing men of the noblest dispositions, spending their leisure in reading or writing, if not profane, yet certainly idle and frivolous works, began to devise a remedy for this evil. As an inducement, therefore, to religious reading, he determined to spend the leisure time left him in his apostolical functions, and his hours of solitude, to pious compositions both in prose and verse, accompanied with elegance of diction and brilliancy of wit. Of this nature were "St. Peter's Complaint," "St. Mary Magdalen's Tears for the Death of her Beloved," and many Odes, besides his *Epistle of Comfort to Catholics*, his letter to his father, and other little works, which are to this day read and re-read with delight.[52] Whether therefore he lay concealed at home or went forth to aid his neighbour, his solitude caused no weariness, nor did society bring him harm. This great gift he obtained by a due value and a regular distribution of time; for, if in other things he was frugal, in this he was most parsimonious. He reflected that if the man who does much in this life yet loses so great a part of life, how is it with him who does nothing? How, again, with him who spends the whole of it in doing evil? Therefore in using the present time, since it is for once only and for one single moment, it is always to be used, never enjoyed. For all time is given us to be used: the past in the memory, the future in foresight, the present in usefulness—in which sense may be understood the saying of our Lord, *Tempus vestrum semper est paratum.* It would be considered great folly to render oneself indebted to a man for goods intrusted to us, which by our own fault are lost without possibility of restitution. Then, with regard to debts owing to God, is no reckoning to be made of time which, once lost, the most favoured cannot restore, nor the wealthiest compensate?

Thus, in praying, studying, and writing, did he prepare for active ministrations to his neighbour according to opportunity, and for storing up in his heart a viaticum for his heavenward

[52] *Hist. Prov. Angl.*

journey. We have already noticed that from a tender age he had cherished an earnest desire of suffering for Christ, and this the daily dangers and persecutions of the faithful and their priests gave him hopes of realizing. For these were times in which the utmost malice exerted itself to inflict suffering; and Father Southwell felt himself impelled to contend for the palm which he seemed to see so near at hand. He called to mind the torments which the early Christians endured; the most atrocious cruelties easily finding precedents there, though a meek endurance always won the crown. He saw that there had always been in the Church faithful combatants for Christ to stand unflinchingly in the battle-field. For the interests of this perishable life, princes and others were often prodigal of blood and gold; why, then, should not the faithful and courageous servant of Christ entirely devote himself to the propagation of the faith, thereby seeking for himself an eternal kingdom and immortal glory? By such reflections as these, and others to the like effect, as evidenced by his writings, did Father Southwell animate himself and others to a happy combat, whereby through momentary sufferings he was to attain everlasting rest.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS TRIAL, CONDEMNATION, AND MARTYRDOM.

For about six years Father Southwell had laboured with great zeal and success, when his apostolical career was, as in a moment, brought to a close by "peril of false brethren" in 1592. There was resident at Uxenden Hall, a very ancient and staunch Catholic family named Bellamy. Hither was he in the habit of coming to administer the Sacraments and give religious instruction, as Fathers Campian and Parsons had also done. One of the daughters, Anne,[53] had in her early youth exhibited marks of the most fervent piety and courage in the Catholic cause, fearing neither the audacity of dishonest men nor the horror of the prisons. On the 26th of January, 1592, Walter Copeland the Bishop of London committed this young lady to the Gatehouse Prison

[53] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 192. Mr. Turnbull erroneously calls her the daughter of Mr. William Bellamy, who with his family suffered so severely for relieving the unfortunate Babbington and a few of his companions by allowing them to sleep in his barn, and sending the poor famishing men a little food. She was his grand-daughter—her father being Mr. Richard Bellamy, the then proprietor of Uxenden Hall.

at Westminster as an obstinate recusant. Here, yielding to temptation, she lost both faith and virtue.

Having forfeited all claim upon her father, in order to obtain some money, she determined to take advantage of the recent statute of 27th Elizabeth, which made the harbouring of a priest treason, with confiscation of the offender's goods. Accordingly she sent a message to Father Southwell, urging him to meet her on a certain day and hour at her father's house; and hither the good Father, either in ignorance of what had occurred, or under the impression that she sought him as a sincere penitent, went at the appointed time. Of this she apprised Topcliffe, and also of the place of concealment in her father's house and the mode of access to it. Topcliffe, that implacable persecutor of Catholics and priests, with a band of men surrounded the premises, broke into the house, went direct to the hiding-place, arrested the Father as he was concealing the sacred furniture, and carried him off in open day, exposed to the gaze of the populace.[54]

We quote the following account of the betrayal and arrest of the martyr from the same article in the *Rambler*, pp. 108–9.

Anne Bellamy had been brought up in a Catholic household, far from the knowledge of evil, where the practice of piety was as natural as eating or walking. Her first introduction to the Babel of the great world was in the tainted atmosphere of a prison, and unfortunately for her, a prison where the influence of the notorious Topcliffe was paramount. This familiar of Queen Elizabeth improved his opportunities, and soon seduced Miss Bellamy from the path of virtue. "She had not been there six months," says Robert Barnes, "but was found in most dishonest order, and before six weeks more was delivered from prison by Mr. Topcliffe's means, upon bail not to depart above one mile from the city."[55] She was lodged in Holborn till Midsummer, when, in order that she might pay her own expenses, she was induced to betray Father Southwell into her seducer's hands, under promise from the Council that none should be molested in the house where he was taken.

For some three weeks after she had consented to act the traitor she was at a loss how to get her victim into the trap. On one occasion her brother Thomas called on her, little suspecting to what

[54] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 192. Father Richard Blount also had a very narrow escape on that occasion (see *Troubles*, First Series, p. 192). "The risks he had run had taught him the absolute necessity of caution, if any good was to be done by him at all. Besides the dangers at Scotney Castle, he had narrowly escaped capture when Father Robert Southwell was taken. He was on his way to meet that holy martyr, at Mr. Bellamy's house at Harrow, when it so happened that he was disappointed of a horse that he had expected would be provided for him, and thus he was obliged to spend a night longer on the road than he had intended. The delay saved his life. This was, by the date of Father Southwell's martyrdom, before his admission into the Society."

[55] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. ii. n. 41.

infamy she had fallen, and was nearly induced by her importunity to take her to Southwell, who lived hard by,[56] and whom she much praised for virtue and learning. She had previously written to her sisters to beg that if he came to her father's house at Uxenden, she might be told at once, and she would come to see him, notwithstanding any bond to the contrary. Thomas and the sisters refused to have any part in this proceeding, so she found some other means of communicating with the martyr, who, shortly after meeting with Thomas Bellamy in Fleet Street, stopped him and claimed acquaintance as a countryman of his mother's, asking him to stay with him that night, and the next morning to ride with him to show him the way to Uxenden. Thomas complied ; the next day they started at ten o'clock, and by noon arrived at Mr. Bellamy's house. Topcliffe was then with the Queen at Greenwich, but he had his horses ready laid for three weeks previously, and so rode off in hot haste, and came to Uxenden Hall by midnight, having full directions, written by Anne Bellamy, how to know the house, and where to find the secret place in which the Father was sleeping. Mr. Richard Bellamy was at this time absent from home. The unhappy mother and family were totally ignorant of Anne's fall, and naturally inquired of Topcliffe how he had come by such precise information as to be able to march directly up to the hiding-place and secure its inmate. The veracious and truth-loving commissioner, unwilling to lose the opportunity of discrediting a Catholic ecclesiastic, told the daughters that the traitor was one Wingfield, a Seminary priest, who sometimes came to the house in character of a schoolmaster, and who had been there that very day. For the nonce, Topcliffe was contented with the capture of Southwell, whom he carried off to London with the circumstances of public cruelty and insult that were customary in those barbarous times. . . . As soon as he reached London he pretended to be very angry with Anne Bellamy for having dared to make an appointment to meet a priest while she was under his care, and committed her to the Gatehouse for her misdemeanour, where she remained till St. James' day, July 25, 1592, when, as she began to show signs of her disgraceful condition, under pretence of carrying her before the commissioners to be examined, Topcliffe took her off to Greenwich, and *there had her married* to Nicholas Jones, *servant to himself* and to Pickering, the keeper of the Gatehouse.[57]

After this, *Anne was taken to Topcliffe's house* in Lincolnshire, and was there delivered of a child about Christmas. It was only after this event that Mr. Richard Bellamy was told of his daughter's disgrace ; and when, after two years' time, Topcliffe impudently demanded of him to settle a farm of one hundred marks a year on Jones and his wife, Mr. Bellamy resisted, and Topcliffe thereupon had him arrested on a charge of assisting priests, in spite of the promise the Council had made him that no harm should come to him.[58]

[56] At Arundel House, Strand.

[57] Mr. Simpson then gives a copy of a hypocritical letter said to have been written by Topcliffe, June 30, 1592, to Mrs. Bellamy, the mother of Anne (*Harleian MSS.* 6,998, fol. 21). He gives Mrs. Bellamy, who was ignorant of her daughter's shame, a hint of her *having fallen into some folly.*

[58] Father More, and some other biographers of Father Southwell, appear to treat the servant, Nicholas Jones, as the seducer of the unfortunate child, as he was subsequently made to marry her. From the above facts, and more which we omit, especially the petition of Thomas Bellamy

The following letter of Father Henry Garnett, the Superior, giving an account of the seizure of Father Southwell, is taken from a copy contained in a volume of 160 pages in the collection of MSS. of the Archdiocese of Westminster. The volume is endorsed and the index written by Father Christopher Grene, S.J., who took so active an interest in collecting materials connected with the history of the English martyrs and confessors of the faith. The spelling has been modernized, and the expressions "merchant" and "merchandise" are employed in order to obtain secrecy.

"B.

"Collectanea de Martyribus Angliæ, &c. Signata B. De P. Robert Southwell, S.J., martyr."

London, July 26, 1592.

After my hearty recommendations, I sent you letters of late, which I hope are come to your hands, concerning our merchandise and manner of writing, which I would willingly understand of. We are like to have here a very plentiful year, so that we may make great commodity of corn if we be secret in our course, whereof you shall know more by the next opportunity. We would willingly understand some of your news, for all foreign matters are here concealed. All our news here is of taking of Jesuits and priests, with great hope of discovery of high treasons, but mountains many times prove mole-hills. Of late, even the 5th of July, being Sunday, at one Mr. Bellamy's house, eight miles from London, was apprehended one Southwell a Jesuit, a man by report very learned, and one that for many good and rare parts in him had settled a general good liking in all that either knew him or but heard of him. The manner of his taking I have heard delivered in this state. He rode to the said house on Sunday morning, and there said Mass, purposing the next morning a further journey. In the meantime, by some means (whereof the certainty is not known) his being there was discovered to some in authority, and about midnight thither came Mr. Topcliffe (a famous persecutor of Papists) accompanied by one Mr. Barnes a justice, and dwelling near the place; also young Mr. Fitzherbert and divers others, and so beset the house that none could escape. Then commanded he the doors

to Lord Burghley (*Lansdowne MSS.* 73, n. 47), of which Mr. Simpson gives a full copy, it is certain that the hoary villain, Topcliffe himself, was the man who dared thus to ruin his poor forlorn prisoner and victim, and then to conceal his crime by making his own servant, Jones, marry her. This is likewise confirmed by Juvencius, S.J. in his *Hist. Soc. Jesu* (quoted below). In this sense her conduct may be capable of some little palliation, for, to say nothing of the terribly trying circumstances of a tender child being dragged from her parent's house, and kept in close and solitary confinement in the dark loathsome cell of a London prison of those days, who can tell to what threats and violence her seducer may not have resorted to obtain through his victim the betrayal of the martyr, for whose blood he so eagerly thirsted? In Topcliffe's letter to the Queen (see below), he says that the betrayal was the act of his "boy Nicholas"—that is, of Nicholas Jones, his servant above-mentioned.

to be opened, which done, he entered, and first bound all the men in the house; then called for the gentlewoman, for he himself (I mean Bellamy) was not at home, and presently willed her to deliver him one Mr. Cotton (for so was he then named) that came that day to her house, which she at first very stoutly denied. In fine, either overcome by threats, or, as she saith, her secret place whereunto she had conveyed him being betrayed, she yielded to deliver him, which she performed speedily, fetching him thence, whom, as soon as Topcliffe had sight of, he offered to run at him with his drawn rapier, calling him traitor, which he denying, he demanded what he was. He answered, "A gentleman." "Nay," saith he, "a priest and a traitor." He bade him prove it, whereat he would again have run at him with his rapier, urging him that he denied his priesthood. He said "No; but," quoth he, "it is neither priest nor traitor that you seek for, but only blood, and if mine will satisfy you, you shall have it with as good a will as ever any one's, and if mine will not satisfy, I do not doubt but you shall find many more as willing as myself. Only I would advise you to remember there is a God, and He is just in His judgments, and therefore blood will have blood, but I rather wish your conversion," or some speech to like effect. This done, Topcliffe despatched Fitzherbert to the Court to tell what good service he had done, and so fell to searching of the house, finding there much massing stuff, Papistical books and pictures, all which he caused to be laid in a cart which was ready provided, and sent to his lodgings at Westminster, whither also, by six of the clock in the morning, he had brought the said Jesuit. And so the rumour thereof came presently unto us merchants from the Court, where there was both joy and, I think, some sorrow for his taking.

All that day he remained in Topcliffe's house, and the next night he was conveyed close prisoner to the Gatehouse. He hath been examined divers times by Topcliffe and others; as by Mr. Killigrew, Mr. Wade, Mr. Beal, and Mr. Young, by orders from the Council both jointly and severally. In all which examinations they can get nothing but that he is a priest and a religious man, true to the Queen and State, free from all treasons, only doing and attending to his functions.

It is reported by some, and very credibly, that he hath been tortured as by being hanged up by the hands, put in irons, kept from sleep, and such like devices to such men usual, but hereof there is no certainty. I write this long discourse because I know you shall find many his favourites there, that will report it more plausibly to the Papists, and therefore I thought good to advertise the real truth as far as I could any way learn. And what I shall learn further you shall be certified of, either by myself or John Falkner, whom you may credit.

London is at this season so wet, that for my health I mean to take the country air for a season, uncertain of my time of return. But you may hold on your course. I will leave some one in trust to write and answer. I wrote how my merchant was arrested, but his elder brother hath undertaken his business, who, with all other friends, are well, and thus troubling you with this tedious news, I pray your patience and commit you to God.

Your friend and partner,
JOHN ——— MARCHANT.

P.S.—This party's other letter being of an elder date, briefly signifieth how his merchant was arrested for debt, &c.

And also how Mr. Skinner and Mr. Ashton were condemned for adhering to the King of Spain, &c.

The latter letter, which is written by John Falkner, a younger brother to your partner, dated there the 4th of this present, signifieth that the merchant that was arrested continued still in his distress, till of late that his father, by his friends, hath laboured that he is not now used in the extremest manner as he was.

Mr. Carlyle the fishmonger was out of town, but he saith he will very shortly be there, and give orders for our affairs. This is the chief effect of the last letter.

Topcliffe, elated by his success, wrote the following letter to the Queen.[59] Of this the copy in the *Rambler* is given, and the orthography of the first part is preserved confirming all the points in that able article.

"My boy Nicholas," says the writer in the *Rambler*, "is the husband elect of Ann, and her 'setting of Southwell into my hands' is described as his act. The 'hand-gyves' are the circles of iron which caused such exquisite torture. 'To stand against the wall, his feet upon the ground, and his hands but as high as he can reach against the wall,' is a euphuistic mode of describing the atrocious butchery, fitted for the delicate nerves of the feminine Queen."

Most graceoos Sovereiyne,—Having Father Robert Southwell, (of my knowledge) ye Jhezuwt in my stronge chamber in Westmr. Churchyearde, I have mayde him assewred [assured] for startinge or hurtinge of himself, By puttinge upon his armes a pr of hand gyews: and here and so can keepe hym eather from vewe or conferrence with any, But Nicolas ye Underkeeper of ye Gaythowse and my Boye: Nicholas being the man yt caused me to tyke hym by settinge of hym into my hands ten myles from hym.

I have presewmed (after my lytell Sleepe) To runne owr this Examination incloased, faythefully tayken, and of hym fowlye and suspycioosly answered, and sumwhat knowinge the natewre [nature] and doinges of the man, may it please your Majesty to see my simple opynyon. Constreigned in dewty to utter it.

Upon this present taykinge of hym, It is good foorthwth to inforce hym to answer trewle and dyrectly, and so to proove his answer trewe in hast, To the Ende, yt suche as bee deeply conserned in his treacheries have not tyme to start or make shyfte.

To use any meanes in comon presons eather to stande upon or ageinst ye wawle, his feett, standinge upon the grounde, and his hands But as highe as he can reatch against ye wawle, lyke a Tryck at Trenshemeare, will enforce hym to tell all, and the trewthe prooved by ye Seqvelle.

The answer of him to ye Qvestyon of ye Countesse of Arrundell, and That of father Parsons, discipherethe him. It may please your Majesty to Consyder that I did never tayke so weightye a man; if he bee rightly used.

[59] *Lansdowne MSS.* 72, n. 39; also Strype's *Annals*, vol. iv. p. 9. Edit. 1731.

Yoinge [Young] Anto Coplaye the most desperate youth that liveth and some others be most familiar with Southwell.

Copley did shoot at a gentleman the last summer, and killed an ox with a musket, and in Horsham Church threw his dagger at the Parish Clerk, and stuck it in a seat in the Church. There liveth not the like I think in England for sudden attempts; nor one upon whom I have [more] good grounds for watchful eyes for his sister Gaiges and his brother-in-law Gaiges' sake, of whose pardons he boasteth he is assured.

So humbly submitting myself to your Majesty's directions in this, or in any service with any hazard, I cease, until I hear your pleasure here at Westminster with my charge and ghostly father, this Monday the 26th of June, 1592.

Your Majesty's faythfull Servant
RIC. TOPCLYFFE.

Endorsed—"Mr. Topclyffe to her Majesty, with the examination of a priest that will not confess his name."[60]

[60] We also give the following copy of one of his original letters in the Public Record Office, as verbatim as the writing will admit of:—*Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxxxv. n. 8. Endorsed by Topcliffe himself—"Topcliffe's general opinion of all the Jhezewits [Jesuits] and Seameneriates [Seminary] Preests. Hauve been Banished owt of Englande, as once 80 were from Yorke, Hulle, and London."—"All men of experience (I thinke) have found and seene that Jhezzwitts and Seamennarye Priests Bee men chosen owt frome amonge the most traityrous and most bloodye mynded witts that have lyved among all the fugytives that have passed owt of England beyond the seas for discontentacyon, or by allurement of friends, or for hoape of farefore [favour] in tyme to come dayly expected, and that every one of them that have retorned over have done their best to provoake the Q's Maties. subjects to disobedience, rebellion, and traitorous bloodshedding, as it is now seene the Preestes in Ireland now do, and as Dr. Nicholas Morton, Person, Plumtree, Dr. Allen, and Father Parsons the Jhezewitt did mayke dear prooff of by the last rebellion in the north of England, anno 1571. At ye tyme of the rebellion there was but two Seamenarye Colleges of treason beyond the seas where treasons were apparentlye nourished. Now there be known 8 or 9 seamenarye Colledges at least beyonde the seas for the nourishment of English, Irishe, and Scottish youths in treason. At yt time yt were known that there dyd arryve yearly from those 2 Seamenaryes every yearr about the number of 16 or 18 Seamenarye Priests into Englande. Now it is thought that there doth arryve from those 8 or 9 Seamm. and Colledges not so few as 40 or 50 Jhezewitts and Seamenarye Preestes, seedmen [sowers] of treason; for the numbre be likely to hould and keepe proporcyon; and the certainty therof is easily known by examination or even by other advertisements. And If therfower at that tyme passed so many and so great infectors of Treasons into Englande from 2 Seamenarye Colleadges—Then how lykelye is it Nowe That Englande wil bee overflowen wth treasons, when as the sayme 2 Springs of treason, and 4 or 5 tymes dooble the noumber of Springs or Seamenaryes Bee Burste, & so yearelye fawlle & flowe into England, wth there trators & treasons Especially If any great Nowmber of Seamenary Preests or Jhezewts now cumminge Bee iustlye able to Bragge as doth Thomas Worthington, a Seamenarye Preest of Lankisshyre, and Goastly father to Sr. Wm. Stanlay, ye traytor did Boaste and Wryte in lrē yt he send out of Englande to Cardnalle Allen his cwssen [cousin] in Rome, wch was intercepted to this effect—viz., 'I thanke God, that wthin theis 3 qwartrs [quarters] of this yeare since I did last write to yr Fatherhoode I have woone [won] iiij. score sowlls to the Catholiche cause, amongst which noumber of 80ty There is not one foole nor one impotent body; not one woman, Nor one cowarde,' &c. And theys

After taking Father Southwell in ludicrous procession to Westminster, Topcliffe carried him home, lodged him in his own strong chamber, secured him in irons, and essayed to examine him. But the confessor of Christ was too strong for the persecutor, and would not even confess his name. Topcliffe thereupon wrote his letter to the Queen, begging, as we have seen, permission to torture him privately before he was com-

[this] Seedman did I tāyke at Islington and carryed him to the Tower of London to bee presonerr, & when I was rydden into ye Northe abowt serwin [serving] of Yr Maty. Docter Worthington was Banished wth 80 other Preests, & Imedyatly after his banishment hee recompensid her Matys mercye wth monsteroos treasons; for first hee cawssed Sr Wm. Stanlay to gyve over the Q's towne of dewentr in ye lowe cūtres (countries) into the hands of ye Spanyeards and afterrs He did cawsse a Booke to be prynted Written by docter Allen, wherein was a p.swacion [persuasion] to all Englishe Capitains and Sowldyds [soldiers] to do the lyke. And Sythence [since] that tyme hee hath beene a Confederayte, a Cownsellour, & a laboryer wth Sr. Wm. Stanlaye, Jacques, doctr Holte, father Archer, & other traitors in all their lewd treasons. And now Sotche [such] like vnthankfwll frwetts [fruits] will theis Seamry Preests & Jhezewts yeilde Lyke vipers when they bee Banished, & do lyve beyonde Sea or Returne. And fwrdr [further] it is to bee thowght that so manye Jhezewts & Seamy Preestes as shal bee now Banished owt of Englande, so many will prove as good intelligencers, spyes & advertisers to the Kinge of Spaigne; to the Pope, &c. against Englande. And that as well now as from tyme to tyme hereafter, Every one of them will become a bewrayer of anye Secrett out of Englande that our Enemees woulde Knwe [know] & that whosoever shall not deserve well of the enemye and Bewraye [betray] Englande then when he shall lyve—sotche shall not lyve ther quietlye, But will be tayken and used as a Spye or Intellengencer for Englande. For which cawse every Jhezwt & Seamy Preest (who hath lyved in hope to bee Banished, and hath friends to helpe hym to bee Banished. Sotche hath practized Beforehand with his Patronne or Patronneze of hygher or lower degree; or wyth the most craftyest or most tratoroos dispoased Catholike childe or friende he hathe & left & provided behind in England. That any advertizement shal be sent to ye Jhezwts or Seamenarye (Being Banished to Roome, To Spaine, To the Lowe Cowntryes, To Scotland, To Irland, or to any other place els, where itt shal be most fytt for myscheff unto England. And so shall the Eenemye hav so many Intelligencers out of Englande, As all the Jhezwts & Seamenarys hav differett & trusty Patroons and Patroanessys, or wyse, crafty Catholic Childrene Abroade in every quarter or Coaste in England, and Better therefore, thenever frinde to Englande hadd Imbassador, Leaidger [Ledger], or any advertisements owt of Englande. And in any tyme of sudden Invasion intursseon [intrusion] or Landinge in Englande. Everye Jhezwt or Seamenarye Preeste Is the best Gwyde [Guide] by night or daye in every Contree where each one hath hawnted for Trators, Murderers, & Theves, beinge men that walke by owlslight, & shunne the day, and to bee seen (of necessytee) Bee the best gyedes [guides]. Besides theis Jhezwts and Seamenaryes do Knowe the Inwarde hoapes, thotts [thoughts], interets, habyllities and powers of the Q's subjects. I wish to God, wth all duty That her Matye ayd the same as well. Lastlye when anye Jhezwts and Seamenarye do retorne into Englande every one wil become as subtill and as cunninge as a fox yt hath been tayken & Tannayssed [canvassed] in a Nett or Trapp before, and Breaken [broken] Loasse. And If ever that day came, That they desyre (whiche they tearme (the day of Jhezus) they wil be founde Bloodelye minded as I fownde Burklay the owlde Monke in Anno 1588. Yr honr at Comandemet,—Ryc. Topclyffe."

mitted to prison. The permission was immediately granted, and Father Tanner thus describes the way in which it was acted upon: "Topcliffe took him to his own house, and there privately subjected him ten times to tortures so atrocious that at his trial he called God to witness that he would rather have endured so many deaths. The particulars were never accurately known, save that he was hung from the wall by his hands, with a sharp circle of iron round each wrist pressing on the artery, his legs bent backwards and his heels tied to his thighs (so that he might get no rest from his toes touching the ground). But even thus, Topcliffe could not make him answer a single question.[61] Among other things, they strove to extort from the sufferer whether he was a Jesuit. Was he an agent for the King of Spain, or for the Sovereign Pontiff? To overcome his firmness, he on one occasion left him thus suspended while he went to the city on business. Father Southwell spent seven hours in this agony, and appeared to be dying. Topcliffe was sent for, and had him gently taken down and sprinkled with some distilled waters till he revived; after vomiting a large quantity of blood, he was immediately hung up again in the same position. For the Lords of the Council had permitted Topcliffe to torture Father Robert to any extent short of death."[62]

One of the questions which the confessor was thus vainly urged to answer related to, "the colour of a horse whereon he rode one day;" to this he refused to reply, lest he might give a handle to conjecture in what house or in what company he had then been. This question seems to have been connected with the confession of Mr. Britten, a servant of the Earl of Northumberland, who appears by a document in the State Paper Office to have furnished a white gelding to a suspected priest named Cotton, in December, 1583. Cotton and Cooper were both *aliases* of Father Southwell; but as he did not come into England till 1586, his adversaries were on the wrong scent. They evidently suspected he had some treasonable connections in Sussex. Sir Robert Cecil, Father Southwell's "rack-master," expressed, as we shall see, the highest admiration for his fortitude. Topcliffe's new style of torturing was, he said, much more painful than the rack, yet the

[61] Juvencius, S.J., (*Hist. Soc. Jes.* pars v. tom. ii. lib. xiii. sec. iv.) gives an equally thrilling description of the shocking tortures to which the sufferer was exposed in Topcliffe's house.

[62] *Soc. Jes. Martyr.* p. 35.

Father bore it with a firm and even cheerful mind, and would confess nothing except that he was a priest and Jesuit, and had come over to win souls to Christ. Topcliffe, he said, tortured him so cruelly that he was never allowed to rest except when he seemed to be dying. Then they would take him down and bring him to by remedies. He would often vomit a quantity of blood, after which he was hung up again. All this time he was so patient, and the expression of his countenance was so sweet, that even the servant who watched him began to look upon him as a saint. His only exclamations were, "My God and my all." "God gave Himself to thee; give thyself to God. *Deus tibi Se, tu te Deo!*"

Four days of this horrible treatment had reduced Father Southwell's vitality to so low an ebb that Cecil and the other Lords of the Council determined to take him out of Topcliffe's hands. They therefore committed him to the Gatehouse on June 30. But as all his money had been taken from him on his arrest, he was confined among the pauper prisoners, where for a whole month he was neglected, and left in hunger and thirst, in cold and filth; so that when his father came to see him, he was found covered with dirt, swarming with vermin, with maggots crawling in his sores, his face bleared, and like that of a corpse, and his bones almost protruding through his skin. On this the father presented a petition to the Queen, praying that his son might be either executed or treated as a gentleman. The Queen herself was moved to compassion, and ordered that he should be removed to the Tower, where he remained three years at his father's expense.[63]

The memorandum of his committal to the Gatehouse appears among the accounts of the Lieutenants of the Tower and keepers of the other prisoners, extant among the State

[63] The above details are taken from the *Rambler* (pp. 117, 118.) as more consonant with the facts. The account given by Bishop Challoner, from the *History of the Persecution*, makes the martyr to have been sent at once to the Tower upon his arrest, and "committed to a dungeon there so noisome and filthy, that when he was brought out at the end of the month to be examined, his clothes were quite covered with vermin. Upon this his father presented a petition to the Queen, humbly begging *that if his son had committed anything for which by the laws he had deserved death, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentleman, he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to order that he should be treated as a gentleman, and not be confined any longer in that filthy hole.* The Queen was pleased to have regard to this petition, and to order Mr. Southwell a better lodging, and to give leave to his father to supply him with clothes and other necessaries; and amongst the rest, with the books which he asked for, which were only the Holy Bible and the works of St. Bernard."

Papers in the Public Record Office. The following is a copy of it: "Charges of —— Pickering, keeper of Gatehouse, for prisoners, September 1592. Robert Southwell, a seminary priest, sent in by your lordships, oweth for his diet and lodging from the last of June to July 30, '92, being four weeks and two days, and removed to the Tower by your honours."[64]

We will now so far retrace our steps as to give the account of Juvencius,[65] from Father Southwell's seizure at Uxenden, in July 1592, until his committal to the Gatehouse. The occurrences appear to be in some degree misplaced. Father Juvencius expressly charges Topcliffe himself with the crime of Anne Bellamy's seduction and consequent apostacy. He calls him a man impious and immoral, brutal and alike cruel, and on this account dear to the Queen's ministers. This man, says he, in order that he might rob the unhappy girl of her faith, worked her ruin by seduction; for religion and and chastity are so intimately connected with each other, that he who loses the one can with difficulty retain the other. Topcliffe, in order to conceal his infamous crime and avoid its punishment, married her to one of his own servants.

The hiding-place at Uxenden, to which Father Southwell had been accustomed to retreat, had been hitherto undiscovered and "inextricable." The Father had arrived a few hours before Topcliffe came, and had given a religious discourse to the assembled family in a room. On hearing the tumult outside all dispersed, the Father hastened to gather together the sacred furniture of the chapel, and to retreat to his hiding-place, whilst the servants went to the door to gain delay by parleying. The door being opened, Topcliffe rushed in, surrounded by armed men, and with a fierce countenance, "breathing out threatenings and slaughter," met Mrs. Bellamy, the lady of the house, and demanded where the Jesuit Priest was hid. "Indeed," she said, "what priest are you shouting for? And with what useless alarms are you going about to make fools of us?" "Thou knowest that they

[64] "Time," says the writer in the *Rambler*, "has obliterated what honest Pickering charged for starvation, under the name of diet, for a month. Southwell's name does not appear in the accounts of the Lieutenant of the Tower, for these bills only refer to those State prisoners for whom the Government paid. In Elizabeth's days, prisons were self-supporting institutions, where all but a few of the prisoners paid for themselves, and choice places, where the governor became a rich man in a few years. Southwell, being in the Tower at his father's expense, does not appear in the bills sent in to the Privy Council."

[65] *Hist. Soc. Jes.* pars v. tom. ii. lib. xiii. sec. 3, seq.

are not vain to-day," said Topcliffe; and following the clue that had been given him by the traitress, to the amazement of all, he made straight for the place indicated, and stopping at the hiding-hole, tore open a small trap-door in the pavement, secured by a most unobservable fastening. After calling Father Southwell two or three times, and jeering at him, he led him out, and placing him upon a miserable, lean brute, took him off to London.

The securing of this prey, caused the ministers no small joy, and at the same time some doubt and uneasiness: first, because by putting him to the inhuman tortures to which they subjected Catholic priests, they might incur the Queen's displeasure; and besides, Robert's father, Mr. Richard Southwell, was in great favour at Court, and his wife was Elizabeth's familiar friend. They, therefore, hit upon the expedient of keeping him in Topcliffe's own house, as it were in a sort of free custody, which would answer the double purpose of making a show of leniency and mercy, and afford Topcliffe greater facility in extorting from his victim a confession of such matters as they were most interested to discover. Nothing could be more according to Topcliffe's wishes. He openly declared that he would now be like a king, having a priest in his hands, whom he could torture as he would. He boasted that he had a machine at home, of his own invention, compared with which the common racks in use, the pillars and iron hoops,[66] were mere child's play. Father Juvencius then proceeds to describe the mode of torture, which we have already narrated in the words of Father Tanner.

Nevertheless, the clemency of the Queen was lauded throughout the city for thus confining a Jesuit, taken in open crime, with so urbane and mild a host. The real nature of this urbanity and leniency however was soon made apparent. After about eleven days, when Topcliffe had entirely failed, he brought Father Southwell before the [Queen's] Bench, where he was formally interrogated. "What are you? Whence came you? And whether, and if so, why do you disseminate the religion proscribed by the laws in England?" He replied that he was a priest of the Society of Jesus, and had come in order to preach the Roman Catholic religion to his fellow-countrymen, and if needs be, to confirm it with his blood. "If you seek out a cause of death," said he, "this is amply sufficient for

[66] The "Scavenger's Daughter." Vide *Records of English Province*, Series II. III. IV. "Life of Father Thomas Cottam, Martyr," p. 159.

you. Slay me, and then you will equally satisfy both myself and the Queen. As to the rest, spare, I beseech you, to try human strength by these unheard of punishments. Vent your rage, if you please, within the bounds of mortal endurance. Brand not your name, your age and nation, with so infamous a blot. Lastly, remember that there is a God—the Judge!" Sir Edward Coke, the Attorney General, affecting surprise, interposed: "What means this invidious mention of unheard of brutality? Truly, you requite the Queen's favour, in her mild treatment of you under a charge of treason!" "Then you call my house a prison, and a workshop of cruelty?" added Topcliffe. "Yes," replied Southwell, "direr than any prison whatever." "What rack hast thou ever seen in it?" "Thou torturer, what torments have I not endured in it, more inhuman than any rack or scaffold? These feet, upon which I can scarcely stand; these hands, torn by your iron points; that blood which still wets your pavement—tell the leniency of thy hospitality and of thy heart!" At the same time he unbared his arms, bloody and swollen and horribly livid, and in a half dead, but sincere and earnest voice, disclosed a series of the most brutal tortures. Topcliffe, seeing that the eyes and indignation of all present were turned upon him, broke out: "What I have done, I have done by authority, nor do I repent it;" and thereupon drew out from his breast a Privy Council warrant conferring upon him the fullest power of torturing the Father *ad libitum.* Coke likewise added that the Jesuits were so wicked a race, that it was both lawful and pious to make an example of him by inventing a new and unusual mode of torture. Topcliffe, encouraged by this, cried out at the top of his voice, "that he would, if he were able, gather together into one bundle, all the Jesuits in the world, and consume the entire wicked race in the flames, and scatter their ashes to the winds." Thus excited to madness, he took Father Southwell back again to his own house, where he avenged himself upon the freedom of speech of this heroic victim (who had been already ten times tortured) by a repetition of the cruellest torments.

Meanwhile, continues Juvencius, the report spread throughout the city. Great indignation was excited, even among the Protestants, and so loud and severe were the complaints made to the Privy Council, that Cecil, in order to mitigate the popular feeling, caused Topcliffe to be arrested and imprisoned upon pretence of having exceeded the powers given him by

the warrant, or for having even resorted to the nefarious artifice of forging one; but the imprisonment was of short duration, for no sooner had the public feeling somewhat subsided, than he was liberated. Father Southwell was then transferred to the Gatehouse.[67]

Father More observes,[68] regarding the martyr's imprisonment, that neither his bearing, nor the events that occurred during his *two* months'[69] confinement in the Gatehouse, nor the reason of his removal to the Tower, had been related to him; nor again, his sufferings or actions in the Tower, for the time he lay buried there, separated from all human intercourse. He had long before imposed a strict silence upon himself, if ever questioned on the subject. The Commissioners are said to have affirmed that he seemed more like a stock than a man. Cecil, President of the Council at that time, during a conversation concerning the tortures exercised upon Southwell, is reported to have expressed himself thus: "Antiquity boasts of its Roman heroes, and the patience of the captives under their tortures. Our own time is not inferior to theirs, nor does English courage yield to Roman. We have now in our hands one Southwell a Jesuit, who, having been thirteen times most cruelly tortured, could be induced to confess nothing, not even the colour of the horse he rode on a certain day, for fear lest his adversaries might thereby form a conjecture at what houses, or what Catholics he had visited that day; and on being frequently interrogated by them upon irrelevant matters, he respectfully replied—if Topcliffe indeed interposed anything, that the man was unworthy of a single word; and on being

[67] It should be observed that the narrative of Father Garnett (given further on) places the above scene regarding the torturing, &c. in Topcliffe's house, or one very similar to it, as occurring at the last trial in the Court of King's Bench, February 20, 1595; while Juvencius gives it at some examination in the same court in July, 1592, and states that Topcliffe himself took him thither for the purpose of examination, and afterwards back again to his own house. This fact the other biographers do not appear to mention, and Juvencius may be confusing the two events. Mr. Richard Verstigan too, in his advices from Antwerp to Father Parsons, states that Topcliffe was committed to the Marshalsea Prison "within a while after" Father Southwell's death, February 21, 1595. Father Bartoli also says that these events belong to the first days of Father Robert's imprisonment [in Topcliffe's house], but were never revealed by the Father except at his last trial; nor would the ten times of torturing, nor the atrocity of the torture itself, nor his grievous pains, have ever transpired, if he had not then, under solemn protestation, in the presence of his tormentor himself and of that great assembly, published them.

[68] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 193.

[69] A mistake for one month and two days.

asked the reason, 'I have frequently found,' he said, 'that he is not to be guided by reason.'"

It was no novelty to Father Southwell to treat with God for whole days and nights; nor can any one doubt but that he availed himself of this solitude to rekindle in his heart all those desires which, as we have seen, he had conceived even in childhood, of rendering to Christ blood for blood. Nor did time, of which he was always most avaricious, appear long to him in anything, save that he had not as yet obtained an accomplishment of his desire of dying. But in what manner, or in what exercises soever he spent it, is left to us rather to imagine than to record; for although his sister, Mrs. Mary Bannister, was sometimes allowed access to him, yet nothing transpired upon this head. Such matters he reserved for God alone, that they might be honoured and recompensed with eternal rewards. Bartoli,[70] speaking of the Father's close confinement, says that his sister was only permitted to see him once or twice. He also mentions the fact that some of his penitents, to have one glimpse of him at a distance, disguised themselves and got into the Tower garden under pretence of buying flowers; here they watched until he came to the little window of his cell, and recognized them by the signs they made. Then, kneeling towards him, they received his blessing. Father Garnett also relates of him that he had found means of obtaining a breviary, which he (Father Garnett) had recovered from the gaoler of Newgate, and that in turning over page after page he found that the martyr had pricked with the point of a needle, his favourite words, *Deus meus et omnia;* and *Deus tibi Se, tu te Illi,* from which Father Garnett gathered that he had not been able to procure writing materials in prison. He adds that the Lieutenant of the Tower had behaved most courteously to him, and was so impressed with his virtues, that he spoke of him as a holy man. He lived in the Tower little less than thirty months from September, 1592, when transferred thither from the Gatehouse, until his removal from the Tower to Newgate, February 20, 1595.[71] Father Southwell wrote a letter to Cecil, the Lord Treasurer, humbly entreating that he might either be brought to trial, to answer for himself, or at least that his friends might have leave to come and see him. Cecil answered that if he was in so much haste to be hanged, he should quickly have his desire; and shortly after this, orders were given to remove him from the Tower to Newgate, where

[70] *Inghilterra*, lib. v. [71] Bartoli, *ut supra.*

he was thrust down into the dungeon called *Limbo*, and there kept for three days.[72]

The Annual Letters for the year 1592, in a short notice of the English Mission S.J., allude very briefly to the torturing of Father Southwell, "who was so grievously racked as almost to cause death, but they could only extract these words from his lips, 'I am a priest, and, boasting apart, am a Religious of the Society of Jesus, and passed over into England that I might preach by word to my fellow-countrymen, and seal with my blood that Catholic truth which I have imbibed in Rome, the fountain-head of religion. . . . Bring forth your irons, satisfy your desires, and mine likewise. You intend death, but to me, martyrdom.' That crown will never be wanting to such great courage."

We extract the following account of the arraignment, condemnation, and execution of Father Southwell from a manuscript by Father Henry Garnett.[73] An Italian copy of the same manuscript accompanies it. The St. Omer MS., as far as it extends, is nearly an echo of this one, and it agrees in the main with Father More. The spelling is altered, and occasionally the quaint style, to facilitate the reading. Bishop Challoner notes that this account was used by the Bishop of Tarasona in his *History of the Persecution*,[74] and that it was dated 4th of March, 1596.

"*A brief discourse of the condemnation and execution of Mr. Robert Southwell, priest of the Society of Jesus.*"

After Mr. Southwell had been in the Gatehouse at Westminster some two months, and in the Tower some two years and a half, being close prisoner in all that time, enduring most barbarous tortures and hard usages, on Thursday the 18th of February he was brought from the Tower to Newgate, and there put down into the dungeon called Limbo. On the 20th of February, having received privy intelligence of his arraignment, he said very cheer-

[72] St. Omer MS. Regarding this too well known dungeon for condemned criminals, Father Bartoli, quoting from a letter of Father Garnett to the Very Rev. Father General, March 17, 1595, says that of all the twelve prisons in London, Newgate was the most ill-conditioned and incommodious, containing the very worst dregs of the unfortunate: robbers, murderers, assassins, and every other species of malefactors. Amongst its other wretched dungeons, there was one especially the worst of all, called Limbo, because subterranean, and without any breathing-hole to admit even a ray of light; and into this miserable den Father Southwell was thrust. It was a great consolation to him, because it had been so often sanctified by the most courageous confessors of Christ, and by the astonishing conversions of condemned criminals, who had refused the offer of life made to them on condition of their renouncing the Catholic religion.

[73] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. ii. n. 1.

[74] Lib. v. cap. vi.

fully that his heart was full of joy, and so was conveyed to Westminster, where in the Court called the King's Bench sat as judges, Sir John Popham (Lord Chief Justice), Mr. Owen (one of the judges of the Common Pleas), Mr. Evans (Baron of the Exchequer), Mr. Daniel, Serjeant-at-law, and divers others.[75]

The commission being read, and the grand inquest impanelled and sworn, the Lord Chief Justice gave the charge in this manner. That though their commission were generally to inquire of all treasons and felonies, yet at this time they meant not much to deal with any other treasons or felonies, but such as were made treasons or felonies by the statute made anno. 27 of her Majesty's reign, whereby all subjects born within this land, which since the feast day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, in the first year of her Majesty's reign, were or at any time after should be made priests by authority derived from the See of Rome, and which then being in the realm did not within forty days after depart out of the land; or which after the said forty days, should at any time come into, be, or remain within the same, were by that act made traitors, and to suffer, as in case of high treason. And whereby all such persons as should receive, relieve, and comfort, or maintain any such priest, knowing him so to be, were made felons, and should suffer as in case of felony. The Lord Chief Justice said further that this law was made upon right cause and ground of reason, for without this, neither her Majesty's person could remain in safety from destruction, nor any good subjects could keep his lands, goods, or life; and to prove how dangerous Jesuits and priests were to the State, he inferred as followeth: The rebellion in the north, by whom was it stirred, but by Cardinal Allen, a Jesuit, and the College of Jesuits and priests? Throgmorton's action was by Jesuits and priests; that of Parry likewise, by Jesuits and priests. The Spanish invasion was stirred by Allen; and priests, captains, traitors of Jesuits, and of priests, and Curry a Jesuit came in the navy with them. Heskett's [attempt] to set up a subject for King was their practice. And lastly that of York, and Williams to murder the Queen, was practised by Holt, a Jesuit, and others, who on his soul and by the Blessed Sacrament warranted it. And Stephano Hara, agent for the King of Spain, gave assurance for payment of 40,000 crowns, as amounted to 12,000 li. English, upon the performance of it. All which being delivered in ample speech, he concluded that [if] any other treasons, as coining, or such like, should be by informality delivered unto them, they were likewise to find it. This was the effect of the charge. A bill of indictment was then delivered to the jury, as followeth, and they departed: "Middlesex. The jury present on the part of our sovereign lady the Queen, that Robert Southwell, late of London, clerk, born within this kingdom of England; to wit, since the feast of St. John the Baptist, in the first year of the reign of her Majesty; and before the 1st of May, in the thirty-second year of the reign of our lady the Queen aforesaid, made and ordained priest by authority derived and pretended from the See of Rome, not having the fear of God before his eyes, and slighting the laws and statutes of this realm of England, without any regard to the penalty therein contained, on the 20th

[75] The St. Omer MS. adds that he had received no previous notice to prepare for his trial. It names the 22nd of February as the day of trial, but the Stonyhurst MS. is supported by Stowe in his *Chronicle* and by Father More.

day of June, the thirty-fourth year of the reign of our lady the Queen, at Uxenden in the county of Middlesex, traitorously and as a false traitor to our said lady the Queen, was, and remained contrary to the form of the statute in such case set forth and provided, and contrary to the peace of our said lady the Queen, her crown and dignity."[76] Master Cooke, the Queen's Attorney-General, went after the jury to instruct them, and a daughter of one Mr. Bellamy, late married to one Nicholas Jones, the keeper's man of the Gatehouse, brought before the commissioners and swore truly to deliver to the said inquest such evidence as she knew, was sent unto them, who soon after returned to the bar, and delivered up the same bill endorsed, *Billa Vera*, and were dismissed.

Then Mr. Southwell was brought to the bar, where he used great reverence, and after some little pause he was called by the name of Robert Southwell, clerk, and willed to hold up his hand, which he did, demanding if by the law he might have liberty to speak. The Chief Justice said, "You must answer to your indictment." Then the indictment was read, and he demanded, whether guilty, or not guilty? Whereunto he offered particularly to speak. But the Lord Chief Justice said he must answer directly to the indictment, and either confess it, or say "Not guilty." He answered that he did acknowledge himself to be her Majesty's subject born within the land, and that by authority from God, by the means of the Church of Rome, he was a Catholic priest (he did thank God for it), and that he was at Uxenden in the said county of Middlesex he could not deny; for the whole house saw him there apprehended, being, he said, trained and brought thither as a mouse to the trap. His intention (God Almighty knoweth) was not to commit any treason to the Queen or State, but only to minister the Sacraments to those that seemed willing to receive them. Then said the Lord Chief Justice again, "Mr. Southwell, you must answer, and either confess the indictment, or say 'Not guilty.'" Whereunto he answered, "Not guilty of any treason." He was asked how he would be tried. He answered, by God and them. The Chief Justice said, "You must answer directly; for we are not to try you, but the law." He answered again that he would be tried by God and them, for the laws were not according to the word of God. It was said unto him by the Lord Chief Justice that he must put himself in trial upon God and the country, or else his refusal of that trial was a sufficient condemnation, and then they were to proceed with him otherwise. He answered that he was loath those poor men the jurors should be accessory, or guilty to his death; but said further, "If you will needs have it treason that I must lay upon the jury, I will be tried by God and the country." Then the sheriff was commanded to return the names of the jury, which being called did appear. It was said unto him, "You have heard the names of the jury that are to pass between her Majesty

[76] Father More adds the following as the conclusion of the Lord Chief Justice's address to the grand jury: "If other treasons, of coining or suchlike, are punished with the utmost rigour of the law, truly these more atrocious traitors are to be punished, who corrupt the minds of men by a most superstitious religion, and athirst for blood excite us by continual alarms, plots, and treasons. For he who violates the laws, who despises the ordained punishment for the guilty, of what crime, only afford him the opportunity, is it not to be feared that he will be guilty? Whether the party now accused is or is not guilty of a charge of this nature, is now referred to you to determine."

and you upon your life and death; if you have any cause to challenge any of them, you may before they are sworn." He answered, "I know no goodness in any of them, neither do I know any harm, but according to charity I judge the best, and will challenge none." The same jury to the number of twelve were impanelled and sworn to try the issue, whether he were guilty or not of this treason.

Then Mr. Cook, her Majesty's Attorney-General, going down to the bar, said unto the jury, "You have heard the indictment, and that the prisoner hath pleaded thereto 'Not guilty,' and put himself in trial upon God and his country (which are you), and recited that the indictment contained three points: first, that the prisoner was a subject born within this land; second, that he was made priest by authority from the See of Rome; and lastly, that he was on the said 26th day of June at Uxenden in the county of Middlesex;" and further said, "Mr. Southwell, if you will deny any of these, they shall be proved; for the first, I think he will not deny that he was born within the land which he presently acknowledged; for the second, Mr. Southwell having acknowledged himself to be a Catholic priest, and thanking God for it, you need not any further proof. I know he will and must confess it, likewise that he was made a priest since the first year of her Majesty's reign, for he was born since her Majesty's reign, which he also acknowledged." Here the Chief Justice asked him how old he was, seeming to scorn his youth. He answered that he was near about the age of our Saviour, Who lived upon the earth thirty-three years; and he himself was as he thought near about thirty-four years.

Hereat Topcliffe seemed to make great acclamation, saying he compared himself to Christ. Mr. Southwell answered, "No; he was a humble worm created by Christ." "Yes," said Topcliffe, "you are Christ's fellow." Master Attorney proceeded and said, "For the third point, I think he will not deny that he was at Uxenden in the county of Middlesex, which Mr. Southwell acknowledged was true; he could not deny it, for all the house did know it, but did not commit any treason, nor was there to any other end but to administer the Sacraments, as he had said before." Mr. Attorney showed how the act of the 27th of the Queen had made the same treason. Mr. Southwell answered that he knew the act, but said that it was impossible that any such law could be made agreeable to the word of God.

Here the Attorney made protestations, as though he had not purposed to have spoken much at his coming thither; but Mr. Southwell had let slip a word which he might not let slip, viz., that the laws were not according to the word of God; besides, he said that to his great astonishment, even at that time, he had heard such a point of doctrine proved against the prisoner (which he would afterwards deliver) as he wondered of. But first he would prove that the law was made upon good reason, and that it was agreeable to the word of God, and alleged thereupon two places of Scripture, viz., "Give unto Cæsar that which is due unto Cæsar," &c., "And obey the Prince," &c. Here Mr. Southwell offered to have spoken and answered in particular, but he was commanded by the Chief Justice to hold his peace until the Queen's counsel had spoken, and then he should be heard. Mr. Southwell replied, and besought that he might answer forthwith, because he could not carry it so well in mind, by reason that his memory and senses

were much impaired through Mr. Topcliffe's means, under whose hands he protested of his soul, and as he expected very shortly to answer it before Almighty God, he had been ten times tortured so extremely that the *least* of them was worse than ten executions. The Chief Justice said he never knew that he was so tortured. The Attorney-General said that he never knew that ever he was racked, and Topcliffe said that he was never upon the rack. Whereunto he answered, "I confess that I was never racked, but you have new kinds of tortures worse, I think, than the rack," and began to express the mode of them, but he was presently interrupted by the Chief Justice, who said that it was lawful [to] use such tortures, and hath been so used by all nations. He answered, "I confess it to be lawful, and that other nations have the like use; but when by torture nothing can be got out, I wish there might be some measure there lest a man in the end, by extremity of pain, be driven to desperation." Then they cried out, "Show the harm you have had by your tortures." He answered, "Let a woman show her throes." Topcliffe said that he had the Council's letters to show that he was commanded to set him against the wall, and to use him as he did, so that he did not touch either life or limb, using much other speeches to clear himself of the rigorous dealing wherewith he was charged. Mr. Attorney, taking the speech from Topcliffe, said that he had no need to go about to excuse his proceedings in the manner of his torturings: "for" (said he to Mr. Southwell) "think you that you shall not be tortured? Yes, we will tear your hearts out of a hundred of your bodies!" Mr. Southwell answered, "Where is charity?" Topcliffe said "he would if he could blow them (all) to dust." Mr. Southwell said, "What! body and soul?" whereunto the Attorney said "it was absurd, for he meant not the soul." Mr. Southwell replied the word (all) did include the soul, and said that the like barbarous man to Topcliffe, he thought, was not to be found in all Christendom.[77] Then Topcliffe was very earnest, and began to rail, but they would not permit him. Mr. Attorney leaving that matter, proceeded to the proof of the equity of the law in this manner, viz.:

First, her Majesty for preservation of herself and her realm against the Pope, an enemy to this State, did make it treason to give authority to any foreign potentate. Then did the Pope send forth his Bulls which were met withal and made treason. Then sent he forth *Agnus Dei* and such trash, which was likewise met withal, and made treason. Then sent he forth books to stir up sedition and dissention in the realm, which was likewise met withal, and made felony to publish them. Here he took occasion to give warning that men would be careful how they read any books prohibited. And lastly, as a matter that passed all the rest, did he send forth these Jesuits and Seminary priests, instruments for the King of Spain to stir up sedition in all countries, whereby he might subdue them. And said that the King of Spain did apply all his forces to maintain and hold up that rotten and degraded chair of the See of Rome.

Mr. Southwell would have answered and spoken to this, but was commanded to hold his peace, and to hear Mr. Attorney till he had ended his speech for the Queen. Then the Attorney proved

[77] See footnote, page 362, *ante*. Father Juvencius gives a very similar scene to the above, when Topcliffe, as he says, took the Father himself before the Court of King's Bench for examination, a short time after he had kept him in his own house.

the absurdity of their doctrine, whereby divers had been persuaded of late years to attempt her Majesty's death, and destruction of this realm. And particularly accused Mr. Southwell of a dangerous point of most wicked and horrible doctrine; saying that he did teach a gentlewoman that if she were examined whether Robert Southwell were at her father's house, she might swear no, with the intention to herself not to tell them of it. For proof thereof they brought forth Anne the said daughter of Mr. Bellamy. She being sworn said that he had told her that if upon her oath she were asked whether she had seen a priest or not, she might lawfully say no, though she had seen one, keeping this meaning in her mind that she did not see any with intent to bewray him. Mr. Southwell answered that that which he had said in such manner as he spake it (if they would give him leave to interpret his own meaning) he would prove was agreeable to the Word of God, to the laws both canon and civil, and was not his own opinion only, but the opinion of the Doctors and Fathers of the Church, and according to the policies and proceedings of all ages, and in all Christian nations; and that if they should not admit that, they should take away the government of all States, both ecclesiastical and temporal, yea, and the secrecy of men; and that without it, neither this State nor any other State, government or policy could possibly stand. And then going about to show what he said, and to prove it, they continually interrupted him, exclaiming still of the barbarous doctrine, seeking to persuade the people that he taught that it was lawful to commit wilful perjury; wherewith the Father began to be somewhat earnest in expelling so horrible a crime; and told Mr. Attorney that he must confess as much, "or else I will prove you no good subject, nor friend of the Queen." "Yea," saith Mr. Attorney, "let me hear that." "Suppose," saith Mr. Southwell, "that the French King should invade her Majesty, and that she (which God forefend) should by her enemies be enforced to fly to some private house for her safety, where none knew her being, but Mr. Attorney; and that Mr. Attorney's refusal to swear, being thereunto urged, should be a confession of her being in the house (for I suppose that also if Mr. Attorney in this case should be examined and should refuse to swear that he knoweth that her Majesty is not there, with this intention not to tell them), I say, Mr. Attorney were neither her Majesty's good subject nor friend." The Chief Justice said he should refuse to swear. Mr. Southwell answered, "That were by silence to betray his sovereign." The Attorney said that the case was not like, and being moved in choler did often call Mr. Southwell boy-priest, and told him that he had not read the Doctors. "I have read those that have read them, and you, Mr. Attorney, in the study of your laws, do not presently go to the grounds and principles of the law, but take other men's reports." "I," saith the Attorney General, "have studied Dr. Allen, Dr. Parsons, Dr. Holt, Dr. Traitor," &c. "Then," saith the Lord Chief Justice, "if this doctrine should be allowed, it would supplant all justice, for we are men, and no gods, and can judge but according to their outward actions and sayings and not according to their secret and inward intuitions." Mr. Southwell said that in this cause two things are to be presupposed, viz., that the refusing to swear is a confessing the thing, and that the oath be ministered by such as have no lawful authority, and that every oath ought to contain judgment, justice, and truth, and that no man is bound to answer every man that asketh him, unless he were

a competent judge, and here he gave an instance of a thief urging a true man to swear by the highway; and as he was going forward to explain his meaning he was continually interrupted, so as they would by no means permit him to say any more. Then he desired them to bear with him, seeing they would not suffer him to prove what he had said, always denying that ever he had said any such thing in such sort as they objected. Here again Topcliffe began to be earnest in most railing manner, as is always usual with him (a man most odious to all the civiler sort of men, taking pleasure and glorying in the torture of poor Catholics, employing all his endeavours only to persecute, ever thirsting after, and never satisfied with innocent blood), but he was soon willed to surcease.[78] A few observations only concerning the indictment being made by the Chief Justice to the jury, they were sent into a room apart

[78] In the "Life of Father Gerard," *Condition of Catholics*, Father Morris has added (p. ccxvii. seq.) to the defence of Father Gerard upon this point, that of Father Southwell, compiled and translated from Father Bartoli's *Inghilterra, ut supra*, lib. v. cap. ix. and Father More, *ut supra*, lib. v. n. xxix., which we cannot omit. "The Father would have spoken further on this point of obedience to the laws, had they not attacked him on another, objecting to him Anne Bellamy's statement, as to Father Robert's instructions to her, that if asked by searchers or persecutors if there was a priest in the house, she could say 'No,' though she knew there was one: nay, that if asked on oath, she could swear there was not. No sooner was this brought out than the judges and officers of the court showed themselves highly scandalized, and were for stopping their ears. (Father Bartoli here asks us to contrast the pious horror expressed by the officials at Father Southwell's doctrine with the fact related by Father Gerard (see page 323), of the magistrate Young swearing on the Scriptures to what he knew to be false, that Father Southwell had expressed a desire to confer with a Protestant minister with a view of abandoning the Catholic faith.) As if, forsooth, the seeking for Catholic priests to put them to a traitor's death, or force them to apostatize, were a proceeding so clearly and so indubitably just, as to make it as clearly and indubitably unjust to hide them from such an ordeal, or to deny them to their pursuers; nor, indeed, would the harm be confined to the cruel execution of the priest, but with him the whole of the family in whose house he was found would be liable to the same death of traitors. Coke, the Attorney General, therefore made the best be could of this matter, insisting that such a pernicious doctrine tended to destroy all truth, and all reliance of men in each other's veracity, and, if allowed to prevail, would upset all good government. Topcliffe also inveighed against it so exorbitantly that Judge Popham silenced him. Father Robert then, as soon as he was allowed to reply, explained briefly what he had said to the witness, whose statement was not altogether correct, and addressing the Judge, said: 'If you will have patience to listen to me, I shall be able to prove to you from the Holy Scriptures, from the Fathers, from theologians, and from reason, that in case a demand is made against justice, and with the view of doing harm to an innocent person, to give an answer not according to the intent of the questioner is no offence either against the Divine law or the natural law. Nay, I will prove that this doctrine in nowise threatens the good government of states and kingdoms; and that where the other necessary conditions of an oath are present, there is nothing wrong in confirming such an answer in that way. Now I ask you, Mr. Attorney, supposing the King of France (which God forbid) were to invade this country successfully, and having obtained full possession of this city, were to make search for the Queen, whom you knew to be hidden in a secret apartment of the palace. Supposing, moreover, that you were seized in the palace and brought before the King, and that he

to consult upon their verdict. Then the Chief Justice commanded that the prisoner should be removed from the bar to the end he might rest himself, and have some refreshment if he would. Mr. Southwell desired leave to stay, saying if he wished him to be silent he would say nothing. The jurors returned again presently, and delivered their verdict that Mr. Southwell was guilty of the treason in such manner and form as was contained in the indictment. Mr. Attorney for the Queen demanded judgment; and thereupon the Clerk of the arraigns asked Mr. Southwell what he could say why the judgment should not be given. To this Mr. Southwell only answered, "I pray God forgive all them that any way are accessory to my death." Here Topcliffe again would very willingly have had scope to rail, saying he found him hidden in the tiles of the house, amongst his gods (meaning pictures), and

asked you where the Queen was, and would receive no profession of ignorance from you except on oath. What would you do? To falter or hesitate is to show that she is there: to refuse to swear is equivalent to a betrayal. What would you answer? I suppose, forsooth, you would point out the place! Yet who of all who now hear me would not cry out upon you for a traitor? You would then, if you had any sense, swear at once, either that you knew not where she was, or that you knew she was not in the palace, in order that your knowledge might not become instrumental to her harm. Of this kind, in fact, was the answer of Christ in the Gospel, when He said that, concerning the Day of Judgment, no one had any knowledge, neither the angels of heaven nor the Son; that is, according to the interpretation of the Fathers, such knowledge that He could communicate to others. Now this is the condition of Catholics in England—they are in peril of their liberty, their fortunes, and their lives, if they should have a priest in their houses. How can it be forbidden them to escape these evils by an equivocal answer, and to confirm this answer, if necessary, by an oath? For in such a case, three things must be remembered: first, that a wrong is done unless you swear; secondly, that no one is obliged to answer everybody's questions about everything; thirdly, that an oath is always lawful, if made with truth, with judgment, and with justice: all which are found in this case.' He went on to exemplify his position by supposed queries of robbers and highwaymen; but he was interrupted by abuse." The reader is referred to Father Morris' instructive chapter upon equivocation, *Condition of Catholics*, § xxx. Father More says that amidst all the railings, the clamours, and accusations against him, the invincible combatant of Christ stood unmoved. Besides what is already related, the sum of his interrupted defence was—that, while admitting their laws made it treason for a priest to remain in the realm, yet that no efforts or skill of theirs could prove those statutes to be agreeable to the law of God; that, as to "rendering to Cæsar the things that are Cæsars," and in obeying the powers that be, we acknowledge and render to the Queen her rights in corporal things, and her power over our bodies; but, as to the soul, or spiritual matters, that is another question. To this belongs the authority which we venerate in the Supreme Pontiff—his rescripts, his Bulls, and the necessary faculties for the missionary priests in the administration of the sacraments. We pray for the peace and prosperity of the kingdom, that it may become holy by religion, which (permit me to say) can never be attained by your sects. We venerate Majesty in those things that belong to Majesty; but you must remember that in the matter upon which we are treating, it is said by the Apostles, "Si justum est in conspectu Dei vos potius audire quam Deum, judicate" (Acts iv. 19). We serve the King of Spain in nought opposed to her Majesty, and we defy you to prove your assertion that we contributed aught to the Spanish fleet. The King of Spain has his own, and the Queen rejoices in hers, as all wish her to do."

in the same was Parson's cipher. Mr. Southwell answered it was time to hide where Mr. Topcliffe came; he protested he did not know of any such cipher, neither did acknowledge any more gods than one. Topcliffe not being suffered to reply, the Lord Chief Justice (making a long speech of the former matters, whereunto Mr. Southwell would have replied, but was forbidden, with a kind of exhortation to Mr. Southwell to have a care of his soul, for which he gave him great thanks) gave judgment that he should be carried to Newgate from whence he came, and from thence to be drawn to Tyburn upon a hurdle, and there to be hanged and cut down alive; his bowels to be burned before his face; his head to be stricken off; his body to be quartered and disposed at her Majesty's pleasure. Mr. Southwell made thereunto a low and humble reverence, and gave great thanks for it. The Chief Justice wished that a minister might have some conference with him, and said he would send a learned preacher unto him. He answered, as for that, you need not take any care. Thereupon Mr. Southwell was led away; and the officers consulting whether they had better carry him by water or by land, they all concluded he would go quiet enough, and so he went joyfully with them through the streets where many of his friends and acquaintance awaited his coming only to see him, which they did to their great comfort, perceiving him full of consolation, his countenance nothing dismayed, they never knowing him to look better or more cheerful. Being come to Newgate he was presently put down again into the dungeon [Limbo], where for three hours in that afternoon, some ministers had reasoning with him upon points of religion, which was kept very secret, and known to very few, neither what was there said between them, or what further done or said that night, saving that his keeper of Newgate, by hearing the former reasoning, and some other spiritual discourses which Mr. Southwell had particularly used unto him, moved also by his great humility and devotion, used him with all the kindness he could, and resolved upon a better state of life for the saving of his soul.

After that he was by the under-sheriff and the keeper returned into Limbo, the head keeper told him that if he thought he would hurt himself (commit suicide) in that extremity he could hamper him from any such danger; whereunto he said that he never heard of a priest that hurt himself, and that he was not so minded to add the destruction of his soul to the death of his body.[79] The next

[79] The St. Omer MS. in chapter ix. says that on this same last night of his life, a nobleman of high rank and standing, whose name does not transpire (probably Cecil himself), called upon Father Robert, and earnestly conjured him by all that was sacred, and by the extreme sentence he was to undergo the next day, to tell him candidly and unreservedly what he had done in general to avert her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance. In reply he sincerely assured him, *per fidem suam*, that anything of the kind was most remote from his plans or thoughts, that he had come all the way from Italy, and, regardless of the danger, had crossed the sea, spent several years in an inglorious obscurity, had endured the squalor of a long imprisonment, with the torments of the rack and other tortures, and was now to undergo the punishment of a most disgraceful death—and all this for the sole object of seeking the salvation of his fellow-countrymen, using every convenient opportunity of nourishing them by counsel and the sacraments of the Church, and in this cause he regarded both fame and life as worthless; that the Queen's salvation had always been a primary object

morning, being Friday, the 21st of February, the keeper of Newgate bringing him word that he was presently to be drawn to Tyburn to be executed, he embraced him, and pulled off his nightcap from his head, and gave it unto him saying: "I thank you most heartily for your good news. If I had any better thing to give, you should have it" (which cap the keeper, albeit a Protestant, maketh such account of that he can be brought by no means to forgo it). Being brought forth and laid on the hurdle, he said: "How great a preferment is this for so base a servant;" which he repeated oftentimes. And an old countryman that passed by cried out, saying: "God in heaven bless and strengthen you," and being rebuked for it, yet he still continued his prayers. As he was drawn between Newgate and Tyburn, a gentlewoman, his kinswoman, saluted him, desiring his prayers. He said: "Good cousin, I thank you. I pray you pray for me." He willed her to take heed of the horses that drew the hurdle, and wished her to forbear any further speech, and to be gone for fear of her being apprehended. So she presently got away. Further he spoke little or nothing, but had his mind wholly attentive to mental prayer and meditation, holding up his hands and face as well as he could, towards heaven. When he was almost come to Tyburn, and was within sight of the gallows, he somewhat raised himself up to behold it joyfully, and laid him down again. When he came to the place of execution, he was taken up from the hurdle, and led to the end of a cart; standing there a little while, he wiped his mouth and face with a handkerchief, which afterwards he cast towards one of his acquaintance.[80] After that the hangman had pulled him up into the cart, and opened his doublet, he asked him if he might be permitted to speak, and he told him yea. Then signing himself with the sign of the Cross, he pronounced these words very distinctly: "Sive vivimus, Deo vivimus; sive morimur, Deo morimur; sive vivimus sive morimur, Deo sumus." These words being spoken, he began to say: "I am brought hither to die." The under-sheriff interrupted him, saying that he should only cry God's mercy, and make an end. Unto whom he used this speech: "Give me leave to speak: it shall not be much, and I will speak nothing offensive to the Queen or the State." Here being permitted to speak, he began in this manner: "I am brought hither to perform the last act of this miserable life, and for that my time is very short, I do most humbly desire at the hands of Almighty God for our Saviour Jesus'

with him, equally as his own; that he earnestly implored God to avert all calamities from her Majesty, and he prayed likewise for those who were the authors of his punishment; and that far from repenting of the sufferings he had undergone in this cause, he was prepared for a repetition of them, if only it tended to her Majesty's service and salvation. The nobleman was amazed at the equanimity of this great soul, and when, upon the death of Father Robert, he related to the Queen his wonderful endowments, she was sensibly affected and showed regret for his death, and especially after she had read one of his elegant and pious compositions, of which he wrote so many for his own consolation and occupation and for the instruction of others in the art of meditation, and which were so approved of by the Protestants that they themselves both printed and published his works. The rest of the night he spent in prayer and watching, full of the thoughts of the journey he was to take the next day through the gate of martyrdom into a happy eternity, to enjoy for ever the Sovereign Object of his love.

[80] The St. Omer MS. says, "One of the Society."

sake, that He would vouchsafe to pardon and forgive all my sins and offences which I have committed against His Divine Majesty, since the first time of my birth until this present. As concerning the Queen's Majesty, God Almighty knoweth that I never meant or intended harm or evil against her; I have daily prayed for her, and yet in this short time which I have to live, I most humbly beseech and desire Almighty God for His tender mercy's sake, for His Precious Blood's sake, and for His most glorious Wounds' sake, that He would vouchsafe she may so use those gifts and those graces which God, nature, and fortune hath bestowed upon her, that with them all she may both please and glorify God, advance the happiness of our country, and purchase to herself the preservation and salvation of her body and soul.

"Next I commend into the hands of Almighty God my poor country, desiring Him for His infinite mercy's sake to reduce it to such perfect insight, knowledge, and understanding of His truth, that thereby they may learn to praise and glorify God, and gain to their souls' health and eternal salvation.

"And lastly, I commend into the hands of Almighty God my poor soul, that it would please Him for His great mercy's sake to confirm and strengthen it with perseverance unto the end of this my last conflict; and this poor body of mine, as it shall please her Majesty to dispose thereof. And this I humbly desire Almighty God that it would please His goodness to take and accept this my death, the last farewell to this miserable and unfortunate life (although in this most happy and fortunate) in full satisfaction for all my sins and offences, and for the comfort of many others; which albeit that it seem here disgraceful, yet I hope that in time to come, it will be to my eternal glory.

"I do acknowledge and confess that I am a priest of the Catholic and Roman Church (I thank God most highly for it), and of the Society of Jesus."

This speech being ended, the hangman stripped him to his shirt, put the halter about his neck, and made it fast to the gallows. At which time a minister standing by, said to him: "Mr. Southwell, you must explain yourself, for if your meaning be according to the Council of Trent, it is damnable." (But the people cried out that he should hold his peace.) To whom Mr. Southwell answered: "Good Mr. Minister, give me leave; good sir, trouble me not—for God's sake let me alone. Notwithstanding your words I die a Catholic, and hope to be saved by the death and Passion of our Saviour." Being urged to ask the Queen's mercy—to satisfy their importunity, he said: "If I have offended the Queen with my coming hither, I humbly desire her to forget it, and this punishment laid upon me for it, I take most thankfully, God Almighty help me; the Blessed Virgin with all the angels and saints of heaven assist me, and I desire all Catholics to pray for me, that notwithstanding whatsoever may be said to trouble and distemper me in this conflict, I may yet this little while more I have to live, live a Catholic and die a Catholic. 'Sancta Maria Mater Dei, et omni Sancti Dei orate et intercedite pro me.'" Then making the sign of the Cross, he said: "In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum. Redemisti me Domine, Deus veritatis." This he repeated thrice. "Deus meus et omnia: Deus propitius esto mihi peccatori: Me expectant justi donec retribuas mihi." Then making again the sign of the Cross, he said: "In manus tuas Domine," &c. "Cor mundum crea in me

Deus, et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus meis. Redde mihi lætitiam salutaris tui, et spiritu principali confirma me. Mihi autem adhærere Deo bonum est, ponere in Domino Deo spem meam." Then making the sign of the Cross, he said again : "In manus tuas Domine, commendo spiritum meum," &c. At which time the cart was softly drawn away, and because the knot of the halter was put right behind his neck, and very wide, he remained hanging alive a good space, knocking his breast, and making divers times as well as he could, the sign of the Cross, turning his eyes up and down wide open, until the hangman pulled him downwards by the legs, at which time he most happily yielding up his blessed spirit closed his eyes, and looked most cheerful.

One of the officers proffered three times to have cut him down alive, according to the sentence, but the people cried "Stay, stay!" and the Lord Montrouge forbade him likewise. Being at length cut down, the hangman received him in his arms decently, as yet breathing. Being afterwards disembowelled, his holy heart leaped in the hangman's hands, and also after that it was cast into the fire. The people were so much moved with his charitable ending, that no one of them (contrary to their accustomed wont) did speak any evil words against him.

A pursuivant standing by said to one of his acquaintance that he had deceived him, for that he never saw any man die better. A Protestant lord wished that whenever he died, his soul might go with his. A minister standing by said that he died with great charity, and that the other minister acted uncharitably by giving rash judgment against him when (as aforesaid) he interrupted him. His head being cut off, and by the hangman lifted up to be shown to the people, no one was heard to cry "Traitor, traitor!" as before times they were wont to do, but passed the matter over in silence. His head was set on one of the bridges, and his quarters on four gates of London.

Thus, as near as the memory of eye-witnesses could make relation, is briefly and truly set down his discourse to the glory of God and to the honour of this His most worthy Saint, to whose holy prayers all Catholics do commend themselves.

"Laus Deo, B. Virgini et omnibus sanctis. Amen."

Endorsed—"A copy of the arraignment and condemnation of Father Southwell, Jesuit, in London, ann. 1594, 26th Feb."

The St. Omer MS. says, in conclusion, "It tends to the commendation of our martyr Robert, and to the glory of God, to record the following fact from the *Litteræ Annuæ S.J. Prov. Angl.* anno 1635. A sister of the glorious martyr, who is yet living, was most happily cured of a very severe disease which had baffled the skill of the ablest physicians of the day, and all the medicinal remedies resorted to. Being asked one day where she had at length met with so skilful a physician, or what remedies had succeeded in such a complication of diseases, she replied that it was by remedies simple and ready at hand, to wit, the application of the relics of her brother the blessed martyr, compared to which she had never found any remedy so efficacious. And this case was all the

more remarkable, because this woman, far from possessing merit with God, was actually dissembling her religion, passing herself off as a Protestant, out of compliance with her son, who held some magisterial post." [81]

Father Southwell's execution is mentioned by Stowe in his *Chronicles*. "February 20. Southwell, a Jesuit that long time had lain prisoner in the Tower of London, was arraigned at the King's Bench Bar. He was condemned, and on the next morning drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered."

"Thus perished Father Southwell at thirty-three years of age, and so, unhappily, have perished many of the wise and virtuous of the earth. Conscious of suffering in the supposed best of causes, he seems to have met death without terror; to have received the crown of martyrdom not only with resignation but with joy. Indeed, persecution and martyrdom, torture and death, must have been frequent subjects of his contemplation. His brethren of the priesthood were falling around him, and he himself assumed the character of a comforter, and encouraged those who remained. Life's uncertainty, and the world's vanity, the crimes and follies of humanity, and the consolations and glories of religion, are the constant themes of his writings, both in prose and verse; and the kindliness and benignity of his nature, and the moral excellence of his character, are diffused alike over both." [82]

The following is from the Latin letter of Father Henry Garnett, to the Very Reverend Father General Claudius Aquaviva, dated London, February 22, 1595, to which reference has already been made.

To the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Claudius Aquaviva,—
P.C.

Behold, now at length I present to his Paternity a lovely flower gathered from his gardens, the sweetest fruit from his tree, a priceless treasure from his bank, silver weighed, tried, and sevenfold purged from earthly dross in the fire; an invincible soldier, a most faithful disciple, and courageous martyr of Christ, Robert Southwell, my former most beloved companion and brother, now my patron, a king reigning together with Christ.

Incarcerated for nearly three years in a more than usually close confinement, he neither saw nor was permitted to speak with any Catholic. Frequently suffering the most cruel tortures which their barbarity is accustomed to inflict, ten times, as he himself declared, stretched upon a rack, more relentless than death itself; lastly, de-

[81] Father Tanner, as above, also notices this miracle.

[82] Biographical notice of Father Southwell in the *Retrospective Review*, 1823.

prived of all human aid, he did but make it the more evident to all, how far the Divine assistance surpasses all succour from man. For although during the whole of this time he could neither say Mass nor make confession, nor converse with, nor receive consolation from any one ; yet may it be truly said that he came forth to trial and to death with a soul as calm and composed, as though from an assembly of his religious brethren, and as if by his own free will he was going to some delightful enjoyment. Transferred from the Tower to Newgate, the prison of robbers and murderers, he was thrust down into a dungeon called Limbo, and left there for three days with no other comfort than what was afforded by the dim light of a candle. But on the 20th of February he was called to the Bar for trial, where, by cunning contrivance, his enemies secured that the smallest audience possible should be present ; for neither the gaoler nor any one else received notice the previous day what they were about to do ; and in order to divert the crowd from the Court at Westminster, they ordered that a notorious highwayman should be hung at Tyburn at the very time. However, in spite of this precaution, many Catholics were present, who reported the proceedings to us ; these, however, being now pressed for time, I must postpone until the next or following week. I now relate only what occurred at his most happy triumph itself, reported to us by one of ours who was present.[83]

The letter then proceeds to give an account of the martyrdom similar to that contained in Father Garnett's narrative already detailed.

In conclusion Father Garnett earnestly begs the prayers of Father General, that he may receive the grace to prepare for a similar combat; since he does not see how he can possibly much longer elude the hands of the enemy, and he earnestly begs of God that his sins may not stand in the way of his conflict, nor from his meeting it with equal courage.

The following extracts regarding Father Southwell are made from original reports of Mr. Richard Verstigan, then living an exile at Antwerp, to Father Robert Parsons in Rome.[84]

In Antwerp, March 30, 1595. Stylo novo.

Having lately received two several letters from two friends in England, the one of the 4th, the other of the 10th of this present, I do here send your fatherhood the contents of them both together. By their next I am promised more particulars, the which (if so soon I attain unto them) I will impart in my next unto you. The 2nd of this present, according to the new style, Father Robert Southwell was arraigned and condemned of high treason at Westminster for being priest and coming into the realm contrary to the statute. The morrow after, being Saturday and the 3rd of this month, he was executed at Tyburn. He had been tortured ten several times, two years and three quarters imprisoned, for the

[83] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* ii. n. 1. There is also a copy of the letter in Spanish.

[84] *Ibid.* n. 3.

most part in the Tower of London; and nothing but priesthood was to be laid to his charge; he was suddenly by the instigation of bloody Topcliffe (and secretly as such an action must be) thus used to the admiration of all beholders, who were moved with great compassion (seeing so many good parts to be in him, and how with all patience and mildness he endured this tragedy) seemed much to repine at these proceedings. Being come to the place of execution, he there did with great commendations of all, because he prayed for the Queen and realm, and made such a mournful speech as caused many weeping eyes. He hanged until he was dead, through the cry of the people, which would not suffer him sooner to be cut down. So great an impression his death did make within them. I have used in this relation the only words of our friend's letter.

In another letter of advices, dated Easter Eve, March 25, 1595, addressed to Il Signor Roger Baynes, Rome, Mr. Verstigan says: "I send you a brief relation of the glorious death and martyrdom of Father Robert Southwell, more particulars I am promised, and do shortly expect them."

In another report to Father Parsons, dated May 25, 1595, among other items of news he says: "From England, which next unto Turkey I may speak of, I understand by some late letters of some lately come thence, that within a while after Father Southwell's death, Topcliffe was committed to the Marshalsea for abusing his commission, but within a few days after was this Barrabas set at liberty, and Father Henry Walpole was carried from the Tower of London to York, and there executed, and with him died an apothecary. Of these martyrs' deaths I expect shortly to understand more particulars, as also to have the speech used by Father Southwell at the time of his death, which seemeth to have moved the people that upon that occasion Topcliffe was committed, because it was made known that the said Father was ten times tortured, whereof by this means Topcliffe was made the only author.

Richard Williams came to die, who was the last Catholic that died before Father Southwell. He was moved to pray for the Queen, but he replied that he would pray and die for the King of Spain, and that the said King had maintained him. But of the Queen he had never received any benefit, and now she did take away his life. And for intending to kill her, he protested, and took it on his death, that he never did, notwithstanding that through the great extremity of torture, they made him say the contrary.

Edward York, that died with him, seemed both by his speeches and actions to be distracted of his wits.

In another letter of news to "Signor Baynes," June 30, 1595, he says: "Topcliffe is released out of prison, but his commission is taken from him. They endeavour to persuade the world that these hard courses were against the Queen's mind. This course is thought to proceed of fear and cowardice: they may perhaps think to profit more by this than by rigour. You know the story of the wind and the sun that strove who should pluck the passenger's cloak from his back, and the warm sun did it.

"Father Southwell's death made so great an impression in the hearts of the people as is very wonderful, as you would see if I had time to send you the history, which I have no leisure to copy out. It containeth four sheets of written paper. No one person spoke a

word against him; the people cried to the minister to hold his peace, and let the Father speak. A Protestant lord wished that when he died his soul might go with his."

We find frequent mention made of Father Southwell among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London.

The following Information of Robert Weston, a spy, is given at full length, as affording a specimen of the proceedings in those days of a spy, employed for the detection of priests.

1591. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxxxviii. n. 62. Endorsed—"20 April. The names of certain English students and seminaries sett downe by Robert Weston, with some particular observations of such as be reconcyled," &c.

When the Kinge's fleete had the overthrowe in Englande then was Mr. Parsons in Rome, and it was concluded then between the Card. [Allen] and the aforesaid Parsons, that hee the sayde Parsons shoulde goe into Spayne to sollicite the Kinge not to leave off soe, wch. thinge I thinke hee hath lately practised ever sithens [since], and there by his meanes was founded a seminarye that those wch. were to bee sent into Englande shoulde firste goe thither, and from thence to be convaighed into England, and so to saye they had been souldiours & slaves in Spaine, thereby to escape better. Now whether the Kinge doe meane to returne this nexte yeare or not, that I cannot certenly saye, but if hee meane to retorne you shall know by this. The Cardinall will come this springe into Flanders wth. pretence to bee Byshop of Machlin, to be readye to come with them into Englande, and it is like Mr. Parsons will come out of Spayne with the Armada, yf the Cardinall cometh not, it is not like that the Spanyards come. The Pope [Greg. XIV.] that now is, is a Millanese, and the more likelier to bee a furtherer of the Kinge's pretences, & favoureth much the English seminarye, more than the late Pope did. If one could deale with the Duke of Florence, he mighte hinder the Pope's pretence, for he was made Pope by the voices of Card. Montalto, who was the Duke's instrument. Also Cardinall Aquaviva can doe very much with the Pope's holynes, and soe can Cardinall Sandes. I thinke yf there were a supplicaon framed as if it came from the Catholikes to the Cardinall Allen, that hee woulde sende no more Catholike priests, but rather call backe againe those which are lately sente, and it muste be soe framed as thoughe the Catholikes lamented themselves because of the strange lawes in Englande againste priests. The supplicaon muste be subscribed by some three seminaries, wch. may easely be done, then you shall see by that, whether the Cardinall bee in any hope the Spaniards will come or noe. Yf hee bee in hope they will come, then hee will sende the Catholikes some comfortable exhortacons; yf not, at leaste they will sende noe more yet a good while, and p'haps call some of the chiefest that are in England backe againe. I knowe there are many that coulde bee content rather not to come, than to come, but they are forced by authoritie of their Superiors. All this I leave to the judgment of them that be wiser than myselfe.

Priests about London that I knowe are there, viz. :

Mr. Southwell, a Jesuite ; what his byname is I knowe not ; hee was wonte to goe apparelled in blacke rashe.

Mr. Barcroft, whose byname is Croftes, his apparell a white satten doblett, with a blacke tufted taffatie hose.

Mr. Younger, whose byname is Leighton, as I thinke, his apparell I knowe not. Hee keepeth much with the foresayd Crofts : they were wonte to ley aboute Mr. Mompessons.

Henry Bell, whose byname is Hill ; his apparell is a Rusett fustian doblett, &c., somewhat lean-faced, and an Abram bearde.

Mr. Marks, whose byname I knowe not ; his apparell is a plane yellowe fustian doblett ; his hose of the same ; his netherstocks redde, a younge man, somewhat highe coloured. All these be of Rome and Spayne, and came over within these xii. months or little more.

Mr. Bercot, whose byname I knowe not, nor his apparell, for I sawe him not above twice : hee is a little man aboute the age of xxxvi.

Mr. Eaton, whose byname I knowe not, neither his apparell. Hee is a little short felowe, a broade flaxey bearde, some 34 or 35 yeares olde : he useth at one Cowper's in Aldergate Streete, when hee is in towne.

Mr. Littlebury, whose byname is Moore ; his apparell I knowe not ; hee lieth in Southwarke, but I knowe not where.

One Mr. Smith, but his right name I knowe not, nor his apparell ; he useth to Mr. Southcott, when hee is in towne, at Mr. Gage's in Chancery Lane.

Mr. Harrison, whose byname is Blacke, or Bannester. I neede not to describe hym ; you knowe him well. Hee goeth in blacke rashe, and lieth aboute Holborne, I knowe not where.

Mr. Twiford, who goeth for a phisicon, whose description you neede not.

Mr. Williams, an old man, hee keepeth about Mr. Talbott's.

Mr. Jones, an old man also, whose abode (as I thinke) is at Syr Wm. Catesbye's, when hee is in towne.

There are others of Reymes, whose names I knowe not, nether where they use, but when I meete them I knowe them by sighte.

There is a Jesuite whose name is Bennett, and hee is in Wales, as I thinke.

Fennell the priest doth use to come very muche to Mr. John Fortescue his house.

As you go forthe of Mr. Wynshecomb's house towards Newberry in the first close withoute the gate, upon the lefte hand in the hegrow, there is a great oake that is hollow, and be knocking uppon it you shall fynd it to sounde ; and yf he bee not in the howse, you shall fynde him in a gallery going through the hall at the tabyll end, one the ryght hand up a grat payre of stars there is the galery where is souse [? hose] dothe ley there is a prese where all the Church stofe is.

A note of prests and where they do resort.

It. In Feter Lane there doth ley Mr. Wilmore, he . . . Mr. Trogmorton, and Crohter the pryste usethe moche to his wife, but he dothe not bydeth for above one nyght when he cometh.

It. Thomas Garland is going to Hearland, and was browght on his way.

It. John Gaskyn of Lyon Inn dothe knowe of the Jesuites.

It. Thomas Martyr dothe lodge in Cow Lane, the hoose of

John Martyn dwellyn, abotte the meddese of the lane agaynst the waggon maker; the sayd Thomas Martyn is conversant with semenaries, and greter matars.

It. There is one Mr. Matarday in Warwake Lane, where Williams the priest dothe lodge.

It. At Mr. Bregges, in Barksheere, at Grat Sheford, there doth leye one Snappe *als* Palmar, a letell man pallsasid abott the age xxxvj yere a prest; he hathe byn at that howse this vi or vij yere levthe very close in a chambar wyche hathe a pare of stars goyng up forthe of the corte, one the bak syde of the howse towards the roughe closte.

It. Olivar Almon is a prest, and did leye at Mr. Wynchcombe in Barkshere, nere Newbery, the name is Henwicke. Yf hee be not in the hoose, there is a grat [tree] wherein he is hyden: he is a letle man, &c.

It. There is one Ryc. Blunte, preste.

It. There is one Ryc. Dudley, prest, a servant with a flaxsey her, and renonabyll feature.

It. Grefyn, a prest, with a readde bushe barde and abott xl yeres old.

It. There is Garnett a Jesuite, is name is Walley.

It. Layton is ryght name is Youngar, and a full man and blake, and he did ley at Laurence Mompessons.

It. Mr. Southwell, Jesuite.

It. Barcroft *als* Croftes, of a mane statuar, flaxley herre, a whyte satyn dobolet, &c., and hathe lane at Mompessons.

It. Harry Bell *als* Hill [with description].

It. One Martyn, a prest [ditto].

It. There is Bercroft, he is a letel man, &c. [descript.].

It. There is Eaton [description].

[He then repeats the names and descriptions of the priests—Littlebury, Smith, Harrison, Twyford, Jones].

It. Benet, a Jeseuitie, is in Wallis; he was baneshed.

It. There is one Wynkefeeld, a prest of 40 yeres old.

It. Twyford did house to Mr. Bregges in Barkshere, and Mr. Levedens in Lamborne Woodlands.

It. There was one Shaw: he was relevid by Webster prisoner in the Marshallsea.

It. There is one Willson a Carpyndar in Aldargat Streete, a lodger of preists.

It. At the Pewtar bottle.

It. At the [? Black] Ball in the , a tallow howse.

It. At a barbar's over agayne St. Clement's Churche.

It. Edward Stanly at Battarsay, a grate recever of preistes.

It. Mr. Bredggs, of Great Sheford, a recever.

It. Mr. Wynchcombe, of Henwicke, recever in Barkshere.

[The next name is destroyed by age.] It reads thus:

It. Mr. Forest in Wynsar, a recevar.

It. Mr. Estes, in the same forest, a recevar.

It. Mr. Stafford, in Aldargat Strete, a recevar.

It. Mr. Whyt, in Sent John Lane, a recevar.

It. Mr. Ratclife, in Clerkyn Wyll, a recevar.

It. The old Ladye Mordant at Mecham.

It. The Ladye Petar.

It. Mr. Maryn in Chomparylan [? Chancery Lane].

It. Mr. Wyllis, in Sent Tandcrope churche yarde [St. Pancras].

It. Mr. Hawkyns, in S. John Strete.

It. Mr. Banestar, over agaynst the Wardrop.
It. Mr. Newes, at Logat.
[The next name is obliterated].
It. In the Old Baley with one Mr. Barme.
It. Mr. Snachepoll, in letel Sen Bartolomes.
It. Mr. Newworke, at a shumaker by Evy bredge.
It. Mr. Vavasour.
It. In howse in Holborne, a letel above the Whyt Hart, did lodge Mr. Ebtop, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Gravenor, Mr. Harwell, and there was one Mr. Martyr that law [lay] in Garland's lodging.
It. Mr. Southcote and is wyffe wher at Sir John Petar's this last summer at the Assumcon of our Ladye, and the sayde Southcote did before his going entreate Mr. Corbett to goe thether with hym, but he sayde that yf my ladye sent for him he would come, and soe she sent her man and a horse for him to come downe to Sir John's howse Ingerstone, wher he continued three dayes and saide Masse there, at wch. was p'sent the Ladye Peters and Dorothy her maide, and a younge man servante to Sr. John, who is a wilde felowe, and a rider, and is married, and Mr. Southcote and his wife.
It. Ther hath ben Smythe, a priest.
It. Ther is one Bruarton, a preist, was at Bentley a thre wycke before Crestynmas last, and was ther too dayes upon Satardaye and Sondaye, and Corry was there the same tyme.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxxviii. n. 161. John Snowden to Cecil. Endorsed by Cecil—"May 21, 1591. Jno. Snowden with the names of English in Spain, and of priests in England."

There are in England 4 Jesuites at liberty, Southwell, Garnet, Curry, and the fourth's name I remember not at liberty, and 2 in prison; Weston at Wisbitch, and Ralp,[85] which is no priest, in the Lion. Of priests in number, as appeareth in Parson's book I brought in the Hulke, are 300.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxxviii. n. 163. Thomas Wilson to Cecil. Endorsed by Cecil—"May 22, 1591. Thomas Wilson, als."

The principal priests in England that I do know are Southwell and Garnett the Jesuites.

The letter contains information chiefly about Sir William Stanley.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxxxviii. n. 179. Extract from information of John Snowden, who says (*inter alia*):

For Curry and Garnet I never saw, and Southwell, because he went without beard when I saw him, and hath no particular mark to be known by, I know not how to describe him, but that he is of middle stature and of hair auburne.

