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THE  
LONDON CHARTERHOUSE  
*ITS MONKS AND ITS MARTYRS*



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# THE LONDON CHARTERHOUSE

*ITS MONKS AND ITS MARTYRS*

WITH A SHORT ACCOUNT OF  
THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIANS AFTER THE  
DISSOLUTION

BY  
DOM LAWRENCE HENDRIKS

MONK OF ST. HUGH'S CHARTERHOUSE, SUSSEX



LONDON  
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Fr. ANSELMUS MARIA,

*Prior Cartusiae,*

*Minister Generalis Ordinis.*

Die 12<sup>a</sup> Novembris, 1888.

## P R E F A C E.



IN the present work it is intended to give a connected and fairly detailed history of the London Charterhouse. The situation of the Charterhouse in the midst of the busy centre of the commercial world, the existence even to-day of a considerable portion of the ancient buildings, the peculiar life its inmates used to lead, and the troubles that befell them in the sixteenth century, all tend to render the subject interesting. Other spots in the City are comparatively quiet, Austin Friars for instance, but none so quiet as the precincts of the Charterhouse. There are other monastic remains in the City, but none so considerable as those of the Charterhouse. Of Carthusian life, indeed, nothing can be found in the London of to-day ; but the Order to which the monks of the Charterhouse belonged is still in existence, and has lately returned to England with the same rule, the same habit, and the same spirit

as in the days of old. As to the troubles of the sixteenth century, there is certainly no monastic establishment in London of which so much is recorded.

Though avowing Catholic principles, we trust to be found impartial from an historical point of view; for our object is to place before our readers all that is worthy to be recorded of the monks of the Charterhouse, neither exaggerating the virtues and good deeds of the best, nor hiding the delinquencies of the worst. The short account of the English Carthusians since the dissolution will, we think, be new to almost all our readers.

As regards the sources of information, the references given throughout the book would be almost enough; yet it may be worth while to note that the works on the Charterhouse itself which are mentioned in our pages are very little known beyond the somewhat narrow circle of Protestant "Carthusians," or Charterhouse boys. To these works we are indebted for most of the particulars regarding Thomas Sutton and his institution, and to them we must refer our readers for more minute details of the rather uneventful history of the Charterhouse as an almshouse and a public school. Smythe's *Historical Account*, published in 1808 and now very rare, is

by far the best of these works, and it has proved useful in the compilation of the history of the Charterhouse, even when it was inhabited by those from whom it derives its name.

We have endeavoured to give the documents and letters with all possible accuracy. It has, however, been deemed advisable to modernize the spelling.

We are indebted to several persons, both within and without the Carthusian Order, for aid in the collection of materials. Grateful thanks are especially due to the Rev. Mother Superior and one of the Sisters of the English Convent at Bruges, who supplied us with the extracts from Father Long's *Notitia Cartusianorum*; and to Mr. C. M. Berington, who has presented to our Order all that belonged to his relative, Father Williams, the last English Prior, including the seal of Sheen Anglorum; but above all to the Rev. John Morris, S.J., who, with his well-known zeal for all that concerns the English Martyrs, has helped us very considerably, and has rendered the work less imperfect than it otherwise would have been.

The photoprint illustrations will, it is hoped, be deemed a valuable addition to the work, for the pictures of which they are faithful reproductions are

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of historical as well as of artistic worth. That in six compartments (No. II. in the List of Illustrations) is the most ancient. The original, painted on wood, is still preserved at the Grande Chartreuse, and under it is the curious inscription given on page 350 of this volume. Three others (Nos. III., V., and VII. in list) are from paintings by Sanchez Cotan, a Carthusian lay brother, who died at Granada in 1627. According to the traditions of Granada, Brother Cotan was of English extraction. His pictures are remarkably accurate as to facts, and perhaps they are not unworthy of the attention of artists. The sketch by Mignard, which forms the frontispiece, and the fresco at the Charterhouse of Florence, will speak for themselves.

The plan of the London Charterhouse, especially prepared for this book, is the work of Mr. R. Herbert Carpenter, of 4, Regent Street, London. Having been educated in the Charterhouse, this experienced architect takes a lively interest in the buildings.

L. H.

ST. HUGH'S CHARTERHOUSE,  
*Ash Wednesday, 1889.*

## THE AUTHOR'S PROTESTATION.



IN obedience to the decrees of Pope Urban VIII., the author of *The London Charterhouse* hereby declares that when, in the course of this work, any miracle, vision, or event beyond the ordinary course of nature is recorded, it rests on purely human authority ; and if he has given the title of Saint, Blessed, or the like to any one not yet canonized or declared Blessed, it is far from his intention to anticipate the judgment of the Holy Apostolic See. In these, and in all other respects, this history is humbly and devoutly submitted to the correction of the same Holy See.



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PART THE FIRST.

*FOUNDATION AND PROSPERITY.*



THE  
LONDON CHARTERHOUSE:  
ITS MONKS AND ITS MARTYRS.



CHAPTER I.

CHARTERHOUSE—ST. BRUNO—CARTHUSIAN MONASTERIES IN  
ENGLAND, IRELAND, AND SCOTLAND.

THE word Charterhouse is simply a corruption of *Chartreuse*, the name of a rugged mountain range near Grenoble in France, where, in the year 1084, the Carthusian Order was founded. This modification of the name according to the vernacular of the country in which the monastery is situated is not peculiar to England. We find it everywhere; though sometimes the new word seems to be derived from the Latin form *Cartusia*, and not, as here in England, directly from the French. Thus, while in France all the monasteries of the Order are called *Chartreuse*, in Italy we find them under the name of *Certosa*; in Germany, again, their distinguishing title is *Karthause*; in Spain it is *Cartuja*; in Holland they are styled *Karhuisklooster*, and in England

Charterhouse. The mother-house in the mountains is called *La Grande Chartreuse*, and its Prior is the Superior General of the whole Order. There, too, the annual General Chapter is held for the transaction of the business of the Order.

There is here no need to describe the wild mountain scenery of the Grande Chartreuse, and the snow-capped peaks whose summits seem to touch the sky; for our object is to tell with Carthusian simplicity the story of a monastery which cannot boast of such romantic surroundings. A few words may, however, be said of St. Bruno, the founder of our Order; for it is in the founder's life that the true spirit of a religious institution should be sought.

St. Bruno was born at Cologne about the year 1035. Though a German by birth, and a member of the noble family of Hartenfaust, our Saint is called by his contemporaries "Bruno the Frenchman;" for he spent the greater part of his life in France, and in that country he laid the foundations of the Carthusian Order.

Bruno's parents wishing their child to be educated in a manner worthy of his natural gifts and early virtues—for he was intelligent, studious, and pious—sent him to the Collegiate School of St. Cunibert's at Cologne. Later he studied with great success in the celebrated schools of Rheims, and afterwards became director of the studies there.

While still young he was made a Canon of Rheims Cathedral, and eventually he was Chancellor of the diocese.

Many learned prelates and religious superiors of the age speak of it as an honour and a happiness that they had been Bruno's pupils. Rangier, Archdeacon of St. Paul's, London, and afterwards Cardinal Archbishop of Reggio in Calabria, was one of his students. But the most illustrious of all was Eudes de Châtillon, who became Prior of the famous monastery of Cluny, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and finally sat in St. Peter's chair under the name of Urban II. He is now honoured with the title of Blessed. Thus our Saint "shone like a bright star in the schools of Rheims, spreading its lustre throughout France, and reaching even into many other countries far away."

Such success did not satisfy the heart of St. Bruno. He felt in the depths of his soul a craving for solitude and silence in order to live more intimately united with God. He wanted to forget, and to be forgotten by, the creature, in order that he might be occupied exclusively, if possible, in the contemplation of the Creator. He feared, moreover, that temporal prosperity would rob him of his eternal reward. These were the beginnings of Bruno's vocation to become the founder of the Carthusian Order, and the restorer of the hermitical life led by the ancient monks of Egypt, wisely

moderated and shorn of its dangers by a mixture of the cenobitic element of later days.

At the end of 1083, the clergy of Rheims were called upon to elect a new Archbishop, the see having become vacant by the deposition of the unworthy Archbishop Manasses I., who had got possession of it by simony. Our Saint seemed the most likely to be chosen. He saw that it was time to forsake the world, or else to abandon for ever the idea of solitude and silence. He therefore left Rheims and went to the monastery of Molèsme, not with the intention of becoming a Benedictine, but simply to seek advice from St. Robert, who was the Abbot there.

Not long after, seven strangers arrived at Grenoble, and, prostrating themselves at the feet of the Bishop, St. Hugh, begged to be allowed to dwell together in some desert place within the limits of his diocese. The holy Bishop received them with joy. The previous night, in a vision, he had seen seven stars fall down at his feet, and then pursue their course over the rugged mountains, until they came to a place in the desert of Chartreuse, where God Himself was preparing for them a habitation. The seven unknown travellers prostrate before him, presenting their strange petition, interpreted for him his dream; and he saw that it was God's will that they should find in his diocese their wished-for repose.

St. Hugh led Bruno and his six companions to the well-nigh uninhabitable mountains of Chartreuse. The locality suited them, so they stayed there, and built a chapel and cells. Two chapels, the one dedicated to Our Lady, the other to St. Bruno, now mark the site of this first Carthusian monastery. The present Grande Chartreuse is somewhat lower down the mountain. Thus the Carthusian Order sprang into existence in the wilderness from which it derives its name; and there it has remained, except during short intervals of persecution, from that day to this. The founder, however, was not destined, as he had hoped, to spend the remainder of his life in contemplation. Only six short years elapsed, and orders came from the only one on earth whose authority could bring St. Bruno from his desert. This was his former pupil, the Sovereign Pontiff, Blessed Urban II., who summoned him to Rome *ad Sedis Apostolicæ servitium*.

After aiding the Holy Father in the preparation of some important decisions, he was offered the archbishopric of Reggio. He refused this honour; and, being unable to return to the Grande Chartreuse, he obtained leave to retire into the desert of Calabria, where he founded another monastery; and there, on the 6th of October, 1101, surrounded by his brethren, St. Bruno fell asleep in Our Lord.

A lay brother was sent out to publish "Maistre Bruno's" death wherever he was known, as was

customary in the twelfth century. He carried with him a roll of parchment to receive the testimonies of the friends of the deceased, with promises of Masses and prayers for his repose. Many of the lines written on this great scroll are still extant; and they show us how widespread his fame was, both for learning and for virtue. The messenger even came to England, and visited Canterbury, Lincoln, York, Beverley, Malmesbury, and other churches and monasteries. Amongst the compliments thus paid to our holy founder by his contemporaries, we find him styled, "the wisest of his age," "deeply read in the Fathers," "full of the Holy Ghost," "light of the churches," "doctor of doctors," "the glory of France."<sup>1</sup>

The foundations of the Order in England were, briefly, as follows :—

The Charterhouse of Witham, on the borders of Selwood Forest, was the first. It was founded by King Henry II., in fulfilment of a vow made at the tomb of St. Thomas of Canterbury on the occasion of his memorable penance.<sup>2</sup> The correct date of this foundation is, we believe, 1178, though Harpsfield,

<sup>1</sup> *Tituli funebres, Acta Sanctorum*, vol. li. p. 756. A complete life of St. Bruno has never been published in English. Any reader who wishes to know more about our founder and his writings will find much information in *Acta Sanctorum*, vol. li. ; *Patrologia Lat.* (Migne), vols. clii. cliii. ; and *Annales Ord. Cart.* (Le Couteulx), vol. i. (Montreuil-sur-Mer, 1887).

<sup>2</sup> Harpsfield, *Hist. Eccl. Angl.*, *Sæc.* xii. c. 24.



Godwin, and Dugdale give 1181. The latter date would allow too little time for the work of St. Hugh of Lincoln, for it is certain that he became Bishop in 1186, and also that he was not the first, but the third Prior of Witham.

Henry, in the fervour of his repentance, had undertaken to establish the monastery. Though he did not break his word, he was anything but liberal with regard to the endowment of his foundation. Neither the wants of the religious nor the due performance of the Divine Office were properly provided for; and St. Hugh, on being appointed Prior, found the monks living in wattled huts for cells, and unable through poverty to build either church or cloister. The Saint reminded the king of his duty towards the Carthusians of Witham. He had the courage of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and God gave success to his undertakings. Thus he became in reality the father of the English province of our Order. But we cannot dwell upon the life and work of St. Hugh, for we must be brief on all that does not immediately concern the Charterhouse of London.

The Witham Charterhouse flourished until its suppression under Henry VIII.; after which the site was granted to Ralph Hopton, and subsequently passed through various hands. The lay brothers' chapel is now the Protestant parish church.

The second English Charterhouse was at Hinton, in Somersetshire, still called Hinton Charterhouse. It was named *Locus Dei*. This foundation was begun by Earl William Longespée at Hegthorp, in Gloucestershire, in 1222; but, the place being found unsuitable for the purpose, it was transferred to Hinton in 1227. The pious Ela, Countess of Salisbury, widow of Earl Longespée, was the foundress.<sup>1</sup> The privileges of this Charterhouse were confirmed by King Henry III., and afterwards by Pope Innocent IV.

The Irish Charterhouse is the next in chronological order. Its situation and its founder are both unknown. It seems to have been simply an unsuccessful attempt to establish the Order in Ireland. It is said to have lasted about forty years; but all that we know for certain is its suppression by order of the General Chapter of 1321. The monks were transferred to various houses.

In 1343 Nicholas de Cantelupe founded the Charterhouse of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire. Dugdale tells us that the founder's grandfather, who was uncle to St. Thomas of Hereford, married Eustachia, sole heiress of Hugh Fitz-Ralph, Lord

<sup>1</sup> The Countess Ela also founded a convent for Augustinian nuns. It was known as Lacock Abbey, Wiltshire, and was dedicated to God under the invocation of Our Lady and St. Bernard. Ela eventually became Abbess of this convent, and died there in 1263. Interesting ruins of both of the countess's foundations are still standing.

of Gresley. Thus the estate of Gresley descended to Nicholas, and upon it he founded the monastery. This benefactor of our Order distinguished himself as a brave soldier in Scotland and in Flanders. He also fought at Créci. The ruins of his foundation at Beauvale are not very considerable.

The next in order is the Charterhouse with whose history we are especially occupied. Of this nothing need be said in the present chapter.

In 1378 Michael de la Pole, afterwards Earl of Suffolk and Lord Chancellor of England, founded a Carthusian monastery at Hull. It was dedicated to St. Michael, the founder's patron. It stood in the fields on the north side of the town of Hull, and the place having since been built upon, no vestige of it remains. Two of the martyrs of London spent the last year of their lives here.<sup>1</sup>

St. Anne's, near Coventry, had for founder William Lord Zouche of Haryngworth. King Richard II. laid the foundation-stone and became a great benefactor of the monastery. The royal charter is dated 1381. This convent was founded at the request of "good Queen Anne," wife of Richard II., and, as Morozzo observes,<sup>2</sup> another Queen Anne, who does not deserve the same epithet, was the cause of its destruction. The remains of the build-

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, part ii., chap. vii.

<sup>2</sup> *Theatrum Chronologicum Sacri Cartusiensis Ordinis* (Turin, 1681), p. 308.

ings are trifling, though the dwelling-house that occupies the site is still called the Charterhouse.

There was also a short-lived foundation omitted by Dugdale, but mentioned by Carthusian writers.<sup>1</sup> It was at Totnes, in Devonshire, where, in 1383 or thereabouts, William de la Zouche changed a small Benedictine priory into a Carthusian monastery. Only three years later it was returned to the Benedictines; so that it can scarcely be looked upon as one of the old English Charterhouses.

The Charterhouse of the Visitation of Our Lady, near Eppeworth, in the Isle of Axholme, was founded in 1397 by Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, subsequently Duke of Norfolk and Earl Marshal of England. It is sometimes called "the priory in the wood." Following the reports of the General Chapter of the Order, we shall call it the Charterhouse of Axholme. The buildings have well-nigh disappeared. A farmhouse has been erected on some of the ancient foundations, and the remains of an archway are still to be seen.

It may be worth while mentioning that a very special favour was bestowed upon the Charterhouse of Axholme by his Holiness Pope Boniface IX., who granted an indulgence similar to that of the Portiuncula to all who, having fulfilled the other

<sup>1</sup> Shwengel, *Propago Sacri Ordinis Cartusiensis; De prov. Angliæ* (MS. Brit. Mus.); the Carthusian map and elsewhere.

conditions, should visit Our Lady's Chapel there on the feast of her Visitation.<sup>1</sup>

Next to the London monastery, perhaps the best known of the Charterhouses is that of Mount Grace, in Yorkshire. It was founded in 1397 by Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, afterwards Duke of Surrey and Earl Marshal of England.

After the Dissolution this house passed through various hands, but it has never been pulled down. The great cloister with its fourteen cells, the church with its double choir, and some other monastic buildings are still clearly defined, though of course they are sadly out of repair.

A small chapel which stood on the hill just behind the monastery has almost disappeared. This little sanctuary was a place of secret nocturnal pilgrimage during the reign of James I. At length it became so notorious that the Ecclesiastical Commissioners thought proper to issue an order for the suppression of "suche popishe, idle, and superstitious pilgrimages and like vanyties."<sup>2</sup>

The last of the English Charterhouses was that of Jesus of Bethlehem, on the banks of the Thames at Sheen. It was also the last to be finally suppressed. The foundation charter is dated the 1st of April, 1414, and the founder was King Henry V.

<sup>1</sup> The instrument is in the Augmentation Office, London.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Mount Grace*, by Mr. Wm. Brown, reprinted from the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*.

Being close to the royal palace of King's Sheen, now Richmond,<sup>1</sup> this monastery became the wealthiest of all the English Charterhouses. It was also the largest. The Great Cloister contained forty cells. It is noted also for having been the temporary abode of several persons of distinction; amongst others, Cardinal Pole, who, when a youth, spent two years there in study and retirement.