[85] Brother Ralph Emerson, S.J.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxli. n. 35. ? January, 1592. Information by a spy, as to Masses and priests and hiding-places :

The Friday senight before Christmas there was a Mass said at Haley's house in the Old Change by one Mr. Willson, priest, who after that went to St. Mary Overy's to my Lord Montague's house.

The names of them that were at this Mass :

Mr. Wm. Browne, Mr. George Cotton, Mr. Bannister and his wife, Mr. Marque, and the woman of the house.

The same day there was likewise a Mass said in the same street at one Christy's house, by one Mr. Williams, priest, who went from thence to Mr. Talbot's house, to Islington.

At Dr. Smythes there is one Trawnsome, a priest, that useth there.

At Mr. Thomas Tresham's there is another priest, whose name is Simon Vennell. There is likewise one Mr. Southwell, a Jesuit, that useth to Mr. Cottons' in Fleet Street, and sometimes to Dr. Smithes.

At Clerkenwell, on Thursday last, there was a Mass said by one Mr. Jones, priest, at one Mr. Pales' house.

There were at this Mass

One Mrs. Arundell and her waiting-maid, and the woman of the house.

This priest the same day rode into the country.

At Bentley, in Sussex, Mr. Edward Gage's house, there are two or three priests always resident, whose names are Mr. Taylor and Mr. Craker, and one other priest.

At Mr. Shelley's house at Michegrove, Sussex, there is a priest whose name is Mr. Harte.

There is one Mr. Haule [Hauley] a priest newly come to town, and liveth as yet at one Mr. Freeman's. Being condemned, he was by Sir Francis Walsingham saved, who kept him after that till he died. Then my Lord Chancellor took him and kept him while he lived.[86]

At Mr. Shelley's house, in Trinity Lane, in a private place in a wall, there are certain books and papers and writings with other things, I know not what, were secretly hid.

There is one Pencavell and two others sent from hence into Spain, from some men here of great calling, with letters and commendations of great importance, whose return is looked for about Easter.

This Pencavell hath a brother in a seminary in France, and another brother an image-maker here in London.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlvi. n. 81. 1592. Order for the arrest of Mr. Richard Bellamy. Endorsed—"For Mr. Justice Yoinge" [Young].

That Mr. Justice Yoing, or some other lyke comyssyoner do apprehend Richard Bellamy, of Oxenden, in the parryshe of Harrow-on-the-hyll and his wyffe and ther tow sonnes and ther tow

[86] Lord Chancellor Hatton died Nov. 1591.

daughters. In whose howse Father Sowthall, *alias* Mr. Cotton, was taken by Mr. Toplay, a comyssyoner, and wher a noumber of other priests have been receyved and harberd as well when Sowthell hathe bene ther, as when Mr. Barnes, *alias* Hynd, *alias* Wingfield, hath been ther a sojourner in Bellamy's howse.

And they to be comytted to several prysons, Bellamy and his wyffe to the Gaythowse, and ther tow daughters to ye Clynk, and ther tow sonnes to St. Katheryns, and to be examyned straytly for the weighty service of the Qy's Matye.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlviii. n. 68. April 14, 1594. Richard Young, the Justice of the Peace, &c., writes to Lord Puckering, inclosing (*inter alia*) a list of prisoners in the Tower under the custody of Sir Michael Blount, Lieutenant, viz.:

Philip Howard, *late* Earl of Arundel; Roger Lopez, Doctor of Physic; Stephen Ferrera de Gama, Manuel Lewis Tinoco, and John Ardent. All of whom are condemned.

There are also confined there:

James Fitzgerald, son of the late Earl of Desmond.

Edmund Neville, confederate with Parry to kill the Queen.

Sir Nicholas Clifford.

Peter Wentworth, committed from the Parliament.

Henry Duffield, a sea captain, committed from the Lord Admiral.

Robert Southwell, *alias* Cotton, a Jesuit, and infamous traitor.

John Boost, a Jesuite.[87]

Henry Walpole, a Jesuite, lately come over to do mischief.

John Ingram, a Jesuite or priest.[88]

Robert Hunchustone } Recusants.
Robert Lingham }

Gilbert Laton, sent from Rochelle to kill the Queen, a man of great importance.

John Annias, an Irishman, who came over under pretence of killing Antonio Perez.

There are also divers priests and other dangerous persons in the Marshalsea, Gatehouse, and other prisons. He has not yet had a full certification of them.

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlix. n. 14. June 15, 1594. Father Henry Walpole, in one of his examinations, states that he was sent by Father Parsons to win souls to the Catholic religion, and to send them some apt men to be in their Seminaries. He was to follow the directions of Father Garnett, to whom he was bound by the rules of their religion, as his Superior; and he was the rather sent, as it was understood beyond seas, that Father Southwell, who had been sent before into England was taken and imprisoned.

[87] A secular priest, martyred at Durham, July 24, 1594.
[88] A secular priest, martyred at Newcastle, July 25, 1594.

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccliii. n. 62. August 5, 1595. Letter from one John Danyell, addressed to Sir Robert Cecil. He says—

Before coming from the seas I wrote to Lord [Burghley] for a passport. I came hither and discovered my intelligences, which appear true by the coming over of Polwhele, Guillone, York, and Williams. Upon the arraignment of Guillone, both I and William Cahill came by command of the Queen's attorney and solicitor to discover the wicked practices attempted against her person and country by her foreign enemies and unnatural subjects beyond seas, and were ready to avouch the like at the arraignment of Dr. Lopez, if occasion had served. I have forsaken a pension of 5s. a day beyond the seas, besides the loss of 800 crowns and hazarding my life. At the arrayment of York, Williams, and *Southwell the Jesuite*, John Danyell was nomynated to have been the first discoverer of these late practices intended against her Hyghness and her dominions, myself standing by. I refere me to the reports of my very good lor. yor father, the Lieutenant of the Tower, Mr. Toplyffe and Mr. Justice Younge, yf he were alyve, how reddy I was sins my coming to delyver my knowledge of all such as came or weare to come for any ill intent, and will so contynue while I live with^t respect to persons. In case that old George Herbert, who was with Charles Aroundell beyond the seas be (as I hear say) apprehended and commytted to the Tower, he can discover as moche as Holt the Jesuite, Sir Wm. Taylor, and Hugh Owen; yf he hathe, or will not of himselfe like a good subject deliver his knowledge plainlie and trulie, and that her Matie. and yor honors be not sufficientlie instructed to examyne him upon certaine points, I will deliver yr honor in writing by way of interrogatory so moche as I know, and will confront him or any other for her Maties. service. I was never a traitor in any country, nor beyond the seas.

The miserable informer goes on to say—

That seeing the Council recommended my suit by the Master of Requests to her Majesty, I beseech favour towards its despatch; *I am in great extremity*, having not one penny to pay for my diet, and cannot tell where to find one. I have wearied my friends in continuing three years following my suit, and am now likely to perish. I offer my service, and both I and my wife and nine children will daily pray for you.

By another letter of this informer to Cecil, dated Westminster, October 6, 1595, it appears that Cecil procured from the Queen a pension of £40 for him. And in the same letter he incloses Cecil one from his own cousin, a servant of the Bishop of Armagh, lately come from Rome, and then a prisoner in Bridewell. "I would not have spared him, if he had been my brother. I am for her Maties. service without respect of persons."[89]

[89] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccliv. n. 12.

In another letter, April 13, 1597, he sends Cecil information he had got from Richard Langton, to whom he had been [in prison] *and spoken hardly.* He again prays for help, as otherwise executions were about to issue against him for debt, &c.

Father Southwell's Works.

We copy the following list of poems from Mr. A. Grosart's edition—"The Fuller Worthies Library."

1. *St. Peter's Complaint.*
2. *Myrtle, or Myrtle Wreaths:*—Mary Magdalen's blush; Mary Magdalen's complaint at Christ's Death; Times go by turns; Look home; Fortune's falsehood; Scorn not the least; A child my choice; Content and rich; Loss in delay; Love's servile lot; Life is but loss; I die alive; What joy to live; Life's death, Love's life; At home in heaven; Lewd love is loss; Love's garden grief; From Fortune's reach; Dyer's fancy turned to a sinner's complaint; David's peccair; Sin's heavy load; New Prince, new pomp; The burning Babe; New heaven, new war.
3. *Mæontæ:*—The Conception of our Lady; Our Lady's Nativity; Our Lady's Spousals; Our Lady's Salutation; Joseph's amazement; The Visitation; The Nativity of Christ; The Circumcision; The Epiphany; The Presentation; The Flight into Egypt; Christ's return out of Egypt; Christ's Childhood; Christ's Bloody Sweat; Christ's sleeping friends; The Virgin Mary to Christ on the Cross; The Death of our Lady; The Assumption of our Lady; St. Thomas of Aquin's Hymn read on Corpus Christi day; St. Peter's afflicted mind; St. Peter's remorse; Man to the Wound in Christ's side; Upon the image of death; A vale of tears; The prodigal child's soul wreck; Man's civil war; Seek flowers of heaven.
4. *Melofolia, or Apples in Leaves:*—Decease, release, Dum morior, orior; I die without desert; Of the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar; Laments for a noble Lady; To the Christian reader of "Short Rules of Good Life."
5. *Poemata Latina:*—Poema de Assumptione B. V. M.; Filii Prodigi Porcos pascentis ad Patrem Epistola; Fragment of a series of Elegies; Jesus, Mary; Ad S. Catherinam, virg. et mart; In Renovationem votorum, Festus Natalis Domini; In Festum Pentecostes, Anno. Dom. 1580, 21 Maii.

Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.* mentions—

Letter of Consolation to the Catholics under restraint (London, St. Omer, &c.); *Regula bonæ vitæ*, cum Epist. ad Patrem suum (St. Omer, Douay, &c.); *Supplicatio ad Elizabetham Reginam pro Catholicis* (London, 1593); *Triumphum mortis*, oratione soluta ad Illust. Sævildianam Familiam; *Lacrymas S. M. Magdalene* (London, Douay, &c.); *St. Peter's Complaint* (London, Douay, &c.); *Poemata varia de Myst. vitæ Christi et aliis.*

There are also his *Hundred Meditations on the Love of God*, edited by Father Morris, from the original MS. at Stonyhurst, and published in 1873.

The St. Omer MS. gives the following list of Father Southwell's biographers :

Litteræ P. Hen. Garnett, Londino, ad P. Generalem, et narratio hujus Martyris a P. Joan. Decherio ad eundem Generalem missa, quæ servantur MS. in Tabulario Romano ; Annuæ Litt. 1592, S.J. Prov. Rom. Missiones ; Petrus Ribadeneira, S.J., in. Catal. Script. S.J. (Alegambe et Southwell) et in centuria martyrum S.J. ; Catalogus eorundem martyrum Soc. J. editus Cracoviæ et Neapoli ; Tabula eorundem Romæ incita ; Menologium S.J. MM. ; Joannes Pittæus in Catalogo Script. Angliæ ; Andreus Eudæmon in Apol. pro Garneto, cap. vi. ; Ratileus Benzonim de Jubilæo, lib. ii. cap. ix. ; Parus Bonarseius in Amphitheatro honoris, cap. iv. ; Arnoldus Raystius in Hierogazophylaceo Belgico, p. 172 ; Petrus Oultreman, S.J. in tabulis virorum illust. S.J. Gallice ; Petrus Antonius Spinella, S.J. in Deipara Thomæ Dei, cap. xx. n. 44 ; Josephus Creswellus, S.J. in. Mart. P. Hen. Walpoli, Hisp. sec. 22 ; Didacus Yepes in hist. persecutionis Angliæ Provæ. Hisp. lib. v. cap. vi. ; Jos. Catebius Hieremheri de Viris Illust. S.J., Hisp. t. ii. ; Jacobus Damianus, S.J. in Synopsi S.J., lib. v. c. xxvi. ; Hilarion de Costa Hist. Cathol. lib. iii. in Edmundo Campiano Gallice ; Elias et Terebia Legatione cursiæ triumphatis, lib. ii. cap. xxxi. n. 27.

To the above we add—

Father Henry More, S.J., *Hist. Prov. Angliæ.* (*ut supra*) ; Bartoli, S.J., *Inghilterra* (*ut supra*) ; Tanner, S.J., *Mart. S.J.* (*ut supra*) ; St. Omer MS. (*ut supra*) ; Juvencius, *Hist. Soc. Jes.* (*ut supra*) ; Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests.*

FATHER JASPER HAYWOOD.

FATHER JASPER HAYWOOD was a native of London, a younger son of Mr. John Haywood, whose Epigrams were current in the days of Sir Thomas More. His eldest brother was Elizeus Haywood, who entered the Society of Jesus a few years after his brother Jasper.[1]

Jasper Haywood was born in the year 1535. When a boy he was one of the pages of honour to the Princess Elizabeth. In 1547, being then twelve years of age, he was sent to Oxford, and took his degree in arts in 1553. He was afterwards made Fellow of Merton College, which he resigned on the 4th of April, 1558, upon some difference with the Warden and Senior Fellows of the house. He pursued his studies, however, and was made M.A. in the following November, and about the same time obtained a Fellowship in All Souls College, which he was obliged to resign for "non-compliance," or recusancy, the first year of Queen Elizabeth, 1558–9.[2] Then, being already ordained priest, he travelled to Rome, and on the 21st of May, 1562, was admitted to the Society of Jesus in the Professed House there. After publicly teaching philosophy and repeating theology in the Society for two years, he was sent to the College, S.J., at Dillingen in Bavaria. Here for seventeen years he was Professor of Moral Theology and Controversy, took the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was

[1] Father Elizeus Haywood, S.J., was born in London, and sent to Oxford for education. About 1547 he was elected Fellow of All Souls College. He applied himself to the study of law, and took the degree of D.C.L. in 1552. Then quitting his friends and country soon after the accession of Elizabeth, on account of religion, he was received into Cardinal Pole's family, and became one of his secretaries. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1566. After usefully labouring for some time in instructing the ignorant in the rudiments of the Catholic faith (in which employment he took a singular delight), he was sent into Belgium, where he became Spiritual Father and preacher in the College S.J. at Antwerp. He died at Louvain on the 2nd of October, 1578. The Very Rev. Father General Mercurian wrote him a letter, dated January 15, 1574, highly approving his pious intention of disposing of his property in favour of the Colleges of Louvain, Cologne, and Munich (More, *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.* lib. i. n. 22). In earlier life he had composed and published, amongst other pieces, one in Italian, dedicated to Cardinal Pole. It is a dialogue, the scene of which is laid in the house of Sir Thomas More, and is therefore entitled *Il Moro*, lib. ii. 8vo. Florence, 1556.

[2] See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 146, quoting the Douay Diary, *Athen. Oxon.* &c.

made a Professed Father of the Society. He was a noted disputant while he lived in Oxford, and being very learned in Hebrew as well as in other languages, he wrote a compendium of the Hebrew grammar.

His scholastic career ceased on Father Parsons landing in England with Father Campian in 1580. When that zealous missioner saw the abundant harvest of souls, he not only urgently implored the Father General of the Society, but likewise the Sovereign Pontiff, Gregory XIII., to send more labourers into that vineyard, especially naming Father Jasper Haywood. The Holy Father, who ever had the spiritual welfare of England warmly at heart, wrote the following epistle to the Elector of Bavaria, Duke William, in whose dominions Father Haywood resided.

To Our beloved son, the noble Duke William of Bavaria.

Beloved son and noble sire,—Health and Benediction in the Lord.

The admonition which Our Lord Jesus Christ formerly gave to His Apostles, the same He daily renews to us: "Messis multa, operarii autem pauci; rogate ergo Dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam." We pray, indeed; but We are bound also by Our office, and by the care of all the churches committed to Us by His bounty, to send those whom We deem to be the most fit, and to take care that in this matter we may find coadjutors in the Catholic princes, among whom We especially reckon your Highness. The priests of the Society of Jesus who are in England implore us to send them helpers in their labours, men zealous for the glory of Christ and the salvation of souls. They designate especially Our beloved son, the Englishman, Jasper Haywood, for they hope that his influence, which is considerable, will be of great service to them. We wish to make this known to your Highness; but it greatly concerns the glory of God, which alone We regard, and the safety of those whom We send, that they depart with all possible secrecy. We are assured that your Highness will warmly approve both the cause itself and our zeal, and freely send Haywood in this so great an emergency.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's ring, the 27th day of May, 1581, the ninth year of Our Pontificate.

Father Jasper Haywood arrived in England in the summer of 1581, with Father William Holt. Immediately upon his arrival he began to reap great fruit from his apostolical labours, to which his learning and piety greatly contributed. In the Public Record Office State Papers[3] is a letter signed P. H., to Secretary Sir Francis Walsingham, called "Secret advertisements. Informations of a letter sent by Dr. Henshawe, a Seminary priest, to a friend, stating that he, with Fathers Holt and Heywood, Jesuits, had spent three months in Staffordshire,

[3] *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clv. n. 96.

and had converted two hundred and twenty-eight persons to the Catholic faith." Father Parsons had been compelled by the heat of the persecution to retire from England a short time before the arrival of Father Haywood; the latter was consequently appointed to succeed him as Vice-Prefect or Superior of the English Mission, S.J.

At this period, and before the arrival of Father Haywood, a dispute was rife between some of the old English priests, especially those of the time of Queen Mary, commonly known as the "Marian priests," supported by their party among the Catholics on the one side, and the rest of the clergy, especially the Seminary priests of Douay and Rheims, supported by a number of Catholics on the other, regarding the ancient custom of fasting observed in England from the remotest times. These fasts, as we shall see, were of extraordinary severity, and differed from the canonical fasts of the Church as regulated by the Roman ritual. The controversy had been maintained at the meeting of the priests, at which Fathers Parsons and Campian were present, held shortly before the arrival of Father Haywood, "at a little house across the Thames in Southwark," and was settled for the time by a wise resolution moved by Father Parsons, and adopted by the meeting, of leaving the question in really much the same state it then was. As this question forms so important a feature in Father Haywood's biography, and as he has been so severely blamed for the course he subsequently took, though supported by a large party of the clergy and Catholics, regarding these old and severe customs of fasting, we shall proceed to give Father Bartoli's account of the matter, in his notice of Father Haywood. It has been remarked[4] that the judgment of Bartoli seems unduly severe, for we have nothing to support it but his indiscretion in the question of the English fasting days. Again, that as to Father Haywood's not resuming the Professor's chair on his recall from England, there is nothing which requires explanation in the fact that a Professor should not have been again employed in teaching, when his studies had been for some time interrupted by the very different duties of missionary life."

Bartoli[5] introduces his biography of Father Jasper Haywood with a brief historical notice of the times. So large (he says) was the number of those who, at the greatest peril, fled from

[4] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 72.
[5] Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, lib. iv. and v.

England to Belgium, that Dr. [afterwards Cardinal] Allen, then President of the English College of Rheims, entertained in the course of one month nearly fifty, not including those who were married, with all their families, but only the fresh acquisition of young academicians, many of them graduates of the Universities, and of noble families; of which some were the eldest, others the only sons. Soon afterwards, in writing to Cardinal Buoncompagni, the Cardinal Protector of England, Dr. Allen numbers eighty-three of these exiles. He considers it a great miracle of the grace of God that so many of them in the flower of their age, despising the enjoyments of their paternal homes and the hopes of a future inheritance, should thus become heirs of the house of God, and (what was then in England abominated, and a position of great danger) priests of Christ, never having in their lives witnessed the Church in free action, nor known the honour and reverence in which her priests are held. He assigns two motives which drew these exiles: the recent expressions of paternal love and solicitude on the part of the Holy Father, Gregory XIII., towards the English Colleges of Rome and Rheims, and also the reputation enjoyed by the Fathers of the Society for giving a good education in piety and learning to the English youth. Dr. Allen wrote to Father Agazzari, S.J., Rector of the English College, Rome, to whom he was obliged to send that year a great number of newly arrived youths, saying that he was still overburdened with them to the number of above two hundred; and that he had distributed them among the Colleges of the Society of Jesus at Pont-à-Musson, Verdun, and the new Seminary of Eu in Normandy. He says that if the accommodation, annual income, and extraordinary subsidies of the English College in Rome would suffice for so many, the Roman Church would have at hand a large material on which to exercise her maternal charity with equal glory and utility in regard of some hundred young Englishmen, of the flower of the nobility and of good talents, amongst whom were many illustrious for virtue and merit in the confession of the faith.

Besides these two reasons, were others of equal importance. The books lately written and printed by Father Parsons in England had been widely disseminated. Among these the most useful was his *Directory for the Christian man*, or *Of Resolution*. This was a work of much energy and clearness of argument, and had been very efficacious in restoring both heretics and sinners to the way of salvation. He instances the

case of seven Calvinist theologians and preachers, who, abandoning that evil ministry, and with it all earthly goods, fled from England to Rheims, where they were reconciled to the Church. This influx of converts had also been promoted by the apostolical labours of Father Jasper Haywood, a man of great zeal and learning, equal to any great work in the service of the Church had not his health been impaired by suffering, and his mind troubled by singularity of opinion, about which (says Father Bartoli) we shall speak later. These infirmities rendered him incapable of prosecuting the good work he had begun.

Having with great generosity of charity (an heroic degree of which was demanded in a missionary priest of that persecuted mission) offered his very life in sacrifice to God and the salvation of souls, and cast all his care upon Divine Providence, he did not spare himself in any work, however arduous or full of peril, which required his apostolical ministry. There was no county in England where he was not earnestly sought for and received with affection. He was therefore continually passing up and down, almost multiplying himself for the good of each one, and, as a common father of all, taking equal care of the prisoners for the faith and of those still at liberty; inasmuch as all were in great affliction for their religion. He once came at great personal risk from the remotest parts of England to London to bring alms from the pious Catholics to help the necessities of the confessors of Christ, with whom the prisons were filled. Mr. Gabriel Allen, driven from England to Rheims an exile for the faith, related as an eye-witness to his brother, Dr. Allen, that Father Haywood was the most zealous, the most dexterous and successful "fisher of souls" that had ever crossed over to that troubled sea of England, so great was the number of souls he had gained. Father Jasper himself, writing to Dr. Allen, his most intimate friend, to console him with such good news, used the words of St. Peter upon the occasion of the miraculous draught of fishes: "Stupeo hic in captura piscium, nec aliud habeo quod dicam, quam: 'Exi a me, Domine, quia homo peccator sum.'"[6] He had good reason thus to speak, in his joy and astonishment at the captures for Christ that were made by the nets of the Church. Such were Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, who was converted at once on hearing Father Edmund Campian disputing in the Tower of London; also Henry Percy, Earl of Northum-

[6] St. Luke v. 8.

berland. These two noblemen both met their deaths in the Tower, prisoners for the faith and eminent confessors of Christ, notwithstanding what some discreditable annalists have asserted to the contrary.[7] Father Bartoli, after speaking of a great scandal caused among the Catholics in England by the unhappy apostate Langdale, against whom Father Jasper Haywood had zealously warned the faithful,[8] goes on to give the history of the matter of the rigid fasting to which we have alluded.

Another trouble, as unexpected by Catholics as it was unintentional on the part of its author, caused no slight disturbance to the happy progress of our affairs in England. This came from the action of Father Jasper Haywood himself, in the following way. The piety of the English Catholics had added to the accustomed fasting days of the Roman Church many others, which they observed with as much strictness as those canonically prescribed.[9] These fasts were, every Friday, the vigils of all the feasts of our Lady and of the principal Saints of England, and the three rogation days;[10] whereas the Seminary priests who came from Douay and Rheims and some of the faithful wished to change this custom, and to bring the English to a conformity with the practice of the Universal Church. Between the old and new priests, therefore, with the Catholics who favoured either side, a contention arose with some little warmth. Meanwhile, Fathers Parsons and Campian, arriving in England in the summer of 1580, interposed to make peace. This was one of the questions mooted in the meeting

[7] The Earl of Northumberland is said to have been brutally murdered in July, 1585, by assassins in the dead of night within his cell in the Tower. The Earl of Arundel and Surrey died in the Tower, October 19, 1594, in the tenth year of his imprisonment, not without grave suspicion of having been carried off by slow poison.

[8] See *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 21, 22.

[9] Father Tanner (*Soc. Jesu Apost. Imit.*) dates this custom from the time of St. Augustine, the Apostle of England.

[10] Father Tanner adds in some places also the Wednesdays. Father Morris adds St. Mark's day and the Saturdays (Vide *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 22), and in the same place says, speaking of Father Haywood's attempt to introduce the Roman practice, "The law was not on the Father's side, for the obligation remained for two centuries after this, until Pope Pius VI., in 1777, transferred the vigils throughout the year to the Wednesdays and Fridays in Advent, and in 1781 abrogated the Friday fast. The abstinence on Saturdays, the Rogations, and St. Mark, Pius VI. left in force, 'as a pious custom descending from ancient times,' but Pius VIII. dispensed the English Catholics from its observance in 1830. It is to be supposed that Father Haywood based his opinion upon the substitution of the Roman for the Salisbury and other English rites, which change was introduced by the Seminary Priests."

in "the little house across the Thames in Southwark," at which Fathers Parsons and Campian met certain of the graver priests then remaining in London. On the point of fasting—"The best resolution seemed to be, and most conformable to piety, reason, and union, that nothing should be altered in matter of the fastings from the old customs; but in what shire soever in England (for all had not one custom, but the Church of York some, and Canterbury and London others) the Catholics could remember that the Fridays, or any other days or vigils were fasted, the same were to be kept and continued now, and the priests always to be the first and most forward to put it in execution; but when such knowledge or remembrance could not be had, then men not to be bound to fast, but yet commended they that would; and this was so much as then seemed necessary to be spoken by way of counsel only, and not of commandment or authority, for direction of priests, for keeping of unity, until God should open the door for further determination by way of authority."[11]

Both sides agreed to this course, and matters went on peaceably, until Father Haywood, upon his arrival in England, heard reports from every quarter about the indiscreet practice of the rigid party, who believed it to be a duty of conscience not to allow the usual Church dispensations to be fully observed. Believing the truth of these reports, and considering that such an evil required a trenchant remedy, he allowed himself to lean so much to the other side, as to appear to weaken the obligation itself.[12]

[11] See Stonyhurst MSS. *P.* fol. 128. Also a very full account of it in the late Mr. Simpson's *Life of Father Campian.* See also *Troubles, ut supra*, p. 23. The same meeting is also noticed in *Records*, Series II. "Life of Father Cottam," p. 153, note. A point in his case being also raised at it.

[12] It is due to Father Haywood to observe that Father Tanner (*ut supra*) does not lay all the blame upon him. He says, "After the departure of Father Parsons from England (in August or September, 1581) the same controversy again more seriously broke out, and Father Haywood, anxious to establish unity and conformity, attacked with perfect sincerity that excessive severity of fasting, which was contrary to the Roman rite, in order to satisfy the complaints of many, especially of the priests." There was evidently some warmth of feeling introduced into the controversy. Father Tanner says that the "rigidists" were so disturbed by the fear that any relaxation would be detrimental to religion, that they violently opposed the Father as the imprudent author of the cause of offence. Father More (*Hist. Prov. Angl.*), who enters but slightly into the question, says that the opposing party gave out that a very wide difference existed between Fathers Haywood and Parsons, not in this matter only, but in many others. This was denied by Father Parsons in his *Apology*. They were, of course, at one upon the general principle of fasting, and differed only in their view of the remedy to be applied to its abuse.

Bartoli, after greatly eulogizing the character of Father Haywood, whose fame had preceded him to England, goes on to state that in consequence of his deeply-rooted and singular opinion, he was at length removed by his Superior from the seat of his labours, and thus lost the apostolical ministry which he had exercised in England with equal merit to himself and good of others, and likewise the Professor's chair and the ministry of teaching, and was recalled to Naples to spend the remainder of his life as a simple *operarius* of the Society.

With this exception of singularity upon a particular point, Father Haywood was a man equal to any great and difficult undertaking in the service of God. Nor was it, indeed, his fault that he was not a martyr for the Catholic faith, as we shall presently see. He happened to be in London staying at the house of a gentleman to which he was in the habit of resorting. His host was a schismatic, though not far removed from the Catholic faith, and benevolent to the priests for the sake of his Catholic wife. Father Haywood, on account of his severe suffering from the gout, was himself necessarily dispensed from fasting. It happened to be the time of the rogation days, and the table was prepared with both kinds of food, there being at the time several other priests and Catholics visiting at the house. Some, with Father Haywood and the gentleman of the house, used meat, it being no fasting day according to the Roman rite. This brought on a discussion regarding the diversity of practice. Father Haywood, himself an eminent theologian, adduced many theologians on his side; and by the difference of opinion and practice thus evidenced, he so mortally offended his host, that from being a friend of Father Haywood, he became his enemy. Going out, therefore, into the market-place, he purchased a copy of a recent Government proclamation, ordering all priests and Jesuits to leave the realm within a given day, under extreme penalties, and likewise denouncing all who harboured them. Returning to the house, he asked Father Haywood if that paper personally affected him? "Certainly it does," replied the Father, "but I am safe under your roof." "Indeed!" he answered; "but I have never promised you this security: neither is your style of living, or mode of thinking so agreeable to me that I would wish to lose my head and my fortune for your sake. Therefore, from this time, consider yourself as my prisoner." He was about to leave for the purpose of denouncing Father Haywood to the Privy Council, but the earnest entreaties and tears of

his wife, backed by a gift of money, prevailed to stop him. He turned, however, the Father out of doors. "Tanti est videre quo loco, et sub quorum oculis etiam permissâ utaris libertate," adds Father More.

Father Haywood, reflecting upon the matter and somewhat relenting, though still perplexed, resolved to send over to France, John Curry, a friendly Seminary priest, his own countryman, and an intimate friend of Sherwin the martyr, to consult with Father Parsons upon the state of affairs. While Curry was awaiting his interview with Father Parsons, it pleased God to exercise Father Haywood in suffering by a severe attack of the gout; and the Catholics being afraid to endanger themselves by harbouring him, and himself too infirm to escape, he was driven to lodge in inns under various disguises. Some Catholics, taking the opportunity offered by these circumstances, sent a messenger to Rheims, begging Dr. Allen to procure the recall of Father Haywood, but to replace him by another priest, and, if possible, by one of the Society, possessing equal virtue and learning. Dr. Allen fulfilled the task with success, obtaining of Father General that Father William Weston should be sent. In the meantime John Curry not finding Father Parsons at Rouen, for he had not yet returned from a journey to Spain, proceeded to Paris, to accomplish there his earnest desire of consecrating himself to God's service in the Society of Jesus. Aided by Father Darbyshire S.J., and by his own personal merits, he obtained admission from the Provincial. He was then thirty-three years of age, many of which he had spent in his studies in the University of Oxford; but what was of higher importance, he was a man of great and well-tried virtue, of a spirit of generous and fervent charity, so well matured by prudence that he was on this account greatly beloved by the Catholics.[13] A few months later, Father Parsons

[13] We have very little information regarding Father Curry. After conveying the answer to Father Haywood, he in all probability returned to Paris to complete his noviceship. He landed again in England on the 14th of January, 1590 (Oliver). Father Haywood in his letter to Dr. Allen, dated April 16, 1583 (Stonyhurst MSS.), says, "I have sent Mr. John Curry, a priest, to France. He is admitted to the novitiate, and I have intrusted him with all my commissions" (Oliver). Father Morris (*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 24) says, "This Father did good service on the English mission for many years. He may be said to have been the friend of martyrs. He had helped Father Campian to distribute his books. 'He was chamber-fellow to Sherwin that was executed' (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxviii. n. 34). 'And after the departure of the said William Patenson,' William Holmes, another informer, says in 1594, and he is speaking of William

arrived in Paris, and learning with great pain the state of affairs in England, he wrote immediately to Father Haywood, by Curry, though as yet a novice, with useful instructions; and Father Parsons, going himself to Rome upon other important business connected with Catholic affairs in England, obtained of Father General Aquaviva the recall of Father Haywood from England, and at the same time an order to send from Seville to replace him, Father William Weston, who had been promised by Dr. Allen to the English Catholics. Father Parsons directed both to await his arrival in Paris, whither he would return in a short time and give them personally their respective commissions with suitable instructions. The two Fathers accordingly commenced their several journeys, but with very different results, as the events proved. It

Patenson, the martyr 'there came another priest unto the said lady [Sir John Arundell's widow, at Chideock], named John Curry, who remained there till the death of [John] Sherwood [a priest], who died in Lent last was a twelvemonths, and as he doth understand, was buried in the chapel of Chideock House. After whose death the said Cornelius [Father John Cornelius, martyr] and Curry remained together in the same house, until Michaelmas last [1593], and then the said Curry went away into London' (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 75). In the following year another spy, called Benjamin Beard, who it is to be feared was a Tichborne, reported to Sir John Puckering (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 118) [*Query*, Was not this a letter from Beard to Morgan Jones of Grays Inn, dated May 28, 1594, and not Beard's report to Puckering, which is n. 116, same vol.?—ED. *Records*] —'Likewise I understand of one John Curry, who useth about Hogsdon [? Hoxton] in London, and is a Seminary priest and a consort of John Cornelius, lately taken, both bred and born in a town called Bodmin in Cornwall.' 'In England there are four Jesuits at liberty, Southwell, Garnett [both martyrs], Curry, and another.' This is the report of an apostate priest, John Cecil, *alias* Snowden (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxxxviii. n. 161, 1591). 'Did he ever know Father Curry, *alias* Castell, Jasper Haywood, or Edmonds, all three Jesuits?' This question was put to John Harrison, and he was 'charged that he was in company with Curry, Haywood, and Edmonds, Jesuits, as well the year before as after the Queen's Majesty was at Cowdray [Viscount Montague's house], and heard Mass of them, or some of them' (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclvi. n. 71). Robert Gray, another priest under examination, gives us Father Curry's personal appearance. 'Sir George [Browne] brought this examinate to one Mr. Dennis' house at Todham, half a mile from Cowdray; and there Sir George brought this examinate up to a chamber, where they found a man sitting in his cloak, of about forty years old, long, slender-faced, black hair of head, and a little black beard, whom since he heard was Father Curry the Jesuit' (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlv. n. 138). [Father Henry Walpole, in one of his confessions, likewise mentions Father John Curry as in Kent or Sussex (*Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlix. n. 44, June or July, 1594).—ED. *Records.*] To the notes of his enemies we are indebted for some knowledge of one of Father Weston's companions on the mission, of whom, if it had not been for this, we should only have known what Father Gerard tells us in a yet unpublished portion of his autobiography, that he died in London in the house kept by Mrs. Anne Line, who was afterwards martyred, 'and there he lies buried in some secret corner; for those priests who live secretly on the mission, we are obliged also to bury secretly when they die.'"

pleased God that Father Haywood should fall into the snares of the enemy, and, by constancy under severe imprisonment, cancel any offence caused to Catholics by his efforts to relax the rigid fasting. In the year 158$\frac{3}{4}$, as soon as his great infirmities allowed him to travel, by the charity of the Catholics, he contrived to elude the pursuivants and searchers of the port, and to embark on board a vessel bound for Dieppe; but, when nearing the French coast and almost in sight of the port, a sudden and violent gale of wind arose, which drove the vessel back again to the English coast. Upon landing, Father Haywood, being unable to give a satisfactory account of himself to the searchers at the port, was arrested on suspicion of being a priest. Upon examination, that fact was clearly proved, and he was carried off to London in chains and thrust into the Clink Prison on the 9th of December, 1583.[14] He was frequently examined by the Privy Council, and urged by various promises and threats, especially in consideration of his having been once a page of honour to Elizabeth, in some slight point at least to show himself ready to conform to her Majesty's wishes. Finding him, however, deaf to all their efforts, they tried to shake him by the fear of death. On the 5th of February, 1584, he was brought from prison with those most courageous priests and servants of God, George Haddock, James Fenn, Thomas Hemerford, John Munden, and John Nutter, who five days afterwards gave up their souls to God at Tyburn gallows by a precious death for the Catholic faith. They were all arraigned and tried for their lives at Westminster Hall. But when Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, saw the Father standing unmoved with the rest, amidst a dense crowd at the entrance of the hall, and in the very face of the judges, he ordered him to be secretly withdrawn from the rest, and kept close in a neighbouring house, and then privately carried off by water to the Tower. Various surmises were alleged for this conduct. Either that, fearing the abilities of Father Haywood, they wished to deprive the above five confessors of Christ, whose deaths had been determined upon, of so able an advocate as Father Haywood, well skilled as he was in oratorical science and close controversial reasoning, or else to disturb the minds of his fellow-prisoners at his

[14] In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxix. n. 23, is a certificate of the recusants committed to the Clink since the return of the last certificate in October, 1583—viz., "John Pound, a priest, and Jasper Haywood, a Jesuit."

sudden disappearance, and, moreover, to excite both Catholics and Protestants against him, as having apostatized through fear, or reward, or by reasoning in conference. To this last conjecture his private withdrawal naturally gave some colour, and Hopton himself, only too eager to raise such a suspicion, insinuated as much. But it pleased God to turn this grievous suspicion to the special honour of His servant, for the Catholics, upon his return to prison, found him proof against both promises and threats, and ready to undergo anything rather than swerve in the slightest degree from his profession of a Catholic, a priest, or religious. And when with unshaken constancy he had asserted the Catholic truth, and in a defence had thrown down the gauntlet to his adversaries, none of the Protestant leaders dared to take it up and try their hands with him, so great was his reputation as a controversialist. But whilst on the one hand, Hopton threatened and endeavoured to terrify him by laying before him the cruel processes of punishment; on the other, Cecil, Hatton, and Walsingham flattered him by every species of courtesy and blandishment, and even promised him a bishopric, without requiring him to abandon Catholicity, or even to seem to do so by entering their temples (for this they utterly despaired of getting him to do), would he but even in the least point comply with the Queen's wishes. But during seventeen months' of strict imprisonment in the Tower, though constantly urged by these solicitations, he remained unmoved, and at length was sent out of the country.

How severe the prison was to him, so constant a martyr to the agonizing pains of gout, Father William Weston, himself an eye-witness, records. This Father arrived in England in September, 1584, and was appointed to succeed Father Haywood as Superior of the English Mission S.J. He contrived to penetrate to his cell in the Tower, under the disguise of a physician, by means of Father Haywood's sister. Father Weston narrates as follows:[15] "Father Haywood during those days lay detained in captivity within the Tower of London, and besides the other inconveniences of his prison, he was afflicted with divers infirmities. On account of his age and ill health he was permitted to receive visits from his sister, who was able to bestow upon him some care and nursing. Through her help, therefore, as she was a Catholic, I transacted some business with him by means of letters, and received

[15] See "Life of Father Weston," *Troubles*, Second Series.

letters from him in return. The opening of Parliament was now at hand, that very Parliament in which were decreed those dreadful and ruthless laws against Catholics in general, and against their clergy in particular; at which time such priests as were still detained in prison were driven into exile. One of these was Father Haywood, whom I was most intensely anxious to see and converse with before his departure. The matter being in consequence discussed with his sister, and understanding from her that it was possible to bring it to pass without extreme danger, as freer leave of having intercourse with his friends would be granted to him in consideration of his removal, I entered with her into the Tower, not without great terror, as I perceived the dreary spaces, the gates and iron bolts past which I was led by my guide, and which inclosed me round. When I came to where the Father was confined, we saluted each other, and then discoursed, as was natural, concerning what we each knew of affairs.

"Amongst other things he told me that in spite of all my endeavours to keep my arrival in England a secret, it had yet been previously known to himself, having heard it from the Earl of Northumberland, as also about Ralph [Emerson], my companion, and it was impossible that information should not have reached the ears of the Queen's Council. The Earl was at that time held fast in the Tower, and shortly afterwards [July, 1585] he was atrociously murdered in the dead of the night by some villains who discharged into his breast the contents of a musket, loaded with two bullets; at least so public report expressed it.[16]

"At length, when my conference with Father Haywood was finished, and we had spent almost the whole day together, having embraced him and said a last farewell, I returned by the same labyrinth by which I had entered, and as soon as I found myself outside safe and sound, it seemed as though I was restored to the true light of day. After some weeks he was placed in the same vessel with many other priests, and thrust away into exile, leaving us, his country, his parents and friends behind him. Then I found myself alone in England, deprived both of my father, and of Ralph, my brother."

Father Haywood had not been a full year in the Tower when he was shipped off to France. The Rev. Edward

[16] "Father Haywood," adds Tanner, "told Father Weston that no less than six hundred pursuivants had been engaged by the Privy Council to search for him on his arrival, up and down."

Rishton, a priest who had been condemned with Father Campian, was one of Father Haywood's fellow-prisoners in the Tower, and accompanied him into exile. To him we owe not only his valuable diary of events during their imprisonment in the Tower, but also the supplement, or third book that he added to Sanders' *History of the English Schism.*[17]

The diary in the Tower ends with this record, under date of January 21, 158⅘: "Jasper Haywood, James Bosgrave, and John Hart, priests of the Society of Jesus; Christopher Thompson, Arthur Pitts, Robert Nutter, Thomas Stevenson, Richard Slack, Thomas Barnes, Thomas Worthington, and ten other priests, with one layman (in all we were one and twenty), when expecting nothing of the sort, were by the Queen's command put on board a ship, and against our will put ashore on the coast of Normandy, and not long afterwards fifty [one] others followed us into exile, and we were all expressly threatened with pain of death, if we ever returned to our country."[18]

We extract the following account of this transportation from Rishton's addition to Sanders'.[19]

"A new expedient was now entertained by the authorities of banishing the priests they held in chains, either because they felt that they gained nothing by their death and slaughter at home, or else that they reckoned upon gaining great praise by publishing abroad in many places this special act of coloured clemency. But verily, transportation for life, with the condition annexed of capital punishment upon a return, is no great argument of leniency, but most savage in itself! And to priests of God, who both by order of Superiors, as also by their own individual zeal, would venture to return in order to minister to the salvation of many souls, to be subjected to every species of torture and death, it needs must be reckoned most intolerable, and to the Catholics themselves, to be thus deprived of their pastors, far more afflicting. But having been, although unworthy of suffering this or any other affliction for Christ, included in a batch of twenty other priests sent into exile, I will briefly relate the order and manner of our banishment. We were twenty-one priests and one layman, a gentleman of family.[20]

[17] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 69.
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Edit. 1585, Cologne, p. 198, seq.
[20] Mr. Henry Orton, who had been tried and condemned to death with Father Campian, November 14, 1581, and was afterwards reprieved.

"All the prisons of London, both old and new, were at that time full of confessors for the faith. In one alone, called the Marshalsea, there were besides laymen thirty priests more or less; there yet survived likewise in the Tower and in other London prisons some of those who either with Father Campian in 1581, or else a little later, had been condemned to death and had awaited the executioner's hand during the whole three years. From the whole of this multitude, although all were 'in the same condemnation,' yet they only selected a few here and there from most of the London prisons (for of the vast numbers lying in chains in the other prisons of the kingdom not one was on this occasion released).[21] When therefore the day of deportation was finally fixed upon by the authorities, the names of those selected for banishment were given to each gaoler, with directions to announce it to their prisoners, in order that they might provide themselves with necessaries for their journey, for, with the exception of their bare keep on board the vessel, they had to do this themselves, though many expected it would have been done at the public expense: but being themselves, in the mean time, close prisoners, allowed to see no one but their keepers, they could not do much towards providing necessaries either for their voyage or their future exile; and therefore, to men in such desolation, this banishment must needs appear most calamitous. However, they were assured, by the desire of the Queen, that each might procure, as best he could, any help in money or clothes from friends.

"The day at length arrived although, why or wherefore I know not, it had been repeatedly postponed and changed; and those who had been selected for exile were suddenly collected from the various prisons, and all of us conducted to a vessel moored off the Tower stairs, and ordered to go on board. Upon which one of our company, Father Jasper Haywood, began openly in the name of us all to protest against our being thus violently expelled our country, without cause, without crime, and indeed untried and uncondemned by any tribunal; declaring that we would not stir a step further, nor ever consent to leave our country and the Catholics, but were ready to die publicly in defence of our common faith, and that our country and their salvation

[21] In the course of the same year (1584–5) no less than seventy-two were sent into exile, many of whom were aged priests from the gaols of York and Hull (*Troubles*, *ut supra*).

were dearer to us than life itself. To these just protests the Lieutenant of the Tower could only reply that, having been delivered into his charge to see the sentence carried out, he could not do otherwise than obey. The guards also declared that they had received orders themselves from the Privy Council to transport them to the shores of Normandy, and that they neither could nor dare deviate an inch from their instructions.[22] They demanded at least to see the warrant under which they were banished, but this was refused, and the vessel set sail amidst the greetings and commiseration of many of their friends. But, after two days' sail, when nearing the French coast, Father Jasper and the rest again earnestly begged to see and read the commission for their exile. The guard, overcome, showed them the document, in which when we had read as follows: 'That these persons by their own, and the confessions of many others, had been found guilty of seditions and plots against her Majesty and the State, and that all had been either juridically convicted of the same offences, or were detained in custody upon similar ones; that, although meriting capital punishment, yet the royal clemency, desirous of dealing more mildly in their regard, had determined only to banish them the country, as appeared by those presents," &c.;'[23] all loudly expressed their indignation at being so grievously calumniated by these lying charges. Since not one of them or of their other fellow-Catholics associated in the same warrant had ever confessed in the remotest degree to any such infamous charges; and one amongst the very exiles on board, the Rev. John Collington, had actually been acquitted upon his trial with Father Campian on the 14th of November, 1581, although illegally detained in prison ever since. Father Haywood was again the spokesman, and with many entreaties begged their guards to carry them back again to England that they might be publicly tried, preferring death upon the gallows there, for Christ's sake and in defence of their innocence, rather than to be cast upon a foreign shore under the ban of such infamy. But the officers could only repeat, as before, that they had but to obey their orders. We proceeded therefore, consoling each other as best we could, rejoicing that we were counted worthy to suffer this contumely

[22] Vide *Records*, Series II. p. 132.

[23] A full copy of this commission will be given in the Life of Father James Bosgrave, S.J., in a subsequent series—the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury, taken from the P.R.O. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxvi. n. 10.

for Christ's sake, and at length landed at Boulogne-sur-mer, from whence, taking leave of our guards, we proceeded to various localities in France, according to the accommodation that each could afford. The greater part of us finally reached Rheims. In whatever place we arrived, we found both our *confrères* and superiors in a state of intense anxiety about us, for they had heard through the false reports of the heretics that we had ourselves voluntarily left our posts and sought this deportation from England out of a cowardly fear of the dangers there, and what was much more serious, that we had somewhat yielded to the heretics in matters of religion. But when they had fully learned everything from us, and that many of us moreover declared ourselves ready to return whenever it should please Superiors, regardless of all danger, they rejoiced with incredible joy in our Lord. And the Privy Council itself everywhere freely gave out that those who had been reprieved, and not put to death at home, had been sent into banishment, as a proof of the royal clemency."[24]

Father Haywood made his way to a College of the Society at Dôle in Burgundy.

Four years later (1589) he was sent to Rome, and thence settled down at Naples. The Annual Letters S.J. for the Neapolitan Province give us some little insight into the religious virtues of the good Father; they tell us that he possessed in a remarkable degree the rare gift of tears, whether during the time of Mass, reading in the refectory, or pious colloquies. As he advanced in years, he would admit of no special treatment, but was contented with the ordinary fare. He was most prompt at the sound of the bell, to whatsoever duty it summoned him. On the approach of death, the demon assaulted him, trying to bring him to despair by whispering in his ear that he was adjudged to eternal punishment, because he had deserted the right faith. But, addressing the father of lies with a loud voice—"Thou liest," he said, "for have I not suffered both chains and banishment for the true faith? and now I die an outlaw in its defence, and for how many years have I not contended for it against the blasphemies of heretics from the Professor's chair?" And upon the enemy continuing perti-

[24] The reader will here see the urgent call for the above-mentioned stout protests. "These protests were necessary, lest it should be thought that they were of their own accord withdrawing from the field of duty and of danger, which would have been accounted disgraceful by themselves and by the Catholics on both sides of the Channel" (Father Morris, *Troubles, ut supra*, p. 71).

naciously to object other matter, he as constantly convicted him of lies. At length, as though openly to testify from whence and by whose aid he had alone been able to gain the victory, "I give thee thanks," he exclaimed, "most beloved Mother of my God, that thou hast deigned to come to my assistance and been pleased to repel the cruel enemy." With which words upon his lips, he sweetly gave up his soul to his Creator on the 9th of January, 1598, at the age of sixty-three. Father More adds that the encomiums written upon the life and death of Father Haywood fully refute the aspersions attempted to be cast upon his good name by Hospinius in *Jesuitica Historia.*

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF FATHER ROGER FILCOCK.

FATHER TANNER, in his *Vita et Mors Jesuitarum pro fide interfectorum*, prefaces his notice of this glorious martyr by observing how fruitful and profitable to the Catholic Church in England were the Continental Seminaries, founded and maintained by the liberality of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and the Kings of Spain and France, as so many refuges for the youth of England, exiled from their native land for the cause of their religion. This, he says, clearly appears from the fact that it was mainly by their industry and indefatigable zeal, amidst the bitterest persecutions of the ruling powers in England, that the Catholic faith was always preserved in that realm. For within the walls of these Colleges youths were gathered in great numbers, and here they received a sound and religious education under the care of the Fathers of the Society; the scholars, on their part, corresponding, by diligent study of piety and letters and by their conduct in after life, to the pious munificence of the founders and to the care and attention bestowed upon their education. This was strikingly manifested in their eagerness to solicit a return to their native land, though so deadly hostile both to themselves and to Christ's holy Catholic faith, and in their readiness to shed their blood for their country's conversion. It was the custom for the students to make a public profession of this desire and devotedness, by solemnly avowing before the altar, upon an appointed day, in the presence of the people who would assemble in great numbers to witness the spectacle, that they would petition to return again to their country after

taking the holy order of priesthood, and with all their strength to propagate and defend the Catholic religion. This irrevocable pledge was made in a distinct voice, and sealed by a solemn oath upon the holy Gospels. On this account a wonderful esteem and affection was entertained on the part of the Catholics of France, Spain, Rome, and Belgium, towards the alumni of these Seminaries; and this they would show by pointing them out in the streets as Seminary martyrs.[1] Nor was such presage on the part of the public a vain one. Several thousands of these Seminary priests were sent over to that desolate vineyard of England, and there experienced dangers and sufferings not inferior to those of the primitive Church; persecutions, imprisonments, the rack, exile, and a cruel death. The College of Douay alone, through Cardinal Allen, furnished ninety of these heroic labourers; and in the course of years that Seminary of martyrs supplied England with more than one thousand priests. Jesuits and Seminary priests were held in nearly equal dread and hatred, as may be seen from the public records, both in the State Paper Office and other places. Of these Seminary priests, upwards of one hundred and forty sealed the Catholic faith with their blood.

Among the principal of the Seminaries was that of St. Alban, Valladolid, founded by King Philip II. of Spain in 1589; and hither the subject of our memoir, Father Roger Filcock, was sent from Douay, where he had made his humanity studies, to complete his higher course of philosophy and theology.

He was a native of Sandwich in Kent, but we have no record of the date of his birth or of his family. He frequently passed upon the English mission by the assumed name of Arthur. His early studies he made partly at Rheims, and, as we have said, went to Valladolid for his higher course and divinity. Father Bartoli[2] says that he was a man of the highest attainments, both in virtue and learning. After completing his studies he was ordained priest, and then petitioned to be sent upon the English mission. He left behind him to his fellow-students such an example of modesty, gravity, and

[1] The reader will hardly need to be reminded that such was also the custom of St. Philip Neri, who, on meeting the *camerata*, or walking party, of the young English seminarists in the streets of Rome, used to salute them in the words of the Church's hymn for the feast of the Holy Innocents: *Salvete, flores martyrum*, and express a holy envy of their probable fate.

[2] *Inghilterra*, lib. v. p. 238.

other virtues, that the grief experienced in the College at his loss was only equalled by the consolation and fruit he brought to the Catholics of England. So great was his apostolic zeal, and his desire of labouring and dying for Christ, that he eagerly sought how to expend all he had, with himself also, in His service and that of His Church. The great longing of his heart was, and had ever been, to aggregate himself to the Society of Jesus, but the permission was prudently deferred until he had had some experience of the nature of the difficulties, toils, and dangers of the English mission. This delay so afflicted him that he determined to spend and be spent in the service of the Fathers, in order to extort, as it were, an admittance from the Superior, Father Henry Garnett. Therefore, on landing in Kent, after escaping, almost by miracle, from the hands of the Dutch and from the English coastguard, he threw himself into the midst of dangers, ever present to render spiritual service in administering the sacraments to those who remained firm in their faith, recovering the lapsed, and reconciling Protestants to the Catholic Church. After recommending himself by two years' labour, Father Garnett admitted him to the Society, and was about to send him to Flanders to make his two years' noviceship, when he was apprehended. But we must relate the incidents attending his arrival in England, for which are indebted to the autobiographical account of "Father Tesimond's landing in England."[3]

Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway, left Valladolid for the English mission towards the end of November, 1597, quite alone, and in secular dress. In the beginning of December he arrived at Bilbao, when he heard that a ship was about to start for Calais, then in the possession of the Spaniards. He pressed on with all possible speed to Bilbao to catch the vessel, which he found quite ready to start and full of passengers, and among them were two priests, one the Reverend John Ruffet, and the other Roger Filcock, a man very remarkable both for his virtue and learning, afterwards a glorious martyr for the faith.

"These two good priests I found, as I have said, at the port of Bilbao, with their preparations made, and ready to embark. As for myself, having arrived when the ship was on the point of starting, I was forced to embark even without water or anything else to eat or drink, so that for the whole nine days that we were sailing to Calais, I ate and drank

[3] *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, First Series, p. 157, seq.

nothing save what was given me in pure charity, and this was so little that I cannot tell it lest I should not be believed; for every one was afraid lest the stock of provisions which he had brought from Bilbao should fail him, and so would not sell, for love or money, what they had bought for themselves alone. Nor could I either avail myself of the charity of the two priests, for although they had with them some provisions, yet the stock was so small that it would have seemed to me a shame to diminish it. And, to tell the truth, I met only one of them, Father Roger, on the voyage, and that on a single occasion; for as I was the last to come on board, I had the worst place in the ship, for which nevertheless, such as it was, I paid six gold crowns. The place was so narrow and confined that almost continually during those nine days I was compelled to lie day and night upon a heap of chestnuts, scarcely able to turn from one side to the other. But what caused me the greatest and almost incredible annoyance was the smoke; for my quarters, where I lay in torture rather than in bed, were right in front of the stove, where they kept a continuous fire either for cooking purposes or to warm the passengers. This faced pretty nearly the place where I was, so that I could not open my eyes, into which the pungency of the smoke brought incessant tears. Indeed, I was hardly able to breathe, for my head and lungs were both so full of it that I was tortured beyond measure.

"After nine days, that is, on December 13, 1597, at midnight, we were close to the mouth of Calais harbour, when the wind subsided into a calm, and we could proceed no farther. Upon this the sailors were exceedingly frightened, and began to take counsel among themselves, without the passengers being able to divine why they were so much disturbed. But when they began to cover the sides of the ship with bales of wool and to prepare their arms, it became evident that some danger was to be feared from an enemy. And in truth there was very great danger. For Calais being at that time, as I have said, in the power of the Spaniards, the Dutch navy were blockading that port, in common with all on that coast which belonged to the King of Spain, so that it was impossible to go in or out except when it was quite dark. When we learned what our danger was, and that we could not move a single foot either forwards or backwards for want of wind, and knew for certain that, ill-armed as we were and in a very weak vessel, it was impossible for us to make a stand against the enemy, we

began some to recommend ourselves to God, some to be troubled, some to lament over our bad fortune, some to weep and cry. For our ship contained persons of all sorts, men and women, old and young, and almost all without hope of escaping from the hands of those savage enemies, from whom nothing was to be expected but slaughter and the cruellest death, as we knew from cases of almost daily occurrence, especially when Spaniards, whom they hated more than devils, chanced to fall into their hands. And for my part, the best I could venture to hope was that I might be taken and sent to England; but there was not much ground for hoping this, for I was dressed as a Spaniard, and should consequently be treated by them as such in their first fury.

"The principal person among the Spaniards who were in the ship knew what I was, for I had made myself known to him. He came to me secretly to confession, and we began to pray to our Lord to deliver us from this great and evident danger, for no other end could we expect to this tragedy than that, by the light of day which was already drawing on, we should be discovered to our enemies, whose prey we must inevitably become.

"Meanwhile the sailors had sent a swimmer to the shore to inform the townspeople of our danger, in hopes that they might be induced to send out their artillery to the beach and so afford us some defence against the enemy's ships, and that they might send out a company of musketeers to enter our ship in some light boats. All this was done, but so slowly that, had not our Lord first sent us help from heaven, it would have been useless for the defence of the people, although it might have sufficed, as indeed it did suffice, for the safety of the cargo. But it pleased our Lord that not long before dawn there was the ebb or fall of the tide, which in those parts is so great that it leaves dry a great part of the beach which at high tide is covered. This happened most fortunately for us, for as soon as the day broke the enemy perceived our vessel, and raising anchor and setting sail came after us as fast as they could, with great joy and shouts, as though certain of their prey. The men in our ship, on the other hand, nerved by despair, choosing rather to die beneath the waves of the sea than beneath the hands of those savages, lowered the ship's boat so as to save all those whom it could hold. But upon this a horrible struggle arose among them as to who should get in, every one wishing to be the first, without respect for poor

or rich, old or young, the case being one of extreme necessity. And, to tell the truth, it was a work of danger even to enter the boat, both on account of the multitude who, if all entered together, would have been drowned together, and on account of the waves which, through the heavy sea that had prevailed before the calm, were very great, and broke heavily against the shore, so that it seemed impossible for the boat to arrive safely, however few it might contain. At last some gentlemen interposed who had their wives on board the ship, and with the help of the sailors they endeavoured to get these ladies into the boat. When I saw this, and that the enemy were upon us, I resolved to jump into the sea, and, if I could do nothing else, to cling to the stern of the boat and trust to chance. This resolution of mine met with such success that it gave heart to the rest, for upon jumping into the water, I found not only that the depth of water was less than one would have conjectured, but that with some difficulty one could wade to land on account of the great fall of the tide. Whereupon all who had remained in the ship jumped into the water one after the other, in full sight of the enemy, who, unable otherwise to attack the fugitives, fired at us a few rounds of artillery. But, stooping down, we hid ourselves behind the sand heaps, and heard the whiz of the balls as they flew over our heads; but, God be thanked, they did us no harm. When we had got to the public road which leads to the *place* or city of Calais, we met a great concourse of people who, in company with the soldiers from the garrison, where hastening to the defence of our ship, and in their rear came some pieces of artillery for the same purpose. But already the enemy had gained possession of our vessel. They found it stranded, on account of the great fall of the tide and because the sailors had drawn it as close in shore as they could. Perceiving, therefore, that they could not tow it off in their direction, and fearing the arrival of the soldiers and artillery, which they saw approaching, they dismantled it of its more valuable contents, and abandoned it."

Fathers Filcock and Tesimond seemed to have parted company at Calais.

Father Bartoli, speaking of Father Roger's journey, says that in the year 1598, the more securely to effect a landing in England, Father Filcock was escorted from Bilbao by Father Oswald, although to speak truly, they both of them had need of the company and guidance of their good angel guardians to prevent their being more than once lost; and they would

certainly have been apprehended, had they not been delivered by a more than natural agency, in a manner bordering upon the miraculous.

Father Tesimond again mentions Father Filcock.[4] He says: "Though I was never taken, I often had such narrow escapes, that I have since seen that it did not please our Lord to make use of me in any way but that in which I was engaged. I will briefly relate one or two cases. . . . When the holy Father Roger Filcock was taken, with whom, as I have said before, I sailed from Spain to Calais, he got to know, a few days before his martyrdom, that a certain great spy, who knew both him and me very well, had purposely taken a room in the street in which he suspected that I lived. In this he was not far wrong, for the house to which I usually resorted when I came to London was directly opposite that in which he had taken a room from which to spy me out. Good Father Roger managed to have me warned of the danger. After I had the warning, I neither went in nor out of that house except at night, and by other doors, one of which opened on another street, and the other on the river Thames; and even this with the greatest caution. I let my beard grow so long as to change my appearance very much, and in this way I spent some months."

The year 1601, as Father Bartoli remarks, was destined not to pass over unstained by the blood of the Society; and the grace of shedding it for the Catholic faith and his own glory fell to the lot of Roger Filcock. His daring courage and zealous labours could not long escape the fowler's snares. It was the will of his good Master Jesus to try His novice by the noble probation of martyrdom, for he had scarcely been admitted to the Society two months, when he was apprehended and committed to Newgate, there to make his brief noviceship of a few months, when, already a veteran and ripe soldier of Christ, he was called forth to his combat and agony.

Father Tanner[5] says that on the 23rd of February, 1601, he was summoned to the bar of the criminal court for trial; where, being convicted without any previous examination or the production of any witnesses, contrary to all forms of trial and law, but upon the bare conjecture and suspicion of the priesthood, he was condemned to the punishment awarded to traitors.

Father More[6] says that he was indicted [under the statute

[4] *Troubles, ut supra*, p. 181. [5] *Vita et Mors Jesuit.* [6] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 256.

of Eliz. 27], for having taken Holy Orders by authority of the See of Rome, and returning and residing in England a Catholic priest. Father Roger neither denied nor admitted the fact. "This," said he, "is to be proved by witnesses or other legal evidence." No witness, however, appeared, nor was any evidence adduced. After two days he was again brought up. The usual form of indictment upon a charge of high treason having been read, he was called upon to plead guilty or not guilty. The Father at first replied that he was unaccustomed to these strange and harsh epithets; that the charge was a false one, and that they must have mistaken the person. He also declined to challenge the jury, saying that they were poor simple men, either ignorant of such affairs, or else deciding at the mere will of the judges, in order to rid themselves of the trouble and onus of the responsibility; and he quoted recent examples, where some prisoners had been pronounced innocent by the very judges themselves, and the jury having been for form sake directed to retire and consider their verdict, immediately returned one as guilty, and this without any new matter having been brought against him. Lastly, addressing the judges themselves, he said he would stand or fall by their decision, who were or should be learned in the law, and above all influence of fear or favour. The Father remaining immoveable in his resolution not to plead, he was convicted, and sentence of death pronounced against him in the usual solemn form; at which the servant of Christ "blessed God in His gifts," and pronounced Him "holy in all His works."

By the same illegal process (observes Father Tanner), without witnesses or other evidence, had been condemned a few hours before Father Mark Barkworth, O.S.B., the fellow prisoner of Father Filcock, and both the admirer and chronicler of his virtues, of whom he thus writes to a friend from his prison of Newgate. "The holy confessor of Christ, Mr. Arthur [Father Filcock], was always one of my chiefest and dearest friends; as well formerly when he was at liberty, as now in prison. A man exceedingly humble, and of extraordinary patience, piety, and charity. He was a perfect model of a good life. My heart tells me that we shall die together, who have so long lived together." Nor did the event belie this anticipation, or may we not rather call it a prophecy, for on the 27th of February they were both taken from their condemned cells in Newgate and placed upon a hurdle, and dragged through the dirty streets, deep in mud and filth, to the

place of execution, "bloody Tyburn." Filled with a supernatural joy, they passed the whole of that long and painful journey in chanting sacred canticles, *Hæc dies, quam fecit Dominus, exultemus et lætemur in ea*, &c.; reminding one of the ancient pagan custom of the priests going before the victims, singing alternate verses. On arriving at Tyburn Father Roger, raising himself up from the crate, saw, as the first object that met his eyes, the noble and heroic lady, Mrs. Ann Line, suspended upon the gallows.[7] Having formerly been her confessor during the incarceration of Father John Gerard in the Tower of London, whose especial friend and helper that pious widow had been, he was wonderfully refreshed by this holy spectacle, and drew from thence an incredible strength and consolation of soul; because, having preceded him into heaven, he felt at that moment that she would obtain for him likewise the prerogative of combat—the triumph of victory. Father Roger, therefore, thus vehemently excited by her holy and generous death, affectionately embraced the gallows, and smiling as the fatal rope was put about his neck greatly longed to follow her into heaven. But Father Barkworth was the first to suffer, and, as will be seen, was most inhumanly butchered alive before the very eyes of Father Filcock; who, so far from being discouraged or terrified with that scene of blood and horror, took occasion from thence to aspire more heartily after the like felicity, crying out with the Apostle, "I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ," and encouraged his companion to suffer. Whilst he himself raising his eyes and heart to heaven continually uttered that ejaculation, commending his soul with many prayers and sighs to God, into Whose hands he was about so soon to render it; and so, nothing daunted, nothing disturbed at the butchery of his companion, after a short prayer and with expressions of wonderful joy, the rope being affixed to the beam, he cheerfully yielded himself up to the executioner, and the cart being drawn away, he was hanged, cut down, drawn, dismembered, and quartered.

The following authors have treated of this martyr: Andrew Eudæmon, S.J., in Apol. pro Garneto. c. 6; Petrus Ribadeneira in centurio S.J. MS. in edit. Lugdun. ad calcem.; Catalogus eorundem Martyrum editus Cracov.; Tabula eorundem

[7] As Father Barkworth and Mrs. Line are so closely connected with the subject of our history, notices of both these glorious martyrs will be added to this biography.

incisa Roma Menolog. S.J., MS.; Jacobus Gualterus in tabula Chronolog.; Petrus Oultreman de Viris Illustribus S.J. Gallice; Arnoldus Raystius in Hierogazophylaceo Belgico, p. 172; Jacobus Damianus in Synops. S.J., l. 5, c. 26; Hilarion de Coste, Hist. Cath. in Edm. Campiano, Gallice; Tanner, S.J., Vita et Mors Jesuit, &c.; More, S.J., Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.; Bartoli, S.J., Inghilterra.

Dodd, in the meagre account he gives of the two martyrs, Father Barkworth and Father Filcock, in his *Church History*, erroneously classifies them among the secular clergy, and not among the religious of their respective orders.

Mrs. Anne Line, widow and martyr; of whom Father John Gerard speaks in his personal narrative.[8] On the occasion of his taking a house in London for his own use, as well as that of other priests coming there, he gave the charge of it to a very godly and discreet matron of good birth, whom the Lord honoured with martyrdom, and whose maiden name was Higham, her husband's name being Line. Her father (says Tanner)[9] was a Calvinist, and on hearing that his daughter had become a Catholic he turned her out of doors and disinherited her, as he did also (says Father Gerard) to one of his sons, William Higham, now in Spain, and a lay-brother of the Society. Mrs. Line married a good husband and a staunch Catholic. He had been heir to a fine estate both from his father and an uncle, but was likewise disinherited on account of his faith. Father Tanner says that her husband was poor and condemned to perpetual imprisonment for the faith, where he led a dying life, but being eventually released he went to Belgium and died there, leaving her a poor widow dependent on the charity of others. Father Gerard says that she was just the sort of person he wanted as manager of the house he had taken. She was nearly always ill from one cause or other. Bishop Challoner, quoting from Dr. Champney's MS. history, says she was of an infirm constitution of body, troubled with almost continual headache and a predisposition to dropsy, all which purified her soul and made her ready for heaven. She used often to say to Father Gerard: "Though I desire above all things to die for Christ, I dare not hope to die by the hand of the executioner; but perhaps the Lord will let me be taken some time in the same house with a priest, and then be thrown into a chill and filthy dungeon, where I shall not be able to

[8] See *Condition of Catholics*, p. lxxiii. [9] *Vita et Mors Jesuit.*

last out long in this wretched life." When Father Gerard escaped from the Tower, 1597, she gave up the management of the house, being so well known that it was rendered unsafe for him. A part of another person's house was hired for her, where she used often to harbour priests. It was here that on the feast of the Purification, 1601, the pursuivants broke in suddenly, whilst Father Francis Page, S.J., the martyr, was saying Mass (as will be subsequently mentioned in the narration of his life), and whilst he as by a miracle escaped, Mrs. Line was captured. A short account of her trial and condemnation is also given in Father Page's life, and very interesting particulars may be read in Father Gerard's narrative. God lengthened out the martyr's life beyond her expectation; it was some months before she was brought up for trial, and she was then too weak to stand or walk. When asked to plead "guilty or not guilty" to the charge of harbouring priests, she made no direct answer, but cried out in a loud voice: "My lords, nothing grieves me but that I could not receive a thousand more."[10] This she repeated again at Tyburn gallows to the assembled multitudes. She received the sentence of death with great joy and thanksgiving to God. Being arrived at Tyburn, the place of execution, some preachers wanted to tease her as usual with warnings to abandon her error; but she cut them short saying: "Away! I have no dealings nor communion with you." Then kissing the gallows with great joy she knelt down to pray, and kept on praying till the hangman had done his duty. "So," concludes Father Gerard, "she gave up her soul to God, along with the martyr, Father Filcock, who had often been her confessor and had always been her friend." Mrs. Line had thus served the priests for a period of three years. Her devotion was unfeigned; she received the Most Holy Eucharist at least once a week, and always with abundance of tears. She had a remarkable desire of dying by martyrdom, and on this account bore a holy envy to priests and others who seemed to be in a fairer way to that happy end. She told her confessor some years before her death, that Mr. Thompson [Blackburn] a former confessor of hers, who died a martyr in 1586, had promised her that if God should make him worthy

[10] She was indicted under the statue of 27 Eliz., which cruel Act decreed that if any one should harbour a priest, or hear Mass, or be present at it, all his household should be involved in the same crime and punishment of high treason, with the head of the family in which the priest dwelt; and far more if the priest should be found saying Mass or administering the sacraments.

of that glorious end, he would pray for her that she might obtain the like happiness. She also related to her confessor a vision which she had seen of our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament bearing His Cross, and inviting her to follow Him; which seemed to promise her this martyrdom, to which she aspired.[11]

Father Mark Barkworth, *alias* Lambert, O.S.B.,[12] was a native of Lincolnshire. He was brought up a Protestant until twenty-two years of age, when, going abroad, he was converted to the Catholic faith at Douay College by Father George, a Flemish Jesuit. He says in a letter,[13] a little before his martyrdom, that he had been then eight years in the school of Christ, and for the first two was under the instruction and discipline of Dr. Barrett (President of the English College, then located at Rheims), where also he enjoyed the company of those famous confessors of the faith, Dr. Arrowsmith, Mr. Lancaster, and Mr. Bradshaw, men, as he says, of excellent lives, now helping him in heaven by their prayers. "That holy man, Father George of the Society of Jesus, a Belgian, reconciled me to the Church and grounded me in solid spirituality. As to the rest, I return my fullest thanks to the holy Society of Jesus, men of the highest merit and admirable virtues, whom from my heart I ever venerate and love, and would that all did the same." He then goes on to speak of Father Filcock's virtues, as we have already mentioned. From hence he went into Spain, where he finished his studies, and was made priest in the English College of Valladolid. After this he was sent upon the English mission, where he quickly fell into the hands of the pursuivants, and after many examinations, and letting slip several occasions of making his escape, he was called to the bar of the Old Bailey Sessions for trial. Fleming, one of the counsel for the Crown, dared to tell the holy prisoner at the bar "that he was a priest, and wore upon his forehead the mark of the beast." The Father replied, "I am a Christian, and wear upon my forehead the sign of the Cross. By this sign I am confirmed against the devil and heretics, God's enemies. I fear not your words nor your threats; I confess and adore one God; He created me to serve Him, and serve

[11] See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests.*

[12] See Bishop Challoner, *Memoirs*, who quotes Father Henry More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* and Arnold Rassius, *Catal. Mart. Angl.*

[13] See More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. vi. n. 14.

Him I cannot in any other but the Catholic faith. This faith I profess. 'With the heart man believes unto justice, but with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' For this faith I now desire to die, more than I ever desired to live. No death can be more precious than that which is undergone for this faith, which faith Christ taught, and a hundred thousand martyrs have sealed with their blood." The Clerk bade him hold up his hand. "For what crime?" said he. "For the crime of priesthood and treason," said the Lord Chief Justice. "Why," said Father Barkworth, "can any one maintain that to be a priest is treason? Was not our Saviour a Priest according to the order of Melchisedech? And will any one say that He was a traitor? Though I am of opinion, were He to be judged at this tribunal, He would meet with the like treatment that I look for." They again demanded, "Barkworth, hold up thy hand. By whom wilt thou be tried?" "By God," said he, "and by the Apostles and Evangelists, and all the blessed martyrs and saints in heaven." "Not so," said the Judge, "you must say 'by God and my country.'" "What!" said he, "you mean, my lord, these poor men"—pointing to the jury—"I will never let my blood lie at their door. For you will oblige them to bring in a verdict against me, right or wrong, or lay so heavy a fine upon them in the Star Chamber that they will scarce be able to pay it in their own lives." The Judge then put the question to him, "Art thou a priest, yea or no?" "I will neither say," said he, "that I am a priest or that I am not." "Well, then," said the Judge, "I see thou art a priest." "If you can prove that," said Father Barkworth, "I am a dead man. Your laws stand against me, and I expect no favour at your hands. Neither do I fear death, trusting in the grace of God. Nay, if I had ten lives, I would most willingly lay them all down for Him Who suffered so many torments and so cruel a death, for my sins." "Tell me, then," said the Judge, "if thou wilt not confess thyself to be a priest, what art thou?" "A Catholic," said he, making the sign of the Cross, "and were I worthy to be a priest, I should look upon myself placed in a dignity not inferior to that of angels. For priests have a power granted them of remitting and retaining sins in God's name, which was never given to angels." With that all the company laughed, and the question was again repeated to him as before—By whom he would be tried? And he answered as before, "By God and the holy Apostles," &c., "and not by these unlearned men. I was brought up to

learning from a boy, and, after taking degrees among the learned, have spent in studies full seven years. Let learned men judge in my cause, and not such as are unlearned." "Will you then be tried," said they, "by a jury of ministers?" "*Apage istos diabolicos canes*,"[14] said he, "my cause is not to be trusted to them." "You would, then, be tried by priests?" said the Judge. "That is right," said Father Barkworth. "Call in, then, a jury of them," said the Judge. "Your lordship," replied he, "knoweth that a complete jury of them may be found in Wisbeach Castle." Upon this the Lord Chief Justice withdrew, and the Recorder, without any more ceremony, neither taking the deposition of witnesses, nor having the confession of the accused, nor waiting for the verdict of the jury, pronounced sentence upon the prisoner, as in cases of high treason; which as soon as Father Barkworth heard, he fell upon his knees, and lifting up his face to heaven said, "Thanks be to God!"

Father More says that he received sentence of death with a joyful and smiling countenance, and making the sign of the Cross began a hymn of joy, and then gave thanks to the Judge. After which, addressing his discourse to the bystanders, he exhorted them, "as they professed themselves Christians, to show forth by their works what they professed in their words, not fearing what the world can do against them, since, in effect, to die for the cause of justice and truth is a Christian's greatest gain, and he cannot even wish for a greater happiness than to shed his blood for Him Who so liberally shed His Blood for us all."

He was sent back to Newgate, and walked through the streets fettered as he was, with that air of magnanimity that the crowd inquired whether he was not one of the ringleaders of the Earl of Essex' riot. "No," said Father Barkworth, "but I am a soldier of Christ who am to die for His faith."

As we have seen in Father Filcock's life, they were both placed upon one hurdle and drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, on the 27th of February, 1601. When they were put up into the cart, Father Barkworth with a joyful accent sang those words of the Royal Prophet, *Hæc dies quam fecit Dominus, exultemus*, and Father Roger continued it on in the same tone, *Et lætemur in ea*. Then Father Barkworth kissed the edge of the garment of the blessed martyr, Mrs. Line, and in words of gladness congratulated her upon her happy exit. Then bless-

[14] "Begone, those devilish dogs."

ing himself and the gallows and rope with the salutary sign of the Cross, and kissing both of them, he repeated the above hymn of gladness and professed himself to be a monk of the Order of St. Benet, as likewise St. Augustine had been, who was sent by St. Gregory the Great to bear the same faith to our island for which he was to die, declaring how ready he was to lay down even a thousand lives, if he had them, for his faith. *Majorem, inquit, charitatem nemo habet quam ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis.* He protested that he heartily forgave the Queen and all that were any way accessory to his death, and wished to have them with him in eternal glory. Then, recommending himself to the prayers of the Catholics, the cart was drawn away from under him. *At, O barbaram hominum crudelitatem!* exclaims Father More—some cruel wretch, fearing lest the weight of his body should put the martyr too soon out of his pain, for he was tall and corpulent, set his shoulders under him to bear up at least some part of that weight, so that he was cut down while yet alive; and even when the butcher was seeking for his heart he pronounced these words: *O Deus, miserere me.* Father Filcock, who beheld this horrible scene from the cart, cried out to Father Barkworth, *Macte animo, mi Pater; quo cruciatus acerbior, eo victoria gloriosior*—"Courage, my Father; by how much severer is the torment, by so much the more glorious is the victory." Father More observes: "One knows not which of the two stood most in need of exhortation to courage, he whose life was now just ebbing and could only be extinguished by excruciating torments, or he, who with all his senses about him, had before his eyes this scene of brutal butchery, so soon to be exercised upon himself." These wicked men hoped that so horrible a tragedy would have shaken the constancy of Father Filcock. His frame of body was indeed more delicate than that of his companion, but it held a soul firm and resolute, which no fear of the sharpest death could move. And therefore he beheld undismayed this dreadful sight, and soon with alacrity met his own fate, and by a glorious agony rendered up his soul to his Creator.

FATHER FRANCIS PAGE.

CHAPTER I.

HIS LIFE BEFORE PRIESTHOOD.

FATHER PAGE was the last member of the Society of Jesus who fell a victim to the cruel rage of Queen Elizabeth, supreme head of the Church of England, as by law established, who had exhibited the most inveterate hatred to the very name of Catholic and Jesuit. For upwards of forty years it had raged against Catholics in general, and for more than twenty-two with peculiar virulence against the Society of Jesus. Nor was she as yet, although upon the brink of the grave, satiated with the blood of martyrs, but caused a new edict to be issued surpassing in cruelty any that had hitherto been promulgated, enacting the penalty of *capital punishment against priests and Jesuits*, unless within thirty days they quitted the country by voluntary exile. All who harboured, or in any way assisted them, were to be hung as traitors. That unhappy Queen was, however, prevented witnessing the effects of this her last and most deadly edict, having herself been summoned by death to her account at the age of sixty-six, four months after its promulgation. Of her lamentable exit, full as it was of despair, nothing remains for us to say, seeing that the Protestant historian, Camden, himself sufficiently notices it, relating that her last cries were, "Ah, wretched me!" *Va sibi miseræ!* And alas! now deserted and abandoned by all, she exclaimed that her own throat felt as though she was being strangled by a halter—that throat which had ordered so many martyrs of Christ to be cruelly executed by the same means![1]

Francis Page was born, according to the Bishop of Chalcedon's Catalogue, of a gentleman's family in good circumstances, at Harrow-on-the-Hill, in the county of Middlesex; or, as some others say, at Antwerp, which he himself pleaded at his trial, though the plea was not admitted. He was brought up in the Protestant religion, and to the study of the law, and was for some time in the chambers of one of the leading and most

[1] Tanner, *Vita et Mors Jesuit.* p. 52.

wealthy lawyers in London. Being highly gifted by nature both in person and manners, especially in a certain modesty of gait and conversation, a mutual attachment sprang up between himself and the daughter and sole heiress of his master, the aforesaid lawyer. But the lady was a pious Catholic, and Page a Protestant, and therefore it was made a *sine qua non* condition that the young student should first become a Catholic. Partly upon her account, and partly by the persuasion of a Catholic companion, he was induced to make a more serious inquiry into matters of religion. His friend introduced him to Father John Gerard (*alias* Thompson), his own confessor, and who was then in the Clink Prison, Southwark, in a kind of free custody, with liberty to receive visitors and to assist his neighbour in the ministerial functions of his office. Father Gerard gave him full satisfaction in his doubts and reconciled him to the Church, which was a task all the more easy as there was in young Page a certain modest bashfulness and candour of soul, which tended greatly to preserve him in every part of his duty. Therefore Father Gerard undertook to treat seriously with him—first to draw him off from his matrimonial schemes, then to discourse with him upon the uncertainty of riches and the empty hope of earthly felicity. At length he put him through the spiritual exercises of a retreat, and also employed him in writing pious reflections and meditations; by which means, though he was chiefly captivated by the lofty virtues of Father Gerard himself, he was so inspired with the desire of Christian perfection that he rejected from his mind both the court, his nuptials, and all perishable hopes, and resolved to change his place of abode and devote himself to the study of God and of eternal things. Therefore, that he might the more freely and unobservedly set himself to the important matter he had undertaken, and to enjoy the benefit of the advice and instruction of Father Gerard, his spiritual director, he attended him in the Clink in the capacity of a servant, and hired himself for this purpose as a servant to the old host of Father Gerard (Mr. Wiseman), who had a house near the prison. Under the discipline of such a master, he began by degrees to imbibe an apostolical spirit, and to be inflamed with a wonderful zeal for the salvation of souls.

He also served in the meantime, until he could retire altogether from the world, other Fathers who were then labouring in the English vineyard; and was so zealous that

in these services he exposed himself to great risk and fatigue, until at length he was apprehended and imprisoned under the following circumstances.

To the great loss of young Page it happened that Father Gerard, who was truly the father of his soul and the origin of his better life, was removed from the Clink prison, where the youth was accustomed daily to enjoy the fruit of his spiritual conversation, to the Tower of London, for examination and torture. As there was not the slightest hope of his being able to meet him there, Page trusted that he might at least have the satisfaction of seeing him at his window. Father Gerard thus relates the event:[2] "After the first month I gave a good time to study by means of books secretly procured. But at this time an event occurred which caused me great anxiety. Master Francis Page, of whom I have before spoken, was now living with my former host, Mr. Wiseman, who had been released from prison. After my removal to the Tower, he got to learn in what part of it I was confined; and out of regard for me used to come daily to a spot from whence he could see my window, in order to get the chance some day of seeing me there.[3] At last it so happened that going one day to the window (it was a warm day in summer), I noticed a gentleman at some distance pull off his hat as if to me; he then walked to and fro, and frequently stopped and made pretence of arranging his hair, in order to have the opportunity of doffing his hat to me without attracting the attention of others. At last I recognized him by the clothes that he was accustomed to wear, and made him a sign of recognition, and giving him my blessing, I withdrew at once from the window, lest others should see me and have suspicion of him. But the good man was not content with this; daily did he come for my blessing, and stopped some time, walking to and fro, and ever as he turned he doffed his hat, though I frequently made signals to him not to do so. At length he was noticed doing this, and one day as I was looking I saw him, to my great grief, seized and led away. He was brought to the Lieutenant of the Tower, who examined him about me and my friends. But he denied everything, and said that he simply walked there for his amusement, it being a fine open space close to the river Thames. So they

[2] See *Condition of Catholics*, p. cix. seq. This event happened about four months after Father Gerard's entering the Tower (1597).

[3] According to Father Bartoli the spot was a field opposite the Tower, on the other side of the Thames.

kept him a prisoner for some days, and meanwhile by inquiry found that he was living with my former host. This increased their suspicion that he had been sent there to give me some sign. But as he constantly denied everything, they at last had recourse to me, and sent for me to be examined. Now, as I was going to the examination, Master Page was walking up and down with my gaoler in the hall, through which I was taken to the chamber where the authorities awaited me. Immediately I was introduced the examiners said to me: 'There is a young man here named Francis Page who says he knows you, and desires to speak with you.'

"'He can do so if he wishes,' I replied. 'But who is this Francis Page? I know no such person.'

"'Not know him,' said they; 'he at any rate knows you so well that he can recognize you at a distance, and has come daily to salute you.'

"I however maintained that I knew no such man. So when they found they could twist nothing out of me either by wiles or threats, they sent me back. But as I passed again through the hall where Master Page was with the others, I looked all round, and said with a loud voice, 'Is there any one here of the name of Francis Page, who says he knows me well, and has often come before my window to see me? Which of these is he? I know no such person, and I wonder that any one should be willing to injure himself by saying such things?'

"All this while the gaoler was trying to prevent my speaking, but was unable. I said this, not because I had any idea that he had acknowledged that he knew me, but for fear they might afterwards tell him of me what they had told me of him. And so it turned out. For they had told him already that I had acknowledged I knew him, and they had only sent for me then that he might see me go in, intending to tell him I had confirmed all I said before. But now they could not so impose upon him. For when he was summoned, he immediately told them what I had said publicly in the hall as I passed through. The men in their disappointment stormed against the gaoler and me, but being thus baffled, could not carry out their deception.

"A little later they released Master Page for money, who soon crossed the sea, and after going through his studies in Belgium was made priest. Thence he returned afterwards to England, and remained mostly in London, where he was much beloved and useful to many souls. One of his penitents was

that Mrs. Line, whose martyrdom I have above related. In her house he was once taken, as I said, but that time escaped. A little after, he obtained his desire of being admitted into the Society of Jesus, but before he could be sent over to Belgium for his noviceship he was taken, and being tried like gold in the furnace and accepted as the victim of a holocaust, he washed his robe in the blood of the Lamb, and is now in the possession of his reward. And he sees me now no longer detained in the Tower, while he is walking by the waters of the Thames, but rather he beholds me on the waters, still tossed by the various winds and storms, whilst he is secure of his own eternal happiness, and solicitous, as I hope, for mine. Before all this, however, he used to say that he was much encouraged and amused by hearing what I said as I passed through the hall, as it enabled him to detect and avoid the snares of the enemy." Such is Father Gerard's account.

CHAPTER II.

HIS LIFE AFTER HIS PRIESTHOOD, HIS ARREST AND MARTYRDOM.

FRANCIS being now his own master, and being nothing daunted by these trials, but on the contrary more and more strengthened for undertaking greater things, resolved to apply himself with all his mind to the study of sacred literature, that he might thereby be promoted to the priesthood, and after returning to his native land and the field of battle, might be the better fitted for wielding the lawful arms against heresy. Therefore crossing over to Belgium, and making a short course of theology, having been admitted to holy orders, he again sailed for England and succeeded in landing safely. Here he employed himself with great courage and industry in administering in his priestly functions to the Catholics, both to the sick and those in good health, and very soon fell into the hands of the pursuivants, but escaped from them for that time almost by a miracle.

On Candlemas Day, 1601, the pursuivants having some intelligence or suspicion that the pious widow, Mrs. Line, entertained a priest in her house, beset it at the very time that Father Page was vested at the altar, and Mass was actually begun. A large assembly of Catholics were present. The attack upon the house was so sudden that there was scarcely time to unvest. But as the door was strongly barred and

fastened, the invaders were compelled to wait some time before they could get in, which gave Father Page opportunity to throw off the sacred vestments, although these, along with the altar furniture, were seized by the officers. The Father had retired amongst the crowd, but the unusual modesty and majesty of his countenance would have been noticed by the pursuivants, had not some one diverted their attention by observing that the Catholics had come together to hear Mass, and were waiting with eager impatience the arrival of the priest who was expected very soon. In the meantime, a person happening fortunately to open the door of the room, the Father quietly and unobserved slipt out and, shutting the door after him, betook himself to a famous hiding-place. The pursuivants searched every corner of the house and seized upon everything that they imagined savoured of Popery, but could find no priest. However they hurried away Mrs. Line to prison, and with her Mrs. Gage (daughter of Baron Copley),[4] whom they found in the house. Mrs. Gage, by the interest of a certain nobleman, was after some time set at liberty, but Mrs. Line was brought up for trial at the Old Bailey sessions, before the Lord Chief Justice Popham, a bitter and cruel enemy of the Catholics. This blessed martyr was carried to the bar in a chair, being at that time so weak and ill that she could not walk. The evidence against her was very slender, being given by one Marriot, who deposed that he saw a man in her house, dressed in white, and maintained that he must have been a priest! Any proof it seems (says Bishop Challoner) was strong enough with Mr. Justice Popham against a Papist; and the jury by his direction brought in Mrs. Line guilty upon the indictment, for having harboured or entertained a Seminary priest. The Judge accordingly pronounced sentence of death upon that lady, and remanded her to Newgate. This valiant woman, when the keeper informed her that the death-warrant had been signed, and when she was afterwards carried out to execution, showed not the least commotion or change of countenance. At Tyburn, when about to be hung she declared to the multitude with a loud voice, "I am sentenced to die for harbouring a Catholic priest; and so

[4] This was Margaret, the sister of John Copley, whose autobiographical notice we have given in p. 186. It will be remembered that she and her husband, after two years' imprisonment for harbouring Father Thomas Garnett the martyr, were condemned to be hung, and were reprieved on the way to Tyburn, but afterwards banished, and all their property confiscated.

little do I repent having done so, that I wish with all my soul, that where I have entertained one, I could have entertained a thousand." She suffered, as we have seen, at Tyburn February 27, 1601, with Fathers Barkworth and Filcock.

Father John Gerard says[5] that, after Mrs. Line's return to prison, a little before her death, she wrote to Father Page who had escaped. "The letter is in my hands at present. She disposed therein of the few things she had, leaving to me a fine large gold cross that had belonged to her husband. She mentioned me thrice in the letter, calling me her Father. She also left some few debts, which she begged me to see paid. Afterwards she bequeathed me her bed by word of mouth. I wanted to purchase it from the gaolers, who had plundered everything they found in her cell after her death; but I could only get the coverlet, which I used ever afterwards during my stay in London, and reckoned it no small safeguard."

When Father Page, to whom we must now return, had approved himself by many distinguished acts in the cause of religion, amidst a thousand dangers, to the satisfaction of his old spiritual father and friend, Father John Gerard, who had then escaped from the Tower, and likewise of Father Henry Garnett, then the Superior of the English mission S.J., he was admitted to the Society. It was intended that he should be sent over to make his noviceship in Belgium, before returning into England to labour in that vineyard, as a missioner of no ordinary stamp. But it pleased God, the Disposer of all events, to will otherwise, and to decree the martyr's wreath to him while still a recruit and novice in the army of Christ.

Father Page subscribed the formula of his simple vows of religion just before leaving the prison to be placed upon the hurdle and dragged off to Tyburn. This copy of the vows, with his own subscription, was afterwards sent by Father Henry Garnett to Father Fabius de Fabii at Rome.[6]

As Father Page was returning one night from some ministerial duty, he was followed by a certain woman, who shortly before had been a Catholic, but having forsaken her religion, now gained a wicked livelihood by betraying priests and pro-

[5] *Condition of Catholics*, p. lxxvi.

[6] Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 112, says: "Alegambe gives Mr. Page a place in his catalogue, but I don't find he was ever admitted amongst the Jesuits." The fact, however, of his admission is beyond a doubt, although Dodd was not aware of it.

curing their apprehension. The sight of this woman caused him to mend his pace, but she made no less haste after him, calling out, "Mr. Page, I want to speak to you." Pretending not to hear her, he stept into the first open house, and shutting the door after him, asked the master of the house, a Protestant gentleman, to let him out by his back door, on the excuse that he was pursued by a creditor. The gentleman courteously assented, and accordingly led him to a back door, which would have let him out into another street at a distance from his pursuer; but at that instant the wicked woman coming up knocked violently at the door, and crying out, "A traitor, a traitor, a Seminary priest," raised a mob about the house. The gentleman hearing this was afraid, and as he had no wish to run the risk of bringing himself into collision with the officers of justice, he would not allow Father Page to go further, but permitted the pursuivants to arrest him. They carried him before Chief Justice Popham, who had condemned Mrs. Line to death.