The mention of one more monastery completes the list of the establishments of our Order in the British Isles, the Charterhouse of the Vale of Virtues, near Perth. Like Sheen, it was a royal foundation, and it was built in a manner worthy of its founder, King James I. of Scotland, "rearing its grey head over the ancient town, among the rich pastures of the valley of the Tay, and beside that noblest of Scottish streams."<sup>2</sup> The monastery was founded in 1429; and on the 20th of February, 1437, the royal founder was murdered within its precincts, and was buried in the choir.

In 1559 John Knox so excited the people of Perth, that, after having partly destroyed the cathedral, they demolished the Charterhouse.

<sup>1</sup> Henry VII. changed the name of King's Sheen into Richmond.

<sup>2</sup> Mackenzie Walcott's *Scoti. Monasticon*, quoting Norton.

## CHAPTER II.

THE SITE—SIR WALTER DE MANNY—BISHOP MICHAEL DE NORTH-  
BURGH—THE MONASTERY.

THE site of the London Charterhouse, just under the city walls, seems, at first sight, very ill chosen ; and in order to account for it we must go back to the dreadful events of the years 1348-49, when the Black Death carried hundreds of thousands to an untimely grave. In August, 1348, this terrible plague made its appearance in England. Beginning its ravages in Dorsetshire, it took its deadly course through Devonshire, Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire, and in November it reached London. The city was badly drained ; the streets were narrow, and both fresh air and sunshine were almost excluded by the projecting upper stories of the houses. Hence it was a suitable field for the Black Death. So great, indeed, was the mortality that there remained scarcely enough living to bury the dead. All the churchyards were quickly filled up, and thousands of bodies were thrown into common graves in the open fields outside the town.

Ralph Stratford, Bishop of London, wishing to put a stop to these burials in unconsecrated ground, purchased a piece of land just outside the city wall at West Smithfield, and, having enclosed it, he consecrated it for the interment of the victims of the plague. He built a mortuary chapel, and called the place Pardon Churchyard and Chapel.<sup>1</sup>

The number of deaths still increasing, it was found necessary to enlarge the burial-ground, and Sir Walter de Manny bought thirteen acres and one rod of land adjoining the piece already consecrated by Bishop Stratford. This property, called the Spital Croft, because it belonged to the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Spital, was consecrated as an addition to Pardon Churchyard. The cemetery was subsequently known as New Church Hawe, though the Bishop's portion seems to have retained its former name of Pardon Churchyard. Ere the Black Death had finished its ravages, upwards of fifty thousand bodies had been buried on this spot.<sup>2</sup> Later on, it was used for the interment of poor people and of those executed for felony.

<sup>1</sup> Steven's *Continuation of the Monasticon*, quoting Stow.

<sup>2</sup> Stow, in his *Survey of London*, mentions a stone cross in the cemetery bearing the following inscription:—

“An. Dom. M.CCC.XL.IX.

“Regnante magnâ Pestilentîâ consecratum fuit hoc Cœmeterium, in quo et infra septa præsentis Monasterii sepulta fuerunt mortuorum corpora plusquam quinquaginta millia; præter alia multa ab hinc usque ad præsens; quorum animabus propitietur Deus. Amen.”

Sir Walter de Manny was not content with providing a resting-place for the bodies of the departed; he was also mindful of the welfare of their souls. He therefore built a chapel in his portion of the churchyard, and endowed it for the celebration of Masses for the repose of the thousands who were buried there.

This land was destined, twenty-three years later, to become the site of the London Charterhouse. This was owing, in a great measure, to the charity of Bishop Stratford's successor, Michael de Northburgh,<sup>1</sup> though Sir Walter de Manny has always been considered the chief founder of the monastery. A word about Sir Walter may not be uninteresting.

"The name of Sir Walter Manny," writes Beltz,<sup>2</sup> "associated with all that is bright and pleasing in the knightly character, revives with talismanic power the feats of prowess, combats of generosity, examples of self-devotion and loyalty of heart, exhibited by the *preux chevaliers* of his time, and for which none more than that hero was pre-eminently distinguished." His character and some of the particulars of his eventful life have been recorded by his contemporary Froissart. We may run rapidly through the most striking incidents.

Sir Walter was born at Valenciennes. His

<sup>1</sup> Godwin calls him Northbrook (*De Præsulibus Angliæ*, ed. 1743, p. 185).

<sup>2</sup> *Memorials of the Order of the Garter.*

father, who was a knight of Hainault, had the misfortune to inflict a mortal wound upon a young Gascon of noble family, while fighting in a tournament at Cambray. He was thrown into prison; but after some time he was set at liberty, on condition that he would make a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. On his homeward journey he was murdered by some of the Gascon's relatives, near the town of La Réole, and was buried in a little chapel close by. Many years later, Sir Walter offered a reward of a hundred crowns to the discoverer of his father's tomb. An old man happened to remember where the knight's body had been laid, and he conducted Sir Walter to the spot. A Latin inscription corroborated the old man's statement, and he received the reward. Sir Walter disinterred his father's remains and removed them to Valenciennes, where they found a more honourable sepulchre in the choir of the Franciscan church.

In 1327 Walter de Manny was one of the retinue of Philippa of Hainault on her journey to London. Thus he gained admission into the English court, where he soon attracted the attention of Edward III., who allowed him to accompany him in the French and Scottish expeditions. He always distinguished himself amongst the foremost of the English knights. In 1331 the king knighted him, and in the following year he was made governor of Merioneth and Harlegh Castle. In 1337 we find him fighting under

the Earl of Derby against the Flemings; and in 1339, when war was declared against the King of France, he was the first in the field. He is said to have outstripped all his fellow knights at Sluys; and all fought bravely on that memorable day. He also distinguished himself on several other occasions.<sup>1</sup>

In 1347 Sir Walter was summoned to Parliament as a baron of the realm; and eight years after, he was admitted to the order of the Garter.

His wife, Margaret de Brotherton, granddaughter of Edward I., bore him a son and a daughter. Thomas, the former, was drowned in a well at Deptford; and the latter, whose name was Anne, became the wife of Lord Hastings, Earl of Pembroke.<sup>2</sup>

Sir Walter de Manny continued to enjoy the royal favour, and was justly honoured and respected by all who knew him, until his death, which took place in 1372. His funeral and his will, forming a part of the history of the London Charterhouse, will be spoken of in another chapter.

Less is known of our other founder, Bishop Michael de Northburgh. He was a Dominican friar, and became chaplain to King Edward III. He appears to have accompanied his royal master in his foreign wars, and it is probable that he and Sir Walter de Manny were on terms of

<sup>1</sup> Froissart, 70, 71, 79; Lingard, vol. iii. p. 64; Beltz' *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> He became a benefactor of the Charterhouse. *Infra*, p. 44.

intimacy. Perhaps they visited a Charterhouse together. Be that as it may, the good Dominican was certainly aware of Sir Walter's affection for our Order; for his will with regard to the foundation could not have taken effect without the knight's co-operation. In 1355 De Northburgh became Bishop of London, and in 1361 he died.

The first mention of the Charterhouse was in the Bishop's will, by which he bequeathed the sum of two thousand pounds for the founding, building, and furnishing of a Carthusian monastery. Two thousand pounds was a large sum in those days. He also left some sacred vessels, a silver holy-water stoop, and a silver bell to the future monastery.

Our founders were doubtless fully aware of the assiduity of the Carthusians in praying for the faithful departed, which made the Charterhouse a foundation particularly well suited to the spot where so many thousands lay buried—so many thousands who had been hurried into eternity with hardly a moment to prepare themselves, and deprived of the last rites of the Church.

In 1370 the Carthusian Order took possession of the monastery and appointed a Rector,<sup>1</sup> who, when the buildings were completed, became the first Prior. We shall speak of him hereafter. The royal licence<sup>2</sup> for the foundation was not granted until

<sup>1</sup> Report of General Chapter, 1370.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, Appendix i.

the 6th of February, 1371, and in it are mentioned the new monastery and twenty acres of land, including, no doubt, Hervey's Croft, which Sir Walter de Manny purchased in that year from the adjoining Priory of St. John of Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup>

We must now endeavour to describe the buildings of the new monastery. "St. Bede or St. Cuthbert," says Mr. Froude,<sup>2</sup> "might have found himself in the house of the London Carthusians and he would have had few questions to ask and no duties to learn or to unlearn. The form of the buildings would have seemed more elaborate; the notes of the organ would have added richer solemnity to the services; but the salient features of the scene would have been all familiar. He would have lived in a cell of the same shape; he would have thought the same thoughts, spoken the same words in the same language." But an accurate notion of the Charterhouse cannot be gathered from these lines of Mr. Froude's. St. Bede or St. Cuthbert would indeed have known that he was in a monastery; but to become a Carthusian, he would have found a good many questions to ask, and plenty to learn and to unlearn; for every religious order has its special rules and customs, its proper way of building and furnishing its houses, and a spirit of its own. The length of the Great Cloister would have bewildered

<sup>1</sup> Register of St. John's, preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *History of England*, vol. ii.

him, and his cell would have differed considerably from that to which he had been accustomed. But he would not have found an organ, as Mr. Froude supposed, to add richer solemnity to the services; for instrumental music has always been forbidden within the enclosure of a Carthusian monastery.

Where, then, shall we look for a description of the London Charterhouse? From the buildings which are still standing, the desired information could not be gathered, for the alterations have been too considerable. Even an old plan, still extant, drawn to show the position of the water-pipes, would hardly convey an adequate idea of the salient features of our monastery. We must turn, then, to another Charterhouse, and by analogy we shall be able to learn at least the chief characteristics of that of London; for all the houses of the Order resemble one another pretty closely.

The modern Charterhouse of St. Hugh's, in Sussex, will answer the purpose; for it is, like the London foundation, a "double monastery."<sup>1</sup> Let us take up our position in the centre of the quadrangle formed by the Great Cloister. On one side we see a mass of buildings, of which the Church with its lofty tower is the most conspicuous. Close by

<sup>1</sup> The author of *Charterhouse Past and Present* is mistaken in supposing that the Charterhouse was called a double monastery because it was the work of two founders. The meaning is that it contained a double number of cells, *i.e.* twenty-four or upwards.

stands the Chapter House, and over it is the Library. Beyond are the Refectory, the Guest House, and the lay brothers' quarters; but these are less distinguishable from our present stand-point. Though the old plan of the London Charterhouse is very imperfect, it shows that from a corresponding position the general aspect would have been similar.

Glancing around the remaining three sides of the quadrangle of St. Hugh's, we see the slanting roofs of the monks' cells above the pentice of the cloister. A closer inspection of one of these cells will furnish us with an accurate notion of those which once stood round the Great Cloister in London. The letter painted over the door to distinguish this cell from the others, the "hatch" through which the inmate receives his food, and even the door latch, remind us of the monastery with whose history we are occupied.<sup>1</sup> The interior of the cell does not at all resemble what is generally understood by the word "cell"; for the characteristics of Carthusian life require a special kind of dwelling for the monks. An ambulatory; a little garden walled in; a cottage consisting of four small rooms; below, the workshops; above, the ante-room with statue of Our Lady, and the cell proper with *prie-Dieu*, small refectory, bed, study table, and

<sup>1</sup> The letters are indicated on the old plan, remains of the "hatches" or cupboards may be seen at the Charterhouse, and a letter which is printed in another portion of this work alludes to the latch-keys.

book-shelves ;—a Carthusian understands all this by the word “cell.”

The Church at the London Charterhouse consisted of the sanctuary, a long choir, and a very short nave, called the Brothers' Choir. Between the two choirs was a rood screen with gates in the midst, while on either side, against the screen in all probability, there stood two altars. A lamp hung in the midst of this smaller choir, and was lighted whenever the lay brothers were present at the Office ; there was another lamp in the Fathers' Choir beyond the screen, and a third always burning in the sanctuary before the Blessed Sacrament. To the east of the Church stood the Chapter House.<sup>1</sup> It was a large chapel, with an altar surmounted, at least in later times, by a great crucifix ;<sup>2</sup> and all along the wall on either side were seats for the community. The Refectory, marked “freytor” on the plan, appears to have opened into the Great Cloister. The Prior's cell was close by. Further to the south-west of the Charterhouse were the Little Cloister, Guest House, and lay brothers' quarters. These buildings are not clearly or correctly indicated on the plan, which was evidently drawn simply to show the conduit that conveyed water to various parts of the monastery. “Egypte, the fleyshe

<sup>1</sup> See plan.

<sup>2</sup> Chauncy's *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime octodecim Cartusianorum* (ed. 1888), p. 82.

Kychyn," was at the entrance gate, and can have had no door within the enclosure ; for the flesh-pots of Egypt are unknown in Charterhouses, and absolutely forbidden to all professed Carthusians.



### CHAPTER III.

#### LIFE IN THE CLOISTER—THE LAY BROTHERS' LIFE—OBJECTIONS TO THE CARTHUSIAN RULE.

SOME details of the daily life of the inmates of the London Charterhouse may be gathered from a general knowledge of the Rule which is observed in all the monasteries of the Carthusian Order.

The sons of St. Bruno are, and have always been, entirely devoted to what is called the contemplative life, as distinguished from that known as mixed or active, employing all their time in prayer, in study, and in manual labour, and never undertaking—except in obedience to the Apostolic See, or in some extraordinary emergency—any kind of exterior mission.

It must not, however, be supposed that a Carthusian's contemplation implies a lazy, useless, objectless squandering away of the precious moments our Creator has given us, in order that we may employ them to His honour and glory.

The Divine Office takes up a considerable part of a Carthusian's time, portioning out the various

hours of the day. As—if such a comparison may be made—the times for work or pleasure come in between, and are in a certain manner determined by the different meal-times, for persons living in the world; so in the monastery, holy Mass, private prayer, spiritual reading, study, and manual labour fill up the intervening moments between the various divisions of the Office.

Many people are thinking of retiring to rest when the Carthusian monks begin their day's work, and in the Middle Ages, when late hours were unknown, it was the dead of night; for between ten and eleven o'clock in the evening the Sacristan rings the first bell for Matins. The religious called *excitator*, because it is his business to awaken his brethren, has already performed his duty, and every monk, on hearing the great bell, repairs to his *prie-Dieu*, where, after a short preparation, he recites the Matins and Lauds of Our Lady's Office, followed by some prayers for the restoration of the Holy Land to the Christians.

The daily recitation *in privato* of the Office of the Blessed Virgin dates from the time of St. Bruno. The prayers for the restoration of the Holy Land are not so ancient. They were ordered by the Council of Lateran (1215) to be recited during Mass; and when the obligation ceased, the Carthusians continued to say them in their cells; and they say them still.

After a little free time, the second bell rings, and, taking their lanterns to guide their footsteps through the sombre cloisters, the monks hurry to the Church for Matins and Lauds of the Canonical Office, separated sometimes by a portion of the Office of the Dead. Thus the Carthusians frequently have three Offices on the same day, the greater part of the longest being sung with notes, but without instrumental accompaniment. The fatigue of this nocturnal service is considerable, and the slower the singing proceeds the greater the tax upon both physical and mental power. At London the chanting, at least in the sixteenth century, was very slow ;<sup>1</sup> and before Lauds there was an interval, which has since been reduced to a few moments on certain days, and entirely abolished on others.<sup>2</sup> They still sing rather slowly at the Grande Chartreuse, while in the other monasteries of the Order, the monks being less numerous, it is customary to chant a little faster.

During this night Office, and in the Refectory, the Carthusians read almost the whole Bible in the course of every year, besides many extracts from the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The Breviary, it may be worth while observing, differs considerably from the Roman, nor is it wholly like

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 69.

<sup>2</sup> In a treatise on the Statutes of our Order attributed to Prior Batmanson we read thus : "*Cantatis nocturnis breve facimus intervallum, in quo spatium qui voluerit remanere potest in choro stans vel sedens . . .*" (Brit. Mus. MSS., Cotton, Nero A. III., fol 139).

that of the Benedictines. The Carthusian Office is longer than any other now in use, and it shortens the time for other employments. But how can time be more profitably spent than in singing God's praises, imitating, as far as poor mortals can, the holy angels, who cease not day and night singing *Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus*, before the throne of the Most High?

It is about two o'clock in the morning, and sometimes later, when the monks get back to their cells; and, after reciting the part of Our Lady's Office called *Prime*, followed by a few more prayers, they offer up their vigil to God, and return to their beds until between five and six o'clock.

The night in a Charterhouse is, we have seen, divided into three parts, the first and last being given to necessary repose, the second to singing God's praises and to other kinds of prayer. So also the day-time is portioned out into three. The first division, from between five and six until ten o'clock, is devoted to spiritual exercises, comprising Mass, meditation, spiritual reading, and part of the Office. The rite observed throughout the Carthusian Order for the celebration of Mass is almost exactly that of Grenoble, when, in 1084, St. Bruno founded the Grande Chartreuse.<sup>1</sup> For the Conventual Mass some monastic ceremonies have been

<sup>1</sup> Dom Innocent le Masson's *Annales Ordinis Cartusiensis*, p. 33.

added. Hence the use of to-day is exactly the same as in the London Charterhouse during the whole time of its existence. This rite, moreover, is no less approved by the Holy See for the Carthusians, than is the Roman for most other religious and for the secular clergy. The other exercises of the first division of the day require no comment; we will therefore pass to the midday portion.

From ten o'clock until half-past two the monks spend their time—except what is required for dining, and for the recitation of two or three short portions of the Offices—in intellectual and manual work. The Carthusian Fathers are not, nor were they formerly, employed in the fields. This would be incompatible with the rule of solitude, which is one of the characteristics of the Order. A little work at the lathe, or at the carpenter's bench, and other similar occupations, are prescribed for beginners, and in after years they are recommended to those who require such exercises; while for others, desirous of giving more time to mental work, the garden and the little duties of housekeeping are amply sufficient.

Intellectual labour has always been highly esteemed amongst the sons of St. Bruno; it was so at the London Charterhouse, as the sequel will show. Some of the holiest men Carthusian solitudes have harboured—such, for instance, as Denis, SURIUS, LANSBERG, and LUDOLPH of Saxony, all well-

known names—were indefatigable writers. The Carthusian monk's studies, like all the occupations of the purely contemplative life, are such as tend towards the personal perfection of the religious himself, without excluding, as far as compatible with his vocation, the utility of his neighbour. Hence it follows that his ordinary and favourite subjects are Holy Scripture and theology—theology in all its branches. "Faith," says the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, "is like the sun, and theology is like the rays which flow from it. This great radiance of the faith is partly what the world storms against as dogma, or dogmatic theology; partly it is what the world cannot understand, that is, mystical theology; partly what the world hates—ascetic theology; and partly that which the world is always violating—I mean moral theology."<sup>1</sup> Carthusian monks were far from his Eminence's thoughts when he uttered these beautiful words, but they suit our purpose admirably. The Carthusian loves to bask in these congenial rays flowing from the bright sun of faith; and thus—while improving his mind and becoming day by day more capable of speaking a word of edification to his neighbour—he continues under a different form his morning's meditation, and disposes himself, should it be God's will, for infused contemplation.

Although purely secular studies have always

<sup>1</sup> *Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost*, p. 190.

been discouraged in our Order, as being ill suited to solitaries engaged exclusively in the work of their personal sanctification and in intercessory prayer, it would be a great mistake to suppose that really religious and priestly studies are, or ever were, in disrepute amongst contemplative monks.

“O my God,” exclaims Denis the Carthusian, “I thank Thee for having called me, while still young, to the Order wherein, by Thy grace, I have spent forty-six years; and all this time, blessed be Thy Holy Name, I have ever been an assiduous student.” After enumerating the well-nigh incredible extent of his reading, the pious monk continues,<sup>1</sup> “This work, although exclusively intellectual, has been to me an occasion of considerable sufferings; but this is precisely what made it so profitable to my soul. It has aided in the work of mortifying my senses; it has prevented inordinate desires from getting the better of me; it has increased my love for the cell.”<sup>2</sup>

The third and last part of the day is from Vespers, which are sung in choir at a quarter before three, until about half-past six or seven, when the monks retire to rest in order to be ready for the

<sup>1</sup> The quantity of reading and writing got through by this industrious monk seems at first sight incomprehensible, when we consider the time taken up by the Carthusian Offices. The secret is that Denis had, to use his own expression, an iron head, and used to work instead of sleeping after Matins—a practice that would soon ruin an ordinary constitution.

<sup>2</sup> *Opuscula aliquot* (Colon., 1534), fol. 386.

“great watch,” as the night vigil used to be called in England. This last portion of the day is, according to the Statutes, to be devoted to spiritual exercises, though a little sacred study is not forbidden.<sup>1</sup>

The Carthusian is essentially a solitary, for he generally leaves his cell but three times in the twenty-four hours—once in the night, for Matins ; again in the morning, for Mass ; and, lastly, in the afternoon, for Vespers. On Sundays and on certain other Festivals he is more of a cenobite, for on those days all the Canonical Hours, excepting Compline, are sung in choir. On these Feast Days, moreover, the monks dine and sup together in the Refectory ; and the professed of solemn vows, if they wish it, the juniors, if the Prior thinks fit, take common recreation after None.

With the exception of the weekly walk, the Carthusians spend all the rest of their time in solitude, occupied, as we have already intimated, with the three exercises proper to the contemplative life—prayer, study, and manual labour.

It may be well to observe that the common recreation on Festivals, and the *Spatialementum*, as the weekly walk outside the enclosure is called, are

<sup>1</sup> For novices and junior monks the hours for study, work, etc., are fixed more exactly, lest, being unused to solitude, they should either waste their time, or ruin their health by indiscreet application.

no modern introductions. As to the walk, it is mentioned in the report of the General Chapter held in 1292, almost a century previous to the foundation of our Charterhouse of London; and the *Old Statutes*<sup>1</sup> show that it existed at even an earlier date.

The lay brothers' rule of life differs in many respects from that of the choir monks, who are all in Holy Orders or preparing to receive them, while the brothers, as in all other religious orders, are precluded from aspiring to the priesthood. The brothers perform, under the supervision of the Father Procurator, Martha's part, but without being "busy about much serving." Their work, indeed, is moderately hard, but they have their hours for prayer and interior recollection. Every night they rise for Matins, though a little later than the Fathers; and, while the Breviary is being sung in the upper choir, they recite in silence the prayers prescribed by the Statutes to supply for the Divine Office.

Leaving the Church, on week days, earlier than the Fathers, the lay brothers spend some time in private prayer in their cells,<sup>2</sup> and then they return to their beds until the morning. Rising at five o'clock or before, they make their meditation, and

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq. Stat. P. II.*, c. xxii., 15.

<sup>2</sup> The lay brother's cell somewhat resembles the inner room of the monk's cell described in the preceding chapter.

assist at Mass in their chapel before setting about their various occupations. But the lay brother's prayer need not end here; for during his work his heart remains free to commune with his Lord, who, like him, spent a great part of His mortal life in manual labour. With regard to solitude and silence, the rule of the lay brothers is much less strict than that of the choir monks. They are frequently obliged to work two or three together, and then they are allowed to speak of their work, or even to say a few words of edification.

The questions, however, still remain: was it not, and is it not, a great mistake for the Carthusians to live in solitude? Do they not thereby render themselves utterly useless to their fellow-men?

We will let the first answer to the former of these questions come from a writer who was not a monk. "Who," exclaims Montalembert—"who, unless perchance he be utterly depraved by vice, or weighed down with old age or by avarice, has not felt at least once in his life an inclination for solitude? Who has not felt a desire for permanent and undisturbed repose, wherein the life of intelligence and of heart, of science and of love, could be filled with wisdom and with virtue as their perpetual food? Where is the Christian soul, however fast bound with the iron fetters of sin, however soiled by its contact with the depravities of earthly life, who has not now and again experienced a passing attraction

towards the sweet peace of the religious life, and breathed in from a distance the goodly odour issuing forth from these secret retreats, from these dwelling-places of virtue and of devotion, consecrated to the consideration of the eternal years? Who has never looked forward to some future time when he might, at least for a day, say to himself, with the Prophet, '*Sedebit solitarius et tacebit*'? Who has not understood that at least some little corners of the world should be set apart, free from revolutions and tumults as well as from the cares of daily life, that the harmony of man's adoration and thanksgiving may be mingled with all those voices of nature, with all those choirs of the creation, which bless and honour the Creator's name?"<sup>1</sup>

Father Guigues, fifth Prior of the *Grande Chartreuse*, devotes a whole chapter of his "Customs" (the first written Rule of the Order) to the consideration of the advantages of solitary life. After dwelling upon many of these advantages, he thus closes his chapter: "Consider, in fine, how many holy and venerable Fathers, a Paul, an Antony, a Hilarion, a Benedict, and countless others, have, in the midst of wildernesses, made great progress in the spiritual life, and you will find that nothing is more apt than solitude to make one experience the sweetness of the sacred canticles, the loveliness of holy reading, the depth

<sup>1</sup> *Moines d'Occident*, tome i., introduction, p. xxiv.

of devout meditation, the copiousness of the tears of compunction, and the delightfulness of Divine contemplation.”<sup>1</sup>

“To begin here below,” says a modern Carthusian writer, “in an imperfect manner, or in the least imperfect manner possible, the life of contemplation we are destined to lead in heaven, such is the object of the Carthusians; and as the heavenly life may be reduced to these three acts—to see God, to love Him, and to praise Him—so the Carthusian life is nothing else than the employment of the means of acquiring the knowledge and the love of God by the exercises of the contemplative life, together with the singing of His praises in the psalms and canticles inspired by the Holy Ghost Himself. God then, God alone, God sought by the most direct road—this is the occupation of the Carthusian in his cell; this is the end, the object of his existence.”<sup>2</sup>

Granted, then, that the contemplative life led in our Order is profitable to the members themselves, do they not by their isolation from the rest of mankind render themselves useless to their fellow-creatures? The Order, it may be answered, has given many a holy and learned Bishop to the Church: St. Anthelm, St. Stephen of Die, Blessed Cardinal Albergatus, and numbers of others abroad;

<sup>1</sup> *Consuetudines*, cap. lxxx.

<sup>2</sup> *La Grande Chartreuse par un Chartreux*, 3<sup>me</sup> édition, p. 367.

St. Hugh of Lincoln, Engleby of Llandaff,<sup>1</sup> here in England. Some of St. Bruno's children have swelled the number of the white-robed army of martyrs, while others have filled libraries with useful writings or transcripts.

Still the objection is not fully met. It is no longer necessary to go to the cloister in search of suitable men to fill episcopal sees; there is now no opportunity for laying down one's life for the faith, except perhaps on distant missions; a less austere Rule, a less inviolable enclosure, are nowadays more conducive to successful literary work, in consequence of improved general education, and on account of public libraries having to a certain degree replaced those of the monasteries; and the printing press has altogether outstripped the monastic copyists. Can we not therefore conclude that the purely contemplative life has had its day, and that Carthusian monks should exist only in the history of the past? The Carthusians think not; for these things are not, nor were they ever, the objects of their Order, but simply the overflowings of the fulness of its interior spiritual life. The great objects of the Order have always been the personal sanctification of its mem-

<sup>1</sup> John Engleby was many years Prior of the Sheen Charterhouse, and Visitor of the English Province. In 1496 he succeeded John Marshal as Bishop of Llandaff, and died on the 7th of September, 1499. See Godwin's *De Præsul. Angl.*; Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 1218; Obituary of Order, 1500; Morotius, etc.

bers, the singing of God's praises, and intercessory prayer for the living and for the dead. Hence it seems to follow that a Christian who believes in the efficacy of prayer could not, except from thoughtlessness or want of instruction, doubt that the Order has its utility, not only for its own members, but also for the faithful at large. Solitude makes prayer more continual and less distracted; freedom from all inordinate or imperfect attachment, and entire indifference as to this life's honours and preferments, which follow from utter separation from the outside world, render prayer more universal and disinterested, while fasting and other mortifications add, we think, not a little to its efficaciousness.

These were the views and intentions of St. Bruno and his six companions when they settled in the wilderness of *Chartreuse*; these were the opinions of the inmates of the London Charterhouse; these, too, will be the objects proposed to all who shall receive the habit, wherever a Charterhouse may flourish in the future.

## CHAPTER IV.

PRIORATE OF FATHER JOHN LUSCOTE—BENEFACTORS—ROBERT PALMER'S VOCATION—DEATH OF THE FIRST PRIOR.

AT the Annual General Chapter of the Order, held at the Grande Chartreuse in the spring of 1370, Father John Luscote, Prior of the Charterhouse of Hinton and Visitor of the English Province, earnestly requested to be relieved of his offices. His request was partly granted, though not in the manner he had hoped; for, instead of returning to his peaceful cell in the cloister, he was appointed Rector of the new foundation, near London, "which," says the Chapter, "we now receive and incorporate into the Order." A Rector, we may observe in passing, is the Superior of a Charterhouse in which for some reason the Rule cannot be observed in its integrity.

The Rectorship of the unfinished Charterhouse of London was a more difficult post than that of Prior of Hinton, and Father Luscote also retained the office of Provincial Visitor. He had, moreover, extraordinary powers and responsibilities, which, on

account of the distance of England from the mother house, were granted to and imposed upon the Visitor.<sup>1</sup> In any difficulty that might arise with regard to the government of the English Charterhouses, the Priors had recourse to him ; nor were they disappointed, for John Luscote has earned for himself the reputation of having been an enlightened Superior.

Less than a year after his nomination as Rector, the buildings were completed, and John Luscote was installed as first Prior of the monastery, which was now known as the Charterhouse of the Salutation of Our Lady, near London.

The title of Abbot having been for humility's sake refused, the Prior of a Charterhouse is the first Superior, and has himself no resident Superior ; but he is subject to the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse, who is always General of the Order, and also, at least *in actu visitationis*, to the Provincial Visitors. These are not modern regulations ; nor was the "consent of the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse"<sup>2</sup> the result of "an act of courtesy."<sup>3</sup> This consent was absolutely necessary ; the General

<sup>1</sup> The Priors of the English Province were only expected to attend the General Chapter in leap-year. And even then it seems that all were not present ; but one of the two Visitors was obliged to appear.

<sup>2</sup> See Sir Walter de Manny's foundation charter, *infra*, Appendix ii.

<sup>3</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 7.

Chapter when sitting, and the Father General during the year, being the only competent authorities. The annual reports of the Chapter show that those who suppose that prior to the year 1508 the various Charterhouses were independent are quite mistaken.<sup>1</sup> A very brief quotation from the report of the General Chapter of 1298 will corroborate this statement. "It is," says the Chapter, "an ancient and approved custom of the Order that Priors shall beg to be relieved from their offices."<sup>2</sup> This was assuredly an act of submission to the Chapter, and an humble acknowledgment of its prerogatives.

It will easily be understood that, while the Prior of a Charterhouse enjoys a considerable amount of authority, he is also weighed down by a great responsibility, for he must answer to God and to the Order for the welfare of the souls and of the monastery committed to his care. He is not dispensed from keeping the Rule. On the contrary, he is especially bound "to edify the brethren and others by the practice of every virtue suitable to his position, and by the strict observance of the Rule. Unless he is prevented by sickness or pressing business, he is expected to assist in choir by day and by night; nor may he differ from the other monks as regards food or clothing."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> "*De antiqua consuetudine ordinis et approbata est quod Priores petant misericordiam*" (Ex Charta Cap. Gen., 1298).

<sup>3</sup> *Statuta Ordinis*, P. II. cap. iii., "De officio Prioris."

The Prior is aided in the discharge of his various duties by subaltern Superiors, or, as they are called in the Order, Officers. These, when the London Charterhouse was flourishing, were three in number; the Vicar, who was the spiritual head when the Prior was obliged to absent himself; the Procurator, who was occupied chiefly with the temporal business of the monastery; and the Sacristan, to whom the Church and all things belonging to Divine service were intrusted. The offices of Novice-Master and of Coadjutor are of later date, and their respective duties of instructing the novices and helping the guests were fulfilled partly by the officers just mentioned, and partly by other monks, at the discretion of the Prior.

It is to be regretted that more is not known regarding Prior John Luscombe personally; for it seems, from what little is recorded, that he was deservedly celebrated for his pious and upright life, as well as on account of his zeal for regular monastic discipline. The London Charterhouse and the English Province of our Order flourished and spread under his guidance.

The principal event of Luscombe's priorate was the death and burial of Sir Walter de Manny, who departed this life on the 13th of January, 1372. Though he had particularly requested that his funeral should not be accompanied by extraordinary pomp, it was nevertheless performed with great

solemnity in the Church of the Charterhouse; the king and his children, together with several distinguished prelates and barons, being present.

By his will, dated St. Andrew's Day, 1371, Sir Walter bequeathed to the monastery an old standing debt of one thousand pounds, due to him from the king, and one-half of the arrears of his salary of one hundred pounds per annum as governor of Hardelagh Castle. The knight's tomb, which was erected in the middle of the choir, resembled that of Sir John Beauchamp in St. Paul's Cathedral. In Dugdale's *History of St. Paul's* there is an engraving of Sir John's monument, which was an altar-tomb supporting the recumbent effigy of the knight in armour, with escutcheons of the family on the sides.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Walter de Manny's son-in-law, John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who died on the 16th of April, 1375, left the sum of six hundred pounds to the Charterhouse. This noble benefactor was born in 1347. Previous to his marriage with Anne de Manny, he had espoused Margaret, daughter of Edward III., from whom, on account of some impediment, he obtained a divorce. "He was an active commander in the French wars, and Lieutenant of Aquitaine; but, in attempting to relieve La Rochelle by sea, his fleet was burned by the Spaniards, and himself carried prisoner into Spain, where he suffered four

<sup>1</sup> Smythe's *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, p. 49.

years' rigorous confinement. After his release he went to Paris, where he soon fell sick, as supposed by poison, and died on the road to Calais, April 16, in the forty-ninth year of Edward III. He was buried first in the church of the Friars Preachers, at Hereford, but was afterwards removed to the Grey Friars, near Newgate, London."<sup>1</sup>

In May, 1378, a grant was made from the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, close to the Charterhouse, "to the Prior and Convent of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God," of four acres of land contiguous to the former possessions of the Charterhouse. This grant was confirmed by Richard II.<sup>2</sup> The king himself shortly after became a benefactor of our Charterhouse, by bestowing upon it the sum of fifty marks per annum.<sup>3</sup>

In the same year the executors of Felicia de Thymelby presented to "John [Luscote], Prior, and the Convent of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God," the sum of two hundred and sixty marks, for the building of a cell, with a suitable portion of cloister and garden, and for the maintenance of a monk to live therein, and to pray and celebrate masses for the souls of Thomas Aubrey, of Felicia his wife, and of all the faithful departed.

Smythe's *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, p. 50; quoting Dugdale's *Baronage*, i., 576.

<sup>2</sup> Register of St. John's, preserved in the British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> Malcolm's *Lond. Redivivum*.

A daily Mass, and a special collect in every Office of the Dead, were also granted to these benefactors and their friends.<sup>1</sup>

A Bull of Pope Urban VI., dated at Rome on the 12th of December, 1378, confirmed to the Charterhouse its temporal resources. From this Bull, which is placed in our Appendix,<sup>2</sup> we learn that Sir Walter de Manny had originally intended to found a chantry with twelve chaplains, and that before its establishment he changed his mind and founded, conjointly with Bishop Michael de Northburgh, a double convent of Carthusian monks.

In order to observe as far as practicable chronological order, the story of Father Robert Palmer must be inserted here. Though this story seems to relate more directly to the foundation of St. Anne's Charterhouse, near Coventry, his vocation and work deserve to be looked upon as a part of the history of the London Charterhouse; for he was a professed monk of the latter monastery, and for some time he performed, under Prior Luscombe, the office of Procurator. An ancient document regarding the foundation at Coventry mentions Robert Palmer as Procurator of the London Charterhouse, and originator of the new foundation;<sup>3</sup> but the following details have not hitherto been published.