The ladies of the Court had, either in jest or in earnest, stormed against the Lord Chief Justice and loaded him with maledictions because he had condemned a lady to be hung for receiving a priest into her house, yet had not apprehended and convicted the priest himself, but let him escape. When therefore his lordship learnt that this was the very same priest who had escaped from Mrs. Line's house, after examining, he at once committed him to Newgate, where he was thrust down into "Limbo"—a dark and damp underground dungeon; that he might there remain and, with a macerated human body, rot away alive. But he was soon to be liberated from that suffering, for at the next sessions, which came on in a few days, he was brought to the bar together with Mr. Tichbourne and Mr. Watkinson. He was indicted under the statute of 27 Elizabeth for that being a native of England he had crossed the seas, and, having been ordained priest, had returned contrary to the laws in that case made and provided. To this indictment Father Page pleaded not guilty, and contended that he was not liable under that statute, having been born at Antwerp in Belgium, and being therefore not a native of England. This was a good valid defence, easily capable of proof, had not the cause been tried before judges who, out of hatred to the priestly character, would admit of no argument or delay. For there is (says Father More) in Belgium a family of the Pages, a branch of the English one, which glories in being related by blood

to our blessed martyr Francis Page. Dodd[7] observes that the plea of being an alien born was over-ruled because he was not able to produce his proof on the spot, and that it was looked upon to be a great hardship that he had not time allowed him to make good his allegation. But in vain did the Father plead the rights of aliens, where right is only the decision of the Judge, law his mere will, and justice all conceivable malice against the priests. The trial was therefore a short one—the indictment, as it were, being laid and despatched in one and the same breath—not by any voluntary confession, or by any strong suspicion, or by any evidence of great or little weight alleged against the prisoner. But in those times to proceed according to justice in a cause where the Catholic religion was in question, it sufficed for the Attorney General to make the simple charge; and therefore the jury, under the direction of Chief Justice Popham, found Father Page guilty, whereupon, without more ado, his lordship passed the usual sentence of death as in the case of high treason. The holy martyr received the sentence with great joy, in reward for which, being remanded to Newgate, he received from heaven the favour of being placed not again in "Limbo," but in a more favourable part of the prison. Father Henry Floyd, *alias* Smith, S.J., who was then a prisoner in Newgate, when the martyr was brought back, falling upon his knees, testified the greatness of his grief by floods of tears. Father Page raising him up said, "What is the meaning of this? Do you weep at my fate; which is most happy? You ought rather to rejoice and congratulate with me upon it, opening as it does a way to eternal bliss." And so great was the joy which the Father found in himself at the approach of his martyrdom, that, after having made a general confession of his whole life to the same Father Floyd and assisted at his Mass, he was in doubt whether he should venture to say Mass himself, for fear that he might be unable to contain himself during the sacred mysteries, and so discover to the other prisoners and the keepers the extraordinary emotions of his heart.

The day before his execution the Governor desired Father Floyd to acquaint the martyr that he was to die on the morrow, adding that for his own part he could not endure to be the bearer of such tidings. He received the message as coming from heaven, and obtained leave of the keeper to stay that day and night with Father Floyd, to whom, after cele-

[7] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 112.

brating the tremendous mysteries with wonderful sentiments of joy and devotion, he manifested some part of the favours which God was pleased to show him that night, filling his soul with such wonderful lights and so high a knowledge of the Divine greatness, which he could never have obtained from books or study. He felt, indeed, that nothing could ever more separate him from the love of so great a Lord.

But that he might by his own experience know these extraordinary sentiments of devotion to be a gratuitous gift of God, which He gives and takes away as He pleases; and that he might in some measure understand the great anguish and agony of Mount Olivet, as well as the sweets of Mount Thabor, he was suddenly deprived of this extraordinary consolation, and of all feelings of sensible devotion. Like his Saviour in the Garden of Gethsemani, he became sad and sorrowful even unto death; so that in this extremity of fear, grief, and anguish, he earnestly desired Father Floyd's prayers, showing by the paleness of his countenance, and other outward signs, the inward conflicts of his soul. The storm continued till the sheriff sent bidding him prepare for execution, as the hour was now at hand. This message in a moment restored the calm of his soul, and filled him with a new joy; so that he went out to meet death with as much cheerfulness as if he was going to a feast.[8] When he came forth to the hurdle which was prepared for him, seeing a vast crowd of people who were

[8] Father Henry More makes the following observations regarding the feelings of desolation suffered by Father Page, as above related—"The desolation of soul endured by Father Page so shortly before, or rather in the very article of so glorious a death, is nothing new, and need excite no wonder. For Yepes, the Bishop of Tarrasona, in his *History of the Persecution of England*, lib. ii. cap. xviii. p. 128, relates the following case. 'Another thing not less worthy of notice happened to a priest of the Seminary of Rheims, named Alexander Crow, in the year 1587. This priest and soldier of Jesus Christ was a prisoner in York Castle, where after much ill-treatment he received sentence of death. Whereupon he began to be exceedingly comforted, and to show so great joy in the court that all present took notice of it; and returning to the prison, where he was lodged with another Catholic, he could not contain himself all that day, so great was the satisfaction he conceived by thinking that he was to die the next morning. When bed-time came he told the other Catholic to take his rest; "but for my part," said he, "for this one night that remains of life, I am willing to watch in prayer with Christ our Lord." And when the other Catholic insisted that either the priest should go to bed, or should allow him to bear him company in his watching, he would not consent, but bid him go to bed and leave him alone. The Catholic submitted and went to bed, and the priest, lighting a taper that was there, knelt down and began to enter into very quiet prayer, as his companion took notice, who remained awake to see what passed. After one hour of silent prayer he began to speak (as if he was holding a colloquy), and by little and little to enter into a heat, so that his voice began to change like a man that was

gathered there to accompany him to Tyburn, he took that occasion to declare to them with a loud voice the sanctity of the Catholic faith, and the necessity of holding this faith in order to eternal salvation. Then he laid himself down upon the hurdle, and whilst he was being tied down upon it, as well during the whole way to Tyburn, through Holborn, &c., he employed his soul in prayer, commending to the Divine mercy with the most anxious care his approaching agony, mindful of the late terrible proof of his own utter imbecility. Arrived at Tyburn, he was removed from the hurdle to the cart beneath the gallows, upon which an impudent Protestant minister leaping into the cart began to trouble the Father with questions

disturbed. At length rising up he went to his companion's bed and asked him if he was asleep? He answered, No. The priest begged of him then that he would recommend him, to the best of his power, to our Lord, because he stood in need of his prayers. So he returned again to his place and began in the same manner to be troubled as before, giving signs in his exterior of being in great anguish, and as it were out of himself, till at length he put out with his own hand, like a man in anger, the taper that was burning by him. With all this his trouble did not cease, but he still continued, as it were, in a conflict and agony: sometimes speaking low, and begging the assistance of our Lord and the saints; at other times raising his voice as one angry and in a rage, and this lasted for the space of half an hour after putting out the light. His companion in bed was not a little terrified at seeing and hearing what passed, and begged of our Lord, as well as he was able, to deliver him from the affliction, for he plainly perceived that he was in a conflict. At length he saw him coming towards the bed, reciting with much joy the psalm *Laudate Dominum de cœlis*, &c., continuing it to the end; and then, as one inebriated with an abundance of consolation, he broke out into other praises of our Lord God, admiring His unspeakable mercies and His Divine sweetness towards the children of men. He set himself down upon the bed by his companion, not having been able for many days to lift his feet up from the ground for the great weight of the bolts and chains, and remained as one asleep for a quarter of an hour. But at length he broke out again into the praises of God, and asked his companion if he had not been frightened? He said that he had; and withal begged of him that he would tell him what was the meaning of that great noise, and of those changes and alternations he had discovered that night. The martyr answered that though, as to his own part, it would signify little to relate it, yet as it might be of some comfort to the Catholics to know what had passed, he would tell him the whole matter. "After a while," said he, "that I had been in quiet prayer, my flesh began to creep upon me, and my hair to stand on end, and I perceived myself quite changed, and on a sudden I saw before my eyes a most ugly monster, which began to terrify me, and, when I least looked for it, assaulted me with these words—'Thou thinkest to-morrow to be a martyr, and to go straight to heaven; but I assure thee it will not be so. For I know thou art condemned to hell, and that the sentence is passed against thee in God's tribunal, which cannot be recalled. And to-morrow, though thou shalt be drawn to the gallows, thou shalt not be executed; but they will keep thee two years longer in prison with these bolts and chains which thou hast on, and will give thee only two morsels of black bread and a little water every day; and thou shalt be abhorred by all, and shalt lead the most miserable life that ever man led upon earth; therefore, that thou mayest be delivered from so great sufferings, it will be better for thee at present to put an end to thy life by a knife or a halter, and not to wait for

about religion; but the confessor of Christ would not hearken to him. After having made a profession of his faith, he declared that he was most willing to die for so good a cause, his faith and priesthood, and for aiding and assisting by his priestly functions the souls of his neighbours. He also declared, upon that occasion, the promise or vow that he had lately made to enter into the Society of Jesus (according to Father More); or that he was a novice of the Society (as Father Tanner says). At the pronouncing of that holy Name of Jesus the cart was drawn away, and he hung until he was dead. He was afterwards cut down, disembowelled and quartered, and his quarters exposed as usual. He suffered the 20th of April, 1602, O.S.

to-morrow.' And though I shook him off many times," said the priest, "answering what God put into my mind, he never left off importuning me; and whatever way I turned my eyes, he placed himself always before me, giving me intolerable trouble with his horrid figure. And when I extinguished the light, it was that I might no longer see so frightful a sight, but he still continued terrifying and molesting me very much. And the conflict went on still increasing, till our merciful Lord, taking pity upon my weakness, sent me succour from heaven; for at this moment, when reduced to the greatest straits, I saw a great light come in at the door, with two persons, who, as I believe, were our Lady and St. John the Evangelist, who by their presence gave me unspeakable comfort; and then the monster that had troubled me began to draw back and tremble, and one of them said to him, 'Begone from hence, thou cursed creature; thou hast no part in this servant of Christ, who will shed his blood to-morrow for his Lord, and will enter into his joy.' Immediately the monster disappeared, and they likewise, leaving me so full of consolation that I am unable to express it. Upon this I came with great joy of heart and canticles of praise in my mouth, and sat me down here in the manner that you saw, not being aware whether I was on the ground or the bed, in heaven or on earth. This one thing I beg of you for Christ's sake, that you do not speak one word of this to any one till you see my race finished, and till I am delivered of the burthen of the flesh." Having said this, they both glorified our Lord, and so continued till the morning, discoursing together with great satisfaction of heavenly things, &c. But the impudent enemy was not contented with having failed in this first attempt, but when the martyr was upon the ladder at the gallows, in profound prayer, before the hangman put the rope about his neck, the devil, envying the happiness with which God rewarded His servant, and the consolation that He gave him in prayer, flung him down off the ladder; but yet he received no manner of hurt, though the fall was very high, and with great violence, as it seemed to the standers-by. This gave occasion to the Protestants to cry out that the Papist was in despair and that he wanted to kill himself. But the priest mounted the ladder again, and told them with great serenity of countenance and heart, smiling, "'Tis not as you think, my brethren, that I had a mind to kill myself; but it was the enemy who wanted to rob me of this glorious death, and out of envy flung me off the ladder; and this is not the first time that he has sought to deprive me of the crown which God gives me, Who has permitted him to do what he has done in your presence that you might know how little he is able to do, for how much soever he has sought it, he has not been able to do me any hurt either in soul or body; neither can he do any hurt to the servants of God more than their Lord is pleased to permit for their greater good."

Father Anthony Rivers, S.J., in his letters to Father Robert Parsons, thus refers to the case of Father Page and his fellow-sufferers: "An apostate Catholic student named Bomer, who had been in the Colleges of Rome and Douay, came to England, and presenting himself to the Privy Council, told them that he knew about sixty priests, two of whom came over with him, and offered to apprehend them if he might be thereunto authorized. The project was pleasing to the Chief Justice Popham, who commanded a pursuivant to accompany him, and so laying in wait, they soon met with Mr. Watkinson, one of those two, and apprehended him, conveying him presently to the sessions then held at Newgate; where accusing him, and giving evidence that he was a priest, the next day he was for the same condemned, and had judgment as in case of treason. About two days before that, a wicked woman that had pretended a desire of Papistry, suborned to betray, and effecting her desire, and continuing long in her dissimulation, thereby coming to know some priests, revealed at length all, and more than all, to the Chief Justice; and meeting by chance with Mr. Page a priest, she raised the street on him calling him traitor, and thereby apprehending him, he was sent to Newgate, and at the then sessions had upon her evidence judgment of death for being a priest and coming to the realm contrary to the statute [27 Eliz.]. . . .

"At the same time was also produced Mr. Titchbourne, apprehended by the unhappy apostate priest Atkinson, and upon his former confessions of priesthood, albeit extreme sick and weak, was arraigned, found guilty, and condemned, as the other his brethren.

"With them at the same time, was also arraigned one James Ducket, a layman, as a felon, for publishing a book written by Mr. Southwell [Father Robert Southwell, the martyr's *Supplications to the Queen*] in answer to the proclamation; being of this accused by one Bullock, a stationer, that had concurred to the printing of the same, for which he had long since been condemned for felony, but by special suit, and for that he was no recusant, hereunto reprieved and promised pardon if he would accuse others. Whereunto having now consented, albeit this Ducket pleaded effectually by himself, so as the jury coming in delivered their verdict not guilty, yet the Chief Justice made them go together again, and at this second return they were of another mind, and so the poor man had judgment accordingly.

"Mr. Page had his trial the 16th of this month (April). Titchbourne, Watkinson, and Ducket on the 17th of the same. On Monday, the 19th, among nine other common thieves, Ducket and Bullock were carried to the place of execution and executed as felons. Ducket professed that he died a Catholic, and that so he had lived, exhorting Bullock and all the rest to make like profession, telling the people in general that he was most willing to die for that cause, and that it was as impossible for any to be saved out of the Catholic Church, as for any to avoid the deluge that was out of Noah's ark. Bullock asked him forgiveness, and seemed to desire to die of *his* faith; at which he not only forgave him, but embraced and kissed him. He showed great alacrity in his mind, and spoke boldly and cheerfully, to the astonishment of many beholders, and so died.

"The next day Mr. Page, and Mr. Titchbourne, and Mr. Watkinson, were, as traitors, drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and all three there put up in a cart together, and so tied up. They had no longer time to speak than whilst the executioner was stripping them to their shirts. Mr. Titchbourne being very sick, spoke nothing, seeming to attend wholly to his devotions. Mr. Page called the Holy Trinity, three Persons, and one God, all the saints and angels in heaven, and all men there present to witness that he died a Catholic Roman priest and of the Society of Jesus; desired all Catholics to pray for him, and would have spoken more, but that he was interrupted by a noisy minister, that had more drink in his head than wit, insomuch as Mr. Page desired him to stand further from him (being then in the cart), for that he smelt too much of drink. Mr. Watkinson, with a very cheerful countenance, began to say, *Tanquam oves ad occisionem ducti*—'As sheep led to the slaughter,' but the same minister would not permit him to go forward, persuading him to submit himself to her Majesty, who had mercy yet in store. The good man said he was condemned only for being a priest, saying, 'I am a true priest of the holy Roman Church.' The minister's ignorance and impudence did much offend the civiler sort of the auditory. The cart was suddenly drawn away, and they suffered to hang till they were full dead. Then were they cut down, dismembered, and quartered, as in such cases is accustomed; but their heads and quarters were immediately buried (with the bodies of eleven thieves, that there suffered at the same time) in the highway there adjoining."

It seemed to be a just matter of amazement, and to be deplored by all who witnessed the placid death of this blessed martyr (as in the case of all who suffered for their faith), that these men in power should take a delight in thus torturing and butchering confessors, whose holiness and constancy when dying they beheld, and could not but respect and applaud—condemning as it did the judgment which proclaimed them to be traitors, and at the same time convicted them solely upon the ground of their priestly character.

As we have observed in the commencement, Father Page was the last victim of Queen Elizabeth's sanguinary spirit. In a letter of Father Richard Blount to Father Robert Parsons, dated London, May 5, 1602, he says: "Page of the Society died, with much alacrity and spiritual joy, and after some other speeches before, he uttered these words: 'I confess unto you all that I am a Catholic priest, and though most unworthy, I thank God, of the holy Society of Jesus,' and therewith the cart was driven away, and he never spake more."

In the Beauchamp Tower, London, may be seen this inscription: *En Dieu est mon Esperance—F. Page.*[9]

The following authors have written of this blessed martyr: P. Joannes Gerard (Thomson) in sua relatione, MS. in Tabulario Rom.;[10] Menologium S.J. MS.; Andreas Eudæmon in Apologia pro Garneto, c. vi.; Tabula Martyr, S.J, Romæ incisa; Catalogus eorundem Martyr, Cracoviæ et Neap., editus; Ribadin. in Centuria eorundem Martyr., in editione Lugdunen., ad calcem; Petrus Oultrema, de Viris Illustr. S.J., Gallicè; Jacobus Gualterus in tabula Chronograph.; Arnoldus Raystius in Hieragazophylaceo Belgico, p. 172; Jacobus Damianus in Synops. S.J., lib. vi. c. 26; Hilarion de Coste, Hist. Cath., lib. iii. in Edm. Campiano, Gallicè; also Father Matthias Tanner, S.J., Vita et Mors; Father More, Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.; Bishop Challoner, Missionary Priests.

[9] See Bayley's *History of the Tower of London*, vol. i.
[10] See Father Morris' *Condition of Catholics.*

BROTHER THOMAS PENN.

We have no account of the parentage, birthplace, or date of birth of this pious youth, who, having been converted at the English College S.J., St. Omer, left the army, entered that College to study, with a view of joining the Society, and soon after, attacked by consumption, died a holy death, being first admitted to his religious vows in the Society, in *articulo mortis*. The facts are few, but edifying and beautiful, and although not bound to assign him a place among the biographies of this district, we mention him here as the fittest locality, in the absence of any record of his native place.[1]

[1] Having had occasion in the series of *Records* to mention the College of the English Province S.J. at St. Omer, we think the following note will be found interesting, though that College rather deserves a volume to itself, and may probably be more fully noticed in a subsequent series. This celebrated Seminary was founded in 1593, along with the Colleges of Valladolid and Seville, in Spain, by the zealous exertions of Father Robert Parsons, S.J. At the same time that princely patron of Catholicity and lover of the Society of Jesus, Philip II. of Spain, took a lively interest in the new undertaking, and settled upon it an annual pension of ten thousand crowns. The late Father Glover, in his MS. "Notes," &c. (Stonyhurst), says "that in the time of Elizabeth, a few Englishmen who had entered the Society of Jesus, with the enterprizing Father Parsons at their head, established a Seminary in the town of St. Omer, for the reception of English Catholic youths, who, in their own country, were debarred from all the advantages of a literary and religious education by the cruel and relentless spirit of that Princess. From the youths of this College the English Province S.J. derived many members, and every year it sent forth a chosen band of recruits to the neighbouring Novitiate at Watten." Dodd (*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 16) says, *inter alia*, "The College of St. Omer, which was established in 1594[3] has always been in great repute and much esteemed for well grounding its students in classical learning, whereby they were fitted for higher studies in the other Colleges, whither in the beginning commonly fifteen or sixteen were sent yearly." St. Omer's generally sent its rhetoricians to the English College Rome and that of Valladolid, both under the English members of the Society. "The College flourished," says Dr. Oliver in his Preface to the *Collectanea S.J.*, "with great splendour until the arbitrary expulsion of the Fathers by the French Parliament of Paris in August, 1762, without even the shadow of judicial process. The schools were thence removed to Bruges. Here again, in October, 1773, the faith of the Belgico-Austrico Government was basely violated by the seizure and dispersion of the community, and the plunder of their property." The Annual Letters and reports of St. Omer's College, which have been collected from its commencement until early in the last century, are very interesting, and abound in praises of the piety of the scholars and of their wonderful proficiency in classics, especially in Greek. Their annual exhibitions were attended by the highest nobility, with the Bishop and clergy, secular and regular, and other scientific and learned men, who expressed their astonishment at the easy and fluent manner in which the scholars were accustomed to dispute and discourse in

Father Henry More[2] thus writes of Thomas Penn:

Jure merito, Psaltes jubet Deo laudem dari in Israel, quoniam magnificentia ejus et virtus in nubibus—"The Psalmist justly orders praise to be given to God, for that His magnificence and power are above the heavens." So we may justly remark neither can the mind of man beneath the heavens conceive the vast variety of ways by which God is pleased to dispense eternal salvation! He of whom I speak, a young man ignorant of the Catholic religion and its teaching, crossed over into France in order to learn the art of war. Whilst living at Boulogne-sur-mer, in Picardy, he became familiar with a certain English sculptor, who, for the safeguard of his faith, had abandoned house and home, and retired to France. It happened that they had much controversy together upon the subject of religion. The Catholic, unable to bear the blasphemies uttered by his irritable adversary, invited him to accompany him to

Greek and Latin, especially in the former. "During the time of dinner," says the report for 1609, "not one or two, but very many, and even of the lower schools, most promptly and *extem.*, speak and give dissertations upon some given subject. And in such a manner that many of the auditors (and these learned and distinguished men), who often visit us (for the sake of these exhibitions), can scarcely believe us, although we solemnly assure them that the scholars come unprepared and without warning to these dissertations." This is but one specimen out of many during a period of one hundred and twenty years or more. In spite of the brutal penal laws which confiscated the patrimony of the Catholic parents and children sent abroad for education, and forbade that instruction being given at home, under the severest penalties, the parents still persisted in sending their children. The risk was great, the boys were frequently seized at the ports which were strictly watched, and cast into prison, and only released with great difficulty and expense. The children were generally, it may be said, smuggled over by special arrangements and contrivances. The first year, 1593, they began with 33; the next year 50, "whose parents," observes the annual report, "were either detained in prisons in England, or else were suffering exile abroad and proscription of their property. The boys were mostly of high birth, and, although of a tender age, were very industrious and of excellent abilities." In 1598 there were 102; in 1602, 120, and so on. The highest number seems to have been in 1685 (the accession of James II.), 180. Of those sent to Rome and Valladolid many entered religious orders, both the Society and others, according as God was pleased to call them. St. Omer's College was, in fact, a nursery of missioners, martyrs, and confessors for their afflicted native land. Besides the labours of the College, the Fathers and Brothers were fully occupied in relieving the sufferings of the English exiled for their faith; and especially in attending upon the English, Irish, and Scotch soldiers engaged in Flanders, or passing to and fro; besides their labours in the confessional, the hospitals, and other ministerial duties. The College was twice partially destroyed by fire. One very favourite exhibition given in public by the scholars, was the sacred drama: representing either the Passion of our Divine Redeemer, or some other matter of Scripture history. The effect upon the spectators was marvellous, inspiring them with feelings of the tenderest piety and devotion.

[2] *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.* lib. ix. n. 27.

St. Omer, in the neighbourhood, where he intended making his own Paschal duties. The young man readily assented, and they went to the English Seminary S.J. in that city. After a few days' conference Thomas Penn expressed his desire of becoming a Catholic. Nor did the Divine mercy rest here. Returning to the army, the recollection of what he had witnessed amongst the scholars at the College, and his desire of joining them, took so great a hold upon his mind, that he could not rest until he had enrolled himself amongst the alumni of the Seminary. He returned therefore to St. Omer, bringing with him his abundant and costly outfit, with his long and elegant auburn hair falling loosely over his shoulders, and a gold ring studded with jewels upon his finger, which he offered to Christ in the Most Venerable Sacrament, and having rejected offers of great emoluments made him by his brother in a letter, on condition of his abandoning the faith. Praiseworthy ardour! would that it had been of longer duration! The very eagerness for study and prayer which inflamed him affected his health, and hastened on a pulmonary affection, of which he had previously shown symptoms. For the relief of this he returned to his native air, and was welcomed amongst his Protestant relatives with great joy, although he afforded them no hope of his abandoning the Catholic faith. The hope of relief by change of air which had been entertained vanishing, he preferred to trust his soul to St. Omer's, as in a secure port, rather than to be tossed about amidst the uncertain waves of allurements in his native land. Under pretence of going to drink the Spa waters, bidding farewell to his family and friends, he crossed from Dover to Calais, and passed thence to St. Omer. "And here," said he, "I wish to live, and here to die." Anticipating his death, having little hope of recovery, and that he might depart with the greater consolation, wishing to be admitted to the Society, he wrote to Father Oliver Manaræus, the Visitor of that province. Whilst waiting the reply, having been fortified with the last sacraments, the day passed by on which the answer should have been received, but no letter arrived. Father Schondonchus, the Rector (who was no less solicitous than the invalid), in order to animate the courage of the youth, who was anxiously hanging between life and death, addressed him with a courageous voice in these words: "Since, my son, you desire to enter the Society, you must begin with obedience, which, above all other virtues, is accustomed to be practised by us. I command you, therefore,

in virtue of holy obedience, that you do not depart this life before the letter of the Visitor is received." Thomas with alacrity submitted himself, on his part, to obey. In the meantime the Father Visitor himself arrived, having anticipated his own letter. He confirmed *viva voce* the admission of Thomas into the Society, which he had already granted in the letter. He was greatly rejoiced indeed, and sitting up in his bed, pronounced the formula of the vows, and awaited the end, but could not die until the expected letter arrived. Which being received, the Father Rector said, "Now, my son, I absolve you from the bond of the precept of obedience, and commit you to the will of God." He then kissed the letter, and having received the last blessing, rendered up his pious soul to his Creator.

The Annual Letters for the College of St. Omer for the year 1604, notice this holy youth in the following terms:

Another youth likewise died here of a family of distinction, brought up indeed in heresy, but favoured with good dispositions, which rendered him an easy conquest to the Catholic fold. Serving as a soldier at Boulogne, in France, he happened to fall in with a certain English mechanic, a Catholic, who coming to our College for his Easter duties brought him with him as a companion. He was satisfied after having but once heard our Father Preacher, and immediately yielded himself up as a captive to the truth of the Gospel. It is wonderful how his soul was inflamed from that time, so that, leaving the army and the world, he applied himself to better studies. At length, on the very birthday of our Blessed Lady, Mother of God, he resolved to enter amongst the English scholars. With what fervour did he not then lay aside his silken garments, his jewelled rings, his long flowing hair, and golden-hilted sword, with the entire old man, that, joyful and happy, he might clothe himself with the new! There was no end of the kisses which he imprinted upon his new scholar's dress, and of his pious tears. His progress in his studies and in virtue were like the beginnings, as also was his expected death. He was sent back to his native land for remedy of a consumption into which he had fallen. On his return home, dangers were not wanting; but his constancy of soul overcame them all. When, however, the medical men gave no hope of his recovery, not even in his native air, for fear lest he should die in England amongst the enemies of the faith, he returned

to his beloved Fathers here, and with so prosperous a journey by sea and land, that on the same day that he breakfasted in England he supped at our College of St. Omer, in Belgium; but he arrived so sick, that only a few days intervened before taking to his bed. His end rapidly approached. He expressed to Father Rector his vehement desire to be admitted into the Society, and to die in it. All were indeed greatly in favour of his wish; but the Reverend Father Provincial being then far off, a letter was written to the Father Visitor, who was nearer at hand. No answer being received, a second letter was despatched; the delay was hazardous; the youth was wretched, and increased his urgent entreaties that they would not wait for the letter; but the Father Rector, foreseeing what I know not, said boldly, "No, my son; indeed we will wait. If you think of entering the Society, the first thing regarded by its members is obedience. I command you, as much as in me lies, that you wait, and do not die before the Father Visitor sends you his answer." The young man, as though he was now secure, and certain of obtaining his wishes, rested contented. Nor was it a vain security, nor an empty fruit of obedience. For, having received all the rites of the Church, his trembling soul, suspended, as it were, like a flickering flame, behold! fresh and joyful news was announced to him, that the Father Visitor had himself arrived in the city, who, hastening to him, admitted the pious youth to the Society. He then pronounced his vows with a clear voice, after which he stretched out his arms as far as his weakness allowed, embraced all his companions, and very soon after, to his great joy, expired.

He was buried in our Church, with an honourable funeral, the communities of both our Colleges attending it.

BROTHER JOHN LILLY.

The faithful companion of Father Gerard.

An observation made in the life of Brother Ralph Emerson[1] that "if all the adventures, the escapes, the torturings and sufferings of that simple but holy and heroic member of the persecuted Society of Jesus could be recorded, they would furnish ample materials for a romance—but a romance indeed of real life"—is equally applicable to the above confessor and zealous workman in his degree, in the vineyard of our Lord in England.

The following biography is mainly gathered from Father Mathias Tanner's *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix*, who makes use of Father Henry More's *Hist. Prov. Angl.* and Father Bartoli's *Inghilterra*, and we have also quoted from Father John Gerard's personal narrative, given in *Condition of Catholics under James I.*

Father Tanner tells us that John Lilly was born in England of respectable parents, citizens, who brought him up to the trade of a druggist, which he publicly carried on for seven years in London. He was not only a constant professor of the Catholic faith, but was most zealous in propagating it, one while in providing refuges for priests, another in bringing Protestants to be instructed in the dogmas of the Catholic religion. He was apprehended on this account, and taken before the Privy Council, who thrust him into the Clink prison (which they call the Hall of Winchester).[2] After a short time Father John Gerard became his companion in the same prison, and was confined in a dungeon beneath his. This may have been their first acquaintance, though it is easy to imagine that the zeal of Lilly may have brought them into contact before. John's cell being overhead, and a little more

[1] This life will appear in the series of *Records*, "Residence of St. John the Evangelist."

[2] The Clink Prison (or *Atrium Wintonense*, the Hall of Winchester) adjoined the palace of the Bishops of Winchester. Brayley, in his *History of Surrey*, vol. v. p. 348, says, "It was a small place of confinement on the Bank-side called the Clink, from being the prison of the 'Clink liberty, or manor of Southwark,' belonging to the Bishops of Winchester." This prison seems to have been a degree more "comfortable" than most of the rest, as we may gather from Father Gerard's narrative and Brother Ralph Emerson.

liberty being allowed him, it became easy for Father Gerard to observe his piety, and to experience his activity, both of which he diligently availed himself of in the prison for the salvation of souls. After permission had, by the favour of the gaoler, been given to the captives to leave their lonely cells and mix freely with each other (as is more fully recorded in the acts of Father Gerard), and also to hold meetings with Catholic visitors, Father Gerard selected for these religious meetings the cell of Lilly as being near his own, to be a kind of chapel of which Lilly was both the contriver and inhabitant. There the functions of holy Mass, preaching, hearing confessions, and giving Communion were celebrated, and the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius were given, Lilly himself being among the first to make a retreat. This happy state of things went on until, by the schemes of a fallen priest who informed against Father Gerard to the Council, charging him with some treasonable attempt against the State, the Father was removed from the Clink to the Tower.

Father Gerard left no stone unturned to procure the liberty of Lilly, (who was in chains merely for the sake of religion, and whose sincere fidelity he had frequently proved) knowing that outside the prison he would be of great service to the Fathers in Catholic affairs. By sending secret messages to certain Catholic nobles he succeeded in getting not only John Lilly, but also his old servant, Richard Fulwood, to be discharged by payment of a certain sum of money by way of a ransom.

Lilly, bound by ties of gratitude to his benefactor for this great boon, set himself in return to spend all his efforts, strength, and life itself, if need be, to procure the deliverance of Father Gerard (now well nigh worn out by tortures and sufferings) alive from the Tower; and he was one of a party of three, who at the peril of their lives stole by night in a boat to the Tower, and fastened a rope to the trunk of a tree on the opposite side of the moat, by means of which, drawn up by a string attached to it, Father Gerard let himself down and escaped with his friend and fellow-prisoner, Mr. Arden. This attempt failed the first night, and Lilly and his companions were nearly drowned.[3] John Lilly ever afterwards adhered to Father Gerard who had thus been snatched by his efforts from the jaws of certain death, became his helpmate in the work of his neighbour's salvation, and constantly attended upon him in

[3] This escape is more fully alluded to further on; and likewise in the "Life of Brother Richard Fulwood."

the capacity of a servant, with the affection of a son, and with a more than fraternal fidelity, ready to give his own life to save that of another.

His affectionate master and friend makes full and frequent mention of John Lilly in his autobiographical narrative, to which we will now turn. He first names him in a list of his various servants or companions, of whom John was the sixth. "After him [Richard Fulwood] I had John Lilly, a man well known at Rome; he died lately in England, a lay-brother of the Society." Father Gerard gives a high character of these companions, which will be found in the subsequent life of Brother Fulwood. We next meet with him in the Clink prison, to which Father Gerard had been removed from the more terrible one of the Counter in the Poultry. Brother Ralph Emerson was Father Gerard's next door neighbour. "Overhead I had John Lilly, whom God's providence had shut up there for his own good and mine." Father Gerard next alludes to John Lilly's release from the Clink, after his own removal from that prison to the Tower. "In order, however," he says, "that matters might go on still more securely, I managed through some of my friends that John Lilly's release should be purchased; and from that time I always got him to bring to my gaoler everything that reached me from the outside. It was through his means too, a little later, that I escaped from the Tower, although nothing certainly was further from my thoughts when I thus secured his services. All I had in view was to be able to increase my correspondence with safety. This went on for about four months, and after the first month I gave a good time to study, by means of books secretly procured. . . . During the time I was detained in the Tower, no one was allowed to visit me, so that I could afford no help to souls by my words; by letter, however, I did what I could with those to whom I could venture to trust the secret of how they might correspond with me. Once, however, as John Lilly, after his release, was walking in London streets, two ladies, mother and daughter, accosted him, and begged him, if it was by any means possible, to bring them where they could see me. He, knowing the extreme danger of such an attempt, endeavoured to dissuade them, but they gave him no peace till he promised to open the matter to the gaoler, and try to get him to admit them, as if they were relations of his. Gained over by large promises, the man consented; the ladies had also made a present of a new

gown to his wife. They, therefore, dressing themselves as simple London citizens, the fashion of whose garments is very different from that of ladies of quality, came with John Lilly, under pretence of visiting the gaoler's wife, and seeing the lions that are kept in the Tower, and the other animals there which the curious are in the habit of coming to see. After they had seen all the sights, the gaoler led them within the walls of the Tower, and, when he found a good opportunity, introduced them and John Lilly into my room, exposing himself to a great danger for a small gain. When they saw me they could not restrain themselves from running and kissing my feet, and even strove with each other who should kiss them first. For my part I could not deny them what they had bought so dearly and begged for so earnestly, but I only allowed them to offer this homage to me as to the prisoner of Christ, not as to the sinner that I am. We conversed a little, then leaving me with what they had brought for my use, they returned in safety much consoled, but not without tears, for they thought they should never see my face again, inasmuch as they had heard in the city that I was to be brought to trial, and executed."[4]

A fellow-prisoner of Father Gerard in the Tower was a gentleman named Arden, who had been confined there for some years, in the cause of religion. Father Gerard, by much contriving and using *golden* arguments with his gaoler, had obtained leave to visit Mr. Arden, with a view of saying Mass in his room. John Lilly of course had a hand in the arrangements. "So I fixed," says Father Gerard, "on the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin; and in the meanwhile told my neighbour" [Mr. Arden] "to let his wife (who was allowed to visit him occasionally) call at such a place in London, having previously sent word to John Lilly what he should give her to bring." [These were vestments and other requisites for Mass.] "I told him moreover to send a pyx, and a number of small hosts, that I might be able to reserve the Blessed Sacrament. He provided all I told him, and the good lady got them safely to her husband's cell. So on the appointed day I went with my gaoler, and stayed with my fellow-prisoner that night and the next day; but the gaoler exacted a promise that not a word of this should be said to the gentleman's wife. The next morning then, I said Mass, to my great consolation; and that confessor of Christ communicated after having been for so many years deprived of this favour. In the Mass I con-

[4] *Condition of Catholics*, pp. cxi. cxii.

secrated also twenty-two particles which I reserved in the pyx with a corporal, these I took back with me to my cell, and for many days renewed the Divine banquet with ever fresh delight and consolation."

We now come to that portion of Father Gerard's narrative which relates to his escape from the Tower through the exertions of John Lilly and Brother Richard Fulwood, and which as regards the latter, and the two conjointly, is given in the life of Brother Richard Fulwood. We shall here merely add such parts of that bold and successful undertaking as more immediately concern John Lilly. After (as will be noticed in Richard Fulwood's life) Father Gerard had written to his Superior, Father Henry Garnett, by the hands of John Lilly to get his advice and sanction, and had arranged plans with both of them, Mr. Arden wished that a less hazardous attempt should first be made by trying whether the gaoler could be bribed to let me out, which he could easily do by permitting a disguise. "John Lilly therefore offered him on the part of a friend of mine a thousand florins (£100) on the spot, and a hundred florins yearly for his life if he would agree to favour my escape." This attempt, however, failed, the gaoler fearing for his life, if he were to be discovered and caught. The reader is referred to the narrative itself, in *Condition of Catholics*, &c., p. cxxii. seq., for a fuller account of Father Gerard's descent upon, or rather beneath the rope, for being very weak after his recent racking, and the rope by his weight becoming slack, he was very near falling from it into the moat; God alone by His angels and saints whom he earnestly invoked enabled him to persevere. "Yet I was loth to drop into the water as long as I could possibly hold on. After another rest, therefore, I summoned what remained of my strength, and helping myself with legs and arms as well as I could, I got as far as the wall on the other side of the moat. But my feet only touched the top of the wall, and my whole body hung horizontally, my head being no higher than my feet, so slack had the rope become. In such a position and exhausted as I was, it was hopeless to expect to get over the wall by my own unaided strength. John Lilly got on to the wall somehow or other (for, as he afterwards asserted, he never knew how he got there), took hold of my feet, and by them pulled me to him, and got me over the wall on to the ground. But I was quite unable to stand, so they gave me some cordial waters and restoratives which they had

brought on purpose. By the help of these I managed to walk to the boat, into which we all entered. They had, however, before leaving the wall untied the rope from the stake and cut off a part of it, so that it hung down the wall of the Tower. We had previously indeed determined to pull it away altogether, and had with this object passed it round a great gun on the Tower without knotting it. But God so willed that we were unable by any exertions to get it away; and if we had succeeded, it would certainly have made a loud splash in the water, and perhaps have brought us into a worse danger."

We next meet with John Lilly in by far the most heroic act recorded of his life. Father Tanner relates it briefly, and in giving the more detailed account of this wonderful act of self-devotedness from Father Gerard's narrative, we shall occasionally bracket a passage from Father Tanner. The event occurred in the year 1599. Father Gerard had suddenly returned to London from the country, and was engaged in giving the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius to certain persons of rank, and was at the time making his own retreat in a large house that had been hired by Lilly, and of which one half belonged to the Father.[5] He was in the fourth or fifth day of the retreat—"When about three o'clock in the afternoon John Lilly hurried to my room, and without knocking, entered with his sword drawn. Surprised at this sudden intrusion, I asked what was the matter.[6] 'It is a matter of searching the house,' he replied. 'What house?' 'This very house, and they are in it already.' In fact they had been cunning enough to knock gently, as friends were wont to do, and the servant opened readily to them without the least suspicion, until he saw them rush in and scatter themselves in all directions.[7]

"Whilst John was telling me this, up came the searching party, together with the mistress of the house, to the very room

[5] Regarding this house, Father Gerard says—"I did not wish to be without a place in London, where I could safely admit some of my principal friends, and perhaps house a priest from time to time. I therefore joined with a prudent and pious gentleman, who had a wife of similar character, in renting a large and spacious house between us. Half the house was to be for their use, and the other half for mine, in which I had a fair chapel, well provided and ornamented. Hither I resorted from time to time when I came to London." This gentleman was a Mr. Heywood (See note, p. 449).

[6] Father Tanner says that Lilly boldly detained the party with his drawn sword. It would probably have been after doing this, that he ran up to Father Gerard's room with his sword still in hand.

[7] Father Tanner says that a servant had turned traitor and betrayed them to the Privy Council.

in which we were. Now just opposite to my room was the chapel, so that from the passage the door of the chapel opened on the one hand, and that of my room on the other. The justices then seeing the door of the chapel open, went in and found there an altar richly adorned, and the priestly ornaments laid out close by, so handsome as to cause expressions of admiration from the heretics themselves. In the meanwhile I in the room opposite, was quite at my wits' end what to do; for there was no hiding-place in the room, nor any means of exit, except by the open passage where the enemy were. However I changed my soutane, which I was wearing, for a secular coat, but my books and manuscript meditations, which I had there in considerable quantities, I was quite unable to conceal.

"We stood there with our ears close to the chink of the door, listening to catch what they said; and I heard one exclaim from the chapel, 'Good God! what have we found here? I had no thoughts of coming to this house to-day.' From this I concluded that it was a mere chance search, and that they had no special warrant. Probably, therefore, I thought they had but few men with them. So we began to consult together whether it were not better to rush out with drawn swords, seize the keys from the searching party, and so escape; for we should have Master Lee[8] and the master of the house, besides two or three men-servants to help us. Moreover, I considered that if we should be taken in the house, the master would certainly be visited with a far greater punishment than what the law prescribes for resistance to a magistrate's search-warrant.

"While we were thus deliberating, the searchers came to the door of my room and knocked. We made no answer, but pressed the latch hard down, for the door had no bolt or lock. As they continued knocking, the mistress of the house said, 'Perhaps the man-servant who sleeps in that room may have taken away the key. I will go and look for him.' 'No, no,' said they, 'you go nowhere without us, or you will be hiding away something.' And so they went with her, not staying to examine whether the door had a lock or not. Thus did God blind the eyes of the Assyrians, that they should not find the places nor the means of hurting His servants, nor know where they were going.

[8] This was one of the gentlemen engaged in the retreat. He afterwards entered the Society. Father Roger Lee, whose biography is given further on.

"When they had got below stairs, the mistress of the house, who had great presence of mind, took them into a room in which some ladies were, viz., the sister of my hostess in the country and Mrs. Line, and while the Justices were questioning these ladies, she ran up to us, saying, 'Quick, quick! get into the hiding-place.' She had scarcely said this and run down again, before the searchers had missed her, and were for remounting the stairs. But she stood in their way on the bottom step, so that they immediately suspected what the case was, and were eager to get past. This, however, they could not do without laying forcible hands on the lady, a thing which, as gentlemen, they shrank from doing. One of them, however, as she stood there purposely occupying the whole width of the staircase, thrust his head past her in hopes of seeing what was going on above-stairs. And indeed he almost caught sight of me as I passed along to the hiding-place. For as soon as I heard the lady's words of warning, I opened the door, and with the least possible noise mounted from a stool to the hiding-place, which was arranged in a secret gable of the roof. When I had myself mounted, I bade John Lilly come up also, but he more careful of me than of himself refused to follow me, saying, 'No, Father, I shall not come. There must be some one to own the books and papers in your room; otherwise, upon finding them, they will never rest till they have found you too, only pray for me.' [Father Tanner says: "The love for Father Gerard entertained by John Lilly, and his desire for the salvation of souls through the Father, should he escape, made his faithful servant eloquent in reasoning. 'For,' said he, 'if I hide with you, what other priest is here to apprehend, but yourself? They cannot possibly doubt but that a priest is concealed in the house; your soutane is left behind; the chapel is already prepared with the altar furniture; in the room they will find your sermons, meditations, and writings, and who is there to own them? They will search the house for days and nights, and break up floors and walls until they have found you. Who then will console the afflicted Catholics and be a father to them? I will play your part to-day; do you play mine, and pray for me.' Saying this, he carefully shut up the Father in the hiding-hole, and returned to the room"].

"So spoke this truly faithful and prudent servant, so full of charity as to offer his life for his friend. There was no time for further words. I acquiesced reluctantly and closed the small trap-door by which I had entered, but I could not open

the door of the inner hiding-place, so that I should infallibly have been taken if they had not found John Lilly, and mistaking him for a priest, ceased from any further search. For this was what happened, God so disposing it, and John's prudence and intrepidity helping thereto.

"For scarcely had he removed the stool by which I mounted, and had gone back to the room and shut the door, when the two chiefs of the searching party again came upstairs and knocked violently at the door, ready to break it open if the key were not found. Then the intrepid soldier of Christ threw open the door and presented himself undaunted to the persecutors. [Father Tanner adds, "dressed in Father Gerard's soutane, and putting on a grave face"].

"'Who are you?' they asked. 'A man, as you see,' he replied. 'But what are you? Are you a priest?' 'I do not say that I am a priest,' replied John, 'that is for you to prove. But I am a Catholic, certainly.' Then they found there on the table all my meditations, my breviary, and many Catholic books, and, what grieved me most of all to lose, my manuscript sermons and notes for sermons, which I had been writing or compiling for the last ten years, and which I made more account of perhaps than they did of all their money. After examining all these, they asked whose they were.

"'They are mine,' said John.

"'Then there can be no doubt you are a priest. And this cassock, whose is it?'

"'That is a dressing-gown, to be used for convenience now and then.'

"Convinced now that they had caught a priest, they carefully locked up all the books and papers in a box, to be taken away with them. Then they locked the chapel door and put their seal upon it, and taking John by the arm they led him downstairs, and delivered him into the custody of their officers. Now when he entered with his captors into the room where the ladies were, he who at other times was always wont to conduct himself with humility, and stand uncovered in such company, now on the contrary, after saluting them, covered his head and sat down. Nay, assuming a sort of authority, he said to the Justices of the Peace, 'These are noble ladies, it is your duty to treat them with consideration. I do not, indeed, know them, but it is quite evident that they are entitled to the greatest respect.' [Father Tanner says, "When he came into the hall beneath, where the lady of the house with the family

and company were assembled, they all respectfully rose up and saluted him, as though he had really been Father Gerard himself; whilst John Lilly, sustaining his part with all possible gravity, returned their salute, and with much dignity, as one of authority, covered his head. They were all amazed at the good servant's fidelity, and silently lauded his sharpness. Some even wept for joy, seeing that Father Gerard was saved, notwithstanding their personal causes for mourning their own loss —the master of the house being dragged off to prison, with the certainty of the confiscation of their property—so great is the love of English Catholics for their spiritual fathers, and so intense the fervour of their faith "].

"The ladies, therefore, now perceiving that I was safe, and seeing also John's assumed dignity, could scarce refrain from showing their joy. They made no account now of the loss of property, or the annoyance they should have to undergo from the suspicion of having had a priest in the house. They wondered, indeed, and rejoiced, and almost laughed to see John playing the priest, for so well did he do it as to deceive those deceivers and divert them from any further search. The magistrates took away John Lilly with them, and the master of the house also with his two men-servants, under the idea that all his property would be confiscated for harbouring a priest.[9] The ladies, however, represented that they had merely come to pay an after-dinner visit to the mistress of the house, without knowing anything about a priest being there, so they were let off on giving bail to appear when summoned. The same favour was ultimately shown to Master Roger Lee, though it was with greater difficulty the Justices could be persuaded that he was only a visitor. At last, then, they departed, locking up their prisoners for the night to wait their morrow's examination.

"Immediately on their departure the mistress of the house came to give me notice with great joy, with the other ladies, and we all joined in giving thanks to God, Who had delivered us all from such imminent danger by the prudence and fidelity of one. I removed that very night, lest the searchers should discover their error and return.

[9] In the State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxi. n. 107, July 22, 1599, may be seen a letter from Francis Cordale to his partner, B. Gybels, at Antwerp, stating—"I wrote to you of one Mr. Haywood's house searched, and a man there taken. I have learned his name since to be John Lilly. He is sent to the Tower upon suspicion of helping Gerard the Jesuit out of the same place."

"The next day I made a long journey to my hostess' house in the country, and caused much fear and then much joy, as I related all that God had done for us. Then we all heartily commended John Lilly to God in prayer. And indeed there was reason enough to do so. For the Justices, making full inquiries the next day, found that John had been an apothecary in London for seven years, and then had been imprisoned in the Clink for eight or nine more, and that he had been the person who had communicated with me in the Tower; for the gaoler's wife had been apprehended after her husband's flight,[10] and had confessed as much. They saw, therefore, clearly that they had been tricked, and that John was not a priest but a priest's servant; and they now began to have a shrewd suspicion, though rather too late, that I had been hidden at the time in the same house where they caught him, especially as they found so many books and writings which they did not doubt were mine. They sent, therefore, to search the house again, but they found only an empty nest, for the birds were flown. [Father Tanner says: "The Justices departed in triumph with their booty, the four captives. Being summoned the next day before the Privy Council, it was soon discovered that John was no priest, but a simple layman, Father Gerard's servant, not the Father himself; a druggist formerly in London for seven years, for another four years an inmate of the Clink prison for the profession of the Catholic faith. The Council, beside themselves for very rage and shame, gave orders, but in vain, that Father Gerard should be again searched for through the whole house—a thorough search, by breaking into walls, &c. But the bird had flown early in the morning, and gone off to the country-houses of some Catholics, many miles distant from London, where he and all commended by fervent prayers to God the life of John Lilly. For to make John's case the worse, the wife of the gaoler of the Tower, who had been left there after Father Gerard's escape, was produced, and proved that John had been the chief actor in the escape. Nor did Lilly himself deny it, but gloried in it, and declared, moreover, that the gaoler, who had absconded for fear, had nothing whatever to do with Father Gerard's escape, that he alone was the sole actor and contriver of it, to him alone and to his efforts were the glory and merit of it due; and so meritorious did this action appear to him in the sight of God, that the bare recol-

[10] This flight, arranged by Father Gerard and effected through Brother Fulwood, is shortly noticed in the biography of Richard Fulwood.

lection of it afforded him the greatest consolation, and for the sake of the salvation of souls he was ready to attempt the same thing on any occasion that offered, for the liberation of priests"].

"John Lilly was carried to the Tower and confined there in chains. Then they examined him about my escape, and about all the places he had been to with me since. He, seeing that his dealings with the gaoler were already known to them, and desirous, if God would grant him such a favour, to lay down his life for Christ, freely confessed that it was he who had compassed my deliverance, and that he took great pleasure in the thought of having done so; he added that he was in the mind to do the same again, if occasion required and opportunity offered. The gaoler, however, he exonerated, and protested that he was not privy to the escape. With regard to the places where he had been with me, he answered, as he had been often taught to do, that he would bring no one into trouble, and that he would not name a single place, for to do so would be a sin against charity and justice. Upon this they said they would not press him any further in words, but would convince him by deeds that he must tell them all they wanted. John replied, 'It is a thing that, with the help of God, I will never do. You have me in your power; do what God permits you.'

"They then took him to the torture-chamber, and hung him up in the way I have before described, and tortured him cruelly for the space of three hours.[11] But nothing could they

[11] Father Gerard thus describes the place of torture and the instruments, &c.: "Then we proceeded to the place appointed for the torture. We went in a sort of solemn procession, the attendants preceding us with lighted candles, because the place was underground and very dark, especially about the entrance. It was a place of immense extent, and in it were ranged divers sorts of racks, and other instruments of torture. Some of these they displayed before me, and told me I should have to taste every one. . . . Then they led me to a great upright beam, or pillar of wood, which was one of the supports of this vast crypt. At the summit of this column were fixed certain iron staples for supporting weights. Here they placed on my wrists manacles of iron, and ordered me to mount up two or three small fagots by way of steps. Then raising my arms, they inserted an iron bar through the rings of the manacles, and then through the staples in the pillar, putting a pin through the bar so that it could not slip. My arms being thus fixed above my head, they withdrew those steps I spoke of, so that I hung by my hands and arms. The tips of my toes, however, still touched the ground." Father Gerard then describes the terrible effects of the torture. "The worst pain was in my breast, belly arms, and hands. It seemed to me that all the blood in my body rushed into my hands; and I was under the impression at the time that the blood actually burst forth from my fingers and at the back of my hands. This however was a mistake: the sensation was caused by the swelling of the flesh over the iron that bound it" (*Condition of Catholics*, p. xcvii, seq.)

wring from him that they could use either against me or against others, so that from that time they gave up all hope of obtaining anything against any one from him, either by force or fear. Consequently they tortured him no more, but kept him in the closest custody for about four months, to try and tire him into compliance. Failing also in this, and seeing that their pains availed them nothing, they sent him to another prison, where prisoners are usually sent who are awaiting execution, and probably it was their intention to deal that way with him, but God otherwise determined. For after a long detention here, and having been allowed a little communication with other Catholic prisoners, he was asked by a certain priest to assist him in making his escape. Turning his attention therefore to the matter, he found a way by which he delivered both the priest and himself from captivity."

[We give briefly Father Tanner's account of his torturing and escape. "To his magnanimous contempt of life and death, was owing the withdrawal of a great portion of the tortures which had otherwise been prepared for him. For on their interrogating him, 'Where is Gerard?' 'I know not,' said he, 'but if I did I would not tell you, for Christian charity would forbid. I should be guilty of a crime of the deepest dye were I to give up to be butchered by you, and slain by the punishment of the most infamous criminals, a man of whose innocency and sanctity of life I have had experience for seven years. May my tongue rot away in my mouth, ere I allow on my lips or in my mind so great a crime.' Nevertheless they carried him off to the Tower of London, and tortured him with the same kind of instrument (the pulley) and at the very same pillar that Father Gerard himself had been before racked. He was hung up by the hands, which were lacerated, but the torture did not exceed three hours, because they found him immoveable in his fixed determination not to say a word against Father Gerard, but rather resolved to submit to his bones being broken and torn asunder, than to be overcome. They therefore ceased from their brutal work, and buried him in a horrible subterranean dungeon, in which he suffered equal miseries for four entire months with inexhaustible patience. Then being transferred to another prison, in which capital convicts are confined, to be from thence, in a little time, carried off to the gallows and the usual butchering of traitors,[12] there he met

[12] This prison was Newgate. The manner of the escape is not recorded.

with a secular priest, in expectation of the extreme punishment of the law, and suffering from intense anxiety. He entreated John, by all that is holy, to devise if possible some method of escape and restoration to liberty, fearing his own weakness, and lest he might be tempted to abjure the faith. John, indeed, set to work, and discovered so happy and successful a plan that he effected the escape both of the priest and of himself, alike from prison and from death"].

From Father Gerard's account it would appear that this escape was from the Tower, but from Father Tanner there is little doubt but that he had been transferred to Newgate, the usual place whence such criminals were taken for trial and execution at Tyburn.

Father Gerard says "I ought not, however, to omit an incident that happened during his detention in the Tower, since it is in such things that the dealings of God's Providence are often to be very plainly recognized. Whilst he was under examination about me and others of the Society, Wade, who was at that time the chief prosecutor, asked him if he knew Garnett. John said he did not.

"'No?' said Wade, with a sour smile; 'and you don't know his house in the Spital[13] either, I dare say! I don't mind letting you know,' he continued, 'now that I have you safe, that I am acquainted with his residence, and that we are sure of having him here in a day or two to keep you company. For when he comes to London he puts up at that house, and then we shall catch him.'

"John well knew that the house named was Father Garnett's resort, and was in great distress to find that the secret had been betrayed to the enemy; and, though kept as close as possible, yet he managed in a few days, by God's good Providence, to get an opportunity of sending some little article, wrapped up in blank paper, to a friend in London. His friend on receiving it carefully smoothed out the paper and held it to the fire, knowing that John would be likely to communicate by the means of orange-juice if he had the opportunity, and there he found it written that this residence of Father Garnett's had been betrayed, and that Father Garnett must be warned of it. This was instantly done, and in this way the Father was saved; for

[13] "Spitalfields, once belonging to the Priory and Hospital of St. Mary Spital, founded in 1197, in the parish of St. Botolph."—Cunningham's *Handbook of London*, p. 463 (Note by Father Morris, *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxliii.).

otherwise he would assuredly, as Wade had said, have betaken himself to that house in a day or two. Now, however, he not only did not go, but took all his things away, so that when the house was searched they found nothing. Had it not been for this providential warning from our greatest enemy, they would have found plenty; they would have found him, his books, altar furniture, and other things of a like nature. Father Garnett then escaped this time by John's good help, as I had done previously.[14]

"After his escape John came to me, but though I desired much to keep him, it was out of the question, for he was now so marked a man that his presence would have been a continual danger for me and all my friends. For I was wont in the country to go openly to the houses of Catholic gentlemen, and it might well happen that John might come across persons that knew him, and would know me through him. Whereas but very few of the enemy knew me, for I was always detained in close custody, and none but Catholics saw me in prison, nay, such Catholics only as I knew to be specially trustworthy. I had indeed been examined publicly in London several times, but the persons concerned in the examinations very seldom left town, and if they had done so I should have been warned of it instantly, and should have taken good care never to trust myself in their neighbourhood. So I put John with Father Garnett, to stay in quiet hiding for a time, and when opportunity offered he sent him over to Father Parsons, that he might obtain what he had long hoped for, admission to the Society. He was admitted at Rome, February 2, 1602, and lived there for six or seven years as a lay-brother, much esteemed, I believe, by everybody. I can, on my part, testify about him to the greater glory of God, and that the more allowably, because I believe he has died in England before this present writing, whither he returned with a consumption on him. I can, I say, testify that for nearly six years that he was with me in England and had his hands full of business for me, though he had to do with all sorts of men in all sorts of places (for while I was engaged upstairs with the gentry and nobility, he was associating downstairs with the servants, often very indifferent characters), yet the whole of this time he so guarded his heart and his soul that I never found him to have been even in

[14] Father Tesimond, *alias* Greenway, in his interesting autobiography in *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 143—183, shortly alludes to this event of John Lilly's outwitting the brutal and wily Wade.

danger of mortal sin. Truly his was an innocent soul, and endowed with great prudence and cleverness."

Father Tanner concludes his notice of Brother Lilly as follows: "It is impossible to express how great was the joy of Father Gerard when he saw the two standing suddenly before him—beyond all hope, nay, even thought, of their deliverance! And especially, indeed, when he heard John Lilly offering himself afresh to his service, undeterred by the danger, the prisons and tortures endured for him; nay, by death itself.

"But truly the labourer was now worthy to receive his hire and reward, to whose cleverness and sufferings the salvation of so many souls was due. He had long desired to be enrolled in the Society—nor was he wanting in merits, nor in Father Gerard's testimony to them, who had known him to be a man perpetually and indiscriminately labouring for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, in every place, occasion, time, and condition; and so tenacious of his innocency that in his confessions to him he could not find matter sufficient for absolution, unless he added some fault of his past life. Therefore, sending him to Father Henry Garnett, the Superior in England, he was sent by him, after being kept for some time concealed, to Father Robert Parsons in Rome, where he was admitted to the Society in the degree of lay-brother in the year 1602, being then thirty years of age, in which state, by intense fervour and unremitting efforts after sanctity, he attained to 'fulfil in a brief space much time.' Being attacked by a slow fever which terminated in consumption, he survived only seven years, having been sent back again to England to try his native air; this however failed to assist him, and he gradually wasted away, departing to receive the eternal reward of his labour, A.D. 1609. Brother John Lilly was succeeded in Rome in his office by Brother Hugh Sheldon."[15]

[15] Brother John Lilly left Rome on the 15th of May, 1609, *en route* to England. Father Parsons, in a letter from Rome to Father Thomas Talbot, Rector and Master of Novices, St. John's, Louvain, dated May 16, 1609, says—"Brother John Lilly departed hence yesterday, May 15, together with Father Nelson, *alias* Neville, and George Dingley, all for your house, and Brother John cometh expressly assigned for your companion and manuductor, and must not be diverted from that by any excuse, if he have his health; nor suffered to write anything of moment at least for one year" (Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 94).

FATHER ROGER LEE.

FATHER MORE,[1] observes that Mr. Roger Lee is justly reckoned among the chief of Father John Gerard's lay assistants in that Father's arduous work of fishing for souls. Roger Lee was born in the year 1568, of a good family, and rendered himself universally popular by his liveliness of disposition and urbanity of manners.[2] To his profession of the Catholic faith was added a remarkable piety. He was one of those who had already made the fourth day of the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius under the guidance of Father John Gerard at his house in London, when Brother John Lilly was arrested instead of, and in mistake for, Father Gerard himself by the magistrates and pursuivants, as we have already mentioned in the account of that event given in the life of John Lilly. By the favour of the justices, Mr. Lee got off on giving bail, passing as a mere casual visitor to the family of the house.

[1] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 266.

[2] LEE PEDIGREE.

After several generations

ROGER LEE DE PITCHTHORNE, co. Bucks, third son. = ISABELLA, daughter of ROBERT CHEYNEY of CHESHAMBOYS.

EDWARD LEE DE PITCHTHORNE = AMICIA, daughter and co-heir of Sir EDMUND ASHFEILD DE EWELME, co. Oxon, Kt.

- HENRY. Died S.P.
- JOHN. Died S.P.
- EDMUND, son and heir. = BRIGITTA, daughter of ANTHONY BROWNE VISCOUNT MONTAGUE.
  - ROGER, fourth son. Born 1568; entered the Society of Jesus October 22, 1600; died at Dunkirk 1615, *æt.* 47.
  - ALIANORA = JOHN LENTHALL DE LECHFORD, Oxon, Esq., and had issue.
    - ANNA = STEPHEN KENSHAM DE TEMPLESFORD, Bedford, and had issue.
    - FRANCISCA = RALPH FINES, and had issue.

The Editor is indebted for the pedigree to the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee, of All Saints' Vicarage, Lambeth, who is a member of the Lee family. For a full pedigree of the Lee family see *The Genealogist* for April, 1876, edited by Dr. Marshall. (Taken from the original vellum roll in Dr. Lee's possession.

He then retired to another house of resort of Father Gerard in the country, in order to prosecute the course of meditations of the retreat he had commenced, and here also he would have been arrested had he not retired to a hiding-hole with Father Gerard.

Roger Lee had learned, in the course of the meditations during his retreat, that God does not always bestow the gifts of nature and grace for procuring one's own salvation alone, but to be expended upon our neighbour likewise, in extricating him from the snares and temptations of the world, and forming him to loftier desires and aspirations. Hence, according to the custom of the times with men of his rank, he preferred the more manly recreations of hawking, fowling, or hunting, to lighter and more trifling amusements; and associated specially with those whose dispositions gave hope that, by the aid of Father Gerard, he might move them to virtue and piety, and of these he introduced many to the Father's acquaintanceship. After thus rendering valuable assistance to Father Gerard, to his own great profit and that of others, Mr. Lee abandoned the world and all its vain and empty hopes and prospects, left England for Rome in company with Thomas Strange, Nicholas Hart, and Thomas Smith (all penitents of Father Gerard, and aspiring to the Society), and after some time spent in the English College, Rome, he entered the Novitiate S.J. of St. Andrew, in that city, on October 22, 1600, at the age of thirty-two. He was making rapid progress in the study of virtue and learning, when he was attacked by severe sickness, and upon the advice of the physicians, was sent for change of air to the English College S.J. at St. Omer. He had been previously ordained priest in Rome, and was appointed the Father Minister of St. Omer's, about 1605-6, in which office he so happily combined prudence with vigilance, due severity with charity, gravity with cheerfulness, that, whilst exercising the utmost diligence in exacting strict discipline, he at the same time conciliated the love and esteem of all; and remembering in his own case the great assistance he had derived from the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, he introduced the practice of making them among the elder scholars. Three were led by them to enter the Society, viz., Robert Stafford, Thomas Stillington (*alias* Fermour), and Francis Miles (*alias* Montford). He continued the practice annually, so that many in consequence embraced the ecclesiastical state, as well secular as religious;

and England, says Father More, never saw more fervent priests than those who had been prepared for the reception of holy orders under the immediate tuition of Father Lee. He also contributed much to the exterior and interior embellishments and improvement of the College. Not satisfied with preparing these helpers for the salvation of souls, he at the same time trained up labourers of the highest utility, belonging to the other sex. There was at that time a large number of single ladies throughout Belgium, who had withdrawn from the vanities of the world, and living either in community or privately at home, devoted their time and labours in educating young women in every kind of discipline congenial to their sex and future calling in life, whether destined by Providence to the married or religious state. Of these ladies, some bound themselves by voluntary vows of celibacy for a limited period, others by perpetual vows, on which account they were called Devotees. These limited vows appeared mean in the estimation of certain English ladies among them, who, in addition to the instruction of young women, meditated likewise entering upon the more perfect way of a religious state by the addition of vows of poverty and obedience. They did not wish to bind themselves to inclosure, or to recite the Canonical Office, or to any particular house or jurisdiction of the Ordinary, but, after the Institute of the Society, to hold themselves free for any work of charity whatsoever or wheresoever; and they aspired as much as possible, both in name and rule, style of habit and distribution of time, with government under one head, to imitate the Institute of the Society. They fixed their principal seat at St. Omer, and the Bishop of that city, Dr. Blaze, favoured their beginning. In the formation of this new undertaking they availed themselves much of the services and zeal of Father Lee, who was ever eager in the promotion and pursuit of any good work for the greater service of God and the welfare of his neighbour. Many of these ladies, in the estimation of all, were possessed of the highest gifts of nature and learning, with no less excellent ornaments of virtue, and many leading families were so delighted with them that they intrusted the education of their daughters to them, and established them in the principal cities of Germany. They also spread to Liege, Treves, Monaco, Vienna (Austria), Prague, Polnitz, Presburgh, and Rome; and they would probably in time have obtained from the Holy See the usual privileges and title of a religious order, had they

not so resolutely insisted upon an exact imitation, as above mentioned, of the Institute of the Society of Jesus, and on the privilege of self-government.[3] Father More notices a report current at the time, that Father Lee's removal from St. Omer was occasioned by his not having disapproved, or for not having expressed his disapproval of the undertaking with sufficient publicity. Father Tanner, in his account of Father Roger, does not notice it, and Father More merely alludes to it for the purpose of denying it, which he does. He states that the real cause of his removal was an attack of consumption which rendered an immediate change necessary, that he first went to Louvain, and then to Brussels, but finding no relief by these changes, returned to St. Omer. He was then ordered to England to try his native air, which occasioned him

[3] Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 341, shortly notices this case. "Another community of religious women was attempted, and in some measure effected by a Mrs. Mary Ward, a lady of singular zeal and qualifications. She had been admitted a novice among the Poor Clares at Gravelines in 1605, soon after the erecting of that convent; but that rule of life not suiting her, she undertook to found a new kind of religious order (which some were pleased to call Jesuitesses), by the assistance of Father Roger Lee, an English Jesuit. The project was to live in community, under certain vows, but without any obligation of inclosure, and their chief employment, besides their religious duties, was to instruct young gentlewomen in all parts of education belonging to their sex. They first assembled in a house at St. Omer, about the year 1608, under the inspection of Mrs. Ward, their Superior, who, being a person of good address, went frequently over to England, and induced several young ladies to embrace that way of life. Meanwhile a great many objections were raised against this new institution, as well by the English nuns in Flanders, as by several grave clergymen in England. . . . Some of these gentlewomen took a journey to Rome, in hopes of obtaining the Holy Father's approbation, and were well recommended by letters from persons of singular merit and authority. But they returned without being able to effect the main object of their journey. Many learned divines were consulted concerning the nature of this new institution: amongst others, Father Suarez, the famous Jesuit divine, who gave his opinion in the following words—'Qua propter concludo, ut hoc institutum sit verè pium, stabile, et perpetuum, pontificis approbationem necessariam esse. Ita censeo, sub censura Ecclesiæ, et cujuscunque meliora sentientis.—Conimbriæ, die 5 Junii, 1615.' In 1622 this community was at St. Omer, about sixteen in number, but labouring under such great necessities, that they were obliged to part with their house and goods. Some of them returned to their friends in England, and a few obtained a kind of residence in the diocese of Cologne. In 1629 they had planted themselves in Liege; at which time the chief of them was Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Twitty, and Mrs. Fortescue. But not being countenanced there, they removed to Munich in Bavaria, where they met with greater encouragement, and after some time procured a handsome settlement, which they still enjoy." The Rev. Alban Butler, in a note to his memoir of St. Ignatius (p. 405. Edit. 1812, 8vo), says in conclusion—"When certain women in Flanders and Piedmont, afterwards assembled in houses and called themselves 'Jesuitesses,' their Institute was abolished by Urban VIII. in 1631, the end and exercises of this Society [the Jesuits] not suiting that sex."

the greatest joy, as it seemed to open a way for the exerting his apostolical zeal in that dangerous mission. But these hopes were not realized. Death was nearer than had been anticipated, and he died at Dunkirk, whilst waiting an opportunity to embark, in the year 1615, *æt.* 47.

Father Lee is thus mentioned in the *Litteræ Annuæ* for the College of St. Omer, 1615: "We have lost, to the great and general grief of all, the excellent Father Roger Lee, to whom this College is on many accounts deeply indebted, as by his labour, owing to the more abundant means afforded him on account of his high birth, he very greatly increased and assisted it. This is not the place to recount his virtues and great labours, by which he deserved so well of all; they require a far more detailed report. He was so advanced (as I may shortly observe) as to excite all to virtue by his wholesome admonitions and example. He governed the College for many years, in which office he so tempered his disposition that it is believed he never performed any important matter of business under the impulse of passion, which neither prudence nor the honour of God would advise. He so mingled severity with sweetness, that whilst he was feared he was loved by all. After the greatest labour, endured here for the cause of God, and with no little fruit, he fell into a severe sickness. He then went to Louvain, where he became no better, but rather grew worse, and was ordered to return to England, which journey he undertook with joy and alacrity. Having to cross the sea, he arrived here almost worn out by his disease, and was compelled by his increasing sickness to stay for some short time. But as nothing seemed to relieve him, he again resolved to prosecute the journey with an invincible courage, but his strength failing him, having agreed for his passage in a Dunkirk vessel, about soon to sail for England, he made from that port a more prosperous voyage to the heavenly harbour."

Frequent mention is made of Father Lee in the narrative of Father John Gerard.[4] His first notice is when giving the retreat to Father Lee in the house in London, of which Father Gerard rented the one half, and in which the search was made we have already referred to. Father Gerard says: "I, who had no inkling of such a danger, had remained in town for certain business, and was giving a retreat to three gentlemen. One of these three was Master Roger Lee, now minister in the English College of St. Omer. He was a gentleman of high

[4] See Father Morris' *Condition of Catholics.*

family, and of so noble a character and such winning manners, that he was a universal favourite, especially with the nobility, in whose company he constantly was, being greatly given to hunting, hawking, and all other manly sports. He was, indeed, excellent at everything, but he was withal a Catholic, and so bent on the study of virtue, that he was meditating a retreat from the world, and a more immediate following of Christ. He used frequently to visit me when I was in the Clink prison, and I clearly saw that he was called to greater things than catching birds of the air, and that he was meant rather to be a catcher of men. I had now, therefore, fixed a time with this gentleman and good friend of mine, in which he should seek out, by means of the Spiritual Exercises, the strait path that leads to life, under the guidance of Him Who is Himself the Way and the Life." Then follows the account of the attack of the pursuivants upon the house, as given in the Life of Brother John Lilly.

The next notice of Father Roger made by Father Gerard is at the house of his friend, Mrs. Ann Vaux, in the country, near London,[5] and which she had taken for the purpose of sheltering priests. The pursuivants having failed to arrest Father Gerard in the search of the London house, and learning by means of a traitor that he was at the house of his said friend in the country, hastened thither with all speed. "They arrived at our dinner hour," says Father Gerard, "and being admitted by the carelessness of the porter, got into the hall before any notice was given. We were going to take our dinner in my room, that is Father Percy and Master Lee, who had come down from London to finish his retreat, which had been so rudely interrupted before. So when I heard who had come in, snatching up such things as wanted hiding, I made the best of my way to the hiding-place, together with Father Percy and Mr. Roger Lee. For it would not do for this latter to have been found here, especially as he had already been found in the house in London, where I was known to have been, and would therefore have given good reason to think that I was here also."[6] The Justices made a fruitless search. Father Gerard, with his hostess, Mrs. Anne Vaux, and the young Lord Vaux, then retired with Father

[5] At Stoke Pogis, Bucks, a mansion built by Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor, who died November 21, 1591 (See note, *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxxxv.).

[6] The reader is referred to the narrative for further particulars, *Condition of Catholics*, p. xxiii.

Percy to the family mansion at Harrowden. "As we lived here safely, I frequently left Father Percy at home, and made excursions to see if I could establish similar centres of operation among other families; and in this Father Roger Lee (to give him his present title) helped me not a little. He first took me to the house of a relation of his, who lived in princely splendour, and whose father was one of the Queen's counsel. This young nobleman was a schismatic, that is, a Catholic by conviction, but conforming externally to the State religion; and there seemed no hope of getting him any further, for he contented himself with velleities, and was fearful of offending his father. His wife, however, who was a heretic, had begun to listen with interest to Catholic doctrine, so that there was hope she might in time be brought into the Church. Their house was full of Protestant servants, with a constant coming and going of Protestant gentry, either on business or on a visit. It was therefore imperatively necessary that I should well conceal my purpose.

"We paid a visit, then, to this house, and were made very welcome, Master Lee for his own sake, as being much beloved, and I for his."

The reader is referred to the narrative itself for the deeply interesting account of Father Gerard's interviews with the lady, ending in her conviction and conversion, and her active zeal for the Catholic faith, keeping from thenceforth a priest in her house.

"Master Roger also introduced me," continues Father Gerard, "to some neighbours of his, among others to a gentleman of the Queen's Court, Sir Everard Digby, who had inherited a large estate, and had married a lady who was sole heiress to all her father's property—Mary Mulshaw, of Gothurst, Bucks. Not one of this family was a Catholic, nor even inclined to the Catholic faith. The wife's father, who was the head of the house, was a thorough heretic, and had his thoughts entirely occupied in hoarding up money for his daughter. His son-in-law devoted himself wholly to juvenile sports. When in London he attended at Court, being one of the Queen's gentlemen pensioners; but in the country he spent almost his whole time in hunting and hawking. Hence it happened that Master Roger Lee, who was a neighbour of his, and fond of similar sports, often joined him on such occasions, and brought his falcons to hawk in company. We two, therefore, took advantage of this acquaintanceship, and I was introduced to

this gentleman's house as a friend and intimate of Master Lee's. We made frequent visits there, and took every opportunity of speaking of Catholic doctrine and practice. I took care, however, that Master Lee should always speak more frequently and more earnestly than I, that no suspicion might arise about my real character. Indeed, so far was this gentleman from having the least suspicion about me, that he seriously asked Master Lee whether he thought I was a good match for his sister, whom he wished to see married well, and to a Catholic, for he looked on Catholics as good and honourable men.

"We had therefore, as I said, frequent converse on matters of salvation, and the wife was the first to listen with any fruit, at a time when she was living in the country, but her husband was up in town. Her parents were now dead, and she was mistress of the house, so that we were able to deal more directly with her. At last she came to the point of wishing to be a Catholic, and told me she should be glad to speak with a priest. I could scarcely forbear a smile at this. I answered, however, that the thing might be managed, and that I would speak with Master Lee on the subject. In the meantime, I added, I can teach you the way to examine your conscience, as I myself was taught to do it by an experienced priest. So I told Master Roger that, as she was now determined and prepared, he might inform her of my being a priest. This he did, but she for some time refused to believe it, saying, 'How is it possible he can be a priest? Has he not lived among us rather as a courtier? Has he not played at cards with my husband, and played well too, which is impossible for those not accustomed to the game? Has he not gone out hunting with my husband, and frequently in my hearing spoken of the hunt and of the hawks in proper terms, without tripping, which none could but one who has been trained to it?'

"Many other things she adduced to show I could not be a priest, to all of which Master Lee replied, 'It is true that he said and did what you say; and unless he had done so, how could he have gained entrance here and conversed with you, and by his conversation brought you to the faith? For if he had presented himself as a priest (which he would much prefer, were it feasible), how would your father, who was then living, have allowed his introduction, or you yourselves?'

"She could not but admit the truth of this, yet she found it hard to believe that it was so. 'I pray you,' she said, 'not to be angry with me, if I ask further whether any other Catholic knows him to be a priest but you? Does so-and-so know him?' 'Yes,' he answered, 'and goes to confession to him.' Then she mentioned other names, and at last that of my hostess, who lived but ten miles off. 'Does she know him, too, to be a priest, and deal with him as such?' 'Why,' said Master Lee, 'she not only knows him as a priest, but has given herself, and all her household, and all that she has, to be directed by him, and takes no other guide but him.' At length she confessed herself satisfied. 'You will find him, however,' added Master Lee, 'quite a different man when he has put off his present character.'

"This she acknowledged the next day, when she saw me in my soutane and other priestly garments, such as she had never before seen. She made a most careful confession, gave herself up entirely to my direction, and meditated great things, which indeed she carried out, and carries out still."

Father Gerard then goes on to give his interesting account of the conversion of her husband, Sir Everard Digby, which followed soon after.

Father William Baldwin, in a letter from Brussels to Father Parsons in Rome, dated 20th March, 1606,[7] among other interesting news regarding the martyrs, Fathers Oldcorne and Henry Garnett, &c., observes, speaking of various appointments: "Father Lee was good in England, in my opinion, for the consolation of many of ours and Father Gerard's friends, all which I remit to your consideration."

Father Gerard, in a very long letter to Father Parsons, then Rector of the English College, Rome, dated from Brussels 15 July, 1606, under the assumed name or *alias* of Harrison,[8] says: "As concerning Father Roger Lee's going to England, if you please that I write just as I think, there be divers reasons for which I think it at this time very inconvenient. First, in that he is so profitable where he is, that it will not be easy to find another who will do so much good in that place; and, in one word, to express my opinion, for aught I see, the most good of the house, both for external discipline and for progress in spirit, dependeth upon his care and effectual industry, wherein I should think it more needful to provide him more helpers of like desires and practical endeavours (who would

[7] Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. vi. [8] *Ibid.*

conspire with him, and have talents to effect both with the good Rector and with the scholars, that which they should together find to be most expedient). The Fathers which be there do very well, but are not of like apprehension and proceedings, and I suppose if you yourself did see all particulars, you would think Father Roger to be a strong helper to the good of that house, and that it would flourish much if it had some others of his like. . . . And truly, in my opinion upon the good of that house dependeth much the good and quiet of the other Colleges, besides much edification to many, both friends and enemies, unto whom this is a continual spectacle.

"But besides this reason (which alone I take to be sufficient) I wish Father Roger's stay for the good he may hereafter do in England, which I do hope will be great, and therefore great pity it should now be lost before the fruit of so likely a tree can come to ripeness. For, sir, yourself can better judge that none can be much profitable in England until he have gotten acquaintance there, and until his acquaintance, by their trial of him, have gotten a great opinion and estimation of him, which then they will spread from one to another, and every one will bring his friend, who upon hearing will be desirous to try, but after trial will say unto his friend that brought him, '*Jam non propter sermonem tuum credimus, sed ipsi*,' *&c.* By this means one shall have, after some continuance, more acquaintances and devoted friends than he can satisfy, and more business in that kind than he can turn his hand unto; but this is supposing he may at the first go up and down to get this acquaintance, and to be so known unto many, and until he have means so to do, if he have never so good talents, yet he shall not do so much good as a meaner person that is better acquainted. Now in this time I do verily think, if the laws be put in execution, there will be no means at all to get acquaintance, but the best acquainted shall have difficulty to help his known friends, and to be helped by them with safe places of abode, as at large in my last letters, and they must lie much still and private, and do their [work by means of le]tters. Therefore, although I know Father Roger would be as much esteemed of my special friends as any that could be sent, unless my brother [probably Sir Oliver Manners[9]] had served his apprenticeship, and were made a journeyman [priest], (for of his skill and workmanship in framing the best wedding garment there is

[9] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cclxi.

great and general hope conceived), yet things staying as they do in England, and Father Roger so well acquainted now with the place where he is, and thereby also more profitable there than a stranger could be, although as fit for the place as himself (which truly I think would be hard to find), my friends also being already furnished in England: these reasons move me to think it neither needful nor best that Father Roger go thither as yet, which yet in a more quiet time I shall be bold to beg for, if I see the College, where he is, so furnished that without great loss it might want him. I find Father Roger desirous of England if it were thought best, but wholly desirous to do that which you yourself do think most convenient; but when I urge him to speak his very thoughts, whether he do not think the College would be at want, he cannot deny but that the College hath need rather of more than less help, and surely, I think if it were another's case, of whom he might with humility acknowledge how profitable he is, I do think he would absolutely do his best to hinder it, as I do."

Father Anthony Greenway, *alias* Tilney, S.J.—In *Records*, Series IV., part i., a short notice is given of this Father. Since that time the following autobiographical account has been extracted from the responses of the students of the English College, Rome, to the usual interrogatories, and we append it to the memoir of his relative, Father Roger Lee.

"1606. My name is Anthony Greenway. I am son of Anthony and Winefrid Greenway. When I arrived in Rome I was about twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age. I was born at Leckhampstead, Bucks, and bred up at home until eleven years of age, when I was taken to Oxford, and entered at Magdalen College, where I spent nearly nine years. The rest of my life has been passed in various places, principally in London and Belgium, whither I escaped from England, and became an exile.

"My father, a knight, has an income of £500 a year. My mother, Winefrid, was of the knightly family of Harcourt.[10]

[10] Harcourt of Stanton Harcourt, a family of title. A member of it in 1651 became a student of the English College, Rome, and ultimately a priest. He gives the following autobiographical account on entering the College—"My name is Francis Harcourt. I am son of Francis Harcourt, living upon his own estate near Raxton, where I was born and brought up under a Father of the Society of Jesus. My father is an esquire, my mother the daughter of a knight, both Catholics. I have an only brother, and two sisters. I studied at St. Omer's College S.J., and was always a

I have three brothers, two my seniors and one my junior. I have an only sister married to a gentleman named Noah Fludd [Floyd]. May God deliver them from heresy, by which they are beguiled! We are related by blood to the family of the Lees (of which is Father Roger Lee), and the Ingoldsbys, both knightly families, in the first of which but few, in the second no Catholics are found.[11] Sir Walter Harecourt is my only relative on my mother's side. He is a schismatic. His eldest son Robert, with his wife Francisca, sister of Sir Thomas Vere [Veri], knight, are sincere Catholics.

"As to my vocation, observing the worthlessness of heretical teachers, and their dissensions among themselves, I turned my attention (at first through motives of curiosity) to the tenets of the Catholic faith, when indeed by the singular favour of God I was enlightened to see its majesty and integrity. I arrived at this partly by reading, partly by daily conversations with friends with whom at that time I lived upon terms of intimacy, viz., the before-mentioned Robert Harecourt, with Sir Thomas Studder, knight, and one Joseph Davis (with whom I had but a slight acquaintance), who was reckoned a clever man. They were schismatics. Reflecting upon the wretched state of my vacillating mind, I was anxious to find some priest to come to my aid, and this, by means of the said Joseph Davies, I obtained, and by the mercy of God was received into the Catholic Church, after spending twenty-one or twenty-two years in heresy.

"As yet God has not found me worthy to suffer anything for His name' sake, beyond some troubles at the hands of my Protestant friends, and the loss of some property on this account."

Catholic, and upon my leaving England, in 1647, I was deprived, on account of the Catholic religion, of the greater part of the inheritance entailed upon me upon my father's death." The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he was admitted as an alumnus on December 20, 1651; took the usual College and Propaganda oaths on May 1, 1652; was ordained priest in the church of the English College, May 21, 1657; and died of the plague in that College on June 16, 1657.

[11] Sir RICHARD INGOLDSBY = ELIZABETH, daughter of Sir OLIVER CROMWELL of Hinchinbrooke, knight.[12]

Sir RICHARD INGOLDSBY, second son. = ANNE, daughter of Sir GEORGE CROKE and widow of WILLIAM LEE of Hartwell, co. Bucks.

[Communicated by C. A. Buckler, Esq.]

Anthony Greenway was probably entered at Magdalen College when eleven years of age, and when a demyship became vacant, went to reside at the age of fourteen, as recorded in the College Register.

The Rev. Dr. Bloxam, who is engaged in the compilation of the College Registers, tells the editor, that Anthony Greenway must have been educated at the College School at Magdalen, then in its very worst state, the President at the College being an extreme Puritan, Lawrence Humphrey. Two of Anthony's school-fellows would have been John Milton, the father of the poet, and Daniel Fealty, a well-known writer.[13]

FATHER FRANCIS MILES, *alias* MUMFORD, S.J.—This Father was a native of London, and was born in the year 1590. After making his humanity studies at St. Omer's College, he was sent to the English College, Rome, for his higher course, and entered as an alumnus of the Holy Father in the assumed name of Francis Mumford of the diocese of Chichester, twenty-three years of age, on the 12th of October, 1613, he took the accustomed College oath on the 4th of May, 1614. Having been ordained priest on the 27th of December, 1616, he was sent into England the 22nd of February, 1619, with the character of having lived in the College with great edification. On entering the English College he made the following autobiographical statement in reply to the usual scholars' interrogatories:

"My true name is Francis Miles. My parents are Ralph and Maria Miles. I was born in London, but brought up in the diocese of Chichester for seven or eight years, after that in the neighbourhood of London. My father is in moderate circumstances, on account of his having been too liberal to others. His principal friends are rich, some are of high family, some of the middle class; but on my mother's side all are persons of good family and rich. Her name was Maria Armstrong, sprung from the family of that name in the county of Notts. I have one brother, well to do; but no sister. All

[12] "Dr. Thomas Lee, Thomas Oliver's creature and tool under Henry VIII., was a sacrilegious spoliator and church robber. A precious volume of the Gospels in Anglo-Saxon, bound in gold, used to be at Dytchley in Oxon (the seat of the Lees), but has long been lost. He took it."—[Communicated by the Rev. Dr. F. G. Lee.]

[13] The same who held the famous controversy with Fathers John Percy and John Sweet, Jesuits. See the biography of Father Percy further on.

my friends, both on my father's and mother's sides, are heretics, and some of them rank Puritans.

"I studied for some time in the diocese of Chichester, sometime in London, and latterly at St. Omer's College.

"I always lived until my fourteenth year with Protestants; I then had a conversation with a certain Catholic youth, very dear to me, upon the subject of religion, by whose pious persuasion I was conducted to the Clink prison, London, and was there reconciled to the Church, but I forget the name of the priest. When this became known to my mother and elder brother, they took my Catholic books from me and threw them into the fire, and at the same time, on account of the plague that raged in London, I was sent into Kent, and there, by the insidious persuasions of the heretics, I frequented their temples. I remained in that state for two or three years, but when I came to more mature age I again recalled to mind the Catholic faith. But my Catholic friend by whom I had been converted being dead, I had none to look to save God alone, the helper of all who trust in Him, and I earnestly implored Him to lead me to the knowledge of the true faith. Nor were my prayers in vain, for shortly afterwards I contracted a friendship with a certain gentleman named Wm. Courte [? Curtis], and a nephew of Father Stanney; he took me to a prison, to Father Robert, a monk, and now a glorious martyr, by whom I was reconciled in 1607, as I think, and in the time of Lent; from this time, in spite of the threats and blandishments of my friends, I have persevered in the Catholic faith. Praise be to God.

"But after a year I went to the prison called Newgate, on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, and after hearing two or three Masses, the officers entered, and seized and detained me with many others; upon hearing this my brother went to the Bishop of London, before whom, after a lapse of eight or nine days, I was summoned. The worthy prelate demanded whether I would take the oath, I said I was ignorant of what it was, and finally I flatly refused. At length, after many other empty questions I was liberated, but on this condition—that twice a week I would confer with a Protestant minister, a relative of mine, named Elton. This worthy kinsman, after I had met him several times, said, 'You may spare your labour, for I see that you are obstinate.' This I gladly did, and bid him good-bye. After the lapse of half a year, Father Robert returned into England, for he had been banished immediately

after my conversion, and being a second time seized was thrust into the prison called the Gatehouse, together with the glorious martyr Father Thomas Garnett, to whom, on account of his charity and kindness towards me, I was always deeply obliged and attached, and by whose persuasion and efforts I was again restored. I then spent one year privately with them in London, after which I left England with Father Robert, Father Broughton of the same order, and another priest, all of whom were at that time sent into exile. When we landed at Calais, Father Robert proceeded to Spain; I went to St. Omer with Father Broughton, who had my letter of recommendation. There, though unworthy, I was received by the Fathers, and having for four years made my humanity course, I was sent to Rome."

Father Miles entered the Society in 1619, soon after his arrival in England. He was made a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor in 1629, and died in England, December 17, 1650, at the age of sixty-one.[14]

[14] His name appears in the list of Jesuits among the papers seized at Clerkenwell. See pages 132, 133.

LIFE OF FATHER THOMAS STEPHENSON.[1]

FATHER ANTONY SOCHERO, S.J., in his *Hist. Prov. Austriæ*, lib. viii. p. 355, thus introduces this venerable Father:

Father Thomas Stephenson deserves mention in this place [Brinn or Brunn Novitiate] before many of the novices; a man already well known, both for what he has done in behalf of the Catholic faith, and for his cruel sufferings at the hands of the Protestants in England. He was a native of Windleston, in the bishopric of Durham, born in the year 1552, of Catholic parents, who gave him his early education both in Christian doctrine and in his Latin elements. To secure his being untainted by the heretical atmosphere of England, he was early sent over to Belgium, as a glorious exile for Christ. He made his humanity studies at the English College, Rheims, whence he proceeded to Rome, and there made his higher course and theology. He was ordained priest in 1582, and being fully armed for waging war against heresy, was sent by Cardinal Allen and Father Robert Parsons, in 1583, upon the English mission, being as yet a secular priest. He could not long elude the vigilant eyes of the pursuivants, for after zealously labouring for ten months in London, amidst daily dangers of prisons and life, at length, after reconciling many Protestants to the Catholic Church, and strengthening others in their faith and virtue, he fell into the hands of the enemy. In the month of February, 1584, the Rev. James Fenn and Rev. George Haddock, two secular priests, remarkable for learning and innocence of life, were condemned to death by the Judges in London as guilty of high treason for denying the ecclesiastical primacy of Queen Elizabeth, and were executed at Tyburn, both of them being cut down alive and cruelly butchered, then disembowelled and quartered as usual.[2] But in order to stir up amongst the people an inveterate hatred and detestation of the sacerdotal order, the Privy Council directed a fresh and searching inquisition

[1] Brief notices of this Father exist in Tanner, S.J., *Soc. Jesu Apost. Imitatrix;* Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.* p. 768; Nadasi, S.J.; Sochero, S.J. *Hist. Prov. Austriæ;* More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.*; Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii.