<sup>1</sup> Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 267.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, Appendix iii.

<sup>3</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 16.

They are taken from a Latin manuscript in the archives of our Order.<sup>1</sup>

“During the reign of King Wenceslaus<sup>2</sup> there was in England a certain parish priest named Robert [Palmer]. He was a simple, upright, God-fearing man. In company with another priest he made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where, after visiting the stations of Our Saviour’s Passion, he intended to remain for the rest of his life. He therefore besought the Lord to guide his steps to some lonely spot where he could serve Him devoutly and in peace.” The manuscript goes on to tell how, while saying Mass at the Holy Sepulchre, he heard a voice informing him that it was God’s will for him to return to England and to enter the Carthusian Order; “for,” said the mysterious voice, “that Order is the surest path to everlasting life, and the most pleasing to God.” Feeling sure that these words, which were spoken in English—a language with which none of the bystanders were acquainted—were the answer to his earnest prayer, the pious priest returned to his Church at Coventry, there to await some further manifestation of the Divine will. Nor was he kept long in suspense, for a certain place, within the limits of the very parish of which he was pastor, was pointed out to him in a

<sup>1</sup> Le Vasseur, *Ephemerides Cartusienses, die xv<sup>o</sup> Junii*; quoting from a certain Dom John Broeyres of the Charterhouse of Brussels.

<sup>2</sup> Wenceslaus, Emperor of Germany, 1378–1400.

vision as the site of a Charterhouse which he was to build, and of which he would eventually become the Prior. Robert, who was remarkable for his great simplicity, repaired without delay to the field shown him in the vision, and began to mark out with his spade the length and breadth of a great cloister suitable to the dimensions of the site. On being remonstrated with by the peasants with whose property he was taking such liberties, he simply replied: "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, and He has commanded me to erect a monastery in this place." The peasants were neither inclined to relinquish their property, nor to oppose the designs of their pastor, whom they knew to be an honest and truly religious man. They therefore decided on having recourse to King Richard II., who was personally acquainted with Robert Palmer and aware of his goodness.

Robert was soon summoned to appear before the king's court upon a charge of having presumed by his own authority to dig in another man's field. No sooner was he ushered into the royal presence, than, with his wonted simplicity, he began to plead the cause of the projected foundation, and to beg his Majesty to aid him in the good work. Robert had quite forgotten that he was summoned as a delinquent, and with fervour he recounted his vision to the king. It might be doubted whether Robert was, on this occasion, so simple as he seemed.

However that may be, his simplicity or his wisdom was successful; for the king laughingly addressed the court thus: "Well!" said he, "this Robert is cited to appear before me as his judge, and ere the cause has been heard, he asks me to become his advocate and his patron! What are we to think of this? How will the court decide the case?" All pronounced in favour of the good priest; and the king promised that the site should be purchased, and that he would take a special interest in the foundation.

The story contains no statement which is in contradiction with known facts; for although the site of the Coventry Charterhouse was not exclusively the property of peasants, a portion of it may have been so. Or, again, it is probable that the peasants were only tenants. That the king took a lively interest in the foundation at Coventry, that this Charterhouse was dedicated to the queen's patron Saint Anne, and that Robert Palmer was the originator (*primus motor*<sup>1</sup>) are indisputable facts, and they seem to tell in favour of Father Broeyres' manuscript.

On hearing that the king would interest himself in the establishment of the projected monastery, Robert Palmer took a wiser and a surer step towards the fulfilment of his vocation. This new step was to present himself as a postulant at the London

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 16.

Charterhouse, where, after due preparation, he received from Prior Luscite the habit of the Order. One year later he pronounced his vows, and very soon he was made Procurator. It is said that Father Luscite gave him this office for the express purpose of allowing him more freedom to see about his foundation at Coventry. Nor had the zealous Procurator to wait long, for in the autumn of 1381, William, Lord Zouche of Haryngworth, having taken the matter in hand, Parliament sanctioned the foundation. Thereupon Prior Luscite, in virtue of the special powers granted him by the General Chapter, sent John Netherby, Robert Palmer himself, and one Edmund Dalling—all three professed of London—to Coventry, where they were joined by seven monks from the Charterhouse of Beauvale. Thus was fulfilled Robert Palmer's double vocation to become a Carthusian and to found a Charterhouse. He was subsequently elected Prior, and, having edified all who knew him by his virtues, he died in a good old age.

In the year 1393 Sir William de Beauchamp, knight, became a benefactor of the Charterhouse of London by presenting to the Prior and convent three acres of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre, outside the Bars at West Smithfield.<sup>1</sup>

This brings us to the end of John Luscite's priorate. He appears to have resigned his office

<sup>1</sup> Smythe's *Historical Account*, Appendix xi.

shortly before his death, which took place on the 15th of June, 1398,<sup>1</sup> and was announced in the obituary of the General Chapter held in the following spring at the Charterhouse of Seitz, in Austria.<sup>2</sup> At Seitz, and not at the Grande Chartreuse; for during the "Great Schism," when the nations of Europe were divided in their obedience, some adhering to Pope Urban VI., and others unhappily to the anti-Pope of Avignon, the religious orders, following their respective countries, were divided also. During this wretched separation the Charterhouse of Seitz served as mother house for the Provinces of Italy, Germany, and England, which were true to the real Pope.

The pacification of the Order took place in 1410; and in 1412 John Luscote's name was inscribed again in the obituary, with the observation that, the exact date of his death being unknown to the Chapter, another entry would be made at a future meeting. And in the report of the Chapter in 1415 we find this third insertion of our first Prior's decease, showing what care was taken lest so estimable a monk should, by reason of the schism, be deprived of any part of the *monachatus per totum ordinem* to which his services and his virtues had

<sup>1</sup> The *Monasticon* says that John Luscote "occurs again 1415." This blunder arose, it seems, from the careless reading of a document in which it is said, "*Joanni Luscote tunc priori*," and lower down, "*Joanni Maplestede nunc priori*."

<sup>2</sup> Founded in 1160, and suppressed by Joseph II. in 1782.

entitled him. The *monachatus* consists of a certain number of Masses and psalters, with other Offices, to be said by the choir monks, and a number of devout prayers to be said by the lay brothers.

## CHAPTER V.

THE CHARTERHOUSE DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.<sup>1</sup>

A SHORT time before the death of John Luscote, Father John Obredon became Prior of the London Charterhouse. Very slight record remains of Prior Obredon, but it tells enough to persuade us that he was an excellent Superior. Like David of old, "he fed his flock in the innocence of his heart, and conducted them by the skilfulness of his hands;" governing the community by the force of good example. He was, moreover, a learned man, and is supposed to have left some writings, which have disappeared. Another manuscript in our archives informs us that he held the office of Prior during about twelve years, and then, worn out by hard work, he tendered his resignation. This was apparently in 1412, for in that year the General Chapter empowered the Provincial Visitor, Prior of the Witham Charterhouse, to relieve him from the priorate, should such a step be found

<sup>1</sup> Our principal sources of information, where no special reference is given, are the archives of the Order for the Priors, and Madox' *Formulare Anglicanum* for the benefactors.

advisable. This faculty granted to the Visitor was undoubtedly the result of a request made by the Prior himself, desirous to spend the remainder of his mortal life in spiritual exercises in the solitude and silence of the cloister. John Obredon died on the 14th of February, 1417, and was described in the obituary as "formerly Prior of London, having throughout the Order a full *monachatus* with psalters."

Father John Maplestede was, in all probability, the third Prior of the London Charterhouse. He was certainly in charge in 1414, for his name is mentioned in a deed dated the Feast of the Translation of St. Thomas the Martyr, in the second year of Henry V. (July 7th, 1414).

This deed makes known a benefactor of the Charterhouse, Robert Merston, a citizen of London, who, in his own name and in that of Thomas Arthyngton, already deceased, confirms a grant to the Prior and convent of the advowson of St. Christopher's, Bread Street Ward, in the City of London.

From another deed, dated the 1st of December, in the fifth year of Henry V. (1417), it is seen that Richard Clyderhowe was also a benefactor of the Charterhouse. "From reverence to God and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in whose honour the aforesaid house was founded," and for the welfare of his soul and that of his late wife Alice, whose body lay buried within the monastery church; for the welfare also of the souls of his parents, children, and bene-

factors, he surrendered to the Prior and convent a lease of land in the city of Rochester, "to the end," he continues, "that the monks may especially and devoutly recommend to God in their prayers me, the aforesaid Richard, and my soul after my death, and the soul of Alice, my late wife, together with those of my children and all my benefactors."

By order of the General Chapter held in 1424, Father Theodore Teerlick, Prior of Antwerp and Visitor of the Province of Farther Picardy (*Picardiae remotioris*), undertook a special visitation of all the Charterhouses of the English Province.<sup>1</sup> The choice of a companion, Prior or simple monk, being left to his discretion, Father Teerlick selected Father John d'Arras, Prior of the Charterhouse of Chapelle, in the diocese of Cambay.

The object of this extraordinary visitation of the English Charterhouses is declared in the report of the Chapter. It was to insure uniformity with the other houses of the Order in the performance of the Divine services, and to counteract a slight tendency towards relaxation, in some points, of Carthusian discipline. The General Chapter was far from thinking, like Dr. Haig-Brown,<sup>2</sup> that the English Province was in any way independent. We find it

<sup>1</sup> Father Teerlick became Prior of Antwerp in 1406, and Visitor of Farther Picardy in 1411. He held both these offices for many years, and died on the 11th of January, 1449.

<sup>2</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 7.

exercising its authority even in seemingly insignificant details of household management. "A new custom," says the annual report of 1424, "has sprung up in the houses of the Order in England, where the servants" (of course not brothers) "wear party-coloured clothes; and the Priors and others even go out accompanied by such servants. As this custom seems incompatible with the spirit of our Order, we command the Visitors of our English Province to give instructions to the Priors of the said Province, to the end that their servants may no longer wear the said party-coloured clothes."

This, and any other abuses which had crept into our Charterhouses on account of their distance from the mother house, were doubtless remedied by the visit of Priors Teerlick and d'Arras. Their ordinances, prohibitions, and precepts were confirmed by the General Chapter of the following year, 1425. It was ordained, moreover, that their reports should be read at least once a year in all the monasteries of the Province until further notice.

By the same General Chapter the Prior of the London Charterhouse, very probably John Maplestede, was appointed Provincial Visitor; and, at the same time, he received orders to grant no dispensations for the shortening of the year of noviceship; nor on any account was he to allow novices to sing the Epistle or Gospel, or to celebrate the Conventual Mass.

The custom of visiting to which it is necessary to allude so often in the history of a Charterhouse is very ancient. It certainly existed long before the middle of the thirteenth century, when the *Antiqua Statuta* were published ;<sup>1</sup> and from that period until the present day it has always, and rightly too, been looked upon as one of the greatest safeguards against relaxation, and the surest means of maintaining uniformity of custom and ritual in the various houses of the Order. A few words regarding these visits in general may therefore be interesting.

The Provincial Visitor, and his companion the Assistant Visitor (*Convisitator*), generally make, every two years, the official visitation of all the Charterhouses committed to their charge. Their business is to inquire into the state of the monastery from both a spiritual and a temporal point of view. They must know whether the Prior performs his duties in an edifying and conscientious manner, procuring to the best of his ability the welfare of each and every member of the community. They are bound, moreover, to satisfy themselves with regard to the good conduct and virtues of all the religious. The Fathers and brothers are obliged, on their part, to answer truthfully and frankly any questions that may be asked ; and should they know that anything is seriously amiss in the discipline or

<sup>1</sup> Dom Innocent le Masson, *Annales Ord. Cart.*, p. 161.

administration of the monastery, or in the life of any member of the community, they are in conscience bound to disclose it, even without being questioned on the subject.

The scrutiny ended, the Visitors write their report, in which they must "avoid exaggerated praise on the one hand, and harsh reproof on the other, keeping to the naked truth expressed in the simplest language."<sup>1</sup> They then repair to the Chapter House, where, before all the choir monks, excepting the novices, they read their report; and, after making any additional remarks they may think fit, they return to their respective monasteries.

To continue our chronological history of the London Charterhouse the benefaction of William Rendre, a London barber, must be mentioned here. By an indenture dated Christmas Day, 1429, he made over to the Prior and convent, for a term of eighty years, one acre of pasture land in Conduit-Shotefield, near Trillemyle Brook, in the parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn, situate between the pastures of the Charterhouse on the north and west, those of St. Bartholomew's Priory on the south, and the king's highway leading from Holborn towards Kentish Town on the east.

A register of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, which stood close to the Charterhouse, is still preserved in the British Museum; and in this regis-

<sup>1</sup> *Stat.*, P. II., cap. xxiii., 51.

ter are two curious documents which show that the two communities lived on terms of close friendship. The active brothers of St. John of Jerusalem used to aid the Carthusians in matters of business, and the contemplative monks showed their gratitude by promises of spiritual favours. The former of the two instruments, which are in abbreviated Latin, may be translated as follows :—

“Of the Anniversary to be celebrated yearly.

“To the Reverend and religious man in Christ, Brother William Hulle, Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England, your humble and devoted John [Maplested], unworthy Prior of the House of the Salutation of the Mother of God, of the Carthusian Order, near London, and the community of the same place, due and befitting respect, and by their prayers to obtain the rewards of heavenly joys. We, desiring to compensate your extraordinary love, heretofore affectionately shown us in highly important affairs and business of our house, do with one consent grant unto you the office of a perpetual anniversary for the health of your soul, after its departure from this life, to be performed by us and our successors yearly for ever ; and, lest by length of time it should be blotted from memory by oblivion, we will inscribe it in our Martyrology. We grant you, moreover, on account of our special affection towards you, that when your death, which God grant may be happy and pleasing to Him, shall

have been made known to us, we will faithfully celebrate with grateful speed a trental of Masses, to be continued for thirty days; the first Mass to be conventual, solemnly chanted with notes, and preceded by the obsequies of the dead, *Placebo* and *Dirige*, according to the custom of our Order, that your soul may, by the mercy of God, be conveyed the sooner into Abraham's bosom. In witness whereof we have fixed our common seal to these presents. Given in our house aforesaid, on the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Our Lady, in the year of our Lord 1430."

The other instrument is headed, "*De fraternitate prioris et fratrum domus Cartusianæ concessa fratribus Hospitalis*"—"Of the fellowship of the Prior and brethren of the Charterhouse granted to the brethren of the Hospital." It grants to the community of St. John's a participation in the Masses, prayers, fasts, vigils, abstinences, disciplines, alms, and all other spiritual exercises which by God's help should be performed in the Charterhouse by the present Prior and convent, and by their successors for ever. This deed bears the same date as the former, the 15th of August, 1430.

The obituary of the General Chapter for 1433 is unfortunately missing from the archives of the Grande Chartreuse, and with it very probably the *obit* of Prior John Maplested. In 1434 the Prior of the London Charterhouse was Assistant Visitor of



the Province; and from this we conclude that a change in the government of our monastery must almost certainly have taken place, for, after being Visitor since 1425, John Maplestede could hardly have been appointed to the inferior office of Assistant Visitor.

In 1439 the London Prior was Provincial Visitor again, but for one year only. This Prior, perhaps John Thorne, who died no longer Prior in 1453 or 1454, was succeeded by Father John Walwan. Before his election to the priorate of our Charterhouse, Walwan had held the same office at St. Anne's, near Coventry. He died on St. Bruno's Day, the 6th of October, 1449, and received the favour of a perpetual anniversary throughout the Order.

The next two Priors were both relieved from office by authority of the General Chapter, and "at their own earnest request"; the one in 1461, and the other in 1469. The former of these was Father John Seman, who, according to Tromby, was remarkable for many good qualities and virtues. "Besides being an able administrator and a zealous maintainer of monastic discipline, he was remarkable for his prudence as a Superior, and his heart was full of charity. Naturally good-tempered, he was pleasant, kind, and courteous to all; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he could appear somewhat severe when obliged to warn, to rebuke,

or to mortify any of his monks."<sup>1</sup> In 1456 the General Chapter made him Visitor of the English Province. This pious Father died on the 29th of December, 1472, and was granted a full *monachatus* with psalters throughout the Order.

Father Edmund Storan or Storer, a professed monk of the London Charterhouse, was appointed Prior by the General Chapter of 1469. He remained in charge until 1477,<sup>2</sup> and then returned to his quiet cell in the cloister. He subsequently became Prior of the Hinton Charterhouse, but before his death, which is announced in the obituary of 1503, he had returned once again to solitude and silence.

Here must be mentioned the learned Father Rock, who flourished in 1470. He was a graduate of the University of Paris, and possessed, it is said, a well-nigh incredible amount of human knowledge. He feared, however, that he might be found wanting in the one thing needful, the science of the Saints, without which all other lore is vain. He therefore abandoned all thought of worldly greatness, and, putting on the humble garb of St. Bruno, he consecrated himself to God by the profession of monastic vows. It is said that he became Prior of the Charterhouse. This is either a mistake arising

<sup>1</sup> *Storia . . . del Patriarcha S. Brunone e del suo ordine*, tom. ix. p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Hence Richard Boston, who according to the *Monasticon* "occurs in 1472," was never Prior of the London Charterhouse (Dugdale (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 9).

from the similarity of his name to that of Father Richard Roche, or else he was in reality the same person. Dom Rock left the following manuscript works:—One book of dialogues, one of letters to various persons, one of epigrams, and another of poetry.<sup>1</sup>

In 1477 John Wolfringham succeeded Edmund Storan in the priorate of the London Charterhouse. He was unable to hold any office in our Order without a dispensation from the General Chapter, for he had been a professed monk in the Order of St. Benedict. This dispensation was granted in 1478, and, the election of the previous year having been in all other respects legal and regular, he was confirmed in the priorate.

The capitular reports and obituaries of this period make known the existence of “clerical oblates” in the London Charterhouse, as well as in other monasteries of the Order. This grade is now obsolete as regards the choir monks, though amongst the lay brethren the *Donati*, who somewhat resemble them, are still to be found in our houses. The *Donati*, however, generally join the *Conversi* or professed lay brothers, after a certain number of years, and in this they differ from the oblates, who were not preparing for profession. Though the oblates took no vows and could quit the Order whenever they pleased, they were, nevertheless, bound to

<sup>1</sup> Morotius, *Theat. Chron.*, p. 88.

observe, with certain modifications, the rule of the Fathers if they lived in the Great Cloister, and that of the lay brothers if they dwelt amongst them and were occupied with the exterior work of the monastery. It is not surprising if these half-monks—if we may style them thus—were sometimes troublesome and even insubordinate. Such indeed was the case; and this was, we believe, the cause of their suppression. The fact that these oblates are no more renders them interesting from an antiquarian point of view, otherwise Brothers Thomas Seaman and John Alne,<sup>1</sup> clerical oblates of the London Charterhouse, could scarcely have deserved to be mentioned here; for we are omitting the names even of professed religious of whose lives nothing remarkable is recorded.

The last benefactor of our monastery during this period was John Russel, Bishop of Lincoln, who, by a deed dated the 10th of November, 1482, released to the Prior and convent an annual pension of forty shillings, issuing out of the churches of Great Stockton, Edlesburgh, and North Mimms, to be paid to the Charterhouse as long as he should remain Bishop of Lincoln. The deed states that the Bishop bestowed this alms in honour of his Carthusian predecessor, St. Hugh of Lincoln, and in consideration of the zeal for regular monastic discipline always shown by the monks of the London Charterhouse,

<sup>1</sup> Obituary of Order, 1469 and 1473.

the faithful imitators of the Saint, and to obtain, through God's mercy, a part in their prayers, vigils, and other good works. This pious benefactor of the Charterhouse was the first perpetual Chancellor of Oxford University, and for some time Lord Chancellor of England. He occupied the see of Lincoln from 1480 until his death, which took place at Nettleham on the 30th of January, 1490.<sup>1</sup>

Prior Wolfigham died in 1487 or 1488, and was succeeded by Father Richard Roche, possibly the learned Rock of whom we have spoken already. Dugdale finds him in charge in 1491,<sup>2</sup> and from other sources it appears that he retained the priorate until the end of the century, when the General Chapter accepted his resignation. He subsequently held the office of Vicar until his death, which is announced in the obituary of 1515.

Towards the close of Roche's priorate, the Charterhouse became the temporary abode of Blessed Thomas More, who remained there for four years, frequenting all the Offices and living almost like the monks. He never took monastic vows; and there is no proof that he was even an oblate, for in those days the rule which limits visits and retreats to ten days was not in force. After this long trial of monasticism, Thomas More decided that he was called to serve God in the busy scenes of daily life,

<sup>1</sup> Godwin, *De Præsulibus Angliæ*, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 9.

and not in the peaceful solitude of a Carthusian cell. Whatever were his reasons for not embracing the religious state, it is certain that he did not "turn in disgust from the impurity of the cloister,"<sup>1</sup> as has been said by one who ought to have known better; for the observation of the Rule and the practice of every virtue must have been daily before his eyes during his long retreat in the London Charterhouse.

Excepting some details of minor importance, all that is recorded of the London Charterhouse during the fifteenth century has now been stated. In the story of the much more eventful period upon which we are about to enter, the historical works of Maurice Chauncy will often be our guides.<sup>2</sup> The details of his life and work must not be mentioned in this chapter. It may nevertheless be well to observe in passing, that as an historian he is trustworthy. He was an eye-witness of most of what he records, and the remainder he had upon excellent authority. Moreover, his statements are frequently corroborated from sources quite unknown to the historian himself. In thus defending Chauncy's veracity as an historical writer, it is not intended to prove thereby the authenticity of the extraordinary occurrences and miracles which he records, and which have never been for-

<sup>1</sup> Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> The last edition of these works was published, in 1888, by the monks of St. Hugh's Charterhouse, in Sussex. The book is entitled, *Historia aliquot Martyrum Anglorum, maxime octodecim Cartusianorum*.

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mally approved by the Church. Father Chauncy believed them, and he had them upon good authority. We are free to accept or to reject, or, still better, to follow the safe middle course of regarding them with great respect, without passing judgment upon them. The omission of these events would partly spoil our narrative; to criticise them severely would be a deviation from Carthusian simplicity; while, on the other hand, it would be rash to insist upon their being received as authentic.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE SAINTLY WILLIAM TYNBYGH—TEMPORAL AFFAIRS—JOHN  
BATMANSON—TROUBLESOME MONKS.

ABOUT the year 1470, a young Irishman named William Tynbygh made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There, Chauncy informs us, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Saracens, who cast him into a dungeon to await the hour of his execution. With the prospect of being murdered in cold blood by the cruel enemies of the Christians, he betook himself to prayer. An ignominious death, far away from his native land, and deprived of the last consolations of religion, appeared to await him. But the day before the execution, William remembered a picture of St. Catharine that hung on the wall of his father's chapel in Ireland, and, with sighs and tears, he begged the Saint to deliver him by her intercession from the untimely end that was hourly approaching. At length he fell asleep, and on awaking he found himself no longer in the squalid dungeon of the Saracens, but prostrate before the picture of St. Catharine in his happy home in Ire-

land. The angel of the Lord, who carried the prophet Habacuc from Judea to Babylon,<sup>1</sup> had borne William Tynbygh from Palestine to Erin, and he was safe and sound in the midst of his family.

On recovering his self-possession, he told how God had shown mercy towards him, in answer to the prayers of His servant Catharine, and had miraculously delivered him from the fury of his enemies.

William soon discovered, to his sorrow, that this miracle had earned for him the reputation of sanctity. He therefore determined to forsake all earthly things, and to consecrate himself wholly to the service of God. Fearing that his plans might be thwarted by his parents, he fled during the night, and, hurrying to the nearest port, crossed over to England. Soon after, he was a postulant in the London Charterhouse; and, after the ordinary trial of vocation, he received the Carthusian habit.

Dom William was called to an eminent degree of perfection, and by no easy road; for, says our historian, "he became, as it were, a second St. Anthony, in mental prayer, in victory over temptations, in reiterated conflicts with the demons, and in holiness of life." St. Athanasius tells us how cruelly the devils used to treat St. Anthony, leaving him, wounded from head to foot, half dead upon the ground. It was the same with William Tynbygh,

<sup>1</sup> Daniel xiv. 35.

who was, it is said, no less terribly scourged and lacerated by his infernal enemies.

Though the humble monk endeavoured to hide these diabolical attacks from the community, his secret was at length divulged; for one night he was so dreadfully wounded that, being quite unable to dress himself, he was obliged to be absent when Matins began. According to the custom of the Order, the Infirmarian went to seek the absentee; and on entering his cell he found him lying motionless upon the floor, and covered with wounds, while everything in the room was in the utmost confusion. This was not the only way in which the devils tormented him; but they were always put to shame by his gaining a complete victory.

Father Tynbygh also had his consolations. Towards the close of his life he was unable to pronounce the opening words of the Gospel according to St. John without being rapt in ecstasy. It may be worth while to observe that the first chapter of St. John's Gospel is not read at the end of the Carthusian Mass. Father Tynbygh's transports must therefore have taken place in the cell, where it is recited twice every day.

Tynbygh was deemed worthy to be the Father and director of most of the English Carthusian martyrs. They received at his hands the habit of the Order; they pronounced in his presence their holy vows; they took under his guidance their first

steps in the way of religious perfection, and began their preparation for the cruel death which was to gain for them everlasting renown.

It was about the year 1470 when Father Tynbygh entered the London Charterhouse; and after holding the offices, first of Sacristan, and afterwards of Vicar, he was elected Prior in 1500.

Several documents relating to the temporal business of the Charterhouse during Father Tynbygh's priorate are preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> As complete copies of these could hardly prove interesting, we will confine ourselves to a few abstracts. First comes a bundle of thirty-seven parchment documents, of which some refer to the Charterhouse. They are receipts for various small sums of money.

The next bundle contains, in the first place, a "View of the Account of William Tynbegh (*sic*), Prior of the Charterhouse."

Moneys received from various rectories, including £3 6s. 8*d.* from the Abbot of Westminster.

Receipts from various lands in and about London, amounting in all to £683 5s. 3*d.*

Various payments, including one "for salte fishe this yere," £15 17s. 3*d.*

We may give a single extract in its original form. It is a curious receipt by John Heth, a

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. viii. 612-614.

chantry priest, who seems to have resided for several years in the Charterhouse.

“This byll wytenessith me S<sup>r</sup> John Heth, chauntre preyst of S<sup>r</sup> Robert Reede, knight, in the chart<sup>r</sup>house besyde londō, to have recyved the day of makyng hereof of the Pryor & cōvent of the seyde chartierhouse, xl<sup>s</sup> in moey, of & for my salary & wage to me due for a q<sup>a</sup>rter of a yer ended the day of makyng herof, of the wyche xl<sup>s</sup> I knowlege my self truly contentyd & payed; and the seid pryor & covent therof to be quyte and dyscharged by these p<sup>r</sup>sente. In witenes wherof to this bill I have putt my seale. Datur in festo purificationis baati (*sic*) Marie, Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi xj<sup>mo</sup> (1520).

“p me Jho. Heth.”

This is followed by a rental headed thus :

“Thys be ye landes rentyt to Creychirche of ye chartyrhouse of London lying in Clyf (?).”

In the Appendix<sup>1</sup> we give a letter from Prior Tynbygh to the parish priest of St. Peter's, in Thetford. It concerns the reception of a postulant, named William Hope, who had already worn the habit of the Order and abandoned it. The Prior thinks that the community will not readmit him unless “they may understand in him by-long-time-continual stability in sad and virtuous living.” He was not received again at the Charterhouse; but

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, Appendix iv.

as late as October, 1534, our Prior seems to have been paying for his board with the Austin Friars.

In 1514 Philip Underwood, a monk of the Charterhouse, was allowed, by special dispensation, to pass over to a less austere Order, and was received as a member of the brotherhood of St. John of Jerusalem, by Sir Thomas Docwra, the Lord Prior, and his brethren, in a chapter held at St. John's House, Clerkenwell, on the 24th of April. On the 15th of November in the following year this reception was formally confirmed by a deed under the leaden seal of the Grand Master of the "Religion" of St. John.<sup>1</sup>

A curious document preserved in the register of St. John's Hospital<sup>2</sup> shows that Pardon Churchyard was in 1514 the property of the Hospital, and was still used as a burial-ground.

This is another instance of the friendly relations which existed between the Carthusians and the Brothers of St. John; for the churchyard was for some time the property of the Charterhouse.

At length, after a priorate of twenty-nine years, "at his own earnest request, and by reason of his advanced age and numerous infirmities," William Tynbygh was allowed to return to the cloister. This was in 1529; and within two years after

<sup>1</sup> From Mr. E. Waterton's MS. collections regarding the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*, vol. i. p. 382.

his resignation of office he died in the odour of sanctity.<sup>1</sup> The General Chapter of 1531 granted to Prior Tynbygh the Carthusian panegyric, which, though it consists of only one word, is never given to any but religious of special merit: "*qui 60 annis laudabiliter vixit in ordine*" ("who lived sixty years in the Order in a praiseworthy manner").

John Batmanson was the next Prior. His life was drawing towards its close when, in 1529, he was called upon to govern the London Charterhouse. Previous to this election, however, he was not unknown, for, besides being an exemplary monk, he was a learned writer. He had, moreover, been Prior of the Hinton Charterhouse and Assistant Visitor of the English Province of the Order.<sup>2</sup>

Prior Batmanson wrote books or treatises on the Canticle of Canticles and the Proverbs of Solomon; on the words of the Gospel, *Missus est Angelus*; on the identity of the Magdalen in the Gospels; on the Child Jesus amidst the Doctors at Jerusalem; and on contempt of the world. He also wrote some instructions for novices,<sup>3</sup> and, at the request of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York, a book against some doubtful opinions of Erasmus, and another

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy accidentally puts the year of Tynbygh's resignation as that of his death.

<sup>2</sup> *Charta Cap. Gen.*, 1532.

<sup>3</sup> Probably the treatise preserved in the Cotton MSS., Nero A. III., fol. 139.

against the errors of Martin Luther.<sup>1</sup> Finally he wrote a "Retractation" of some statements contained in his own works.

As is generally the case with controversial writers, Father John Batmanson had his enemies, and amongst them must be counted Erasmus, who considered his opponent "an ignorant wrangler." Other authors, however, both English and foreign, commend his piety and zeal, as well as his genius and learning.

This estimable Prior died on the 16th of November, 1531, and was granted by the General Chapter a full *monachatus* with psalters throughout the Order.

Before passing to the next Prior, some eight letters of uncertain years, but undoubtedly belonging to the period now under consideration, should be mentioned. These letters, addressed to the Prior of our Charterhouse, are simply named in the *Calendar of Letters and Papers* without any particulars.<sup>2</sup> We have procured copies from the almost illegible originals in the Public Record Office, and some of them are printed in the appendix to this volume.<sup>3</sup>

One of the letters is from the Prior of the

<sup>1</sup> The book against Luther was published at Paris in 1538, and there is a copy of it in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. viii. 611.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, Appendix v.



Coventry Charterhouse. It shows that Dom<sup>1</sup> Robert Raby, of whom we shall speak hereafter, was sent to the London Charterhouse at his own special request, in exchange for Dom George Rogers, whom our Prior desired to remove.

Five other letters treat of not very edifying monks.

Dom William Bakster, professed of the London Charterhouse, had, for some transgression which is not recorded, been removed to the Charterhouse at Witham. He is now "very busy in desiring to come home" to London.

Dom Halys, a monk of the London Charterhouse, was, it appears, ailing both in body and in mind. It was therefore determined to transfer him to Mount Grace, in Yorkshire. The London Prior was willing to receive in return Dom William Barker, professed monk of the Mount Grace Charterhouse, but on condition that he should be dispensed from the punishments which by a very serious fault he had merited.

Father Jonbourne, Prior of Sheen and Provincial Visitor for many years previously to 1532,<sup>2</sup> wrote soon after the removal of Halys to Mount

<sup>1</sup> The English form *Dan* has long since fallen into disuse, and it is better to adopt the continental form *Dom* or *Don* than to restore it. The term, a contraction of *Domnus*, signifies a choir monk, and might, at least for religious who are priests, be replaced by *Father*.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of the Order.

Grace. Alluding to the stipulation of our Prior regarding Dom Barker's punishment, the Visitor says, "God forbid, Father, that I should discharge [an] apostate under such form, the which hath been out of the house of his profession, and so out of due religion, hurting therein especially his own soul to the displeasure of God, etc. . . . Therefore, Father, I desire you that I may have knowledge from you to-morrow . . . whether you will receive him as a man being in the case that he is in, and so to be punished after the form of the Order with you. If he order himself religiously with you, in process of time, with your counsel and your brethren, he may be more favourably dealt with. . . ."

Father Jonbourn then adds that, supposing the London Prior is unwilling to punish him, he will keep the delinquent at Sheen until, having performed his penance, he is able to return home to Mount Grace. Thus the heinous crime of apostasy (that is, of breaking his vows by quitting the monastery and habit without permission) was treated with just severity, tempered with forbearance and mercy. Barker was eventually sent to the London Charterhouse, and was still there in 1534.

Poor Dom Halys was very troublesome, but he is not accused, like Barker, of a serious crime. From Mount Grace he was sent to the Charterhouse of Axholme. The Prior of that monastery writes: "He continually crieth of me to send him home to you.

. . . Good Father, we pray you to provide for your brother, either to take him home to you, or else provide some other place for him where he may be quiet and borne in his infirmities." The Prior is even willing to take Dom Barker in exchange for this discontented and useless monk. Halys did not return to London, but was sent by the Visitor, Father Jonbourne, to the Coventry Charterhouse.

Barker and Halys were, there is good reason to believe, the most troublesome of the English Carthusians of their day, and this correspondence, though it exposes the failings of two unfortunate monks, proves that our English Province was not relaxed, and that the adage, "*Cartusia nunquam reformata quia nunquam deformata*," held good in the sixteenth century.

One short year of probation was in those days followed by irrevocable vows, and it would be strange if an unsuitable subject had not occasionally been admitted. According to the present discipline of the Church, no one is allowed to make the solemn irrevocable engagement unless he has persevered with us for four years in the observance of the simple vows.

CHAPTER VII.

BLESSED JOHN HOUGHTON.

SOMEWHERE in the county of Essex, about the year 1487, was born, of honest and respectable parents, a child of predilection, destined to lead a very holy life, and subsequently to lay it down in defence of the Christian faith. This favoured child was Blessed John Houghton, the first of the English Carthusian martyrs.

While still a boy he was sent to the University of Cambridge, where he studied both Civil and Canon Law, and took the degree of Bachelor of Laws. He was about twenty years old when he returned home, and his parents made arrangements for a suitable marriage for him. He, however, had already formed the desire of being a priest, and, fearful of opposition, he quitted his home without bidding his parents farewell.

A certain devout ecclesiastic received the fugitive into his house, and aided him in his preparation for Holy Orders. After his ordination, he returned to his father's house, and begged pardon for his

seemingly undutiful behaviour. He was readily forgiven, and invited to live in the bosom of his family. Accepting this invitation he remained at home for four years, piously performing the sacred functions of his priesthood, and edifying all who knew him by the holiness of his life.

At length the pious John Houghton conceived a desire for greater perfection than was practicable in the midst of the family circle. To use Chauncy's quaint expression, "he desired like the morning stag to ascend the heights." He therefore resolved to embrace the religious state; and, after due reflection with fervent prayer, he made choice of the Carthusian Order. He accordingly presented himself at the London Charterhouse, and, after a somewhat protracted postulancy,<sup>1</sup> received at the hands of Prior Tynbygh the habit of the Order.