[2] *Vide* Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests* for an account of these two great martyrs and their horrible butchery. They suffered on the 12th of February, 1584, at Tyburn.

to be made after them in every corner of the land, and all who were taken to be cast into prison. Therefore, on the very next day after the execution of the above priests, Father Thomas Stephenson was apprehended, having been basely betrayed by a young man who usually assisted him by serving his Mass. He was carried before the Privy Council, and committed to the Tower of London. He was afterwards summoned to the bar for trial, and by his Christian boldness in speaking in his own defence, and the magnanimity which he then exhibited, elicited the approbation of his adversaries. Remanded to the Tower, where he was loaded with curses and insults from the Lieutenant, he was thrust into a dungeon "horrible for its situation, squalor, and vermin" (say his chroniclers). During the intensity of a severe winter, and amid the intolerable stench of the place, he lay for twenty-seven days upon the bare and filthy ground. Worn out as he was by these sufferings, his cruel torturers must needs add another, for they loaded him with heavy chains and shackles, and compelled him to wear them for the space of more than forty days. He spent an entire year in these and other sufferings, when at length half dead, and worn out by six months' intense pain from rheumatism and toothache, he was sent into banishment, with twelve priests, his companions, on June 21, 1585, much against his will, and to his deep sorrow that, by this cruel kindness on the part of his enemies, his hope of suffering a glorious death for Christ was thus snatched from him.[3] While lying

[3] Bishop Challoner says, in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, that one of the most remarkable occurrences of the year 1584–5 was the banishment of about seventy priests within the compass of one twelvemonth. He quotes Stowe's *Annals*, who records that on January 21, 1584–5, Jesuits, seminaries, and other massing priests to the number of twenty-one [one only was a layman], late prisoner in the Tower of London, Marshalsea, and King's Bench, were shipped off at the Tower Wharf to be carried towards France, and banished this realm for ever, by virtue of a commission from her Majesty, dated the 15th of the same month, ann. 1585. On September 15 of the same year, by virtue of an order from the Lords of the Council, "thirty-two priests and two laymen, at that time prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, &c., were embarked in the *Mary Martin* of Colchester, on the south side of the Thames, over against St. Catharine's, to be transported over unto the coasts of Normandy, and banished this realm for ever." There were about eighteen more, according to Camden and others (Bridgewater says twenty-two), all priests but one (he a deacon), sent into banishment from the northern prisons, about the same time; of whom Bridgewater writes that they were for the most part advanced in years; some being sixty, others seventy, or upwards, and one eighty years old; and that many of them had been a great many years in prison; some ever since the beginning of this reign, that is, for twenty-six years (Bridgewater's *Brevis Descriptio*, fol. 411). Amongst the number of the above twenty-one, sent out in January, 1584–5, occurs the name of Thomas Stephenson, as appears by Rishton's Diary of the Tower, which we have already quoted in the Life of Father Jasper Heywood, p. 401.

amongst the filth of his prison, and in daily expectation of martyrdom, he had conceived the strong desire of entering the Society of Jesus. Therefore, upon landing in France, he petitioned Father Robert Parsons for admission, who in his great charity referred him to the care of Father Oliver Manareus, the Provincial of the Rhenish Province, then at Spires. He sent him into Austria, to Father Henry Blyssemius, Provincial of the Austrian Province, who, without further delay, seeing that he had given such noble proofs of fitness, admitted him to the body of the Society. Filled with joy he commenced his religious life, entering the Novitiate at Brinn (or Brunn), in Moravia, on December 11, 1585. He was permitted to take the three simple vows of religion on June 5, before completing the customary two years' noviceship, having long ago rendered himself truly worthy of being a soldier of Ignatius by his horrible incarceration, chains, and sufferings in the cause of the Catholic faith. He then spent twelve years in the same Province of Bohemia, at Prague and Olmutz, as Professor of Hebrew and Greek, during which period, viz., on June 3, 1597, he was admitted to the degree of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor at Prague.[4] Then being summoned to Rome in the spring of 1559, he was occasionally employed by Father Parsons as secretary or amanuensis. At length, to his great joy, he was sent back to his native land, in spite of its hostility and of his former sufferings there. He laboured in it as a missionary priest for twenty years with exemplary zeal and charity. Returning to the Continent in extreme old age, and being a hater of all ease and sloth, he added to his other labours the writing of sacred lucubrations, probably the MSS. he left behind him, as mentioned by Dr. Oliver. At last, broken down by age and infirmity, he died at Watten on March 23, 1624, aged seventy-two. He was remarkable for his candour of disposition, a ready and keen wit, and a most tenacious memory, and he was thoroughly grounded in literature. Besides these qualifications he possessed a courage which no dangers or labours could daunt, and was conspicuous for many eminent virtues.

His works are (1) A large Catechism for the instruction of the ignorant. (2) *Hist. sacra ab orbe condito usque ad Christi salvatoris adventum*, St. Omer, 1622. (3) The Life of Thomas Pounde. (4) Several of Father Parson's works translated into Latin.

Alegambe, *Bib. Scrip. S.J.* makes no mention of the Life

[4] Dr. Oliver says he was made a Professed Father.

of Thomas Pounde; Tanner (*ut supra*) says that in his spare hours "Vitam Thomæ Pondo ex ipsiusmet adversariis justo volumine contexerit."

The following is a translation from an original letter, Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol.[5]

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Very Rev. Father in Christ,—

P.C.

I deem your Paternity's letter most consolatory to us all, for it proves that our affairs are entered into by your Paternity with remarkable forethought and charity. We are, by the goodness of God, united together in the bonds of fraternal charity, prepared to suffer whatever the will of God may please to bring upon us inasmuch as we are strengthened and encouraged by the Divine assistance, by the example of our Superior and the expectation which Catholics have formed of us, and by the very difficulty itself of the times. I go out little, and produce but small fruit. I persevere in prayer, in reading, and writing. In private conversation I endeavour to preserve peace and charity towards and among all, for the rest I yield myself to the judgment of my Superior, with whom I communicate upon our affairs as they occur. I had desired to collect proper materials for an ecclesiastical history, but the paucity of matter, and the difficulty of gathering it hindered me. Therefore, as I was unable to prosecute this design, I translated into Latin some of Father Parson's books, as well to fly idleness as to practise my style, and occupy myself with work according to the Institute. I had begun to do this in Rome. In fact, I felt it a duty incumbent on me (as far as lay in my power) to propagate that Father's book, the reading of which has benefited so many of other nations and promoted the general good of the Church. Father Parsons has been singularly kind to me, both in receiving and admitting me to the Society, although but little fitted for it, in preserving me in its embrace, and in always showing me peculiar care and love. I only regret that the capabilities of my style are unequal to his writings. My will, however, is good, and that consoles me; by which, with God's help, I shall not be wanting in the work. The rest I leave to the judgment of others. I beseech your Paternity to pardon me, if moved to this by charity, I anticipate charity also. I owe much to Father Magio and Father Parsons. In union with the love of these I know that I am also united and conjoined in your Paternity's affections. I can have no objection to his writings being published in Latin, indeed I shall rejoice in having provoked others to do that which I was myself unable to accomplish. In my opinion he himself would be the best to do this, if his other engagements did but permit. Again I beg your Paternity to forgive my liberty and boldness. Nothing else occurs to me, except entirely to commend myself to the holy care and prayers of your Paternity.

Your Paternity's servant in Christ,

THO. STEPHENSON.

To the Very Reverend Father C. Aquaviva, Generali Præposito Soc. Jesu.

[5] The date of this letter does not appear. Father Stephenson returned to England about 1604. Father Parsons, who was alive at the time the letter was written, died in 1610, so that the date must be fixed between those two periods.

There is a short eulogy of Father Stephenson in the *Sum. Defunct.* (1624) *Prov. Ang.*, stating that he was professed of the three vows, and well stored with various branches of literature, had a sharp and ready wit and a most retentive memory, great candour of soul and wonderful zeal; and that, without exaggeration, it might be said he surpassed all his *confrères* in the general practice of virtue. Already a priest and missioner, he petitioned to enter the Society after he had been seized and thrust into the Tower of London, where he was loaded with chains and cruelly tortured, and expected death itself. Being examined by the Privy Council, who were astounded at his intrepid answers, he was sent into exile, and entered a novitiate in the Austrian Province, in which province he taught for several years; thence being summoned to Rome, he became Father Parson's amanuensis. At length he was sent to England, where he laboured for twenty years. He specially delighted in teaching children as well in the rudiments of the faith, as of letters. He so hated ease and slothfulness, that in his extreme old age he roused himself to fresh industry, and undertook the vast labour of writing a sacred history from the beginning of the world until the advent of Christ; and finished it too. When seized at last with sickness, he desired no remedies, declaring that he wished to die. He composed himself at once for death, and having made a general confession of his whole life, perceiving all the community collected about his bed he began with incredible animation to proclaim the benefit of his religious vocation; then specially directing his address to the novices, he warned them, upon the word of a dying man, that should they at any time feel within themselves a solicitation to give up their vocation, they might without the slightest doubt treat it as a temptation of the devil.

FATHER RALPH BICKLEY, *alias* BRITTAIN.

Of the birth, parentage, and early life of this great sufferer for the faith we have no records. From a list of priests in Wisbeach Castle[1] we learn that he was a native of Hampshire; and his own account of his examination, given below, tells us he was a student of Exeter College, Oxford. Considerable information regarding him, however, exists among the State Papers in the Public Record Office; and as he was for seventeen long years an inmate of the prisons of London and Wisbeach, we place the few particulars that follow under the head of this district.

That Father Bickley was at the English College in Rome, may be gathered from the following reports of Government spies. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlvii. nn. 138—141, dated 1580. These are four "discourses" by Robert Barnett, addressed, probably to Secretary Walsingham, and occupying fourteen pages. In the second "discourse" he describes more particularly by name the "English Papists and Jesuits" he met with in his travels. After allusion to Lyons, Genoa, and Naples, he continues, "Moreover, in Rome there was one Mr. Pound a priest, one Wilkinson a priest, one Clement who studied physic, one Tyrrell, gentleman, and one other Tyrrell, the former Tyrrell's brother, who was a scholler in the English Seminary newly-erected by the Pope. . . . One Faunt, a young Jesuit, and is brother, he saith, of that Faunt who was slain in Flanders. . . . One Robert Parsons, a Jesuit; one Turner, a Jesuit. Diverse other English Jesuits there are, but truly I do not know their names, yet I know the most part of them by sight. Moreover, one Darbyshire, a Jesuit; one Hunt [Weston], a Jesuit. . . Also one Thomas Lovell, a youth, and son unto the Lady Lovell, the which youth went out of Rome, and I think repaired homeward. Moreover, one *Ralfe Bickley*, a scholler. Sundrie other young schollers there, whose names I do not remember. . . . All the above written do live upon the Pope's pension."

Dom. Eliz. vol. cxlviii. n. 61, 158$\frac{0}{1}$. This very interesting paper mentions "The names of all suche Englishe schollers as

[1] *Harleian MSS.* n. 6,998, f. 220. See a copy of this list in *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 266, note.

be in the English Seminaries at Rome; the Pope's schollers ther." Among the rest we find "Ralfe Bickley." The list, after giving the names of many other priests and secular gentlemen then at Rome and elsewhere, closes with the names of Fathers Campian and Parsons, and the rest who left Rome for England on the 18th of April, 1579.

Ralph Bickley is also mentioned as being at the English College, Rome, in a "secret advice" of a nefarious spy in the service of Walsingham.

Dom. Eliz. vol. cxlix. n. 184. Endorsed—"Secret advices. Samuel Postinget." In *Jesuits in Conflict*, p. 238, seq., we give a copious extract from this document, by way of specimen of the Government spy system carried on at home and abroad against Catholics and their clergy. This man affects to Walsingham the character of a *pious Evangelical*, or rank Puritan, and with some kindred companions made his way into the English College under the garb of a poor scholar—seeking hospitality, and, instead of being entertained for the usual term of pilgrims, viz., eight days, "yet being we were scholars, young men in necessity, and uninstructed in their religion, we were allowed at least a six weeks' sojourn;" during which time they received instructions in religion, but were actually and actively engaged in taking the names and descriptions of the scholars and professors, &c., for their master's base purposes.

We find Father Bickley again mentioned in a very interesting and historically important paper. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxviii. n. 33, 1583. It is endorsed—"An abstract of the notes delivered by the Lord Hunsdon concerning seminaries and recusants, February, 1583."

"The names of certain persons noted in sundrie counties to be receavers and entertayners of Jesuits and Seminaries." This list, which is divided into counties, contains in one column the names and residences of the recusant harbourers, and opposite to each the names of the priests entertained. This list is followed on by another. "The names of such priests as are here in England continually remayninge; made at Reimes and Rome, being as yet at liberty." Among the rest is "Bickley." This intelligence is furnished by Thomas Dodwell, a spy. The same Thomas Dodwell, in a paper of interrogatories upon which he was examined, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxviii. n. 35, is asked what priests came over since his departure from Rheims, and among others he names "Bickley."

Father Bickley, however, did not long enjoy his liberty, for in *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 25 (dated in error June 12, 1586), is a "certificate of the priestes and recusants at the Gatehouse." Among others we find "Ralfe Bickley, a Seminary prieste, and committed by the Lord Chancellor, and others of the Lords of the Counsell, the iii day of Maie, 1585, and was examined before Mr. Attorney and Mr. Solicitor."

In the same vol. n. 42, dated the 18th of the same month of June, is an abstract of "certificates of priestes and other recusants committed to sundrie prisons." Among others is "Gatehouse, Ralfe Bickley, meete to be banished."

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxcv. n. 74, is a letter from Nicholas Berden, the notorious spy to Walsingham, dated (according to the Calendar) 1586. Endorsed—"Information concerning all the priests in London imprisoned." In it we find Ralfe Bickley in the Gatehouse, and a special paragraph concerning him at the end. We give this document in full as a marked indication of the spy system of the times.

To his worshipfull good frend Mr. Thomas [name scratched out] geve these with spede.

Syr,—Accordinge to your order I have sett downe the names of all the Papistes, ther qualities, condiciōns, &c., viz.

In the Marshalsea.

Caverley, gentilman and prieste.

Palmer *alias* Stanford, gentillman and prieste, brother to Mr. Stanford, Justice of Peace in Staffordshyre, butt not knowen but by the name of Palmer, a prowde fellow and attributinge moche to hymselfe.

Edward, of great learning (accompted).

Claregemett.

All the above priestes and mete for Wisbiche, yet not for the gallowes.

Layemen in the same pryson.

Mr. Berkett Mr. More the elder Mr. Williamson Mr. Shaylons Mr. Blunte	Gentillmen and mete for Wisbiche.

Other priestes in the same pryson.

Lyster Habberley Tillesley Knyghte Brampston Bolton Crockett Wilcoxe	Priestes mete for banishment.

In the same pryson.

Smith *alias* Owen, a banyshed man, but not so knowen nether by the name of Owen Potter, a shrew fellowe and obstinate	Priestes mete for the gallows or galleys.

More of layemen in the same prison.

Webster, Crowe, Lawson, Holland, Edes *alias* Gennenge, Tucker, Webbley, Crabb, and Thos. Selles, man	These nether welthy nor wyse, but all very arrant.

Inn ye. Gatehouse at Westminster.

Humphrey Comberland Walter White Hale Thomas Worthington John Hewes, a collector and a maker over of monie	Gentillmen and mete for Wisbiche.

Other layemen in the same pryson.

Owen Fletcher, Thos. Edwardes, Richd. Johnson, Roger Astill, John A. Parrye (Wm. Spelles, man and of his secrett councill, and acquaynted with Padgett, beinge in England)	Mete for what place you please.

In the same pryson.

John Baldwyn, prieste, and mete for banishment.
Raphe Bickley [added in another handwriting].

In the Counter in Woode Streete.

Doctor Bavant, an old man, no Seminarye.
Madox, an old man, for Wisbiche.

Davis *alias* Wynkefeld and the corrupted of Wm. Fytton, and all his famyllie, and a gret guyde unto the Jesuytes, but not knowen but for he is a gentillman and no priest	Mete for the gallows.

Richard Sherwood *alias* Carleton.

In the same pryson of layemen.

Thomas Shelley mete for Wisbiche.

Lyne Husham	is yonge gentillmen under xix. yeres.
Chamdellor Dutton	Passinge proove.

In the Whyte Lyon.

Mr. Berkensale Mr. Smythe (a gret collecter and maker over of monie)	Wisbiche.

More of layemen in the same pryson.

Richard Sampson „ Waldron	Galles, or gallowes.

In the Counter in the Poultry.

Lyttell Raphe, somtymes servant to the Jesuites in England.

In the Clynke.

Adams, preste, and banished man.

Loe, mete for Wisbiche Robbinson, an old prieste Edward James Parrey *alias* Morgan Puwle [Paul] Spenne	Priestes of small wytte or honestie.

Layemen in the same pryson.

John Lavender, proove.
Bradstock, proove.
Ceston, proove.
Rich^d. Dowste, proove.
Benjamin Stockwithe, mete for Wisbiche.
O. Whyte, proove.

In Newgate.

Alban Dolman, prieste, a Justice of Peace, of Padgett's dyscription.
Wigges, Hurrons, Hyde, bad fellowes.
Nutter ba. Roley ba.

Layemen in the same pryson.

Penkevill, Bellamy, Lacey, proove.

In the King's Bench.

Clyston, prieste, condemned in premunire, and his brother, passinge proove.

Richard Sherwood *alias* Carleton, pryson. in the Counter in Wood Streete. And *Ralph Byckley*, Sem. prieste, prys. in the Gatehouse (a man of no accompt, mete to make a stale to take byrds of his kynde), for whose liberty I beseche you to move his honor, assuring you that they shall both do good service, and somewhat my present nede shall be supplyed by them. They praye there libertye, upon good bonds and good sureties and to appear within 21 days warninge given at one of these sureties' houses, and during there libertye to behave themselves dutifully towards her Matie. and the State (there conscience reserved).

Thus I conclude, the two parties notwithstanding there libertye are alwayes to be att his honor's pleasure, and in the meantyme to do good service.

So with my dutie I rest this present Sondaye,

Yours to command,

[NICHOLAS BURDEN].

Yt were good the sayd parties depart not London, or above v myles from the same, so then they may be used.

In the same vol. n. 75, is a letter from the same spy, Berden, written from "Bedlam," addressed to Thomas Pheleppes, without date, but probably about June, 1586, he mentions Father Ralph as follows:

Sir, if it please you to procure me the liberty of Ralph Bickley, Seminary priest in the Gatehouse, at his honour's hands, it will be worth 20*li.* to me, and the liberty also of Richard Sherwood *alias* Carleton, prisoner in the Counter, in Wood Street, will be worth 30*li.* They crave their liberty upon bonds with sureties to appear again at twenty days' warning. The money will do me great pleasure, being now in extreme need thereof, neither do I know how to shift longer without it. In which suit I earnestly pray your furtherance, not only for the gain, but also to make them beholden unto me, and thereby to make them instruments to do her Majesty good service, though against their will. . . . So praying you to favour these suits as well for my particular, which is somewhat extreme at this present, whereof his honour is not ignorant, and for the service in general, I rest expecting your answer hereunto, if you please, from Bedlam this Saturday night.

Yours to command,
NICHOLAS BERDEN.

Bickley is of small account, and was departing the realm about the beginning of the statute [1585].

In *Dom. Eliz.* 1587, vol. ccii. n. 61, is a return of the names of priests and Jesuits in the several prisons in London.

Tower.	William Bennett.	
	Christ. Bagshawe.	
Marshalsea.	John Lister	Seminarie priestes.
	John Hetherley	
	Francis Tyllison	
	Francis Edwards	
	Nicholas Knight	
	John Bolton	
	Wm. Chargenet	
	Edwd. Calverley	
	Robert Wilcocks	
	John Smyth	
	Thos. Bramston	
	Ralph Crockett	
	Martin Searson	
	Wm. Watson	
	Robert Nutter	
	Thomas Clyston	
	Thos. Sympson	
	Edwd. Campion	
	Launcellott Blackburn	
King's Bench.		
Whyte Lyon.		
Clinck.	Maurice Williams.	
	Wm. Edmonds, Jesuite.	
	Nicholas Phelps *als.* Smyth	Seminarie priestes.
	Anthonie Tyrrell *als.* Browne	
	Nicholas Gellibrand	
	Wm. Flower *als.* May	
	Wm. Parrie	
	John Robinson	
	Edward James	
	Paul Spence.	

Counter in the Poultrie.		
Counter in Wood Streete.	Christop. Dryland.	
	Thos. Smyth.	
	John Strawbridge.	
	Nicholas Gellibrand.	
	Christ. Southworth.	
	John Cabell.	
	Edwd. Braddock.	
	Tho. Swynnerton *als.* Strangways.	
	John Maddox.	
Newgate.	Leonard Hyde	Seminarie priestes.
	John Higgins	Seminarie priestes.
	Geo. Collinson	Seminarie priestes.
	Wm. Craddock	Seminarie priestes.
	Oliver Hayward.	
	Wm. Bennett.	
Fleet.		
Gatehouse.	Ralfe Bickley.	
	John Bawdwine.	
	Jonas Meredith.	
	James Taylor.	
	Christ. Thules.	
	Jas. Powell, Seminarie.	

This return shows us the ten London prisons then existing, and that Father Ralph was still in the Gatehouse in 1587.

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 44, is a list of "the names of the prisoners at Wisbeach." Among others we find those of Fathers Thomas Mettam, Edmonds (Weston) *Bickley*, and Dryland. This return is wrongly dated in the Calendar June 18, 1586; Ralph Bickley being then and for some years later in the Gatehouse. We do not find the exact date of Father Bickley's transfer to the Tower from the Gatehouse. Father William Weston was removed thither from the Clink in 1588, and he mentions in his autobiography that Father Ralph Bickley was added to their company there a few years after.[2]

At Wisbeach, Father Weston obtained for his new companion a closer fellowship in his admission to the Society; for Father Garnett petitioned Father Parsons, August 15, 1597, "Ralph Bickley wrote to you to sue for him that he may be admitted. He is a very singular man. I pray you obtain it. He hath sued these twelve years. He is with Father Weston who desireth it greatly."[3]

Father Thomas Mettam died in Wisbeach Castle, June 28, 1592. Father Weston and Brother Pound were transferred to

[2] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 244. Father Weston gives a description of their religious life in Wisbeach Castle.

[3] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 160.

the Tower of London about 1598; and Ralph Bickley remained the only Jesuit at Wisbeach, till in February, 1600, Father Christopher Holiwood, an Irish Jesuit who had been captured the year before, was sent thither from the Gatehouse,[4] with Father Edward Coffin from the Counter in Wood Street, and Ralph Emerson from the Clink.

On the accession of James I., in the year 1603, Father Bickley together with Fathers Holiwood and Coffin, and Brother Ralph Emerson, were removed from Wisbeach to Framlingham Prison, preparatory to their banishment. The Douay Diary makes the following entry: "Anno 1603. Ejecti sunt etiam quatuor patres S.J. scil. P. Christophorus Holiwodas, Hibernus; P. Rogerus [Henricus] Floydus, P. Edouardus Coffinus, P. Radulphus Bickleus et Frater Radulphus Emersonus."[5]

In the State Paper, to which in the course of our *Records* we have often had occasion to refer, *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1603. "The names of the Jesuits in England with the chief places of their abode," and which is endorsed by Cecil, the Secretary of State—"A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England," we find amongst other "prisoners at Frammyngham, Mr. Coffin *alias* Hatton, Mr. Emerson, Mr. Bickley, Mr. Pound, a lay Jesuit, Mr. Hollywood, Mr. Hoskins, Mr. Baldwyn"—all Jesuits.

Very soon after, and in the same year, Father Bickley with Father Weston and many others were sent into perpetual banishment as a favour. Father Bickley soon afterwards returned to the English mission, and was again arrested in 1617, by the unhappy apostate priest, Atkinson, who had turned informer and pursuivant, and who succeeded in defrauding him of £20, under promise of letting him escape, and then took him before Sir Ralph Winwood, a Justice of the Peace, which the Father calls "cozening" and "conie-catching," in the following fragment of a letter in his handwriting, still in existence, and in which he gives some account of his examination on that occasion by Sir Ralph Winwood, and George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury.[6]

"I, being weary of their company," he says, speaking of the

[4] Of Father Holiwood, Father Henry Garnett wrote—"He doth much comfort our friends at Wisbeach, and was of exceeding edification in the Gatehouse" (Stonyhurst MSS. *P.* fol. 552, May 22, 1600; *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 270, note).

[5] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 270, note.

[6] *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 247, seq.

pursuivants, who had him in custody, "willed them to carry me before Sir Ralph Winwood before dinner. We went, and Sir Ralph not coming to dinner to his house, we went to the next tavern to dine, but by the way; this morning, when we were so cozened, after that I had told the knaves [letter torn], and easily was satisfied, protested to me that he would do what he could for me [with Sir Ralph] and he told me the particular causes of his favour with the knight, and he hoped shortly to procure that for my health I under sureties should be permitted to lie about the fields. But that if that could not be effected, but that I must go to prison, he would procure me liberty to walk abroad into the fields with my keeper. To this purpose he dealt with the knight privately, and came with me from my lodging to Sir Ralph, and he brought me up to my examination; where the pursuivants having given him the letter and paper above said [which had been found upon him], calling me to him, sitting in his great chamber where suitors came for audience, he first asked my name. I said 'Britain.' 'Are you a priest or Jesuit?' I answered, 'May it please your honour to understand that seeing I was staid on suspicion only, I hoped his honour would not enforce me to answer to more than my accusers could prove; but if privately alone he would ask me anything that I could without hurt of myself or others, I would, in confidence of his honour's humanity, satisfy him to his content.' Thereat presently he arose and carried me into his gallery, and none present but he and I, and he asked me if I were a priest and Jesuit? I answered, 'I will not deny or fear to acknowledge my profession to you: I am so.' Then asking me a question or two about the letter, I satisfied him. Then he asked me of what University I was? I told him, 'Of Oxford.' He asked of what College? I said, 'Of Exeter College.' Then he demands me whom I knew in that time? I told him. And asking if I had been a prisoner, I said, 'Ay, at Wisbeach.' Then he asked me why I changed my name? I said, 'Because friends would be afraid of our known proper names.'

"Being brought to my Lord of Canterbury before dinner, he sitting in his chamber in a chair, and some of his gentlemen and secretary by, first bid them give me a stool, for he saw me very faint. Then said he, 'Mr. Bic, I missed you narrowly some years since.' 'Where?' said I. 'At a place, the first letter whereof was Cant.' 'My lord,' said I, 'I know nothing thereof.' 'Then,' said he, 'I have your first profession of a

Jesuit under your own hand.' I answered, 'My lord, I hope you have not anything under my hand whereof I need repent me, or be ashamed.' Then asking me how long I had been priest and Jesuit, and how long prisoner heretofore, and when I was banished; to which I answering, then said he to me: 'When you were at Wisbeach, you were distributing bishoprics of this realm, and dividing the kingdom to the Infanta.' I answered, 'My lord, this is the first news I heard of such doings. Your honour hath many informations not sound, whereof this is one to my knowledge.' 'Then,' said he, 'will you show yourself ready to swear your allegiance to his Majesty?' I answered, 'Yes, my lord, as far as all ancient clergymen of this realm, or other Catholic realms have done in Catholic days; but this oath of allegiance is new, not heard of before, yea; by divers learned men proved to be unlawful; howbeit, some maintain it, and *in dubiis securior pars sequenda est*, which is not to take it.' 'You then,' said he, 'will not take it?' 'No, my lord, for the reasons alleged.' All this being done, he required me to testify that with my hand, which I did. He said not a word of the letter and paper taken with me."

Father Ralph Bickley was thereupon committed to prison, and was one of twelve Jesuits who were released by King James in the month of June, 1618, at the request of the Spanish Ambassador, the Count de Gondomar, who was then leaving England, and upon a promise to take them with him as exiles.[7]

In the *Litteræ Annuæ S.J.* for Louvain we read a short notice of this event, and that "the two most distinguished among the banished were Father Ralph Bickley, an aged man, professed of the four vows, and exhausted by an incarceration of nearly twenty years' duration. The other was Father William Baldwin, one of the principal pillars of the English mission. In thanksgiving for the release of so many captives, the Sodality of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary ordained a succession of prayers, with exposition of the Blessed Sacrament; and at intervals, perorations were delivered in Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Flemish, and English."

We learn from Father More,[8] that Father Bickley died shortly after his banishment in 1618, at the English College S.J. St. Omer, at a good old age.

[7] The twelve Jesuits were Fathers Baldwin, Bickley, Fairclough, York, Hawkins, Bartlet, Swetnam or Sweetman, Bedinfield, Wallis, Young, Laurence Worthington, and Falkner.

[8] *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. viii. n. 22.

THE LIFE OF BROTHER RICHARD FULWOOD, *alias* LITTLE RICHARD.

THIS good lay-brother of the English Province S.J. and confessor of the faith was born, as he states in his examination in prison, at Weston in Warwickshire.[1] The principal information regarding him is derived from Father John Gerard's narrative, and the State Papers in the Public Record Office. Father Gerard says: "The next [the fifth] servant I had was Richard Fulwood, of whom I have spoken above. He managed to make his escape [from prison] and during my imprisonment was employed by Father Garnett until that Father's happy death. He managed nearly all his master's business with strangers, not without the knowledge of the persecutors, who offered a handsome sum for his capture, and were still more anxious about it after Father Garnett was taken. In fact, they gave the poor man no peace until they drove him into banishment, where he yet remains, doing good service to our mission notwithstanding." We trace him with Father Gerard at Lady Gerard's house, in Lancashire, before Michaelmas, 159$\frac{2}{3}$. Father Gerard bears testimony to the faithfulness of his successive companions or servants, thanking God for His goodness that there was not a traitor among those seized either in his house or that of his entertainer, nor even among those who in other persecutions, which by God's providence afterwards befell him, were imprisoned, tortured, and treated with the utmost cruelty. They held steadfastly through everything. "Those who were my companions," he says, "or servants, I intrusted with commissions to the gentlemen of my acquaintance, as they necessarily knew all my friends, would have been able to do very great mischief, and enrich themselves by ruining others. Yet not one of them ever caused any harm either by word or deed, wittingly or unwittingly. Nor, as far as I remember, did they ever give one cause of complaint. On many of them God in His goodness poured the choicest gifts of His Holy Spirit."

Father Gerard was now [159$\frac{3}{4}$] betrayed with his entertainer, Mr. Wiseman, by one John Frank, a servant to the

[1] John Fulwood, his brother, in his examination says Staffordshire.

latter. This man in his examination frequently mentions Brother Fulwood. "*Item*, he saith that Mr. Gerard, *alias* Tanfield, *alias* Staunton, the priest Jesuit, was at Mr. William Wiseman's house at Braddock all the Christmas last, and Richard Fulwood was his man attending on him, and was two years coming and going thither, and was also with Mr. Wiseman in Lancashire a little before Michaelmas was twelve months, as Ralph Willis, who then attended on Master Gerard, told this examinate, and were at Lady Gerard's house, she being at home."[2] . . . "*Item*, he saith that the said Gerard lay one night at the Lady Mary Percy's in Blackfriars, as he thinketh, a little before Easter last, and Ralph Willis, his servant, lay that night at this examinate's house, and that Richard Fulwood, since his imprisonment at Bridewell in Easter last, wrote a letter and sent it from Bridewell to the Lady Mary's, and there this examinate received it, and went down with it to Mr. Gerard, who was at Mr. Wiseman's house at Braddock all the Easter last, and hidden in the house while the pursuivants were there, which letter aforesaid this examinate did deliver to Ralph Willis, who carried it immediately to Mr. Gerard. And this examinate saw the letters in Mr. Gerard's hand, and heard him read them. Wherein Fulwood wrote that he expected torture every day, and Mr. Gerard wished that he might bear some of Fulwood's punishment." "*Item*, he saith that about three weeks before Michaelmas last, this examinate was sent by old Mrs. Wiseman to Mr. Gerard in London with Scudamore, *alias* John Wiseman, the priest, and others, and William Savage, tailor, servant to old Mrs. Wiseman, and Richard Fulwood attended on them," &c. Frank's examination was taken in May, 1594. It seems that Mr. Wiseman had hired a house in Golden Lane, London (which at the present day extends from Barbican to Old Street, and is partly within the City), for the use of Father Gerard. This house was searched by the pursuivants upon Friday night before Passion Sunday, March 15, 159$\frac{3}{4}$. The following are copies from the State Papers, of the

[2] Ralph Willis was the third servant or companion of Father Gerard. Having a vocation, he was sent to study at Rheims, where he went through the course of philosophy. His behaviour there was orderly, but afterwards at Rome he joined a turbulent party, thus returning evil for good. "He was the only one of my helpmates that went at all awry. He was ordained and sent into England, was seized and condemned to death for the faith, and answered unflinchingly before the tribunal. He was reprieved, and kept some time in prison, whence he escaped, and is still labouring in England" (Father Gerard's Narrative, § ix.).

report of the Justices of the Peace, Watson and Vaughan, to Secretary Cecil, and of the examinations of Richard Fulwood, his brother John Fulwood, John Tarbock, and William Suffield, prisoners made in the said house, and of John Bolt, formerly a servant of Sir John Petre's, of Thorndon:

Dom. Eliz. vol. ccxlviii. n. 31. Endorsed—"Mr. Vaughan and Mr. Watson, the two Fulwoods in the Counters, the Walleys in Newgate and Finsbury prisons."

Wee have made searche accordinge to your honor's direction. We finde fower persons greatelie to be suspected, *videli*, In a house latelie builded in the vpper ende of Goldinge Lane. They were verie lothe to p'mitt vs to come into the saide house. Yt seemed they soughte all meanes to have escaped. When we came into the howse he which opened the doore saide his name was Wallys, and that by occupation he was a taylor. One other wee found lay hidden vnder stayres, behind a dore; his name he said was likewise Wallis, and brother to the other. Wee founde two other in an vpper chamber in one bedd, th' one having his clothes vpon. They said they were brethren and their names were Ffullwoode. They said they had been serving men. But vpon divers questions demanded they seemed to vary. Soe likewise did the two Wallises. For not any one of them could tell an even tale. One of the said Wallisses said that he loved a Masse, and that he had heard Masse as well in Queene Marie's tyme as in her Matie's tyme. Beinge demanded whether he were a seminarie or Jesuite, answered, "O Lord, noe! I am not learned. I would to God I were worthie to carye their shoes," and such like words, &c. He saide to some of the officers he was glad that we had made searche in that howse this night, for now shoulde he suffer some persecuōn for his religion. Yt seemed they were all masterless-men. But one of the Wallys said he was servante to the master of that howse, and that his master was in the countrye, but he saide he knewe not his master. There was verie greate store of new apparell, as hoose, doubletts, in great quantitie, wch Wallis said he had made, but knewe not the owners of anye one parcell of the same. Wee founde some letters, wch beinge well p'rused wee thinke will discover muche. Wee founde beades of certain stone or amber, and pictures in paper. We committed theis fower to severall prisons, and thinke we shall deliver the rest of our travel better by speeche to your honors.

Your Honour's humble at demand,

RD. WATSON,
EDW. VAUGHAN.

Marcij 16, 1593.

Dom. Eliz. 1594, vol. ccxlviii. n. 40. "The examination of Richard Fulwood, taken March 21, 1593(4)."

He sayeth that he was born at Weston, in Warwicke, and that his father, Thomas Fulwood, and Alice Fulwood, his mother, dwelt there, and knows not what his grandfather's name [was], and that his mother's name was Allen before her marriage, and knoweth that she had a brother called Allen, but knoweth not his Christian

name, and knoweth not whether she had any more brothers or no, but knoweth not where her brother dwelt, and knoweth not whether she had any sisters or no, neither what county-woman she was; and sayeth that he hath no sisters, and that he hath three brothers. William, the eldest, dwells with his mother; his second brother, Antony, dwells also with his mother, and the third John; and knoweth not how many brethren or sisters his father had, or whether he had any or noe. And sayth he never served Mr. Wisemane as his servant, and saith that for this yeare and more he hath served no manne. And the last manne that he served was Richard Allen, my old L. Wyndsor's steward, and that he served him about halfe a dozen yeares; and before that he served Mr. Foljambes of Derbyshyre, Sir James Foliambes' son, and served him twelve yeres; and before that he served old Mr. Foliambes of Balburge in Derby^se^ the space of a yeare or thereabouts, and denieth that he was ever in Mr. Wiseman's house at Broadoaks, but sayth that he hath bene with his mother this last yeare, and was maintained by her, and by that which he had gotten in service. And saith that he was never at the said house in Golden Lane before Wednesday at night the last weke, and neither knoweth Mr. Wiseman nor his mother, nor ever was at Mr. Wiseman's house at Broadokes. And sayth that he never received the Communion in his life time, and knoweth not whether a gentleman and gentlewoman either lay in that house, or dined or supped there on Wednesday or Thursday, the last week.

Saith that he came from his mother's house at his last cominge to this towne, but where he lay or bayted by the way he knoweth not, but saith he came to the towne on Wednesday was seven night. He met Wm. Willis in the streete, and having been acquainted but knoweth not where, or how longe, and that he, the said Wm. Willis asked him home to the said house.

RICHARD FULWOOD.

Same vol. n. 40. "The examination of John Tarbock, taken the day and year aforesaid."

He sayth that one called Little Richard have been dyvers tymes within this last yere at Mr. Wiseman's howse at Broadocks, and that he hath tarried there sometymes a weeke and sometimes a night, and sometymes more and sometymes lesse, and when he wayteth there and carryeth vpp meate to dynner and supper, as others of his master's servants have done, and did weare such a clooke with sleeves, as others of his master's men did, wch clooke he yet weareth, and being now confronted with the same Little Richard, who called himself Richard Fulwood affirmeth to his face all this examinant's confession to be true, and sayeth that he never heard the said Little Richard called Richard Fulwood.

Examined by vs.

"The examination of John Fulwood, taken the day and year aforesaid."

He sayth that his father's name was Thomas Fulwood, and his mother's name is Alice, and that her name before her marriage was Allen, and that she had divers brothers, Thomas, William, Robert, and John, and that she had three sisters, but what ther names was he knoweth not, and that this examinant was born in

Staffordshire at Weston [Richard says Warwickshire], where his father and mother dwelt, and exam. saith that he hath five brethren, and denyeth that he hath bene at Wiseman's at Braddox, but in his father's life tyme, and never since, but being confronted by the said John Tarboocke, who affirmed that he sawe him at Braddox since Christmas last, confesseth the same to be true, and that he was called their Lasie John, and was not there called John Fulwoodde, and sayth that about two months agoe he was first at the sayd house in Golden Lane, and meeting with Rich. Wallis, the tailor, he carried him to the said house in Golden Lane, but tarried not there, and lay at the Ravin in Southfeld, and from thence went to Mr. T. Baspole in [? Worthing], and tarried there two or three days, and from thence he went to Staffordshire to his mother's howse, and tarried there three weekes with his brother Richard Fulwood, and then they came away together but parted by the way, and this examinant came to Burton the first night, and the second night to Leicester, and the third night to Northampton, and from thence to St. Alban's, and so to London.

JOHN FFULWOODE.

Same vol. n. 40. "The examination of William Suffield the day and year aforesaid."

He saithe that he hath sene the saide John Ffulwoode at Braddox at Mr. Wiseman's house there within these twoe yeres as he thinketh, and that Richard Fulwoode was Mr. Wiseman's servant, and served him about a quarter of a yeare after the examinant came to Mr. Wiseman, and never hearde eyther the said Richard or John, called Richard Fulwoode or John Fulwoode, but only Richard and John, and confesseth that he was a weaver by occupacon, and followed his trade in Norfolk before his cominge to Mr. Wiseman's service.

All these former examinations were taken by us,

EDW. COKE, EDW. VAUGHAN, RD. YOUNG, RIC. TOPCLIFFE, WILLIAM DANIELL.[3]

Dom Eliz. vol ccxlviii. n. 38, 1593. "The examination of John Bolt, late of Thorndon, in the county of Essex, yeoman, taken March 21, 1593."

He confesseth that certeyne leaves conteyning divers and manie verses beginninge 'Why do I use my paper, penne, and inke,' &c. and endinge thus 'To Jesus' name, which suche a manne did raise; is all of his owne hand-wryghting, and that he wrote the same aboute five yeares past in London, but of a paper wch one Henry Souche, servant to Mr. Morgan delivered him at Mr. Morgan's house in Finsbury Fields. And that he hath reade the same sithens about four or five tymes, and sayth that about the end of the last terme he resorted to the said house in Golding Lane from Mr. Wiseman's house, called Braddocks, and since that tyme he hath resorted to the said house about five or six times, and thinketh that the said house is Mr. Wiseman's, and knoweth both his men Richard and Wm. Wallis, who kepe the said house.

JOHN BOLT.

[3] The above four examinations are in the handwriting of Sir Edward Coke, Solicitor-General.—[ED.]

xxi^mo^ Marcij.

The said Bolt being further examd vppon his othe saithe that he hath not been at churche by these space of ij yeares, nether receyved at any tyme these vii yeares.

Beinge demanded who did reconcile him from the Churche of England to the Romish Churche, he desyreth to be p'doned, for he will not answer therto albeit his othe taken, and also charged as a Catholicke.

Being also further demanded if the Poope or K. of Spayne shulde invade the lande, and bring in any foreyn power to tend to plant the Romishe relygyon, whether then he woold take parte with the sayde Poope or Kyng of Spayne, or with her Matie being her highnes' naturall subject borne, and defend this religion here planted and established. To this he will not answer.

JOHN BOLT.

RYC. YOUNG.
EDW. VAUGHAN.

Mr. Wiseman himself was seized there and committed to prison. In his examination, taken 19th March, 159$\frac{3}{4}$,[4] he says amongst other things, "That a friend of his hath hired a house in Golding Lane, where he was seized, but denieth to tell his name for charity sake, but saith that his friend hired it of Mr. Tate dwelling in the next house to it, and saith he hired it the last term. And saith that his friend did hire the said house for him this examinate, and his mother, and saith that he was never at the house before, but came to the said house by such description as his friend made to him of it, and that he came thither on Saturday at night [16th March] to lie there; and his man (whose name he will not tell is Richard Fullwood), [in the original the words 'is Richard Fulwood' are interlined, and the words 'he will not tell' are underlined or erased,] provided him by his commandment and appointment, a bed and furniture belonging to the same in the said house, and knoweth not whether the bedding was in the house before he, this examinate, hired the same house or no, but thinketh that some of the bedding that now is there was in the house before. He said that Richard Fullwood hath served him about Shrovetide last was two years. And saith that since he, examinate, was confined he hath used John Fullwood, brother to the said Richard, in travelling about his business," &c. This document is copied in full in *Conditions of Catholics*, pp. xlviii. xlix. l.[5]

[4] State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 36.

[5] A short notice of this staunch Catholic family will be found in *Records*, vol. i. p. 574, seq., and a fuller one in *Condition of Catholics*, p. lii. seq. Few families suffered more, or were more devoted to the work of charity in harbouring priests, &c. The following autobiographical statement of a member of the family will be read with interest. It is extracted from the

Father Gerard gives an interesting account of his own narrow escape on that occasion. "The hidden traitor [John Frank] wholly unknown to his master, was watching his chance of giving us up without betraying his own treachery. At first he settled to have me seized in a house [in Golding Lane], which had been lately hired in London to answer my own and my friend's purposes [Mr. Wiseman]. From his master's employing him in many affairs, he could not help knowing the place his master had hired for my use. Consequently he promised to tell the magistrates when I was coming, so that they might surround the house and cut off my escape during the night with their officers. The plan would have succeeded had not God provided otherwise through an act of obedience. My Superior

responses of the students of the English College, Rome, to the usual interrogatories. "1614. Laurence Blundeston, a student at the English College, states: I am the eldest son of Nicholas Blundeston, Esq., and was born at Hexgrave in the parish of Farnesfield, in the county of Nottingham. I am twenty-two years of age, and was brought up in various places, partly at Mansfield, partly at Southwell, in the same county, and at Ermsby, Lincolnshire, likewise in London; and I received schooling in all those places. My mother was Margaret Wiseman, daughter of Richard Wiseman, Esq., of Flingrige, Essex. William Cecil, Lord Treasurer to the late Queen Elizabeth, sold nearly all my father's lands, and bought the greater portion himself, upon condition that his son and heir should free my father from his present and future difficulties. But after the death of the said William Cecil, the sold estates fell into the hands of Queen Elizabeth. My father demanded restitution of the Earl of Exeter, the son and heir of the said Lord Treasurer, which was refused, and in consequence my father went to law, and after various struggles on both sides, he recovered but a small sum of money in respect of the amount that had been expended. In the meantime my father and mother became Catholics, which was partly the reason why he recovered so little, and another reason was the potency of his adversary. He was cast into prison, as well on account of his being a Catholic [as of his difficulties], having also a son labouring under a complication of diseases, as he still is. He remained in prison for three years, and is likewise at the present time in confinement on account of a book he wrote and published, proving that the illegal oath of supremacy and allegiance could not by right itself be taken by any one. His property was likewise confiscated for refusing to take this oath. My father has seven sons, all Catholics except one, who from infancy was brought up with a maternal uncle. Of my paternal uncles and aunts three are Catholic, the rest Protestant, and one a minister. All my maternal uncles and aunts are Protestants, except Sir W. Wiseman of Broadoaks, Essex. My parents suffered much for the Catholic faith, and my father spent much in assisting his Catholic brothers (who likewise were in prison for the faith). I was converted to the faith by the Rev. Oswald Needham, an English priest, and I was once imprisoned for hearing Mass, and my profession of the faith has been a great obstacle to my studies." The Diary of the English College states that he entered in the name of Laurence Chone of Nottingham, aged twenty-two, on the 4th of October, 1614, as a Convictor (or boarder) among the alumni of the Holy Father, and took the usual College oath on the 1st of May, 1616. After receiving the minor and other orders he was ordained priest on the 25th of March, 1620, and left for England on the 14th of the following October.

[F. Garnett] had lately come to live four or five miles from London [White Webbs, on Enfield Chase]. I had gone out to see him, and had been with him a day or two when, having business in London, I wrote to those who kept the house in Golden Lane, to expect me on such a night, and bring in certain friends whom I wanted to see; the traitor, who was now often at the house, which belonged ostensibly to his master, Mr. Wiseman, learnt the time, and got the priest-hunters to come there at midnight with their band.

"Just before mounting my horse to depart, I went to take leave of my Superior. He would have me stay that night. I told him my appointment, etc., but the blessed Father would not allow it, though, as he said afterwards, he knew no reason, nor was it his wont to act thus. Without doubt he was guided by the inspiration of God; for early next morning we heard that some Papists had been seized in that house, and the story ran that a priest was with them. The fact was that my servant Richard Fulwood was caught trying to hide himself in a dark place, there being as yet no regular hiding-place though I meant to make some. As he cut a good figure, and neither the traitor nor any one else that knew him was there, he was taken for a priest. . . . At their examination they all showed themselves steadfast and true, and said nothing that could give the enemy any inkling that the house belonged to me and not to my host (Mr. Wiseman). It was well that it was so, for things would have gone harder with the latter had it been otherwise. The magistrates sent him a special summons, in the hope that my arrest would enable them to make out a stronger case against him. As soon as he arrived in London he went to the house, never dreaming what had happened there, in order to treat with me as to the reason of his summons, and how he was to answer it. So he came and knocked at the door. It was opened to him at once; but, poor sheep of Christ, he fell into the clutches of wolves instead of the arms of his shepherd and friend." It seems some of the constables had remained on there to catch any Catholics who might come, ere they had got scent of the danger.

Father Garnett in a letter to Father Parsons at Rome, dated September 6, 1594, thus narrates the seizure:[6] "The Friday night before Passion Sunday [March 15] was such a hurly-burly in London as never was seen in man's memory; no, not when Wyatt was at the gates. A general search in all London, the

[6] See Stonyhurst MSS. *P.* vol. ii. p. 550.

justices and chief citizens going in person; all unknown persons taken and put in churches till the next day. No Catholics found, but one poor tailor's house at Golding Lane end, which was esteemed such a booty as never was got since this Queen's days. The tailor and divers others there taken lie yet in prison, and some of them have been tortured. That mischance touched us near, they were our friends and chiefest instruments. That very night had been there Long John with the little beard, once your pupil, [in the margin is John Gerard], if I had not more importunately stayed him than ever before. But soon after he was apprehended, being betrayed we know not how; he will be stout, I doubt not."

Father Gerard says that after the seizure of the house he went to Mr. Wiseman's house at Braddox to arrange for Easter, and to console the sorrowing inmates. . . . "In Holy Week the treacherous servant [Frank] came from London, with a letter from his master, wherein the latter related all that had befallen him, the questions that had been put to him, and his answers. This letter, though it had been opened and seen, had been let pass for the credit of the bearer, to give him a chance of seeing whether I was in the house at this solemn season. He brought me another letter from my servant [Richard Fulwood]. When, from the traitor's information, they knew him to be my servant, hoping to wrest from him the disclosures of his friends and abettors, they kept him in solitary confinement in the loathsome prison of Bridewell. The purport of the letter was how he had denied everything, what threats had been held out to him, and what his sufferings were in prison.[7] He had, he said, hardly enough black bread to keep him from starving. His abode was a narrow strongly-built cell in which there was no bed, so that he had to sleep sitting on the window-sill, and was months without taking off his clothes. There was a little straw in the place, but it was so trodden down and swarming with vermin that he could not lie on it. Besides all this he was daily awaiting an examination by torture.

[7] Father Morris, in p. li. of *Condition of Catholics*, remarks—"It was of the last importance for the friends of a prisoner to know, if possible, what replies he had really given, not only that they might take measures, if necessary, for their own safety, but also that they might know how far to go in their own answers when summoned. The persecutors were constantly in the habit of publishing all sorts of pretended replies which they said had been given by prisoners in their secret examinations, so that prisoners seized every possible opportunity of communicating the truth to their friends, often, as we shall see, in the most ingenious way."

"While reading the letter to my hostess, in presence of the traitor, I chanced to say at this last part, 'I wish I could bear some of his tortures, so that there might be less for him.' It was these words of mine that let us know, later on, who was the traitor and author of all our woes. For when I was taken and questioned, and declared I was quite unacquainted with the family, those who were examining me forgot their secret and cried out, 'What lies you tell! did you not say so and so before such a lady, as you read your servant's letter?' But I still denied it, giving them good reasons, however, why, even had it been true, I could and ought to have denied."

In § ix. of the narrative, Father Gerard again notices Brother Fulwood. "When I was quietly lodged in prison, without being brought out or undergoing any further examination for many days, they examined and put to the torture Richard Fulwood, whom the traitor had pointed out as my servant, and Little John, who had been taken with me. Unable either by coaxing or bribery to draw anything from them that would compromise others, they had recourse to threats, and then to force; but the force of the Holy Ghost in them was too great to be overcome by men. They were both hung up for three hours together, having their arms fixed into iron rings and their bodies hanging in the air; a torture which causes frightful pain and intolerable extension of the sinews. It was all to no purpose; no disclosure could be wrested from them that was hurtful to others, no rewards could entice, no threats or punishments force them to discover where I, or any of ours, had been harboured, or to name any of our acquaintances or abettors."

As we have seen, Richard Fulwood "broke prison," and on Father Gerard being seized and committed to the Tower of London, gave his services to Father Henry Garnett. We now come to the part he acted in the escape of his old master, Father Gerard, from the Tower in 1597. For the account of that event we refer the reader to the narrative of Father Gerard himself, confining ourselves to some extracts relating to the subject of this memoir.

The idea of the possibility of making his escape having flashed across Father Gerard's mind, he communicated it to his fellow captive and friend, Mr. Arden, who had been detained in the Tower for ten years, for his profession of the Catholic faith. Mr. Arden agreed that it might be done. Arrangements were accordingly made, and Father Gerard wrote by Brother John Lilly to his Superior, Father Henry Garnett, who thought

that the attempt should be made, by all means, if it could be done without danger to his life in the descent. "I appointed, moreover, John Lilly and Richard Fulwood, the latter of whom was at that time serving Father Garnett, if they were willing to expose themselves to the peril, to come on such a night to the outward bank of the moat opposite the little tower where my friend was kept. They were to bring with them a rope, one end of which they were to tie to a stake; then we, from the leads on the top of the tower, would throw over to them a ball of lead with a stout string attached, by this the rope was to be pulled up. They were moreover to have about them a sign to be recognized as friends before throwing the string and lead out, and to come provided with a boat in which they might quickly escape." Then follows details of certain arrangements by which Father Gerard got the gaoler to let him stay that night with his friend, Mr. Arden. They succeeded in opening a doorway to the leads. . . . "About midnight we saw the boat coming with our friends Lilly and Fulwood and another who had been my gaoler in the former prison, through whom they procured the boat, and who steered the boat himself. They neared the shore, but just as they were about to land some one came out of one of the poor cottages thereabouts and hailed them, taking them for fishermen. The man indeed returned to his bed without suspecting anything, but our boatmen durst not venture to land till they thought the man had gone to sleep again; this however, caused a great delay, and nothing could be accomplished that night, so they returned by London Bridge. But the tide was flowing so strongly that their boat was forced against some piles fixed there as breakwaters, so that they could neither advance nor recede. Meanwhile the tide was still rising, and came so violently on the boat that it seemed as though it would be upset at every wave. In their danger they commended themselves to God by prayer, and called to men for help. All this while we on the Tower heard them shouting and saw men coming out on the bank of the river with candles, running up and getting into their boats to rescue those in danger. Many boats approached them but none durst go up to them fearing the force of the current.[8] So they stood there in a sort of circle round them, spectators of their danger, but not daring to assist. I recognised Richard Fulwood's voice in the shouts, and said I

[8] This was the old London Bridge. The number of its piers and the piles made the tide so furious, that it was always a dangerous thing to "shoot" the arches when it was running.

know it is our friends in danger. My companion did not believe that I could distinguish any one's voice at that great distance, [a little over half a mile], but I knew it well and groaned inwardly to think that such devoted men were in peril of their lives for my sake. We prayed fervently for them seeing that they were not yet saved, though many had gone to assist them. Then we saw a light let down from the bridge, and a sort of basket attached to a rope, by which they might be drawn up if they could reach it. This it seems they were unable to do. But God had regard to the peril of His servants, and at last there came a strong sea-boat, with six sailors, who worked bravely, and bringing their boat up to the one in danger took out Lilly and Fulwood. Immediately they had got out, the boat they had left capsized before the third could be rescued, as if it had only kept right for the sake of the two who were Catholics. However, by God's mercy, the one who was thrown into the river caught a rope that was let down from the bridge, and was so dragged up and saved. So they were all rescued and got back to their homes."

The good Brothers, however, were not daunted, for the next day John Lilly sent a note to Father Gerard saying, "It was not the will of God that we should accomplish our desire last night; still He rescued us from a great danger that we might succeed better the next time. What is put off is not cut off, so we mean to come again to-night, with God's help." Father Gerard and his companion accordingly made ready. "At the proper time we mounted again on the leads. The boat arrived and put to shore without any interruption. My former gaoler, the schismatic, remained with the boat, and the two Catholics came with the rope. It was a new one, for they had lost the former one in the river on the occasion of their disaster. They fastened the rope to a stake, as I had told them, they found the leaden ball which we threw, and tied the string to the rope." Then follows the exciting account of their dangerous and most difficult descent. "On entering the boat we gave hearty thanks to God Who had delivered us from the hands of the persecutor and from all the expectation of the people, we returned our best thanks to those who had exposed themselves to such labours and perils for our sakes. After we had landed, I sent the gentleman with John Lilly to my house of which I have before spoken, which was managed by that saintly widow, Mrs. Line. I myself, however, with Richard Fulwood, went to a house which Father Garnett had

in the suburbs; and there Little John[9] and I a little before daylight mounted our horses, which he had ready there for the purpose, and rode straight off to Father Garnett, then living a short distance in the country [probably at White Webbs, Enfield Chase]. We got there by dinner time, and great rejoicing there was on my arrival, and much thanksgiving to God at my having thus escaped from the hands of my enemies in the name of the Lord. In the meanwhile I had sent Richard Fulwood with a couple of horses to a certain spot, that he might be ready to ride off with my gaoler, if he wished to consult his immediate safety." Then follows a very interesting relation regarding the poor gaoler of the Tower, who had shown great kindness to Father Gerard, and had unwittingly aided his escape. Father Gerard wrote him a letter which was handed to him, telling him of his escape, and urging him to fly for his life, and promising to secure him twenty pounds a year to maintain him. The gaoler, seeing his danger and being certain of death if he stayed, determined at once to accept the offer. He was then taken by the bearer of the letter to Richard Fulwood, who was waiting near with the horses. "Fulwood took him to the house of a friend of mine, residing one hundred miles from London, to whom I had written. . . . I told him that Fulwood would reimburse him for all expenses."

This seems to have been the parting scene between Father Gerard and his faithful companion, Richard Fulwood.

Richard Fulwood is mentioned also incidentally in the following papers in the Public Record Office. *Dom. James I.* vol. xx. n. 20, April 9, 1606. Letter from Chief Justice Popham to Salisbury. "Montague House has been searched, but several persons escaped out of it. If Gerard be in England, he might be one of them. Money bags found in Richard Carey's house. He is under guard, and Barlow, a priest, is taken. *Richard Fulwood disposes of the monies.* Recusants are not to be allowed to flock together in London.

Same vol. n. 44, April, 1606. Examination of Henry Garnett. "Fulwood was bidden to come downe to Congleton by him for some other private business, but not for this action [the Plot]. He sayth that Fulwood wente from him

[9] This Little John was Brother Nicholas Owen, *alias* Little John, &c., who lived with Father Garnett. He was afterwards seized with him at Hindlip Castle, and cruelly tortured to death in the Tower—dying upon the rack (1606). His biography will be given in a future volume of this series, "The Residence of St. George."

two or three days before he wente into the hole at Hinlipp."

Same vol. n. 47. Extract of a letter of information from one Healy to Lord Salisbury. "There are two persons in this city, one called Richard Fulwood, a Jesuite, yet a layman, no prieste. He was attendant upon Whalley [Father Garnett], the Provinciall some two years since, and resorted ordinarily to one Griffin, a tailor, at the signe of the Goate, without Temple-barre (which sign I think since is changed). The priests of the country commend such youths as they make choice of unto him, who placeth them in some blinde alley near the water, until winde serves for passage, which fitting, the vessell (which is some old hoy, or such like to avoide suspicions) goeth downe empty towards Gravesend, and he provideth a payre of oars and boates, the passengers and carriage, and so ships them into the barke, comōnly beyond Greenwich, and conveys the money which belongs unto them afterwards himselfe. They ship them to Gravelines or Callise, and take forty shillings a piece for passage."

Dr. Oliver says that "fortunately escaping from the gaolers he (Richard Fulwood) stationed himself for some years at Dunkirk, where he contrived to render invaluable service as an agent to the mission. Father Gerard remained on in England after his marvellous escape, in spite of the efforts of Government to discover him, until the 3rd of May, 1606, the very day of Father Henry Garnett's martyrdom, when he left England by means of the French and Spanish Ambassadors, and accompanied by Richard Fulwood, as appears by a letter of Father William Baldwin, dated from Brussels, May 20, 1606, to Father Parsons in Rome.[10] This letter is written partly in cipher, deciphered: "Since my last, five days ago, arrived at 5 [St. Omer's] 469 [Father Gerard], where also is one [Richard Fulwood] whom 456 [Father Garnett] was wont to use in all his chief business of passage, receiving and retaining all things. I take it to be 229 [Jesuit] also. They are yet 627 [secret], and so it is requisite for a time especially in that the 194 225 [Marquis Ambassador] brought them, and by his dexterous and courteous manner had great care of them. The Marquis of St. Germain came hither two days ago, and both he and Don Blasco de Aragon came as well informed of our English matters as I could wish," &c.

[10] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vi.

In another letter from same to same, July 3, 1606 (*ut supra*), Richard Fulwood is stated to have been then at Brussels. "Here now is Richard Fulwood, who telleth me that Father Gerard is very sick at St. Omer's," &c. Full copies of these interesting letters are given in *Condition of Catholics*, additional notes, pp. cclvii.–viii.

The date of the admission of Brother Richard Fulwood to the Society does not appear. The following eulogium is taken from the Annual Letters of the English Province, for the College of Liege, 1641. They state that the general condition of the College of Liège is satisfactory, but nothing in particular is recorded, except the edifying deaths of two of the community: Francis Palmer, a scholastic,[11] and Richard Fulwood, a temporal coadjutor. The former was a youth of great talent and of still greater innocency of life, as his confessor can testify on oath, who, on administering the last sacraments, heard his general confession of his whole life from his earliest years, and could find nothing that approached even to a mortal sin. Thus free from the reproaches of conscience, he viewed the near approach of death with a remarkable freedom from all fear. He had been sent to Ghent for the benefit of his health, but died there in a few weeks.

"The other was Richard Fulwood, distinguished throughout his religious life by great fervour in the practice of regular observance, of whom I will relate a few out of the many facts. In his annual performance of the spiritual exercises of the Society, he was accustomed diligently to observe what had been his predominant fault during the preceding year; then in the following year he set himself by means of the particular examen to the total eradication of this fault, with such accurate diligence as never to miss a day in noting down any relapses. He had a great devotion to the saints, especially to those assigned to him as his monthly patrons, according to the usual practice. Of these he made a list or a sort of litany, and continued afterwards to pray to them by name on their days throughout his whole life; and when he was in his last sickness he did not omit daily to recite this list or litany, and being ordered by his confessor a few days before his death to leave off so prolix a formula of prayer, he assured him that at least he should not be fatigued by daily *reading* over these

[11] This was William Poulton, *alias* Francis Palmer. See Poulton pedigree, p. 155, and addenda "Poulton Family."

lists or litanies which he carried about with him in a book, and which he freely promised to do.

"Being asked, before he received Extreme Unction, if he believed all that our holy mother the Church believes and teaches, 'Yes, yes,' he replied, 'and in proof of it I will recite the Apostle's Creed, and then the formula of my vows, to show that I am also a son of the Society of Jesus; to this I will add the prayer of the sodality to testify that I am moreover a son of my most holy Mother Mary.' When they suggested to him these words, *Maria Mater Gratiæ, Mater Misericordiæ*, &c., after he had pronounced them with tender affection, he observed: 'St. Richard, my patron, when dying used these same words. St. Richard,' he continued, 'pray for me, that I may pronounce these words with the love with which you formerly did.' Saying which, he repeated the above invocation of our Lady three or four times. He asked for his crucifix, which he tenderly kissed, shedding copious tears, and on being cautioned against fatiguing himself by an excess of devotion: 'And how,' said he, 'can I be fatigued with loving my God Whom I have never loved as I ought in my whole life? Permit me now at least, my Father, to love Him. Grant me grace, oh! good Jesus, to love you,' adding many other ejaculations in this strain, and twice reciting the *Anima Christi*. Then, for fear of being overdone, he was ordered to give back the crucifix. 'For obedience' sake,' said he, 'I will send away my Lord Jesus.'

"He suffered incredible pains from the stone with superhuman patience. Being asked whereabouts he chiefly suffered, he replied, 'In my whole body.' Some one added, 'Therefore in this you resemble our Lord, in Whom no part was free from agony,' to whom he answered: 'Greatly indeed! I have not as yet the crown of thorns, for my head is at present free from pain. Add this crown also, my good Lord Jesus, to my head, if it be pleasing to you.' At length, having been purified as by the pains of Purgatory, by the most excruciating torments of his disease, he passed away, as we hope, to heaven, to receive the crown of his invincible patience, on September 18, 1641."[12]

[12] There appears to be a great discrepancy between the *Litteræ Annuæ* account, as above, and the *Summaria defunctorum Prov. Angl. a mense Nov.* 1639 *ad mensem August.* 1642, which gives—"No. 21. Ricardus Fulwoodus, Lancastriensis, Theologus 2 ann., obiit in Coll. Leodiensi, Sept. 19, 1641, æt. 37, ab initia Societate 7." The *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus* also treats the above Richard Fulwood as a scholastic. We trace no record

HUGH FULWOOD, who was probably a member of the same family, became a student in the English College, Rome, in 1622, and gives the following reply to the usual scholastic interrogations: "I was born in the county of Stafford, near Uttoxeter, where I was brought up until of riper age, when I was handed over to Father Falkner, with whom I lived for four years, and was sent to these parts by him for the sake of study.

"My parents were always Catholic, and of very respectable families, but not in very flourishing circumstances, both on account of frequent loss of property, and of long and continual detention in prison.

"I have three brothers, all Catholics, and one sister, but whether alive or dead I cannot say. I have many relations heretics; one named Hill, another Parker, and many others whose names I forget. I have three uncles: two are heretics, the other not; one is a barrister in London, the other a gentleman in the service of a nobleman.

"I have studied for four years at the College of the Society of Jesus, at Liege.

"I was always a Catholic, and had the greatest difficulties in getting any education, and attained to it by the help of Father Falkner."

of the death of any other Richard Fulwood, nor, with the above exception, any mention of a second member of the Society of that name. The late Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, treats the *Litteræ Annuæ* account as relating to the subject of our biography. He says, "Escaping fortunately from his gaolers, he stationed himself for some years at Dunkirk, where he contrived to render invaluable service as an agent to the mission. He died of the stone at Liege, in a good old age, September 18, 1641." The date of his birth does not appear. Supposing him to have been about sixteen years of age when he first went to service, as stated in his examination, we may place his birth about 1560, and this would make him eighty-one in 1641. The general accuracy of the *Litteræ Annuæ*, and the particular mention they make of the two deceased members, tend rather to point out the temporal coadjutor than the scholastic. But with this note we leave the reader to form his own conclusions. We gladly insert the account in our *Records*, for to whichever it applies, the death was a holy and edifying one.—[ED.]

MEMOIR OF FATHER HENRY FLOYD,

Alias FLUDD, FRANCIS SMITH, RIVERS, SYMONDS.

FATHER HENRY FLOYD was a native of Cambridgeshire, and elder brother of Father John Floyd, S.J., well known as a controversial writer. Father Parsons, in a manuscript account, mentions that he defended universal theology at Seville with great distinction, February 20, 1593, and was for a time stationed at the new Residence of the Society at Lisbon, which had been established there by Father Parsons.[1] When the English College of the Society at Valladolid was founded by the exertions of Father Robert Parsons in 1589, Dr. Barrett, the President of the English College at Rheims, sent to Father Parsons' new foundation ten or twelve promising youths. Amongst them were the subject of our memoir, then in deacon's orders, and John Blackfan, who also joined the Society. War was then raging in France between the Federal Princes and the King of Navarre, and the roads were everywhere blocked up by the constant marching and countermarching of the soldiers of both parties. They were therefore constantly falling in with troops of soldiers, but by the goodness of God they escaped safely. They had the greatest difficulty in persuading Du Plessis Mornay (who was held to be one of the chief pillars of the Calvinist cause) that they were English Catholics and clerics on their way to Spain for their studies. This was soon after the attack of Spain upon England (1588), and the two countries being then at enmity, Mornay would have it that they were going upon another errand. He declared, therefore, that they were either traitors or spies, and was for sending them to Rochelle, to be thence shipped off to England, as he had previously sent over certain glorious champions, who afterwards suffered death for Christ. However, by producing some influential letters of recommendation, which they fortunately

[1] In a mutilated catalogue of the alumni of the English College, Rome, in the handwriting of Father Robert Parsons (Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. ii. n. 15), is the following entry. "Henricus Floydus, dioc. Norfol. [which diocese included his native county, Cambridgeshire], Vallesoleti sacris initiatus post conclusiones Theologicas in Semo. hoc publicè sustentatas, Ulissiponto mittitur ut inde in Angliam discederet."

had brought with them, and which stated the cause of their journey, they were at length dismissed.

Sailing from Nantes to Bilboa, they had to encounter no less difficulties at the Castle of Burgos. The day after their arrival in the city, as they were returning from the cathedral to their inn, they were arrested by the officers of the Inquisition, on whose information is uncertain. It was proclaimed throughout the city that they were Lutherans, and brothers of Admiral Sir Francis Drake, who had been sweeping the Spanish waters, and was then conducting a fleet to invade Portugal. They were thrust into the House of Correction, their bags plundered, and their money taken. But the Court of Inquisitors, finding nothing in their bags that could cause the least suspicion, and having inspected the letters they had brought from Dr. Barrett, the President of Rheims, and others, they were ordered proper accommodation for the night. The next day, being called to the court, and having fully explained the cause of their journey, they were set at liberty, with many apologies. But about the money (which was their common fund) there was no slight difficulty. The keeper of the prison obstinately denied that any had been taken away. Blackfan, from whose bag it had been abstracted, maintained his point, and specified that seventeen gold pieces of Spanish coin were missing. But he had no witness to his bare assertion. It was, however, accepted; the intention of these foreigners being now fully understood. Besides, who could believe that those who had left their homes and all that life promised or held dear, and with such courage had undertaken a long journey, should be guilty of a mean fraud? The keeper of the prison still persisting, the Court of Inquisition sent a messenger with orders to seize and sell his plate, unless he instantly refunded the money. At last out came the very same money that Blackfan had named. On the following day, as they were preparing to depart, the Court of Inquisition ordered a certain man of authority to conduct them to the market-place. Here he made known to the surrounding crowd that no shade of suspicion rested upon them, that they were exiles for their faith, and had passed hither on their way to pursue their studies, meditating a return to their native land with lofty and courageous hearts, superior to all the cruelties of the heretics. Thereupon the people abstained from all further insults, venerating rather their constancy to the faith, their probity of life, and fortitude in adversities. He then led them to the city gates, pointed out

the way to Valladolid, and kindly saluting them bid them farewell.[2]

After having been for some time Superior of the Residence of the English members of the Society at Lisbon (which he had been made by Father Robert Parsons), he crossed over to England by a devious route, and lived with Mr. John Southcote (a man of great note amongst Catholics)[3] for nineteen years, tried by many vicissitudes. In the fourth year of his residence there, he was caught by a party of pursuivants, who rushed into the hall and intercepted him before he could find his way into a hiding-place. He was cast into Newgate, into a dark and damp cell, where a bench was his bed, and his food he took amongst the common felons. He was, however, much more solicitous about the danger to his host, than the miseries of his prison. Hearing that he was safe, all the rest was tolerable. Being soon after removed to a more commodious cell, leave was given to him and to his fellow-prisoner, Father Francis Page, to render each other mutual service. Father Henry was taken before the Lord Chief Justice Popham, that most cruel enemy of the Catholics, who burning with the desire of invading the possessions of Mr. Southcote, tried every means in his power to convict Father Henry of priesthood, one while by examinations, another by enticing him with fawning promises to say how the matter was, and again, having recourse

[2] Father Henry More, *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.* lib. v. nn. 1, 2.

[3] Eldest son and heir of Sir John Southcote, the judge. Sir John Southcote had bought Albery, in the parish of Merstham, Surrey, before 1578, and held his first court there as lord of the manor (22 Eliz.) (See *Troubles*, First Series, p. 365, "Southcote Family)." Father Henry Floyd probably arrived in England about 1597. The Residence at Lisbon was opened in 1592. It is likely he was ordained about that year, having made his great examine in 1593. Though intrusted with the care of the house at Lisbon he was not then of the Society, having been admitted in 1599 (See Father Henry Garnett's letter below). The four years' stay at Mr. Southcote's would bring him to Newgate about 1600—1602. This is confirmed by a letter of Father Anthony Rivers, S.J., from London, to Father Robert Parsons, dated May 20, 1602 (See Father Rivers' letters), in which he says, "Atkinson [the apostate priest], by command of the Chief Justice Popham, is in the common goal at Newgate, for that he had promised to have given evidence this last sessions against one Rogers, *alias* Floyd (taken almost a year since [1601] in the great and general search) that he was a Jesuit and Seminary priest; but a little before he should have been produced for the performance thereof, he denied that he knew him, and seemed penitent for what he had formerly done, saying he would never have done it, if he had thought they would have put them to death, as he had seen by experience their proceedings against Mr. Titchborne. I hear that Atkinson is now dangerously sick. If he recover, the Papists fear he will be of another humour, albeit he be now constant; but his frailty hath formerly been manifest, as they say, more than once."

to false brethren and apostates; but the Father eluded all these attempts by his prudence and caution, and thus preserved both himself and his host harmless. It will be remembered that for harbouring a priest a man's estates were confiscated, besides the personal penalties inflicted.[4]

We have seen that Father Henry Floyd's fellow-prisoner was Father Francis Page, the blessed martyr. On the return of the latter to the prison, after receiving from Popham his most unjust sentence of death, Father Floyd received him on his knees, testifying his grief in a flood of tears. Father Page, lifting him up with great kindness, said to him, "What is the meaning of this, sir? Do you weep at my condition as deplorable, which I deem a most happy one? You ought rather to rejoice and congratulate with me for so happy a lot, which opens to me a way to eternal bliss."[5]

As we have already mentioned, the day before the execution, the gaoler desired Father Henry to acquaint Father Page that he was to die on the morrow, adding that, for his own part, he could not endure to be the bearer of such tidings. He did so accordingly, and the message was received as coming from heaven. Father Floyd spent all that day and the last night with him, and having both of them said Mass, Father Page disclosed to him some part of the favours which God was pleased to show him that night. This was in the year 1602. It does not appear how long he had been in Newgate. His name is contained in a list of "the names of the Jesuits lurking in England, with the chief places of their abode."[6] He was the same year removed from Newgate to Framlingham Castle, Suffolk, where he probably only remained a few weeks or months; for early in 1603, after the accession of James I., he was, with many other priests, one Irish bishop, the Jesuit Father Christopher Holiwood (Irish), Edward Coffin, and Ralph Bickley, sent into perpetual banishment.[7] On landing abroad, Father Henry betook himself to his old quarters at Lisbon, and there laboured amongst the English traders, reducing as many as he could to the bosom of the Church. After the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, attempts were made upon his liberty and life. These he escaped, and

[4] See Father More's *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. vi. n. xl. p. 286.
[5] See "Life of Father Page," p. 428.
[6] *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, before referred to.
[7] See Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, vol. i. p. 412, where he calls Father Henry Floyd, Roger.

also cleared himself from certain grave complaints that had been made against him to Father Govem, the Rector of the Professed House at Lisbon, and which by some over credulous party had even been carried to Rome.

In a letter from Father John Gerard (under the assumed name of Harrison) to Father Robert Parsons, dated July 15, 1606, he alludes to Father Henry Floyd in advising that Father Roger Lee, then Minister at St. Omer's College, should on no account be removed. "The Fathers which be there do very well, but are not of like apprehensions and proceedings, and I suppose if yourself did see all particulars you would think Father Roger to be a strong helper to the good of that house, and that it would flourish much if it had some others of his like. I know not where to name one, upon the sudden, unless it be Father Henry Flud, whose zeal and practical proceedings I think would be very profitable for that house if he may be spared, and truly in my opinion upon the good of that house dependeth much the good and quiet of the other colleges, besides much edification to many, both friends and enemies, unto whom this is a continual spectacle."[8]

Venturing again on a return to England, he spent a year on the way at St. Omer's, where he was Spiritual Father. Then returning into England, he was over and over again captured, and committed one time to the "Hall of Winchester," *alias* the "Clink" prison, in Southwark, another time in the Fleet prison, where he was well-nigh worn out by frequent sicknesses —when the Queen of Charles I. procured his liberty, with a special exemption from all molestation to all and every person or persons with whom he might dwell.[9] To render this liberty useful to others, he applied himself to repress the audacity of the pursuivants and spies. He exposed the artifices by which these men cheated the priests and Catholics of their money and applied it to their own use, and procured the interference of the authorities to remedy the evil. Which sufferings of Catholics (says Father More), if any one should entertain a thought that they are not so severe as described by many, let him understand that the times must be distinguished; for God provided certain intervals, as in the primitive Church, and in these men of a milder temper, lest the bow being always bent, the courage of Catholics might fail and languish.

[8] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cclx.

[9] See some interesting documents given from the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

Then again He provokes to combat, and more abundantly crowns.

Father Henry Floyd in 1610 was admitted to his solemn profession of the four vows. He died on the 7th of March, 1641, in London. He was between eighty and ninety years of age; and to his extreme old age (says More) he was laborious and indefatigable. The apostate Gee, in his *Foot out of the Snare*, gives a letter purporting to be written by Father Henry Floyd or Floud, addressed to the Reverend Mr. Colleton, who is described in Gee's list of "the names of the Romish priests and Jesuits now resident about the City of London," as "Father Collington, the titular Archdeacon of London, lodging in St. James'. There he keeps, *in commendam*, the Deanery of Chalcedon." The letter presents nothing worthy of record, and we strongly suspect its genuineness.

In 1631 Father Henry Floyd appears to have been the bearer, with Father Thomas Bapthorpe, on their return from Rome to England, of a letter of Father Thomas Fitzherbert, Rector of the English College, Rome, dated March 15, 1631, addressed to the Bishop of Chalcedon, and intrusted to the care of those Fathers to deliver, by Very Rev. Father General Vitelleschi.[10]

The following documents in the Public Record Office, State Papers, tend to clear up dates, &c. Father Floyd must have been admitted to the Society in the year 1599, as appears by the following extract from an intercepted letter of Father Henry Garnett, Superior in England, to Mark Tusinga, of Venice.

Dom. Eliz. vol. cclxxi. n. 32. "Molto. Mag. Sign. il S. Marco Tusinga[11] Vinegia." Endorsed—"Fugitives."

Amongst other interesting matter he says: "I have now little to write unto you, only I thought good to lett you understand that I was sending over unto you *Flud* to be a journeyman, at his earnest request to make the noviceship; but partly in respect of dangers, partly because I cannot spare him here, we thinke good to receave him here; and to this effect he hath spoken with Cowling [Father Richard Collins], who liketh him very well, and so do all that know him; and he shall speake with some other journeymen, and then he is like to be the party admitted for this year 99." He desires humble

[10] *Condition of Catholics*, p. ccxlii.

[11] Mark Tusinga is a feigned name of Father Robert Parsons, the Head Prefect for the English mission.

remembrances to *Claud* [Father General Claudius Aquaviva]. "I cease this last of June, 1599. Yours always to command,—H."

In *Dom. James I.* vol. xxxi. n. 62, March 2, 1608 [Irish Correspondence, February 23, 1608], is a discovery of a conspiracy (written by the unhappy priest Francis Tillotson to Lord Danvers), "of Parsons in Rome, Cresswell at Madrid, and Henry Fludd at Lisbon, and Baldwin in the Low Countries, to revenge the death of Garnett on the King and Prince, by sending five disguised Jesuits to England to kill them," &c. This strange piece of information from the miserable spy is thus endorsed by Lord Salisbury, Prime Minister: "*This is the most unlikely and absurd discovery, and yet all the persons named are archtraitors; but I know this priest is a knave.*"

The following letter is interesting, showing the whereabouts in London of Father Henry Floyd and others of the Society in June, 1627.

Dom. Charles I. vol. lxviii. n. 8. Alex. Couler to Wm. Johnson. "Advertisements for Popish priests."

To Mr. Wm. Johnson at Bristol.

Sir,—Although I am loath to write any newes especially concerning the Court, yet because your demande is restrayned to further information of the ecclesiastiques which hant [haunt] the Court and citie, I'le in some manner at least strive to satisfie your demande. The speach then being that the French wil be sent away, the Jesuites give out by their agents at Jerusalem ordinarie, and at the Red Cross in Chancery Lane, that the disposition of the Queene's chappelle is already theirs, through the favour of the Countesse of B. [uckingham] and the Lady Savage. Yea, they have already made choice of priests their agents and ministers in practise and opinion to that purpose, and that none shall enter in but such as they please to admit; for theise two ladies are well furnished with men of that coate, by whom all, as they hope, shall be governed, for my Lady Sauvage's house is never without two or three continually. The Countesse of B.'s lodge, called the Porche, at the end of the King's garden, lodgeth three continually, to wit, Fisher, Walpole, and Floyd, besides two others that daily dine there, but lodge at the White Lion in King Streete, as I thinke, or els the Red, served by old Amie their cook and caterer, but they remove the end of this weeke to the Duke's house at Chelsea. Medcalf, secretarie to the Countess, is become their lay-brother and agent. So is Sir R. Minshall, with another, their great factour, with one Latham, another their lay-brother, and Wm. Man, Fisher's servant, they have their assemblies at Jerusalem ordinarie, in Fleet Streete, at the Red Crosse in Chancerie Lane, at one Capes, the Lord Montacute's man, dwelling in Drury Lane, at the house which was Sir Lewis Lewhener's brought [bought] by the said lord for such persons.

There is arrived on Friday last from France one Shorte, a west countrie man, that after he had passed along the western coast and viewed the fleete, embarqued for France, spake wth the Queen's mother and Card. Richlieu, &c.

Medcalf had £100 from the widow Middeburie for the recoverie of her tronkes from Sir John Coke's officers.

Minshall gathered amongst the gentlemen of the two ordinaries, a £40 for the Portuguese friar, prisoner in St. Katherine's; but the poor man had never a farthing thereof.

Your friend,
ALEXANDER COULER.

In *Dom. Charles I.* vol. clxxviii. n. 43, 1629, is a paper endorsed—"Memorandum about preistes." "A note of priests and Jesuites now in England." Amongst others it notices:

Item. Richard Blunt, Provincial of English Jesuits, is newly come over from Flanders, and resorts much to the Erle of Shrewsbury.

It. Father Francis Foster, newly come out of Spaine, a Yorkshire man, and was agent for the English Jesuits at the Courte of Spaine, when his Majestie was there, resorts much to London, and to the Lady Aston's house [Tixall] Stafforde.

It. Father Bentley, a Jesuite, cozen to my Lord Vaux and much with him. [Which of the Fathers Bentley, John or Edward, does not appear.]

Jesuites and Priests newly come out of Spaine, and mett in London Streets.

It. Younge, Everard, Appleby, Fitton, Atkins, Biddleton, Knaile Eponbridge, and Clifford.

Jesuites come from Flanders theis:

It. Robert Keyes, son to that Keyes that was hanged at the Gunpowder treason; much in Suffolke, at Sir Robert Ruckwood's.

It. Cumpton, John, a Jesuite, much at Mr. Everard's in Suffolk.

It. Father Richard Flood, a Jesuite, much at Yacksley Hall by Eye in Suffolke. [This should be Henry, not Richard.]

It. John Anne, a Jesuite, in Yorkshire, att his brother's [should be George Ann].

It. Two of the Bradshaws, Jesuites, newlie come over, and are in Lancashire, and are brothers to Capt. Bradshaw, y^t^ married my Lady Butler [*alias* Bartons].

It. George Gage, a priest, with his nose half eaten of with a kanker, at his sister's in Blomesbury, and much at Sir John Gage's att Clerkenwell. [This was the Rev. George Gage, brother of the unhappy apostate Thomas Gage].

There are diverse others which resorte to Jerusalem Ordinary in Fleete Streete, the Three Craines in the Vinetree, the Sunne Tavern in Holborn, and at Bloomsbury.

The following documents relate almost exclusively to Father Henry Floyd.

Dom. Charles I. vol. ccxlvi. n. 99. 1633–4.

To the King's most excellent M^tie.

The humble petition of Thomas Killigrew [and another.]

Sheweth that whereas Bartholomew Frumman of Cheyne [Cheame], in the countie of Surrey, Esq., did lodge and harbour in his house for the space of three nights in August last one Henry Flood, *als* Francis Smyth, *als* Rivers, *als* Seymons, a Jesuit dangerous both for transporting and seducing of young persons, who was apprehended there upon the 18th day of August, being the Saboth day in tyme of divine service. And whereas also Drue Lovett, of Grayes Inne Lane, goldsmith, did lodge and harbour one Herbert, a Sem. p——t, for the space of nine weeks in Mch. and April last in his own house.

[The petitioners then pray for a graunt of the benefitt which shall accrue to the Kinge from their persons, on conviction.]

No. 991.

Is a memorandum annexed to the above that his Matie. was gratiously pleased to grant theire request, and directs the Sec. of State, &c. accordingly, and that his Matie will further signify his pleasure when the parties are legally convicted.

Same vol. n. 100. 1633–4. "For Smith."

This Smith was first taken in Nevill's Alley in Fetter Lane in a private place, betweene a chymney and a wall curiously contrived, 5 or 6 years since, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich and Lichfield and others of his M^ties Commiss^rs, and by them examined and committed for a priest to the Clinke. Afterwards going abroad without any license from the High Commission or Lords of the Privy Councill, he caused himselfe to be arrested under a pretence of debt, and by an *habet corpus* to be removed to the Fleete.

And in July last, by virtue of a certificate which he procured from Dr. Moore, a recusant, y^t he was a sickly man, the Lords not suspecting him to be a priest or Jesuite, but onely a prisoner for debt, granted him a warrant to take the aire abroad. By virtue whereof he passed in all places unexamined, and exercised his function in divers places, which warrant he shewed to his Maties officers at the said Frummons house, giving out vnto them many peremptorie and threateninge speeches—viz., the houses where I come are protected, and you will but stay till to-morrow you shall have 3 or 4 priests more of us here.

He seduced [converted] S. Brookes in St. John's Street about 11 years since. He transported John Brookes and Richard her brothers to St. Omer's in Artoys. He transported 3 of his owne nephewes—viz., Henrie, John, and Thomas Compton, his sister's sonnes.

He transported 2 daughters of Mr. Yaxley's, of Yaxley Hall, in Norfolke, to Gravelin, to his brother John Flood, champion writer for the Jesuites there. And received to himselfe more than halfe the money which Mr. Yaxley there father gave him to send with them, wch he vnderstoode since by the one of his daughters which is now returned. For this Smith at that time lived with Mr. Yaxley and was his priest. Which Yaxley is since converted and pardoned, and made Justice of peace by his M^tie.

Frumman.

The high constables and parishioners did informe the messengers at Cheyme that this Frumman is never without a priest or Jesuite in his house, and that he hath a private place in his house to convey them into vpon any search.

Lovett.

This Lovett is a common entertainer and lodger of recusants and priests, and for that purpose doth keepe an ordinarie for them in his house. He is also the common baile for the priests and Jesuites, and at this time stands bound for this Herbert, and Baker, and Popham, all priests, and many others besides.

Dom. Charles I. State Papers, vol. cccviii. n. 66 I. "The names of priests and Jesuits that were prisoners." [Date about 1635.]

In the Fleete [*inter al.*] Mr. Symonds.

Dom. Charles I. vol. cclv. nn. 35, 35 I. [Date 1637.]

To the Rt. Hon. Sr. Francis Windebanke, Kt., one of his M^ties^ principall Secs. of State.

The humble petition of Francis Smith, sheweth,

That the Queene's M^tie^ being gratiously pleased to take notice of your Pet^rs^ great age, being nere fowerscore, and of his dangerous infirmityes, which were like to shorten his few dayes, was likewise pleased for the preservation of the petitioner's life to recommend him and his suite to your honour for obtaining the favour of the board expressed in the annexed coppye of their Lps. warrant. Now soe it is may it please y^r^ honor, that one Mr. Gray and Mr. Newton, two messengers are in contempt of the said warrant, and because your petitioner is poore, and not able to give them money to their minds, more molest and trouble y^r^ petitioner, than if they arrested his body. For this petitioner being directed by his physician, for the better recovery of his health, to goe some few myles out of towne into the fresh ayre, went to the house of one Mr. Fromond, some 10 myles hence, and was pursued by the said Gray and Newton, who did not only threaten him for receiving the Pet^r^, but have also stirred up one Mayo, a person branded with infamy of perjury, and others of like condition, to indite and p'secute y^r^ petitioner at ye last sessions for the County of Middx., and doe soe p'secute and follow him that none of his friends dare receive him.

The Pet^r^ doth therefore humbly beseech y^r^ honor to send for the said Gray and Newton, and to admonish them therein, and likewise to signifie to the Justices of Peace of the aforesaid sessions, her M^ties^ and the Board's gracious favor to the petitioner, to the end that neither the petitioner nor such as receive him by virtue of the said warrant may be molested. And your Pet^r^ will ever pray, &c.

Same vol. n. 35 I.

Whereas it is testified under the hands of John More and Thomas Turner, doctors of physick, that Francis Smith, a prisoner

in the Fleet, is a man very infirme of bodye, and hath bene long troubled with a flux called fluxus Hepaticus, so that except he may have the benefite of the fresh ayre, and the present helpes of phisick, he must be in much danger of his life. The Boarde upon consideration had thereof doth order that he shall foorthw be removed from the said prison of the Fleet to the house of the said Dr. More or Dr. Turner, there to remayne, or in such other place as the said Dr. Turner shall thinke fitt to dispose of him for the recoverie of his health. Provided that the said doctor doe vndertake to see him foorthcoming and make his apparence before the Boarde within twenty dayes next after notice thereof given unto him the saide doctor, or left at his howse in wryting. Whereof as well the Warden of the Fleet, as all messengers and other officers whosoever, are requested to take notice and conform themselves accordingly, to the ende he may quietly enjoy the libertie granted hereby by vs.

Dated at Whitehall the 19th of July, 1637.

The notorious pursuivant Francis Newton thus describes Father Henry Floyd, with whom he commences his List of twenty-nine priests arrested.[12] "Francis Smith *als* Henry Lloyd, *als* Rivers, *als* Simons, a dangerous Jesuit, indicted and outlawed at the petitioner's charges."

[12] See p. 519, for the full list.

GOVERNMENT SPIES AND PURSUIVANTS.

FREQUENT mention occurs in our *Records* of this period (the middle of the seventeenth century) of a gang of notorious pursuivants, comprising a so-called Capt. Wadsworth, Francis Newton, Thomas Cross, John Gray, and others employed by the Privy Council to hunt down their victims, the Catholic clergy, like wild beasts, and to follow them on to death or exile. These men appear to have formed themselves into a kind of joint stock company for their unholy purpose, and, no doubt, made large pecuniary profits. We therefore attach a short account of them to the biography of Father Henry Floyd, who was one of their special victims.[1]

Lingard, in his *History of England*, vol. viii. p. 645, Appendix (note G for p. 396), gives a copy of an original document containing the names and fate of such Catholic priests as were apprehended and prosecuted in London alone, between the end of 1640 and the summer of 1651, by four individuals who had banded together for that purpose, and who solicited from the Privy Council some reward for their services. It should however be remembered (he adds) that there were many others engaged in the same pursuit, and consequently many other victims besides those enumerated.

> The names of such Jesuits and Romish priests as have been apprehended and prosecuted by Capt. James Wadsworth, Francis Newton, Thomas Mayo, and Robert de Luke, messengers, at our proper charge; whereof some have been condemned, some executed, some reprieved, since the beginning of the Parliament (November 3, 1640); the like having not been done by any others since the reformation of religion in this nation.

Then follows a list of thirty-eight priests, secular and religious, with their respective fates—of whom thirteen were hung at Tyburn, eight died in Newgate of their sufferings, others were transported, and some still remained in Newgate.

Father Morris gives this list in full in *Troubles*, Series I., page 336. We will only mention that this list contains the following names of Fathers of the Society, viz.—

[1] See also the "Life of Father Peter Wright, Martyr," in *Records*, Series IV., and the lives of Fathers Thomas Holland and Henry Morse in our present series, all of them victims of these men.

Thomas Sanderson *alias* Hammond, executed at Tyburn.[2]
Ralph Corby, executed at Tyburn.
Henry Morse, executed at Tyburn.
Thomas Worsley *alias* Harvey, indicted and proved, and reprieved by the Spanish Ambassador and others.
Andrew White, indicted, proved, reprieved before judgment, and banished.[3]
Peter Beale *alias* Wright, executed at Tyburn.[4]
George Gage, indicted by us, and found guilty, and since is dead.[5]

The list is signed—

JAMES WADSWORTH.
FRANCIS NEWTON.
THOMAS MAYO.
ROBERT DE LUKE.