It is fitting to describe the Carthusian habit, now that its reception by the chief of all the English Carthusians is under consideration. The external part of the habit consists of a robe of undyed wool descending at least as low as the ankles; a white leathern girdle round the waist; the monk's sword, a large rosary, hanging from the girdle on the left side; and finally the great cowl which conceals almost all the rest. A hood to cover the head forms part of the cowl, and there are bands on either side below the arms. This dress is by no

<sup>1</sup> *Post diutinam dilationem.*

means imposing, except, perhaps, on account of its whiteness, rendering it a fitting reminder for the wearer of the spotless purity of soul which should adorn those who are separated from the rest of mankind in order to perform the functions of angels, singing God's praises by day and by night before the tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament.

The cowl which John Houghton received at his "clothing" was smaller than that just mentioned and without bands, from his girdle there hung no rosary, and in choir he was completely enveloped in a black mantle; for during his first year in the Charterhouse he had to wear the costume of a novice, and to satisfy the community with regard to his fitness for the various duties of Carthusian life.

It was about the year 1516 when Prior Tynbygh placed upon his fervent novice the great cowl of the professed religious, and heard him pronounce the solemn vows which bound him irrevocably to the Order and the Order to him. Dom John Houghton was then twenty-nine years old.

For several years after his profession John Houghton dwelt peacefully in his cell, free from all exterior employment, and busied with the three exercises of the contemplative life, prayer, study, and manual labour. But little is known regarding these first years of his Carthusian career; indeed, little could be known, for singularity and ostentation

would be very bad signs, and certainly not to be found in one who was destined to receive the honours of beatification and, it is confidently hoped, canonization. Yet a few words of Chauncy's give us a glimpse of Dom John's hidden life in the cloister of the London Charterhouse.

"There he spent twenty years of religious life in great austerity, in perfect humility, with admirable patience, in entire self-abnegation. He was a most exact observer of the rules regarding solitude and silence, striving always to hide himself, and concealing most carefully any extraordinary graces with which he was favoured. He dreaded nothing more than to become known, and was ever desirous of being forgotten or deemed unworthy of special esteem."

"Nevertheless," continues our historian, "a city seated on a mountain cannot be hid, nor can a window shutter be so tightly closed that the light within will not somewhere be visible to those who are without." After more than seven years spent as a simple monk, obedience compelled Dom Houghton to accept the office of Sacristan. Of all possible charges this was the least distasteful to him, for he considered it a great honour to be always occupied with what regards the sacred ministry of the altar. This office, moreover, while less distracting than any other, afforded him many an opportunity of rendering little services to his brethren, and of

humbling himself before them. He had also the duty and privilege of reciting all the Canonical Hours and even the Office of Our Lady in the Church, thus satisfying his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament.

On one occasion this devotion to the Holy Sacrament of the altar led him to overcome natural repugnance as well as the fear of contagion, and to consume a sacred particle which a monk who was sick of the plague had rejected. "Neither," says Chauncy, "did he fear death, for he received the Author of life, nor sickness, for he received Him who healeth all our infirmities, nor did he any longer feel repugnance, for he tasted in spirit that the Lord is sweet."

Five years as Sacristan, with the seven years of solitude which preceded them, completed, so to speak, John Houghton's Carthusian education. The remainder of his life was to be spent in employments which presuppose a foundation of solid virtue. It was, indeed, during these last eight years that his good qualities and virtues displayed themselves most brilliantly. This, however, was rather the practical application and development of what he had acquired in the cell than the acquisition of anything new. The hour, then, had come for John Houghton's virtues to shed abroad their lustre, not only within the precincts of the Charterhouse, but also in the great city into which, since his reception

of St. Bruno's habit, he had never entered. Week after week he had taken a walk with his brethren, but his steps had invariably been directed towards the country ; for a Carthusian is out of place in the busy streets. The office of Sacristan had not brought him into contact with the outside world ; for even the Church, with the exception of the visitors' gallery, was quite private. Now obedience obliged him to appear in public, for he was appointed Procurator of the monastery.

Dom John accepted this office with a heavy heart, partly on account of the peaceful solitude he was leaving, but especially because of the dangers to which the performance of his new duties would expose him. But his virtues were more solid than his humility allowed him to suppose ; and as Procurator he became more useful to his neighbour, without detriment to his personal holiness or to the spirit of prayer. In the noisy streets of London, as well as in the silent cloister, he knew how to remain interiorly recollected. He had, indeed, chosen Mary's part, but obedience had imposed Martha's upon him ; and so well did he combine the contemplative with the active, that he performed the duties of his office without ever neglecting the one thing necessary.

Father John Houghton had been Procurator just three years when a new honour was conferred upon him, and with it, as usual, a fresh responsibility and

an additional sacrifice. He was appointed to the priorate of the Charterhouse of Beauvale. So he bade farewell to his brethren and to the house of his profession, and went where obedience called him. Little did he think, when he left the London Charterhouse, how soon he would return, or what honours, what trials, what sufferings, and what glory that return would bring.

Probably nothing very remarkable occurred during John Houghton's brief priorate at Beauvale. It only lasted six months; for in November of the same year, 1531, Father Batmanson died, and he was elected Prior of the London Charterhouse. In the following spring, by order of the General Chapter, he succeeded Father John Jonbourn in the office of Provincial Visitor. Thus, in spite of all his efforts to live hidden and unknown in the cloister, John Houghton found himself Prior of the London Charterhouse, and, in the capacity of Provincial Visitor, at the head of the English Carthusians.

It was in the prominent position which he now held that Father Houghton's virtues were seen in all their beauty; and the virtue that was noticed above all was his sweet humility. Should any one happen to call him Lord Prior, or to give him any other marks of respect not customary in the Order, he would urge that it was not proper for an humble Carthusian monk to imitate the proud Pharisees, who

made broad their phylacteries, and loved to be called by men, "Rabbi." Even in the bows and other marks of respect and submission prescribed by the Rule or by tradition he always found an occasion of confusion. He used, as he told the community, to pray God to receive these honours to the glory of His holy Name.

It is customary for the Prior of a Charterhouse to visit the monks in their cells. On these occasions John Houghton left, so he said, the priorate in the Prior's cell; and laying aside the air of authority which elsewhere he was obliged to assume, he would converse with the familiarity of a brother. It was during one of these friendly visits to the occupant of his former cell that he made the following suggestive remark:—"Brother," said he, "there are places within the precincts of your cell which, could they speak, might tell you something." Whether the Prior alluded to consolation received, to temptation conquered, or to both the one and the other, we are not informed. He took such care to conceal all that was extraordinary in his gifts and virtues.

There was, however, one grace which he was unable to hide from the community—the gift of tears. Frequently during the celebration of Mass, an action which he performed with well-nigh angelic devotion, the sweet tears of love and compunction would be seen trickling down his cheeks. Sometimes, even in the Refectory, his heart was so full of

the sentiments of Divine love that he was unable to refrain from weeping. He would rise from the table and hasten to his cell, where, unseen by mortal eye, he could pour out his heart like water before the Lord, washing, like St. Mary Magdalen, the feet of the Saviour with his tears of loving compassion.

From these features of his character it might be doubted whether John Houghton was able to show, when occasion required it, the firmness and decision so necessary for the Superior of a large community. Indeed he was able. He knew how, when he thought proper, to be firm and even severe. And this was especially remarkable with regard to the Divine Office and the ceremonies prescribed by the Statutes of the Order. Moreover, he often made these duties the subject of his sermons in the Chapter House. Taking one day his text from the sixty-second chapter of Isaias—"Upon thy walls, O Jerusalem, I have appointed watchmen all the day and all the night, they shall never hold their peace"—he said that, having become monks for the express purpose of serving God, they should be very careful and devout in the performance of all their duties, but above all of their chief duty, the Divine Office. Placed by God like watchmen upon the walls of Jerusalem, it was, he urged, the business of Carthusians to sing by day and by night to the honour and glory of His Name. And for com-

panions they had the angels, who began their songs of praise before the monks, joined with them while they were singing, and, when human voices ceased, still continued their untiring melody. The Prior then recommended the monks to sing gravely and slowly, and never to grudge the time spent in the "work of God"; for where else could they be so profitably employed as in the holy choir?

Father John Houghton insisted upon very slow singing, and even objected to the custom, now at least received throughout the Order and prescribed by the Statutes, of chanting on a lower tone, and more briskly on ferial days than on Festivals. Sometimes he would leave his stall during the Office, and, approaching the *Cantors*, beg them to sing less rapidly. It appears that his admonitions on this point were attended to even to excess; for we read that the night Office sometimes lasted until half-past three o'clock. Thus, unless the pause between Matins and Lauds was protracted,<sup>1</sup> the London Carthusians under Blessed John Houghton devoted an extra hour to the Office, although the words and the notes were exactly the same as to-day.

The following incident is also illustrative of his severity with regard to the Divine Office—a praiseworthy severity, for it arose from zeal for the honour of God.

The nocturnal service being somewhat trying

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 28.

for the eyes, it is customary to extinguish or cover the lights during the portions of the Office which are known by heart. This also aids devotion and favours holy poverty. Now it happened one Sunday at *Lauds* that, trusting too much to memory during the psalm *Confitemini*,<sup>1</sup> one side of choir made an unfortunate blunder. In the morning, Sunday being a Chapter Feast, the monks met in the Chapter House after *Prime*. The Martyrology had been read, the prayers recited, and the monks were about to prostrate themselves for the public confession of faults, when the Prior addressed them thus:—

“Dearest brothers, what have we done this night? We have made mistakes in singing psalms to our God; let us humbly acknowledge our fault. It is a matter of no little importance that we, who perform the angels’ office of singing the Divine praises, should make such blunders in the sight of God and of His holy angels. Those blessed spirits never err, and we have presumed to make mistakes through our negligence and inattention. We have done carelessly the work which above all others we are bound to do well. If we are unprofitable servants when we do all that we ought to do, how much more unprofitable do we render ourselves when we fail in the performance of our duty? This must not happen again.”

<sup>1</sup> The second in Sunday *Lauds* according to the Carthusian rite.

Having continued for some time in this strain, drawing comparisons from the service expected by earthly potentates, from the rejection of Cain's offering and the gracious acceptance of that of Abel, and from the diligence with which servants seek to please their masters, the Prior concluded by bidding the monks not to extinguish the candles at *Lauds* on Sundays; and he ordered that whenever any one had to sing alone, however well he might know the passage, he must have a light.

In all things except those which concerned the Divine Office, Prior Houghton preferred gentleness and good example to severity, though he did not hesitate when necessary to have recourse to salutary punishment. Fortunately this was not often required, for he was loved and revered by all the community, excepting perhaps a certain Dom Thomas Salter, of whom more will be said hereafter.

With regard to exterior mortification, he was, like most of the Saints, hard upon himself, and full of compassion for those under his charge. After Matins, for instance, instead of returning to his bed he would repose a while upon a bench with simply a small cushion for his head; but to others he would forbid the practice of any austerities not prescribed in the Rule, unless he was certain that they were both robust and inured to the ordinary fatigues of Carthusian life. This prudent Superior was well aware of the evil consequences of indiscreet mortifi-

cation, which may render a religious a burden as well to himself as to the community. Perhaps poor Halys<sup>1</sup> was a victim to this illusion. To those of the monks, however, who were of mature age and in good health, he would recommend a moderate amount of exterior mortification, in order that, according to the advice of St. Paul, chastising their bodies they might bring them into subjection.

The weekly abstinence on bread and water, which as a simple religious he had observed according to the Statutes of the Order, had been somewhat moderated since his appointment to the office of Procurator. The monks nevertheless begged him to treat himself more leniently in this respect, for they saw that his health was failing. To these suggestions Prior Houghton would reply that he was bound as Superior to set a good example, and that were he to grow remiss in regular observance, a general relaxation in discipline might ensue.

An attempt to enumerate all the virtues and qualities which endeared John Houghton to all with whom he came in contact would be wearisome; for Chauncy affirms that all would have deemed him worthy of being canonized even if he had not died by martyrdom. Even the wicked time-serving men who brought about his death respected the Prior of the London Charterhouse; and Cromwell, their

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 76.

chief, acknowledged in the presence of the community that he was a just and holy man.

Chauncy thus concludes his chapter "On the holy and discreet rule of the Prior, and of his virtues": "He was short, with a graceful figure and dignified appearance; his actions modest, his voice gentle; chaste in body, in heart humble. He was admired and sought after by all, and by his community he was beloved and esteemed. One and all revered him, and none were ever known to speak a word against him."

John Houghton does not seem to have distinguished himself particularly as a writer. A volume of sermons and another of letters, both of which have disappeared, have nevertheless earned for him a place in the catalogue of Carthusian authors.<sup>1</sup> The addresses recorded by Chauncy are most probably not the exact words of the holy Prior; for there is every reason to think that the historian wrote from memory, and several years after the discourses were delivered. Hence it is believed that a short letter from Beauvale to the Prior of London, and a letter to Father Theodoric Loer, Vicar of the Charterhouse of Cologne, printed in the Appendix to this volume,<sup>2</sup> are the only authentic writings of Blessed John Houghton that have come down to us. The letter to Cologne contains

<sup>1</sup> Petreius, *Bib. Carth.*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, Appendix v. and vi.

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an order for ten copies of all the works of Denis the Carthusian that had been lately published, except those entitled, "Of the Contempt of the World," and "The Ladder of Religious Men," for of each of these *opuscula* he required twenty copies. The letter is full of pious sentiments, and speaks very highly of the "ecstatic Denis," whose works Prior Houghton hoped would prove conducive to the conversion of many who, in those dark days, had fallen into heresy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

THE COMMUNITY UNDER BLESSED JOHN HOUGHTON—BLESSED  
WILLIAM EXMEW—BLESSED HUMPHREY MIDDLEMORE—BLESSED  
SEBASTIAN NEWDIGATE—OTHER EXEMPLARY MONKS—MAURICE  
CHAUNCY—EXCEPTIONS—ANDREW BORD—THE LAY BROTHERS  
—HUGH TAYLOR.

IN the London Charterhouse, during the priorate of John Houghton, all the characteristics of a well-regulated Charterhouse were to be seen in their perfection. This is easily understood, for this holy place harboured no less than fifteen or sixteen religious who were destined eventually to be raised to the altars of the Church.

Silence, our historian assures us, was very strictly observed. When a monk chanced to meet his father or some other relative in the cloister, he would not enter into conversation, though he had already obtained permission to receive his visit, but, simply making a sign with his hand, he would keep silence until they reached the cell. One might have believed that the cloister was uninhabited, except when the great bell called the monks from their solitude to sing God's praises in the Church.

No choir monk, excepting the Prior and Procurator, was ever seen abroad, except on walk-day ; and even the lay brothers were very exact with regard to the enclosure, and never left the monastery without necessity.

Peace, concord, and brotherly love reigned supreme in the Charterhouse ; and an emulation was observed among the religious, not as to who should be in office or in dignity, but as to who would be the most mortified, the most humble, or the most zealous in the service of God. Moreover, they vied with one another as to who would keep silence the best, leave his cell the least often, or be the most exact in coming to choir.

Though several of the monks had been wealthy and accustomed to every comfort when in the world, all led in the monastery a poor and mortified life, observing in its fulness the vow, and faithfully practising the virtue, of voluntary poverty. Their clothes were of the poorest texture, and did not exceed the number mentioned in the Statutes. "Pewter platters" were forbidden by Prior Houghton, "treen dishes" alone being permitted.<sup>1</sup> In fact, everything bespoke the spirit of voluntary poverty. Of good books, however, there was a plentiful supply.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii., 1047.

<sup>2</sup> "*Tantum duplicia de aliqua re necessaria, exceptis libris, habebant.*"

With regard to the vow of chastity the reputation of the Charterhouse monks has remained intact, even in the midst of the calumnies and exaggerations of men whose interest it was to blacken the fair name of the religious houses. The situation of the Charterhouse just under the walls of the City, and the good opinion of the people, must have prevented the invention of stories about the monks. If, however, any real charge could have been brought against them, undoubtedly it would not have been neglected. This is sufficiently proved by the insinuation regarding the number of keys, which will be explained in a subsequent chapter.<sup>1</sup>

The vow of obedience was observed in its integrity; and in matters which do not fall under the vow, the virtue of obedience was practised in all perfection. So submissive, indeed, were the monks to the will of their Prior, that he used to complain of the responsibility they laid upon his shoulders by thus leaving everything to his judgment.

Chauncy gives other particulars with regard to the community under Blessed John Houghton; but they need not be recorded here, for they would be equally appropriate to any well-regulated Charterhouse. It is, however, both consoling and edifying to have the assurance of a trustworthy eye-witness that, during the last years of its prosperity, the

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, Part II. chapter vi.

London Charterhouse was in such excellent condition.

Some members of the community deserve to be especially mentioned; and first of all Blessed William Exmew, who was able, in the midst of such perfect companions, to distinguish himself by his virtues and his learning. He was of good family, very intelligent, and well versed in the Greek and Latin languages.<sup>1</sup> He was, moreover, very fervent in the service of God, and Chauncy considered that his equal could hardly be found in the English Province of the Order. He was raised, when only twenty-eight years old, to the office of Vicar; and in that capacity he was for some time the confessor of Blessed John Houghton. Subsequently he was transferred to the office of Procurator, and he held it until his holy death.