Lingard observes that "this Catalogue tells a fearful but instructive tale, inasmuch as it shows how wantonly men can sport with the lives of their fellow-countrymen, if it suit the purpose of a great political party. The patriots, to enlist in their favour the religious prejudices of the people, represent the King as the patron of Popery, because he sent the priests into banishment instead of delivering them to the knife of the executioner. Hence, when they were in the ascendant, they were bound to make proof of their orthodoxy; and almost every execution mentioned above took place by their order in 1642, or 1643. After that time they began to listen to the voice of humanity, and adopted the very expedient which they had so clamorously condemned. They banished, instead of hanging and quartering."

Thomas Mayo was the leading pursuivant engaged in the seizure of the house of the Jesuits at Clerkenwell, and the arrest of the Fathers there in 1627-8, with Humphrey Crosse, as is shown in the history of that event,[6] where also may be seen "The names of such priests and Jesuits that hath been taken by me, Humphrey Crosse, one of the messengers of his Majesty's chamber, since the 12th of March last." He then complains: "For which service as yet I have received no satisfaction; not-

[2] Father Thomas Holland.

[3] This was the great Apostle of Maryland, and founder of that mission, a history of whose life and of the Maryland Mission S.J. will be given in a subsequent volume of *Records*, "College of St. Thomas of Canterbury" (or the Hampshire district).

[4] Father Peter Wright, *alias* Beale.

[5] This was the good clergyman, brother of the unhappy apostate Thomas Gage.

[6] See pages 98, seq.

withstanding there is a statute that in whose house a priest shall be taken, there is £50 due unto him that takes him. All these are committed, as appeareth by their several warrants of commitment, some to the Gatehouse, some to the New Prison, and some to the Clink.

"And for any priest that I am, or shall be charged to have suffered to escape for money, I answer upon my allegiance: I have not."

The following is a report by another pursuivant, Thomas Crosse, to the Lords of the Council, relative to searching a house in Drury Lane in 1628. Who "the dangerous Jesuit Bastell" is, we cannot trace. It may have been Father John Fisher *alias* Percy.

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. xcviii. n. 109. Endorsed —"A note touching Griffin and Gray, pursuivants, about searching for a priest." 1628 [?], March.

To the Right Honble.

By virtue of a warrant from the Rt. Hon. the Lord Conway to me directed by one of his M^ties messengers in ordinary, and two others of my fellowes, wee entered in a house in Drurie Lane by intelligence that I had by some of the officers in that parish, the 13 day of March, that there was a dangerous Jesuite, one Bastell, wch went by divers other names, and there wee found an assemblie to the number of a dozen persons and more, wth some of them made themselves sick, and lay upon theire bedds, wch wee could not with humanitie to search for the bookes, letters, and church stuffe, wch wee did expect was appointed for the Masse; where there were many lockes in the house. Commanding them in his M^ties name to open them, wch they refuse it, and gave us some ill termes. Entering into a chamber where wee found a studie. Commanding them to open the said studie, wch they refuse; soe wee tooke a paire of tonges and wrench the doore, and the doore flue open, where wee found in that said studie some fortie Papistes bookes. Our cure (captain), wth the officers wch did assist us, gave order to the keeper of the said house that all things should be safe until the gentleman came in. This shall appeare to bee true by the constable and his assistance hands. The ptie that I searched for both earely and late, and by the industrie of the constable and other officers wee found that Jesuite priest within two or three houses of the said place, wch I carryed him before Sr Wm Slingsby, and he committed him to prison, and there he remayneth.

(Signed) THO. CROSSE.

John Gray was another active member of the same company. The following is a copy of a petition from him to the Privy Council, and of his list of thirty-two.

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cccviii. n. 66 and 66 I. 1635 [? 1637.]

Most humbly sheweth that yr petitioner, having warrant from the Boord for the apprehending of Jesuite and Seminarie priests, by virtue whereof he hath taken and apprehended divers of them to the number of 32, which were by him brought before this Hon. Boorde, and by special order from the same appointed to be comitted to several prisons in and about London.

Butt now soe it is, may it please yr good Lp's, that they have liberty and are all abroade out of prison, without any order from this Hon. Boorde, and doe lye lurking in diverse places within the citties of London and Westr and the subbarbs thereabouts, perverting his Maties liege subjects, not hundreds but thousands, viz., one Fisher, *als* Pearse, a Jesuite, who was comitted to the prison of the Gatehouse, by order of this Hon. Boorde, and to be banished, there to lye till he had putt in security to Mr. Atty. Generall never to returne into this kingdome againe; who hath been abroade these 3 yeares, and doth more mischief than ever he had done before; and the perticuler names of them all are hereunto annexed.

He then prays for an order for retaking them and bringing them before the Board to be dealt with.

Same vol. n. 66 I.

The names of priests and Jesuits that were prisoners.

The Gatehouse.

Mr. Moore, condemned.
Mr. Walgrave.
Mr. Cox, condemned.
Mr. Rivers.
Mr. Hawksey.
Mr. Tresham.
Mr. Coote.
Mr. Reade.
Mr. Stratford.
Mr. Syn. Johnnes [St. John.]
Mr. Collman.
Mr. Owen.
Fisher, a Jesuit.

In the Fleete.

Mr. Symons.[7]
Mr. Rowe.
Mr. Warde.
Mr. Johnes.

Clinke Prison.

Mr. Cannon.
Mr. Leake.
Mr. Southworth, condemned.
Mr. Muskett, condemned.
Mr. Dade.
Mr. Moore.
Mr. Hawbert.
Mr. Walker.
Mr. Smith.

Newgate.

Mr. Reynolds, condemned.
Mr. Curtise.
Mr. Harris.
Mr. Goodman.
Mr. Smithson.
Mr. Lawrence.

[7] Henry Floyd, *alias* Symonds, *alias* Rivers, *alias* Smith.

Same vol. n. 67. This is a repetition of the last, with certain observations upon several (*inter alia*).

Moore condemned. There is one Moore released upon bond of Wm. Welles and Hen. Lusher; but it appears not that he was condemned.
Rivers. Upon bond of John Compton and Tho. Stokes.
Fisher. Sir Anthony Buggs and Mr. Roper.
Moore. Another Moore discharged upon bond of Francis Symon and Andrew White.
Reynolds condemned. He was once discharged upon bond, but is since apprehended againe, and is at this tyme prisoner in the Gatehouse.
Curtis. Upon bond of Rob. Curtis and Hen. Lusher.

In the corner of the paper is a note of twelve names. Among others—

Walford.
Drury.

The most active, perhaps, of them all was Francis Newton; he was especially so in the case of Father Henry Morse, as will afterwards appear in the life of that blessed martyr. The following is a copy of a petition from him to the Privy Council, with his list of twenty-nine.

State Papers, *Dom. Charles I.* vol. ccclxxvi. n. 34 and 34 I. 1637 [?]. He shows—

That y^r petitioner having for the space of 5 yeares and upwards had a generall warrant for the apprehension of Jesuites, Sem. priests, &c., which service he hath duly and carefully performed, neglecting all other imployments, and oftentimes endangeringe his life in the execution thereof, for the service of God, his M^tie and the State, having taken 29 priests and Jesuits, the names of all which are hereunto annexed; whereof he carried many to prison, and some of them he hath kept in his custodie a certain space (especially one Henry Morse, whome hee kept in custody 30 daies, and at his owne charges indicted him at the last sessions at Newgate, whither he was comitted by your Lps., and kept 17 persons to testifie against him, where he was found guiltie of treason, without any allowance to him, either for his greate pains, or for meate, drink, and lodgings for the said parties hee soe deteyned in his custody. In which imployments he hath expended 200^li and upwards of his owne estate.

And whereas y^r petitioner having notice where divers p—ts and Jesuits were harbored, repaired to those places to apprehend them, but they had soe seduced those that lived neere unto them that the constables could not be obeyed, and moreover had like to have been committed, the said p—ts and J—ts reporting that y^r petitioner's warrant was out of date (beinge 5 yeares since it was graunted), &c.

And lastly, whereas y^r petitioner of his owne knowledge can testify that, as well from the Spanish Ambassador's as divers other places, there every Sunday and other daies flock and issue forth greate multitudes of people from Masse, which grieveth the harts of his Maties good subjects that see the same, &c.

He then prays for another warrant and an order for his own reimbursements.

Same vol. n. 341. A particular of such priests and Jesuits as the petitioner, Francis Newton, hath taken by virtue of their lordships' warrant.

1. *Francis Smith*, *als* Henry Lloyd, *als* Rivers, *als* Simons, a dangerous Jesuit, indicted and outlawed at y^r pet^rs charge.
2. Wm Ward, *als* Slaughter, *als* Walles, secular priest, and dangerous seducer of his Mties. subjects.[8]
3. Peter Curtis, a sec. priest.
4. Augustin Rivers, *als* Abbott, Fran. fryer.
5. John Hawkshee, *als* Oxenbridge, a sec. p—t.
6. Francis Harris, a sec. priest.
7. Wm Tresham, a Ben. monk.
8. Tho. Reynold, a sec. priest.[9]
9. John Southeron, a priest condemned to be executed, and a great seducer.[10]
10. Wm Valentine, a grey friar.
11. Tho. Leake, a monke.
12. Thos. Edmunds, a monke.
13. „ Holmes, „
14. „ Goodman, a sec. p—t.[11]
15. John Egerton, „
16. Henry Gifford, „
17. Mr. Appleby, for refusing the oath, suspected to be a p—t.[12]
18. John Brown, a sec. p—t.
19. Albine Rowe, a monke.[13]
20. Wm Windmore, a sec. p—t.
21. Tho. Smith, do.
22. Rich. Palmer, *als* Madox, a Fran. friar.
23. Tho. Wilkinson, priest, who tore your Lp's warrant.
24. Tho. Scoles, a sec. priest.
25. John Smith, *als* Whitbread, do.
26. George Coxe, a monke convicted.
27. Walter Coleman, a friar.
28. John Jones, *als* Everard, monk, and formerly banished.

[8] Executed at Tyburn, July 26, 1641 (see Challoner's *Missionary Priests*).

[9] Executed at Tyburn, January 21, 1642 (*Ibid.*).

[10] Reverend John Southworth, the companion of Father Henry Morse in attending the plague-stricken, executed at Tyburn, June 28, 1654 (*Ibid.*).

[11] Condemned to death, but died a martyr in Newgate in 1645 (*Ibid.*).

[12] Query—Father William Appleby, who entered the Society of Jesus in 1629. He was serving in the College of St. Ignatius in 1655.

[13] Executed at Tyburn, with Richard Thomas Reynolds (see Challoner, *Ibid.*).

29. Henry Morse, Jesuit, and a great seducer this visitation, that hath seduced a great number of his M^ties^ subjects in the parishes of St. Giles and Westm., as did appeare by their several certificats lately read before y^r^ L.Lps. The saide Morse being kept at y^r^ pet^rs^ charge, by your L.Lpps' command, 30 daies, and afterwards comitted by y^r^ L.Lpps' special warrant to Newgate, where your pet^r^ at his own charge attended the Vestrye at St. Giles-in-the-Fields a fortnight, and likewise indicted him, and thereupon was found guilty of treason; and maintayned and kept 17 witnesses for the space of 3 weekes, to the value of ——— [14]

Dom. Charles I. vol. cccxc. n. 155. May 23, 1637–8. Petition (2nd) of the same Francis Newton to the Lords of the Privy Council, for some allowance for his services "in apprehending Jesuits and Seminary priests."

Same vol. n. 155 II. Report of Secretary Cooke to the Council, that he thinks fit to allow Newton, their messenger, "two hundred marks, besides the vestments, which are given him by their lordships."

At the close of the life of Father Henry Morse, we print a paper from the King's Pamphlets, British Museum, which shows that these pursuivants did not stand high in the estimation of Archbishop Laud. In that Life, too, the venality of the miscreants is clearly brought out.

[14] The manuscript ends here.

FATHER JOHN PERCY, *alias* FISHER AND FAIRFAX.

THIS biography has been chiefly compiled from Father Tanner's *Soc. Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix* and Father Henry More's *Historia Provinciæ Angliæ*, to which have been added extracts from State Papers in the Public Record Office, and unpublished manuscripts from the Stonyhurst collection.

Father John Percy, who assumed the by-name of Fisher, was a native of Durham, born of Protestant parents about the year 1570, and taught the first elements of learning by an elder brother. At fourteen years of age, by the singular goodness of God, he was received into the family of a Catholic lady, where he not only came in the way of a copious library of Catholic books, but by her pious example imbibed the love and study of prayer. On a festival day, when he was on the point of going to the Protestant church, he overheard the lady lamenting, "Alas, me! I have no one who will pray with me to God!" "Behold," interposed the youth, "I am ready." "But you are by no means fit," she rejoined, "because you are excommunicated." Struck as with a thunderbolt by these words, he retired into another room, fell upon his knees and prayed to God to deliver him with all speed from so perilous a state, for he had both read and heard much of the malediction attending the Church's censures. He now eagerly desired to find means of seeing a Catholic priest. But partly owing to the lady's change of residence, partly from the caution demanded of the clergy in those unhappy times, almost a year elapsed, during which he continued to beg this favour of God. At the expiration of that time the lady, in whose family he was, requested a priest who lived not far off to visit him at his father's house, and to make trial of his spirit. The priest, considering his youth and how entirely he was under the power of his father and brother, wished him to defer his confession and reception into the Church until he had obtained the assent of both, lest the troubles they might cause him should shake his constancy. "Do as you think best," answered the young man; "but in the meantime, should I chance to die, whither do you think my soul would go?" This settled the matter, nor could the priest propose any further delay. When his brother discovered what was passing and saw how

fruitless all endeavours would be to divert him from his resolution, he persuaded him, for fear of penalties to the family, to cross the sea and pursue his studies on the Continent. The youth made two or three ineffectual attempts to do so, but found the roads blocked with pursuivants. At length, however, he was enabled to cross. Landing at Rotterdam, he thence went to the English College at Rheims, and pursued his humanity studies and rhetoric for three years. His further studies he prosecuted in the English College, Rome, of which the Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi, afterwards General of the Society, was Rector; and, under the celebrated Father Michael Vasquez, S.J., he defended the whole course of theology.

The following is an extract from the diary of that College.

"1589. No. 17. John Percy, of the diocese of York, was admitted among the alumni, September 22, 1589. Took the usual College oaths March 20, 1590. Was ordained subdeacon and deacon in September and November respectively, and priest on March 13, 1593. He went into Flanders March 10, 1594, and there entered the Society, and was afterwards sent into England."

So great had been the ardour of the students of the College in previous years to die for the faith, that most of them made only the shortest course of studies, and having been ordained, in their eagerness to return to England left but few to discharge the appointed Masses and solemnities. Pope Clement found it necessary to dispense them in the matter of the usual canonical age for ordination. John Percy prepared himself for this solemn event by making the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius. He felt himself impelled to enter the Society of Jesus, whilst on the other hand the desire of returning to England and bringing his parents and relations into the bosom of the Church, pleaded urgently against it. During this period of hesitation, he was present at a Mass which was celebrated by Cardinal Allen. During the Holy Sacrifice he ardently prayed that God would be pleased to enlighten him and put an end to his doubts. He made these reflections with himself. In the Society (which prudently weighs all things) it would be decided whether he was fit to be sent into England or not. If judged fit, then his great desire would be accomplished; if unfit, it were better he had never undertaken it, than to do so and leave it with risk of his salvation. Then, again, should he, out of desire for martyrdom (the highest act of charity,

according to our Lord's word), beg this favour, then, by relying on the wisdom of his Superior, he would be safe; but, on the other hand, might be imperilling himself by acting inconsiderately. For martyrdom is the free gift of God, and to it the Society of Jesus does not close, but rather lays open the door. Lastly, the one act of martyrdom may be equalled by the prolonged mortifications of religion. He was determined by these reflections. In the year 1594 he was sent to Tournay, of which Father Eleutherius Pontanus was Rector, to make his noviceship under the instruction of Father John Barge; and towards the end of the second year had so injured his head by over-application, that he was forbidden the use of any kind of prayer. Being sent to recover his health in his native air, he passed through Holland on his way to England. At Flushing he was seized on suspicion by some English soldiers. The letters he had concealed about him convicted him of being a priest. He was threatened with torture, unless he would disclose by whose means he had been brought over from Rotterdam. He was ready to say anything about himself, but would disclose nothing of others; and instead of offering that day, as he had hoped, the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ, he made offering of his own, to undergo anything rather than betray his friends. They hung him up by the hands, and then tortured him by twisting a sail rope about his head. During the torture he fixed his mind on the eternity of either pain or joy, uttering no cry but "O eternity!" By the goodness of God, the headaches from which he had suffered in the noviceship diminished from that time and gradually ceased. He was taken to London in custody and committed to Bridewell,[1] where his cell consisted of an entirely unfurnished turret. His bed was the brick floor with a little straw over it, till he was assisted by the care and charity of his Catholic fellow-prisoners, and of Father John Gerard. The latter, who was confined in the Clink Prison, Southwark, kept up a secret correspondence with him, and assisted him both with his advice and money. After about seven months' imprisonment, Father Percy succeeded in making his escape through the roof, together

[1] This place, which after the change of religion became the abode of guilt and punishment, was named from a well there, dedicated to the great Saint of Ireland, St. Brigid, or Bride, under whose invocation was also erected the Church of St. Bride's, in Fleet Street. It may be added that so wide-spread was her repute among the Scoti, who colonized western Caledonia, that the Hebrides (Hy-brides, or Brigid's islands) were named after her, as well as several other places in Scotland.

with two other priests and seven laymen. Being thus liberated, he made his way to Father Henry Garnett, who detained him with him for some weeks, and having first admitted him to his simple scholastic vows (1596), sent him to the north of England to Father Richard Holtby, who was Superior in those parts. Here he visited his family, and had the happiness of converting and receiving his mother and sister, with other relations, into the bosom of the Church. His father had died before this opportunity was presented. His brother, who had taught him in his childhood, was detained in heresy by the fear of persecution.

Having spent two years in the north, where he made many conversions, he was appointed (1598) companion to Father John Gerard in the county of Northampton, in which locality he laboured for several years with wonderful assiduity, explaining the Christian doctrine, preaching, inflaming the hearts of those who visited him at home, and nourishing them with the sacraments. Nor did he confine his zealous labours to the house, but gathered in no less fruit from other counties into which he made excursions. Whilst ministering to the spiritual needs of a certain wealthy family (probably that of Lord Vaux of Harrowden) a noble lady sought the services of a priest, expressly, however, excepting the Society of Jesus. As no other priest, secular or regular, was to be found, Father Percy was sent to her; he concealed the fact of being a Jesuit, nor did the lady make any inquiry. He was most kind to all that approached him, administering the sacraments, exhorting them, and familiarly treating with them upon a variety of affairs; in the course of conversation the lady disclosed to him the grounds of her aversion to the Society. Father Percy pointed out to her that sinister reports were not to be at once believed, that he had frequent dealings with Jesuits and knew much about their ways and actions, and that he was most certain the things reported about them in this instance were either false or wrongly interpreted. "Indeed," said the lady, "then I shall be very willing at any time to see any one of them." Father Percy, seeing that she spoke sincerely, thought it a good opportunity to make known who he was, and said, "I regret that you have no better opportunity of seeing one for the first time. I am myself one of them." The lady's favourable opinion was confirmed. She not only was satisfied, but used Father Percy for several

years afterwards as her chaplain and director, and introduced him to the acquaintance of others, to the no small profit of the neighbourhood. There is no doubt that Father Percy extended these excursions to Oxford, and was frequently there, as appears in the extract from Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, which is given a little further on.

Since Father Percy is frequently mentioned in the narrative of Father John Gerard, this memoir would be incomplete without giving some extracts from it. Father Gerard says,[2] speaking of Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux, widow of William, second son of Lord Vaux of Harrowden: "As she wished me to reside in her house, I proposed the matter to Father Garnett (Superior of the mission S.J.) on my return to London, who was much rejoiced at the offer, knowing the place to be one where much good might be done directly and indirectly. He said too, that the offer had occurred most opportunely, for that there were some Catholics in another county more to the north, where Catholics were more numerous, and there was no priest of the Society, and they had long been petitioning for the Father at present stationed at that house, and who would much rejoice at the prospect of having him amongst them. To this I urged that the place was large enough for two, and that I very much desired to have a companion of the Society with me, and I requested that he would assign me Father John Percy, with whom I had become acquainted during my imprisonment, not indeed personally, but by frequent interchange of letters. This Father had been brought prisoner from Flanders to Holland, where he was recognized and tortured; he was afterwards thrown into the foul gaol of Bridewell, and after remaining there some time, made a shift to escape from a window with another priest, letting himself down with a rope. Mrs. Line made him welcome to my house, where he tarried for a time; but soon after went down into the county of York, and dwelt there with a pious Catholic. In this part he made himself so dear to every one, that though I had Father Garnett's consent, it was a full year before I could get him away from them." Again[3] we find that Father Percy was with Father Gerard at a large house at Stoke Pogis, which had been built by the then late Lord Chancellor, Sir Christopher Hatton, and had been purchased by Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux. The Justices had got information of their being there.

[2] See *Condition of Catholics under James I.* p. cxxxii.
[3] *Ibid.* p. cxlvi.

"They arrived at our dinner hour, and being admitted by the carelessness of the porter, got into the hall before we had any warning. . . . We were going to take our dinner in my room, that is, Father Percy, myself, and Master Roger Lee. . . . So when I heard who had come, that they were in the great hall, and that his lordship [the young Lord Vaux, only child of Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux] himself, who was indeed but a boy at that time, could not prevent them from intruding into his room, though he was also unwell, I made a pretty shrewd guess what they had come about, and snatching up such things as wanted hiding, I made the best of my way to the hiding-place, together with Father Percy and Master Roger Lee. But we had to pass by the door of the room in which the enemy were as yet waiting, and exclaiming that they would wait no longer. Nay, one of the pursuivants opened the door and looked out; and some of the servants said he must have seen me as I passed. But God certainly interposed, for it was not to be expected from natural causes that men who had come eager to search the house at once, and were loudly declaring they would do so, should stay in a room where they were not locked in, just as long as was necessary for us to hide ourselves, and then come forth, as if they had been let loose, intrude upon the lady of the house, and course through all the rooms like bloodhounds after their prey. . . . The authorities searched the house the whole day thoroughly, but found nothing." They could not longer remain there with safety, so the pious widow, Mrs. Vaux, being driven from the house at Stoke Pogis, "set about," says Father Gerard,[4] "fitting up her own present residence [at Harrowden] for that same purpose, and built us separate quarters close to the old chapel, which had been erected anciently by former barons of the family to hear Mass in, when the weather might make it unpleasant to go to the parish church. Here, then, she built a little wing of three stories for Father Percy and myself. The place was exceedingly convenient, and so free from observation that from our rooms we could step out into the private garden, and thence through spacious walks into the fields, where we could mount our horses, and ride whither we would.

"As we lived here safely and quietly, I frequently left Father Percy at home, and made excursions to see if I could establish similar centres of operation amongst other families."

[4] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cxlvii.

Father Gerard soon found one such place in the neighbourhood, for a lady converted by him very gladly received Father Anthony Hoskins, S.J., into her house, who did great good on all sides, though the convert was herself directed chiefly by Father Percy, "who," says Father Gerard,[5] "this very week addressed me a letter in the following words: 'Such an one' (meaning this lady of whom I have been speaking) 'is going on very well. She has put her whole house under the protection of Our Blessed Lady of Loreto, and offers her heart to her, to serve her and her Son for ever, with all that she possesses; and in token of this she has made a beautiful heart of gold, which she wishes to send to Loreto by the first opportunity. We desire therefore to hear from you, by whom she can send this offering.' Thus he writes about this lady. In this way, then, by the grace of God, was this house, with its domestic church, established and confirmed in the faith." Father Gerard some time after lost Father Percy as companion, for Sir Everard Digby had obtained him from the Superior, Father Garnett. Sir E. Digby and his wife were distinguished converts of Father Gerard.

In 1606, Father Percy was still at Harrowden. Upon the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, that house was strictly searched and watched for nine days, with the especial hope of seizing Father Gerard. Though he escaped, the pious lady of the house was herself carried off to London. Her courageous and heroic conduct before the Privy Council is mentioned by Father Gerard. She was not sent to prison, but, being detained for a few days in private custody, was released. On Father Gerard's leaving England, May 3, 1606, he says: "I left her in care of Father Percy, who had already, as my companion, lived a long time at her house. There he still remains, and does much good." Father Gerard again mentions him in a letter he wrote to Father Parsons, dated July 15, 1606, being then at St. Omer's. At his departure from England, he says, "I left my old companion and dear friend, Father Percy, in the place where I was, who is so much esteemed and desired by them, as none can be likely to be more profitable." The last mention made of him by Father Gerard is in a letter to Father T. Owen, Rector of the English College, Rome. This is dated from Louvain, April 6, 1614, and treats of purchasing and settling the new novitiate, &c., at Liege. Father Percy was then with him. "Having writ thus far, I was called to go

[5] *Condition of Catholics*, p. cl.

to Bruxels with Father Rector (by Father Blackfan and Father Percy his advice), to speak with the Duke's secretary [Archduke Albert, Governor of Flanders], who telling Father Percy the last week that the agent did solicit against me, and that he could not well answer him, unless he delivered him some reasons in writing for my innocency [regarding the Plot], this writing was promised him by Father Percy; but I being loath to have any such writing sent, as thinking it the likeliest means to raise a new persecution against me, though for the Secretary's satisfaction we drew and delivered him a brief note of four or five effectual proofs, yet both to the Secretary first, and afterwards to the Nuncio, I told this day that if any such writing were sent it would do me great harm, for Canterbury having such a writing would doubtless show it at the Council table, and then those Lords who secretly do know me to be innocent and wish me well, will be, as it were, forced to speak against me, lest they should seem to favour me, and so the King would be more incensed. The Nuncio did promise Father Rector and me that he would seriously deal both with the Secretary and the Prince himself in the cause."

Father Percy is mentioned in "A list of the names of the Jesuits lurking in England, with the chief places of their abode."[6] "Mr. Percie with Mr. Fitter, in Essex." In confirmation of his having served at Sir Everard Digby's, we find among the State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. xvi. n. 112, the examination of William Handy, servant of Sir Everard. He states that he had been converted to Popery by Father Fairfax, *alias* Fisher, *alias* Percy, a priest. Also, in State Papers, vol. xvii. n. 8, Sir Everard himself says in his examination that Darcy [Father Garnett], Fisher [Father Percy], and others, frequented his house, but he refuses to say whether they are priests. In the *Gunpowder Plot Book*[7] is the examination of James Garvey, another servant of Sir Everard's. He says that in August, 1605, his mistress went on a pilgrimage to St. Winefrid's Well with Mrs. Vaux, Darcy, Fisher, and others. Father Percy is also mentioned in the examination of Mr. Henry Huddleston, *alias* Hurlston, a convert of Father John Gerard, son of Sir Edmund Huddleston, of Sawston, Cambridgeshire, whom Father Gerard "ever after found a most faithful friend in all circumstances." He afterwards married Dorothy, daughter of Robert, first Lord Dormer. Father Gerard says: "This pious

[6] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1603.
[7] P.R.O. State Papers, p. 153.

pair are so attached to our priests, that now in these terrible times they always keep one in their house, and often two or three."[8] Mr. Huddleston says in his examination that he met Gerard, *alias* Brook, Singleton, *alias* Clifton, and Strange, *alias* Anderton, Jesuits, at Mrs. Vaux's house. Darcy, Pierce, *alias* Fisher, and Greenway, priests, were there sometimes. Mrs. Vaux told them of the troubles in London.[9]

In the meanwhile (to resume the thread of our history) occurred that most calamitous event, the Gunpowder Plot, and the lady of the family with whom Father Percy lived was taken into custody. The fugitive Father was obliged almost daily to seek for new hiding-places, though not without the good of souls. A nobleman, a Catholic advanced in years, had been induced to conform to heresy through fear of the penal laws. A secular priest, his old confessor, having failed in every attempt to reclaim him, had recourse to Father Percy, who went to him, exhorted him, and urged him by threats of eternal punishment, but all in vain. The Father, unable to return home through the overflowing of a river, which he had to cross, again with greater ardour renewed his attack upon the obstinate old Catholic, but still without effect. The Father departed the next day, and as he had frequently travelled the same road, considered that the water would be sufficiently subsided, and so attempted to cross the bridge, the approaches to which had been covered. But he had not proceeded many steps when his horse fell into the river, and the Father was thrown upon the arch of the bridge, and by clinging to a beam got upon the parapet, still retaining his hold of the bridle. His companion ran back with all speed to the house to procure assistance. The nobleman himself with his servants hastened to his aid, and having rescued Father Percy, begged him to return; and, although he had resisted all his previous admonitions and attempts to convert him, yet he was so softened at this danger incurred by the servant of God for his sake, that the following day he made his confession, and was reconciled, and ever afterwards lived a faithful Catholic.

But Father Percy was not allowed to remain long in safety. He was living at Mrs. Vaux's with his companion, Father Nicholas Hart, assiduously applying himself to the functions of his ministry.[10] It had been reported to the Privy Council

[8] *Condition of Catholics*, p. xxxiii.
[9] See *Dom. James I.* vol. xvii. n. 13, Dec. 6, 1605.
[10] See the biography of Father Nicholas Hart, pp. 166, seq.

that two men, most pernicious to the State, lay concealed in that house. About four o'clock in the morning of All Saints (1605), Pickering, a magistrate of Northamptonshire, came thither with a troop of horsemen. Entering the house clandestinely, they arrested both the Fathers before they were well awake, and took away the sacred furniture and a great many books. The magistrate entertained the two Fathers and the lady of the house for some time at his own residence, and then conducted them, with the sacred furniture, surrounded by javelin-men as in mock triumph, to London. It was on this occasion that the amusing discussion arose between Father Hart and a Protestant tutor, recounted in the memoir of that Father, as above.[11] We have also stated that, arriving at Westminster Palace, London, they were taken to the Gatehouse prison. But Cecil, looking out at the window, said: "Those are not the ones I sought for," which turned out to be the case: for they met with nothing beyond mere threats, though for a whole month they were kept in close confinement, and no admittance to them allowed. For the following eleven months of their confinement they were transferred to a more commodious part of the prison, to the great consolation of their fellow-prisoners, whom they were thus better able to assist. At the intercession of the Spanish Ambassador, they were then released and sent into banishment.[12] Landing in Belgium, Father Percy at first supplied for Father Anthony Hoskins at Brussels, as Vice-Prefect of the English Mission, S.J., during his absence on business in Spain. He was next Professor of Holy Scripture at St. John's, Louvain. At length this servant of Christ, fearing neither death nor tortures, obtained permission to return to England, and was seized almost on landing, and thrown into the New Prison on the banks of the Thames. Here he enjoyed so great freedom in doing good, that whereas he might have been liberated on condition of returning into banishment, he preferred to remain with his companion in bonds; Edward Whittington, who, besides strengthening in the orthodox faith and exciting to virtue innumerable Catholics,

[11] P. 171.

[12] In State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. cxxxix. n. 35, March 4, 1623, is a letter from Secretary Calvert to Secretary Conway, in which he says "that the Spanish Ambassador requests favour promised him by the King for Fisher the Jesuit." In the same vol. n. 87, March 12, 1623 (*same to same*), he states that he is called upon again by the Spanish Ambassador for the King's order touching the priests Buck and Fisher. And in the same vol. n. 99, March 14 (*same to same*), are directions concerning the two priests.

especially of the higher rank, had in the three years of his confinement reconciled one hundred and fifty Protestants to the Church. Amongst these was the Countess of Buckingham, whose son, the Duke, enjoyed great favour with King James I., and obtained leave for Father Percy to live on parole in her house. For ten years he not only served the Countess, up to the time of her death, but was able to approach many, and freely discussed religion with all who came to him. A conference had been held between Father Percy and a minister of the new religion, not only with the consent but in the presence of King James himself, who warmly defended the cause of heresy. In the course of these arguments the Countess of Buckingham had received the light of faith, being convinced by the Father's arguments and the modesty with which he urged them. Father Percy relates (says More) that in a second conference with the same minister, he had not so much the parson as the King himself for an opponent. "The minister only said a few words, the King did nearly all the speaking, and as I was prevented by respect from interrupting the royal speaker, or to talk at greater length than his Majesty allowed me, I was unable to bring forward all the things I wished, or that made to the point. Indeed, I was seldom allowed to put in a word, and that only very briefly—the King rapidly multiplying new arguments, and himself suggesting the answers to them, and then as quickly as possible jumping to a new question. The conference lasted from six in the evening to ten o'clock at night. When I asked his Majesty's pardon, on his leaving, in case I had said or done anything in the heat of disputation to offend him: 'There is no need of doing so,' said he; 'on the contrary, you have pleased me in it.' The next day the King caused a paper to be handed to Father Percy, containing nine questions, to which he demanded an answer. They were arranged under the following title: *Puncta quædam præcipua quæ meam unionem cum Romana Ecclesia impediunt, donec ipsa se reformet, aut possit mihi satisfacere.*[13] The points were as follows: (1) The *cultus* and veneration of images; (2) Prayers and devotions to the Blessed Virgin Mary; (3) The *cultus* and invocation of saints and angels; (4) The Liturgy, and private prayers of the ignorant in a tongue unknown to them; (5) The repetition of the *Paters* and *Aves* in the recital of the Rosary, especially if any merit is placed in the number; (6) Transub-

[13] "Certain leading points which hinder my union with the Church of Rome, until she reforms herself, or is able to satisfy me."

stantiation; (7) Communion under one kind, and the doctrine of concomitance; (8) Works of supererogation, with relation especially to the treasure of the Indulgences of the Church; (9) The power of the Pope to depose kings, directly or indirectly, and to dispose of their kingdoms.

Father Percy undertook the task and accomplished it in a month, though by the machinations of some that did not relish it, the reply did not reach the King's hands until later. When the answers were received the same minister wished to refute them, and this brought out a revised copy of them with a learned commentary by Father John Floyd, S.J., the publication of which led to the conversion of many, on account of the solidity of the arguments. The foregoing account of the conversion of the Countess of Buckingham and conferences is taken from Fathers More and Tanner. Regarding this conference there is a letter in *Dom. James I.* vol. cxlviii. n. 81, July 12, 1623, from Mr. Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, in which he says: "Dr. White and Dr. Fealty have held private disputation with Fisher and Sweete the Jesuits."

The following is from a manuscript at Stonyhurst, *Anglia*, vol. vii. It enters more into detail, and states the additional fact of the conversion of the brother of the Marquis, who had to introduce Father Percy to his mother.[14]

The manner of the conversion to the Catholic faith of the Countess of Buckingham, mother of the Marquis of Buckingham, a favourite of the King of England.

The Viscount de Purbeck, brother of the Marquis of Buckingham, having been converted to the Catholic faith, and reconciled to the Holy Church, by Father John Perseus, S.J., betook himself to the Countess his mother, and gave her so good an account of the said Father, and of the consolation he had received of him, that she greatly desired to speak to him, and sending him to call the Father, she heard him discourse fully of the Catholic faith, asking of him also many doubts, and in the end she rested so entirely satisfied, that a few days after she caused him to be again called in, and begged him to commit to writing the substance of the whole he had said at his first visit; saying also that she desired it not so much for herself (she being already thoroughly convinced) as for others; and she protested that no human respect should hinder her from embracing the true faith. Whereupon the Father wrote her an excellent letter, animating and exhorting her to put in execution her good resolution, and reconcile herself with the Holy Church; and to this end he sent her the Catechism of Bellarmine, and a treatise upon the Sacrament of Penance, which she received

[14] Gee, in his list of Romish priests and Jesuits about London, thus mentions Father Percy—"F. Fisher, a notorious Jesuite, lodging neere the Savoy" (See Appendix).

very willingly and wrote to thank him, continually asking him with great earnestness for the written substance of their first conference, which he sent her; and this she gave, or caused to be given to the King, who having read it, handed it to a certain Doctor named White, in order that he might confute it. During this while the Countess sent to call the Father, and having prepared herself to make her confession, she confessed to him, showing the best resolution to remain constant in the Catholic faith; but the King having observed that the reasons given to her by the Father had made a great impression upon her, he determined to cause them to be refuted by the said Doctor in her presence, and ordered that the Father should be summoned to defend his writing, which nevertheless he would not have done, had not the Father Vice-Provincial, his Superior (after having been fully informed) ordered him to do so. This then was carried out ten days after, in the house of the Countess, the Doctor having had the writing of the Father the whole of that time, to study it, and prepare himself for the disputation.

At this conference, the Father found the Marquis of Buckingham, his mother, the Bishop of Lincoln, and a very learned Catholic gentleman, a kinsman of the Marquis; and the Doctor at the end remained so convinced that he was forced to concede that in the Church of God there ought to be a continual visible succession of pastors, in which also must be preserved the true deposit of faith taught by Christ and His Apostles, and that such a visible succession was not to be found in any sect or Church outside the Church of Rome.

The King, having understood the issue of this conference, wished that another should be held between the same Doctor and Father in his own presence, and caused the two to be called together, and although he expressed his wish that the Doctor should begin the disputation, nevertheless that he must not handle the point of the visible succession of pastors (which was the principal matter of the first conference). And the King himself suddenly took up the argument, observing that the Doctor did not reply to the purpose, and his Majesty's disputation was no other than either the proposing or asking questions and inquisitive things, passing on from one point to another, but without desiring to insist upon any, so that the Father was unable to press him much (for the respect he entertained, and which was due to his Majesty) nor to confine him to a particular matter or point; the whole conference therefore passed off without deciding any matter of controversy, and in the end the King observed to the Father that he would give him certain points, to the end that he might answer them in writing; this he did the following day, sending him nine points, with this title: "Certain points that hinder union with the Church of Rome, to the end that they may be reformed, or satisfaction given me upon them." And to these points the Father replied some days after.

During this time the Countess of Buckingham, although she remained much satisfied and convinced in her conscience of the truth of the Catholic religion, nevertheless she suffered herself to be forced by the King to go to the sermon of a heretic, and sometimes to the King's chapel, but with so great remorse of conscience, that she afterwards lamented it with tears, not only with some of her own intimate friends, but much more with the Father, with whom she once more reconciled herself, promising

him that she would no more go to the churches or the sermons of the heretics; and in confirmation of this she went to the King, and requested of him permission to leave the Court and retire to her house, giving him to understand that she deeply repented having gone to the sermon and the chapel by his Majesty's persuasion, and that she should do so no more, as she had resolved to live and die in the profession of the Roman Catholic faith; at which the King was exceedingly angry, and so offended that he severely scolded and reprimanded her, calling her an apostate for having left her first faith, and telling her that she would very soon return to the former faith. But finally the King gave her leave to retire to her own house; and as soon as she had left the King, she sent for the Father and told him all that had passed with his Majesty, and expressed herself very happy in having made that profession of her faith, and she is now living retired at her own house, with the best resolution of remaining a most constant and obedient daughter of the Holy Roman Church.

About this time the King of France gave his daughter in marriage to Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I. (1625). On this occasion the Count d'Effiat, the Ambassador of France, demanded from King James a full and free pardon for twenty priests, in all matters in which they may have come under the laws in force against Catholics.[15] Amongst these was Father Percy, who, armed with the King's royal letters patent under the great seal, went about, secure (as he thought) in the execution of his priestly functions. But the Privy Council again caused him to be arrested. Father Percy insisted before the Board that he relied upon the royal letters patent. A warm dispute arose, the Lords contending that the pardon only applied to past offences. Father Percy, on the contrary,

[15] On the treaty for the proposed marriage of Charles I. (then Prince) with Donna Maria, the Infanta of Spain, in 1623, amongst other stipulations in a private treaty, it was agreed that none of the penal laws against religion should be executed; that the Catholic worship in private houses should be tolerated; that no attempt should be made to seduce the Princess from the faith of her fathers; and that the King should exert all his influence to obtain the repeal of the penal statutes in Parliament. King James swore to this private treaty in the presence of four witnesses. It is to be feared, however, that he did this in bad faith (See Lingard, vol. vii. p. 248, and notes). The enemies of the Catholic faith took alarm, and succeeded in breaking off the match. In the following year (1624) another treaty was entered into with the King of France for the marriage of his daughter Henrietta Maria with Prince Charles, which took place in 1625, soon after Charles ascended the throne. On this treaty Cardinal Richelieu required that every indulgence promised to the English Catholics by the Madrid treaty should be secured by that of Paris. This demand almost upset the negotiations; but at last the French cabinet acquiesced, or seemed to do so, in the following compromise—"That the King of England, in a secret engagement, signed by himself, his son Prince Charles, and a Secretary of State, should promise to grant to his Catholic subjects greater freedom of religion than they could have claimed in virtue of the Spanish match, without molestation in their persons or property or conscience" (See Lingard, *James I.* vol. vii. p. 275).

maintained that they referred to the future also, since the King had directed that those who were confined in prison should be liberated and thenceforth be unmolested by any one, but remain secure under the assured favour of the King's pardon, and if there was any doubt, it should be construed in favour of the royal pardon. But in spite of the arguments of Father Percy, the Archbishop of Canterbury declared that it was the will of the King that he should be banished, giving bail never to return again. Father Percy declared that it would be contrary to his religious profession to give such a bond, because, if his Superior should order him to return, he must obey him. "But who," said the Lords, "is a higher superior than the King?" "In these matters," replied Father Percy, "which are spiritual, the Pope." "But should the King of Spain prohibit any one from departing his kingdom, would he not take it ill were the Pope to interfere with him?" "As to that," replied Father Percy, "let the Pope see to it." There was an end of the argument. Banished he must be, giving bail never to return; and, until that was found, kept in the Gatehouse. He lay there for eight months, when at the intercession of the Queen he was released, and employed himself in adding to his many former writings in defence of the Catholic religion. He also restored many persons of position to the Church, and strengthened his converts in the faith.

From this account of Father Percy's last arrest, for which we are indebted to Father More's history, the reader may be induced to suppose that he was taken soon after the grant of the royal letters of pardon in 1625. According to records in the State Paper Office, and the letter of Father Percy to Very Reverend Father General Vitelleschi, given presently, he seems to have enjoyed some ten years of liberty. In *Dom. Charles I.* vol. xxxiii. n. 122, is a warrant which appears to have been issued against "Fathers *Fisher*, Richardson, Anderson, Watson, and Dally, Jesuits and Seminary priests," but nothing seems to have been done upon it. It may have been considered too soon after Charles' marriage and promise, to take such a step. In June, 1627, Father Percy was certainly at large, as appears by the letter of Alexander Couler to William Johnson, London, June 26, 1627.[16] In which (*inter alia*) he says, "At the Countess' lodge, called the Porch, at the end of the King's garden, lodgeth *Fisher*, Walpole, and Floyd."

[16] *Dom. Charles I.* vol. lxviii. n. 8 (copied in p. 509).

The following is the order of the Privy Council for the banishment of Father Percy, and his imprisonment in the Gatehouse until he found the bail not to return. This is followed by the order for his discharge, eight months afterwards.

Dom. Charles I. vol. cclxxviii. n. 40, December 12, 1634. Father John Fisher.

At Whytehall ye 12° of December, 1634.

Present:

Lod Ar-Bpp. of Canty	Lod Cottington.
Lod Keeper.	Mr. Friar.
Lod Privie Seale.	Mr. Sec. Coke.
Ear. of Suff.	Mr. Sec. Windebanke.

(L.S.)

This day, John Ffisher *als.* Percey, a Popish priest, being brought before the Boarde by John Gray, one of the messengers of his Maties Chamber, who had apprehended him by virtue of a warrant from the Boarde. Theire Lopps after the hearing of him in whatsoever he could then alledge for himselfe did, accordinge to his Maties pleasure to them signifyed, declare and order that the said Fisher should forthwth departe out of the realme, and that he should give bond with sufficient sureties before his Maties Atty-Generall not to returne into this kingdome. And that he should stand committed to the prison of the Gatehouse until he have p'formed the same. Neverthelesse he is to remayne in the custodie of the said Gray untill he be satisfied his due fees, and untill he have defrayed his expenses in the house where he lodgeth.

E. T. MEANTY.

Dom. Charles I. vol. ccxcv. n. 57, 1635.

Theis are to will and require you forthwith to enlarge and sett at liberty the body of John Peers *als.* Fisher, now prisoner in your charge, for wch this shall be yr warrant.

Dated at Westr 12 Aug. 1635.

FRAN. WINDEBANK.

To the Keeper of the Gatehouse and his Deputy.

In page 517 will be found a petition from John Gray, one of the Royal "Joint Stock Company" of Pursuivants.[17] It is undated, but was probably prepared in 1637, as Gray therein speaks of Father Percy having been at large for these last *three* years, and he was, as we have just seen, committed in December, 1634. Gray there says that he had captured thirty-two Jesuits and priests—who had been duly disposed of by the Privy Council in the various prisons—that they have obtained their liberty without any order from the Board, and do lie lurking about in divers places in London

[17] *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cccviii. n. 66.

and Westminster and the suburbs thereabouts, perverting his Majesty's liege subjects, not hundreds but thousands, viz., "One Fisher *alias* Pearse, a Jesuit, who was committed to the prison of the Gatehouse by order of this honourable Board, and to be banished, there to lie till he had put in security to Mr. Attorney-General never to return into this kingdom again, who hath been abroad these three years, and doth more mischief than ever he hath done before."

The following is the translation of a letter written by Father Percy to the Very Reverend Father General Mutius Vitelleschi, January 22, 1635, from the Gatehouse Prison. The original is in the Stonyhurst MSS., *Angl.* vol. vi.

Our Very Reverend Father,—

P.C.

I have received your Paternity's letter in answer to mine of July: and now I hope (as does also your Paternity) that our Reverend Father Provincial (although then and very lately seriously ill with the stone) will live longer than I then thought he would. I therefore greatly applaud your Paternity's opinion as to not changing him.

I have nothing new to write about this our Province, except that the persecution is not so lulled as we hear it reported to be by some among you: for the satellites themselves, who are here called pursuivants, by day and night patrol the streets of London, and (whenever it pleases them) search the houses of Catholics with warrants for arresting and carrying before the magistrates any that they suspect are priests, and under this pretext they often apprehend Catholic laymen, and more than once Protestants themselves, whom they threaten with some trouble, unless they redeem themselves by a bribe. Among others, I myself (a little before last Christmas Day) fell into their hands: and because I was unwilling to give them money (relying upon the validity of a royal licence for the security of myself and of certain other priests, obtained at the instance of the French Ambassador in the first year of the reign of our King Charles, under the great seal) they conducted me to one of the Secretaries of State, by whom I was placed in strict custody until the validity of the licence had been examined into by the Royal Council, and at length (in spite of that licence, although it was most ample and favourable) the Council declared *that it was the royal pleasure that I should go into exile, and should find sufficient bail against my ever returning again; and until I give this bail, that I must be detained in a certain London prison called the Gatehouse* (where I now remain). Since therefore it is not in my power to find this bail, it appears to be decreed that I must remain for life in this prison, unless perhaps the King at the entreaties of the Queen (already six times made for me to the King and rejected) should at last free me alive, which whether it will happen or not, I know not. But in the meantime I rejoice in my chains (for the name of Jesus, and the Catholic faith and obedience to the Apostolic See, publicly professed before the Royal Council); and by the help of God I shall the more rejoice if I so remain even till death.

Nothing occurs to me necessary to be written regarding the state of ours either in England or in Belgium; especially since I doubt not but others, who know them better, have already written sufficiently at large regarding all, for I hear now of no particular complaint of any moment, of any person or thing which may not (as I trust) be sufficiently remedied by the foresight of Reverend Father Provincial.

A certain person is arrived, sent here by the Sovereign Pontiff, that he may be an eye-witness how Catholic affairs proceed here in England, and that he may report to the Pontiff the things which he sees or may learn upon credible authority. I have not yet seen him, but I hope that others of ours who have spoken, or may speak with him regarding the minds of the Catholics and their state, will give him sufficiently faithful information; and should he condescend to come to me, I also will give him my opinion.

What now remains to me is to commend myself and the state of the whole Province to your Paternity's Holy Sacrifices.

Your Very Reverend Paternity's unworthy son,

JOHN PERCY.

London, January 22 (O.S.).

The Annual Letters for 1635 thus refer to Father Percy: "In the London district one of the Fathers was apprehended by the pursuivants and brought before the Council. Some influential friends had procured for him, some time before, a royal licence protecting him from the penalties to which he might be subjected by law by the performance of his ordinary missionary duties. The Lords set aside this protection, and ordered him to leave the kingdom and to bind himself by oath never to return to it. The Father refused to take the oath, as inconsistent with his religious obligation to return to England if his superiors should order him to do so. In consequence of this refusal, he was heavily fined and committed to prison. Though old and infirm, he was confined to a narrow and loathsome cell, and treated with much inhumanity by the gaoler. After five [eight] months of suffering he was released at the urgent intercession of the Queen."

Dodd[18] favourably notices this eminent Father of the Society and able controversialist. After shortly mentioning his entrance to the Society, his labours on the mission, his imprisonment and banishment, his being Divinity Professor at Louvain, and Vice-Provincial (or agent of the English Mission S.J.), he continues: "Then, returning into England, he made a considerable figure in the reigns of James I. and Charles I. upon account of his extraordinary ability in religious controversy, having had several conferences with the most noted divines of the Church of England, upon which occasion

[18] *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 394.

he behaved himself so well as to merit praise from his adversaries. The most remarkable conference was that with Dr. Francis White, Dean of Carlisle, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, held in the King's presence in the year 1622, at three different times, and promoted at the request of the Duke of Buckingham, on account of his Duchess, the Earl of Rutland's daughter, both of them being Catholics.[19] The Duchess was represented as wavering in her religious opinions, and it was thought a conference between the learned of the two Churches would determine her in favour of the Established Church. But it happened otherwise. Upon the result of those conferences, King James desired Mr. Fisher to return an answer to nine points his Majesty was pleased to propose to him, and it was accordingly done in writing, excepting the article concerning the Supremacy, wherein Mr. Fisher desired to be excused. He had several other conferences with persons of greatest note among the Protestants, viz., Laud, Fealty, &c. The contest of Father Fisher with the Protestants being very public, several eminent writers drew their pens against him."

Wood, *Athen. Oxon.*[20] in his notice of William Chillingworth, the unhappy apostate, mentions Father Fisher or Percy in several places.

About the same time (Chillingworth) being unsettled in his thoughts, he became acquainted with one who went by the name of John Fisher, a learned Jesuit and sophistical disputant, who was often conversant in these parts [Oxford]. At length by his persuasions, and for the satisfaction of some doubts which he could not find among our great men at home, he went to the Jesuit College of St. Omer, forsook his religion, and by these motives following, which he left among them under his own hand, became a Roman Catholic.

The Ten Reasons for Chillingworth's becoming a Catholic.

I. That Protestants before Luther were nowhere to be found making a visible profession of their faith.

II. That Luther joining himself to no visible Church, Christ must of necessity have failed in his promises of assisting His Church.

III. That if human credit be of any importance the doctrine of the Catholic Church has been confirmed by unquestionable miracles.

IV. That most of the Protestant tenets were long since condemned by the Church in heretics of former ages.

[19] Dodd differs from the foregoing authorities we have adopted, which all say that it was the Countess of Buckingham, the Duke's mother. The same authorities lead us to suppose that she was not a wavering Catholic, but a wavering Protestant.

[20] Vol. ii. pp. 40, seq. Edit. 1721.

V. That the prophecies foretelling the conversion of nations were fulfilled only by Catholics.

VI. That many eminent Protestant divines acknowledge that the controverted articles of the Catholic Church were maintained by the fathers of the first six ages.

VII. That the first pretended Reformers could not make good either an ordinary or an extraordinary call.

VIII. That Luther was induced to oppose the Mass by the devil's persuasion, as he himself owned.

IX. That the Protestants supported themselves constantly by calumnies, misrepresentations, falsifying ancient writers, penal laws, and other human and unwarrantable methods.

X. That refusing to submit to Church authority was rendering the controversy endless, and opening a gap to all sorts of errors and absurdities that human wit was capable of introducing.

After the relapse of the unhappy Chillingworth, Father Edward Knott, S.J., wrote "A direction to N. N. being an admonition to Mr. Chillingworth to attend to his own arguments." The unfortunate man became an infidel in the result. Wood cites Father Edward Knott's "Direction to be observed by N. N., &c., London," which published these reasons.

These were his motives [continues Mr. Wood], as my author (Father Knott) tells me, who adds "that they were so strong, that he (Chillingworth) could never since frame his mind to Protestancy; and the profession of Catholic religion not suiting to his desires and designs, he fell upon Socinianism, that is no religion at all," &c. But to return, so it was that he finding not that satisfaction from the Jesuits concerning various points of religion, or (as some say) not that respect which he expected (for the common report among his contemporaries in Trinity College was that the Jesuits, to try his temper and exercise his obedience, did put him upon servile duties far below him), he left them in the year 1631, returned to the Church of England (though the Presbyterians said not, but that he was always a Papist in his heart) and was kindly received by his godfather, Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London.

For his greater merit, Almighty God was pleased to afflict Father Percy during the last two years of his life with a cancer, which caused him severe sufferings; but He rewarded his patient resignation under these by taking him to a better life, on the 3rd of December, 1641, being then "Septuagenario major." He is called in the *Summa Defunct. Prov. Angl. S.J.*, 1641, "Vir Missioni Angliæ utilissimus maximeque idoneus."

The following is a list of Father Percy's works, taken from *Biblioth. des Ecrivains S.J.*, 1853:

1. A Treatise of Faith, wherein is briefly and plainly shown a direct way by which every man may resolve and settle his mind in all doubts, &c., concerning faith. St. Omer, 1614. 8vo.

2. A Reply made unto Mr. Anthony Wotton and Mr. John White, ministers, wherein it is showed that they have not sufficiently answered the Treatise of Faith, and wherein also the chief points of the said Treatise are more fully declared and more strongly confirmed. St. Omer, 1612. 4to., pp. 264. A challenge to Protestants, requiring a catalogue to be made of some professors of their faith in all ages since Christ. pp. 6.

3. An Answer unto the nine Points of controversy, proposed by our late Sovereign of famous memory (James I.) unto Mr. Fisher, of the Society of Jesus; and the Rejoinder unto the reply of Mr. Francis White, minister, with the Picture of the said minister, or censure of his writings prefixed. St. Omer, 1625. 4to, pp. 400.

The Picture of Dr. White prefixed. 1626. pp. 160.

Dr. Oliver asks "Le P. Fisher n'est il pas l'auteur de l'ouvrage intitulé:" A reply to Dr. Fealty and Dr. White, who have undertaken to show a visible Protestant Church in all ages. 1625. 8vo, pp. 169.

Les Ouvrages suivants ont rapport aux controverses du P. Fisher.

The Trial of the Roman clergy's title to the Church, by way of answer to a Popish pamphlet written by one A. D., and entitled: a Treatise of faith, by Anth. Wotton, &c. London, 1608. 4to.

Reply to Jesuit Fisher's answer to some questions propounded by King James. By Francis White, Bishop of Ely. London, 1624. Fol. Avec un frontispiece donnant le portrait de White. Par T. Cockson.

Orthodox faith and the Way to the Church explained and justified, against T. W., by Francis White, &c. London, 1617. 4to. London, 1624.

A Relation of the conference between William Laud, then Lord Bishop of St. David's and Mr. Fisher, the Jesuit, with an Answer to such exceptions, as A. C. takes against it. London, 1639. Fol., pp. 388, 12 feuillets pour le titre et la dédicace au roy Charles. Réimprimé en 1624, 1649, 1673, 1686. Fol.

A Reply to a relation of the conference between William Laud and M. Fisher, the Jesuit. By a witness of Jesus Christ. Imprinted An. 1640. 4to.

Labyrinthus Cantuariensis, or Dr. Laud's "labyrinth;" being an answer to the late Archbishop of Canterburie's relation of a conference between himself and Mr. Fisher, &c., wherein the true grounds of the Roman Catholique religion are asserted, the principal controversies betwixt Catholiques and Protestants, thoroughly examined, and the Bishop's meandrick wanderings throughout his whole work layd open to publique view, by T. C., (Thomas Carwel, S.J.), Paris. London, 1658. Fol., pp. 415.

Dodd adds the following works written against Father Fisher.

The Romish Fisher caught in his own net, or a relation of Featley's conference with Fisher and Sweet. London, 1624. 4to. Dr. Featley.

A defence of Dr. Featley's proceedings in the conference, with a refutation of Fisher's answer, under the name of A. C. Dr. Featley.

An appendix to the Fisher's net, with a description of the Romish wheel or circle. Dr. Featley.

Fisher's folly unfolded, &c. London, 1624. G. Walker.

Catalogus Protestantium, before Luther. London, 1624. 4to. G. Webb.

An answer to Mr. Fisher the Jesuit, &c., in a dialogue between them two. 1623. Henry Rogers.

The Protestant Church existant, and by whom their faith professed in all ages. London, 1638. 4to. Henry Rogers.

A dialogue about this question, *Where was your Church before Luther?* discovering Fisher's folly. 1623. C. W.

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF FATHER THOMAS HOLLAND, *alias* SAUNDERSON AND HAMMOND.[1]

FATHER THOMAS HOLLAND (commonly known in the Society of Jesus by the name of Saunderson) was born in Lancashire in the year 1600. When very young he passed from England

[1] This life is chiefly compiled from *The Threefold Combat* of Father Ambrose Corby, S.J., who is likewise followed by Father Tanner; to which is added a manuscript relation from the Stonyhurst MSS. hitherto unpublished. The photograph (by the Woodbury Process Company, Great Portland Street, London) of Father Holland, with that of Father Morse at the head of our volume, as likewise that of Father Ralph Corby, which will be annexed to his life in the following volume of *Records*, are taken from the beautiful miniature portraits preserved as precious relics in the convent of the Teresian Nuns at Lanherne, St. Columb. According to the tradition attached to them their origin is marvellous, and, we may say, borders upon the miraculous. They are very beautifully executed paintings of the size of the photographs, and, according to the following extract from the records of the convent, came into the possession of the religious through a daughter of the *inspired* artist—"They were brought to our ancient Mother by a Novice, a Miss Mary Gifford, of Staffordshire, who made her profession in our Convent of Antwerp, on the 8th April, 1681, aged forty-two years, and was named in religion Mary of the Martyrs, in honour of the English Martyrs. Her father, Mr. Gifford, being their fellow prisoner, was filled with veneration for them, and conceived an ardent desire to take their portraits, and though he knew nothing of painting he felt a strong impulse to try, which, having done, he succeeded so well that it was considered miraculous, he having taken the likeness of *all* his blessed companions in one night (it is thought), as they were expecting to receive their crown next day. Mr. Gifford desired his daughter to give these portraits as relics to the 'English Nuns of Antwerp.'"

There were formerly two English houses of Teresian Carmelites settled in Belgium, and now translated to England—that at Lanherne, which was founded at Antwerp in 1619, and the Convent now at Mount Carmel, Darlington, which came from Lierre, a colony in 1648 from Antwerp (*Troubles*, First Series, p. 4). Mention is subsequently made of another painting of Father Holland, which a Portuguese nobleman procured to be taken the night before the execution, by an order of obedience imposed upon the martyr by his Superior.

Of the staunch Catholic and loyal family of Gifford, we find mentioned in the *Catholic Apology*, Andrew Gifford, a gentleman volunteer, who was killed near Wolverhampton in a fight with the parliamentary

FATHER THOMAS HOLLAND, S.J.,
MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.
Suffered at Tyburn, Dec. 12, 1642.
(From the original portrait at Lanherne Convent.)

into Belgium, where he spent about six years in studying his humanities in the English College of the Society of Jesus, founded at St. Omer in 1593. He was much esteemed, not more for his abilities than for his quiet and pious character, and was often elected Prefect of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. In this post he not only gave his fellow-students the benefit of a good example, but, by a singular grace and tact, was of much influence in familiarly exhorting his companions

troops. Several of the family entered the Society of Jesus, and will be noticed in other portions of our *Records*, viz., Edward Gifford, *alias* Leuson, of Staffordshire, born 1600. At the age of eighteen he entered the English College, Rome, in the name of Leuson, as a convictor among the Pope's alumni on the 9th of October, 1618, and, after receiving minor orders, entered the Society on the 28th of August, 1621, and then assumed the *alias* of White. He died in England, 1640. Peter Gifford (*alias* Walker) was born 1613, entered the Society 1633, and died in London 28th April, 1697, at the age of eighty-four. Three years before his death a party of priest hunters invaded his chamber, where he had a store of altar furniture, vestments, &c., but after asking him various questions, they unexpectedly left him without further molestation. Joseph Gifford, *alias* Walker, born 1620, a brother of Peter; he entered the Society in 1640, and died in England 3rd of March, 1673, at the age of fifty-three. John Gifford, who was, we believe, of the same family, was born 1684, entered the Society in 1705, and died at the English College, S.J., St. Omer, 21st of August or September, 1751, at the age of sixty-seven. Bonaventure Gifford, son of Andrew Gifford, of Northampton, a branch of the Giffords of Chillington, was born 1644. He was educated at Douay and Paris, took the degree of D.D., and on the 22nd of April, 1687, was consecrated bishop *in partibus*, with the title of Bishop of Madaurensis. King James II. appointed him, in 1688, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, after he had expelled the old president and fellows; but he had to resign this dignity in October of the same year, on the restoration of the old president. Bishop Gifford lay concealed for some time on the outbreak of the Revolution (1688), but was at last seized and cast into Newgate prison, where he remained for nearly a year. He was then released, and lived privately in London, and died at Hammersmith, March 12, 1733, at the advanced age of eighty-nine. The Rev. Andrew Gifford, brother of the Bishop, was an eminent professor of divinity at the English College, Douay, and afterwards a missioner in England. With all the qualifications of a good ecclesiastic, he was especially esteemed for his humility in refusing a mitre when he was importuned to accept it. He died in London in the month of September, 1714 (Dodd, *Church Hist.* vol. iii. p. 486). We also find four nuns of this distinguished family, besides Mary Gifford, the Teresian nun, whose father painted the martyrs' portraits. Mary Gifford, daughter of Peter Gifford, of Chillington, Staffordshire, was professed 10th of August, 1625, and died in 1675 ("St. Monica's Convent," *Troubles*, First Series, p. 259). Anne Gifford was sister to Peter, and aunt of the above-named (*Ibid.*). Winefrid Gifford, daughter of Mr. Gifford, of Chillington, was born 1618, and was the third Lady Abbess of the Poor Clares of Rouen, in Normandy; surrendering her dignity in her eighty-fourth year, she died on the 23rd of November, 1706 (Dodd, *ut supra*, p. 496). Anne Gifford, daughter of Sir Henry Gifford, Esq., of Bursthall, Leicestershire, was the fourth of these. Her mother was Jane Vaughan, daughter of Benjamin Vaughan, of Ruardean, Gloucestershire. She was a Benedictine nun at Pontoise, and was chosen the sixth Abbess of her monastery, 10th of March, 1710; she died 11th of February, 1711 (*Ibid.*).

to acts of piety. He was no less prominent in Exercises spoken from the rostrum, or in Plays which were performed in the College theatre.

On the termination of his course of rhetoric, he was sent by his Superiors, in August, 1621, to the English College of the Society of Jesus in Valladolid, to study his philosophy. While there, Charles, Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles I., visited Madrid, on the treaty of his marriage with the Infanta Maria. It seemed fitting that the youth of England, who by the munificence of his Catholic Majesty were pursuing their studies in his kingdom, should give some proof of their loyalty on the arrival amongst them of their future Sovereign, and of their reviving hopes of more favourable times for their religion. This was intrusted to Thomas Holland, who was sent for the purpose from Valladolid to Madrid. In the name of the rest he assured his Royal Highness of their loyalty and good wishes, and addressed him in a Latin oration, of which the Prince was pleased to express his admiration and approval.

Having spent three years in the study of philosophy he returned to Flanders, ill-health preventing him from completing his full course of study. He was admitted into the Society, and entered the novitiate of the English Province at Watten in 1620. He afterwards passed on to the College of Liege, the House of Divinity of the English Province, and, after studying theology there as long as his weak health permitted, he was ordained priest. He was then made Minister of the House of the Third Probation at Ghent. To this house the Fathers retire, according to custom, for a third year's retreat after the distraction of their previous studies, before making their final and solemn act of profession. After this he was appointed Prefect of morals and confessor to the scholars at St. Omer's. Here he was affable to all, assiduous in exhortations, and full of charity towards his penitents. Though vigilant to enforce the observance of discipline, he so tempered strictness by cheerfulness of countenance and mildness of speech, and showed such prudence in dealing with the faults of the less observant and the refractory, by gently reproving them and sometimes wisely passing them over, that he neither failed in his duty nor lost the esteem and goodwill of those committed to his care. He was very skilful in implanting a sense of piety in the hearts of the young, seizing every opportunity to introduce serious topics into conversation. He continually recalled the minds of his youthful companions to the

end of man, and to that which follows—the happiness of heaven, or the woes and torments of a miserable eternity—yet did this so judiciously that, whenever he began to converse, the minds of his hearers were at once prepared to receive the heavenly seed. This industry in promoting spiritual conversation was observed by many, not only in Belgium, but afterwards in England, who remarked that he was absolutely made up of spiritual things, and called him a walking library of pious books. He did not, however, obtrude such conversation out of season, but introduced it with precaution and a regard to those whom he spoke to, so as not to sow the good seed in vain. To his penitents, who were very numerous, he showed himself full of the spirit of consolation, mild and benign, as a true Father. If any were deterred by confusion, or anxiety of mind, from a sincere confession, he would exercise a holy ingenuity in aiding them to unburden their consciences, and would then profess himself ready to pledge his soul for them, at the same time taking on himself a part of their penance. This he used frequently to do, and undertook special mortifications, not only for those whose confessions he had heard, but for any whom he perceived to be uneasy under the yoke of College discipline, and to be with difficulty retained in their duty. Hence, he was remembered by the youth of the Seminary with particular affection, and long after he had left it; so that even those, who had never seen him, knew him as a man strongly imbued with the religious spirit and with great amiability of character.

The following statement by Father Thomas Cary, S.J., then of Liege College, regarding the holy martyr's life at St. Omer's, is taken from the collection of Father Richard Cardwell.[2]

I heard it most constantly reported at the English Seminarye of St. Omer's, that our glorious Father Thomas Holland beeing there Prefect, A.D. 1623, perceiving once a scollar, William Norice, now Alferius Westby, to be verie melancholy and afflicted, desired him to go and rest on his bed whilst himself went into his chamber, which was hard bye, and tooke a discipline for him.

Hee was exceeding charitable to the sick, whence I had long experience (beeinge in the time of his prefecting weake and sickly, though not in the infirmarie), and once himself made my bed for mee—I say once, because of so much I am sure; yet I do think hee did divers times.

Having care of the scollars' dormitorie in the sommer time, hee was much molested with fles, yet being told by others that hee

[2] *Collectio Cardwelli MSS.* (*S.J.*), Public Record Office, Brussels, vol. p. 342.

had manie on his face and cap, hee would not bete them of. I think I was present when to some that shewed him the inside of his cap all swarming with them, hee onely smiled, and put it on his head without removing one of them.

Some schollars once meeting him in the dark, and either ignorantly or out of knaverie taking him to bee one of their companions, that had put on the Prefect's cornered cap, fel about him and knocked his cap sorely about his eares, which hee bore verie patiently, and, easily imputing it to a mistake, without either pennance or signe of displeasure, forgave them. Hee seemed to be all inflamed, and his eyes would almost sparckle, as he was speaking of Al. God; and in chiding thos who were immodest, whould with such zeale and fervour reiterat, *Dñus Deus videt vos*, as did clearly manifest what a lively sense and feeling he had of His Divine Majestie. And although he would speake sometimes in chiding with that voice and gesture which would make a man believe hee was on fire, yet wee did see clearly that hee was not angry, but spake only out of zeale, for as soone as ever hee had ended his speech, hee was as present to himselfe and as meeke and quiet, as if hee had not bin the least moved. The scollars making once a greate noise with talking and playing in time of studies in the studie place, and hee not being able by anie means for to pacifie them, at length toocke two of the most unrulie by the hands, and bringing them into the middle of the studie place, said he would mack them examples to al the house, and, as if hee had resolved to give them a most exemplary penance, carryed them out, but was no sooner gon forth of the doore, but verie sweetly and mildly exhorting them to be more modest, remitted them to there places. Another scollar beinge verie stubborne, and refusing to admit a penance which Fr. Holland had enjoined him, yea, and going in a rage to make his complaint to Fr. Provincial, Fr. Holland perceiving him to be soe verie hot and angrie, called him aside, and did so sweetly win him that hee made him weepe, and withall most pliable to do whatsoever he should please.

Hee was an exceeding good ghostly Father, and so beloved of his penitents, that four or five yeares after his departure from the Seminarie his name was famous for so singular a talent, and divers of his penitents did protest never to have found the licke, or received that comfort and full satisfaction from anie which they had from him. Hee would verie often encourage us in confession with saying, "My soul for yours," and that in such an expression as wee might see it proceeded from a true and noble heart.

Leodii, Feb. 4, 1643. THOMAS CARY.

Father Martin Grene, S.J., made the following note regarding the blessed martyr Thomas Holland (*Carton* n. 29, *Varia S.J.*, in the Public Record Office, Brussels):

I remember to have heard at St. Omer's of some scholars there (and as I thinke of him that served his Mass), that one day whilst Fr. Thos. Holland was at Masse, there fell a spider into his chalice after consecration; wch when the B. Father saw he sent his server to Fr. Rector (who was then Father Worsley) to know what he should doe, and when he had graunted him leave to consummate, if he desired it, Fr. Holland consummated, taking in the spider together with the Precious Blood.

Feb. 3, 1643. MARTIN GREENE.

After labouring for some time in the discharge of this most responsible and important office, and having made his third year's probation, he took his vows on May 28, 1634, in the Society as a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor. This was at Ghent. He was sent the following year into England. Here, though his weak health precluded all the labour to which his zeal would have prompted him, yet by the saintliness of his character and charitable exertions, he excited to the pursuit of virtue those with whom he came in contact. Being obliged generally to keep within doors, since his mode of life and priestly character did not allow him frequently to go abroad, he lost almost all appetite for food, and suffered from severe headaches and sleepless nights. Sometimes for months together he was unable to venture out of his place of concealment, or to walk in a private garden, or to inhale the fresh air from an open window, for fear of being noticed by the neighbours. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages and trials, by a skilful division of the hours of day and night, he made this exercise of his patience agreeable to himself by a variety of prayers and occupations, and useful to the family in which he was residing by pious conversation. His charity, moreover, urged him, in the dusk of evening or in the grey of the dawn, to go forth and console, instruct, and strengthen by the sacraments, such Catholics as did not venture or were unable to keep priests in their houses; and also to visit the sick. He was very ingenious in disguising himself, he would change his hair, his beard, and his clothes, so as to appear sometimes as a merchant, at others as a servant, or even as a man of the world. He could speak French, Flemish, or Spanish, as occasion required, and thoroughly imitated a foreign and imperfect pronunciation of his native English; so that often, when assuming another character, even his most intimate acquaintance did not recognize him before he made himself known. By these artifices, rendered necessary in those unhappy times, he was able to minister much good to his neighbour, especially during the last two years of his life among the destitute Catholics in London. For a long while he had great success in consoling and gaining souls, and storing up merit for himself in the life to come. Such was the zeal and ardour of his charity, that he shunned no labour nor feared any kind of peril. But he could not for ever escape the keen search of the pursuivants, who were always on his track. On the 4th of October, 1642, the feast of St. Francis of Assisi, whilst he was fearlessly passing along the

streets for the purpose of announcing to a certain Catholic that he would administer to him the sacraments the following day, he was seized by a pursuivant formerly known to him, and given into custody. Being taken before a magistrate, he was committed to what was then called the New Prison, in the suburbs of London. These emissaries alleged that he was a priest, and ought to be hanged as such; but, because they could not be certain of this, nor prove it satisfactorily, the Father continued to maintain the bearing of a Catholic layman, which he had assumed. To conceal his priesthood by accommodating his manner and speech to that of a layman, he declined to enter into controversy, and studiously avoided betraying his learning or other abilities. For he would not seem careless of his life, though most ready to lay it down in so glorious a cause; nor, again, would he frustrate the attempts of his friends, should they endeavour to obtain for him a liberty which he might still use for the good of souls.

He lived therefore in prison in the state of a layman, with such remarkable moderation in food, sleep, and all beside, and with such singular innocence and gentleness of life, that he soon gained the affections of all his fellow-prisoners, although many of them were hostile to the faith. He very seldom used his bed for taking his rest; sometimes he spent the night reclining in a chair, sometimes in walking about his cell, praying or meditating on Divine things, having taken off his shoes that he might not disturb the repose of others. He used to take every opportunity of collecting his thoughts; and, betaking himself to a cell, or to some unobserved corner of the prison-yard, would there, if he could do so without observation, recite his office. The rest of the day he would spend in profitable conversation. He conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of all, that the Catholics affirmed that nothing which he had done or said had been observed by them which would not beseem a holy man; and the Protestants were much grieved when they heard afterwards that he was sentenced to death. Some of them declared that they had never met with a more innocent man; indeed, they said that if all Jesuits were like him, they did not understand how men could with justice revile them.

He had now spent altogether two months in this prison, when at the approach of the sessions he was transferred to that of Newgate. Thence on December $\frac{7}{17}$, being placed at the bar, he was indicted for being a priest. His accusers were four

in number, three being pursuivants and the fourth an apostate religious and priest, who from very degraded motives had lately abandoned the faith. This unhappy man was Thomas Gage, brother of the excellent Rev. George Gage and of the gallant and loyal Colonel Sir Henry Gage, who lost his life in the royal cause at the fight of Columbridge, near Abingdon, Oxon, January 11, 1644. A few years later, this apostate became the principal witness against and the cause of the conviction and martyrdom of the blessed Father Peter Wright, who suffered at Tyburn, May 19, 1651.[3] The heads of the evidence given by these witnesses were, that Father Holland had lived in the Colleges of St. Omer and Valladolid, and that in this last College those who were educated were ordained after three months and then sent back to England; that he had saluted the Prince of Wales in a Latin oration, when he went to Spain, on the matter of the marriage, but was not on that occasion admitted to kiss the Prince's hand; that when he was apprehended he spoke in French, in order to simulate another; that he had endeavoured on the first night to escape from the house of the pursuivant; and lastly, that he was very frequently seen in company with a well-known priest and Jesuit in London, Mr. Smith.[4] The apostate also affirmed he had been with him at St. Omer's for five years, and added that Father Holland was present at a sermon which he (Gage) preached five years ago in the Spanish Ambassador's chapel, and had congratulated him upon it; that he had then spoken of the controversies between certain religious and the Jesuits, at which time Father Holland observed that he nevertheless hoped charity would be cultivated between both Orders; and that he was once asked by a certain priest of a religious order to say Mass in stead of a certain Father who was hindered; that the accused was the very Father and priest in whose stead he was to say Mass, and had afterwards thanked him for the service rendered.

Father Holland, being called upon for his defence, acknowledged that he was at St. Omer's and Valladolid, and had been

[3] Father Corby in his narrative omits the witnesses' names, saying—"His accusers were four in number, whose names I forbear to mention. May God forgive them, and bring them all into His Church! One especially, who, born of a noble family, and once a priest and religious, by this act no less disgraced the dignity of his family and the honour of his blood, than he had by foul and wretched apostasy disgraced his faith and religious vows." See also the "Life of Father Peter Wright, Martyr," *Records*, Series IV.

[4] Father Henry Floyd, *alias* Smith.

deputed from thence to Madrid to make a Latin oration before the Prince of Wales, which had been composed by another; that he did visit the Jesuit whom they had named; that he had been present at the said sermon and applauded it; and that when apprehended he had spoken in French. He denied that he had been refused the honour of kissing the Prince's hand, or that after his arrest he had endeavoured to escape; nor did he know of the alleged custom of taking Holy Orders after three months; neither had he spoken a word to the apostate religious, besides congratulating him after the sermon; nor had Gage ever celebrated Mass for him. He contended that the witness' arguments were too trifling and weak in such a serious matter, and that, if they were worth anything, they would involve the accusers in the same danger as himself. For, in the first place, they also had been acquainted with Mr. Smith—and why should they not? Again, they had studied in the same seminaries. But surely it does not follow that if a man studies his philosophy abroad he is therefore to be considered a priest. For who does not know that many leave the seminaries and nevertheless remain laics? Many things may interrupt for a long time, or wholly put an end to, the course of a man's studies. Again, he had studied for two years or more in Spain, but was always in weak health; and, if they would believe him on his oath, he had not received the priesthood there. If the contrary could be proved, he would not refuse to suffer death. Hereupon the Judge asked whether he was prepared to swear that he was not a priest now. "It is not the custom of the English law," replied Father Holland, "for the accused to clear himself by oath; but that either the crimes laid in the indictment be clearly proved, or else that the accused be acquitted and set at liberty." Now this defence seemed good and satisfactory. The Father spoke at greater length, and being a graceful speaker was much applauded by those in court.

The jury, however, after they had retired to an adjoining room, soon returned and brought him in guilty of being a priest, to the astonishment of many present. Indeed, the Lord Mayor himself, and another person on the bench, declared that had they been members of the jury they should not have given in the same verdict on evidence that was so weak.

The following narrative is taken from a manuscript in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. n. 11.

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A relation of Mr. Sanderson's (alias *Thomas Holland*) *arraignment. Ann.* 1642.

On Wensday last, it being the 7 of Dec., about three of the clock in the afternoone, Mr. Sanderson, *alias* Holland, was removed from the new prison to the sessions house, and being brought to the barre with a fellon, was commanded to hearken to his inditement, to lift vp his hand, and answer—Guilty or not guilty? His answer was—Not guilty. Then was the jury brought in, and his accusers, viz., Newton, Jack Cooke, Captaine Wadsworth, and the apostate Thomas Gage, who having taken their oaths to speak, were commanded to deliver what they knew against the said Holland. The first that spoke was Newton, who, to make the gentleman's cause the more odious, said that he had knowne him many yeares past to keepe company with one Mr. Ffloyd (he meant Mr. Smith), a priest and Jesuit, and a great plotter of the Gunpowder Treason, and that synce that tyme he had gotten power and authority to apprehend the said Holland, and he had done his best these last three-quarters of a yeare to doe it, but could never meete with him; but that his servant, Jack Cooke, had apprehended him and brought him (said Newton) to my lodging, where in the evening he did strive to run away, and was gotten into another man's yard, but by good fortune was spied and so stopped, and this is all I have against him.

The next was Jack Cooke, who said that, meeting him one evening and speaking to him, Mr. Holland beganne to speak French, saying, *Dieu vous gard, mons*, then to ask him what newes about the King and Parliament; and being asked why he wore his beard of another fashion, he had answered him that these were very troublesome and dangerous tymes for Catholics.

The third was Captayne Wadsworth, who had much to doe to settle his countenance, and said: I have known this gentleman beyond the seas at St. Omer's, a student, and after that in Spaine, amongst the Jesuits, where the custome is that all students take an oath to receive Orders after so many months. And in Madrid I was present when he was brought by the archest Jesuit of them all, Sir Toby Matthews, to pronounce an oration in the name of all the Jesuits, before his Majesty, then Prynce of Wales. He spoke somewhat in the beginning of the month of May; then he shewed how gratefull the Prynce's arrival was vnto them, and that all hoped he would not degenerate from the religion and worth of his ancestors. And last of all he went to kisse the Prince's hand, but the Prynce refused to give him his hand, thinking it was a disgrace to let any Jesuite touch his hand.

Lastly, Gage deposed that he had known Mr. Holland in the Seminary of St. Omer's, and that it could not be denied, for they had beene schoole fellowes five years together. Secondly, that some yeares synce, Mr. Holland was present at a sermon which he himself made in Jewes Street, and that after the sermon Mr. Holland did congratulate with him in a particular manner for the good success. Thirdly, that he had been once invited to say Masse in Holburne, and to supply the place of a gentleman who was ill-disposed, and Mr. Holland was the gentleman who should have said Masse there, had he been well. And this was all he knew against him.

Then the Judge asked Mr. Holland what he could say for himself, who answered that since it had pleased the Honorable Bench

to give him leave to cleare himself he would answer to all that which had beene objected against him. And first of all he said that if it were any prejudice to him to have kept company with Mr. Ffloyd, then Mr. Newton his accuser had incurred the same fault, by conversing often with the said Mr. Ffloyd. And as for his running away, he denyed any such thing; this indeed was true, that in the evening he came down and desired the servant to show him the place of convenience, who accordingly led him into the garden and then retired another way, and that he, soone after, not well knowing the way in, followed the servant afar off, who carried a light, and going in tooke one door for another, but finding his error, retired back presently and went to his chamber.

As for John Cooke, he graunted all he said, it making no matter one way or other.

And as to Mr. Wadsworth's accusation, he said it was true he had studyed beyond sea, both at St. Omer and Madrid, but that hee beeing sickly did not stay in Spaine to end his course, and that he knewe of no such custome as that all students there should take an oath of receiving Orders after so many months. Neither did he know any such arch Jesuit, Sir Toby Matthew; but for the speech, it is true he pronounced it before the Prynce, thoughe he did not make it. Lastly, he said it was false that the King, then Prynce, did count it a disgrace to give him his hand to kisse, for he then did kisse it.

Now concerning Mr. Gage, he acknowledged to have studyed with him beyond seas, as also that he had been present at his sermon, and had congratulated with him for it; but that Mr. Gage should have said Masse in any such place as he had named, and that he himself was expected or invited thither, he had never heard of any such thing; and of all this he was readye to take his oath, if it were needful. Then he tould the Judges that the lawes of England did require that evident proofes should be brought against a delinquent, otherwise he could not be condemned, but as yet there was no such thing deposed against him; he added, also, that if any one could prove where and when he had taken Holy Orders, or where he had exercised any act of such a function, that he would most willingly suffer. The Judge asked him whether he would say or swear that he was no priest, he answered that no man was to accuse himself. In fine, the jury went out and came in again, declaring him and the other fellon guilty, which maketh all the world to wonder that a man should be cast without any kind of proofe. Major Pennington and others have publickly said that had they beene of the jury they would not have done so.[5]

All this took place on Wednesday, December $\frac{7}{17}$, when the court adjourned. But the next Saturday, being December $\frac{10}{20}$, Father Holland was again placed at the bar about eight o'clock A.M., and having been asked what he had to say why sentence of death should not be passed against him, he spoke briefly, as follows:

"My Lord Judge. Before your lordship passes sentence of death on me, you will consider carefully the evidence adduced

[5] Father Tanner says upon this, "Palàm edicente Garrowayo Senatore gravissimo, qui etiam Isaaci Ponnigagnoni Prætoris sensus fuit."

against me, how weak, trifling, and illegal it is. For you, who are learned in the law, cannot but know that before I can be lawfully condemned on this capital charge, it is necessary, according to the custom of the country, that witnesses formally sworn should point out a certain time and place, when and where I was ordained priest, or at least should make it evident that I had exercised at some time sacerdotal functions, by preaching, hearing confessions, or celebrating Mass. But my accusers have brought nothing of the sort against me, nor do I think they can do so now; nor have they been able to mention the name of any one whom I have persuaded to change his religion, or whom I have in any way deceived." "I confess," replied the Judge, "that I find nothing in your life or morals to displease me. By the laws it is enacted that whosoever, being a subject of the King, taking Orders by authority of the See of Rome and returning into England, is guilty of high treason, and incurs the penalty of death. The jury have, as you see, found you guilty upon this charge, upon *presumption* (as they say), *which at least is a legitimate and full proof;* and nothing therefore remains for me, except, according to the form prescribed by law, to pass such sentence upon you as is appointed for priests and traitors;" which he then proceeded to do. "You will therefore return to the prison whence you came, and thence be drawn to the place of execution, and there be hanged by the neck till you are half dead; your bowels shall then be taken out and burnt before your face, your head cut off, and your body divided into four parts, to be exposed in the usual places in this city; and so may the Lord have mercy on your soul!"

The Father received the terrible sentence with the utmost placidity, and with a distinct voice and grateful and humble joy exclaimed, *Deo gratias!* and being conducted back to Newgate, he begged his fellow Catholic prisoners to join with him in praising God by reciting the *Te Deum*, in thanksgiving to the good Providence of God for granting him so happy a termination of his course.

The space of life now left him was short, and consequently most precious; each moment of it, therefore, he spent in works of piety and charity, so that he might go to his last conflict better fortified by the aid of these virtues; for very many persons came to visit him of all nations, ages, sex, and condition—English, Spanish, French, Flemish—all of whom (as a Capuchin Father belonging to the Queen's Court, who

was kindly in attendance upon him for the greater part of the time, relates) he received with religious modesty, mingled with admirable cheerfulness and firmness. Moreover, he addressed them in words full of piety, with a placid countenance, and the foreigners in their own native language, aptly and skilfully, to the great admiration of all. The prison, in truth, assumed more the appearance of a fair than of a gaol; some hastened thither, attracted by curiosity, to see a man so shortly to die for his faith; others out of motives of piety, to learn something for their good; others out of grief, to bid a last farewell to so excellent a Father; others for religious reasons, in order to receive the Sacraments at his hands; many out of feelings of veneration, to kiss his feet; others out of respect, to obtain at least his last blessing; and some out of charity to their neighbours, to move the Protestants whom they took with them by the Father's discourse and example. Amongst the latter he addressed one, who seemed desirous to hear something from the lips of a dying man, "You expect, I observe, that I should say something to you. Now, should I tell you that there is a plurality of Gods, you would justly deem me to be a lying man; equally might you consider me a liar, should I tell you that faith is not one. There is only one God, one faith, one religion, one Church, in which and for which I am about to die. Behold, therefore, how great an interest you have in following and embracing this one!" The man was struck by these words, which led to his conversion. The Duke de Vendôme, who was then in London, of his own account humanely offered his aid in averting the Father's impending fate; but he, with humble thanks, answered that there was no reason he should take such trouble for a man so unworthy. Indeed, on being first taken prisoner, he took up a pen, and wrote in an ardent strain to his Superiors, earnestly entreating them to be at no trouble, and to obtain no one's intercession on his behalf. A noble Portuguese who professed himself to be descended from the Holland family, sent a painter to take his likeness. This the Father, modestly blushing, declined; but the night immediately preceding his death, the perseverance of his friends contrived that whilst he was placidly sleeping the lineaments of his face should be taken.[6]

[6] Father Tanner says that the martyr indignantly refused the request to allow his likeness to be taken; but, not to be frustrated, the applicants retired and obtained an order of obedience from the Superior, which of course settled the point. See the note in page 542 regarding the portraits taken by Mr. Gifford, the fellow prisoner of the martyrs.

Father Holland constantly declined the honourable title of martyr; and amidst the speeches of those who saluted him, the kissing of his feet, the embraces of friends, the clipping of his hair and vestments by stealth, moved as they often were by feelings of an indiscreet zeal, he over and over again repeated that he was no martyr before his execution. And, when this would not prevail, as though commiserating his own fate, he would say, "I am forced to suffer these things against my will." And now having, during almost the whole of Saturday, attended to the multitude of his visitors with sedulous charity, to their no small consolation, and desiring to devote some time to himself and his religious duties, he thus addressed himself to those present: "Gentlemen and friends, allow me, I beg you, to collect my thoughts for a short time, and to pray to the Almighty God for you and for myself. And you, again, who hear me, pray the same God to give you patience and perseverance at this time. Nor let the insolent and malicious pride of a few persons terrify you, who have it in their minds not only to take away the faithful servants of God, but even, if they could, to hurl God Himself from His throne. Doubt not but that the blood of martyrs will appease their fury. Do you in the meanwhile remember me in your prayers, and I will not forget you."

This he said on Saturday; and the next morning, which was the fourth Sunday in Advent, he heard the confessions of several; and after celebrating Mass, administered to many the most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist, a privilege permitted at that time to priests condemned to death. But having spent a fair portion of the day alone with God, he passed the remainder of it in acts of charity to his neighbour. To his numerous visitors he did not speak much; but what he did say was impressive and uttered with great fervour, and produced a marked effect. He was especially anxious to give serious advice to some of his Catholic fellow-prisoners, with whom he had previously been familiar, because they had acted wrongly regarding the oath of supremacy, which was unjustly tendered to Catholics in England; and in order to give his warning the greater weight, he urged upon one person, whom he thus advised, his own position, condemned as he was to death for the faith of Christ, and now on the edge of the grave. "What was the issue of this" (says Father Corby), "I am unable to state; but I have no doubt that he piously and consistently performed what he had determined to do." To one person, who had

apparently taken the oath, he spoke with great earnestness at the very time when he was being summoned from prison to execution. On this day also the Spanish Ambassador, by a nobleman of his suite who was going out to visit the Father, commended to his prayers his Catholic Majesty, and the State of the kingdom of Spain, having previously had Mass said and prayers offered in his private chapel, for Father Holland and for his perseverance. The Father, wishing to testify his gratitude, replied, "That he should never forget the kindness, shown by his Majesty and his Ambassador, on himself in particular, and on the whole English Province of the Society of Jesus. That he would by all means pray to God, Who alone could repay them; and therefore that he would the next day offer his last Mass for the King and kingdom of Spain." The day being finished in these and many other charitable offices, he was invited to a supper which his friends had provided for him in the prison. He came readily and sat down, but could not be induced to take anything but an egg; he tasted no wine, except that at the urgent entreaty of his friends he took a very little, mixed with some ale, saying "that he would have so much the more blood in his veins to shed the next day for Christ."

So, on Monday the $\frac{12}{22}$ of December (on which day the Church was celebrating the transferred feast of St. Thomas the Apostle), Father Thomas Holland, having said Mass very early in the morning, before he had finished his thanksgiving received the news that the hurdle was ready at the prison door, to draw him to the gallows at Tyburn. He immediately descended with all alacrity, imparting his fullest benedictions to the bystanders. Neither of the sheriffs of London and Middlesex were present at this spectacle, a circumstance which, during this Parliament at least, had never happened at the execution of any priest who had suffered at that place of execution and martyrdom. Various reasons of their absence were supposed; many thought the sheriffs were unwilling to be present at the judicial murder of one whose conviction and condemnation were contrary even to the savage penal laws. This is certain, that the sheriff of London had before applied to Parliament for a respite; but had been refused. A serjeant, who in the execution of his duty was accompanying the hurdle, is said to have answered those who asked him in the streets about the prisoner, that he was going to die contrary to law, right, and justice.

When the procession reached the gallows at Tyburn, an innumerable multitude of all classes had assembled to see Father Holland die. Amongst others, the Spanish Ambassador came, with almost all his household. Another priest of the Society of Jesus, who had assisted the Father in prison, and now stood dressed in disguise near him at his death, taking his hand, said, "Be of good cheer, and bear yourself bravely!" To whom he replied, "By God's grace you have no cause to fear; my courage will not fail."