The Procuratorship, generally distasteful to a good monk, was a heavy cross for Father William Exmew; for he sincerely loved the silence and solitude of the cloister. "His humble heart was rent," says Chauncy, "with a great sorrow, for he feared to lose the precious pearl he had found. Moreover, having tasted in spirit the sweet peace of detachment, the false liberty of the world had lost for him its savour." He frequently told Chauncy how ashamed

<sup>1</sup> A manuscript *Life of Fisher*, partly destroyed by fire (Brit. Mus., Arundel 152, fol. 151), tells us that Dom William Exmew was of Christ's College, Cambridge.

and confused he felt at being obliged to leave the choir before *Lauds*. The Procurator does this because he must rise earlier than the other choir monks, in order to say the lay brothers' Mass. But Dom William was afflicted by the thought that he held the office of Judas, who kept the bag; and that, like him, he went out before the rest of the community. Thus following Judas in life, he feared that at last he would also be condemned with him. He had, however, no reason to be troubled; for his virtues were solid, and he remained faithful to the end.

While Father Exmew was Vicar of the Charterhouse, the Procuratorship was held by Father Humphrey Middlemore. Subsequently they exchanged offices, Father Exmew becoming, as has just been observed, Procurator, and Father Middlemore Vicar. We have at present no more particulars regarding Blessed Humphrey Middlemore, excepting those which belong to the history of the troublous times.

Of all the monks of the London Charterhouse, perhaps the most distinguished as regards family, and one of the most remarkable for his virtues, was Sebastian Newdigate. His family name, which is variously written in old charters and upon ancient monuments, Newudgate, Niwodegate, Newedigate, Niudegate, is either taken from, or else gave its name to, Newdigate, near Reigate, Surrey.

John Newdigate was lord of the manor of Harefield, Middlesex. After studying the law at Lincoln's Inn, he was advanced to the dignity of the coif on the 18th of November, 1510; and in 1520 he was appointed one of the king's sergeants. By his wife, Amphelicia, daughter of John Nevill of Sutton, in Lincolnshire, he had a large family; of whom Sebastian and his sister, Lady Jane Dormer, are the only two that need be mentioned here.

Sebastian was educated in the court of Henry VIII., and was a favourite with the king. Betham<sup>1</sup> says that he was married; but if this be correct, he must have been a mere youth at the time, and his consort must have died very soon; for Chauncy distinctly states that in 1535 he was still young, and the date given by Betham for the wife's death, followed by his entry into the Charterhouse, is 1524. In the authentic accounts of Sebastian's vocation there is no allusion to this marriage, which was probably imagined in order to account for his becoming a Carthusian; for inexperienced persons often presuppose some sorrow, disappointment, or reverse of fortune as the determinant cause of a vocation to an austere and solitary life.

The following particulars are taken from the Latin manuscript of Father George Transam,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Baronetage of England* (London, 1801), vol. iii. p. 10.

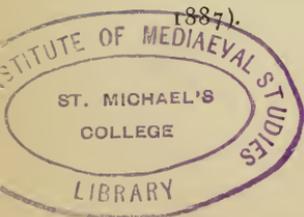
<sup>2</sup> *Infra*, Part III. ch. vi.

preserved in our archives. They agree in substance with the account given by his contemporary, Henry Clifford, in his *Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*.<sup>1</sup>

Sebastian's sister, Lady Jane Dormer, perceiving that the king had grown weary of his lawful wife, Queen Catharine, and turned aside from the path of virtue, feared that her brother might be ruined by the bad example of his royal master. She knew, moreover, that the court was becoming more and more corrupt. She therefore sent Sebastian an invitation to come and see her at her residence, about a day's journey from London. She hoped that her pious counsels might help him to avoid the dangers by which he was surrounded. The young courtier accepted the invitation, and was received with sisterly affection.

Lady Jane soon managed to turn the conversation to the subject which occupied her thoughts, and they spoke of the dreadful state of morality in the court. At length she told her brother that rumours were abroad with regard to King Henry's misconduct, and that he even wished to get a divorce from good Queen Catharine. She then warned her brother against the dangers of his position at court, begging him to take heed not to sully his conscience by sin, for he was a Christian as well as a courtier.

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J. (Burns and Oates,



Sebastian was somewhat offended at these insinuations against the king, whom he defended, blaming his sister for giving ear to such reports. "For what," said he, "could be too improbable, too incredible, or too wicked to be whispered among ill-disposed persons? Yet, dear sister, should your suspicions prove founded, I will not forget your advice. I promise you I will not neglect the salvation of my soul." "Very well," she replied, "I ask no more; but I am afraid both my warning and your promise will soon be forgotten." For a few moments Sebastian kept silence. His eyes were bent upon the ground, and he seemed to be absorbed in meditation. Then, raising his eyes while he spoke, he asked his sister what she would think of his becoming a monk in the Charterhouse. "You a monk!" she exclaimed; "I should be less surprised to hear of your being hanged. All I desire and pray for is that God may make and keep you a good Christian layman. Carthusian perfection is not for persons brought up, as we have been, in the midst of a dissolute court, and pampered with every luxury." Sebastian smiled, and bidding his sister farewell, he returned to the palace.

Soon after, he discovered to his sorrow that Lady Dormer's fears were but too well founded. The king had, indeed, set his heart upon getting divorced from Queen Catharine, in order to marry Anne Boleyn; even in defiance, if necessary, of the

Holy See. Sebastian found, moreover, that the court was filled with sycophants, willing to barter their eternal salvation to please the king. The few, on the other hand, who showed their disapproval of the king's unlawful connection with the Lady Anne were falling into disfavour.

In all these things Sebastian Newdigate saw unmistakable signs that the time was come for him to fulfil the conditional promise made in that pensive moment during his conversation with his sister. He therefore determined to leave the court, with all its vices, dangers, vanities, and frivolities; to abandon for ever the thought of this world's honours, to which the way lay open before him, if he would consent exteriorly to the king's evil deeds; and to spend the remainder of his days in prayer and mortification in the cloister. He accordingly presented himself as a postulant at the London Charterhouse, and received, from the saintly William Tynbygh, the habit of St. Bruno.

Dom Sebastian had not been a novice very long, when the Prior received a visit from Lady Jane Dormer, who was troubled with scruples regarding her brother's vocation. She felt sure that he could not be fitted for Carthusian life. "How," thought she, "could a man pass thus from one extreme to the other—from every comfort and a daily round of frivolous pastimes to the austerities of the cloister, from the desire of honours and wealth to the utter

contempt of all earthly things, from the companionship of the dissolute persons who throng the royal palace to the solitude and silence of the Charterhouse, from entire freedom to perpetual and prison-like enclosure?" She feared that this attraction to the monastic state was but a snare of the devil, transforming himself into an angel of light, in order to work the more surely the spiritual ruin of his victim, and bring about a scandal in the Charterhouse. She recollected, moreover, that from his childhood Sebastian had always disliked fish; and this seemed to her a proof that he had no vocation, for she knew that total abstinence from flesh-meat was a rule of the Carthusian Order. She would, indeed, have been glad to believe that he was called to so holy a state of life, but she deemed it her duty to inform the Prior how improbable it was, and to warn him against the danger of receiving so unsuitable a postulant.

"You have nothing to fear, my lady," replied the Prior, on learning the purport of Jane Dormer's visit; "lay aside your apprehensions, for your brother is a very good novice, and will make a thorough Carthusian. He is old enough to judge for himself whether he can bear the austerity of our Rule. Divine grace, which can do all things, has led him here changed into another man; a perfect courtier has been turned almost suddenly into as perfect a Carthusian."

“Blessed be God,” exclaimed the lady, “for bringing my brother out of the perils of King Henry’s court into this holy place, and for showering upon him His richest spiritual gifts, far beyond my fondest aspiration! The mercy of the Lord is, indeed, over all His works! Good Father Prior, I am no longer anxious about Sebastian’s welfare.”

The novice was then sent for. But how changed his sister found him! The light-hearted courtier had become a monk, and monastic virtues were visible in all his actions. The subdued voice, the downcast eye, the humble demeanour, were proofs that the Prior had not exaggerated, and that Dom Sebastian had renounced for ever the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Jane Dormer shed tears; but they were not tears of sorrow. Then, begging the Father Prior’s blessing, and recommending herself to her brother’s prayers, she returned home; and her heart was filled with thankfulness and joy.

The young monk edified all the community by his virtues, making day by day fresh progress in the paths of perfection. He was, moreover, very successful in his studies; and soon after his profession was ready to be promoted to the priesthood. His sister had observed that she would be less surprised to hear of his being hanged than of his becoming a Carthusian; but neither brother nor

sister suspected that Carthusian life and Christian fortitude would bring him to the gallows.

Besides these three exemplary religious, there were amongst the choir monks several others who were unconsciously preparing themselves for martyrdom. These were Fathers Thomas Johnson, Richard Beer, John Rochester, and James Walworth, Priests; and Dom John Davy, the Deacon. Of these holy men, nothing is recorded prior to what belongs to the next part of our history.

There was, moreover, another category of religious who, before the bitter trial, could hardly have been distinguished from the future *Beati*. They were good and fervent monks; but their virtue was not strong enough to bear up against the storm of persecution even unto death. Hence, as the sequel will show, they lost the palm.

The one of this category who best deserves to be especially mentioned, and perhaps the bravest and noblest of them all, is our historian, Dom Maurice Chauncy. His brother's great-great-grandson, Sir Henry Chauncy, gives, in his *Antiquities of Hertfordshire*, some particulars of the family. Their pedigree is traced through many generations from Chauncy de Chauncy, near Amiens, whose name is in the roll of Battle Abbey.

Maurice Chauncy, born in the year 1513, was the eldest son of John Chauncy, of Pishobury in Sawbridgeworth, Hertfordshire, and Elizabeth,

daughter of John Proffit, of Barcombe, Sussex. He studied in the University of Oxford, and afterwards became a law student at Gray's Inn.

"During his residence there," says Sir Henry Chauncy, "he, willing to pay his duty to his father at Pishobury, obtained the favour of another gentleman of the same society to accompany him thither, intending to spend their Christmas there. His father, affected with a plain habit, was displeased with the gaiety of their apparel; and expressing his dislike to it, the son immediately resented it, and returned to London, where he fell into a contrary humour. He laid aside his glorious apparel, exchanged Gray's Inn for a monastery, took upon him the Carthusian habit, and became a monk in a house of that Order (now called the Charter-House, or Sutton's Hospital), where he applied his study to divinity."

From Maurice Chauncy's own writings it may be seen that he was a fervent novice, and became a very good religious. The efforts he makes to escape notice when the events recorded might turn to his praise, and the open avowal of his fall, demonstrate his humility. He does not hesitate to call himself an unworthy brother, a Saul among the prophets, a Judas among the Apostles, a child of Ephraim turning himself back in the day of battle. All this, of course, he wrote in after years, but doubtless he laid a firm foundation of virtue at the beginning of his Carthusian life; for none but a

truly devout religious could love his monastery so tenderly. He calls it his mother, and speaks in glowing terms of the few happy years which he spent within its walls. His Confessor and spiritual guide was Blessed William Exmew; and under his direction he wrote a manuscript entitled, *An Epistle of Private Counsel*.<sup>1</sup>

There was unfortunately a third category of monks in the cloister of the London Charterhouse during these last days of its prosperity. A great revolution was pending, and the powers of darkness were astir even in the Charterhouse. Otherwise it would be shocking to find so many as five or six who, with such bright examples before their eyes, did not make progress in the way of perfection.

One of these unhappy exceptions to the rule, Dom George by name, "sighed for the flesh-pots of Egypt, and all that appertained to monastic life seemed burdensome to him." The Divine Office became so distasteful to him, that he was known to leave the choir during Vespers, and to wander listlessly about the monastery. At length he grew so careless that, with the permission of the General Chapter, he was expelled from the Order.

Dom Thomas Salter was noted for murmuring and detraction.<sup>2</sup> He was always ready to speak evil of his brethren before seculars; "yet," says

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*.

<sup>2</sup> *Cf. Letters and Papers*, vii. 1046, 1047.

Chauncy, "he never said anything against himself." Then there was Dom Nicholas Rawlins,<sup>1</sup> who was sadly lukewarm, and, like Dom George, found the Office tedious. At last he began to wish himself out of the cloister.

Rawlins found an imitator in a certain Dom Henry, who was also thinking of quitting the monastery; and such a thought was becoming day by day more dangerous as the time of trial drew nearer. The fifth of these unhappy monks was John Darley. He seems to have had his redeeming qualities; but he was subject to great temptations, and his virtue was insufficient for the times in which he lived. He used to tell how his cell was infested by toads, to punish him for saying he would prefer them to the kind of fish that was presented to the community.

It is to be feared that Andrew Bord should also be included in this category. Hearne says he was the original "Merry Andrew." He was, according to that author, born at Bounds Hill, in Sussex. He is said to have been educated at Winchester School, and afterwards to have entered the University of Oxford. Leaving Oxford without having taken a degree, he became a Carthusian in the London Charterhouse.<sup>2</sup> At the time now under

<sup>1</sup> Written *Rawhus* by mistake in the old editions of Chauncy's *Passio*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. p. 295.

consideration, he was a professed monk, and in Holy Orders; but, to use his own expression, he was "not able to bide the rugurosytè"<sup>1</sup> of monastic life. He was a very learned man, and appears to have entertained a sincere affection for the Carthusian Order; but his letters and his conduct show that, from a religious point of view, he does not deserve the unqualified praise which Mr. Burke bestows upon him.<sup>2</sup>

We may now turn to a brighter subject. Chauncy tells us something of the "great perfection and simplicity of the lay brothers." "They were," he says, "*Conversi*, not merely in name, but in very deed; wholly converted from the world to God, most obedient sons, dearest brothers, faithful servants, full of fatherly affection, most attentive to the monks (to whom they proved no little consolation in their troubles), and intimate friends of God."<sup>3</sup>

It was observed that these brothers, though they had never studied Latin, seemed to understand what was read in the Church and in the Refectory.<sup>4</sup> Many other special blessings were bestowed upon them; and several of them were far advanced in

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, ii. p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> *Historical Portraits*, vol. i. p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> From this remark of Chauncy's it appears that the Refectory was not divided. The present arrangement allows the lay brothers to read in their mother tongue.

paths of perfection. A pious emulation as to who would excel in humility, self-denial, and other virtues suitable to their state was seen to exist among them. Six of them were unconsciously preparing to take their places in the catalogue of the Saints. Their names were—William Greenwood, Thomas Scriven, Robert Salt, Walter Pierson, Thomas Reding, and William Horn. There were, moreover, two brothers who were especially noted for their recollection during prayer; and it is said that sometimes, while lying prostrate, according to the custom of the Order, their bodies were raised above the ground. These two brothers, whose names were Roger and John, died shortly before the beginning of the troubles—troubles which were to prove that the virtues of the six *Conversi* just named were more solid than those of their brethren; for they could bear the test of protracted persecution.

Although he is not of the number of the beatified, Brother Hugh Taylor must not be included among those whose virtue was unequal to the test; for he seems to have been preserved from martyrdom in order to be instrumental in the perpetuation of a remnant of the English Province of our Order.

This lay brother, who has always been held in veneration by the English Carthusians, entered the London Charterhouse in 1518. Under the direction of Prior Tynbygh he made rapid progress in

the spiritual life, and was favoured with many extraordinary graces. He was so pleasing to God that his prayers were well-nigh always effectual. He was wont, moreover, to give advice to those who sought his aid; and it was always good; for he consulted the Lord in prayer before speaking. It was at the suggestion of this brother, who had seen a vision of adoring angels, that Father John Houghton consumed the sacred particle rejected by a sick monk.<sup>1</sup> Seculars, too, were in the habit of confiding their doubts and difficulties to Brother Hugh. One day, for instance, a young man, unable to decide whether to embrace the religious state or to marry, laid his case before him. The brother, after recommending the matter to God, told him to get married; "for," said he, "the will of God is that you should be both a husband and a monk." Accordingly he married, and then begged his consort's permission to retire into a monastery. On her refusal, he abandoned the project, and, having become the father of a family, forgot his attraction to the religious state. After some years, the wife reminded her husband of his former aspirations, saying that she now wished to be a nun. Then, remembering Brother Hugh's prediction, he consented to the proposal;

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 83. Chauncy does not give the name of Hugh Taylor when recording this event. It is taken from an old manuscript of the English Carthusians.

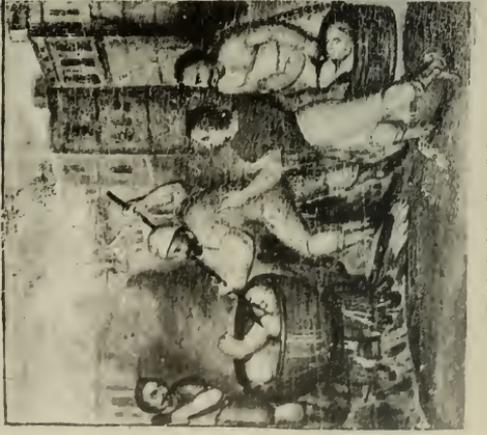
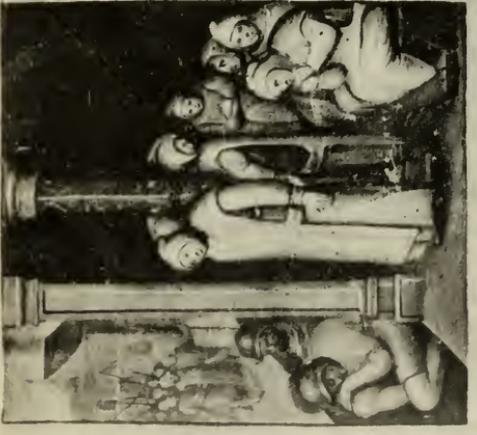
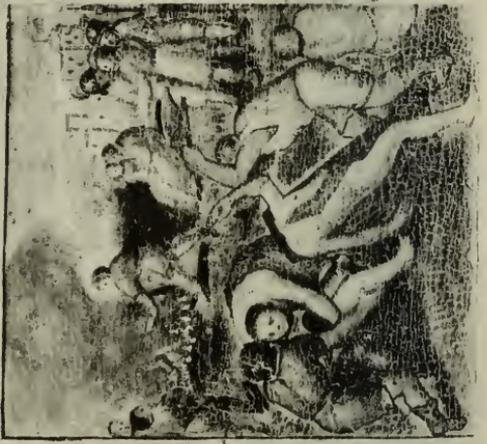
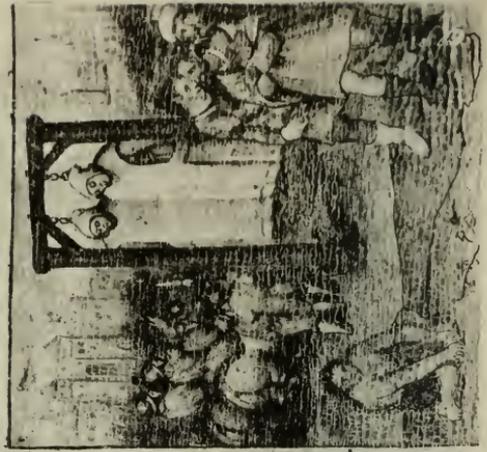
and, having provided for the education of their children with a relative, the pious couple separated, the husband becoming a monk at the Charterhouse of Sheen, and the wife a Bridgettine nun at Sion, near Isleworth. The remainder of Brother Hugh Taylor's history belongs to a later period ; for he lived many years after the London Charterhouse had ceased to be a monastery.