Having been unbound from the hurdle he stood upright, and observing that the crowd around was quiet and attentive, in expectation of what he should say, he courteously saluted the people, and presuming leave to address them (the sheriffs to whom it appertained by custom to give this permission being absent), he said: "From this attention and silence of yours I presume that I am at liberty to address you. Believe me, I will say nothing offensive to any one in any manner. But if any harsh word should be let fall, which I hope will not be the case, I beg that no one will take it ill, and I desire you to take notice of this. But what am I doing? I ought to begin with that sign by virtue whereof Christians may overcome their infernal enemy." Then fortifying himself with the sign of the Cross, with invocation of the Most Holy Trinity, he proceeded: "No one can possibly be offended at this, being the sign of a Christian man." And when he observed that the people were still attentive, with a firm yet sweet voice he went on—

"I am brought here to die, because I am thought to be a priest and Jesuit. But this I can affirm, that no proof has been brought against me strong enough to convict me of being so. My adversaries have objected that I was very intimate with a certain Mr. Smith, a Catholic, a priest, and Jesuit; and that I formerly studied in Spain; but nothing that can be of any weight has been alleged. I speak plainly, and call on my accusers, if any be here present, to convict me freely if I have stated anything that is untrue. Besides, how trifling and insignificant these things are, has been declared before at my trial, and many have already seen evidently themselves. A certain time and place should be named, and it should be proved that I had received or exercised the priesthood; neither of which things has been done. And so I seem to be brought hither as a person of doubtful condition, nor should I be bound to confess anything except

that I am a Roman Catholic, who has been in habits of acquaintance and intimacy with the orthodox, and who has had formerly a literary education, since according to law and justice nothing else can be proved against me. But, since all this is now over, and capital punishment is to be inflicted on me, I first beg Almighty God to pardon the judge and jury, and my accusers; certainly I heartily pardon every injury done to me. I regret, however, that they should have laid it down as a rule of law that a man, unless he should swear that he is not a priest, should, as in my case, be condemned, and suffer the punishment inflicted on priests in this kingdom, on an unfriendly suspicion, and from mere conjectures and settled opinion. I am free to acknowledge that laymen may fairly swear that they are not priests; but that this may not obtain the force of prescription and be turned to any one's injury, I would rather recommend that they even should not swear, but leave it to be juridically proved against them. But now that my taciturnity, which the obligation of preserving my life and the law of nature demanded, may not by a longer duration seem to any one to be injudiciously obstinate, and besides, that I may satisfy the expectations of many who are desiring to know at last the truth of the matter, I will now openly and readily declare what hitherto no testimony has been able to prove, for neither can this, now that sentence is passed, either do me any injury or any one else any credit, nor can it make legal what has been done, or inconvenience that which is to follow it. I confess, therefore, before this assembly here present, that I am a Catholic and a priest, and by the infinite goodness of God, a religious of the Society of Jesus, and the first of that Order sentenced to death since the beginning of the present Parliament. For all which benefits conferred on me, though undeserving of them, I give the greatest thanks to God immortal."

He then began to explain to the people at greater length that there was no hope for salvation but in the Roman Church, to which Church he exhorted all to flee, since it alone taught the true love of God and our neighbour, and alone could enable man to attain the true end of his creation. To this Church he prayed that his death might prevail to bring back the apostate religious, Thomas Gage.

He was proceeding to speak at greater length upon this point, when a certain Protestant minister frequently interrupted him by impertinent questions and propositions. The Father

replied that he willingly refrained from these matters, being inopportune both as to time and place. The minister, who was the ordinary of Newgate, then asked him to desist from saying anything more to the people, and to say his prayers to himself, whilst he talked with the two malefactors, robbers, who had been condemned to death and were to die that day. Thus whilst the minister was delivering a long address to the robbers, and praying extemporaneously and verbosely, singing also some Psalms in English, Father Holland, turning another way, communed with God with such a quiet and composed air, that he seemed to the spectators to breathe forth a remarkable piety. At length, when the minister had finished, he said: "Mr. Minister, I have not interrupted you in your preaching and praying, and now in your turn let me pray to God with a loud voice that all may hear what I say." The parson began to cavil and say that it was unnecessary, because he had already prayed for him and the two others. "But I will allow you," said he, "on one condition, that whenever you fall into error, I may interrupt and correct you." The Father accepted the condition, and reverently kneeling down, signed himself with the sign of the Cross, using the Latin formula, and then began to pray in English, with a clear voice and earnest piety, first returning thanks to God for all His benefits from his birth, and especially for the greatest favour of dying for his religion and for the Catholic priesthood; he then expressed the most lively sentiments of faith, hope, and charity, asking pardon for his sins, acknowledging that he was nothing of himself, and could do nothing without the help of God, offering to Him his memory, his understanding, and his will, and all his powers and faculties of soul and body, and lastly himself and his life as a sacrifice. "Receive me," he said, "O Father of mercies, as Thou seest me; and receive these my unworthy sufferings, which I most willingly offer to Thee in union with the most holy Passion of Thy only-begotten Son, to be, I hope, more acceptable by the virtue and in union of what my sweetest Redeemer Jesus suffered, together with the merits of all who have been, who are, or shall be accepted by Thee under the law of Moses, and of grace." Afterwards, again invoking pardon on his enemies, he said: "I forgive my judge and his assessors who condemned me; I forgive the jury who brought me in guilty of a capital charge; I forgive my accusers and all others who in any way are the cause of my coming to a violent death."

Lastly, with great fervour he added prayers for the King, the Queen, the royal family, the Parliament, and the whole nation; for whose general good, restoration to the faith, and eternal welfare, he said: "If I had as many lives as there are hairs on my head, drops in the ocean, stars in the firmament, perfections in the Lord of heaven, I would most willingly lay them all down for this purpose,"—which last sentence the people received with much applause.

Then turning to the executioner, he said: "Well, Gregory [that was the man's name], I also willingly pardon you for carrying out my sentence, and with the permission of my Superiors, whom, under God, I obey, do you take what money I have;" at the same time giving him two gold crowns. Then reopening his eyes, which had been closed for a short time, he fixed them upon the priest of the Society of Jesus, his helper, who on this signal, as had been previously agreed upon, gave him the last absolution, so that he heard the final words of the formula. Presently, the cart having been driven away in which he was standing with the rope fitted about his neck, whilst he hung by his own weight, his throat being compressed by the halter, a certain Catholic, moved perhaps by a Divine impulse, withdrew the cap which covered his head and face, with the design probably of showing to all the appearance of his countenance when dead. And the spectacle was indeed admirable; for his hands were seen joined before his breast and pointed upwards, and his eyes, which one of the soldiers two or three times endeavoured in vain to close, were directed towards heaven. His face, at first suffused, some moments afterwards returned to its original complexion. Nor were his features hideously distorted, as often happens in the case of persons who are hung, nor were his arms or feet or any of his limbs agitated by any painful quivering; but hanging with unmoved body, he ceased, says Father Corby, to lengthen out the earthly pilgrimage of that soul of his, which angels, as one may well believe, were vying with one another to conduct in triumph to heaven.

The same minister perceiving that he was still alive, and afraid of the effect that the unusual and angelical appearance of the martyr's countenance might produce upon the people, admonished the hangman that it was his duty to cut him down and disembowel him whilst half dead. But this man, more human than the other, occupied himself with something else until it was clear that life was extinct, and then at length

he cut the rope. The blessed martyr suffered in the forty-second year of his age, after leading a holy life for nineteen years in the Society of Jesus, of which he had passed eight upon the English mission, chiefly in London. In stature he was below the middle size, he had a handsome face, florid complexion, auburn beard, dark hair, large and prominent eyes, the expression of which was subdued by his sweet and pleasing manners.

The great veneration felt for him amongst Catholics may be learned from this, that whilst his body, after being disembowelled, was being cut into quarters in the midst of a great crowd of Protestants (a butchery then inflicted in England on priests slain for the sake of Christ), although the guards kept off the bystanders with their halberds, and were actively aided by the Parliamentary soldiers, many persons dipped handkerchiefs in his blood, collected blood-stained straw, and carried off small pieces of his flesh, or the knot of the rope, or other things pertaining to him; their piety overcoming their fear. All the clothes which he then wore were, out of a religious veneration for him, bought by a Catholic for thirty florins, though they were so poor as not to be worth anything.

There are (adds Father Corby), and there may well be, many eulogies of this Father; and his death, which was so holily and courageously met, evidently moved to a great degree men of all conditions. The Spanish Ambassador who, as we have before mentioned, was present at his death with almost all his suite, bore especial witness, in his letters, to the virtues of the martyr.

A Catholic nobleman, in whose house Father Holland had lived, testified with tears that of all the priests whom he had known he considered this Father the most worthy of so great a crown. A Protestant also was heard to say: "When, in all our life, shall we see any other—when shall we see any one of our religion die so nobly?" One of the keepers of Newgate, as he regarded the limbs of the quartered body, holding in his hand and lifting up the neck and throat of the decapitated head, said: "See, this is the throat through which went so many excellent sermons, so much sage advice." Happy soul, whose manifest virtues elicited sincere praises even from enemies.

Father Corby concludes his notice of the blessed martyr by saying: "His true character was, that he had extraordinary

talents for promoting the greater glory of God, and that he made an extraordinary use of them. His knowledge in spirituals was such that he was termed 'the library of piety'—*Bibliotheca pietatis.* And whenever he was in company, whatever the subject of the conversation happened to be, he would by a dexterous turn bring it to some moral or Gospel instruction for the advantage of the company; imitating the great St. Francis Xavier, of whom it used to be said that in his conversation with people of the world, '*he would go in at their door, and come out at his own.*'"

It was a marked proof of the respect entertained towards the martyr, that he was honourably spoken of everywhere, and that no idle ballads, so usual on such occasions, were sung in the streets, nor were any insulting words uttered against him. His Catholic fellow-prisoners, and two Capuchin Fathers who had attended him in Newgate after he was condemned, proclaimed his innocency of life and his invincible constancy in death.

In the Annual Letters of the College of Liege, S.J., for the year 1642, the death of this blessed martyr is recorded as a subject of great spiritual rejoicing there, first because he had in that College received the sacred order of priesthood, for which he suffered death; and secondly, because he was the first of the divines educated there who had shed his blood for Christ.

An ancient *Catalogus Defunctorum*[7] thus announces the death of the martyr—

December $\frac{12}{22}$. In the year 1642, Father Thomas Holland, an Englishman, born in Lancashire, did undergo a glorious combat for Christ at London. He was betrayed by an apostate from the faith, and was condemned only for his priestly character, in the time of the Parliament, the Judge himself confessing on the bench, that he had no other charge against him. He had been brought up in the College of his own nation in the Low Countries, and Valladolid. A man of great zeal, piety, regular observance, and a great contemner of dangers for Christ in England. He received the sentence of death with great constancy, and with fidelity professed his faith at the gallows. Lastly, he was hung and quartered, as the custom is, in the forty-second year of his age, the nineteenth of his entrance into religion, and the ninth of his degree of Spiritual Coadjutor.

The following is a copy of a letter from the Reverend George Gage, the brother of the unhappy apostate and betrayer

[7] *Collectio Cardwelli MSS.* (*S.J.*), Public Record Office, Brussels, *Vitæ Mart.* vol. i. p. 122.

of Father Holland, written to the martyr after his condemnation.[8]

Sir,—I did noe sooner heare of your happines in being destined a martyr, then I was shooke to soul with griefe to heare my miscreant brother should be the witnes that was produced against you: and in regard I may justly feare that he who accused you will not have the grace to ask your pardon, I thought it my part to do it in his behalfe, that however his person cannot be purged from the guilt of soe foule a sinne, but by his personal repentance, yet his name and nature may not remayne faulty for lacke of disavowing the crimes he hath committed, but that it may appeare to you what one of the name hath basely done, our whole family doth blush to behold, as I dare say, all the brothers and sisters I have, doe joyntly doe with me, who am soe confounded at it, that I am ashamed to shew my head.

In briefe, sir (if I could doe it without censure of great severity, being soe sicke as I am), I would in person come and begg at once your blessing and your pardon, the first for myselfe, the second for my graceless brother, who hathe now so basely apostatized from his birth and nature, as he had before from his faith and religious vowes.

Dear sir, remember the more then ordinarie correspondence which was betwixt yourselfe and me, the intimacie indeed extraordinarie we had at St. Omer's together, where your better addiction then any one even in these childyr yeares, caused you many tymes to give me pious exhortations to a vertuous life; remember I pray those familiar dayes we then had, and by that meanes, I hope you will afford me such a share of your sufferings, as your indulgent nature can bestow upon your friendes, which low as earth I begg of you, and shall pray that God will soe ayd you through this passage of martyrdome; I am soe sorrie for my base brother of his apostacie, and of your betrayall, as I cannot saye unto you; I hope still that you will pardon him, and that after your martyrdome you may helpe to ayde sinners to heaven, whom you leave behinde you upon earth, amongst whom none shall more need them then myselfe.

Sir,

Your most affectionate brother in Christ and ready servant,

GEORGE GAGE.

December $\frac{10}{20}$, 1642.

I beseech you, sir, to remember my best respects to my cosen Powell, your happy consort in this your glorious combate, where God and angells, as well as the lower world, are your spectators.

The following extract concerning the relics of Father Thomas Holland and other martyrs is taken from a valuable document by Count Egmont, or Egmond, Duke of Gueldres, who lived in England as Spanish Ambassador from 1640 to 1645. This excellent man had the highest veneration for the English martyrs and was present at the executions of no less than eleven who suffered at Tyburn

[8] *Collectio Cardwelli, ut supra.*

during that period. He was most diligent in collecting the relics of the martyrs, and conveying them in safety to the Continent, and in 1650 he signed and sealed a certificate of authentication of a large number of those relics. This authentication is preserved in the public archives at Lille, and a full copy of it was published in the *Rambler* for 1857, vol. ii. p. 119, for which we are indebted to the researches of the late Richard Simpson, Esq., as also for the very interesting and valuable article upon the subject of the Elizabethan martyrs which accompanies it.

A brief allusion is made to Count Egmond and to this document in the Life of Father Peter Wright, *Records*, Series IV. p. 548, note; we here supply a fuller extract from this valuable paper.

Whereas the English Catholics, who had been allowed some little repose for a few years, were, after the opening of Parliament in 1640, oppressed with a new and most bitter persecution, and whereas the utmost care and diligence were employed against priests, that when they were driven off, the flock, deprived of its pastors, might be more easily devoured, therefore, besides the resumption of the laws made by Queen Elizabeth against priests and Catholics (which had been a short time dormant), new and most savage acts were passed against the servants of God, forbidding a priest to minister to Catholics in England under pain of death. But as when the ancient faith and religion were first expelled from England, no fear of a cruel death, nor threats of agonizing tortures, could remove the faithful and watchful pastors from the flocks committed to them, but rather gave many inhabitants to heaven, many martyrs to the Church, many patron saints to the Christian world: so also during this persecution, England has beheld her most constant champions, her bravest heroes, enduring the most cruel torments for Christ and the Catholic faith. And as at that time our own business detained us in England, we were, by a sovereign grace of Almighty God, an eye-witness of the incredible constancy of divers martyrs; and out of the fifteen who from 1640 to the end of 1645 gained the palm of martyrdom in different places, we saw eleven suffer in London, of whom were four secular priests, three of the Society of Jesus, Thomas Holland, Ralph Corby, and Henry Morse, one Benedictine, three Franciscans, Minorites. When these men were for God's cause and the Church's led like sheep to the slaughter, were hanged and cruelly bowelled before they were half dead, were burnt, and cut into quarters, we, in order that the memory of such noble persons might be for ever preserved amongst the faithful, and desirous of having, so far as it lay in our power, some relics of their bodies, by the aid, the devotion, and the diligence of our servants, did procure certain relics which, on our departure out of England into France at the end of 1645, we carried with us and have preserved to this day in our treasury; wherein, as we intend to shut them all up, we have judged it necessary to publish abroad this testimony lest devouring oblivion should ever erase the names of these venerable men, and

the glory of these most renowned martyrs. We, therefore, desiring more and more to promote the worship of God and the honour of the saints, and since we have no dearer wish than that the aforesaid venerable martyrs should be worshipped, venerated, and honoured as they should be, have made known to all to whom this present testimonial shall come, that the said venerable martyrs did at London in England contend with the greatest constancy for the ancient faith, and, so to say, for their altars did overcome and obtain the crown of martyrdom ; and that we by means of the aid of our servants, and their devotion to the martyred saints, did recover the relics of the said martyrs hereunder written, namely, . . . [after naming the secular priests and other regulars.]

Of the venerable martyr Thomas Holland, priest of the Society of Jesus, who suffered at London, December 22, 1642, one bone, some pieces of skin, a nail, some hair, two napkins stained with his blood, a little box of fat, some papers greased with his fat, the shirt in which he suffered.

Of the venerable martyr Ralph Corby, S.J., who suffered at London, September 17, 1644, some vertebræ, with a piece of flesh. a tooth, a few napkins stained with blood, two handkerchiefs that he used at his martyrdom, the girdle wherewith he was then girded, and his hat, some remains of burnt viscera, some hair and skin.

Of the venerable martyr Henry Morse, S.J., who suffered February 1, 1645, a right side quarter, the right hand separated from the same, his liver pulled out of the fire, a handkerchief stained with his blood, ashes of his burnt intestines, the rope wherewith he was hanged, his hat and shirt, collar, breeches, stockings, the apron and sleeves of the torturer [executioner] . . .

In witness of all which we have signed with our hand, and sealed with our own seal, this present testimonial valid for future, as well as present times ; and have ordered our said Almoner, in his official capacity, to sign it in the name of all our domestics. Given at Paris in our house at St. Victor, July 26, A.D. 1650.

This valuable document is endorsed in French, "Act of his Highness touching the relics of England."

THE LIFE AND MARTYRDOM OF FATHER HENRY MORSE.[1]

FATHER HENRY MORSE, known by the several assumed names of Cuthbert Claxton, or Clapton, Mors, Moss, and Vendersteen, was born in Norfolk in the year 1595, entered the Society of Jesus in 1625, *æt.* 30, and was professed of the three religious vows on the 23rd of April, 1637. His parents were Protestants, and brought him up in their own religion, in which he continued until the twenty-third year of his age, when by the guidance of God he was led to embrace the true faith. Having received a sufficient classical education, he applied himself to the study of the law in one of the Inns of Court. Here he found his mind daily more and more agitated by doubts on the subject of religion. In order to satisfy himself, and to treat a matter of such moment sincerely and seriously, he retired into Belgium, where having duly considered the grounds of the Catholic religion, and received from heaven the light of faith, he was reconciled to the Catholic Church at Douay. "He was all the more likely to be firm therein," observes Father Corby, "inasmuch as he had most carefully considered all the arguments with sincerity in the light of truth, and with respect to his soul's salvation alone. And indeed it pleased God to make immediate trial of his firmness, for on his first landing upon his return to England, the impious oath of supremacy, and that of allegiance, whereby the faith of Catholics was tested, were presented to him; and on his refusing to take them, he was cast into prison, and then sent into banishment."

This happened early in the year 1618, Mr. Morse being then in his twenty-third year. In the Douay College diary is the following entry: "Anno 1618, mense Augusti, è carcere ad nos reversus est, Henricus Morse, et ad communem mensam est admissus. Anno 1620, Sept. 15, Henricus

[1] Compiled from (1) *The Triplex Certamen*, by Father Ambrose Corby, S.J.; (2) Tanner's *Vita et mors Jesuitarum pro fide interfectorum;* (3) Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests;* (4) to which have been added hitherto unpublished additional details gathered from the *Littæ. Annuæ Prov. Angl. S.J.;* (5) A copy of the martyr's diary in the British Museum, entitled, "Papers relating to the English Jesuits," Addit. MSS. n. 21, 203; (6) documents taken from amongst the State Papers in the Public Record Office and the Bodleian Library.

Morse, Logicus in Angliam sese è Collegio recepit." He made his higher studies of Philosophy and Theology at the English College, Rome, with a great character for application and success, and none the less for virtue, piety towards God, obedience to his Superiors, charity towards his companions, desire of peace and fraternal concord, and all other virtues.[2] Having been admitted to the priesthood, furnished with all the equipment necessary for fighting the battles of the Lord, and supported by Pontifical authority, he was sent a second time to England in June 1624, in quest of souls. Here he again met with imprisonment as his welcome. For at Newcastle-on-Tyne, at his very landing, he was seized, examined, and professing the faith was committed to prison in York Castle, where he suffered with the utmost patience, for three years, the most severe hunger, cold, filth, and many other miseries. These so weakened his health, and produced so great a bodily exhaustion and emaciation of frame that he bore death in his face, no less than in his name. On his departure from Rome for England he had obtained leave from the Father General Mutius Vitelleschi, to be admitted into the Society. In his tedious and painful imprisonment he had every opportunity of exercising the virtues, not of a fervent novice only, but of an experimental student of the deepest philosophy.[3] He found there even a master of novices, for another priest of the Society had been taken at the same time and confined in the same prison—a man well practised in this kind of discipline, to whom he looked up as to his leader and teacher of heavenly things.[4] Besides which that chief instructor of the hearts of men, the Holy Spirit, in proportion as this secluded place

[2] Father Tanner, *ut supra*, and Father Corby in his *Triplex Certamen*, do not mention the fact of Father Morse's visit of some months to the English College, Douay, in August, 1618, nor of another visit in September, 1620. They send him direct to the English College, Rome, in August, 1618, æt. 23; whereas he did not enter that College until the 27th of December of that year. This appears from the following extract from the College Diary. "1618. Henry Claxton (*vere* Morse), of Norfolk, æt. 23, was admitted among the alumni on the 27th of December, 1618. He took the usual College oath on the 1st of May, 1619. In due course he was ordained priest, and having completed his studies with great applause for modesty and learning, he was sent to the English vineyard on the 19th of June, 1624. Afterwards entering the Society, and having admirably fulfilled every part of the functions of a good missionary, he suffered at London for the Catholic faith on the 1st of February, 1645, with great constancy and to the edification of all."

[3] Father Corby, *Triplex Certamen*.

[4] This was Father John Robinson, *alias* Taylor, *alias* Collingwood, who was during fourteen years confined in York Castle. His biography will be given in a future volume.

was withdrawn from the light and noise of the world, infused Himself into his breast, and finding a docile hearer of His secret voice, more unreservedly inflamed his soul. Thus his daily and only care was to apply himself to securing his own salvation and perfection, and to exert himself on behalf of others; in which latter duty he is reported to have been so zealous and successful that, during the term of his imprisonment, scarcely one malefactor departed this life, whom he had not first by his exertions brought back to the Catholic Church. It is recorded that he converted two felons, a man and a woman, corrected them of a most inveterate habit of cursing and swearing, and disposed them to die with Christian resignation and meekness. At the gallows, they publicly declared themselves to be Catholics, and behaved truly as such. Some persons making complaint of this to the judges on circuit, and charging Father Morse with these conversions, the judges replied that, whoever it was that had taught them to mend their lives, he had certainly taught them well, for whereas before, like fiends, they were perpetually cursing the judges themselves and every one about them, they had learnt to speak with respect and humility to all, and in the end to die like good Christians.

At length, being sent into banishment in the year 1627, for the second time, he spent some time at Watten, the novitiate of the English Province, giving good example and edification to the novices, and recruiting his own health, which had been greatly impaired in York Castle. Afterwards, having been appointed Camp Missioner to the English soldiers, who were then in winter quarters in various continental towns, he so zealously laboured amongst them in catechizing, preaching, administering the sacraments, and other ministerial duties of his office, and making himself all to all, that he exceeded his strength; and being likewise attacked by a malignant fever, he was brought to death's door. But God preserved him for greater things. Being brought round by the great care and charity of the Flemish Fathers of the Society in the College of Cassel, where he was lying ill, he most gratefully acknowledged that to them chiefly, after God, he owed the preservation of his life. On recovering, he spent some time first at Watten and then at Liege, as minister in those Colleges, performing his responsible duties with great care and diligence, mingling zeal for the discipline of the house with an eager desire of serving all to the utmost of his power; laying it down as a fixed prin-

ciple to be as accurate in his own observance of rule, and of the commands of Superiors, as he was in enforcing it on others. He never departed one iota, either through favour or fear, from the requirements of obedience and rectitude of conscience. Meanwhile, his zeal for the salvation of souls was so ardent that it could not rest satisfied within the walls of a single College. When, therefore, the lot fell to him of being sent to a more abundant harvest in England, he received it not only willingly, but with eagerness and joy.

Father Corby, in his memoir, observes: "How active he was in gathering in this harvest, how many noble actions he performed, what troubles he underwent, and with what courage he encountered them, would be too long to detail. Besides, it is not now my intention to write of everything which he did, but to recount especially the last actions of Father Morse's life. Yet, because in the years 1636 and 1637, when the dreadful plague was raging in London, the blessed Father not only laboured, but with prompt and cheerful courage exposed his life for the consolation of poor Catholics, and for the aid of the plague-stricken, this would be a proper place to detail the great proofs he then gave of his Christian and religious virtue, the labours he undertook, the hardships he suffered, and the many to whom he opened the way of everlasting happiness. But I must acknowledge that I have not at hand the notes, which were taken at the time, of the great labour and services performed by this Father in the promotion of the salvation of others." In our present *Records*, we are able to supply this deficiency.

We begin with a short reference to Father Tanner, who thus mentions the labours of Father Morse: "At this time, particularly in the years 1636–7, in which a pestilential plague desolated the city of London, he was a consolation to the sick, especially the poor, devoting his labour and life not only to Catholics, but to those of every sect attacked by the plague. On obtaining the consent of Superiors to this, he seemed scarcely able to contain himself for joy. Having therefore made a retreat, gone through the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, renewed his religious vows, and prepared himself for the battlefield, he began by making a list of the houses of Catholics, to enable him the more readily to visit them. Of these, in the space of four months, he reckoned more than forty families attacked by the pestilence. Whilst devoting to them his principal care (without at all neglecting the

sectaries) by day and by night, it is incredible what great labours and difficulties he underwent. Going into rooms that were oppressive with foul and pestilential air, in close contact with the plague-stricken, seating himself in the midst of squalor of the most repulsive and contagious kind, now by gentleness, and now again by threatening and alarming them, he brought sinners, plunged in crimes and hardened against all good counsel, to hearken to the interests of salvation, and remedy bad confessions by general ones commencing from their childhood. He constantly came across the snares and nets of the pursuivants, laid for him on every side. On one occasion they suddenly entered a house in which he was known to be visiting the sick. He escaped them by the prudence of a servant who concealed him, and whom, leaning over the garden wall, he briefly instructed, confessed, and reconciled to God and the Church. This will be more fully detailed in the Annual Letters. Whilst benefiting others by these and similar offices of charity, besides the many whom he sent to heaven, and more than fifty whom he recovered from heresy, by help of the plague, he himself caught the disease, inhaling it from the infected. However by assiduous medical care he shortly recovered, and returning with greater alacrity than ever to his perilous work, forasmuch as he would in nowise spare himself, he was again seized with the pestilence, with aggravated symptoms. But at the very moment when he was reading a letter from his Superior, ordering him to cease from attending the sick for a while, to look to his own health, the disease left him so completely, that he was soon enabled to resume his labours."

Father Tanner then relates shortly the facts of Father Morse's apprehension and discharge by a benevolent magistrate, his resuming his labour of love, and his second arrest and trial; saying that at this trial Newton, for a long time notorious among the pursuivants for his perjuries, and by right disqualified as a witness, declared on oath that the Father once confessed to him that he was a priest. Father Morse denied the fact. "For why," said he, "should I confess to a most infamous informer a fact which I know to be a capital offence by the laws of the land?" He begged the judges not to give credit to the evidence of a notoriously infamous character. "But," said the Lord Chief Justice, "suppose he is so, yet it is possible you may be hung upon his evidence. Swear, therefore, if thou art able, that thou art not a priest. Unless

thou swearest this, thou clearly convictest thyself as guilty." "Truly," said the Father, "the laws of the land do not permit an oath to be exacted from the accused party, and declare that it is no evidence." Then Gray[5] swore that he had seen a certain nobleman on his knees confessing to the Father. A woman, named Hall, also added that, on an occasion when the Father had heard the confession of a dying person, she had herself confessed to him. Another also, named Maddison, swore that she had seen him apply something to a sick person, she knew not what, from a small red bag hanging from his neck. In reply, the Father said that the nobleman, whom Gray had stated he had confessed, had chosen that position for conversing with him, because, being sick, he found it more convenient to relieve his pain; but whether he was making a confession or not, it was impossible for Gray to know, as confession was a secret thing. The woman Hall did not really know what confession was, though he had indeed persuaded her, when she seemed to be dying, to examine her conscience, and the more easily to elicit an act of contrition he had assisted her in the matter. To the testimony of the woman Maddison, he answered that he had applied to a sick person a certain medicine, which he carried with him in a purple bag.

After this, according to custom, the jury retired to consider their verdict, and presently returned with one of "guilty of being a priest," but "not guilty upon the charge of seducing his Majesty's subjects." Having heard the verdict, Father Morse courteously thanked the judge, who, turning to his assessor, said: "Lo! he thanks me because he is found guilty." "Yea, my lord," answered the Father; "I give special thanks, and this from the bottom of my heart."[6] The Father prepared himself with great courage to receive the sentence of death, and death itself; but suddenly a respite from the King arrived, procured at the Queen's intercession, his Majesty being himself also indignant that he had been deceived by the Privy Council, who represented that the Father was convicted judicially as a seducer of his subjects from their religion and allegiance.

The Annual Letters of the English Province for the year

[5] These two worthies belonged to the joint stock companies of pursuivants. See pp. 514, seq.

[6] Some interesting documents from the Public Record Office (State Papers) connected with this matter will be found at the end of this Life.

1636 state that the plague, which raged this year with great violence in London, afforded to the Fathers of the Society employed in that mission an opportunity of exercising their zeal and charity, and they were not backward in availing themselves of it. They found themselves called upon to administer relief, not only to the spiritual, but also to the corporal wants of the poor Catholics. For in the distribution of the general fund raised for the relief of the poor, all participation in that relief was inhumanly denied to those who were known to be of the ancient faith. In addition to the alms placed at their disposal by their wealthier Catholic friends, they applied to their brethren throughout England to procure pecuniary assistance, and by their united exertions a considerable sum was raised—more than eight hundred gold crowns. On the first appearance of the pestilence a competent number of the Fathers were specially devoted to the duty of administering the aids of religion to the sick. As the infection spread, a proposal was made to the Fathers by the secular clergy that some persons should be specially deputed to take the principal management of this charitable charge. The proposal was immediately accepted, and it was then agreed that one secular priest and one of the Fathers should unite in this charitable work. The priest selected by the seculars was an excellent man, and full of religious zeal. Father Henry Morse was nominated as his colleague, and with zealous alacrity accepted the perilous task, and exposed in the service of the sick that life, of which Providence destined him at a future period to offer a more sanguinary sacrifice. Before entering on his labours, he spent some days in spiritual exercises, and renewed his religious engagements to God. He next procured a list, as complete as circumstances allowed, of the Catholics in London and their residences.[7] He agreed with his fellow-labourer that their first endeavour should be to induce the sick to reconcile themselves to God by the sacrament of Penance, and that for the relief of their corporal necessities, whatever alms might be procured by either party should be placed in a common stock, from which the most necessitous should be indiscriminately relieved. Many striking instances of the mercy,

[7] Bishop Challoner (*Missionary Priests*) says, "He provided himself with a list of about four hundred families who had taken the plague, which he allotted to his own peculiar charge and punctually visited in their turns; and great was the blessing God was pleased to give to his labours, not only in respect of the souls of the poor Catholics, whom he assisted with the sacraments, but also in the conversion of many Protestants."

and some of the awful judgments of God occurred to Father Morse in the course of this ministry. When these arrangements became known to the sick, almost all prepared without delay to receive the sacraments. An aged woman, with a servant not unlike herself, although at the point of death, had for a whole month remained deaf alike to the entreaties and the threats of the other priest. He told Father Morse of these cases, begging him to do all he could for their salvation. The Father approached the old lady with words of comfort and kindness, and so well succeeded in representing to her the great need and danger she was in, that the clouds which had so long and so dreadfully obscured her soul (for she had never in her life made a sincere confession) were dispersed, and soon after recovering she resolved for the future to lead a better life, and to approach devoutly the holy mysteries once a month. The servant was not so easily brought round, but remained deaf to grace, until the signs of approaching death and the horrible and frequent convulsions of her whole frame brought our Father to the rescue, who, employing both alarm and persuasion, as though by main force, and *in articulo mortis* dragged her into the sheepfold of Christ.

But let us now see the especial fruit gathered by our Father, not only in numerous individuals, but in the multitude of Protestant families received by him into the Church. These are reported to have numbered about fifty, and new cases were daily added, from the feast of St. Bartholomew to Christmas, nearly five months, to the number of forty. It was, however, impossible to remember all, because by order of Superiors, the diary in which the daily labours of the Fathers were entered had been *burnt with other writings*, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Protestants.[8] These calculations were therefore far within the limits of the truth. There were at least thirty general confessions. Amongst these, many had been to confession to the Capuchin Fathers serving the Queen's Chapel; but in the doubt whether they had been rightly understood (for these foreign Fathers were incapable of doing so perfectly) they preferred to confess a second time to Father Morse. The secular priest also frequently and with pain complained to our Fathers of the same thing.

There were, besides, several reclaimed who for many years

[8] This is one instance amongst many recorded of the destruction of papers: a necessity in those fearful times of persecution, but none the less deplorable, as rendering a full history of them exceedingly difficult.

had made sacrilegious confessions. Among these was a young man in the vigour of health, together with his wife, with whom he had contracted an illegal marriage. Falling sick of the plague and moved by the stings of conscience he hastened to confess, a duty he had omitted for many years. The Father immediately went to him, and found him lying on a bed in a most loathsome place, against which every natural feeling revolted as he sat down to hear his confession, compelled to hold his ear close to him for fear of being overheard. But the Divine Goodness at once compensated the Father for this self-denial, for so great a light was vouchsafed to the sick man to discover the heinousness of his sins, that his utterance was nearly choked with tears and sobs. The Father, in order to excite in the penitent the hope of pardon, of which he feared the excess of grief might cause him to despair, lavished upon him every token of charity, and in truth it required all his care lest the penitent should expire under the vehemence of his contrition. At length, like one oppressed with heavy debts, he humbly begged to be released from his creditors, all of whom thus showed themselves to be abundantly satisfied. His wife, not being as yet plague-stricken, was with difficulty brought to confession. The marriage was set right, and the sick man, fortified by all the rights of the Church, in the wonderful mercy of God, happily departed.

Nor was less fruit produced in those who had returned to the orthodox faith. These were reported by Father Morse to be upwards of forty-three in number. Amongst them was an old man of eighty, whose soul was steeped in sin. He had been from his youth an atheist rather than a heretic, and had thus strayed completely from the way of salvation. Father Morse happily kept him in the right way till the end of his life. During the whole time that he survived his conversion, the signs of Divine indwelling grace were so marked by his pious colloquies with God, his sighs of ardent love, his fervent acts of the love of God, his entire and perfect submission to the Divine will, and his firm profession of the Catholic faith, that no one could doubt the sincerity of his happy change.

Another old man had not such great happiness in his departure out of this life, although we hope well for him, since he was instructed in the faith by the Father, and obtained absolution in the Sacrament of Penance. He was received into the bosom of the Church, and full of hope, breathed out his soul whilst the Father had gone to bring him the Holy Eucharist. The

wife of this man, not long after being smitten with the plague, was brought by the same Father to the true faith, and having already cleansed her soul from her sins, her attendant, suspecting the matter, called in a neighbour of the Puritan sect to hinder the good work. But the Father, not to lose the chance, gave her conditional absolution on the spot. He afterwards had this attendant removed, and a Catholic put in her place, and having repaired everything *ab initio* prepared her for heaven. She soon afterwards died, fortified by the holy mysteries.

A less happy success attended the case of another Protestant, to whom Father Morse had been called in the night, but through the fault of the attendant too late, for the sick person was dead before the Father arrived, which was a great cause of affliction to him. He received, however, some consolation from the mother of the deceased; who, though a resolute heretic, on being warned of her imminent danger and of the necessity of the Catholic faith, by the goodness of God was led to change her opinion. Although not sick, she was fully instructed, and whilst she was thus learning the rudiments of our faith, the neighbouring heretics, having knowledge of it, assembled before her door imploring her by their ancient friendship not to abandon her former belief. She courageously answered that although she should be torn to pieces by wild horses, she would never forsake the Roman Catholic faith, in which alone there was hope of salvation. She was, in truth, as good as her word, and remained steadfast, although in the distribution of the public alms her customary allowance was withdrawn because she had professed the Catholic faith; as indeed was done to many others. Nevertheless, by the manifest care of God over His own, it was restored to her by order of the magistrates. This good woman, being duly received into the Church, laid aside all care of earthly things, procured that her children should be brought up and educated in the right faith, gave alms although herself exceedingly poor, and at length died most piously.

We ought not to omit the case of a certain young woman, who, upon being admonished by the Father of the danger she was in of eternal death, when he came to prepare a plague-stricken youth for a happy end in the same house where she lived, became so vehemently affected in her soul as to beg, after instruction in the faith, to be admitted amongst the children

of the Church. But as Father Morse was quite unable to accomplish her wishes that night, on account of the numbers of dying he had to attend, he promised to return the next day at a fixed hour. It got abroad (by what means is not known) that on the following day certain priests were coming to the house. Constables were therefore placed at the door with orders to apprehend any person venturing to return to it. The young woman, however, looking over the wall and seeing the Father returning at the appointed hour, gave him notice of the danger. But God so arranged it, that the guards were away at the time, and Father Morse, fearing lest the opportunity of assisting her might be entirely lost, briefly instructed her as he stood at the wall, as far as time permitted, and giving her absolution, received her into the Church. Besides those who died by the plague, about one hundred and twenty, who had been prepared for death by Father Morse, recovered, whether through the grace of the sacrament or otherwise. Two infants also were baptized.

The cockle, which the enemy of mankind is accustomed to sow over the field of the good husbandman, was not absent from this harvest. His first endeavour was to sow discord between the two priests. Father Morse, in the first days of his attendance on the sick, whether overpowered at the outset by the formidable and noisome symptoms of the disease, or anxious to leave none of the daily increasing number of patients without the most necessary help, or else deeming it prudent to avoid a less necessary danger, satisfied himself with administering the Sacraments of Penance and of the Blessed Eucharist, and omitted that of Extreme Unction. His secular coadjutor hearing of this omission, began to complain of what he called the unworthy timidity of his fellow-labourer. But Father Morse, hearing of this report, submitted to the charge with religious humility, and, blaming none but himself, at once discarded his apprehensions and administered to the infected all the aids of religion. Another difficulty soon followed. Doubts were thrown out as to the validity of the missionary faculties received by the Jesuits, and the Catholics were warned not to apply to Father Morse for sacramental confession. It was necessary to meet this charge in a different spirit. Father Morse at once sought his fellow-labourer, and by mild representations induced him to desist from an opposition which, while it impeded the spiritual assistance that the Catholics so much needed, involved a culpable resistance to the authority of the Holy

See, by which all doubts on this question had been removed years before. The two missioners laboured from that time with zealous cooperation, until they were separated by the illness of one, and subsequently by the imprisonment of the other.

It was on the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Father Morse felt the first symptoms of the pestilence. By active medical treatment the progress of the disease was checked, and though much weakened, he partially recovered, without having interrupted his daily labours. But soon after, a more severe attack ensued, yet the Father struggled against it, and devoted what remained of his sinking powers to the service of his neighbour. He took the disease this second time, in attending an aged man, an octogenarian, to prepare him by the sacraments for death. In this case, we may observe how profuse are the riches of the Divine goodness towards all, for the old man belonged to an incorrigibly heretical family, and had himself been formerly a preacher. Father Morse received an order from his Superior to abstain from all missionary labour, while he had been also recommended to the prayers of all his brethren. On receipt of this communication, Father Morse, in whom the symptoms of approaching death were already apparent, felt a sudden change in his condition, and speedily recovered from the disease, which did not again attack him. The event was regarded as a miracle.[9] We must

[9] Upon this subject we annex the following extract from the Douay MSS.: "But here again his zeal met with another rebuke. He falls sick on a sudden, strove with it, and would gladly have compounded for a fever, or some other distemper of a more gentle appellation. 'Tis true he had some ugly symptoms, but these he took great pains to conceal, or give them favourable interpretations; but, alas, in vain! He that touches pitch must expect to be defiled. Mr. Morse had been again among the infected, and was a third time seized with the infection. His illness (call it as he will) is indeed the plague; and so God be merciful to him! He had before been in imminent danger, but this third relapse left no hope of remedy, for the distemper took such deep root in a few days that his physicians gave him over for a dead man. While this victim of charity was preparing himself by the holy sacraments and other acts of religion for his happy passage out of this world, amidst the tears and lamentations of his penitents and friends (who were under the deepest sorrow for the approaching loss, as they apprehended, of their zealous pastor and truly apostolic man), there was brought to his chamber a letter directed for Mr. Morse. The sick man ordered it to be brought to his bedside, and to be read to him, and it proved to be from his Superior, commanding him that hereafter he should desist from attending the infected, and take care of his own infirm health, till further orders. The advice was kind and charitable, but, alas! in the opinion of the standers-by, it came too late. Thus they thought; but the sick man thought otherwise. His Superior's order proved a strong cordial to him, retrieved his fainting spirits, and imparted a new vigour to the whole man. He resolved to take care of his health—his Superior so commanded, and so, by the help of God, recover he would!"

not omit to notice the noble conduct of one of the first medical men in the city. Being consulted regarding his disease through a person sent by the Father, the doctor, despising the risk of the infection, not only came in person to him, but even went into his room, notwithstanding Father Morse's dissuasions and resistance, and prescribed for him the best remedies he could, and with a generous heart returned the accustomed fee, to be distributed amongst the poor. He several times afterwards visited the Father, and, when the ulcer was ready for the surgeon's knife, he insisted on operating himself, and by the protection of God escaped the infection. The same physician gave this reply to one of the Fathers who asked him, how it was he could expose himself to such manifest danger. "This Father," said he, "exposes himself to danger for us every hour, nay almost every minute, and should we not assist him with all the means in our power? To act otherwise would be unworthy of the many medical men in the city who are reckoned as Catholics."[10] Father Morse therefore recovered under the care of this good doctor. The enemy of souls, esteeming this a great evil, determined to apply stronger means to hinder the pious work. The Father had not fully recovered his strength, when he recommenced his former work; and a certain Justice of the Peace, having observed his visits to the houses of the Catholics, ordered him to be apprehended and kept in custody in a private house, until he should be ready to call him up for examination. Father Morse being shut up in a room, consumed the Blessed Sacrament, which he was at that time carrying to the dying, with all the reverence possible under the circumstances, though not fasting, to prevent Its falling into the hands of the heretics; he also hid the pyx as well as he was able. He then called in the keeper, and offered him money to allow him a brief liberty. About the time of Vespers he was taken before the magistrate, who demanded of him whether he was a priest? Did he enter infected houses? Did he celebrate Mass? To these questions the Father answered in due order. He did not admit his priesthood; he distributed the alms received for the poor—authorized by the Queen; he entered no houses unless openly and seen by many; and no priest could say Mass after mid-day. "We know," said the magistrate, "that

[10] This physician was Dr. Turner, who signed the certificate as to Father Morse's health, he is mentioned afterwards in the State Papers, p. 608.

you Catholics are more liberal to the poor, than are the Protestants:" saying which he most kindly dismissed the Father. Father Morse attributed this speedy deliverance to the Blessed Virgin, to whom he had in a special manner felt drawn to recommend himself. He returned to the chamber, recovered his hidden pyx, and made his keeper the present of a pound. This man was so struck by the conduct of the Father, that when seized with the plague, he wished to die in the Catholic Church. Father Morse was not unwilling, although he could not immediately satisfy his desires, as fresh obstacles daily intervened.

His secular fellow-labourer was less fortunate. Many years before, he had been tried and convicted of priesthood, and condemned to death. The King had commuted this penalty to imprisonment for life, from which subsequently he had escaped. He was now again apprehended and committed to closer confinement.[11]

The field of Father Morse's labours was thus greatly extended, four hundred and eighty Catholic families were reported to be infected, and the new cases were numerous. He was a second time observed and recognized by an informer, who was however induced by a small bribe to leave him at liberty to prosecute his evangelical labours. The number of Protestants who now applied to him for instruction was so great as to impede his more urgent attendance on the sick. He therefore put some off and transferred others to the care of those who had more leisure to attend to them. But he was

[11] This priest, the Rev. John Southworth, suffered death at Tyburn for the Catholic faith, June 28, 1654. In the collection of MSS. Bodleian Library, Clarendon State Papers, is the following petition from Mr. Southworth to the Queen, dated 1637, for discharge from the Gatehouse, having been committed there for attending a house infected with the plague:—"To the Queen's most excellent Majistie,—The humble petition of John Southworth, prisoner in the Gatehouse, shewith—That the petitioner having visited some sick of the plague, as hee hath daily done since the plague began, and welcomed them and others ready to starve and perish with alms given by your Matie and other charitable people. In the latter end of this labour, Mr. White, curate of Westminster, coming near unto the place where the petitioner was, and seeing him come out of an infected house, was much offended therewith; complained of him, and so far prevailed that Sir Dudley Carlton, Clerk to his Maties Privy Council, directed a warrant to the keper of the Gatehouse, commanded him to take the petitioner into his charge, and deteyn him in prison, which hee hath done ever since. May it therefore please yr Excellency to moue his Matie that being the petitioner laboured only to preserve the poor from perishing (which hee thought would neither offend his Matie nor the State) it wold graciously please his Matie to give the petitioner leave to goe to his friendes for meanes: that hee himself may not nowe perish in prison. And the petitioner will (as in duty bound) ever pray for both your Maties.'

now become too well known to be suffered to remain at large. Some half-intoxicated pursuivants again apprehended him and thrust him into the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster. It was evening, and he suffered much ill-treatment from these constables, who cried out with blasphemies, "Let us see whether Mary and the saints will come to deliver him." The next morning, some influential Catholics, informed of the occurrence, made immediate application to the Queen. By her intercession and representations of the humane labours of the captive, the King was induced to send verbal instructions to the Secretary of the Council to set him at liberty, as he might judge most expedient. Meanwhile Father Morse, unacquainted with these measures of his friends, was again endeavouring to come to terms with his captors. They so far trusted his word that at length they allowed him to go whither he would, with one of their party to watch him, on condition that he would either bring them twenty gold pieces, or place himself again in their hands. Father Morse, accompanied by one of the underlings, repaired to a Catholic house, where he thought he could borrow the required sum. He there unexpectedly found several Catholics of rank who were met together. They, suspecting who his companion was, were about to treat him according to his deserts, had not Father Morse interposed. The man, however, was so frightened that he took to flight. The Father now learnt the order sent by the King for his release. Under these altered circumstances, it became a question whether he was bound to either of the alternatives of his engagement to his keepers. But out of respect for his word, and by the advice of some of his brethren, with whom he found means to communicate, he returned to the pursuivants.[12] These base men, disappointed of their expected bribe, hurried him before the Council and brought the heaviest charges against him. As the King's orders for his release had been merely verbal, the Secretary withheld any intimation of it until it should be given in writing; and the King afterwards revoked it. The Council promptly took cognizance of the charges brought against the prisoner, and to obtain further proofs of them, ordered inquiries to be made of the Protestant ministers of the parish, in which Father Morse had been

[12] With respect to this incident, see the copy of examination of the case of Mr. Morse, arrested by Newton and Cook, &c., now in the Bodleian Library, Clarendon State Papers, n. 926, dated May 27, 1637, given at the end of this Life.

principally engaged, what they knew against him. They returned a list of twenty families reconciled by Father Morse to the Catholic Church, and represented that the Catholics of that parish were more numerous than the Protestants, and were in consequence so daringly insolent, that the Protestants found it necessary to apply to the Council for protection. This very absurd fiction was gravely entertained by the Council. Orders were issued for a return of the names of all the Catholics that could be discovered in the district in question. The existing laws against them were ordered to be rigorously executed. On being proved before a magistrate to be Catholics, they were summoned before commissioners appointed for the purpose, to compound for their property, according to the estimate made by the commissioners, by surrendering at once one-third to the King, or giving security for an equivalent annual payment, in default of which cession they became liable to imprisonment and confiscation of all their goods.[13] With regard to Father Morse himself, the Council ordered him to be removed from the house of the pursuivant in which he had been detained for a month, to the public gaol, to take his trial at the approaching sitting of the Criminal Court. At this court, and before an unusual number of judges, he was indicted, first for having withdrawn subjects of the King from their allegiance, and secondly for being a priest. Father Morse indignantly denied the first charge, and the more earnestly, because he had been informed that it was this imputation that induced the King to withdraw the order for his release. No sufficient proof of this charge could be adduced, and it was abandoned, the prisoner pointing out to the court the absurd improbability of his endeavouring to disturb the allegiance of men who were dying of the plague. On the charge of priesthood he was readily convicted, but sentence was deferred till the King's pleasure should be known, who, yielding at last to the pressing solicitations of the Queen, ordered the sentence of the court to be deferred, and soon after liberated Father Morse, on his giving bail to appear before the court when called for.

[13] Mr. Prynne, in his *Popish Royal Favourite*, p. 29 (observes Bishop Challoner), says "that there was exhibited, and read in open court, a certificate showing that he had perverted five hundred and sixty Protestants in and about the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields." But this part of the accusation could not be legally proved. See also the extracts from the State Papers given further on.

We now quote from the Diary of the martyr, alluded to before as preserved in the British Museum.

Of the acts of Father Henry Claxton, from the 27th of February to the 24th of April, 1637, faithfully transcribed from his original autograph, and translated into Latin.

I have now, for nearly the whole winter, since my happy recovery[14] alone attended to the necessities of the plague-stricken Catholics. As I was returning in the evening from a sick man, who was in extreme danger, and to whom I had been administering necessary relief, two pursuivants named John Cook and Francis Newton suddenly accosted me. This was on the 27th of February. Cook at once recognized me, having arrested me not long before, and on which occasion I ransomed myself by paying him a small sum of money I happened to have about me. They stopped me and charged me with being a priest and a Jesuit, and as such guilty of high treason: and accordingly, in the King's name, they ordered me to follow them to an inn. And that there might be no doubt as to the cause of my arrest, and to give an appearance of greater authority, they summoned to their aid a certain parish constable. On demanding to see the warrant upon which they arrested me, they gave me abusive language, and threatened to handcuff me, until at length we reached the inn. Here they produced a warrant dated as far back as 1632. This I declared to be out of date and useless, and upon the men becoming half-intoxicated, offered them, but to no effect, a sum of money to procure my liberty, and so escape further trouble. Under pretence, therefore, of wishing to have me examined by some Secretary of State, they put me into a boat and carried me across the Thames to Westminster. Newton in the meanwhile loading me with curses, and impiously adding that he wished to see whether the saints whom I worshipped would come to my aid and deliver me from their hands. Arriving on the other side, they carried me to an inn, where they immediately searched me to the skin, but only found some keys and medals of Saints Ignatius and Francis Xavier, which they took from me and afterwards produced at my trial; then, in a haughty and insulting manner, they forbade any one to speak with me. However, having supplied me with what was necessary, they departed.

February 27, 1637.

Cook returned the next day, offering in his own name and Newton's to make a bargain with me for a sum of money. Whilst engaged in arranging this, my servant came to the door. He wondered not to find me at home, and fearing that I might, on going out to attend the sick, have fallen into the hands either of nightly marauders or of pursuivants (as the case was) with the Most Holy Sacrament, which I had taken with me, inquired after me in every direction. Most opportunely he was led to the place where I was detained, but was not admitted to me. But recognizing his voice, I forthwith showed myself, and asked him publicly to let her Majesty the Queen know as soon as possible my present situation. This I did in the hope of being able thus to compel them to set me at liberty, however unwilling, for an easier ransom. My servant, taking me at my word, forth-

February 28.

[14] His recovery from the attack of the pestilence on September 8, 1636, as already mentioned in the Annual Letters.

with went to a friend and through his intercession obtained a promise from her Majesty's confessor to do as I wished, only he first required from some one of the Society a confirmation of the man's story. Fearing lest by any long delay I should be in want of necessities where I was detained, and that my health, not yet fully restored since my attack of the plague, would consequently suffer, but above all anxious on account of the plague-stricken who depended on me entirely, and would be in the greatest straits, I promised to give them the sum they demanded, provided I could collect it from my friends. Newton, in the meantime, required two conditions: that I should keep the affair secret, and that, should I be summoned by the Privy Council to appear, I would surrender myself voluntarily to Newton, and so save him harmless from all punishment. The hour for seeking the aid of my friends was convenient; Cook, however, must accompany me to carry back the money to Newton. But the event turned out contrary to expectation. For, when I arrived at the house of a certain friend to ask for a loan of so much money, some gentlemen who happened to be there at the time, learning the nature of the case, suddenly drew their swords, and rushing into the street, pursued the pursuivant, who took to his heels, and would have run him through but for my intercession. It required all my efforts and entreaties to divert them from their purpose.

March 1. Father Morse then goes on to relate how his servant had met with the friend who had interceded for him with the Queen's confessor, and who had actually procured an order from her Majesty for his liberation, whilst he (Father Morse), in ignorance of the fact, and not imagining that his servant would have taken him at his word, had made the above-mentioned agreement with the pursuivants for his ransom or re-surrender. Having weighed the matter on both sides, his obligation to the Queen for her kindness, and his compact with the pursuivants to surrender himself to them in case he did not procure the ransom, he decided that he was bound to give himself up again, and accordingly betook himself thither.

March 2. This was indeed sore intelligence to Newton; so much so, that, under pretext that this exercise of mercy by the Queen, through the petitioners to her Majesty, was prejudicial to the royal cause, he went the next day to the King's Secretary, a man who had long been extremely hostile to Catholics. He represented to him what he had done, and the other not only commended him and promised him a large reward, but moreover strictly enjoined him to make diligent inquiries about my habits and proceedings, and not to restore me to my liberty, even by the order of the Queen, unless he first saw her Majesty's own hand, signifying her will.

March 4. Again, on the 4th of March, when a certain man of rank came to see me on matters of business, he was detained on a charge of high-treason, until he proved that he had long been on *parole*, and was otherwise secure under the protection of foreign rights. But on his departure (suspecting that he might perchance have brought me something) they again searched all my pockets, and carefully shook my clothes in case anything should be concealed in them.

March 5. On the fifth of this month I was taken before the Privy Council, and then charged with having seduced many from the Protestant religion, and reconciled them

to the Catholic Church. It happened that on the very same day complaints were laid before the Council of the very large numbers of Catholics residing in the parish of Bloomsbury. An inquiry into this, with a view to their conviction, having been determined upon by their lordships, a space of twenty days was occupied in it, during which time I was detained in a sort of secret prison in the before-mentioned inn at Westminster, where I suffered many reproaches and insults, and was kept in complete solitary confinement, and those holy days of Lent I passed in prayer and fasting.

March 26. But on the 26th of March, by an order of Council, signed by twelve of the lords, I was remanded from the said inn to Newgate prison.

March 28. This was done on the 28th of March. Here, after a few days, I was disturbed in my prayers by Cook and Newton, who vehemently urged me to give them as a remuneration for their services the sum of ten pounds sterling, pretending that they had an order from the Council for this demand, and threatened me severely in case of non-compliance. I resolutely answered that, after the infamous treatment I had received from them, I should henceforth neither expect good nor yet fear harm at their hands.

April 21. I remained in Newgate until the 21st of April, on which day I had been warned to prepare myself for trial at the Old Bailey sessions : but it did not come on upon that day.

April 22. On the 22nd of April, I was brought up in custody before the Judges and a crowded court, and, according to custom, being called upon by the crier of the court, I held up my hand at the criminal bar. Two counts of an indictment were read out; the one charging me with the priesthood, as contrary to the law of the land, and that I had taken Holy Orders from Rome; the other, that I had withdrawn his Majesty's liege subjects from their due faith and allegiance. Being demanded if I was guilty or not guilty of either, I answered : By no means guilty, and that I referred my cause according to custom to be tried by God and the country. Evidence was then called. I was ordered to draw nearer that I might hear more conveniently what was said. Witnesses for the prosecution appeared, amongst whom were the two pursuivants, Newton and Gray, both of them men of infamous character ; the former, according to public report, had been dismissed by the Bench as unworthy of credit for his perjuries ; the latter some years before was charged by the lawyers of London with some great offence, I know not what, and had been detained in prison. With these came also a certain watchman named Pope, with one Bayley, whom I know not. Also three women of the lower class, viz., one named Madderson, another Hall, with another from Westminster.

Newton swore directly and boldly that I was a priest, having on one occasion clearly acknowledged it when he had asked me if I was a Jesuit, and I had denied being so ; but, on his asking me if I was a priest, I had replied that I would not deny it. Upon this I earnestly protested to the Bench that the evidence of such an infamous and notorious scoundrel could not be accepted as worthy of credit. "But," said the Chief Judge, "admitting him to be such, yet it is possible you may be hung upon his evidence." His lordship adding : "But come on : what say you? Are you a priest?" I replied that I was unworthy of that office.

But on his again thrusting the same question upon me, I replied, "I am, my lord, altogether unworthy of the function." "But," rejoined the Judge, "Some may be priests, and yet altogether unworthy of the office; swear, therefore, on the word of a priest that you are not one." I replied that the laws of the realm did not permit an oath to be exacted from the accused. "Unless you swear this," he answered, "it is a clear proof that you are guilty." "Be it so," I said; "to me, meanwhile, it clearly appears to be no proof of guilt whatever." Then this Judge turning to another, asserted that I was a priest, committed by the Privy Council. "Neither does this," I said, "prove anything; the assertions of Newton are not entitled to credit." Being again demanded by the same Judge whether I was a priest, I persisted in my former answer. "But, from this very fact, that whilst you boldly deny everything else, in this one point you equivocate, it is manifest that you are a priest." "Certainly," I replied, "this is no proof."

Upon this Newton asserted that he had learnt from three priests that I was a Jesuit, &c. He, moreover, added that I was a dangerous man, and a consultor amongst the Jesuits, on which account he was specially charged by him whom they call the Archbishop of Canterbury to use great caution in apprehending me, and, when arrested, in carefully guarding me, as he tendered his own life!

The woman, Madderson, was then called up, and affirmed that I had carried something, she knew not what, in a small piece of red cloth round my neck. I replied that this contained a certain medicine which I had applied to a plague-stricken person, and which I had carried in a little purple bag. Upon this a discussion arose amongst the Judges, whether this was to the point; but one of them seriously interrogated me, and urged me to give a direct answer, was not this medicine holy water? I replied that it was not.

Gray then swore that he had seen a certain gentleman of rank on his knees making his confession to me; and the woman, Hall, added that she had heard me, after having confessed a dying person, distinctly inviting her to confess to me.

After these things, being demanded if I was a Catholic, I replied that I was. "A Roman Catholic?" said another. "Yes," I replied; "a Roman Catholic, for a Catholic cannot be anything else."

Then one of the Judges, whose name was Jones, rising from his seat, said that there was no evidence to convict me under the Statute of Persuasions, for whatever function of religion I had performed, I had not done it with the intent of withdrawing subjects from their allegiance. To this the whole Bench at once assented. The Chief Justice then asked me if I had anything else to adduce in my defence. The following is a summary of what I said. "The evidence brought against me has no weight whatever. The woman, Hall, had spoken altogether in ignorance, not knowing what confession was. I had indeed prevailed upon a poor dying woman to examine into the state of her conscience, and had also assisted her in eliciting the more easily a pious act of sorrow for her sins." "And from whom, pray, did you obtain leave to perform these duties?" interposed the Chief Justice. "Power is given," I replied, "to any one to do these acts of charity to help a neighbour in need." [The martyr then meets

the evidence of Gray as to the gentleman he saw kneeling by him, in the same words as Father Tanner relates it.] "Therefore," I argued, "that the witnesses had proved nothing against me, but on the contrary, had rather cleared me, except Newton, a wretched man of no credit, who on a previous occasion had been dismissed from the court with disgrace; in support of which fact I named some of the very Judges present as being cognizant of it, and I proved that it was a matter of common report. I added that what he had sworn regarding my having acknowledged to him that I was a priest was most false. It was contrary to reason that I should have done so to a most wicked and at the same time most hostile informer, knowing it to be a capital offence; especially when at the same time I so cautiously denied my being a Jesuit, as he affirmed. Lastly, I declared that I should feel greatly aggrieved if less credit was attached to my word than to his, although he had the advantage of having sworn upon oath." [Father Morse then relates the finding of the jury, as recorded in Father Tanner's account, and his thanking the Judges, &c.] The court then broke up, and I was remanded to prison.

April 24. Then came the 24th of April, when sentence was to be passed on me with the rest of the convicts, and various were the anticipations of parties regarding me, some foreboding that I should be condemned, others that I should not be again called to the Bar. About noon I was led thither by design or by mistake, I know not which. There, entirely collecting my mind in God, and fortifying myself by prayer, I boldly awaited sentence of death. I was remanded back again from the Court without receiving sentence, and this time with some marks of honour and respect. The King, finding that he had been deceived, was indignant, and had ordered my sentence to be deferred, inasmuch as the evidence was insufficient to convict me upon either of the counts.

April 28. I must not omit here to mention one circumstance that afforded me both consolation and fortitude in my combat; the remarkable and unexpected blessing received from the Society of Jesus into which, the day before my expected condemnation, viz., on Sunday the 23rd of April, I was more closely adopted and united, by making my solemn profession of the three vows of religion into the hands of Father Edward Lusher, and in this very prison itself. I acknowledge that God by His Divine hand and Providence brought it to pass that I should be thus so undeservedly placed in this degree for His own honour in the rendering to His Divine Majesty the perpetual outpouring of a grateful heart, and the accumulated fruits of good works, which in efficacious desires, at least, I will never cease to render Him as long as I live.

The infamous conduct of the pursuivants seems to have excited the attention of the Privy Council, who directed an inquiry to be made by two magistrates. The following is a copy taken from the original report of the magistrates, preserved in the Bodleian Library, Clarendon State Papers, nn. 860—930.

Endorsed—"Examination concerning Newton and Cooke, May 27, 1637. A long story concerning the arrest and release of Mr. Morse on suspicion of being a priest."

May it please your honour,—Upon the particular information of Mr. Morse, written and subscribed by his own hand, and which he offereth to justifie upon oath, if it shall be required, as likewise upon the information of John Tompson, dwelling in Tuttle Street, an Attorney of the Court of Queen's Bench, and of John Spencer, an ale-house keeper, dwelling in the Broad Sanctuary in Westminster, it appeareth unto us that on Monday the 17th day of February last, Francis Newton, the messenger, and John Cooke, his man, having in their company the said John Tompson, and returning out of London through Holborne, Cooke espied Mr. Morse then passing in the streete and wished Newton to attack him as a supposed priest, which Newton did accordingly. Howbeit we do not finde that Newton had before known Mr. Morse, but Cooke being by Mr. Morse charged that before that time he had seized on him and received some small sume of money of him instantly to release him, confesseth the same.

Mr. Morse, thus attacked (by virtue of a warrant dated in the year 1632, and granted to the said Newton) refused to obey, for that noe constable or other lawful officer was present, or party to such his arrest. But Newton then personated the said Tompson to be a constable, and Tompson did not then deny himself to be a constable. Whereupon, Mr. Morse obeying them, they caused him to go to a taverne in Fetter Lane, where drinking upon Mr. Morse his purse, and Newton advising Mr. Morse to go quietly with him, saying he would carry him to enter his name at Whitehall, they then all passed by water to Westminster, but not to Whitehall at all.

Soe Newton and Cooke, the said Monday, late in the evening (Tompson then alsoe being in their company brought Mr. Morse to the house of the said John Spencer, where Newton desired a lodging for a friend of his, meaning the said Morse), and accordingly Mr. Morse was there receaved and lodged that night, but withall private directione was given by Newton to the said Spencer that he should not permit any to speak with the said Mr. Morse, but in the presence either of Newton or Cooke. And Newton likewise made known to the said Spencer that Mr. Morse was both a priest and dangerous person, and seducer of his Maties. subjects.

Newton and Cooke the next day, being Tuesday, came several times to Mr. Morse, and had private conference with him in his chamber. Soe likewise that evening Newton and Cooke came again to Spencer's house, and had then private conference with Mr. Morse, and about nine of the clock that night Newton, Cooke, and Mr. Morse in their company, sawe Spencer going forth of his house, and Newton desired the said Spencer to goe drinke a cupp of wyne with them, whereunto he assented. They altogether then went into the Sunne Taverne in Westminster, and there calling for a pinte of sacke, Newton and Mr. Morse had again private conference in that taverne, and Newton gave leave to Mr. Morse to goe abroad that night, and Cooke to goe with him. Accordingly, Mr. Morse paying for the wyne, hee and Cooke went thence, leaving Newton and Spencer in the taverne, where they two continued drinkinge upp the wyne which remayned. And in that time

Newton further told Spencer that Mr. Morse was a weake and sickly man, and that he had given him leave to goe to a doctor or an apothecary, and that he wold return the same night or the next day.

Mr. Morse, with Cooke, then went to an apothecarie's house in the Strand, where, as Mr. Morse affirmeth, he intended to have borrowed five pounds to have given Newton for his release and discharge, which was so concluded and agreed upon between him, Newton, and Cooke, as well in Spencer's house, as after in the Sunne Taverne aforesaid; but in case Mr. Morse could not procure five pounds, then he was to render himself the next day a prisoner, as before, in Spencer's house.

Mr. Morse, not finding the apothecary at home, he and Cooke went thence over the fields into Holborne, and there knocking at the door of one William Hodson, a cutler, and acquainting him with the present use he had of five pounds to redeem him from his restraint by Newton and Cooke, the said cutler did instantly bring him forth the sum of five pounds, and told Mr. Morse he had that sum ready in his hand. The cutler also affirmeth that hee found Cooke standing so near Mr. Morse, as hee could not but hear Mr. Morse his request for the five pounds, and the cutler's answer that the money was ready. And further, the cutler then wished Cooke to drink a pint of wyne at a tavern there by, where he would pay him the said five pounds, and Cooke seemed willing thereunto. But instantly two gentlymen lodging in the said cutler's house (of whom the cutler had borrowed the five pounds) and coming down to the doore, Cooke espying them, made haste away, leaving Mr. Morse in the street without wishing or requiring him to return backe with him, or calling any officer or other person in any sort to apprehend or stay the said Mr. Morse. Nor did Newton or Cooke that night or the next day, either search or at all endeavour to attack Mr. Morse, but (as it seemeth) relied on his agreement and promise either to pay the five pounds or render himself a prisoner to Newton again. And accordingly, the next day, being Wednesday, towards the evening, Mr. Morse returned to Spencer's house, and there was kept and detayned for the space of three weeks until he was thence removed to prison.

There is a further passage in the information subscribed by Mr. Morse, to this effect, that when Cooke had wrought the composition for five pounds between Mr. Morse and Newton, Cooke acquainted Mr. Morse that Newton required these condicōns following to be performed.

First, that Mr. Morse should promise not to acquaint any man with the condicōns of his release.

Second, that if the Lords of the Council should have notice of his arrest and call for him, he should come in and render himselfe.

Third, if hee could not gett the five pounds to returne again to Spencer.

And Newton, on the other side, promises never to call on Mr. Morse unless the Council called on him, and to protect him from all other pursuivants whatsoever, which condicōns were concluded between them the Tuesday night before they went to the taverne. And Mr. Morse further affirmeth that in the taverne he moved Newton that if he could not get money that night, because it was soe late, he might have the next day to procure it, and if then he could not get it to return again as his prisoner, which motion Newton left to Cooke to do therein as he would.

And it seemeth very probable that the end of Newton and Cooke's apprehension of Mr. Morse was only to draw money from him, in that they neither produced or made known such his apprehension to any Justice of Peace or other officer until they permitted him to goe at large a night and a day to procure money, and that upon his returne (according as hee had promised) he had made known unto them he could not procure the money to satisfy their demands.

And Cooke being examined upon the particular passages before-mentioned, confessed only the arrest by his discovery, and Newton's personating the said Tompson to be a constable. And touching his going abroad with Mr. Morse, the said Tuesday night, protested, as God should helpe him, that it was at Mr. Morse his importunitie to take the ayre, and without Newton's privity, and at such tyme as Newton was in bedd. He also confesseth his going with Mr. Morse, both into the Strand and Holborne, as aforesaid; and that money was offered unto him by the said cutler in Holborne, but saith that upon the two gentlemen coming forth of the cutler's house, he conceived fear that he should be assaulted by them, and therefore ran away.

And Cooke being re-examined and confronted by the said William Hodson, the cutler, and Spencer, the ale-house keeper, hee further confesseth that Newton was in the tavern with Mr. Morse and him, when Mr. Morse and Cooke went into the Strand and Holborne; but is otherwise soe far from confessing the other particulars proved apparently to his face, as hee seemeth more willing to undergoe any punishment than to disclose the private composition of five pounds, made by him and Newton with the said Mr. Morse. Howbeit, he acknowledgeth that Mr. Morse was to have given him half a piece for his paines.

This being the substance of what we have collected out of the examinacōns and informacōns aforesaid, doe humbly leave the further consideracōn to your honour's wisdome and judgment, resting ever ready,

Very humbly, at your honour's commandment,

HEN. FULLER,
E. JENNER.

Maii 27, 1637.

Father Morse was thus respited by the King at the earnest intercession of Queen Henrietta Maria, from whose charity the martyr had before received various supplies and alms for the distressed, while he was attending the plague-stricken. His sureties on his release were some noble Catholics, who bound themselves for his appearing when called upon in a sum of ten thousand florins. The Father thanked them cordially for their great kindness, and always used his liberty with such caution as not to cause them any loss. But, in order to free them for ever from all obligation upon their bond, he voluntarily went into exile, in compliance with a royal proclamation issued at the beginning of that present Parliament, ordering all Popish priests to leave the realm before the 7th of April, 1641, under

the penalty of death. He accordingly left England, not through fear of punishment, which he would have courted for the sake of Christ, but for the above cause and other motives of piety. We take the following paper upon this event from the Douay manuscripts.

"He was committed to Newgate about the 20th of March, 1637. The King was petitioned in favour of the prisoner, and was inclined to show him mercy by waiving his prosecution, had not some of the Council interposed, vehemently insisting upon his prosecution, assuring his Majesty that he was a dangerous person, against whom (if brought to trial) could be made out several treasonable facts against the State. Upon these remonstrances the King consented to his prosecution. Thus he was indicted as a conspirator and a priest; but, to the great surprise of the Court, there appeared so little at his trial in proof of the treasons so much talked of, that the jury fairly acquitted the prisoner of the odious part of his accusation, and only found him guilty of priesthood. 'Tis said the King was highly displeased with those persons who promised such mighty matters against this priest, when at his trial they were able to make out nothing. And this did Mr. Morse no little service with his Majesty, who upon the Queen's mediation did easily grant a reprieve, conditionally that he should leave the nation and return to his friends beyond the sea, which accordingly he did, and thus Mr. Morse was again providentially delivered out of the hands of his bloodthirsty prosecutors, and once more obliged to go into banishment. 'Twas in the year 1637, when Mr. Morse was sent away, and we hear no more of him in England till 1644, so that he had a long time for spiritual retirement before he made this return into England, which proved to be his last."

He returned, therefore, for the third time into Belgium, where he laboured with much diligence and profit in the Camp mission, as chaplain to the English regiment, then commanded by Colonel Sir Henry Gage. This distinguished officer became so pleased with Father Morse that he generally called him the holy Father. We have given a short notice of Sir Henry Gage in page 184.

But these qualities were to be again exhibited on a more ample field in his native country. Therefore, eagerly desiring once again to return to England, he earnestly begged it of his Superiors, who at length granted the leave, thinking it better to gratify his holy zeal and vehement desire of so pious an enter-

prise. He received this order at Ghent in the year 1643. He was greatly rejoiced, and knelt down to thank God and his Superior for the good news; nor could he refrain from going immediately to the rooms of the Fathers and making them and others of the house acquainted with his happiness; and when bidding them farewell he pledged himself by a solemn promise that he would remember them when he arrived at the gallows. Full of courage and confidence, he sailed for the northern parts of England, and landed safely. For about a year and a half he diligently laboured amongst the Catholics of those parts, amid the din of arms in those troublesome times. The time however was come for him to receive his eternal recompense, and that his virtues and sweet fruits of charity, now ripe for heaven, should be gathered into the eternal garner.

As Father Morse was going to a house on the borders of Cumberland, to assist a sick person, he was apprehended upon suspicion of being a priest by a party of soldiers, who were really in search for another priest. He was sent under guard to Durham, where further inquiries might be made about him. On his way thither, he was to lodge one night at the house of a constable, whose wife was a Catholic. The officer himself was from home, but when his wife heard what the prisoner was suspected to be, she received him with much humanity and kindness, although he had not as yet betrayed himself by a single word. Then, finding opportunity, she told him that she was a Catholic, and entreated him again and again not to hesitate to tell her whether he was a priest or not; for if he were, she would aid his escape before her husband's return. The Father, having convinced himself of her sincerity, told her the secret, but said that he would not escape from the house, as he saw that to do so would endanger his kind hostess. Regardless, however, of her own danger she continued to urge him to provide for himself, and in short, though he resisted for a long time, he at last suffered himself to be persuaded. Then, having prayed God to recompense her for so great and unexpected a kindness, when he had by her help also taken care that some Catholics, who were known to him, should be brought from the city to a place which he had appointed, and having been secretly conducted out of the house, he came by devious paths to the place agreed upon, and by their guidance travelled about forty miles that night, and lay safe in hiding in that corner of the county for five or six weeks.

Afterwards, however, he determined to come forth from his

concealment and to remove elsewhere, when it plainly appeared to be God's will that His servant should glorify His Divine Name by suffering for Him. Having engaged the services of a guide who was trustworthy and well acquainted with the country, and being within a mile or two of the very house whither he was going, the man, whether from accident or by Divine interposition, upon a sudden became puzzled and knew not which way to turn, as if his memory had been quite taken from him. Nothing remained but to turn off to a cottage which he saw near to ask the way, when at the very door of the cottage they met a man who, looking Father Morse hard in the face, asked if he was not the man that had escaped from the custody of the soldiers as he was being taken to Durham? The Father, in his first surprise, could not deny the fact, and was therefore seized, bound, and carried off to Durham gaol.

After spending several weeks in a foul and horrid cell in Durham, he was taken first to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and thence by sea to London. In the voyage he was nearly shipwrecked in a violent storm, in which another ship was lost before his eyes; and he suffered much from the barbarous usage of the crew, who treated him much as the holy martyr St. Ignatius (on whose anniversary Father Morse suffered) tells us that his guards treated him on his voyage to Rome. They put in at Great Yarmouth, about twenty miles from Norwich. Upon this becoming known, the brother of Father Morse, an eminent lawyer in Norwich, hastened to Yarmouth, and went to his brother on board. He was a Protestant, yet entertained such an affection for his brother that he was deeply moved at his condition, and left no means untried to procure his release. He relieved his present necessities, and gave him a plentiful supply of money for his future use, which Father Morse afterwards gave away in alms. They both set off for London, the one by sea the other by land. Mr. Morse had first bound the sailors and soldiers, by giving them money, to treat his brother with more humanity. However, on giving up their prisoner at London, they are reported to have barbarously said, "We have done our part, do you do yours, and hang the man if you like."

In spite of all his brother's exertions, Father Morse was committed to Newgate. On his way thither, having to pass by the house of the Count Egmont, he begged his guards to stay whilst he paid his respects to him. Leave was given, and the Count esteemed it an honour to receive such a guest at his

house. He led the Father into his own private room, and having served him at Mass there, and begged his blessing, he commended various petitions to the prayers of the martyr, who was afterwards allowed to visit some other persons, on the Count's parole. Father Morse, after some hours, surrendered himself again to the officers, and was led away to Newgate, January 24, 1645. On the 27th of the same month he was placed at the bar, but was again remanded, the sessions having been prorogued.

In the meantime his brother was making every exertion to procure the Father's liberty, for which he even offered three thousand florins; but the death of His saint was too precious in the sight of the Lord to admit of its being averted by any ransom. He urged that his brother might be condemned to simple exile, promising that he would bind himself by deed to pay twenty thousand florins if he should ever return to England. The eye-witness alluded to subsequently, says: "Mr. Morse's brother, the lawyer, used all possible means to save his brother's life, and offered three hundred pounds to the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of London for a respite of three days, to allow time to procure his banishment, offering to be bound in the penalty of two thousand pounds, to be forfeited in case he returned; but all his endeavours could not bereave the good Father of his crown." When the martyr heard of this, although nothing could have happened more contrary to his wishes, yet that he might act by the rule of obedience, as he had ever done, and not by his own will, he wrote to his religious Superior as follows: "I wish to know the opinion of your Reverence, whether I am to allow so much labour to be undertaken on my behalf, and such extraordinary pains, and an evil example to be thereby given? Or shall I rather intrust all things to the holy Providence of God, and to the usual course of events? I, for my own part, desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. But if I am necessary to the people, I do not refuse to labour." The course of events soon decided the question, for the day after he had written this, the 30th of January, 1645, he was again placed at the bar, and his indictment read, to the following effect: "That he, Henry Morse, convicted some years ago of being a priest, and having left the kingdom, had returned to it." He pleaded that he had indeed been previously convicted of being a priest, but, as he considered, by weak arguments and insufficient testimony. "What, then," said the Bench, "are you not a priest? Do you not think

that we ought to stand by your former conviction?" "I state nothing about myself; I leave all this to the Court," he replied. He was thereupon condemned to death upon his previous conviction, and remanded to prison.

This prison of his, indeed, might rather (as Father Ambrose Corby remarks) be called a fair, or market; since persons of both sexes, and of all conditions, flocked thither to obtain, at whatever peril to themselves, a look at the holy man, or the benefit of his prayers, or some word of consolation, or any trifling token of remembrance of him. Especially the day before he suffered, it was wonderful how, in spite of all danger, from the first to the last hour of the day, hundreds came to congratulate the blessed servant of Christ on his approaching happiness, and also to beg his aid when he should have entered heaven, for themselves and their afflicted country. "There came," says an eye-witness,[15] "whilst I was in the prison, among divers hundreds of Catholics, Mr. Harvey, the brother of Mr. Harvey,[16] with his hostess, both Protestants, desiring to propose two questions unto the Father, who at my entreaty were admitted. The first question was, whether a man might be saved by the merits of Christ without praying to saints? The second, whether he (Father Morse) was now about to die for his religion, and believed that he should be damned dying out of it? The Father made answer that a man might be saved by Christ's merits without praying to saints, but not without believing what the Church commands, viz., that it is lawful and good for us to pray unto saints—adding that he died for his religion, and that he was sure there was no salvation out of the Catholic Church, wherein miracles were wrought daily: the blind did see, the dumb spoke, the dead rose again, the devils were cast out; and that he died to testify to that truth. All this he spoke with great fervour, though he had neither ate nor drank that day."

But towards the night which was the last for him, now about to pass into everlasting day, there came great numbers of men and women, distinguished both for their virtues and birth, to receive his last salutary advice, and to be present early in the morning at his last Mass, before his bloody sacrifice, which was so soon to follow.

[15] See original manuscript, vol. v. Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* n. 20.

[16] This Mr. Harvey was Father Thomas Worsley, *alias* Harvey, S.J., who was in the prison at the time, in disguise, helping the Catholic prisoners. See *Records*, Series IV. p. 556, note.

They were not, however, allowed to enjoy this consolation in quiet, for some officers, sent, as they said, by order of the Parliament, came to the prison, seized many of them, and kept them in custody till towards the evening of the next day, when they obtained their liberty by a payment of money. This misfortune afflicted them equally with the Father himself, who had a tender sympathy for the sufferings of others, especially when endured for his sake. He exhorted them to a great trust in Divine Providence, and promised that since he had thus been prevented by the interference of the officers from doing anything for them here, he hoped to be a better intercessor for them hereafter with God.

A somewhat freer access was now permitted to strangers,[17] amongst whom the foremost to venerate the holy martyr were the Ambassadors of the Catholic Kings and Princes, who for the sake of honouring the Catholic religion in the midst of heresy, treated him with the deepest veneration to the very last. "There was not one of them, I think" says Father Corby, "who did not either personally, or through one of his suite, come to the prison to beg with singular confidence his prayers for the prosperity of his sovereign, so firm a persuasion was there of his sanctity and his evident ground of hope of a blessed death. The Ambassador of Portugal, with his lady, came on foot through all the rain in disguise. The Spanish Ambassador, being unable to come himself, as he had wished, sent divers of his suite to perform this duty and receive the martyr's blessing. The French Ambassador, the Marquis de Sabran, sent two gentlemen of his suite to inquire whether he might visit him, and, if so, what was the most convenient time to receive his blessing, and to recommend to his prayers his sovereign, the King of France, with the Queen Regent, and kingdom. Father Morse presented him, through the messengers, with a silver crucifix, sent him also his blessing, and exhorted him to continue the good offices which he had done in this kingdom for the reunion of the King and Parliament, and advancement of the Catholic religion. The Emperor of Germany's Ambassador being absent, the Secretary of Legation, who acted for him, having paid Father Morse three very friendly visits (the last one only an hour before he was led out to execution), testified, with great

[17] This ready access of Catholics to the condemned priests, which would under present gaol regulations be impossible, was then easily obtained by money.

admiration, that he had always found him cheerful and composed. 'Nay,' said he, 'I have never in my life witnessed greater firmness, a serener countenance, a more joyful modesty, a more benevolent affability; he seemed as if he were going to a feast.' He moreover gratified his pious desires by hearing Mass there, and having made his confession, received the Most Holy Eucharist at the hands of the Martyr."

Father Morse did not sleep during that his last night, but devoted it to the consolation of others, satisfying all without intermission by pious counsels and exhortations, and answering all questions put to him as though he had nothing else to do but to attend to the business of each individual. It was now about four o'clock in the morning, and approaching the dawn of day, when he prepared himself for saying Mass, having first, according to custom, recited the Litanies of our Lady and of all the Saints for the conversion of England. The Mass he celebrated was a Votive one of the Most Holy Trinity, in thanksgiving for the great favour God was pleased to do him by calling him to the crown of martyrdom. After Mass he made an exhortation to the Catholics present, and having reposed himself for about an hour, and recited the canonical hours of the Divine Office, he visited the cells of all the prisoners, and bade them farewell with so smiling and sweet an expression of countenance as astonished them all. He then retired in company with another Father of the Society of Jesus,[18] and poured forth the whole strength of his soul in most fervent acts of faith, hope, Divine love, and contrition, until a messenger came to inform him that the last struggle was at hand. On receiving the message, he fell upon his knees, and with hands and eyes lifted to heaven, gave hearty thanks to God, extolled His infinite mercy towards him, and offered himself without reserve as a sacrifice to His Divine Majesty. This he did with such a tone of voice and expression of countenance, as to produce a most lively effect upon those present. When the other Father reminded him that he was going into the wished for embrace of Jesus Christ, to meet the ever Blessed Virgin Mother of God and all the Saints, who would look down from heaven upon him during his conflict, he answered immediately: "Come, my sweetest Jesu, that I may be now inseparably united to Thee in time and eternity! Welcome ropes, hurdles, gibbets, knives, and butchery of an infamous death! Welcome for the love of Jesus my Saviour."

[18] This was most probably Father Thomas Worsley, *alias* Harvey.

Having said this, he went to take leave of Father Christopher Ultan, a Franciscan, a man distinguished both for virtue and learning. He was a native of Ireland, and had been violently carried off from thence by the Protestants, who, after treating him with the greatest indignity, had cast him into Newgate. The martyr, showing by the wonderful serenity of his countenance an extraordinary contempt of death, looked most affectionately upon him, and closely embracing him inspired him with such courage and so unusual a joy of heart, and so ardent a desire of martyrdom, that he never remembered to have felt anything like it. The good Franciscan was accustomed often in after life to mention this with tears of joy, and to break out into these words of admiration: "O good Jesus, what a countenance was that!" He added that there was in that look something so superhuman and unearthly, so abounding in heavenly joy, that had he been at the time entangled in the errors of heresy, or sunk in the darkness of heathenism, the internal sweetness by which he felt himself pervaded at the martyr's embrace would have sufficed for his conversion to the faith professed by the servant of God. This feeling was not brief or momentary, but remained with him to the end of his life.

At nine in the morning, the Sheriff of London came to Newgate, and very courteously handed Father Morse down to the sledge, and humanely caused a hurdle, covered with straw, for his greater comfort to be laid upon the sledge, which was drawn by four horses through the town to Tyburn. The French Ambassador, with all his suite, overtook the Father hard by Tyburn, in his carriage, and in the sight of the whole multitude most reverently saluted him, humbly begging his blessing, which the martyr gave him. "And being come," says the same eye-witness, "to the place of execution, the sheriff was so courteous that he commanded none should stand betwixt the sledge and the French Ambassador's coach, and many were put back with blows for offering to advance. Father Morse sent his handkerchief to the Ambassador, and divers pieces of money bent with his teeth to his gentlemen, who did nothing but go to and fro to carry messages. Then did I take the Father by the hand, and being bid to speak in English I told him that the Ambassador, my master, desired his blessing, and that when he came upon the cart he should lift up his hand in sign that he died for his religion. He conceived my meaning, and said he would give some sign. The

sheriff (at which all did much admire) sent word to the French Ambassador that if his coach stood not to his liking, he should place it where he pleased, and that if he desired to speak with the priest, he might do it, whereupon the Ambassador throwing open the boot of the coach, went through the dirt leaning upon me, and recommended to Father Morse the general peace of Christendom, and of his kingdom in particular, and having received his blessing, told him that he could not grieve at his death, seeing him so disposed and desirous of it. When the martyr saw Count Egmont not far off in his carriage, he said to him in Latin: 'Most illustrious Lord, I will remember my promise, and will not be ungrateful before God for the benevolence and charity shown to me by your lordship.' The Count also answered in Latin that he rejoiced greatly at so noble and manifest a glorification of God in His servant, and that he heartily congratulated him on so happy and desirable a lot. And when he had proceeded further in the same strain, to the edification of the by-standers, he and the Ambassador bade him farewell affectionately, and remained silent spectators for the rest of the time."

It was the custom in England, during that sanguinary time, for the sufferer to mount a cart placed under the gallows, a rope was then adjusted to the neck, and the cart being driven away, he remained hanging. When the noble champion of Christ had mounted the cart, and the executioner had placed the rope about his neck, permission was granted him by the sheriff to address the people, but on condition that he should not attack the King or the Parliament, or the laws and and administration of the kingdom. He therefore began to speak boldly with a loud voice, to the following effect: "I am come hither to die for my religion, for that religion which is professed by the Catholic Roman Church, which was founded by Christ, established by the Apostles, and has been propagated through all ages since up to the present day by a visible hierarchy, based on the testimony of the Scriptures, supported by the authority of the Fathers and Councils, out of which, in fine, there can be no hopes of salvation." The sheriff here interrupted: "Say nothing, I beg you, Mr. Morse, of that kind which may offend the people: but rather, if you know any treason against the King or Parliament, now that you are on the point of death declare it."[19] "Well," said

[19] Upon this point a paper in the Douay collection of MSS. states—"'Well thought on,' replied the confessor, 'I have a secret to disclose,

the martyr, "listen:—It happened that whilst I was a Protestant, and studying the law in one of the Inns of Court in London, being agitated by scruples concerning the truth of my religion, I passed over into Belgium, and having learnt thoroughly the certain truth of the Catholic faith, upon full conviction I renounced my former errors, and was received into the Roman Catholic Church, the mistress of all churches. Returning to England not long after, the Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy was tendered to me, and for refusing to take it against my conscience, I was thrown into prison, and after that, though not yet a priest, I was sent into banishment. I betook myself to Rome, and spent seven years in a course of studies. Afterwards, impelled by a zeal for the salvation of souls, I returned to my country, where amongst other services to my neighbours during the time of the plague, which raged some years ago, I willingly and gladly devoted myself to aiding poor Catholics and others infected with the pestilence; nor did I leave, I hope, anything undone which might conduce to their spiritual consolation." "You ought not to glory in your good works," said the sheriff and the Protestant minister that stood by him. "I will glory in nothing," replied the martyr, "but in my infirmities; but all glory I ascribe to God, Who was pleased to make use of so weak an instrument in so pious a ministry, and Who is pleased now to favour me so far as to allow me this day to seal the Catholic faith with my blood, a favour which I have begged of Him these thirty years." "You have now," said the sheriff and the minister, "that which you have wished for." "Just so," said the martyr; "and therefore I give the highest praises to Almighty God, and I pray that my death may be some kind of atonement for the sins of this kingdom; and if I had as many lives as there are sands upon the sea-shore, I would most

which highly concerns his Majesty and Parliament to know.' Upon this the sheriffs and spectators pressed forward with great eagerness to be near him, and a profound silence being made, Mr. Morse spoke to this effect: 'Gentlemen,' says he, 'take notice, the kingdom of England will then be happy when it recalls the Catholic and Apostolic religion back again, and when the subjects of this nation are all united in one faith, and live in obedience to one head, the Bishop of Rome. This is the secret, sir, if you'll have it—this the treason I have to disclose: other treason I know none. But this I do know for certain, that the true cause of all these troubles and miseries, which this nation groans under at this time, is this same heresy which like a cancer has spread itself through all his Majesty's dominions; and till this be rooted out, in vain you seek for other remedies.' The company were not a little surprised at his words; but the sheriff ordered him to despatch, for that such discourses could not be allowed."

gladly lay them all down for this end, and as a testimony to the truth of the Catholic faith, which faith is the only true, the only certain one, the only faith confirmed by miracles still continuing, in which to this day the blind see, the dumb speak, the dead are raised to life. What say you, Mr. Sheriff? If you should see the dead return to life would you not believe? Tell me, I pray, would not you assert that to be the true Church where such things are done? 'For Thy testimonies, O Lord, are made credible exceedingly!' But, Mr. Sheriff, as you have asked me if I knew of any plots against the King or Parliament, I here declare sincerely, in the presence of God, I never in my life had knowledge of any such plot or treason, much less was I ever myself engaged in any. And I beg you to listen attentively to this, that I hold for certain that the present tumults, and all the calamities under which the nation groans are to be ascribed to nothing else but heresy, and the overflowing of so many sects, and that it will be in vain to look for tranquillity and happiness, or any lasting remedy for these evils as long as this mortal poison remains in the very bowels of the nation."

Here the sheriff would not allow him to proceed with these home truths, but bade the martyr say his prayers, and prepare himself for death. "I will follow your recommendation," said Father Morse, "and will prepare myself for my departure from this life to the best of my ability, which indeed I have been doing for the last thirty years, since my reception into the Catholic Church."

The martyr then collected his thoughts for a minute or two, and raising his eyes and hands to heaven, he prayed with a distinct voice: "O Eternal God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I most humbly ask pardon for all my offences, for I confess myself to be a great sinner, in that I have much offended Thy Divine goodness by my human frailty, especially by hastiness of temper, and want of pious attention in my prayers. I repent from the bottom of my heart, and as I pardon all those who have ever injured me, and especially those who now stain their hands in my blood, so I humbly ask pardon of all to whom I have in any way given offence." After praying somewhat more to this purpose, he interceded by name for Germany, Spain, France, and the other kingdoms of the Christian world, but especially for England, his dearly beloved country, then oppressed by the weight of so many miseries, for all of which objects, he said, he offered his life to

God, and promised to pray for the same in heaven. He then asked for a night-cap to draw over his eyes, according to custom, but not being able to find his own, a nobleman of the suite of Count Egmont offered his cap, in the meantime giving also a shilling to the executioner to return it to him again after the Father's death, which, after touching that holy head, he would ever after retain as a most precious relic and treasure. At length, raising his hands to heaven, he uttered with great feeling these words: "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," at the same time penitently striking his breast, and being absolved by a priest standing by, as had been agreed upon, the cart was drawn away from under him. The eye-witness adds: "He hung till he was dead. The hangman to whom he had a little before given a piece of money, and pardoned his death, undressed him as he hung. A boy pulled him by the feet, but was beaten off. And Mr. Sheriff, continuing his extraordinary courtesy, made way for the French Ambassador, and invited him to see the Father quartered, who, alighting from his coach, as also Count Egmont, came and stood by. Their footmen dipped their handkerchiefs in the martyr's blood, and little resistance was made to it, only the sheriff said: 'I pray let no insolence be committed,' being busy in keeping off the people from crowding the French Ambassador. M. de Sabran returned many thanks by me unto Mr. Sheriff, acknowledging great obligation to him for this special favour. The sheriff replied: 'My lord, I am sorry that you should behold here so sad spectacles, but our miseries are such that it must be done.' The Portuguese Ambassador was also present at the execution, but kept his coach. The Ambassador of Spain came not, nor any of his suite, except one page, whereof Count Egmont took great notice unto Mr. Ducket."

According to the barbarous custom, he was cut down, disembowelled, and divided into four quarters, and exposed on four of the city gates, and his head affixed on London Bridge. "And so," says Father Ambrose Corby, "in the presence of an almost infinite multitude of spectators, looking on with wonderful silence and great emotion, died Father Henry Morse, the invincible athlete of Christ, a man who, to speak briefly, truly walked before God, that he might be perfect. Who was everywhere 'a good savour of Christ,' and to many 'a savour of life unto life;' who was always most observant of discipline and rule, a lover of the Cross of Christ and of labours; of

upright and sincere mind, always constant, full of zeal, and fuller still of piety; who, as we have seen, whilst serving the plague-stricken of London, with a charity equal to that of the martyrs, nearly sacrificed his life in the plague; who was thrice sent into exile for his faith, four times imprisoned for the same cause, often brought before the magistrates and to the bar of the courts, but accused only of acts of virtue and beneficence. . . . Let my soul die the death of the just, and and my last end be like to his." Amen.

We refer the reader to the extract from the important document by Count Egmond (Duke of Gueldres), regarding the relics of Father Henry Morse and other martyrs, given in the "Life of Father Thomas Holland," p. 564.

The following short eulogium is taken from *Collectio Cardwelli MSS. S.J.* Public Record Office, Brussels, vol. i. p. 103, Stonyhurst:

> The 1st of February [N. S.] is memorable for the death of Father Henry Morse, who, after he had finished his studies in the English College at Rome, was sent back into England, where he did great things and suffered much for Jesus Christ, having wholly devoted himself to the help of his neighbour. He was thrice banished, four times imprisoned, and several times brought to the bar before the judges, and in all encounters remained invincible in a generous confession of his faith. He lived in the Society of Jesus about twenty years, distinguished for his ready and cheerful obedience and love of the cross. Being at last taken and condemned for being a Catholic priest, he made it appear to all by the incredible joy he thereupon felt, and which showed itself in his countenance, how highly he esteemed the favour of dying for Jesus Christ. Having the rope about his neck, and making the gallows serve him for a pulpit, he began to preach the true faith to those who stood around. He died in the year 1645, æt. fifty years, being hanged and disembowelled according to the fashion of the nation in the City of London, where, eight years before, he escaped being carried off by the plague, wherewith he came to be tainted whilst with unwearied charity he assisted the sick infected with that disease.

The particulars which follow have been supplied by the Rev. Mother Prioress of Lanherne with respect to a relic of this martyr, once in possession of that convent. "Copied from our record — Father Morse, when actually going to martyrdom, took from his breviary a picture and sent it to the Reverend Mother Anne of St. Austin (Wright), Prioress of the Teresians (our convent) at Antwerp, by a friend who stood near him, saying, 'Remember me to the Religious, and tell them that when I get to heaven, whatsoever they shall ask of me, if it be pleasing to God and for their good, I will obtain it for

them.' This precious picture was lent to another convent but was never returned to us.[20] Attached to the picture was an old slip of paper narrating this miracle—A young religious of great expectation fell dangerously ill; one of the religious reminded the Superior of the promise mentioned. The little picture was immediately laid on the sick person's breast, and a little of the martyr's blood mingled with wine given her to take. It had instantly the desired effect, and the sick recovered. She had been in evident danger."

Mention is made of Father Morse in the following paper in the *Kingdom's Intelligencer*, or *Mercurius Civicus*, *London's Intelligencer*, July 17 to July 25, 1644.[21]

Also on Wednesday, July 24, the Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud] came again to his trial in the Lords' House. The business was that [day] managed by Mr. Nicholas, who insisted upon the tenth original article to show what method and instruments he did use here in England to reduce us to Rome. For proof whereof these tenets of him and his followers were touched upon: (1) That the Pope is not anti-Christ, which he did not only occasionally set downe in his owne writings, but authorised Shelford's booke, the title whereof was: *A treatise showing the anti-Christ not to be yet come, and that the Pope is not held to be anti-Christ.* (2) That the Pope is the Chief Bishop, and Head of the Church. (3) That in reply to Fisher (p. 376), he says that if the religion of the Protestants be a false religion, then the Romish is so too, for their religion is the same. (4) That the Church of Rome is a true Church, and that we differ not from it in fundamentals, only in circumstantials. (5) That for the reconciliation of England to Rome, he did thus derive his pedigree. That he descends from St. Austin the Monke, St. Austin from St. Gregory the Pope, and St. Gregory from St. Peter, which is the same succession as the Popes of Rome boast of.

The next was his familiarity and commerce with the Jesuits, priests, and those most affected to the Popish faction. The first was Secretary Windebank, the greatest and most visible protector of the priests. The proof was first from his diary, June 15, 1632. "Mr. Francis Windebank, my old friend, was sworne Secy. of State, which place I obtained for him of my gracious master, King Charles."

The next was his holding correspondence with Papistes and Jesuites, and amongst others these, Sir Toby Matthewes, first a priest, afterwards called Father Price; a Benedictine monke Father Leander, Henry Morse who had seduced five hundred and odd in Westminster, and first of St. Giles'-in-the-Fields, and Father Smith[22] who had a hand in the Gunpowder Treason.

It was also further proved against him that he had discouraged and discountenanced all those, whether pursuivants or others, who

[20] We have all the more reason to thank Reverend Mother Prioress for her kindness and confidence in allowing the portraits of Father Morse and Father Holland to leave their convent, to be photographed for this volume.

[21] British Museum, *King's Pamphlets*, n. 167.

[22] Henry Floyd, *alias* Francis Smith.

were forward in the apprehension of priests and Jesuites, according to the Act of Parliament; and particularly one Bray [Gray], who having apprehended one Fisher, a Romish priest,[23] had caused him to be committed to prison. The priest was afterwards pardoned by his Majesty and banished the kingdom; the said Bray, seeing him about a month after, went about to apprehend him, but was abused by the priest, who told him he had a protection from Sir Francis Windebanke, of which the said Bray going to Lambeth to complaine to the Archbishope of Canterbury, he would not speake with him, but was answered that he could not attend such frivolous businesses; whereupon the said Bray said, he hoped to see better dayes. For which the Archbishop complained of him in the Star Chamber, and caused him to be imprisoned fourteen weeks; and when the said Mr. Braye's wife petitioned him for her husband's release, he threw it away and said he would have nothing to doe with such priest-catching knaves. And afterwards, before the setting High Commission Court openly threatened the other pursuivants, that if they employed the said Gray in catching of priests, he would not only imprison them, but pull their coates over their eares. It was further alledged against him that he had discouraged one Anne Hussey, who discovered a dangerous plot against the King and kingdome. The plot was that a Jesuite declared, there were seven thousand in private pay to cut the throats of the Protestants, and that the King should be killed. He told her that she was mad, and hired by the Londoners, and that she should be rackt.

Also, that he concealed a conspiracy against his Majesty and the kingdome, which was revealed unto him in letters from Sir. W. Boswell, and only discovered the first part of it, when he thought some Puritans had a hand in it; but when he had further letters (which were found in his study by Mr. Prynne) that the Jesuites had a hand in it, he concealed it and made no publication thereof.

There is now only the fourteenth article of his impeachment to be insisted upon.

The following extracts and copies from various documents amongst the State Papers in the Public Record Office, are connected with the foregoing history, and relate especially to the martyr's capture by the pursuivant Newton, in 1636-7.

1636, Westminster. *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cccxxxi, n. 93. A petition of Robert White, sub-curate of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Archbishop Laud.

Two Popish priests, one called Southwell,[24] who has long been a prisoner in the Gatehouse, but lives about Clerkenwell, under pretence of distributing alms sent from the Friars at Somerset House,[25] take occasion to go into visited houses, for example into

[23] Father John Percy.

[24] This alludes probably to the Rev. John Southworth, the secular priest, fellow-labourer of Father Morse before mentioned. The other priest was doubtless Father Morse himself.

[25] The confessors and chaplains of Queen Henrietta Maria.

those of William Baldwin, and William Styles, in the Hemp Yard, Westminster, and there finding Baldwin near the point of death, set upon him to make him change his religion, whereunto he consented and received the sacraments from the Church of Rome. Southwell, to hide his practices, fees the watchmen to affirm that he comes only to give alms. The sub-curate then prays that a course may be taken to hinder these practices, not only as unsettling poor people in their religion, but also on account of the danger to the Queen, on her coming to Denmark House, where these newly turned Roman Catholics frequent, and where three people who watched with Styles immediately before he died, went the same day to Mass.

Dom. Charles I. 1636, vol. cccxlix. n. 116. Endorsed—"Mr. Morse pr. Newton. Newton's petition in the name of the officers of St. Giles' to the Lords" (L.S.).

To the Right Hon. the Lords and others of his Maties most H. Privie Councill,—

The humble petition of the persons whose names are to the annexed certificate subscribed, and others of the parish of St. Giles-in-the-Flds, who most humbly deploringe the miserable estates they are in by the greate increase of those of the Romish Church in the said p'ish, where they are soe exceedingly multiplying dayly, that in that part of the p'ish called Bloomsbury, there are as many or more than Protestants.

They therefore for the glorie of God and suppressing this greate enormitie begg your honour's care of a reformacōn wch they doubt not but in your grave wisdomes you will vouchsafe.

Soe shall y^r^ pet^rs^ glorifie God, and according to theire bounden duties pray for y^r^ honour's eternall happines.

At Whytehall, the 15th of March, 1636.

Theire lopp^s^ thinke fitt that the parson of the p'ish, the churchwardens and constable who have cettifyed, should take care to have the p'sons complyned of to be indicted and to be p'ceeded with till they be convicted as recusants; whereupon theire lopp^s^ will give such further order as shall be fitt.

Ext^r.^ WILLIAM BECKER.

Same vol. n. 116 I. Newton's information against Mr. Morse.

To the R. Hon. &c.—

We whose names are hereunder written, of the p'ish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields in the county of Midd^x^ doe (at the instance of Francis Newton, gent., one of his Maties messengers), humbly certifie that by the instigacōn of one Henri Morse, Jesuite, John Souther, a prisoner in the Gatehouse, and James Smithson, a prisoner in Newgate, these p'sons hereunder named of the said p'ish, and many others as we doe vehemently suspect have beene seduced to the Romish religion and drawne to adhere to the Church of Rome verie lately, viz. Robert Webb, late a constable and his wife.

Richard Jarvis, stone cutter, Cecilly Crowe. and her sonne and two daughrs John Greene, laborer, Giles Crutch, Richard Horsey, Mary his wife, Alice Netler, and Wm her sonne, p'verted by Morse.

Witnesses, Margt Madeson, Widow Whyte.

Mr. Hersett and the Ladie Whyte, John Nailer, Widowe Allen, Cuthbert Holland. Theise p'sons theire houses being this last sōmer visited with the sicknes were in that tyme much frequented by Morse, who did alsoe come to the house of one Goodwife Godwyn, and administer the sacrament, and a maide servant of the said Godwyn's beinge marked for death, the said Morse did annoynte and assaile [confess] her after the Romish Church.

One Moodey, a chandler, and a Papist, is often employed as a messenger for Morse.

Frances Hall, the wife of Rich. Hall, a nurse keeper this visited tyme, and keeping one Richard Seares, and Mary his wife, being aged p'sons, and formerly frequenting the Church of England in the tyme of their sicknes, the aforesaid Moodey sent the nurse to one Mr. Freshwater, to send Morse, the priest, to them, and upon his coming the said nurse keeper, and one Mrs. Thompson, being in the house (as a visitant)found Morse confessing the said Seare's wife, who tould Mrs. Thompson and the nurse soe much. And likewise confessed Seares himselfe, who before that tyme were Protestants, but in this weaknes p'verted by Morse to the Romish Church, dyed soe, who thereupon after affirmed that he knew theire soules are in heaven.

The veritie of all this is to be proved by credible testimony.

And soe humbly leaving the reformacōn to your lopps grave wisdomes, for which we beseech the assistance of the Almightie, and rest devoted to yr honor's cōmands.

WILLIAM HAYWOOD, Rector.
GEO. HOPE } Churchwardens.
GEO. NURSE }
JOHN HYDE, Constable.

Extr. WILL BECKER.

March 8, 1636.

Dom. Chas. I. vol cccli. n. 13. Endorsed—"Morse. Warrant of commitment, March 26, 1637. Newgate."

Theis are to will and require you to receave into yr custody the p'son of Henry Morse, a Romish priest, herewithall sent vnto yow; and to keepe him safe prisoner vnder your charge in the prison of Newgate, vntill further order from this boarde. For which this shall bee your warrant.

Dated at Whitehall, ye 26 of March, 1637.

W. CANT. THO. COVENTREY. MANCHESTER. LENOX.
HAMBLETON. ARUNDELL & SURREY. NORTHUMBERLAND.
SALLISBURY. E. NEWBURGH.
Mr. Comptroller.

JO. COKE.
FRAN. WINDEBANKE.

To the Keeper of Newgate or his deputy.

Dom. Chas. I. vol. cccli. n. 59. 1637.

To the Queen's most sacred Matie.

The humble peticon of Henry Morse.

Sheweth. That whereas y^r Pet^r going about his occasions, was apprehended by one Newton and John Cooke, pursuivants, upon Mondaie last, upon suspicion of beinge a priest, and was by him carried to an alehouse in Westminster, and ther detained all that night as a prisoner, wth comands (by the said Newton) to be kept close from speaking wth anie bodie but such as Newton appointed; but the next daie Newton (having not presented him to any of his Maties officers) did of his owne accorde offer y^r Petit^r his libertie vpon condition that hee would give him five pounds, with some further reward to his companion Cooke, and gave him leave to goe abroad to procure the money, vpon his promise that yf hee could not p'cure the said somes hee should returne to the same alehouse, prisoner as hee was before. Whereupon y^r Petio^r went abroade, but being not able to provide soe much money, did according to his promise returne to them, wher still he remaines as ther prisoner. By wch proceeding y^r Matie will perceive to what end the service they p'tend to doe to his Matie and to the State doth tende, wch is onlie ther owne gaine; as by experience yor Pet^r hath formerly found, for that some few weekes past being seized upon by one of these pursuivants, was for a small some released, as now hee might, yf hee could satisfie their avaritious desires, wch his povertie is not able to doe.

Wherfore hee humblie beseecheth y^r Matie for God's sake to obtain of his M^tie that hee may bee released from his miserie and goe in quiet. And hee according to his bounden dutie shall ever praie for the happines of both y^r M^ties.

Dom. Chas. I. June, 1637. Vol. ccclxi. n. 20 and 20 I.

To the King's most excellent Matie.

The humble peticon of Henry Morse, prisoner in Newgate.

In all humility sheweth, that whereas one Francis Newton, a man of an infamous life and behaviour, being for many dishonest practises adjudged by a sentence of the Judges of y^r M^ties Court of Comon Pleas to bee throwne over the barr and expulsed from the profession of an atturney-at-law, and since his employment as a pursuivant hath been convinced [convicted] of many abuses and corruptions, to the dishonor and p'judice of y^r M^ties authoritie and service, the said Newton did lately endite and prosecute y^r poore subiect at the Quarter Sessions, vpon p'tence of being a priest, and for perverting divers of your M^ties subiects in their religion; vpon both wch accusations he was arraigned, and then acquitted for the pretended perverting the people, and found guilty of being a priest by the jury, upon the sole and onely testimony of the said Newton, that the Petitioner had confessed himself to be a priest to him, wch was most untrue; but by your M^ties gracious clemency and goodnes, there was no sentence or iudgment of law given or entered against him for the same.

Hee doth now humbly beseech y^r Matie that, as you have out of your royall clemency and justice preserved him from the sentence of death due by law, so you wil be gratiously pleased to free him from death in this prison, which infallibly must ensue by his

p'sent sicknes and the closenes of that place, where, by the great noysomenes of the place and the heates of this sumer, wth the infection thereabouts, his sicknes and weaknes is increased and his life endangered, if he hath not speedily his libertie; and for these reasons, and in confidence of yr princely inclination to pitty, he is encouraged humbly to beseech yr Matie that you will be gratiously pleased to give order that he may have his liberty and freedome for the recovery of his health and p'servation of his life, to repaire and abide in such places as he shal be advised by his phisitians.

And [as] he is in duty otherwise bound, shall daylie most hartily pray for your Maties long life and happiness.

N. 201. (annexed).

These are to testifie to all to whome these may concerne, that wee vnderwritten physicons doe conceave Henry Morse, gent., and prisoner in Newgate, to bee very infirme in body, and incliningе to a consutive [consumptive] indisposition, soe farre as vnlesse hee may have libertie of freshe aire, and freedome from the closenesse and noysomenesse of the same prisone; his remedies will have ill-successe, and his life not be without danger. "In quor. fidem," &c.

JOHN MORE.
THOMAS TURNER.
Med. Offrs.

Dom. Chas. I. vol. ccclxi. n. 95. June 16, 1637. Endorsed —"Mr. Sec. Windebank. Warrant to the Keeper of Newgate to bail Morse. Date, June 16, 1637."

Whereas his Majty hath bene pleased to comand that Henry Morse, prisoner in Newgate, shold be discharged from his imprisonment, p'curing sufficent security to appeare before the Lords of his Mties. moste Hble. Privy Councill upon 20 days' warninge given him to that purpose. These are therefore to will and require you to bringe the body of the said Henry Morse to my house in West. to-morrow, being Saturday, at eight of the clock in the morninge, to enter security accordingly. And for the doinge thereof this shall be your warrant.

Dated at West. June 16, 1637.

To the Keeper of the prison of Newgate, &c.

FFRA. WYNDEBANK. (LS.)

Dom. Chas. I. vol. ccclxii. n. 6. (20 June, 13 C. I.). Endorsed—"The King's Majesty's royal discharge to the Keeper of Newgate for Morse. Date, June 20, 1637."

Whereas at the instance of our deerest consort the Queene, wee have bene pleased to grant that Henry Morse, lately indicted vpon suspicon of beinge a priest, and still prisr. in our gaole of Newgate, shal be enlarged upon sufficient securitie given to appeare before the Lords of our Privie Councell when hee shal be therunto called. And for as much as wee vnderstand that hee hath given sufficient security to that purpose, we doe therefore will and comand you

forthwith to enlarge and sett at libertie the bodie of the said Henry Morse. For which this shall be your warrt.

Dated att our Corte at Greenwch, the twentieth day of June, in the 13. year of our reign.

To the Keeper of the gaole of Newgate, &c.

Dom. Chas. I. vol. ccclxix. n. 55. Petition of Philip Roper and other Roman Catholics to the King, against the pursuivant Newton.

States (*inter alia*) "Whereas they have vnderstood that out of your greate zeale to justice, you are pleased to be informed of the unlawful practices of one Newton, a pursuivant, and in p'ticular of his offering to discharge one Mr. Morse for moneys, after he had arrested and imprisoned him for a priest, we conceived that we were bound for the manifestation of truth to present to your Mty. the annexed certificate by John Cooke, who was employed for and with the said Newton to attach the said Mr. Morse, and to compounde with him for his enlargement."

Various cases are set out against Newton (*inter alia*), "And also that the said Newton, with John Gray and others, conspired together and threatened to indict Francis Smith for a priest, and Bartholow. Fromonds, Esqre. for entertaining him, unles the said Smith would give them £5."

The Petitioners then beg for an examination into the charge, and the due punishment of the offender.

N. 55 I.

The affidavit of John Cooke, of St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Whereas, I am required to manifest the truth of Mr. Newton's proceedings and carriages in the apprehension and imprisonment of Mr. Morse. By this present I declare and make oath that upon the 27th of Feb. last, Mr. Morse, coming from visiting the infected with the sicknes (as he sayd), Mr. Newton arrested the said Mr. Morse upon suspicon to be a priest, by vertue of a warrant dated 1632, having in his company John Tompson, an attorney of the Court of King's Bench, whom Mr. Newton p'sonated to be a constable to assist him in the arrest, according to the tenor of the warrant, which the said Thompson denied not, and performed that office of a constable.

They carried the prisoner to one Spencer's, an alehouse-keeper and victualler in Westr., not acquainting him with the danger which might ensue to him, and such as should repayre to his house, by harbouring one who came immediately from the infected, and his owne sores (himselfe having ben infected) scarce healed, as he reported.

The next day being the 28th Ffeb., Mr. Newton comanded me (being then his servant) to treate with Mr. Morse about his liberty, and to that purpose gave mee instructions how to proceede in the treaty, Mr. Newton himselfe being unwilling to treat with Mr. Morse for feare of being questioned for it, as he told mee.

After much debating, and many conferences all that day between us, the conclusion and bargaine was that Mr. Morse should give Mr. Newton five pounds, and so be discharged and sett at liberty. The conditions that Mr. Newton required were—First, that Mr. Morse should promise not to acquaint any with what he gave for

his liberty. 2ly. That yf the Lords of the Councell shod. have notice of the arrest, and call for him, he should again render himselfe prisoner to him.

This agreement Mr. Newton approved, and thereupon carried Mr. Morse and Spencer p'sently to the Sun taverne, wher after wee had drunke a pint of sacke, Mr. Newton gave mee order to goe with Mr. Morse into the Strand and other places to procure the sayd £5, and upon the receipt thereof to release and sett him at liberty. But in case he could not procure the money that night (it being 9 of the clock or thereabouts before wee went from the taverne), then Mr Newton willed mee to lett him goe among his friends, upon his worde and promise to render himselfe prisoner as before, at Spencer's house, yf hee procured not the money; wch. Mr. Morse performed accordinge to his p'mise, not being able to procure the £5. In Spencer's house he kept Mr. Morse close prisoner for 31 days.

All which I doe now testifie on oath, although I formerly denied it when I was examd. before Sir Henry Spiller, Sir G. Fermor, and Mr. Whittaker, out of feare, conceaving that the manifesting these passages betweene Mr. Morse and Mr. Newton might prove p'judicial and very dangerous to mee, I being Mr. Newton's man and his chief and only instrument in all these his proceedings.

Dom. Chas. I. 1637, vol. cccxxxiv. n. 32. Endorsed—"Depositions concerning Mors." N.B.—These depositions, thirteen in number, are by divers of the persons charged by the informer in vol. cccxlix. n. 116, with having been perverted by Father Morse. A few only are given here—the rest are mere denials.

I, Cecily Crowe, widow, aged fourescore yeares or thereabouts, dwelling in Bloomsbuy, doe certify upon my oath that whereas Mr. Newton hath accused Mr. Morse to the Lords of his Mties Privy Councell, that I and my sonne and daughters were drawne to the Roman religion by him, I take my oath that manie yeares before I knew him I was a Roman Catholic, and that my two daughters, likewise accused to have been perverted by him, are both Protestants. True it is I sent to him to come to mee when I was visited with the sicknes and shut vp; and being ready to starve, I receaved comfort and reliefe many times from our gracious Queene by his meanes, the parish not giving us anything because we were recusants, notwithstanding Catholiques did contribute liberally to the officers of the parish towards the reliefe of the sicke this time of infection.

I, *John Nailer*, understanding that Mr. Newton hath informed the Lords of the P. Councell that one Mr Morse hath perverted me to be a Roman Cathc, for the manifeston of the truth and to cleare Mr. Morse, &c., doe make oath that I have been a Roman Cathc (as my parents before mee were) these many yeares before I entreated Mr. Morse to come to visitt mee, being stroken wth the sicknes, and received charity for the reliefe of my wife and fower litle children, who dyed of the sicknes.

Margaret Allen, widow, &c.—I take my oath that many yeares before I knew the said Mr. Morse I was of the Cathol. relign and that I sent for him when I was visited, and that he many times

gave almes to mee, my husband, and my two litle children, who all dyed of the plague, the parish not giving us anything, we being very poore, and 7 persons in number shut up.

Cuthbert Holland having, &c., doe certify upon my oath that my parents bredd me up in that religion, and that I was ever a R. Catholique, whereby it may appeare how much Mr. Newton hath wronged both Mr. Morse and myself and the Lords, there being twelve persons shut up in the house, whereof six died of the sicknes. Wee were often relieved by the said Mr. Morse with her Majties and divers Catholiques' charity.

Elizabeth Godwin having notice that Mr. Morse is accused by Francis Newton, pursuivant, that hee persuaded mee to be a Roman Cathe and a mayde of mine marked for death wth the sicknes was annointed and absolved by him, I take my oath that I was a Rom. Catholique manie yeares before I knew the said Mr. Morse. Also that I, being a poore labouring woman, never did nor was able to keepe a servant, and being shutt vp 7 weekes, buried 3 of my litle children, wch he relieved with her Majties and with divers Catholiques' almes; otherwise we had perished wth famine, and 6 persons of vs shutt vp for 7 weekes, and never had of the parish but 5s.

Edward Freshwater, after denying the statement of Newton as to Frances Hall, Sayers and wife, denies all knowe of them. And I did never see the said Mr. Morse but through a window, when he came to give me, my wife, and two small children, almes from her Mtie and others, I being then in extreme poverty, all my goods being not long before seized on having buried two of my children of the infection, and being shut vp 8 weeks, during wch time I received nothing from the parish but xxiis. from Mr. Willson the constable by way of loane, which he compelled me to pay him the same again.

Dom. Chas. I. vol. cccxcviii. n. 84. September 16, 1638. Endorsed—"Francis Newton's warrant for two hundred marks."

Whereas Francis Newton, messenger, by virtue of a warrant from the Board, hath apprehended divers priestes and Jesuetts, whereof some of them he carried to prison, and others by expresse comand he kept in his custodie, and founde them meate, drink, and lodging, and amongst them a verie dangerous p'son, one *Morse*, a *Jesuite*, whom he kept at his charge the space of thirtie dayes, and afterwards according to directions prosecuted him to a tryall at Newgate, where he was found guiltie of treason by 17 witnesses produced at the arraignment, who were also kept at his the said Newton's charge during the said sessions; for all which their lordships, according to a reference and significon from his Mtie., have thought fitt that allowance should bee made unto him; these are therefore to pray and require you, out of such his Mties. treasure as is remayning in your custodie, to pay to the said Newton the sum of two hundred markes, in full satisfaction as well of his said disbursements as his great paines and service p'formed in the said employment, &c.

Dated the 16th of Sept., 1638.

Signed, &c.

BROTHER BARNEBY RICHARDSON.

We conclude our biographies with the following account of a miraculous cure wrought upon a Lay-brother of the English Province, through the intercession of St. Mary Magdalen, at the novitiate of St. Andrew, Rome, in 1643. No further information regarding him has come down to us, beyond the fact of his death having been reported two years after the miracle, as having taken place at St. Omer's. An Italian copy of the relation is preserved at Stonyhurst.[1]

"God our Lord, always wonderful in His saints, imparts, as He has promised, His marvellous favours through their merits, yet more abundantly when He is entreated by the unanimous, persevering, and continuous prayers of many. Thus has He deigned to manifest Himself in this our house, through the intercession of the glorious St. Mary Magdalen, whilst on the day before her feast all the novices were specially engaged in a novena in her honour. To that Saint our novices have shown extraordinary devotion for eight consecutive years. It was thus: Brother Barneby Richardson, an Englishman, had entered the Society as a Temporal Coadjutor scarcely three months, when he was tried by our Lord, as a kind of first probation for his noviceship, with a long and tedious malady. He had now been sick for thirty-two days, with spitting of blood, and occasionally a degree of fever. All the remedies applied had given him no relief, and it was thought that much more than the two years' probation would be required before he could be finally admitted to the Society.

"Things grew worse and worse; a kind of erysipelas appeared on his face and the lower part of the body, which became so swollen that he could neither get any rest nor retain food. Finally, the erysipelas attacked his throat, closing it, so that the patient could neither speak a word to us nor take the least nourishment, frequently trying in vain to swallow some drops of broth. He had already passed two days and a night without food. As a last remedy, blisters were applied to his body, scarified as it already was by the painful applications that had been used. As the sufferer continued to be unable to

[1] Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vi.

swallow, or utter a word to us, we thought rather of assisting his soul with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, the only one he was capable of receiving, than of any further treatment to his body. The medical man, however, unwilling to leave any means untried, ordered another blister to be applied to his neck on Friday morning, the 17th of July, hoping thereby to relieve the throat, and thus enable him to receive some nourishment, which might preserve his life. This order of the doctor so harassed the good brother, that it threw him into a worse state, and, reflecting within himself upon the fact of his not having found any relief after having been put to such terrible pain, and that the bed itself, made for repose, would be turned into an instrument of torture by the contact of fresh wounds, he resolved, seeing the utter failure of all human aids, to redouble his prayers for help to God, knowing He would not forget him in a time of so great need, through the intercession of the glorious St. Mary Magdalen, who had been honoured in that house for so many years, and whose picture hung in his room. While the novices were engaged in the devotions of the novena, he set himself in like manner to beg, not for bodily health, but for patience, through the intercession of his holy patroness, from whom he had received at other times corporal benefits. He then implored of the Saint more earnestly than ever that he might obtain patience, doing this with renewed feeling when he heard the last order of the medical man.

While thus engaged in fervent prayer, with his tearful eyes fixed upon her picture, he heard distinctly these words as though proceeding from it: 'Have patience, my son, until the *Ave Maria* rings this evening, and thou shalt both speak and swallow.' At the same time, with this promise, he conceived so great a confidence, that when the infirmarian came in unexpectedly, he indicated to him by signs, with great joy and assurance, all that had passed, and from that moment became most cheerful, declining the remedy of the earthly physician, as awaiting a more powerful one from heaven. Friday morning found the sick man incessant in his devotions to the Saint, and retaining full confidence in her promise; whilst we awaited the event till the twenty-fourth hour.[2] Towards evening, as a violent storm came on, a little before twenty-three o'clock, the Father Rector entered the infirmary, to visit our Brother Barneby, and saw him in his usual afflicted state of body and admirable disposition of soul. Still

[2] In Rome they reckon by the twenty-four, not the twelve hours.

the brother persisted in telling him that he would infallibly obtain the favour from St. Mary Magdalen at the *Ave Maria.* The Father Rector left after a short time, promising to the sick brother, in going out, that on account of the storm they should ring the *Ave* in common with the whole of the churches in the city, to implore the Divine aid for him.[3]

They had scarcely commenced ringing when the sick man, who was left alone and in a state of such debility that he could hardly turn, raised himself suddenly on his knees upon the bed with great faith. In that position he was found by the Father Minister and the infirmarian on their unexpected return, and asked what trick he was after in leaving his bed? Making a little effort, he quickly answered, that on the ringing of the *Ave Maria* he had received this power, and praising Jesus, Mary, and the Saint, he spoke freely. All signs of the erysipelas in the throat had left him. He declared he had an appetite, and took some broth; then supped at the usual time, and continued, with greater strength than when he was in good health, to speak of and magnify the Divine mercy, distinctly recounting all that happened. He had every appearance of being perfectly well, and would have risen from his bed on the Saturday morning, had he not been ordered, in compliance with the doctor's wish, to wait until the Sunday. Then he got up by himself; and he who had been so long ill and weak, all remedies in whose case had so utterly failed, after a total want of food for days, now walked briskly and without the aid of a stick through the house, and visited the other sick, thus proving his perfect recovery, and giving us occasion to thank the Divine Majesty, and to praise Him in His saints. May our Lord deign, by the intercession of St. Mary Magdalen, to grant to each one of us and to all who read this narrative those flames of Divine love, which He caused to burn in the heart of that seraphic Saint, to the end that we may every moment seek the greater glory of His Holy Name, to which be praise for ever and ever! Amen."

[3] It is a pious custom to have the bells of the different churches tolled during great storms.

ADDENDA.

THE following is a translation of a paper in the Archives of the Vatican, which has been lately furnished to us by the kindness of a friend. The incidents mentioned mark the date as about 1623, the time of the Spanish Treaty for a marriage between Charles and the Infanta of Spain, which was subsequently broken off. The paper belongs to pages 72-3 of our present volume.

News from England.—London.—Miscellaneous.

The matrimonial alliance with Spain is the common talk. The preachers and Puritans fear that it will take place, and some shrewd people are of the same opinion. Still no one can feel sure of the mind of our King,

The Ambassador of the Catholic King has had leave from the King of England to take a hundred pieces of artillery.

A rumour runs that the King has thoughts of cancelling, or, at any rate, curtailing the authority of the pursuivants (as they are called) or constables over the Catholics; but whether this is true or no we shall find out in time by the result.

The Grisons have asked the English King for aid towards the erection of two or three colleges, where heretical ministers may be trained for preaching and propagating, especially in Italy, their religion, which they call Reformed; and they have been treating with the English Ambassador at Venice to this effect.

A certain Mayron, the physician of the King of England, but a Frenchman by birth, was found a little while ago in France stirring up the Huguenots to revolt, and was ordered by the Council of the Christian King, under pain of death, to quit the kingdom, and never to return again. The Christian King wrote to the King of England, to know if his Majesty had given such commission to the said physician. The King of England said No. But he was much displeased that his medical attendant had been treated in such fashion.

THE POULTON FAMILY.

SINCE our notice of this family was in type, we have met among the State Papers[1] with a deed of Indenture, dated February 14, 1606, between Nicholas Porter of Aston, in the county of Gloucester, and Ferdinando Poulton of Bourton, in the county of Bucks, the celebrated lawyer, whereby on payment by Porter of £100 in September, 1607, he be released from a bond of £200, due to the said Ferdinando Poulton, with a memorandum endorsed that the money is to be for the use of the children of the said Nicholas Porter.

We also find[2] a grant, dated May 8, 1607, from the Crown to Archibald Napier for the benefit of the recusancy of (among other gentlemen in various counties of England) Ferdinando Poulton of Marwell, Bucks.

Three other members of this family have also been discovered, thus showing fifteen who entered the Society of Jesus. The first is the earliest of all, and of him we possess at present no information beyond the statement in the autobiography of Father Henry Lanman,[3] that he had consulted Father Pulton about embracing the religious state of life. Mr. H. Poulton, by whom, as we have before stated, much valuable information regarding the family has been supplied, is sure that Martin Poulton (see pedigree), who married Mary Osborne, had other children besides Giles, and that the above Father was probably William Poulton, a brother of Giles, while the fact that Martin Poulton predeceased his father, and therefore never entered into possession of the estates, accounts for the absence of documents, showing more than the eldest son and heir. We have, therefore, placed him upon the pedigree in the position thus indicated. The same authority also considers that the connection between the Poulton and Fitzherbert families may have its origin through the Sacheverells, which was the name taken by William Poulton on entering the English College, Rome, in 1652.[4]

[1] State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. James I.* vol. xviii. n. 88.
[2] State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. xxvii. n. 16.
[3] P. 176.
[4] See p. 165.

It will be recollected that in the brief reference to Father Andrew Poulton,[5] he speaks of having had six great paternal uncles in the Society. Only four are accounted for in the previous notice, but the missing two have lately come to light, hidden beneath the confusing veil of *aliases*,[6] viz. :

1. William Poulton, *alias* Francis Palmer, son of John Poulton of Desborough, born in the year 1613. He entered the Society in 1633, at the age of twenty, and died in his third year's theology, on September 29, 1641, at the early age of twenty-eight.

He is thus noticed in the Annual Letters of the College of Liege for the year 1641 : "He was a youth of great talent, and still greater innocency of life, as his Father Confessor testified after his death, who in administering to him the last sacraments of holy Church on his death-bed, heard his general confession of his whole life from his earliest years, and could find nothing approaching even to a grievous sin. He viewed the near advance of death with remarkable freedom from all fear. He died at Ghent, within a few weeks of his arrival, having been sent there from Liege for the benefit of his health." He is called in Oliver's *Collectanea* S.J. Francis Palmer.

2. Henry Poulton, *alias* Matthew Palmer, brother of the last named, was born in the year 1615, and having made his humanity course of studies at the English College, S.J., St. Omer, entered the novitiate of the Society at Watten in 1635, being then twenty years of age, and was accidentally drowned near St. Omer on June 19, 1640.

The summary of the deceased of the English Province S.J. for the year 1640 gives the following brief and edifying notice of this holy scholastic: "Matthew Palmer of Northamptonshire, a master at St. Omer's College. . . . Walking out in the country in charge of a number of his scholars, he was seized by the French soldiers, who then infested the country round

[5] P. 163.

[6] It is difficult to conceive the trouble caused in researches by the custom of adopting *aliases* or by-names, a practice rendered necessary in the severe times of persecution. The Editor has, at the cost of much labour, made out a catalogue of between six and seven hundred of these names, with a key to them. It is intended to annex this catalogue to a new *Collectanea* of the members of the English Province S.J., to form part of the present series, and a reference to it will greatly facilitate the historian. The connection between the Poulton and Palmer families is shown upon the pedigree in p. 155. The names selected as *aliases* were generally those of relatives, and in most cases of relations on the mother's side.

about. While endeavouring to extricate his young charge from their present danger, he was repeatedly struck by the soldiers, and in consequence fell headlong from the bank of a river upon which they were standing into the stream below, and was drowned on June 19, 1640, at the age of twenty-five, having spent five years in the Society. He was a youth of so tender a conscience, that the very shadow of a sin was sufficient to horrify him. It happened no doubt by Divine appointment, that he had lately been most attentively perusing and pondering the famous treatise of Cardinal Bellarmine S.J. upon *The art of dying well*, and, moreover, impelled (as we may piously believe) by a certain Divine presentiment, he had three days before his death, in giving the usual catechetical instructions to the youth, dwelt strongly upon the point *how greatly it imports us to be ever ready prepared for a sudden death.* His death, however, cannot be said to have been an unexpected one to himself, since his mind was so prepared by the presentiment pervading it."

The French soldiery caused great devastation and suffering, in the neighbourhood at that period. We read in the annals of the Watten Novitiate for the year 1638: "These pious and useful practices had scarcely been established, when they were violently interrupted by the sudden invasion of the French army, which was about to besiege the city of St. Omer. . . . They laid waste all the surrounding country by fire and plunder. The community of Watten narrowly escaped the lawless violence of the soldiery by a speedy flight, with such articles as they had time to collect, to our house at Ghent. . . . This calamity, by the Divine goodness, only served to increase the religious fervour of the novices. After the siege of St. Omer was raised, and the French army had retired, the community returned to Watten to suffer great privation in consequence of the military devastation to which the house had been subjected. . . . It had been used for barracks during the siege, all the stock and provisions consumed, and growing crops destroyed. It was a cause of thankfulness that the house was spared, though the adjoining village was entirely destroyed by fire. But the retreating army had left behind it a much more terrible and fatal scourge, in the form of a pestilence, which spread through the country, and by which three members of the house (including Father John Baron the Minister) were carried off." [7]

[7] See the account of Father Baron, *alias* Barton, p. 660.

Again, in the Watten Annals of 1640: "The community had been compelled by the danger of war once more to leave their house, and take refuge in the College of St. Omer. On the same occasion that Brother Matthew Poulton was drowned, the novices were walking out on a recreation day, and were suddenly attacked by the soldiers, but soon finding that they had no money, they let them off without further molestation than stripping six of them of their mantles. Three of the novices who happened to be at a little distance, perceiving the danger, forded the river (so fatal to Brother Poulton), and thus got off.

FATHER GROSSE, *alias* FELTON.

In *Records*, Series IV., pt. ii.,[8] "The College of St. Hugh, or the Lincolnshire District," a short account is given of this Father and martyr *in vinculis pro Christo.* The following autobiographical account, taken from the usual interrogatories put to the students on entering the English College, Rome, has been procured, since the publication of Series IV., and is given here by way of addenda to the previous account. It also furnishes additional matter to the biography of William Alabaster in p. 66.

"1603. My name is John Grosse; I am twenty-three years of age, and was born at Yarmouth, in the County of Norfolk, where I made my early studies, and at the age of fifteen I was sent to Cambridge, where I spent eight years. My father was of the old family of Grosse certainly, but whether ennobled or not I am ignorant. My mother was of the Felton family, a house not unknown in England. My father while he lived was a merchant, and used to send his ships with cargoes to France, Denmark, and Spain, while also he was a man of repute and ample fortune.

"I have many relations on both sides flourishing in fortune and posts of honour in the State; these are of respectable birth, and but few are merchants. I have one uncle a Protestant D.D. in a high position and a learned man. All my friends, as far as I know, are heretics, and many of them 'time-servers.' I have three sisters but no brother surviving.

"I was born and bred a heretic. My parents and friends are of the Calvinist sect. If any report about Catholics ever

[8] It will be borne in mind that the volume of Series II. III. and IV. was published prior to the present volume, which, as stated in the Introduction, is made Volume I. Series I.

reached my ears, instantly a certain feeling of hatred would inflame my inmost soul, which I was scarcely able to stifle, nor could I bridle my tongue, but would load them with scurrilous words and curses. How greatly am I changed from my former self!—from the useless branch of Calvin become, by the grace of God (by which I am that I am) a good and sincere Catholic, in my twenty-third year, shortly before Christmas, and when visiting my relations and other friends at the vacation. In the meantime, whilst I lived among them, business so requiring it, a certain relative of mine out of Suffolk, named Robinson, visited my host on the Saturday next before the Epiphany, and was invited to dinner, and during table conversed upon various topics (for he was a learned and judicious man), and recounted divers events, and among others (for his house was not far distant from a castle in which priests and Catholics were incarcerated) a tragedy of the slaughter of a priest there, and he moreover gave us the particulars and manner of his death.[9] Having ended the relation of the tragedy, he began to speak of their manners. I lent a neutral ear (the grace of God assisting and inspiring me) while he added that there were men of his religion most pious, devoted, and learned, yet most pernicious, because they were in the habit of converting many to the Papistical religion (as he styled it); that there was likewise a certain learned Suffolk man in the same castle, named Alabaster, who was at Cambridge not long ago. Hearing him named, and having known him at Cambridge, although we were not on familiar terms, I at once resolved to go to him that very night, and find out what manner of men these Papists are. Immediately after dinner I saddled my horse, keeping my secret as to the journey, and rode twelve miles to the house of a relation, where I passed the night, and on the following day, after a ride of fifteen miles by a muddy and flooded road, I arrived, past midday, at the town and castle where Alabaster was confined. I went to him, and remained with him until seven or eight o'clock at night, during which time we discoursed together alone upon the subject of image and saint worship, good works, and other similar points which I do not precisely recollect. When we had disputed for about an hour, seeing

[9] The castle was Wisbeach, but we fail to discover the priest alluded to. It may have been Father Thomas Mettam, S.J., who died there a martyr for the faith, *in vinculis*, in the month of June, 1592, worn out by his sufferings during seventeen years' incarceration in that and other loathsome prisons.

that he could not convince me, but was only talking fables to a deaf man (for I was then as one deaf, and heard not), leaving me alone in his cell, he returned in company with an Irish priest named Father Holywood,[10] who is now living at Douay, and after some conversation we began to discuss the point—'Which is the true Church?' he maintaining the Roman to be so, and I the Anglican. They were unable to drive me from the position I had taken up (since I wished to hold and defend that citadel which I had undertaken to do) or, rather (as I afterwards knew to be true), they were able to do so, but I was unwilling to yield myself their captive. The Irish priest, seeing me so obstinate a defender of the Anglican Church, taking from his breast showed me a pamphlet with seven or eight valid reasons for the Roman Church, which having read and closely examined, my fervour and obstinate spirit began to relax; however, I dissembled and would not allow myself to be vanquished by their strength. After this another priest, a Spaniard, came in, named Rogers, who repeated to me many things already discussed with the others; however, his affability of address and speech, and gentle manner of conversation, went much farther to convince me, although he adduced nothing new, for the others were both subtle and warm disputants. Night setting in they invited me to supper, and about an hour after I returned to my inn, where, throwing myself upon the bed, I began to recall the arguments and to weigh them on both sides, and having equally balanced them all, I suddenly rose to my feet, and said to myself, 'certainly this is the true religion,' The next morning I went to take my leave of Mr. Alabaster, and having thanked him for his kindness, I begged of him the loan of a Catholic book, and he gave me the Catechism of Laurence Vaux, which having read, I began to imbibe the light of Divine grace. I kept my conversion a secret from all my friends. Soon after this I went to one who settled me in those points upon which I hesitated, and then I went to Cambridge, where I expected a Fellowship from Corpus Christi College; but things turned out more fortunately, that I did not become a Fellow, for the Bishop of Norwich being dead, the Principal of our College was chosen to the vacant See, and resigned his post in our college, and no election of Fellow then took place.[11] Affairs

[10] Father Christopher Holiwood, an Irish Jesuit.

[11] William Redman, Bishop of Norwich, died September 25, 1602. The licence to elect his successor is dated January 10, 1602–3. That

thus turning out, I sent my all to Yarmouth, where I remained, my friends and relations wondering what I was about in leaving Cambridge, to whom I replied, in order to stop their mouths, that I had prepared a place; and so consulting Mr. Alabaster as to the best course for me to pursue, he said that if I wished to go to Rome he would write to the rector of the English College there to receive me on my arrival; and so preparing all necessaries for the journey, I crossed over, and lived at Douay until I came hither. I have suffered nothing on account of religion beyond having been arrested by the searchers on embarking at Gravesend, and sent back to London, and taken before the Lord Treasurer, who himself, and the rest of the Council, by the favour of God, considered that we had made sufficient excuse for ourselves. (Signed)

"JOHN GROSSE, *alias* FELTON."

The unhappy Alabaster succeeded Dr. John Overall as Prebendary of St. Paul's [to the Stall of Tottenhall] and Rector of Therfield, county Herts, in March, 1614, the Dean's best living, worth £300, which the Dean [Overall] had good hope to have held a while."[12] On the 4th of January, 16$\frac{14}{15}$, he preached at Whitehall before James I.

Chamberlain writing to Sir Dudley Carleton (Winwood's Memorials), under date January 5, 16$\frac{14}{15}$, says: "Yesterday Alabaster, the double or treble turncoat, preached before the King at Whitehall, where there were many clergymen that do not greatly applaud him, but say he made a curious fantastical piece of work.

successor was John Jegon, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Upon Jegon being promoted, Archbishop Whitgift insisted on the new Bishop immediately resigning his mastership, with a view to the election of Benjamin Carrier, D.D., in his room. The fellows did not affect Carrier, and Whitgift hearing of this tried to get a royal mandate to force the fellows to choose his nominee. This was in February, 1602-3. The fellows anticipated the mandate, and, spite of the protest of Carrier and others, proceeded to elect Thomas Jegon, D.D., brother of the previous Master, who was a married man and Rector of Sible Hedingham, co. Essex, and therefore not a fellow of the College. Dr. Carrier was senior fellow of Corpus, and if he had been elected there would have been a vacancy in one of the fellowships, which presumably would have fallen to Mr. Grosse. Dr. Carrier was domestic chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, and in 1602 he was appointed to the valuable sinecure rectory of West Lerring, co. Sussex, and therefore his fellowship was declared vacant, and into his fellowship William Greaves, B.D., a Nottinghamshire man, was chosen same time in 1603.—[Communicated by Dr. Jessopp.]

[12] Dame's letters, p. 168.

Benjamin Carrier (named in the preceding note) was the son of Anthony Carrier, and was a learned Protestant minister, educated at Cambridge, and Fellow of Corpus Christi College. Having taken the degree of D.D., he was made Chaplain and Preacher to King James I., as also one of the first Fellows of Chelsea College, founded by Dr. Matthew Sutcliff. Dr. Carrier was always inclinable to pacific methods in matters of religion, and from his letters seems to insinuate that King James designed to attempt a kind of coalition between the two Churches, which Dr. Carrier finding to be impracticable, took a resolution not only to meet the Church of Rome half way, but even to run into her embraces. To effect this with less noise, he obtained leave of his Majesty to go over to the Spa in Germany on account of his health, where he put the last hand to his conversion. King James being informed of some particulars which made him suspect the doctor's defection, ordered Mr. Isaac Casaubon and others to write to him with a peremptory injunction to return to England. Dr. Carrier at first gave no positive answer either as to his returning or to the suspicions concerning his religion, but when it could be kept a secret no longer it was highly resented by the King. For, as there was scarce any clergyman in England for whose virtue and learning his majesty had a greater regard, it was believed that Dr. Carrier was made the confidant of some private sentiments King James had as to religion, and there were grounds to think that he had once no aversion to the Church of Rome, had not fear and ambition drawn him another way. As to Dr. Carrier, he received several congratulatory letters upon his conversion, from Rome, Paris, and several other places, especially from Cardinal du Perron, who invited him into France, designing to have his assistance in some work he was publishing against King James. He accepted the invitation, and died in Paris some time in June, 1614.

His works are—(1) His Sermons when a Protestant; (2) A Missive to his Majesty of Great Britain, containing his motives for his own conversion. Liege, 8vo, 1614. This was answered by George Hackwell, 1616. London, 4to; (3) A Letter upon the miserable end of such as impugn the Catholic faith, 4to, 1615. See Dodd's *Church Hist.*, vol. ii., p. 424, who writes from several original letters of Carrier, and six letters from Father John Copper, S.J., Casaubon, du Perron, &c., then in his hands, and now in the Old Clergy Chapter Collection, and which Dodd prints.

COLLEGE OF ST. HUGH, OR THE LINCOLNSHIRE DISTRICT.

THE Editor has been lately furnished by his friend Thomas Arthur Young, Esq., of Kingerby Manor House, with the following interesting additional notes to the short mention made of various localities in his neighbourhood, and of the ancient family of the Youngs, in the volume of *Records*, Series II., III., and IV.[13]

"*Kingerby Manor.*—Father Richard Blount, the first Provincial, about 1633. A Blount had a mortgage in the year 1638 on lands in Kingerby.

"Kingerby would be the central spot of a circuit including Claxby, the seat of the Markham family. This family was related to the Heneages and the Cliffords of Wickliffe, Yorkshire. Good Mrs. Tunstall, *olim* Mary Markham, introduced the Visitation Nuns, now at Westbury-upon-Trym, into England during the French Revolution in 1792, first located at Acton, then at Shepton Mallett, and finally at Westbury. A branch of my family still resides in a portion of the old Hall. Kingerby church appointment was given by Beatrice Amundaville to the Augustinian monks at Elsham, near Brigg. The old monuments of the chain-armoured knights, Disnuy and Amundaville, are still in the parish church of Kingerby.

"*Kingerby Old Hall.*—From the testimony of many aged persons, the old Hall contained hiding-places for concealment during the disturbed and perilous times for priests and Papists. It is related by Mrs. Caily, formerly Mary Young, that a Mr. Wildbore, a Yorkshireman of good family, who kept a shop in Market Rasen, was obliged to fly to Kingerby old Hall, and there seek concealment during the troublesome times when poor persecuted Papists were blamed for every one's misdeeds.

"It is also related that priests were frequently concealed in the hiding places in the old Hall. The Rev. Henry Hall

[13] Few individuals have been more energetic and zealous than has been Mr. Young for the revival of religion in the once Catholic county of Lincoln, the special dowry of Our Lady of Lincoln, whose noble Cathedral is one of the most magnificent specimens of Gothic architecture in Europe. Amongst various other munificent works, Mr. Young has introduced the Premonstratensians, or Norbertian Fathers—the Canons Regular of St. Norbert—at Crowle, and built them a monastery, with church, seminary, schools, &c., besides establishing a mission served by the same Fathers at Spalding, and rendering effective aid to other missions. In the days of persecution this family upheld three or four stations or missions.

of Louth recites the story of an old woman, and a member of his flock, who speaks of priests being concealed in these hiding places, and this woman well remembered, when a child, having told a priest she would inform of him."

"Ancient manuscripts give the spelling of Kingerby variously—1166, Kinnerli; A.D. 1258, Kinnærby, Kynerby, Kyngærbye, Kinœrby, Kinerby, Kingby, Kingerby. The new mansion called Kingerby House stands on precisely the same site as the old Hall. In digging the foundation for the new mansion, and for the cellarage, two skeletons of large size were discovered side by side. The wrist of one skeleton was encircled with a ring, still in the possession of the family.

"The site of the old Hall and of the present mansion is on a mound of considerable elevation, and about an acre and a half in extent, encircled by a moat with outer embankments and ditches twenty-seven feet in width. The centre situation of Kingerby, midway between Clift and Wold, and situated at the head of the river Ancholme, commands the entire circuit from Lincoln in the south, to the cliffs and wolds east and west. All things combine to make it conclusive that Kingerby was a Roman encampment and chief station. Many relics of antiquity have been found on the spot and around it, such as swords, spears, bridle bits, spurs, the two skeletons buried in the central and inner mound or camp."

"Thornton (not Thurnham), three miles distant from Kingerby, in those days the property of the Amcotts, whose seat was at Amcottes in the Isle of Axholme. An ancestor of mine rented the lands at Thornton, and Mass was offered on the fifth or sixth Sunday by the Fathers as the opportunity offered, by delays or secret intentions to avoid suspicion. I have the family chalice and the ancient vestments used on those occasions, and then again put away in a hiding closet. Here Mr. Constable, Mr. Amcotts, Langdale, paid a visit to Mr. Young of Thornton, and Mass was offered on the occasion and suspicion avoided.

"Sixhills would be included in this circuit—Kirman and Orford. The Hunts resided in these two parishes, then rabbit-warrens; so the Papist searchers left these neglected spots unmolested. It was proverbial—'Chase the Papists into Lincolnshire, the ague will soon prostrate them;' but God rendered the Fathers unharmed by the malaria. Sixhills was a Gilbertine monastery. Revesby was formerly a residence of the Knight family, as was also Sixhills.

"Paunton, now spelt Pointon, near Irnham and Folkingham, is a hamlet to Sempringham. St. Gilbert was born at Sempringham, and his family held the manor. Catholics would be dwelling around Pointon.

"Pinchbeck, near Spalding, was the property of the Walpoles. The old missionary Fathers had an escape way crossing the Wash into Norfolk. The extreme length of the county of Lincoln afforded the Fathers great protection, by prolonging their visitation at greater intervals.

"I inclose you a description of the chapel in the attics of the old Hall at West Rasen, upheld by John Young. The chalice had these words engraven on it: 'Restore me to Shifnall.' This incident tells of the migrating form of the Catholics of those days. My great, great, great-grandmother was from Shifnall. The family had lost all their possessions, but upheld a firm and unflinching steadfastness in faith. Mr. Shipley Conway, near St. Beuno's College, St. Asaph, is in possession of the Youngs' estates [in North Wales]. At the time of the Reformation Thomas Young conformed to the Law Church, was made Bishop of St. Asaph, and afterwards translated and made Archbishop of York (first Protestant bishop). Mr. Shipley Conway's grandmother was a Young. The Protestant branch of Young has become extinct.

"John Young appeared at West Rasen in 1672. The estate at that time belonged to Lady Haggerston, who married a Constable, and Constable married a Maxwell. My grandfather married Ann Champney, sister of Champney, steward to Sir Marmaduke Constable. The following is an extract from the book of composition in the library at Burton Constable, near Hull: 'September 24, 1629. Andrew Young, of Bourn, gentleman, hath compounded for himself, for his lands in Bourn, and for his goods, for the yearly rent of £40, and is acquitted all arrearages. November 2, 1630.—Richard Young, of Rushton, gentleman, £9 9s. November 2, 1632.—Ralph Younge, of Sothern Clords, in Dutterby, £2.' Name spelt variously, Yng, Yheng, Le Yorng, Li Yonge, Yonge, Yong, Younge, Young. The Young of West Rasen was penniless. God prospered him. John Young retained only one relic of his ancestry, a watch-seal with the shield of arms. I made application at the London Heralds' College, after a considerable search amongst the Welsh pedigrees. The family seal brought to light the ancestry of Young of Flintshire. The last registration was in 1642. John Young is found at West Rasen in

1672, a break of thirty years; the connecting Youngs could not be ascertained. The registers and wills were lost and destroyed in those troublous times. I searched at St. Asaph. I have no doubt the Youngs named in Worcestershire in the *Records* were members of my family of Young, and perhaps a branch of the heretic Young.[14] Again, Father Francis Young, of Worcestershire. The Shifnall chalice, Staffordshire, before mentioned, indicates the unsettled and unfixed abode of Catholics in those days. The family of Amcotts is now extinct. The Col. Amcotts of Hackthorne, near Lincoln, assumed the name on his accession to the Amcott estates. He married the widow of Mr. Neville, of Wellingore, near Lincoln. Mrs. Amcotts is a convert. Her son is a Catholic, and married Miss Scott Murray. The late Rev. Michael Trappes, of Hull, attended the death-bed of the last Catholic Amcotts.

Twigge Moor and Holme, near Brigg, were the ancient possessions of the Morley family.

Worlaby, near Brigg, was the property of the Webb family. The altar picture is now at Gainsborough."

We extract the following passages from the description of the chapel in the attic crosses of the old Hall at West Rasen, referred to by Mr. Young, and which appeared in the number of the *London and Dublin Orthodox Journal* for Saturday, September 8, 1838, and was from the pen (we believe) of Mr. Young himself. It is accompanied by an exceedingly good woodcut.

"Our engraving revives many interesting recollections of bygone days. It represents to the view of the reader the oldest form of our Catholic chapels, raised at a period when scarce a more attractive shape would have been tolerated by law, being connected under the same roof with the dwelling-house.

"It is situated in the sequestered rural village of West Rasen, in the north part of Lincolnshire, and on the property of William Constable Maxwell, Esq., of Everingham.[15] The house for nearly two hundred years has been the abode of a branch of the Young family, and to which is attached a large tract of land also in their occupancy. The present resident is Mr. Marmaduke Young."

Then follows a more minute description of the house, garden, &c., which is upon the turnpike road, four miles

[14] See *Records*, Series II. p. 100.
[15] The late Lord Herries.

from Market Rasen. The ancient building (referring to the former Manor-house) was then about to be pulled down, a modern residence having been erected on another site. The writer then expresses his firm expectation that the Catholics of that favoured spot will not permit the altar, upon which the Holy Sacrifice had been offered during the most bigoted and terrific period of persecution, to be withdrawn from among them, now that the storms are over through which their forefathers steered them in safety and secured to them the possession of the primitive faith, for which their ancestors, rather than forsake it, abandoned interest, property, perhaps life.[16] The writer then proceeds—

"There are many old reminiscences of the scenes which have formerly occurred during the time of the penal laws, when the Catholic was ready game for every spiteful neighbour—the latest of them dates during the Stuart rising of 1745. After Sir Marmaduke Constable's escape from York Castle, officers were despatched to seize Mr. Champney, who was his steward, and who succeeded in effecting a timely concealment beneath a heap of loose hay, and through which the officers made many stabs with their piked staves, which entering the sides of Mr. Champney he, like a good and faithful steward, patiently endured rather than betray his beloved master.[17] In an adjoining orchard are deposited the bodies of several Catholics, who, because they were Papists, were deprived of churchyard burial. Linked by the firmest bonds of charity and true religion, it is to the Catholic landlord and tenant we stand mainly indebted for the preservation of our holy faith. They fostered and kept in glow in the remotest agricultural nooks, and at the utmost peril to their lives and property, the latent spark of their religion, which rekindling through the energy it has acquired during the period of its concealment a more active and vigorous flame, it spread rapidly into our more wealthy cities and populous towns."

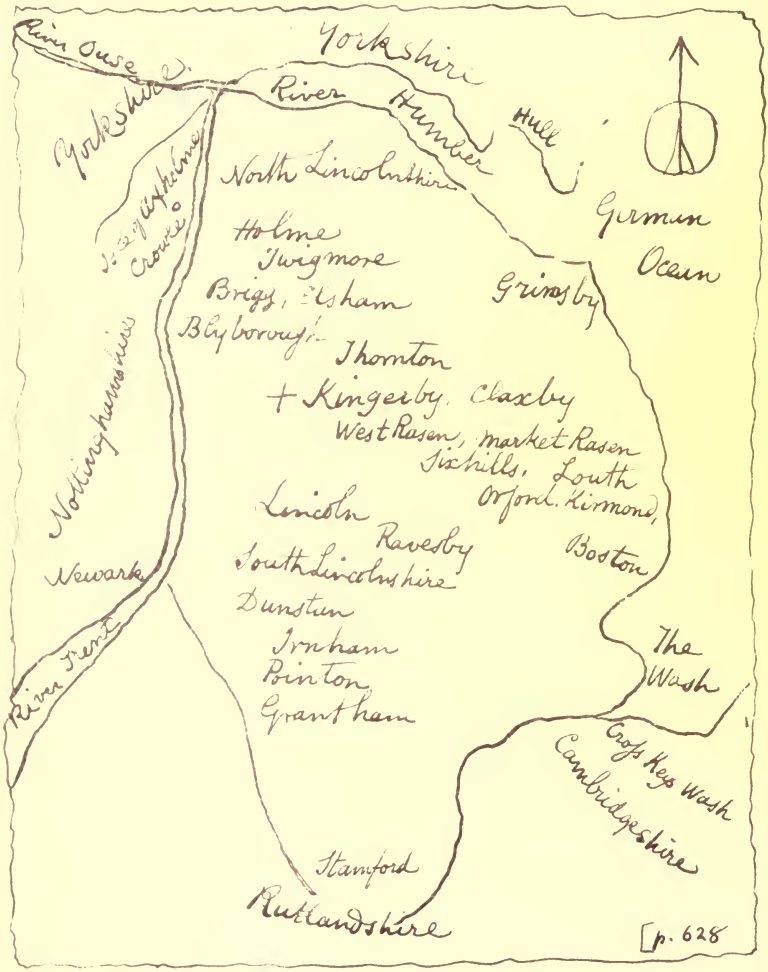
Mr. Young also sends a sketch showing the central position of Kingerby Manor, of which a lithographed copy is annexed. This old manor-house was evidently a great "city of refuge" in the days of persecution. Mr. Young continues—

"The sketch will give you a distinct and correct knowledge

[16] The present chapel at West Rasen, "Our Lady of the Rosary," is served from Market Rasen.

[17] Champney is a family of great antiquity. All their property was sacrificed to their recusancy.

Lincolnshire.



Traditional History of the Family Crest.

A wolf sejeant requerdant—sable, holding between its fore paws the head of King Edmund.

The tradition runs thus: King Edmund having succeeded to the kingdom of East Anglia on the death of Offa, being afterwards taken prisoner by the Danes, who in 870 made an irruption into this part of the country, he was cruelly put to death. On his refusal to become a vassal of the conquerors, they bound him to a tree, pierced his body with arrows, and striking off his head, threw it into a neighbouring forest. After the enemy had retired, the East Anglians assembled to perform the funeral obsequies to the remains of their Sovereign, and having found the body they went into the forest to search for the head, and discovered it between the fore paws of a wolf, which immediately resigned it with the docility of a dog on their approach. It is further narrated—the wolf followed them, saw the head adjusted to the body, attended at the funeral, and afterwards retired into its native forest.

From the Record

After many gener
likewise Mor

Joh

John Young of Hall Farm, W

Ann. Died November 17, 1808, *æt.* 77. = T. Martin
Maryleb

Mary = James Young. Ann. Died unmarried

Maria Teresa. James. Thomas Arthur, of Kingerby House. Ceci
J

THE PEDIGREE

f the Herald College, in descent from TUDOR TREVOR, I
Earl of Hereford in right of his mother. He lived about th

ns, including JERWORTH, the great-grandson of TUDOR, w
YOUNG, his son and heir (*temp.* Ric. II.), who fought und

CHARD YOUNG DE BRYAGORKEN, Knight and Bart, eldes
of the Privy Chamber, who married the widow of Sir

WARD YOUNG, the third brother of Sir RICHARD YOUNG, s

RICHARD AB LEWIS YOUNG = DOROTHY, daughte

ELLIS YOUNG of Brynyorkyn, in the par
co. Flint, 1630.

JOHN YOUNG of West Rasen, co. Lincoln. = ALICE, da
Died 1707. Popish recusant. Affidavit made February 29 by the Parson before the Magistrate.
of Sl

OUNG of West Rasen. Died 1719. = ELIZABETH, daugh
in Lincoln Reg. Office, sealed with ly arms.
of Westmorela

Rasen. = JANE VAVASOUR, daughter of DR. VAVASOUR,
brother of the Baronet.

Harley Place,
, London.

Died unmarried,
12, 1830.

JULIANA. A Nun of the Or
Died at Westbury Conver
1867. In religion thirty-f

OF YOUNG.

ord of Bromfield, Chirk, Mælor, Whittington, and Oswaldstree. He was
e year 924, and resided at Llys Pengwern, co. Denbigh.

ho assumed to himself and his sons the name of YOUNG, and including
er John O'Gaunt, five of which generations lived at Hopedale, co. Flint.

son of ELLIS YOUNG DE HOPEDALE, a gentleman
THOMAS HAYES of London.

surrendered his estates to his nephew, RICHARD AB LEWIS.

r of SYDNEY ELLIS AB ELLIS of Aldrey.

ish of Hope, = JANE WYN of Malæ.

ughter of —— WEAVER, Esq.
ifnal, co. Salop.

ter of —— THORNBOROUGH
nd.

DAVID of Normanby. = MARY, daughter of ISAAC FAREBROTHER, Gent, of Worksop, co. Notts.

ISAAC YOUNG of West Rasen. Died 1793. = ANN, daughter of THOMAS CHAMPNEY, Gent, of West Rasen.

JAMES YOUNG of Kingerby. Died April 12, 1823. = MARY, daughter of THOMAS MARTIN, Gent., co. Middlesex, April 23, 1798. Married in the old parish church, High Street, Marylebone.

der of Visitation.
t, December 18,
our years.

ANN. Died unmarried, September 17, 1839.

GEORGE.

[To face page 629.

of the stations over Lincolnshire. Kingerby is clearly the centre of north Lincolnshire; it was, moreover, better protected in case of danger or for flight by the moat and drawbridge.

"Kingerby is distant from Brigg twelve miles; West Rasen two miles; Claxby four miles; Blyborough eight miles; Sixhills ten miles; Thornton two miles; Lincoln fourteen miles; Revesby ten miles. In those days the wolds were uncultivated and chiefly in rabbit-warrens, the lowlands undrained, transit of goods effected by pack-horses, the streams were forded, and bridges only passable by the pack-horse and pedestrian. The inhabitants for the entire county, seventy miles by forty-five, being reckoned at a hundred thousand.

"Our Lady's Cathedral stands within the boundary of north Lincolnshire. The pilgrim Fathers in their perilous travels could raise their hands and implore aid and protection of the Blessed Mother of God. The majestic cathedral crowning the summit of Lincoln hill was never out of view."

THE YOUNG FAMILY.

As the annexed pedigree shows, the family of Young is of great antiquity, and of Welsh origin. Mr. Young, in his very valuable note-book, *Book of Memorable Things*, from which we have been allowed to extract, says that the earliest mention of the family in the records of the Heralds' College occurs in the reign of Edward II. About this time Jerworth, son of Morgan, the third son of Tudor Trevor, married Margaret, daughter and heiress of William le Yonge, county Salop, and thereupon assumed the name and arms of Yonge. His son, Morgan Yonge, accompanied John O'Gaunt into Spain, took a Spanish gentleman prisoner, and had given him an augmentation of his arms. . . . Richard Yonge, knight, was Gentleman of the Bedchamber to King James I., and was by him knighted for the following remarkable circumstance: "After dinner, riding on horseback abroad, his horse stumbled, and cast his Majesty into the New River, where the sea brake. Nothing but his boots were seen. Sir Richard Yonge was next, who alighted, went into the water, and lifted him out. Then came much water out of his mouth and body."[18] King Charles created him a baronet, 1629, and appointed him, August 25, 1634, clerk of the Hanaper in Chancery. He died 1650. His brother, John Young, had an annuity of £100

[18] Original Papers, vol. iii. p. 117.

granted to him "for good and acceptable service done." He was a Gentleman of the Privy Chamber. The baronet's brother, Edward Young, surrendered his property in Hampshire, Oakham House, to his nephew, Richard Young, 20th of December, 1631. Ellis Young, nephew of the baronet, received from Parliament the reversion of Remembrances of the Exchequer, July 15, 1652.

The Bryngorkyn and other entailed estates in Flintshire are now held in possession by Shipley Conway, Esq., grandson of the late Dean and Chancellor Shipley, of St. Asaph, who married the co-heiress of the last Young of the elder branch, and descended from Lewis Young, brother of Sir Richard Young, the baronet. Dean Shipley's son, Colonel Shipley, married the sister of Sir Walter Williams Wynn; he left an only son, William Shipley Conway, having assumed that name in addition. He is now sole representative of the elder branch of Young.

Young of Kingerby is the surviving line in continuance, "and" (says Mr. Young), "we may reasonably attribute our flourishing condition to the firm adherence of our pious forefathers to the tree of Catholic faith. The footsteps of the Youngs during the Civil wars cannot be tracked with a constant eye. In those days of strife and penal enactment, a public permission seemed to be granted to ransack will offices and parish registers, so that in after times to seek a restoration of property was of no avail, a search was always fruitless." Mr. Young experienced the truth of this fact, in his searches in the will office of St. Asaph, and the parish registers of Hope, Flintshire, which reach no higher than 1688. Mr. Young then continues: "The family of Young quietly made their appearance on the Constable estate at West Rasen, soon after the Restoration. The fellowship existing between the families of Constable and Young will ever remain in mystery. In those days of peril and trial, Catholics screened and cherished each other, they bore one another's burdens. How many a heartbreaking tale will remain unrecorded! The family was reduced to the greatest indigence; but poverty was a lightsome affliction and a pleasant hardship when compared with other severities endured for holy faith. Few Catholic families which had to contend against the penal enactments and trying period of the seventeenth century, can produce a higher descent than Trevor-Young. Although harassed and reduced to the lowest station, to earn their

subsistence by dint of hard labour, during nearly two centuries, they retained the true and correct tradition of their family coat of arms."

Mr. Young next gives a very interesting account of his visit to London in 1839, to make inquiries at her Majesty's College of Arms, where he gave in his description of the family arms: "In about ten minutes the books were unfolded for my perusal, and discovered to me my family pedigree. They had remained unopened for a period of two hundred and seventeen years, the last registration being in 1622. It was an event of unusual occurrence, and a subject of some surprise to the gentlemen of the College, to see so simple a means instrumental in the renovation and bringing to light a family which for upwards of two centuries had been buried in oblivion, and which was but a few moments previously unknown to me." He then proceeds: "The will of the second John Young, who died in 1719, is in the Register Office, Lincoln, and what is rather an unusual fact, it is sealed and impressed with his family coat of arms. It is witnessed by Andrew Norris, a Jesuit. There occurred a pleasing incident soon after the burial of the said second John Young. A flight of bees descended, and swarmed upon his grave. The simple villagers proclaimed it a happy and prosperous prognostic of the future prosperity and exaltation of his family."[19] Mr. Young's grandfather, Isaac Young, made his purchase of the Kingerby estate in 1785, as soon as the Act of Parliament gave permission to Catholics to purchase land. This estate was bought of Dr. H. Smith, physician.[20]

[19] Juliana Young, the sister of our correspondent (see Pedigree), entered the Order of the Visitation in 1833, and took the name of Johanna Evangelista. From extracts of some of her letters which we have seen, she appears to have been remarkable for sanctity of life and a childlike simplicity in her devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Divine Redeemer and to His most holy Virgin Mother. These letters are dated from the convent of Paray-le-Monial, where reposes the sacred body of the lately beatified Margaret Mary Alacoque of the same Order. Sister Johanna had a tender affection for her native county of Lincoln, for the welfare of which she never ceased earnestly to pray, and especially for the noble works of piety undertaken by her brother. In one letter in 1864 she says, "The English names and intentions have a very good place in the Golden Heart of Jesus which Blessed Margaret Mary holds in her right hand in her crystal tomb. . . . Kingerby, Osgodby, the Seminary, and entire diocese of Nottingham, are all placed therein." We have also seen an extract from a letter of the then Reverend Mother Superioress (Miss Weld) of the Visitation Convent, Westbury-upon-Trym, where Sister Johanna died on the 18th of December, 1867, passing a high eulogium upon the virtues of this holy nun. This letter is dated September 24, 1871.

[20] With reference to Mr. Young's planting and improvements upon these estates the following anecdote occurs—"A certain Squire, priding

"Among the priests in the prison of the Marshalsea, and committed by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, was Dr. Young. "In the reign of Elizabeth, 1579, among the trained bowmen from the towns in the Blackburn Hundred are named Robert, William, and John Young."

Mr. Young likewise gives copies of several manuscripts from the Harleian Collection, British Museum, and other sources, connected with various members of his family. From his pages of *Traditionary Family Stories*, we extract the following:

"In the earlier parish registers of West Rasen, the parson had to make an affidavit before a magistrate when a death occurred in our family, and recorded the same in the books, with the insulting epithets of Popish recusant, Papist, &c. . . .

"It was related by the late Mr. Marmaduke Young, who died in 1837, aged eighty, that several of our family lie buried in one corner of his home close, churchyard burial being denied in the troublesome times. . . .

"My mother and her sister, Ann Martin, remember vividly in the year 1780, during the Lord George Gordon riots (my aunt then being five years old), their house, 14, South Molton Street, London, was several times chalked, denoting it a Catholic house, and to be destroyed by the mob. My mother and aunt remember also being taken to the baker's house in the same street for protection to sleep. Their Catholic prayer and other religious books were concealed in the cellar. At dusk my grandmother would carefully wash out the chalk marks. . . .

"Dr. Vavasour (brother of the baronet) whose daughter married John Young, was at first educated for a priest. His sister went abroad to become a nun; on her voyage the sailors became drunk, and she herself steered the ship!"

Mr. Young's note-book contains likewise much valuable information regarding the Catholic mission of Osgodby and its foundation, with a copious family register of baptisms, &c., sepulchral inscriptions, documents regarding the Priory of Ellesham, the terrier of Kingerby, and other valuable and antiquarian matter, beyond the scope of our Records.

himself in the ordering of his own woods and forests, meeting a neighbouring woodman, invited him to see his woods and pass his practical opinion. After the inspection, the woodman very simply but truly replied to the Squire, 'Why, Squire, I can't see your timber for the number of your trees!' The astonished Squire was immediately convinced of his error, and promised to fell the trees to discover the timber." It was a favourite boast of Sir Walter Scott, that in his woods around Abbotsford, which he had planted himself, by a well directed course of pruning and thinning he lived to fell his own timber!

THE WORTHINGTON FAMILY, &c.

CONNECTED with the history of this old Catholic family, which appears in *Records*, series II., pp. 75, seq.,[21] we have lately obtained the following fresh documents.

I. A letter of Father Robert Parsons, dated Sept. 28, 1584, from Paris, to Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, Rome, briefly alluding to the noble combat of the Worthington boys.[22]

II. A short autobiography of William Worthington, written on his entering the English College, Rome.[23]

III. A similar sketch of James Worthington, priest, son of Richard Worthington.[24]

IV. The same of Richard Worthington, priest, son of Thomas Worthington.[24]

V. To these is added a copy of a letter from Richard, Bishop of Chester, to Secretary Cecil, dated January 31, 1599, regarding the "bloody Recusants" of Lancashire (to use his lordship's dignified expression). This man would have been a worthy successor of the Lord of Chester, who figures so conspicuously in the narrative of the "conflict" of the above mentioned brave boys, the four Worthingtons.

I. *An account, in the form of a letter of Father Robert Parsons to Father Alphonsus Agazzari, in which he gives a relation of the state of affairs in connection with religion in England.* (*Dated Paris, September* 28, 1584.)

"Very Rev. Father Alphonsus Agazzari,—

P.C.

"As I well know how glad your Reverence is to hear of our English affairs, and with what feelings of pity and love you yearn towards them, I have thought this time of writing at greater length about them. Our occupations are,

[21] See note, p. 619, as to the change in the arrangement of our series.

[22] See *Records*, Series II. p. 116 seq. This letter, a copy of which has been furnished to the Editor by his kind friend, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, is very briefly referred to by Father Bartoli in his fourth book, *Inghilterra*, in three places, viz.—regarding the Worthington boys, the cruel torturing of Father John Bennett at Bewdley, and the brutal reply of the Bishop of London to the compassionate keeper of Newgate. We are not aware that it has ever been published in full. It is an historical document of great value and importance, and gives information of the general state of Catholics at that period in England.

[23] See his biography, *Records*, Series II. pp. 111, seq.

[24] See Pedigree, *ibid.* p. 133.

indeed, in themselves hard and troublesome enough, but still to be endured as long as possible for the sake of Christ Jesus. We contend, indeed, with most powerful, most watchful foes; exiles as we are, and in abject need. Still, God has so far helped us, and will help us as we hope, though, to tell the truth, our affairs are in a far more trying position than ever before, by reason of the extreme scarcity of our temporal means. For as the number of Catholics is daily on the increase, who, after the loss of all their property, are either shut up in prison at home, or fly for refuge to us here; also at the present time throughout the whole of England public rapine is allowed of the property of all who make profession of our faith, hence it comes to pass that we are here quite overwhelmed by the multitude of the needy, and have no hope of receiving help from England, since they cannot provide for themselves, being now reduced to such want that they are forced to beg from us; especially the priests labouring in that vineyard, who have increased to the number of nearly 300, and were accustomed before to be supported on the alms of the Catholics. But now that these have been plundered and scattered in flight in nearly all the counties (especially the gentry who were able to bestow alms), the priests of God have neither homes to go to, nor food to live on; and here with ourselves there is the same—a greater indigence. For as there are about two hundred in our seminary of Rheims [and there are no fewer in our other seminary],[25] they live most poorly, and all are in abject need (though the greater number belong to the nobility), and as each day the number of fugitives from England is on the increase, your Reverence will understand how closely we are straitened, and how much greater distress we have to fear in the course of time. Still, in all our needs, through the grace of God, our courage fails not, nor is there any lessening in the ardour of our priests in confronting danger; yea, rather their zeal is increased and quickened;

[25] The manuscript is indistinct at this place for a few words. We believe the correct version to be as in the brackets, and that the other Seminary alluded to is Douay. For, although in the year 1578 Dr. Allen, the President, with most of the professors and students removed themselves and their effects to Rheims, in consequence of local disturbances in Douay, being invited thither by the Duke of Guise, who protected them, they still kept possession of their Seminary at Douay, under the care of a few persons they were allowed to leave there by the authorities for that purpose. The empty Seminary of Douay would therefore have formed a very convenient harbour for the afflicted refugees. We may add that the members of the College returned again to Douay in 1593, after a sojourn at Rheims of fifteen years.

the constancy of the other Catholics also, by the help of God, is strengthened by the very distress, as your Reverence will learn from the very words which a priest wrote from prison lately. 'Harsh in the extreme,' he says, 'has been, these months past, the lot of all Catholics who are kept in prison. Especially have the prisoners of York and Hull undergone great want, for whom alms are now sought from Catholics through nearly all the counties of England. Here, indeed, in London there has been no less distress, for immediately after they had put to death those five priests on February 6th this very year,[26] an order was issued to all the warders of the gaols to keep the Catholics they held in closer confinement than before, and to keep laymen entirely separate from priests, and never to allow them to meet each other, nor salute each other; moreover, to allow no friend to visit the priests, nor even the laymen, till after noon—this they did to prevent any priest from entering in disguise to say Mass. If any one in the afternoon sought admission to speak with the laity, he was to be questioned with the utmost care: who he was, whence he came, what business he came about, &c. And if the least suspicion fell upon him, especially that he was bringing alms, they arrested him at once, and led him before the magistrates, and by this vigilance of the heretics (as no one dared to send any help to the prisoners) the Catholics soon began to suffer extreme hunger and starvation. Now one of the gaolers, touched with pity at such a sight, went to the present Bishop of London, who is at the head of the Commission, and warned him of the distress of those who had been committed to his custody. He angrily answered the gaoler: "It is enough to feed them on bread and water;" "Yes," said the gaoler, "but who will pay me for the bread? the water I will give with pleasure on my own account, but not a scrap of bread." The other replied, in a greater rage, "get away," says he, "what do I care?" "*Papistæ si velint suis excrementis*," *&c.* "*Let the Papists eat their own . . . if they will.*" And such was the only hope our gaoler brought us from this pious prelate: and so I repeat what I said before, that our lot in prison is very hard, and that many Catholics, if the choice were given, would rather ask for death than prison, but still were most ready for

[26] These were the Reverends George Haydock, James Fenn, Thomas Hemerford, John Nutter, and John Munden. According to Bishop Challoner (*Memoirs of Missionary Priests*), they suffered at Tyburn on the 12th of February, 1584.

both for the glory of God, and that not without great consolation from God.'[27]

"Thus far wrote the priest from prison. Many other tidings we daily receive of the persecution and the cruelty of the heretics towards Catholics, but what follows has been written quite lately, partly from the trustworthy letters of those who were engaged in the affair, and partly from the lips of those who suffered and afterwards crossed over to us.

"In a county of England which they call Worcester they seized a priest of the name of Bennett, and with him four laymen whom the heretics suspect Bennett had reconciled to the Roman Church. Now as this is high treason, and none of the prisoners would plead guilty, in order not to be forced by their confession to endanger other Catholics as well, they were put to the torture in the public Council of the Marches of Wales, in the town of Bewdley, by order of Judges Bromley and Townsend.[28] The torture consisted in their being suspended by the arms *with heavy iron chains attached*, until they swooned, upon which they were let down, and their temples were washed with brandy until consciousness returned, and then they were again hung up, and this was continued for several days, as one of them who suffered these tortures has written a full account, and sent it here.[29] About the same time

[27] This amiable prelate and worthless creature of Elizabeth, was Aylmer, Protestant Bishop of London. He was head of the Inquisition or Commission, and was a man of remarkably savage and brutal disposition; we frequently meet with him in our researches. Mention is made of him in *Jesuits in Conflict* (the life of Thomas Pounde, S.J.) regarding his cruel conduct towards that thirty years' incarcerated confessor of the faith. One author calls him "a very firebrand, on account of his furious nature," adding that "his false zeal rendered him terrible as thunder to Catholics." Many of these champions of the Reformed Established Church of England were men of low stamp and cruel disposition. Of the truth of this assertion repeated instances are given in the course of our Records.

[28] The names are not distinct: in the original, Broleo and Tonsende. The judges on the occasion appear to have been Sir George Bromley, the High Sheriff of the county, and Robert Townsend, Esq., of Ludlow, a magistrate, who was the maternal uncle and guardian of George Gilbert Esq. (afterwards S.J. (See Life of Gilbert, in *Jesuits in Conflict*, pp. 210, seq.). A full account of the torture, &c., will be given in a subsequent series, "North Wales," in the Life of Father John Bennett, the priest here referred to, who soon afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, and, after an apostolical life of labour and suffering, at last died in London a martyr of charity in attending the plague-stricken, at the age of seventy-five, in the year 1625.

[29] Fathers Tanner and Bartoli in their respective histories refer to this event in their notices of Father Bennett. "It is related that his captors one day took him to the town of Bewdley, on the borders of Worcestershire, where they so violently racked him, that from the excessive torture he fainted away, and to revive him they were obliged to throw cold water upon his face, and this only that they might torture him afresh."

in the town of Lancaster they publicly put to death a priest of seventy years of age, of the name of Henry Bell, and with him Henry Finch, a layman, for denying that the Queen was the head of the Church. As Finch was younger and bolder, and openly contemned their prayers and sermons, they dragged him more than once by the heels and with his head knocking against the ground, so that he was all covered with blood, to the sermons of the heretics. After that they hanged them both by a halter.[30]

"And by the same kind of death they lately butchered the Archbishop of Cashel in Ireland, after having put him to the most exquisite torture, and two other bishops they sentenced to death. A priest of the name of Worthington has written from the county of Lancaster that fifty houses of the gentry were searched and ransacked by the heretics on the same night in that one county, under the pretence of seeking priests; and though rarely one of those houses was without priests, still Divine Providence so disposed that not one was captured that night, though some suffered much in their flight, among whom was a man of great repute, John Bell, formerly a minister of the heretics, but afterwards ordained priest in the Roman College.[31] For being forced to rush hurriedly from his bed and home with another companion priest (for no time was given to put on their clothes), he ran in the dark for many miles across rock and stream, whereby he cut his feet so badly that for a whole month he was obliged to keep his bed. And this was also solemnly confirmed in my presence by a noble and venerable matron who was present, and whose house was plundered at the same time, everything that could be taken away having been seized. She is the sister of the Rev. Mr. Allen, the President of our Seminary at Rheims, that is to say, the relict of his deceased brother, a respectable and holy woman, who harboured Catholics in her house, and gave herself up wholly to works of piety, but now, turned out and spoiled of all her property in company of her two maiden daughters, whom she rescued by stealth from the hands of the heretics (for the heretics had carried them off as they are wont to do to be corrupted in mind and body). After many dangers by sea and land she reached this country poor and wan, but

[30] These were the Rev. James Bell, a secular priest, who suffered at Lancaster on the 20th of April, 1584, and with him Mr. John Finch, a layman (See Bishop Challoner's *Memoirs;* also *Records*, Series II. p. 143).

[31] This was the martyr James Bell, named above.

glad of soul, and so she went to Allen. This holy widow, after the plunder of all her property, was searched for all through England for torture, for it was thought that she might give some news of her brother Allen. And when the heretics thought that they had found his likeness in her house (it was not so in fact, but the portrait of an heretical man) it may readily be believed how savagely they rushed upon it, piercing it with their swords, daggers, and knives out of hatred and contempt for Allen. Now this I had from the lady herself.[32]

"But Worthington above mentioned also writes that his elder brother, who is a gentleman of high position in the same county of Lancaster, being a Catholic, and seeing the tyranny everywhere exercised upon all, and that even children were dragged with violence from their parents, fearing lest this should happen to himself, sent the four youngest of his twelve sons, whom he thought more exposed to danger, to London, when all by Divine permission were seized on the journey, and conducted to prison, and there tried in many ways, and flogged in bed to make them inform of their parents, when and where they had assisted at Mass, what priests they had sheltered at home, &c. And when the firmness of the boys could in no way be shaken so that they would tell anything of their parents, or go to the heretical churches (for this was the main thing ordered), they parted from the others the youngest, who was scarcely twelve years old, and resolved to try him by hunger and starvation, and when he had passed a whole day without food they swore that they would never give him any food until he should obey them in everything; meanwhile, however, they plied him with abundance of liquor, that when he had lost his head with drink they might get some information from him, and so they led him, just as he was, suffering from want of food and abundance of liquor, to the public tribunal to be examined by the Commissioners, and in the court were the Earl of Derby, the leading peer of that county, and many other nobles and men of rank. And when they began to question him—the child, being wonderfully

[32] This noble confessor of the faith, Elizabeth Allen, was the widow of Mr. George Allen, who died August 21, 1579, and was an elder brother of Cardinal Allen. Mrs. Allen was a daughter of William Westby of Westby, Yorkshire, and died in poverty and exile at Louvain, 1609. The two maiden daughters referred to in the letter were Helen and Catherine. Both of them became professed nuns at St. Ursula's Convent, Louvain: the former in 1594, and died in 1603; the latter on the 8th of May, 1595, and died in 1612 (See Pedigree of the Allens of Rosshall, in *Records*, Series II. p. 132).

strengthened of God, stood to his confession of faith, and publicly detested with horror all their wiles—and so whilst the judges were in consternation, and deliberated together what was to be done, the boy for a further proof of his condition, said that he wanted to be sick, and shortly after vomited all the mass of undigested liquor, so that the very heretics were put to the blush as they looked on. However, the child is still detained in the Manchester gaol with his brothers.[33] Much more might be written, but this is the latest. As for the members of our Society in England, four are kept in prison—Father Hayward, Father Bosgrave, Father Mettam, and Brother Pound—also in the Tower of London, of whom the last two (as your Reverence knows) entered the Society in England. At large there still remains Father William Holt, who had gone from England into Scotland, and then after being in prison for a time again enjoys liberty, and two other Fathers, with a brother destined for that vineyard by a recent order. Our hope of victory is most assured in the judgment of both ourselves and our adversaries if we shall be able to thread our doubtful way through these temporal needs; and as our enemies see this they are striving might and main at this very point to crush us by starvation; we, on the other hand, put our trust in Him Who is the father of the poor, and the master of the rich, Who will Himself finish, to the honour and glory of His name, the work he has begun—our hope is in the many martyrdoms and afflictions suffered with such constancy for the defence of the Faith, in their so many sighs in fetters, in so many tears of the good who live in England, in so many most inflamed desires of men thirsting after justice and the glory of God, finally, in the ardent zeal of our priests offering themselves to every danger for the salvation of their neighbour, all which, as they can only come from the Divine goodness and grace, seem to us a most unfailing proof that our most merciful Lord will not in any way abandon us, with whom He has left so many and such pledges of his mercy and love. I entreat your Reverence to commend the whole matter to our Lord, and to give some remembrance in your holy sacrifices and prayers.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

ROBERT PERSONS.

Paris, September 28, 1584.

[33] For a full history of the conflict of these four noble lads, see *Records*, Series II. pp. 117, seq.

II. William Worthington states in his autobiographical note, "I am nineteen years of age, and was born at Preston, county of Lancashire, where I was brought up until my seventh year, at the house of Thomas Butler, a man of family; then for two years I lived in the house of William Clifton; then in the house of my uncle for one year. I was then sent to the English College, S.J., St. Omer's, where I made my grammar and syntax, but poetry, rhetoric, and logic at Douay.

"My parents are of the respectable family of the Worthingtons; my mother of the Butler family. My father in his early years indeed was a Protestant, a merchant; but on the death of his wife, his affairs not prospering, he was reconciled to the Church, on which account he had to give up his trade, and is now, from daily molestations, reduced to a small fortune. I have many relations on both sides, part of whom are in trade, and Protestants, part in independent circumstances, some of whom are Catholic, and some indifferent. I have no brothers or sisters.

"I was brought up all my life among Catholics. My father being a heretic when I was born, I was baptized by an heretical minister, and so was entirely heretic; yet I secretly detested them, and strove to refer all my prayers, my endeavours, my desires, and last my every nerve to the good of the Church."

We have already related that William Worthington entered the English College, Rome, on the 20th of October, 1604; took the usual College oath; and after receiving minor orders, left the College for Belgium in May, 1607, on account of bad health.

III. James Worthington, who says, "My name is James Worthington. I am sixteen years of age, and was born in Lancashire, and when a youth went to Belgium.

"My father died a Catholic; my mother, Dorothy, survives. I have five brothers living, and four sisters. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College."

The English College Diary says that he was admitted as an alumnus on the 23rd of August, 1603, took the usual College oath on the 25th of July, 1604, and after receiving all the minor orders, was ordained priest on the 8th of August, 1610. He had always lived quietly in the College, and had afforded no common example of virtue. He was sent into England after completing his higher studies and theology, and there died.

IV. RICHARD WORTHINGTON, who says, "My name is Richard Worthington. I shall be seventeen years old about the Kal. of March, and was born at Louvain, and brought up in England. My father was a Worthington, my mother an Allen—both Catholics. I have two brothers and two sisters; the greater part of my relations are Catholic. I have studied humanities, but on account of the troubles of the times have made but small progress.

"It is my wish to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The English College Diary says that he entered as an alumnus on the 4th of October, 1623. After receiving minor orders, he was ordained priest at Naples in 1631, having been called thither by his uncle, and returning again to Rome, was sent into England April 17, 1631. He was of a most placid disposition, and exhibited a good example to all in the College.

V. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxiv. n. 25. "Richard, Bishop of Chester, to Secretary Cecil."

Rt. Honble.,—It may please you once more to give me leave to interrupt your graver affairs, with the cause of the poor messengers so cruelly entreated in Lancashire by certain bloody recusants, since which time her Majesty's service in those parts hath been much hindered, they undone, and ill-disposed subjects hardened in all lewd practices against the present proceeding and government of the Church. I have delivered to the sheriff of the county of Chester such prisoners as were apprehended and indicted at Lancaster for that outrage, and by the Judges of Assize from thence sent hither, being in number 80; other six indicted but not apprehended, and many more guilty of this conspiracy, whom I persuade myself these persons, being strictly and severally examined, will in the end discover to the greater advantage of her Majesty, and terror of the country. That part of the county where this outrage was committed is full of Seminary priests and gentlemen recusants that harbour them, and namely and specially Edward Eccleston of Eccleston, William Blundell of Crosby, Henry Lathome of Mosborow, and Henry Travers of Hardshaw, Esquires, who give countenance to all lewd practices, and despise all authority, that until they be bridled from above, and brought in by strong hand, there is no hope of any reformation or good obedience long in these parts, especially sith the people of that humour have of late been much encouraged and confirmed in their bad conceits by our ill successes in Ireland, and led by their priests with great hopes of a better time shortly to ensue. In which respects my humble suit unto your honour is that you will be pleased to continue your honourable favour towards me that wade in so tempestuous a sea. Your religious care for the Church of God, and vigilant eye to the peace of this kingdom, that God Who hath many times honoured you in this world, may long prosper

you in all honour and happiness, and in the end crown you with heavenly glory among the religious senators of the earth, &c.

Chester, this last day of January, 1599.

Your honour's most humble at commandment,

RIC. CESTREN.

FATHER HUMPHREY LEECH, *alias* ECCLES.

IN *Records*, Series II., a biography of this celebrated Oxford convert is given. The following autobiographical account has been recently extracted from a transcript of the original in the archives of the English College, Rome, being the replies of Father Humphrey to the usual interrogatories put to the students on applying for admission:

"I am thirty-eight years of age, and was born at a place called Drayton in Hales, in the county of Salop. I have received a liberal and classical education.

"My family is not of an ancient or an illustrious stock, but respectable. My parents were also plebeian, but of the best class and circumstances in their own locality. They sacrificed money, and added their efforts to bring up their children honourably and in the fear of God, but died in early life. I have three brothers surviving (my eldest brother was killed in battle), Edward, Richard, and Thomas; two sisters (both of them dead). I have many relatives and friends, rather favourably disposed towards heretics, than heretics themselves. I cultivated the study of the classics at Oxford; but by the premature death of my beloved parents I was recalled from my college studies. After that I had taken my degree of B.A. at Cambridge, being interrupted then, my whole time was spent in the arts and classical literature, although, through the neglect of the worst of tutors, I had no taste of logic, far less of other subjects. I had then a thirst for learning, and on account of it was greatly disturbed in my mind. The thought of travelling to foreign countries occurred to me; men of position pressed me, nay, almost persuaded me to this, amongst others Roland Bulkely (the eldest brother of Dr. Bulkely, the most perverse of heretics), who is a Catholic, together with Dr. Bishop and a Father of the holy Society of Jesus—these, I say, almost persuaded me to become a Catholic and to go abroad for the purpose of study; but my design and their persuasion came to nothing. I was not altogether convinced of the truth of the Catholic religion, and I feared the loss of my own soul, whilst by too deep attention to classical literature

I might, amidst its blandishment and fascination, fall into error and superstition in matters of faith. God will forgive my fear, as it sprung from ignorance. I remained, therefore, as I was, and relied on my own strength. Many hours did I spend with very little or no profit. At length, after three years, I took my degree of M.A.

"From the study of the classics and *litteræ humaniores* I proceeded to theology, wherein I made greater proficiency than in anything else.

"As to my vocation, I confess that I was a heretic; and, as to be so is sinful, I confess to having been a schismatic. This arose, first, from ignorance (the immortal God is my witness); next, from worldly philosophy; but my conscience having been thoroughly aroused, awakened and enlightened through the faith, and the Canon of the Church, and the Spirit of God, I was called back from the thickest darkness of heresy and schism and made a Catholic. Whilst I was a heretic I, like Calvin, preached sermons wherein was neither light, nor flavour, nor unction, nor life. I did not explain the Sacred Scripture. Rather did I misinterpret it by the rash daring and presumptuous impulse of my precipitate judgment; but I have obtained mercy because I did it in ignorance, to use the words of the Apostle. After one or two years I fell in with a very ancient writer, Vincent of Lerins. His is a golden book. He among all the Fathers is particularly entitled to the name, *Hæreticorum malleus.*[34] This book I read again and again from top to bottom. From that time I was a schismatic. Throughout I kept close to the steps of the Fathers. Their grounds, their inheritance I used as my defence in opposition to the canine yelping of the heretics against me, whilst upon the reading of the Fathers I invited these most wretched controversialists of a world waxing old, to the examination of the Fathers, as to the Parian stone. I fell into certain questions as to the power of the priesthood, as my opponents accused me through my ignorance and carelessness. Hence arose my first suspicion of the Church of England, for after this was discovered my opponents were most indignant. Things being so, before the highest University court I appealed to some of my friends, most learned men, whose orthodoxy I best knew. Their names are Dr. Lilly, Dr. Williams, Public Lecturer, Dr. Houseman, Dr. Buckeridge—all heads of colleges. I laid my whole complaint before them. I spoke of the wrong done

[34] "The mallet of the heretics."

to me and all the Fathers. I asked their advice and assistance. All agreed with the doctrine (I well knew that they would not dare to oppose so great an agreement of the Fathers), but they said that the doctrine was ill-timed, by no means in harmony with the age, and therefore stayed my hand in the vindication of the truth. The case standing thus in Oxford, I carried the question from the Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, from the lower officer of the Church to the Chief Primate of England, that I might learn his final decision. I laid everything in order before him—viz., the doctrine which I had preached, the injury which I had sustained. I asked his aid and assistance, that he would support me and the Fathers who were oppressed with wrong, and that for two reasons: first, because he was our most honoured Chancellor; and secondly, because he was Metropolitan of the whole kingdom. The answer which I then received was rather absolutely none at all, or nothing to the purpose. For having sworn on the words of Calvin, he took his stand on the side of the Vice-Chancellor. He set forth his cause and position with the greatest human learning and lip piety. Besides, he misinterpreted that text concerning the 'counsel' of poverty, 'Go, sell,' &c.,[35] and that against the direction of the Evangelic counsels, contending that the young man who came to Christ was a hypocrite. This was the sum of the heretical teacher, Calvin. 'Christ,' he said, 'detected the hypocrisy and deceit lurking in the youth; He did not suggest any course of perfection to be attempted by him.' This explanation and opinion I met by the addition of a few words from the Gospel of St. Mark—'Christ looking upon him, loved him;' he therefore was no hypocrite. I then appealed to all the Fathers, summarily explaining that text and agreeing with me. I therefore took my original ground, nor do I depart a nail's breadth, as they say, from the doctrine of the Fathers which is commended by their writings, and also by the original manuscripts of Convocation which I laid before him. He admitted my appeal; he would not submit to the Fathers; hence arose my suspicion of his reluctance to endure any support of the truth or to defend her when oppressed. In the meanwhile, one week after another, I awaited his final decision, and what would be the result of my case. I very frequently met and conversed with him, but I could by no means understand what his decision would be; and perceiving this, I did

[35] St. Matt. xix.

not intrude upon the Archbishop, nor did I personally visit him as before. This my systematic absence being suspected, the Archbishop sent two of his domestic chaplains, who offered me most honourable conditions—viz., reconciliation with Dr. King, restoration to my former position, together with the favour of his Grace, if I would only cease, and not press my former doctrine further. All these conditions I refused. I only asked of them that, as they belonged to the Archbishop's household and to his council, they would advise him, but if they durst not do this, that they would ask him at least to look to the lofty dignity of the University whose Chancellor he was, especially in a matter so well known; for if this doctrine should meet with the least connivance in your Lord to the prejudice raised against it, there was for the future an end of the Fathers in the University, for who would there be to read or to trust them if one and all were to be cast aside? My answer being received, and my resolution known, they asked me that I would return with them to his Grace. I excused myself for a time. A suspicion that had seized me called me in another direction, and one of the Fathers of the Society had given me an excellent opportunity to cross the sea within two days for St. Omer's College. And now I had most just cause to fly for refuge to God and my own conscience. I was pressed by the shortness of time in regard to the College. And after many prayers, tears, and sighs (which the recollection of past sins drew from the innermost recesses of my soul, to use the language of St. Jerome), my soul was to its depth wonderfully upheaved, or rather the Spirit of God, by inspiration from heaven, thus addressed me: 'Begone, begone from that heretical Anglican assembly! How often shall I have called upon you, how often in Drayton in Salop, and now at last by My intimate inspiration in Oxford, and you paid no attention to the excitement of visible signs, and were dead to the wholesome warnings of My priests, and so far hast excused thyself? I have put up with your refusal, your reluctance, your excuse; I will put up with it no more; seize, seize the present opportunity. This is your last call to the Church. If you obey it, you shall be saved, otherwise you will perish for ever. O terrible difference! There is no need of more persuasive argument. Listen, however, to a few. (1) Can that be the Church of Christ which rejects the Fathers, the bulwarks and foundations—yea, I affirm, the best friends and patrons of the Church? Certainly not. (2) Can they belong to the

Church of Christ who are the most bitter enemies to her and to the truth? Certainly not. (3) Can that be the spouse of Christ where the secret friends of truth, through the injustice of the age, dare not come forth and avenge their wrongs, so that she is trodden down under the feet of the most impious, but on the other hand suffer her to be most disgracefully betrayed in defiance of knowledge and conscience? Certainly not. Thus did not the Fathers, thus did not Athanasius. (4) Can that be the Church of Christ which neither has any rule of faith, nor any sure rule for the interpretation of Scripture, but every one claims for himself the awful function of the Holy Ghost, and as he does so, lies with execrable blasphemy? Certainly not. (5) Can that be the Church of Christ that loves to crawl at the feet of every heretic, and to call from the lowest depths well-nigh all heresies? Certainly not. (6) Whether that can be the Church of Christ which has no rule of faith besides that which is common to Arians, Pelagians, and Nestorians, the letter forsooth of Scripture, and the spirit of private interpretation? Certainly not. (7) Whether that can be the Church of Christ, which cannot endure that pure and wholesome teaching of the Evangelical Councils, that tend to establish the full perfection of our manners and country, and on which in the Church of God the foundation of the religious orders rests? Certainly not. (8) Whether that can be the Church of Christ which also in this respect receives the Jovinian heresy, and rejects the orthodox teaching of the counsels?' By these and numberless other reasons which the Holy Spirit suggested to me, I was led without the least delay (a thing most dangerous to the eternal welfare of the soul) to betake myself to the arms and bosom of the Church; and who am I that I should resist the counsels of God?

"Therefore I went to a very learned and grave man of the most holy Society, called Father Rich,[36] who sent me to the Fathers of St. Omer's, where, after passing through the Spiritual Exercises, I was received into the Church by Father Floyd, a pious and learned man."

Father Leech concludes with the usual promise to observe the College rules, and by an animated expression of his determination to give himself up to God and to hold fast by the faith he has embraced.

As is stated in the biography of Father Leech, the principal

[36] This was Father Edward Walpole, who had been placed by Father John Gerard near Oxford. Gee's list mentions "F. Rich, *alias* Walpole.'

seat of his missionary labours was Cheshire and the surrounding country. One of his converts became a student at the English College, Rome, and a priest, as we learn from the following autobiographical account:

"My name is John Gardiner. I am son of William and Elizabeth Gardiner, and was born in the parish of Frodsham, Cheshire. My father died a Protestant, but my Catholic mother is yet alive. I was brought up in the parish of Winwick, Lancashire, where I lived until I arrived at St. Omer's College. I went to school when a boy for seven or eight years. I then lived upwards of three years with a nobleman. I have studied one year at St. Omer's.

"I lived in heresy until about the last feast of the Purification, when by the care and exertion of certain Catholic friends, and of my mother, but especially by the means of Father Leech, priest of the Society of Jesus, I embraced the Catholic faith. I left England in Lent, 1627, and by the order and permission of Superiors, and of my own desire, I am come to Rome, and it is my wish to enter the ecclesiastical state."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus on the 12th of October, 1627, in the name of John Garnett; was ordained priest July 11, 1632, and sent a missionary into England April 2, 1634. He bore a good character in the College.

FATHER CHARLES WALDEGRAVE.

In a list of Catholic clergy, secular and regular, in Warwickshire, prepared by the Reverend William Clarke, and forwarded by him to the agent for the clergy in Rome in 1632, we find recorded among the members of the Society a Father Charles Waldegrave. This is the only evidence we can trace of such a Father, but in consequence of the loss of records which we have so constantly to deplore, upon the above authority we place him among its members.

Father Charles Waldegrave was born in the year 1581, and according to the Diary of the English College, Rome, became a student there, in the name of Russell, at the age of nineteen, on October 24, 1600, took the usual College oath on August 5, 1601, and in the same year received minor orders at the church of the Novitiate, S.J., St. Andrea, Rome. On August 27, 1604, he left the College for Belgium, with the hope of recovering his health.

On entering the College he gave the following statement in reply to the usual scholars' interrogatories.

"October 9, 1600. My name is Charles Waldegrave. I am son of Charles Waldegrave and Jeromima Jerningham, and am nineteen years of age, born at Cossey in the county of Norfolk, near Norwich, and was educated in private schools in the neighbourhood, and studied at Cambridge for two years, from whence I went direct to Flanders. My parents and friends are of the higher class, with corresponding fortunes. My brothers and sisters are all Catholics. I have relatives, partly Catholic, partly Protestant. I was a schismatic from my childhood until March 21, 1600, when by the aid of Father Fludd [Floyd], who was a priest in the English Seminary of Spain, I was reconciled to the Church. In this affair everything succeeded prosperously, nor did I suffer anything on that account. I obtained a written permission to leave England by way of Dover with a companion, and having crossed over, Father William Baldwin assisted me with money he had received from England to travel to Rome."

We find three other members of the Waldegrave family at the English College, Rome, viz.—

1. Nicholas Waldegrave, *alias* Pelham. He was third son of Nicholas Waldegrave, of Borley, and Katherine, daughter of Weston Browne, Esq., of Weldstall, county Essex. On applying for admission to the English College, Rome, he gave the following short account of himself. We do not, however, trace him in the Diary of the College, nor in the College Pilgrims' Book. He appears to have returned to England, and to have married and had issue.

"1612. My name is Nicholas Waldegrave, I am aged about twenty, and was born at Borley in Essex, where and in other neighbouring places I was principally educated. My parents are Catholics, and noble; my father is an esquire. I have two brothers and a brother-in-law, not a Catholic, Sir Richard Weston. I have divers sisters; all, I hope, Catholics. I have a relation, Sir William Petre, Knight, so far as I know a non-Catholic; also Sir Edward Waldegrave, Knight, a non-Catholic; Gamaliel Capell, a non-Catholic, and Edward Sarcolf, a Catholic. I made my humanity studies in various places in England, viz., London, Chelmsford, Melford, Sudbury, and at home and elsewhere, and lastly at St. Omer's English College, S.J. I was always a Catholic, thank God."

2. JOHN WALDEGRAVE, *alias* RUSSELL. He was probably a younger brother of Charles Waldegrave, and was born 159⅔, and was a convert of Father Thomas Stanney whose biography will be given in a subsequent volume. According to the Diary of the English College he entered as a convictor among the Pope's alumni for his higher studies on October 12, 1613, in his twenty-first year, in the name of John Russell, and left the College for England about the beginning of September, 1615, to recover his health. He died in England. On entering the College he made the following statement.

"1613. My name is John Waldegrave. I have scarcely exceeded my twenty-first year, and was born at Butthorpe in the county of Norfolk, and was there bred up and educated. My parents are both alive, and (as obedience obliges me to tell the real fact) they are both of distinguished families, and their circumstances correspond, and they are both, as I think, stern defenders of the Catholic religion. Regarding my brothers and sisters, we were altogether twenty in number, of whom nine had scarcely been born ere they were snatched away by death, all the survivors (with one exception, I say it with shame, my eldest brother) have been brought up Catholics, and faithfully persevere in their religion. He married an heretical wife, and that a very obstinate one, clinging most tenaciously to her own and her minister's opinion; nevertheless she has recently given, as I hope, indisputable signs of leading a better life. Of my eight surviving sisters, five are married to men of rank, and these Catholics.

"I studied humanities in England, after the English fashion, for seven or eight years, but with none or very little fruit; but when I was fifteen years of age I was sent to the English College of St. Omer, where I have spent five years in study with much greater utility.

"As to my vocation, I scarcely know what to say. I never adhered to the opinions of the heretics, nor yet was I in the right way. It was Father Stanney, of the Society of Jesus, who brought the wanderer into the right path; for, on my arrival at St. Omer for the sake of study, I was immediately sent to Father Stanney, by whom I was reconciled, and then commenced my studies in the College.

"I proposed the ecclesiastical state for myself long ago; and if I have never had any great or sensible desire for it, yet I hope that God will please to add this desire to my proposition.

"(Signed) JOHN RUSSELL, *alias* WALDEGRAVE."

3. John Waldegrave, *alias* Stephens. He was nephew to Nicholas Waldegrave, and having made his humanity studies at the English College, S.J., St. Omer, entered the English College, Rome, for his higher course, as a convictor among the alumni, in the name of Stephens, on October 22, 1631, and left again for England on September 9, 1634, with a high character both for talents and diligence. He appears to have married and to have had issue.

On entering the English College, Rome, he made the following statement—

"1631. My name is John Waldegrave. I am son of Philip Waldegrave and Mary White, and was born at Borley, a poor village in Essex, where I was brought up until my seventeenth year. I was educated there for five years; after that at Southolt, in Suffolk, and was then sent to St. Omer's College, where I spent six years. I have a brother, and sisters by a step-mother, and relations of all kind, mostly Catholic. I was a convert to the Catholic faith, about Pentecost six years ago, and am now come to Rome for my higher studies."

He desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

Another member of the same family, Father Francis Waldegrave, *alias* Pelham, entered the Society and was a great sufferer in the persecution following the revolution of 1688, and his biography and adventures will be given in the Series of *Records* embracing that eventful period. He was a missioner at Lydiate, Lancashire, and died there November 28, 1701.

FATHER WILLIAM SHACKLETON, *alias* STANTON.

Father William Shackleton, a very laborious missioner in England for forty years, was a native of Lancashire, born 1584, and entered the English College as an alumnus of the Holy Father on October 9, 1605, in the name of Stanton, and took the usual College oath on September 17, 1606. After receiving minor orders, he was ordained priest in Rome on April 1, 1610, and sent into England in the month of April, 1612, where he entered the Society the same year.

On applying for admission to the English College he made the following statement, from which we find that he was one of very many converts to the Catholic faith through the famous *Ten Reasons* of the blessed martyr Father Edmund Campian, S.J.

"1605. My name is William Shackleton. I was born in

Lancashire, and am in my twenty-second year. My parents are of the middle class. I was sent by them to school, but when I got older, by the persuasion of a Lutheran relative, I went to Oxford, where I spent an entire year in reading classics, and two years in speculative dialectics, but with little profit. As to my conversion to the Catholic faith, I was drawn into a love of it by the frequent reading of Father Campian's *Ten Reasons*. Leaving Oxford after three years, I went to a Catholic relative in Essex, where for nearly half a year, laying aside all other studies, I earnestly applied myself to that of the Catholic faith. At length, by the great goodness of God in my regard, being reconciled to the Church by a Father of the Society, I passed over to St. Omer, where I repeated my studies, long neglected, for a year, and from thence was sent to Rome."

Father Shackleton was made a Professed Father on February 23, 1623. After completing his two years' noviceship, he appears to have been at once sent back to the English mission (1614), and the seat of his missionary labours was probably his native county, where we find him named in a catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, and in which district he died in the month of August of the same year. His death is thus chronicled in the summary of the deceased members of the Province for 1655:

"Father William Shackleton, after teaching the humanities, filling the office of Minister, and performing other duties in the Seminary of St. Omer, and spending forty years in the English vineyard, departed this life in the month of August, 1655. He was a man endowed with great bodily strength, and not less courage of soul, both of which were sometimes tested by the prisons and frequent altercations with the heretical ministers, and his strength was gradually wasted by close confinement; notwithstanding, he survived all and attained to the advanced age of seventy-eight, and by his virtuous life left behind him a great void among all with whom he had been engaged."

FATHER EDWARD GIFFORD, *alias* LEUSON, OR LEVISON, AND WHITE.[37]

He was one of the Staffordshire Giffords, born in the year 1600, and having made his humanity course of studies at the College of the Society at St. Omer, entered the English College, Rome, as a convictor among the alumni on October 9, 1618, *æt.* 18, in the name of Edward Leuson, and took the College

[37] We have already briefly named this Father in p. 543.

oath on May 3, 1620. Having received the minor orders, he entered the Society of Jesus at Rome on August 28, 1621, and then changed his name again to Edward White.

On entering the English College, Rome, he made the following short autobiographical statement in reply to the usual scholars' interrogatories:

"1618. My name is Edward Gifford. I am eighteen years of age, and was born in a private house, called Ashmore, in the county of Stafford, and was educated partly at a school, and part of my time I spent idle at home. My father is Richard Gifford, Esq., who has been dead for many years; my mother was Elizabeth Leuson, daughter of Sir Walter Leuson, knight, and she still survives. They were both Catholics, as are likewise all my brothers and sisters. Some of my relatives are heretics, some Catholics. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College, and was always a Catholic."

He then expresses his earnest desire, according to the will of God, and by His aid, to enter the ecclesiastical state. Father Gifford was made a Professed Father in 1634, was a missioner in the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, which then included Staffordshire, and died in that district on June 14, 1640, at the age of forty-three.

His mother's family, the Leusons or Levisons, was an ancient and Catholic one. Two of its members at least joined the Society.

1. Father Edward Levison, born 1652, entered the Society November 13, 1669; was made a Professed Father on February 2, 1681, and after serving the Oxford and other missions, died in England, April 13, 1720, *æt.* 68. He narrowly escaped with his life at Oxford in the "No Popery" riots, attendant upon the Revolution of 1688, and will be more fully noticed in a future series, "The residence of St. Mary, or the Oxfordshire District."

2. Father Richard Levison, probably a brother of Edward, was born about 1650. He entered the Society about 1676, and was made a Professed Father on February 2, 1692. He was a chaplain in Lord Petre's family, at Ingatestone, and also served the North Wales missions, the residence of St. Winefred. A sermon preached by him before Thomas, the sixth Lord Petre, at Ingatestone Hall, on Passion Sunday,

April 1, 1688, was published. In an old ledger we find a quaint entry: "1691–2. Lent to Mr. Richard Levison for his sermon printing . . ." He died September 14, 1715.

In *Records*, vol. ii. Introduction, p. 16, and Series III. p. 317, mention is made of Mr. Leuson or Levison, who allowed the Fathers of the district to keep a private school at his house, near Wolverhampton, which was broken up by the Privy Council satellites in 1635, and one of the Fathers and several of the scholars, sons of leading Catholic families, were captured, and with books, altar furniture, and other booty, carried off in triumph to London.

FATHER EDWARD MAINWARING, *alias* LATHAM.

Father Mainwaring was a native of Lancashire, born 1603, and after making his lower studies at St. Omer's College, was sent to the English College, Rome, for his higher course. The Diary of the College states that he entered as an alumnus of the Holy Father in the assumed name of Latham, at the age of eighteen, on May 20, 1622, and took the College oath on May 1, 1623. Having received minor orders in May, 1623, he left the College with the consent of the Father Rector, on May 11, 1627, to complete his studies at Paris, where he was ordained priest.

On entering the English College, he gave the following brief account of himself and family, in reply to the usual questions put to the students:

"1622. My name is Edward Mainwaring. I am nineteen years of age, and was born in the county of Lancaster, and was there brought up until my twelfth year, mostly among Catholics, except when I was at Protestant schools.

"My parents were always excellent Catholics, and are of high families, but in consequence of the iniquity of the times, they were not only reduced from their high position, but likewise encountered other sufferings for the cause of the faith. I have three brothers, one of whom, deceived by the darkness of heresy, or rather schism, reposes in this error, in false security; and four sisters, all well-instructed Catholics. My principal relations on both sides are chiefly schismatics, some are heretics, and some likewise Catholics. I have studied my humanities for five years at St. Omer's College. I was always, by the singular goodness of God, a Catholic."

He then expresses his desire to enter the ecclesiastical

state. He entered the Society in 1628, was made a Professed Father on July 31, 1649, and was sent upon the English mission in the year 1638, before which period he had been the Father Minister and Procurator of his College in Belgium, and had likewise acted as camp missioner to the English and Irish Catholic soldiers serving in Belgium, and in that charitable duty was associated with the blessed martyr, Father Peter Wright, in whose life his name occurs several times.[38] The unhappy apostate, Thomas Gage, the chief witness against the martyr to prove his priesthood, says that when staying for some time at a military station between Ghent and Sassa, he found there a certain Father Latham and Father Wright, for whom a chapel had been fitted up in a tent. But the most interesting mention of him is at the time of the execution of Father Wright at Tyburn, on Whit Monday, May 19, 1651.[39] On arriving at the place of execution, an unexpected happiness awaited the champion of Christ, for he found himself assisted in rising from the hurdle by Father Edward Latham, a man most dear to him of all the Society, and his *quondam confrère* in the camp mission in Belgium. Disguised in a hempen smock-frock, as a common hodman, he had mingled with the crowd, and in his eagerness to console his companion at his death, he was careless of incurring the risk of his own life. Being at once recognized, it is impossible to express the joy of the dying Father. They applied themselves instantly to the one only affair, confession and absolution. The disguise was so complete, that none of the bystanders suspected it. Some little delay being occasioned, the time passing so quickly and unconsciously, the officers interrupted them, and some of them struck Father Latham several smart blows, saying, "Be off, you troublesome hodman; what do mean by annoying a dying man?" The hodman having accomplished his work, then retired among the dense concourse of spectators.

In 1655 we find Father Latham as a missioner in the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District. He died on July 12, 1667, at the age of sixty-four.

An elder brother of Father Edward Mainwaring, viz., George Mainwaring, *alias* Latham, was born 1590, a native of Lancashire, entered the English College as an alumnus of the Holy Father at the age of nineteen, in the year 1609, and took the College oath on May 2, 1610. He received

[38] See *Records*, Series IV. part i. [39] *Ibid.* p. 544.

minor orders in the year 1610. Having defended the course of philosophy with applause in the school of theology, according to the custom of our Fathers, he joined the Society in the end of the month of October, 1612. On entering the English College, he made the following autobiographical statement:

"1609. My name is George Mainwaring. I am about nineteen years of age, and was born in the county of Lancaster, and was for the most part brought up at a distance from my father's house, one while with the Baron Wootton, whose wife, a Catholic, was my godmother in baptism. Upon his death, I went to a certain barrister, whose wife professed the Catholic religion, and in both places I attended schools, though with little, or rather I may say with no fruit, until my twelfth year, with an interval of about half a year at one time, and a whole year at another, so that I reaped a crop of iniquity and licentiousness, rather than of learning and piety.

"As to my parents, both are of high family. My father, Oliver Mainwaring, was the youngest of seven brothers, deriving his origin from the house of Over-Peover, Cheshire. My mother was a relative of the Gerards. Their circumstances, both on account of the multitude of their children, as of the injustice of the times (for my father was more than once in prison, and always suffered from the malice of the wicked), must be reckoned among the more moderate. I have four brothers, and the same number of sisters. All brought up Catholic, and educated politely and liberally, as far as the condition of my parents would allow.

"My relations and connections, thank God, as far as I know, all profess the Catholic faith, except a paternal uncle, named Christopher, who, following a worse lord on account of his paternal estate, and to curry favour with the magnates, obtained honours from the late Queen.

"I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College. I was always a Catholic from my birth, and untouched by any erroneous opinion."

He desires to enter the ecclesiastical state.

We do not trace the date of the death of Father George Mainwaring. He is probably the Father Latham mentioned in Gee's List,[39] and the Umpton *alias* Latham in the Clerkenwell "Discovery."[40]

[40] See Appendix. [41] P. 139.

Another brother is treated by the late Dr. Oliver as a member of the Society. We find no mention of his entrance; if it did take place he must have been admitted, as many were at their urgent request, *in articulo mortis*, as he died a student in the English College, Rome, viz., Christopher Mainwaring, *alias* Latham. He was born in the year 159$\frac{5}{6}$, and having made his early studies at St. Omer's College, passed on to the English College, Rome, which he entered as an alumnus, at the age of twenty-one, on October 5, 1617, and took the usual College oath on May 1, 1618. Having received minor orders in the same year, he died a holy death in the College on October 6, 1620, about the hour of midnight. Dr. Oliver does not give his authority, but states that in his desk were found some pious memoranda, still extant, which testify to the progress the holy youth had made in the religious spirit.

On entering the English College, he made the following autobiographical statement:

"1617. My name is Christopher Mainwaring. I am just turned twenty or twenty-one years of age. I was born and brought up by my parents in Lancashire, who are of the upper class, and my father is of the ancient family of Mainwaring. My mother is of the illustrious house of Torbock;[42] both are Catholics, and strong defenders of the faith, and have been repeatedly spoiled of nearly all their property on that account. My father was cast into prison for the faith, and remained there for some time, all of which, thank God, they endured with constancy. I have four brothers: three are Catholics, I am uncertain

[42] Torbock of Torbock was a knightly family. The Irelands of Lydiate Hall were connected with it. The above-named Mainwarings were probably sons of a daughter of William Torbock of Torbock, who by his will dated May 13, 1557, bequeathed to his brother, William Ireland, "a black gown and coat; and to his sister Ireland a black gown and £3 6s. 8d. To his godchild, Laurence Ireland, £3 6s. 8d., his sister to put it out most to his profit." William Torbock was son of Thomas Torbock and of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of W. More of Bank Hall, by which alliance the Irelands became connected with that knightly family (See *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*. By the Rev. Thomas E. Gibson). William Torbock died an early death in 1558–9, having married Catharine, daughter of Thomas Gerard of Bryn, Esq. He left two infant daughters, Frances and Margaret, respectively eighteen months and two months old, in 1559. One of these was doubtless mother of the Mainwaring youths. Torbock, or Torback as it is now written, lies about ten miles from Liverpool, on the Manchester road, and is owned by the Earl of Sefton, who is lord of the manor. The chief family of the Mainwarings was seated at Over-*Peover*, Cheshire (written Over-*Pever* by Leycester). The branches of this ancient Cheshire race were numerous, and no doubt prided themselves on descent from the head house. Ormerod gives some pedigrees of the Mainwarings, but not of the particular family to which these youths belonged.—[Communicated by Rev. T. E. Gibson.]

about the fourth. The same number of sisters, all Catholics. My relations are mixed, some Catholic some Protestant, the chief ones Protestants."

He then states that he was backward in his studies, but what he knew was principally gained at St. Omer's College. He was always a lover and cultivator of the Catholic faith.

RALPH, JOHN, AND THOMAS RISHTON, *alias* FARRINGTON.

THREE Fathers of this name, natives of Lancashire, appear to have entered the Society under the name of Farrington.

1. RALPH RISHTON was born 1603, entered the Society in the name of Ralph Farrington in 1624, and died at the early age of twenty-six. He was making his higher studies at the College of Liege, when, being attacked by sickness, he was sent to England by advice of the physician, for the benefit of his native air, and died soon after on October 28, 1629, in the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire district.

2. JOHN RISHTON, *alias* JOHN FARRINGTON, brother of Ralph, was born in 1605, and entered the Society in 1625. He was also a scholastic student at Liege, and being seized with sudden and violent consumption, was sent by advice of the medical man to the House of Tertians of the English Province at Ghent, where he died within a few weeks, on the 13th of February of the same year, aged twenty-four.

3. FATHER THOMAS RISHTON, *alias* FARRINGTON. He was, we have little doubt, a younger brother of the above, a native of Lancashire, born 1611, and entered the Society as Thomas Farrington on September 7, 1631, and was made a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor on April 10, 1648. He is mentioned in a catalogue of the province for 1655 as being a missionary Father in his native county, the College of St. Aloysius, and was sent upon the English mission in 1640. The summary of the deceased of the English Province states that, having usefully spent thirty-three years in missionary labour, he died in England on February 25, 1678, aged sixty-seven. "A lover of souls and a zealous labourer as long as his strength permitted." In the close of life he was subject to epilepsy.

Two other members of the Lancashire Rishtons were scholars of the English Fathers, both of them at the English College, Rome, and one of them, viz., Edward, at the College of St. Omer likewise, and he was very probably a younger brother

of Ralph, John, and Thomas. They both became exemplary priests.

1. Ralph Rishton, on entering the English College, Rome, made the following statement.

"1632. My name is Ralph Rishton. I am son of James and Catherine Rishton, and was born in the town of Rishton [near Blackburn] at a certain place called Micklehey, where my parents lived, who are of the middle class. Of my friends and relations on my father's side I need not speak, for they are heretics, but they are at least esteemed for their wealth. Nearly all on my mother's side, however, are Catholics, and some of them of good note, viz., two of my mother's brothers, who both of them studied in this College, and are both in the Society of Jesus, the sons, viz., of George Talbot, of Hall Carr, Thomas and William.[43]

"I have two brothers and two sisters, viz., Edward, John, Frances, and Anne.

"I studied my humanities at Blackburn, in Lancashire. I was always a Catholic, and it is my desire and resolve to live the life of a religious."

The Diary of the English College states that he was admitted as an alumnus in the name of Ralph Nowell (*vero nomine*)

[43] Father Thomas Talbot, son of George Talbot, was born in the year 1572, and at the age of nineteen entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus of the Holy Father, on January 28, 1591, took the college oath on May 17, 1592, and received minor orders in August and September of the same year, and was ordained subdeacon and deacon in August and September, 1596, and his ordination of priest was deferred until March 1, 1597, on account of non-age. He entered the Society in 1598. Having for some time filled the post of Penitentiary at Loreto, he was appointed the first Rector and Master of Novices at the Novitiate of the English Mission S.J. at St. John's, Louvain, in 1606-7, and removed with the Community to Liege in 1614. The Novitiate of St. John's commenced in February, 1607, with six priests, two scholastics, and five lay-brother novices. The first novice to enter was Father Thomas Garnett, who was martyred at Tyburn on June 3, 1608. He was nephew of Father Henry Garnett, the Provincial, who suffered death for the faith in St. Paul's Churchyard, May 3, 1606 (see life of Father Thomas Garnett, martyr, S.J., *Records*, Series IV. p. i. pp. 475, seq.). Pleasant allusion is made to Father Talbot when Rector at St. John's (*Troubles*, First Series, p. 47). The nuns of St. Ursula's Convent, Louvain, were sending out a colony to found another house in the town (St. Monica's). They were led by Father Fen and Mr. Worthington. Having called at St. Peter's Church to venerate the miraculous statue of our Lady there, and to hear Mass, they thought to have been led direct from thence to their new house, but Mr. Worthington without their knowledge led them to his own house, "where he had prepared a great dinner for them, such was his joy to receive nuns." He had armed himself with the Bishop's leave, and they were obliged to obey. "There also met them the Rector of the English College, Louvain, Father Thomas Talbot, who had brought with him two great tarts, the one of minced meat made costly, the other of fruit very good. These two tarts

Rishton, of Lancashire, aged twenty, not having been confirmed, on October 17, 1632; took the usual College oaths May 1, 1633; and, after receiving Confirmation and minor orders, was ordained priest October 4, 1637, and left for England March 28, and behaved himself during the whole time of his stay most admirably.

2. EDWARD RISHTON, *alias* ANDERTON, who says—

"1634. My name is Edward Rishton. I am son of Ralph and Dorothy, both of respectable families. I have completed my twentieth year, and was bred up in Lancashire. My father is dead, but before death became a Catholic. My mother is still living, also four brothers and three sisters, all Catholics, as are also my chief relations. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College, and was always a Catholic."

The English College Diary states that he entered the College as an alumnus in the name of Edward Anderton, of Lancashire, aged twenty, on October 10, 1634, took the usual College oaths May 1, 1635, and, after receiving minor orders, was ordained priest on April 3, 1639, and left for England April 15, 1641. He was a man of singular virtue and piety, and made great progress in his studies, but was of very weak health.

Mrs. Allen would not have to be touched there, for they had enough. She sent them beforehand to their own house; and indeed they served our poor Sisters here a whole week. The said Rector also gave to Sister Shirley a little piece of gold of half a crown for an alms to begin house withal, and so they dined together there to the great content of Mrs. Allen, her son, and daughter." Father Southwell (Alegambe, *Biblio. Script. S.J.*) says that Father Talbot was afterwards sent upon the English mission, where he was much esteemed for his prudence and virtues. He died in England at the age of eighty, in the year 1652. He published a translation from the Italian of Buronzi, *Method of Mental Prayer.*

Father William Talbot, according to the Diary of the English College, Rome, was born in the year 1599, and entered that College as an alumnus on October 13, 1616, at the age of nineteen, and took the college oath on May 3, 1617. Having received minor orders in 1617, he left the College for Flanders on September 14, 1619, to enter the Society at Liege. He had made his humanity studies at St. Omer's College. The Catalogue of the Province for 1655 places his birth in 1596, and his entrance to religion in 1618. He was sent upon the English mission in 1645, and was made a Professed Father on January 30, 1633. In a short statement he made on entering the English College, Rome, he says that his parents were of the upper class of society, and with his three brothers and six sisters were all Catholics. In the above Catalogue for 1655, he is mentioned as a missioner in the London district. He died in England, May 12, 1660. He is probably the Jesuit Talbot named in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. ii. p. 528, in a "letter of intelligence" from a Government spy, dated August 17, 1654—"There are spyes sent into England; one of them is a Jesuite called Talbot, a well sett man of a middling stature, full faced, brownish hayre, a fair complexion. So neare as I can learne, his brother is the other: him I know not."

FATHER JOHN BARON, *alias* BURTON.

Father John Baron was a native of Lancashire, born in the year 160$\frac{3}{4}$. After making his humanity studies he was sent to Rome, and entered the English College there, as an alumnus, for his higher studies, on October 6, 1625, then in his twenty-second year. He took the usual College oath on May 2, 1626. Having been ordained priest on May 12, 1630, he departed for England on September 9, 1632, leaving behind a great void on account of his suavity of manner and incomparable dexterity in gymnastic exercises.

On entering the English College he made the following short biographical statement.

"My true name is John Baron. I was born in Lancashire, and am in my twenty-second year. My parents are Laurence Baron and Helen his wife, of the middle class of life. I have an only brother and one sister, who, with my parents, are Catholics. I made my humanity studies under a Jesuit Father in the house of a certain nobleman, and was never forty miles from my father's house before I took the journey hither. It is my greatest desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life."

Having procured the necessary dispensation, he entered the Society of Jesus in the year 1633, and died Minister of the Novitiate of the English Province, S.J., at Watten, on August 22, 1638, at the early age of thirty-three.

The Annual Letters of the College for that year thus eulogize him.

"Those of the community of Watten who were sent back thither by Superiors, as soon as the enemy [the French army] had retired from that country, to repair, as they best could, the dilapidations caused by the military, were nearly all attacked by the fever, and three of them died of it at the College of St. Omer, as appears in the account of that house. The first was the Minister of the house, Father John Burton (August 22, 1638). Though he lived but five years in the Society, he had attained a high degree of religious virtue, and his great humility, gentleness of manner, and active charity had much endeared him to all who knew him. After going through his novitiate with great satisfaction to his Superiors, he was sent

back to the mission in England. He was there stationed in a country-place among poor Catholics, where he had ample exercise for his zeal and self-denial. Partaking of the humble food of his flock, he made long journeys on foot, often in the night and in the severest weather, to administer consolations of religion to the sick. Having thus won general esteem and love, he was called away by Superiors from the midst of his missionary labours, to the very great regret of his flock, and promptly repaired to Watten to occupy the post in which he died. There, though appointed to govern others, he took part himself in the most menial employments, and directed others in the performance of their duty more by example than by precept. The grief of his sorrowing brethren showed how much he was beloved by them."

FATHER CHARLES CALVERT.

FATHER CHARLES CALVERT, (*alias* Baines and formerly called Blundell), was born in Lancashire about the year 1619. After making his humanity course of studies at St. Omer's College, he went to the English College, Rome, for his higher course, and entered in the name of Charles Baines, as an alumnus of the Holy Father, on the 4th of December, 1640.

On entering he gave the following brief autobiographical account in reply to the usual College interrogatories:

"December 4, 1640. My name is Charles Calvert, formerly called Blundell. I am son of Mr. Richard Calvert, of a patrician family of Lancashire. My mother (who has been dead for twelve years) was Miss Pershall, daughter of Sir John Pershall, Knight, of Staffordshire; my father (as likewise the whole family) was converted to the Catholic faith by the efforts and industry of my mother, who herself was once a Protestant, and then converted, and so it happened that all her children (thanks be to God and His most Blessed Mother) were imbued from their birth with the Catholic faith. On account of the mutations of times and circumstances I cannot speak correctly as to their means, but as far as I recollect they had £70 or £80 a year in rents.

"I have four brothers, but no sister. My eldest brother married the daughter of Mr. Stanley, of a patrician family of the same county. Besides, I have relations, Mr. Stanford, of

a patrician family,[44] and Sir ——— Fleetwood, Knight, both of Staffordshire. I was born in Lancashire, at a place called Cockerham, where I was brought up and learnt my rudiments until I was about fifteen years of age, when I was sent to St. Omer's College, where I have studied humanities for seven years."

We learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, that Father Calvert was ordained priest on the 19th of June, 1644, in the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, and entered the Society at Rome on the 17th of May, 1647. Father Christopher Grene adds a note in the same page of the Diary. "Afterwards in serving the scholars during an infectious pestilence, he gloriously died on the 30th of July, 1657. He had been for five years Minister of the College, and shortly before his death appointed its confessor."

[44] In *Records*, vol. ii. Introduction, p. xv. mention is made of Sir John Pershall, and Mr. W. Stanford and his son John. Mr. Leuson (Levison), a staunch Catholic, had, as we have shortly mentioned above, allowed his house near Wolverhampton to be used as a school, where one or two of the Fathers of the Society educated many of the sons of the Catholic gentry in secret. The Privy Council having been informed of it sent pursuivants with a warrant, who seized the Father and his young pupils and carried them off to London in December, 1635. On the 9th of that month the Privy Council wrote a letter to Sir John Pershall of Horseley, in the county of Stafford, informing him "that John Stanford, son of William Stanford of Paryshall, Stafford, was lately found among the children in the house of Mr. Leuson, in the county aforesaid, where he was trained up a scholar under a priest or Jesuit. In regard of his nearness of blood, he being Sir John's grandchild, the Council have thought fit to put him in his custody until further orders." The following short biographical statement of a member of the Pershall family who was reconciled to the Church by Father John Gerard, S.J., and entering the English College, Rome, died a holy death there in the year 1603, will be found interesting. "October 11, 1600. My own name, as also is my father's, is Thomas Pershall. My mother was Geneveve Phetiplace [Fettiplace]. I am twenty-six years of age, and was born and bred up at Trylsdone, a village within two miles of Buckingham. I studied at Oxford for six months, and always continued the rest of my time in my native village, except five years spent in the Inner Temple, London, four in Staffordshire in the house of my father, and four in Buckinghamshire. I am the youngest son. My father is a schismatic and an esquire. My Catholic mother was the daughter of an esquire, Mr. Mordaunt, in Northamptonshire. I have relations in the county of Gloucester, knights, Charles and Henry Davers, the first of whom is reported to be a Catholic. I have four relatives in Berkshire, esquires, of the name of Phetiplace, and one an esquire named William Essex. Four of these, I think, are heretics, the other a schismatic. I have a relation in Buckinghamshire named Thomas Denton, an esquire and a heretic. In Cheshire I have a relation named Randolph Bruerton, a knight and a schismatic; in Staffordshire, Walter Harecourt, a knight, William Chetwyn, and John Vernon, esquires, all schismatics. I have only two brothers, and they are schismatics; one sister, a Catholic. All these are well off, suitably to their positions." After speaking of his studies—"As to my vocation; I was always brought up in the Catholic faith, and was never a heretic. I lived twice a schismatic. About three

RIXTON, OR WREXEN, NEAR WARRINGTON, AND FATHER JOHN SMITH, *alias* HARRISON.

RIXTON was a very ancient mission or chaplaincy of the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire district, and should find a place in our Records in consequence of the extraordinary fate of Father John Smith, one of its earliest missioners. It forms a township in the parish of Winwick, one of the richest livings in England, worth some £4,000 a year. The parish church of Winwick is of great antiquity, believed to be coeval with the introduction of Christianity into this country. Archbishop Ussher, in his notes on the twenty-eight cities wherewith Gildas says that this island was strengthened in the time of the Britons, is of opinion that the Cair Guintgnic was Winwick; and Venerable Bede, in his Ecclesiastical History, specially relates that Oswald was slain here in 682. A battle

years ago, of my own free will, and by no other influence than that of Divine grace, I was reconciled to the Church by Father Garrat [John Gerard]. I enjoyed then his familiarity by means of my intimate friend John Salisbury, confined at the same time with him in prison. I have suffered nothing for the Catholic faith. I got out of England in the following manner: There was a certain tailor and draper in London named Thomas Becket, with whom I was well acquainted. He was a Catholic, and under the colour of a merchant carried over to Calais cloth and clothes as agent for the tailors and drapers, and other merchandise of this nature, and passed them at the custom-house as his own goods, and to assist him in passing freely with his cargoes, he held a written licence from a custom-house officer addressed to the officials at the port of Gravesend. I consulted him as to the best mode of my passing over. He replied that if I wished to embark with him at the port, and would conceal myself, that I could very easily do so when the officials made an end of searching. I did as he advised, and in a short time landed with him at Calais. Besides this, I had a letter of recommendation to a certain official at the port of Flushing, named William Sparkneke, to produce in case I should be captured, representing that I had left England to join the Queen's forces in Belgium. I obtained this letter by means of Thomas Faulx, a cloth merchant, besides money from a friend of the above-mentioned official. In addition to this I had a note to Douay, procured by means of a certain priest named Richard Garth, on his way to Spain, recommended by the archpriest. With this note I came to St. Omer, where I found Mr. Edward Lacen [? Leuson or Levison] in the English College, who being acquainted with my friends, gave me a letter of introduction to the Father Rector. I came to Brussels with this, where the rest of my companions were ready waiting, and proceeded to Rome with a letter from Father Baldwin to the Rector of the English College."

He desires to enter the ecclesiastical state. The English College Diary states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of Thomas Bassett, aged about twenty-six years, Father Robert Parsons being Rector, on October 24, 1600, and took the usual college oath on August 5, 1601. He received minor orders on the feast of St. Andrew on three consecutive Sundays in 1601, and died a holy death in the College on December 2, 1603.

was fought on a hill called the Pass of Winwick, or Redbank, probably from the blood shed there, between the Scots and Oliver Cromwell's army in 1648, ending in the defeat of the former after great loss on both sides. A number of the Scots were treacherously hung afterwards by the Cromwellites in a field near, called Gallowsfield to this day.[45]

Rixton was the seat of the old Catholic family of Massey, whose members rank among the benefactors of the Society in that district. The Fathers of the district continued to serve the place until it was given up to the care of the Benedictine Fathers in 1825–6. The earliest resident Father of the Society who can be traced there (in consequence of the loss of records) is Father John Smith, *alias* Harrison, 1650, and the only information we possess regarding him is derived from Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 312, from whom we quote:[46] "John Smith, whose true name was Harrison, was born near Liverpool, and being sent to study among the Jesuits abroad, became one of that Society. At his return upon the mission, his residence was with Mr. Massey, of Wrexen, near Warrington, in the county of Lancaster. He had not been long in those parts before he was apprehended, tried, and condemned to die. His case was very particular. Several gentlemen who had served in King Charles I.'s army entered into a combination in the year 1650 to plunder the parsonage of Winwick, whereof one Mr. Erle was Rector. This Mr. Erle, as Wood observes,[47] 'had always been esteemed a Puritan; sided with the Presbyterian party; took the covenant; was elected one of the assembly of divines in 1643,' &c. Now, whether an aversion conceived against the character of the man, or a wild notion that he had no right to what he was possessed of, induced them to this desperate undertaking, the persons following rifled the parsonage, viz., Mr. Catteral, Mr. Massey, a younger brother, of Wrexen, a French gentleman, and some others. The robbery being discovered, search was immediately made to find out the offenders. The Frenchman was the only person apprehended, but not speaking English, they could draw nothing from him; but happening to name Wrexen, the searchers were immediately ordered thither. They found Mr. Smith in his chamber, and looking about, discovered a red cap which was known to

[45] See Gorton's *Topographical Dictionary* and Baine's *Lancashire*.
[46] Dodd copied his account from a manuscript then in his hands.
[47] *Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 238.

belong to Mr. Erle, and, as we may suppose, was left there by one of those concerned in the robbery. This was judged sufficient ground to suspect Mr. Smith, and not being able to give any satisfactory account by reason of his character, he was committed prisoner to Lancaster Castle, and at the next assizes was tried, condemned, and executed as an accomplice in the aforesaid fact.[48] Many severe reflections were made on the Catholics upon account of this unfortunate occurrence, which were increased by a certain pamphlet which charged Mr. Heton, the Superior of the Jesuits of Lancashire,[49] and Mr. Orton, Superior of the clergy in the said county, with being accessories to the robbery. But this particular was afterwards contradicted by the author of the pamphlet, who subscribes himself R. M. N. In his recantation, which I have read, he begs pardon of Almighty God, and of those two gentlemen, for defaming them upon the occasion mentioned. Most people lamented Mr. Smith's hard fate; but such were the circumstances of his person, his religion, and the humour of those times, that no favourable construction would be admitted. The particulars of this story I have not only read in a well-attested manuscript, but also received them by word of mouth from a gentleman who was well acquainted with Mr. Smith, and had a great opinion of him for his many excellent qualities."

In his notice of Father Barlow, O.S.B., the martyr,[50] Dodd again alludes to Father John Smith: "There is a tradition among the Catholics in Lancashire, that Mr. Barlow, before he suffered, foretold that he was to be the last that would die at Lancaster upon account of holy orders, which has hitherto been verified.[51] For though several priests have been condemned since at Lancaster, none have suffered except Mr. Smith, *alias* Harrison, who was maliciously indicted and taken off upon another account."

[48] That is, his character or position of a Catholic priest, bound under the sacred seal of the confessional. For we can readily imagine that the young gentlemen in question were actuated in their dangerous and unjustifiable assault upon the house of the "churlish" (as we believe A. Wood calls him) Puritan parson of Winwick, rather out of youthful bravado than for the mere purpose of plunder; and that one or more of the party, repenting of his fault, had been to Father Smith to make his sacramental confession, and had by accident left the worthy Rector's red night-cap behind him. The high character (as we shall see) that Father Smith bore forbids us to suppose that he was himself one of the party. His priestly character was no doubt the leading motive for the severe sentence.

[49] Father John Parker, *alias* Heton.

[50] *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 100.

[51] Father Edward Barlow, O.S.B., suffered for the faith on Friday, September 10, 1641 (See Challoner's *Missionary Priests*).

FATHER HETON, *alias* PARKER.

FATHER HETON, named above, was a native of Lancashire, born in the year 1601, entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on September 29, 1621, in the name of Parker, at the age of about twenty, and took the usual College oath on May 16 following. Having been ordained subdeacon and deacon in the month of December, 1625, but not being of the canonical age for the priesthood, and impatient of further delay in entering religion, he petitioned the Holy See for a dispensation from his College oath, and joined the novitiate of the Society at St. Andrew's in Rome, on August 29, 1626.

On entering the English College, Rome, he gave the following autobiographical account in reply to the usual students' interrogatories:

"1621. My true name is John Heton. I was twenty years of age the last feast of St. John the Baptist, and was born in my father's house at Heton in Lancashire, where I was brought up until my seventeenth year, with the exception of intervals during which I was sent from home to various schools.

"My parents are alive, but are both Protestants, and of high families, and my father, as many others are in England, was learned in the law. I have five brothers, of whom the eldest is a Protestant, the other four are Catholics. I have two sisters, Protestants; but on my mother's side nearly all are either Catholics or schismatics. Until I was sixteen, I studied my rudiments in various schools in Lancashire, and my humanity course for four years at St. Omer's College. I lived in heresy until I was sixteen, when I was converted to the Catholic faith by an uncle, named Laurence Scroop, of the Society of Jesus, and who now labours in England for the conversion of souls. My uncle sent me to St. Omer's College, where I was educated and supported at the expense of the same uncle, or some Catholic friends of his, without the knowledge of my parents."

Father Heton was promoted to the degree of a Professed Father on August 3, 1640, and was sent upon the English mission about 1633. In the year 1655 he was filling, for the second time, the office of Vice-Rector of the College of the Holy Apostles, and he had filled several other important offices in the Province. He died November 25, 1684, *æt.* 83. The Annual

Letters state that "he died most piously, *æt.* 80 [83], after an Apostolical life spent in assiduous labours, renowned for the many conversions to the faith he effected, and admirably filling various positions, sometimes as superior, sometimes as inferior, with the esteem both of externs and of his brethren. His seed planted in the mission, he watered for a lengthened period with abundant sweat, from whence no small fruit accrued in after years, and still remains to this day. He was a man venerated by all, whose memory is held in benediction."

A relative of Father Heton, probably his nephew, entered the English College, Rome, in 1645, with a view to the priesthood. In his replies to the usual interrogatories, he states: "1645. My name is John Heton, *alias* John Parker. I am son of Thomas Heton and Helen Ross, both dead. I was born in Northumberland, and was educated in the Catholic religion and learning in Lancashire until my twelfth year, and I afterwards studied with good success for about five years at St. Omer's.

"My parents are of the higher class. I have two brothers and one sister. I left England in my twelfth year, and have sought Rome for the purpose of being promoted to the priesthood."

The English College Diary says that he entered as an alumnus on June 18, 1645, and on account of bad health was sent back to England, March 16, 1647, having received minor orders.

FATHER HENRY CHALLONER, *alias* CHRISTOPHER ORMES.

Father Henry Challoner, a native of Lancashire, was born about 1639. After making his humanity course of studies at St. Omer's College, he passed to the English College, Rome, for his higher course, and entered it on October 17, 1659, about twenty years of age. On entering the College, he gave the following short account of himself in reply to the usual questions put to students:

"1659. My name is Henry Challoner. I am son of William and Anne Challoner, and was born at Garston, in the county of Lancaster. I was baptized in 1640, but by whom I do not know. I was brought up and educated partly at home, partly at Crosby, in Lancashire, partly at St. Omer's College, S.J. My family are plebeian, and on my father's side are poor and Catholics; on my mother's rich and heretics. I have no

brother and two sisters. I was always a Catholic. My friends have suffered severely on account of the Catholic faith, and patiently too. I made my humanity course of studies at St. Omer's College, and wish to enter the priesthood after my studies, and when Superiors think fit, and then to return to England to labour for the salvation of souls."

He entered the Novitiate of St. Andrea, at Rome, on May 2, 1660, and died at Liege, the theologate of the English Province, on April 28, 1673, at the early age of thirty-three. He was professor of philosophy at the time, and the Annual Letters of the College for that year state that he was the first of three Fathers who died the same year, "a truly religious man, most observant of the rules, an ardent lover of perfection, and possessing great power and tact in exciting his scholars to progress in their studies."

A convert of Father Challoner applied to enter the English College, Rome, in October, 1673, who says in his replies to the usual questions:

"My name is Edward Stockton. I was son of Thomas and Ursula Stockton, of Kiddington, Cheshire. I was converted to the Catholic faith by Father Ormes, in the year 1671; he is lately dead. My reasons for conversion arose from a conviction of the antiquity, the unity, the order, and the purity of the Catholic faith. I have studied at Trinity College, Dublin, where I took my B.A. degree before my conversion. I afterwards went to St. Omer's College, where I repeated my humanity course, and made one year's philosophy at Liege."

We do not find him mentioned in the Diary of the English College.

CHARLES TOWNELEY, ESQUIRE, OF TOWNELEY.

As historical facts of family interest, we notice the following incidents in the life of Mr. Charles Towneley, born in the year 1600; who was educated by the Fathers of the English Province, and died fighting for his King. Having made his usual course of humanity studies at St. Omer's College, S.J., he passed to the English College, Rome, for his higher course. The Diary of the College states that he entered as a convictor among the alumni on September 29, 1621, aged about twenty-one, in the name of William Holden, and left the College again on June 13, 1624.

On entering the latter College, he made the following autobiographical statement:

"1621. My name is Charles Towneley. I am son of Richard Towneley of Towneley, Esq., and am a little more than twenty years of age, and was born at my father's house Towneley, Lancashire, where I was brought up for thirteen or fourteen years, and then sent to St. Omer's College, and remained there for nearly two years. I then returned to England, and for about three years lived in a house of my father's in Lincolnshire, when I again returned to Belgium, and spent nearly a year at Louvain, and am now come from thence to Rome.

"My mother is of the family of Ashton of Lever, in the county of Lancaster.[52] My parents are Catholic. Their income is about £1,700 a year in rents. I have three brothers and one sister. My three uncles on my father's side are Catholics, except one; on my mother's side, five, all heretics. Of the rest of my relatives many are heretics, and but a few Catholics. I was always a Catholic."

He then states he desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state, if found fit and worthy by Superiors. He did not, however, enter that state, but returned to England; and we read in the *Catholic Apology* that Charles Towneley of Towneley, a gentleman volunteer of the royal party, lost his life at the battle of Marston Moor, July 2, 1644.

FATHER EDMUND NEVILLE, S.J.

In page 220, a short biography of this Father is given, gathered from the best materials then at hand. From information since furnished to the editor by the Rev. D. H. Haigh of Erdington, there is good reason to believe that this Father was really *de jure* the seventh Earl of Westmoreland, and great grandson to Ralph, the fourth Earl. After the death of Charles, the sixth Earl, in 1601, who had joined the Earl of Northumberland in the northern rising, and afterwards escaped into Flanders, the earldom was unsuccessfully claimed by Lord Abergavenny, (1604–5). It is suggested that it may have been upon the occasion of the death of Earl Charles, that Father Baldwin sent Edmund Neville back again to England to establish his right, and that this was the private advantage which he post-

[52] Probably Little Lever, near Bolton.

poned to the common good, alluded to in his autobiographical statement, that common good being the restoration of the earldom of Westmoreland for the protection of the poor Catholics of the north, whilst his private advantage was his desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

This view is corroborated by the further suggestion that Father Edmund Neville may be the person alluded to in the following extract from the Life of the celebrated Mary Ward, written by an intimate friend (Mary Poyntz or Wingfield Wigmore):[53] "That no trial might be wanting to the last year[54] of her conflict,[55] came to her acquaintance a nobleman and Catholic,[56] in virtue and qualities complete, far out of her thought (which was wholly on God), who sought her in marriage, but so liked and approved by all, as each one vehemently urged her, and above all her confessor,[57] so far as to say, were she a novice in any religious order, she would do God more service to come out and marry the party than to proceed; and particularly he resolving never to marry if she would not have him, nor did he, but became a religious man and a priest, and from that time the title went to heretics, so as by his absence the Catholics lost a great support."

[53] See a short notice of Mrs. Mary Ward in the biography of Father Roger Lee, page 459 (note).

[54] From the spring of 1605 to 1606.

[55] Her determination to be a Religious.

[56] "Said in other documents (which I have not) to be heir to the earldom of Westmoreland" (Rev. D. H. Haigh).

[57] "A Jesuit—I believe Father Richard Holtby" (Rev. D. H. Haigh).

APPENDIX.[1]

"*The Foot out of the Snare.*" *By John Gee, Master of Arts of Exon College in Oxford. London,* 1624.

(I.) *A Catalogue or Note of such English bookes (to the knowledge of which I could come) as have been reprinted, or dispersed by the priests and their agents in this kingdom, within these* 2 *years last past, or thereabouts.*

Imprimis, the Doway Bibles, that is, the Old Testament only, in 2 vols. with Notes, revised by Dr. Worthington,[2] and reprinted here in London. Sold for 40 shillings, wh. at an ordinary price might be afforded for 10.

The New Testament, translated by the Rhemists, and reprinted in quarto. Sold for 16 or 20 shillings, wh. might be afforded for a noble, or less.

The same Testament in English, lately printed in decimo sexto. Sold for 12 shillings, wh. might be well afforded for 4.

The Anker of Xtn. Doctrine, in 4 parts, written by Dr. Worthington. The 3 last parts printed in London, and sold by him at his lodging in Turnbull St. for 14 shillings, wh. might be afforded for 5 shillings.

The Protestant's Apologie, written by Brereby, reprinted and sold for 17 shillings, and might be afforded for 6 shillings or less.

St. Augustine's Confessions, translated by Tob. Matthew, and sold for 16 shillings, being but a little book in octavo, and might be afforded for 2s. 6d.

2 other books in octavo, lately written by Tob. Matthew, and sold very dear.

The Author and Substance of Protestant Religion, written by Smith, a priest, now in London, and sold for 6 shillings, and might be afforded for 12 pence.

Luther, his Life and Doctrine. A railing book, written by Lovell, a priest, who is at this present in London, sold for 8 shillings, worth 2 shillings.

An Antidote against the pestiferous writings of English sectaries, in 2 parts, written by D. Norice,[3] a priest, now resident in London. Sold for 8 shillings, might be afforded for 4 shillings.

The Guide of Faith, written by the same Author, and sold at an unreasonable rate.

The Pseudo-Scripturist, by the same Author. A book of some 12 sheets of paper, and sold for 5 shillings.

The Xtn. Vow, by the same Author. A book of ten sheets of paper, and sold for 2s. 6d.

[1] Referred to in page 74. [2] Father Thomas Worthington, S.J.
[3] Father Silvester Norris, S.J.

The lowd-lying Pamphlet, termed the Bp. of London's Legacy, written by Musket, a priest, and reprinted, with a Pref. of a new disguise. The book containing about 16 sheets, they squeezed from some Romish buyers, 6 or 7 shillings a piece. A dear price for a dirty lie ; yet I wish they that have any belief in it might pay dearer for it.

The Summary of Controversaries, written by Dr. Smith, sold as dear as the rest.

The New Religion no Religion, written by one Floud,[4] a priest, now in London. Sold at a high rate, and so are all the rest following.

The Sum of Xtn. Doctrine, written in Latin by Petrus Canisius, and transd. into English by Heigham, a priest, in London.

The true Xtn. Catholic, by the same Author.

The Life of St. Katharine of Sienna, by the same Author.

The Protestant's Consultation. A dangerous book, lately written by an unknown author.

Jesus, Maria, Joseph, lately come out of the press, printed in London, by Simon, a Carmelite, now in London.

2 or. books, written by the same Author, called the Way to find Ease, Rest, and Repose unto the soul.

Bellarmine's Steps in English.

His Art of Dying Well, in octavo.

The Exercise of a Xtn. Life, by S. B.

The Vocation of Bps., by Dr. Champney, now in London.

A Rich Cabinet full of Spiritual Jewels, by Tobie Matthew.

The Image of both Churches, by M. Pateson, now in London. A bitter and seditious book.

The Exposition of the Mass.

A Treatise of the Real Presence, by Goddard, a priest now in London.

The Love of the Soul, printed in London.

The Followers of Xt., by F. B.

Demands to Heretics, in 2 parts, by D. Bristow, reprinted.

St. Bede's Histy. of England, transd. into English.

M. Wadesworth's Contrition.

Cardinal Peron his Orations.

News from the Low Countries.

Histy. of Schism.

Auricular Confession.

Missale parvum pro sacerdotibus.

The Office of our Lady, or the Primer, 2 or 3 sorts of them lately printed with rubricks.

The Judge, by G. M.

The Right Way to God, by Pursell, an Irish monk, now in London.

6 Books full of marvellous piety and devotion, by G. P.

The Appendix, by D. Norrice.

A Defence of the Appendix, written by Mr. Sweet, a Jesuit, lying in Holborn.

An Answer to the "Fisher catched in his owne net." by the same Author. These three last books, containing but some 6 sheets of paper, either of them is sold by the Authors and their factors for 2 shillings or half a crown a piece.

Soliloquies, by R. T.

The Rosary of our Lady.

[4] Father John Floyd.

Meditations upon the Rosary.
An Exposition of the Rosary.
The Mysteries of the Rosary.
An Introduction to a Devout Life, by I. York, a Jesuit, now in London.
Miracles not yet ceased, by P. L. P. A faltlesse book.
The Key of Paradise.
A Heavenly Treasury of Comfortable Meditations, by Antho. Bat., a Frier, now in London.
The Word of Comfort, written upon occasion of the fall of the house at the Black Friers.
The Oncasons of Heresy, by O. A.
The Treasury of Chastity.
The Widow's Glass.
The Ecclesiastical Protestants Hist. by D. Smith.
The Grounds of the Old and New Religion.
The Hidden Manna.
The Wandering Saints.
The Little Memorial.
An Overthrow of the Protestant Pulpit-Babels.
The Unity of God's Church, by one Master Stevens, a Jesuit now in London.
Pointer's Meditations.
The Proof of Purgatory.
A Comfort against Tribulation.
Ledisme his Catechism, lately printed here in England.
The Reconcilement of the Dalmatian Bp.
The Pope's Power.
The Life of S. Bede.
A Treatise of Free-will, by D. Kellison, Rector of the College of Doway, and now in London.
The Sacrament of the Catholic Church, by F. S. P.
Davies his Catechism.
The Visibility of the Ch.
The Catholic Guide.
A Treatise agt. the Marriage of Priests, by Wilson, a Jesuit.
A Gag of the new Gospel.
A Second Gag.
The Honour of God, by Anthonie Clerke, an idle, frothy booke, by a braine-sicke man, a concealed Priest.
The Prelate and the Prince, a seditious book.
The Rules of Obedience, by G. A. P.
S. Peter's Keys, by Edmund Gill, Jesuit.
S. Augustine's Religion, written by Brerely, and reprinted.
The reformed Protestant, by Brerely. There was a printing-house suppresst about some 3 years since in Lancashire, where all Brerely his works, with many or. Popish Pamphlets, were printed.
The Virginal Vow, by F. S.
A Relation of the Death of the most illustrious Lord Signior Troilo Savelli, a Baron of Rome.
The Mirror of Women.
Meditations of the Passion.
A Dialogue betwixt our Saviour and the Saints.
Observations concerning the present affairs of Holland and the united Provinces, by *You know the hand.*
The Ingratitude of Elizabeth of England unto Philip of Spain.
The Spirit of Error, by D. Smith.

Meditations on our Saviour's Words on the Cross.
Every Saint's Prayer.
The Catholic's Crown.
The 3 Conversions, reprinted, written by F. Parsons.
Granadoe's Memorial.
Granadoe's Compendium.
Granadoe's Meditations, transl.
The Life and Death of Carl. Bellarmine.
Bellarmine, his Death and Burial.
The Shedding of Tears.
Parsons' Resolutions, reprinted 1623.
Sions Songs, or the melody of the Blessed.
An Epistle of Jesus to the Soul.
An Epistle of Comfort to the persecuted Catholics.
The Following of Xt.
The Life of Xt.
Puenta's Abridgement.
The Saints' Lives, translated of late by Kinsman.
S. Peter's Complaint and Mary Magdalen's Tears.
The Office of S. Benedict.
S. Ignatius' Life.
S. Teresa her Life.
S. Clare's Life.
S. Katharine of Bologna's Life.
S. Mary Magdalen's Pilgrimage.
The Spiritual Conflict.
Dowley's Catechism.
The Paradise of the Soul.
The Paradise of Delight.
Molina, of Mental Prayer.
Of the Excellency of the Baffe.
Of Perfection, by Pinel.
Of Communion, by the same Author.
Villacastine's Exercises.
Of Christian Works, by F. Borgia.
Contempt of the World.
The 4 Capuchins.
Treatise of Indulgences.
The Daily Practice.
The Enemies of God, by M. Barlow, a Priest, now in London.
The Holy Triumph.
The Prosperity of the Visible Ch.
The Manual of Prayers, reprinted.
A Watch-word, by F. Baker.
The Apologist, by Richard Conway.
A Treatise of the Invocation and Adoration of Saints, by Thos. Lee.
The Principles of Catholic Religion, by Richd. Stanuthurst.
Of the Conversion of Nations, of the Miracles, of the Martyrdoms, and of the Union of the Members of the Catholic Church, by Geo. Allanson, Jesuit.
A Treatise of True Zeal.
F. Drury his Reliques, somewhat found in his study after his death.
Flagellam Dei, or, A Sword for Contradictors: a ridiculous Pamphlet written by P. D. M. Coffin against an Epistle of D. Hall concerning the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons; mistaken in the former ed. for the Ansr. to D. Hall's book, intituled, The Honor of the Married Clergy.

Walsingham his search, in quarto.
Walpoole agt. D. Downham, of Anti-Xt.; for his Calendar, reprinted anno 1623.
Fitz-Herbert, of Policy and Religion, reprinted.
Treatise of Faith, by F. Percy.
A little new Pamphlet written agt. Sir Humfrey Lynde.

A certain notorious Jesuit lodging in a sanctuary not far from the Savoy, is himself a great merchant for the commodity of these Popish Pamphlets; and as I have heard some of his brethren say, he hath thriven well thereby, especially whiles he fished in untroubled waters. Myself have seen greater store of books in quires at his chamber then I ever behold in any stationer's warehouse about Pauls; he having 2 or 3 large rooms filled up with heaps in this kind to the very top.

(II). *Names of the Booksellers, &c.*

Henry Barber, in Holborne, once imprisoned on this occasion.
Ferdinand Ely, Little Brittain.
William Mann, Master Fisher's man.
Master Lovett, in Holborne.
Mrs. Fowler, Fetter Lane, tradeth much to St. Omer's.
,, Bullock, Fetter Lane.
Widow Douce, a famous dealer.
Vdell, in Gunpowder Alley.
Henry Owen, brother to that Owen who ript out his own bowells in the Tower, being imprisoned for the Gunpowder treason.[1]
May, in Shoe Lane.
Spanish John, commonly called the Devil's Factor, a transporter of gentlewomen beyond the seas to become nunnes.
Gubbins.
Thomas Andrewes (bookbinder).
Wm. Wrench.
Mother Truck, in Southwarke.
Richard Avery, Wood Streete.
Jerem. Jackson, neer Moorfields.
Bailey, in Holbourne.
Michael Franklin.
John Browne (Little Brittain).
Bulmer, Holbourne.
Peter Smith and his sonne; they both print and sell Popish bookes, and are verye audacious, pernicious fellowes. Their house was searched of late, and greate store of Worthington's bookes found there.

(III.) *Names of the Romish Priests and Jesuites now resident about the city of London.* 1623.

Old Father Bishop, the nominal Bishop of Chalcedon.
F. Overton his principall chaplaine.
Dr. Kellison, Rector of Eng. Coll. at Doway.
Dr. Worthington, the translator or corrector of the Doway Bibles and authour of *The Anker of Christian Doctrine.*

[1] This was the blessed martyr, Brother Nicholas Owen, S.J., who died upon the rack, his bowels bursting forth. The authorities, shocked at their own cruelty, gave out that he had destroyed himself, as above. See *Condition of Catholics.*

F. Collington, the Titular Archdeacon of London, lodging in St. Jones'. Theere hee keepes in commendam the Deanery of Chalcedon.
Dr. Wright, a rare ancient man. He lodgeth in White Friars.
Master William Wright, Jesuite, some time prisoner in the Tower, Treasurer for the Jesuites.
Dr. Norrice, one that hath written divers books of late, mentioned in the former Catalogue.
Dr. Smith, sen., sometimes of the Coll. of Rome, and author of divers pestilent bookes.
Dr. Smith, junr., authour of divers other bookes no less dangerous.
Richard Smith, Vicar-Generall of south parts of England.
Richard Broughton, V. G. of the north parts of England.
Edward Bennet, V. G. of the west parts of England.
F. Poulton } sonnes to that Poulton that made the booke of
„ Poulton } Statutes.
Dr. Champney, author of the booke called *The Vocation of Bishops.*
Dr. Bristowe, sometimes of the Coll. at Doway.
F. Blackfan, a Jesuite, an ancient man lodging in Drury Lane.
„ Sweet, a Jesuite, well knowne, lodging in the upper end of Holborne.
„ Muskett, a secular priest, lodging over against St. Andrew's Church in Holborn, a frequent preacher and one that hath much concourse of people to his chamber.
„ Fisher, a notorious Jesuite, lodging neere the Savoye.
„ Harvey, a very dangerous Jesuite.
„ Austin, a Jesuite, an aged man.
„ Boulton, a Jesuite.
„ Macham, a Jesuite, lodging neere the Custome House.
„ Barlowe, a Jesuite, about the Custom House.
„ Townsend, *alias* Ruckwood (brother to that Ruckwood who was executed at the Gun-powder-treason), a Jesuite, a little black fellow, very compt and gallant, lodging about the midst of Drury Lane, acquainted with collapsed ladies. I, meeting of late with a gentlewoman, Mistress A. B. a neere neighbour of his, was threatened by her to my face to have mine eyes scratched out for meaning her to be a collapsed lady, tho', in truth, I never intended her in particular.
„ Browne, a Jesuite, lodging in St. Martin's Lane.
„ Palmer } bothe Jesuites, lodging about Fleet Street, very
„ Palmer } rich in apparell: the one a flanting fellowe, useth to weare a scarlet cloake over a crimson satin sute.
„ Rivers } both Jesuites.
„ Rivers }
„ Latham, a Jesuite: he was sometime a bird in the stone cage at Lancaster.
„ Goddard, a Jesuite, lodging about Whitefryars.
„ Pateson, a Jesuit, lodging in Fetter Lane.
„ Hammershead, lodging in Whitefryars.
„ Armstrong, a Jesuite: one that insinuateth dangerously and hath seduced many.
„ Floud, a Jesuite, lying about Fleet Lane.
„ Floud, a sec. priest, lodging in the Strand.
„ Kirkman, a Jesuite, a Devons. man, whose right name, as I have heard, is Hart.

F. Anderton, a Jesuite, a Lancash. man, yet not the same Anderton who goeth by the name of Scroope.
„ Moore, a Jesuite.
„ Moore, a secular priest, kinsman to D. Moore the Popish physician.
„ Skinner, a Jesuite.
„ Simons, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets; his lodging is in the lower end of Holborn.
„ Low, a Jesuite, lodging against St. Andrewe's Church, Holborne.
„ Braddell.
„ Knox, a sec. priest, lodging neere the Savoy.
„ Shelley, a sec. priest.
„ Price, a sec. priest, who was long a prisoner in Newgate.
„ Tildesley.
„ Wilson, lodging about Bloomsbury, and one that escaped at the Blackfryers.
„ Hilton, a sec. priest, one that escaped at the same time.
„ Medcalfe, now lodging in Shoe Lane, a good companion, but not guilty of much learning. Hee is often deepe laden with liquor.
„ Richardson, a Benedictine frier, of great acquaintance about the Towne. He lodgeth at the further end of Grayes Inn Lane.
„ Root, a secular priest.
„ Hunt, a Carthusian frier, lodging in Holborne, an old man.
„ Conway, a Jesuite.
„ Sevens, a little man, a monke.
„ Wilde, a sec. priest.
„ Smith } Two sec. pts. besides the two J—tes of that name,
„ Smith } now resident in London.
„ Greene, lodging over against Northampton Stables.
„ Houghton, a sec. priest.
„ Southworth } Both secular priest.
„ Southworth }
„ Edmunds } The one, as I have heard, a Jesuite, the other
„ Edmunds } a Franciscan frier.
„ Melling, a secular priest lodging in Holborne.
„ Lovell, a sec. priest lodging in Holborne.
„ Towneley, do., lodging about the Strand.
„ Bonham *alias* Evison, a Jesuite lodging at Mr. Whiting's, in Fetter Lane.
„ Farmer, a Jesuite, prisoner in the Clink.
„ Mattocks.
„ Marshall, a sec. priest late come to towne.
„ Ward.
„ Greenway, a Jesuite.
„ Heath, a Jesuite.
„ Turner.
„ Price, Superior to the Benedictines.
„ Ployden, a Jesuite.
„ Holt.
„ Copley, sen., a Jesuite.
„ Copley, jun., one that hath newly taken Orders and come from beyond sea.
„ Falkner, a Jesuite.
„ Hart, a Jesuite.

F. Leak, the gentlewoman's confessor.
„ Blount.
„ Jackson *alias* Nelson, a sec. p—t., a ancient man.
„ Poulton.
„ Bacon, a sec. priest.
„ Gravener.
„ Ash, a Jesuite, an old man.
„ Worthington, a Jesuite, nephew to Dr. Worthington.
„ Jo. Bennet, a sec. priest.
„ Cannon, ditto.
„ Southcot, a Jesuite.
„ Mannock, a frier.
„ Lovat, brother of the three Popish goldsmiths of that name.
„ Fairclough, a Jesuite, born in London.
„ Curtice, a Jesuite, his brother a pewterer, a Papist in London, dwelling in Tower Street.
„ Curtice, another of that name, a Jesuite, brother of the former.
" Joseph Hames *alias* Harvey.
" Thos. Everard, a Jesuite.
„ Shepherde.
„ Blackston *alias* Ford.
„ Prescot, sometime of the Coll. of Rome.
„ Wainman.
„ Laithwait.
„ Reynolds.
„ Bangor, a dangerous Jesuite lodging about Westminster.
„ Harrington.
„ Davenport.
„ Allinson.
„ Thomas, an old man.
„ Dawson, a Jesuite.
„ Man, I mean not Fisher's man.
„ Hugan.
„ Porter, a Jesuite, lately come out of Lancashire.
„ Bunney, an Irishman.
„ Blackman, a Jesuite.
„ Stanley.
„ Maxfield, a sec. priest lodging in Holborne.
„ Simon Maxfield, a deacon, lodging in Fleet Street.
„ Gerard, a sec. priest, lodging about Westminster.
„ Hensworth, a sec. priest.
„ Davies, an old blind man, lodging about Holborne Conduit.
„ Bentley, I know not of what order.
„ Pursell, an Irishman, a monk, a young proude fellow.
„ Walsingham, *als.* Knot, lodging about the Custom House.
„ Brabant.
„ Linch, an Irishman.
„ Gerald, an Irishman.
„ Sherlock, an Irishman.
„ Stanihurst, an Irishman.
„ Carrig, an Irishman.
„ Howling, an Irishman.
„ Gowen, a sec. priest.
„ Chamberlaine, a sec. priest, lodging about the Blackfriars, a man of great employment, born about London.
„ Turpin.

F. Anniem, a Frenchman, but one that hath long lived in England, and insinuateth with some of our nation very dangerously.
„ Castle.
„ Jones, *als.* Hay, a Jesuite.
„ Jones, a secular priest.
„ Martin, *alias* Quarleys, a monk, a citizen's son of London.
„ Bastin, sometime Butler, of Exon Colledge, in Oxford; he was turned out of his place for cutting twenty pounds off from a brewer's score, and cozening the Colledge contrary to his oath.
„ Wood, a very dangerous fellow.
„ Bellingam.
„ Younge, an old man, a Jesuite.
„ Parkins.
„ Harris, very shallow pated; and yet some say he is a Jesuite, which I much wonder at.
„ Baldwin.
„ Conniers.
„ Coppinger, a Jesuite.
„ Woodson, a Jesuite.
„ Woodson, a secular priest.
„ York.
„ Brookes.
„ Arncot.
„ Hughes.
„ Galloway, a secular priest.
„ Scroop, a Jesuite.
„ Langtree.
„ Umpton, a Jesuite, an old short fellow.
„ Bold, a Benedictine monk.
„ Bradshaw, a Jesuite.
„ Line, an Augustine frier; hee now and then fetcheth a voyage into Buckinghamshire.
„ Doughty.
„ Jenison, a Jesuite.
„ Read.
„ Chambers.
„ Halsal, an Ignaro.
„ Jackson, a Franciscan frier, brother to Nelson.
„ North.
„ Cox, a secular priest, a curld-pated fellow.
„ Banister.
„ Rich, *alias* Walpole, a Jesuite.
„ Everard
„ Everard } Two of them Jesuites and once a secular priest.
„ Everard
„ Eveleigh, a drunken sot; hee was once taken by the watch of Holborne and laid by the heeles.
„ Powell.
„ Skinner, a Benedictine monk.
„ Edwards, sometimes of Exeter Coll., Oxon, &c.
„ John Worthington.
„ Peters *alias* Wilford.
„ White, a very dull fellow.
„ Stroude.
„ Jennings.

F. Altham, a Jesuite.
„ Bat.
„ Saunders.
„ Dyer.
„ Hushton, author of many loud lying pamphlets.
„ Clavil *alias* Lusher, a sec. priest.
„ Mompford, a Benedictine frier.
„ Bishop *alias* Brabant.
„ Rimmington.
„ Molyneaux.
„ Dade, a sec. priest.
„ Birket, disguised under the name and profession of a physician and chirurgeon.
„ Kinsman; hee and his brother translated the *Lives of the Saints.*
„ Durham.

Two priests lodging in Mistress Fowler's house in Fetter Lane; names I can't learn.

F. Ireland, sometime schoolmaster of Westminster.
„ Weston, a Jesuite.
„ Tomson, lodging in Shoe Lane; *alias* Tom Poet; his right name is Weatherhead, born in London, a drunken companion.
„ Lawrence.
„ Charles, a limping, hobbling priest.
„ Stone, a Jesuite.
„ Newton, lying behinde the Old Exchange.
„ Towers, an Augustin frier.
„ Lancaster, a very impudent fellow.
„ Radford, a Jesuite.
„ Stubley, a boon companion.
„ Montague, a Jesuite, a very poysonous fellow.
„ Banks, a Jesuite, lodging in Field Lane; borne in London. Deputy Banks his sonne.
„ Taylor, late confessor to the Friers in Ireland, and newly come into this kingdom.
„ Stanley, brother to Sir Wm. Stanley, Governor of Mechlin.
„ Ward, a rufster, with a rapier at his side.
„ Ashton *alias* Fisher; M. Muskett's brother.
„ Knot, a Jesuite, lately come from Rome.
„ Roe, a secular priest.
„ Farmer, a Jesuite, brother to the former Farmer.
„ Andrew Fryer, a sec. priest.
„ Turbeville, a sec. priest.
„ Bapthorpe.
„ Camp.
„ Colbeck.
„ Yeomans.
„ Tongue, *alias* Trollope.
„ Santon, *alias* Constance.
„ Danby.
„ Mordant, a Jesuite.
„ Charnock, a sec. priest.
„ Broughton.
„ Gregory.
„ Malleard.
„ Kenmon.

F. Gray.
„ Jervice Pole, a Jesuite.
„ Lenthall, a Jesuite.
Dr. Tempest.
F. Milford, a Jesuite.
„ Morris.
„ Cyprian.
„ Lockwood.
„ Alban Rowe, a sec. priest [a Benedictine and martyr. H. F.]
„ Joseph Mettam.
„ Blimstone, a sec. priest.
„ Pettinger, a Benedictine monke.
„ Atkins, a sec. priest.
„ Jones, a Jesuite.
„ Coaley, a Jesuite.
„ Buckley.
„ Geo. Hestone.
„ Arthur Read.
„ James Caudell.
„ Carre.
„ Vaughan.
„ Barrett, a secular priest.
„ Preston, a Benedictine monke, a man who hath written very laboriously, both in Latin and English, in defence of the oath of allegiance, and against the Pope's usurped power over kings, in the name of Roger Widdrington. Though hee be happy in his discourse, and potent in the nerves of his unanswerable arguments, yet hee was unhappy in his casual choice of that name, which, to conceale his owne, he chose to prefix upon his booke; the said Roger Widdrington being a man (as is thought) not much favoring those tenets, wherewith his name was unworthily honored. Sure I am that in the north parts where hee liveth, hee hath by one engine or another of late seduced great multitudes to Popery, and carryeth so strong a hand in that country, that hee that would oppose him should finde it a hard taske. As for Master Preston, hee is a man much hated and persecuted by the Jesuiticall faction, who would faine send him to Rome in a cloake-bag. I heere hee is a man of a weake and sickly disposition of body, not likely long to live. His physicians tell him that if hee change aire, the city and suburbs of Rome are very unwholesome for him, especially the stifling aire of that part of Rome which is neere the *Holy house*, or *Inquisition*. Many of the Liolists entice him to goe thither, that hee may be advanced by the *Pope's holiness*, like the Archbishop of Spoleto, who is now *miserorum miserrimus*, and findeth what it is to trust unreconcilable Rome.

These be all the birds of this feather which have come to my eyes or knowledge by name as residing in or resorting to this city. Yet above four tymes so many there are that overspread our thickets through England, as appeareth by the empty nests beyond the sea, from whence they have flown by shoales of late. I meane the Seminary Colleges which have deeply disgorged by severall missions of them, and also is gathered by particular computation of their divided troops: whereas in one shire, where I have abode some tyme, there are reputed to nestle almost three hundred of

this broode. Though they be heere set downe by one name, they are not unfurnished of divers other names, which they change at pleasure as oft as gallants do their suites. Yet sometymes they double-line themselves with many names at once.

The number of these Romish is 261.

A Catalogue of the names of such young women as to this author's knowledge have been within two or three yeares last past transported to the nunneries beyond the seas.

Mrs. Ann Manfield.
„ Anderton.
„ Parker.
„ Ann Gray.
„ Talbot.
„ Linsell.
„ Sydnam.
„ Percye.
„ Gerard.
„ Floud.
„ Ashton.
„ Griffin.
„ Halsall.
„ Blimstone.
Jane Roe.
Mrs. Eveleigh.
„ Worthington.
Elizabeth Lusher.
Bridget Lee, a kitching maide, some tyme dwelling at the upper end of Holborne.
Mrs. Molineux.
„ Ingram.
„ Webb.
Dorothy Stampe.
Mrs. Ireland.
„ Blackstone.
„ Elizabeth Powell, of Holborne.
„ Ruckwood.
„ Latham.
„ Fortescue.
„ Winchcomb.
„ Towneley.
„ Towneley.
„ Turner.
„ Smith.
„ Jones.
„ Bishop.
„ Owen.
„ Clifton.
Sarah Brewer.
Grace Wire.
Mrs. Atkins.
„ Drury.
„ Stanley.
„ Sanders.
„ Conniers.
„ Abbington.

(IV.) *A Catalogue of such Popish Physicians in and about the city of London, as the Author either knoweth, or by good information heareth of.*

D. Moore, a man much employed and insinuating with great persons in our State. His abode is in St. Brydes, at Master Hickes the apothecary.
D. Fryer, senior, *Nomine et re fraterculus.*
D. Fryer, junior. Hee agreeth with his brother in Popery, though in other respects they differ.
D. Cademan, a faire-conditioned man, some time of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge.
D. Floud. Not hee of the Colledge of that name, but one that liveth in Fleet Street.
D. Palmer, of the Colledge, much suspected.
D. Lodge, dwelling on Lambert Hill.
D. Baldwine, in Holbourne.
D. Price, in Chancery Lane, one that lived many years at Bruxels and at Rome: whilst he was at Bruxels he was called by the name of John Jesuite. He is a man of very ill behaviour.

D. Hawkins, in Charter-house Court.
D. Web, in the Old Bayly. Hee pretendeth to teach a new gayne way to learne languages, and by this occasion may inveigle disciples.
D. Gifford, dwelling neere without Ludgate in the little alley.
D. Gifford, in Mugwell Street, suspected.
D. Hinchlowe, neere without Temple Barre.
D. Eglestone, a Scottish man in Noble Street; one that hath made great challenges to dispute with Protestants.
M. Prugeon, in Silver Street, a candidate of the Colledge. He put up his grace of late for Doctor in the University of Cambridge; but oath there to be taken doth slack his proceeding.
M. Waldron, in Holbourne.
D. Reade, a doctor of Padua, lodging in Holbourne, or Bloomsbury. Not hee that is of the Colledge of that name, who is a religious gentleman, and learned in his profession.
D. Edwarden, lately come to practise in the city.
M. Atherton, in Whitefriers.
D. Inquisoto, an Italian.
D. Lucatelli, a mountebank, lodging without Temple Bar.
M. Covert, an Empericall man in Holbourne.
M. Sharpley, another such.
M. Dice, who sayeth hee is a Doctour. *Vix credo.* Yet a little learning might serve, if he had his proceedings from Padua.
Monsieur, a French doctor lurking about the Strand. Hee sometimes goes to heare a Masse near the Savoy.

Whether these, or any of them, be allowed by the approbation and authority of the Colledge of Physicians, I know not. But sure it is that those that take their degrees publicklye in Popish Universities beyond the seas, doe take a solemne oath of obedience to the Pope; and it is vehemently suspected that some of these have a private facultie and power from the See of Rome, to exercise the authoritie of Romish priests in reconciling or absolving their patients *in articulo mortis*, upon point of death, in great danger.

Besides these, there are other physicians not unsuspected, and there be divers surgeons and apothecaries known to bee recusants, of whom notice may well be taken.

Bacon
Hickes
Bridges
Hen. Lusher } Popish apothecaries in Fleet Street.
Robert Vawdrey, on Snow Hill.
M. Masses, neere Newgate
M. Sylvester Plunket, in Holbourne } Chirurgions.
M. Watson, in Holbourne

The rasor-chirurgions,[5] very many of them Popish, though altogether illiterate, have been of late very presumptuous, and take on them to administer physic, by means whereof many men's lives have been endangered: *ne sutor ultra crepidam.*

[5] Barbers.

ALPHABETICAL INDEX.

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Vol. III.

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