PART THE SECOND.

*TROUBLES.*







## CHAPTER I.

SIGNS IN THE HEAVENS—SIGNS IN THE COURT—THE COMMISSIONERS' VISIT—IMPRISONMENT—A GREAT CONCESSION.

CHAUNCY tells us that in 1533, the last year of tranquillity for the London Charterhouse, a comet of extraordinary brilliancy was seen in the sky; and it seemed to cast its rays right upon the monastery. On one occasion, as the religious were returning from the night Office, the bright beams from this strange comet were noticed to descend upon a lofty tree in the cemetery; and the light, glancing off from the tree, fell full upon the Church and bell-tower.

Later in the same year, the Prior, who, being pressed with business, had left the Church after the second nocturn,<sup>1</sup> entered the cemetery to offer up a short prayer for his departed brethren. To his

<sup>1</sup> There are two nocturns of six psalms each in Ferial Matins, according to the Carthusian rite. The three lessons are read after the first nocturn. Procurators always, for the reason given on p. 98, priors, and other officers, when very busy, are allowed to leave the choir after the nocturns; and by reciting *in privato* the remainder of the Office they save about half an hour.

great surprise he beheld, suspended in mid-air, above the Charterhouse, a huge blood-red globe. Fear overcame him, and he fell to the ground. Another monk, on returning from the Office, happened to go into his cell garden; and from thence he, too, beheld this ball of fire. This must have been about an hour later than when the Prior saw it, and it seems to prove that something was really there.

Whatever these things were, and whatever they meant, the monks looked upon them as harbingers of some great calamity that would shortly befall their house and its inmates, and they united in prayer that the evil might be turned into good.

Leaving for a moment the Charterhouse, we must glance very briefly at what had happened in and about King Henry's court since Sebastian Newdigate had found that it was no longer the place for a conscientious man. This was about 1525, and ever since the state of affairs had been growing worse and worse.

Cardinal Wolsey, who, whatever his personal faults may have been, always exercised a good influence upon the king, had been disgraced; and, after uttering the well-known complaint, "Had I served God as diligently as I have served the king, He would not have given me over in my grey hairs," he had departed this life.

Wolsey was succeeded in the office of Chancellor

by a worthier man than himself, Sir Thomas More, whose merit was then universally acknowledged, and who is now honoured by the title of Blessed Servant of God. Sir Thomas, however, was unable to influence the king as his less scrupulous predecessor had done; and soon he discovered, like Blessed Sebastian Newdigate, that to hold office under Henry VIII. was no longer possible for a good Catholic. He therefore resigned the Chancellorship, and devoted his time to prayer and study, in preparation for his glorious martyrdom.

Another Thomas, no less remarkable for his vices than Thomas More for his virtues, was at this time gaining power and honour in the kingdom. This was Thomas Cromwell. Lingard says he was the son of a fuller in a suburb of London.<sup>1</sup> In his early youth he had served as a trooper in the wars in Italy; he next entered the service of a Venetian merchant; and eventually, returning to England, he began to study law. As to moral principles, he held "that vice and virtue were but names, fit indeed to amuse the leisure of the learned in their colleges, but pernicious to the man who seeks to rise in the courts of princes. The great art of the politician was, in his judgment, to penetrate through the disguise which sovereigns are accustomed to throw over their real inclinations, and to devise the most

<sup>1</sup> According to another account, Cromwell's father was a blacksmith at Putney.

specious expedients by which they may gratify their appetites without appearing to outrage morality or religion.”<sup>1</sup>

This man was to a certain degree the originator of the Reformation; for when King Henry was almost minded to abandon the idea of getting a divorce, on account of the unwillingness of the Pope to grant it, Cromwell was the first to urge him to throw off the yoke of Rome, and, with the consent of his Parliament, to declare himself head of the Church of England. Thus all the difficulties regarding the divorce would be at an end. This was the practical application of Cromwell's principles, and the king was by no means displeased at it. He thanked his tempter for the suggestions, and ordered him to be sworn a member of the Privy Council.

At the beginning of 1533, Henry resolved to put Cromwell's advice into execution, for he saw clearly that the divorce case, which had now been pending for no less than five years, would never be decided as he wished. Accordingly he was privately married to Anne Boleyn, in a room at Whitehall, Dr. Roland Lee, who afterwards became Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, performing the ceremony. In May of the same year, Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the marriage

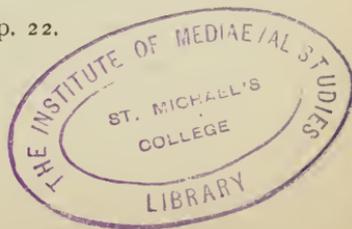
<sup>1</sup> Lingard's *History of England* (ed. 1854), vol. iv. p. 272, quoting Cardinal Pole, who states that he received these lessons from the mouth of Cromwell himself (Pole, pp. 133-136).

between King Henry and Catharine of Arragon null and invalid from the very beginning, and declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful wedlock. This declaration was followed, on the 1st of June, by the coronation of the new queen, which was attended by all the nobility of England, and celebrated with great splendour.

It was still feared that the legitimacy of the issue of this unhallowed union might be called in question, for it was well known that many were displeased at the injustice done to the true queen and her daughter, the Princess Mary. Henry therefore obtained from his obsequious Parliament the confirmation of the marriage with Anne Boleyn. The Act passed for this purpose declared that any person slandering the marriage, or seeking to prejudice its issue, whether by words, writing, print, or deed, should be guilty either of treason or of misprision of treason, as the case might be; and that all persons above sixteen years of age should be bound, when called upon, to take an oath of obedience to the statute, under the penalty of misprision of treason.<sup>1</sup>

This Act of Parliament furnished the subject-matter of the first trouble that befell our pious monks; for in the spring of 1534 the Royal Commissioners paid a visit to the Charterhouse, calling upon the Prior to give his formal approval to the king's pretended marriage, and to acknowledge the rights

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 25 Henry VIII., cap. 22.



of its issue. He answered that to meddle with the king's business did not belong to his vocation, nor to that of his monks ; and that it did not concern them whom the king wished to divorce or marry, provided they were not asked to give their opinion. The Commissioners, dissatisfied with this reply, ordered the Prior to swear solemnly and without any dissimulation that he and all the community considered the king's marriage with Catharine of Arragon to have been null, and that with Anne Boleyn valid and lawful. They were required, moreover, to swear fealty to the children of the new queen. To this the holy Prior simply replied that he could not understand how the former marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the Church, and so long unquestioned, could now have become unlawful. The community, having been assembled by order of the Commissioners, heard the Prior's answer and adhered to it.

The Prior had given his opinion against the new marriage in the presence of the community, and this being deemed a serious offence, he was committed to the Tower, together with the Procurator, Father Humphrey Middlemore. They remained in prison for a month, and then, with the aid of some learned ecclesiastics who visited them, came to the conclusion that the question of succession to the crown was not one for which they were in conscience bound to lay down their lives. They therefore

swore to the king's laws under condition—as far as the law of God permits—and returned to the Charterhouse.

The joy of the monks at seeing their holy Prior once more in their midst was moderated by the thought that a similar concession would soon be demanded of them. The insidiously worded form of oath, drawn up on the 30th of March of the same year, was not calculated to lessen their apprehensions; for it contained a clause of much more serious import than the question of succession to the crown—a broad hint, to say the least, of rebellion against the authority of the Holy See. It ran thus:—

“Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the king's majesty, and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of our said sovereign lord, according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the crown of this realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within the realm, *nor foreign authority or potentate*. And in case any oath be made or hath been made by you to any person or persons, that then ye repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said Act of Succession, and all the

whole effects and contents thereof, and all other Acts and statutes made in confirmation or for execution of the same, or for anything therein contained. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be. And in no wise to do or attempt, nor to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the same, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangelies.”<sup>1</sup>

This was very probably the oath which the blessed martyrs, John Fisher and Thomas More, refused to take; not, indeed, on account of the enactments respecting the succession, but because of some clauses inserted in the form. “As to swearing to the succession,” said Sir Thomas More, “I see no peril.” “In good faith my conscience so moved me in the matter that, though I would not deny to swear to the succession, yet unto that oath that there was offered me I could not swear without the jeoparding of my soul to perpetual damnation.”<sup>2</sup> The Bishop found the same objection to this form. “On his appearing before the Commissioners and their tendering to him the oath,

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *History of the Reformation*, vol. i. p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Roper's *Life of More* (ed. 1822), 123, 126.

his lordship told them that he was content to be sworn to that part of it which concerned the succession, for which he gave the Commissioners this reason, which he seems to have had from Sir Thomas More, and which his lordship told them had convinced him : That he doubted not but the prince of any realm, with the assent of his nobles and commons, might appoint for his succession royal such an order as seemed most agreeable to his wisdom. But as to the other parts of the oath, he said he could not swear to them, because his conscience would not suffer him so to do. The Commissioners pressed his lordship to tell them what his scruples were, and what he had to except against those other parts of the oath ; but this he absolutely refused to do.”<sup>1</sup>

It will easily be understood that the Carthusians felt greatly disturbed by the prospect of having to take or to refuse this oath. They were determined, on the one hand, not to compromise their consciences, while, on the other, they trembled at the thought of the consequences of resisting the royal will. As in the happy days gone by, so now that the storm was gathering around them, they looked to their Prior for advice and guidance ; for, knowing that he would not deceive them, they were ready, should he order it, boldly to refuse the oath. “ Our hour has not yet come, dear brothers,” replied Father

<sup>1</sup> Lewis's *Life of Fisher* (ed. Turner, 1855), vol. ii. p. 135.

John Houghton to the inquiries of his monks. "The very night that Father Procurator and I were set free from prison, I dreamt that I was not to escape so soon, but that within a year I should be brought back to that very prison, and that there I should complete my course. So, though I have not much confidence in dreams, I think that something else will soon be proposed to us. Meanwhile let us continue to live together as long as we can do so without offending God by any unlawful concession."

From these remarks of John Houghton's, and from the act which followed, it has quite naturally been supposed that he consented to, and persuaded his community to consent to, precisely what Fisher and More had deemed it an obligation of conscience to refuse. We think, however, that there is reason to believe that this was not the case. It has just been observed that both the Bishop and the ex-Chancellor were willing to swear to the succession, but objected to the form of oath. Now, there is no proof that this form was ever proposed to the Carthusians, and a presumption exists in favour of the contrary hypothesis. It is probable that the Commissioners, fearing to exasperate the people by the imprisonment of the whole community, did not tender to them the form lately drawn up, but simply called upon them to acknowledge, by their "oaths and fealties," the right of succession of the new queen's children, according to the Act of Parliament

passed in the previous year.<sup>1</sup> To this the Carthusians consented to swear under condition *as far as it is lawful*. The probability of our conjecture is strengthened by the fact that Cranmer tried to persuade Cromwell to make a similar compromise in the case of Fisher and More.<sup>2</sup> Hence there was, we think, no real difference of opinion between the Carthusians and the blessed servants of God, Fisher and More. The former would have refused what the latter refused; and the latter would have taken the oath, had it been proposed to them as it was to the former.

However this may be, the Capitular Act attesting the oath, which is still in the Public Record Office, London, makes no mention of the form, but simply of the oaths and fealties of the community. On reference to the copy of this document,<sup>3</sup> it will be noticed that six professed monks of the London Charterhouse took the oath on the 29th of May; and two of these were the Prior and Procurator, who had already consented in the Tower. The remainder were not yet persuaded that this concession, so injurious to Queen Catharine and her daughter, was lawful and expedient; and Roland Lee, who had now become Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and his companion Thomas Bedyll, Arch-

<sup>1</sup> The form of oath was of later date than the Act of Succession.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. T. E. Bridgett's *Life of Blessed John Fisher* (London, 1888), p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> *Infra*, Appendix vii.

deacon of Cornwall, were obliged to retire, without having gained their end. This was the second time the Commissioners had been baffled ; and it was decided that, in case of further resistance, all the delinquents should be cast into prison. Accordingly Lee returned on the 6th of June, accompanied this time not by an ecclesiastic, but by Sir Thomas Kitson, sheriff of the Tower ; and with him were a number of constables, ready to arrest the monks should they prove contumacious.

“All things considered,” says Chauncy, “the monks determined to follow the advice and exhortation of their holy Father. And thus we swore to the words of the king, under the condition, *as far as it was lawful.*”<sup>1</sup> Chauncy, writing from memory, erroneously says that this took place on the 24th of May, instead of the 6th of June.

Having taken the oaths, the Commissioners departed, satisfied for the present ; and the community rejoiced in the hope of being able to continue in peace their holy life in the Charterhouse. Now that they had consented to the king’s right to leave the crown to his issue by Anne Boleyn, to the exclusion of the Princess Mary—surely a sufficiently unpleasant concession—they thought no more would be required of them. But they were sadly mistaken ; for this, as Blessed John Houghton had already intimated, was but the beginning of their troubles.

<sup>1</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 91.

## CHAPTER II.

SION HOUSE—SALTER'S DETRACTIONS—THE CATHOLIC FAITH MADE  
HIGH TREASON—THE CARTHUSIANS PREPARE TO DIE.

THE monastery of St. Saviour and St. Bridget of Sion, of the Order of St. Bridget, stood on the Middlesex side of the Thames, almost opposite the Charterhouse of Sheen, in Surrey. This monastery, commonly called Sion, will be mentioned more than once in the subsequent pages, for it has its bearing upon, and its connection with, the history of the London Charterhouse. Originally founded at Twickenham by Henry V. in 1415, the community removed in 1432 to the place still known as Sion House. Sion was the only religious establishment of its kind in this country, and, according to the Rule of St. Bridget, monks and nuns lived under the same roof; though the two communities were completely separate. The sisters, with the Mother Abbess, sixty in number, dwelt "within one court by themselves"; and the seventeen Canons, with eight lay brothers, "in a separate court by them-

selves."<sup>1</sup> The Superior of the religious men was called the Confessor General. All worshipped in the same church, which was divided into an upper and a lower choir, each commanding a view of the high altar. The Rule, though less austere than the Carthusians', included a strict enclosure and the exercises of the contemplative life.

In a little chapel at Sion, Blessed Thomas More held two conferences with Elizabeth Barton, "the holy maid of Kent," "concerning such secrets as had been resolved unto her, some part thereof touching deeply the matter of the king's supremacy."<sup>2</sup> Probably these conferences marked out for vengeance Father Richard Reynolds, by whose means they took place; but another offence won for him the martyr's palm. Cardinal Pole, who was personally acquainted with him, bears witness to his virtues and his learning. He was a Doctor of Divinity, and "possessed no ordinary knowledge of all the liberal arts; having drawn his information from its proper fountain-heads."<sup>3</sup> The history of his holy death is closely connected with that of Prior Houghton.<sup>4</sup>

The London Charterhouse and Sion exercised a considerable influence upon the people, notwith-

Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 542.

<sup>2</sup> More's *Life of Sir Thomas More* (ed. Hunter), p. 219.

*Defensio Eccl.*, fol. ciii. See also Strype, i. p. 196.

*Infra*, chapter iv.

standing the strict enclosure ; for many persons used to resort to the Carthusians for spiritual advice,<sup>1</sup> while the Bridgettine Fathers were "wont to hear outward confessions of all comers at certain times of the year."<sup>2</sup> Both communities, moreover, enjoyed a very good reputation. It was therefore deemed expedient that they should acknowledge the king to be head of the Church of England, or else that their fair name should be tarnished by evil report.

Dom Thomas Salter,<sup>3</sup> of the Charterhouse, thought he could profit by the state of affairs, and break the bonds which kept him in the cloister. He wrote to Cromwell,<sup>4</sup> imploring his compassion, because he gave him true information, and after to Mr. Bedyll, when he was before them in the Chapter House "on Friday after Corpus Christi." He complains of the severity of "his uncharitable Prior," and fully corroborates Chauncy's statement that "Thomas Salter delighted in speaking evil of his brethren before strangers, but never said anything against himself." He also wrote some "lamentable annotations taken forth of our Rule;"<sup>5</sup> and they contain some shallow arguments against some customs of the Order. It is said that the devils were permitted to vex this wretched man, and, had they not been put to flight by the prayers of

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vii. 1046.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 1047.

a pious lay brother, would probably have killed him.<sup>1</sup>

When Parliament met in November, 1534, the saving clause, *quantum per Dei legem licet*, inserted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York in their acknowledgment of royal supremacy, was abolished; and it was declared, without any condition, that the king, his heirs and successors, should be taken and reputed the only supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, with full power to visit, reform, and correct all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority ought to be reformed or corrected. It was, moreover, made treason to wish or will maliciously, by word or writing, or to attempt by craft, any bodily harm to the king or queen or their heirs, or to deprive any of them of the dignity, style, and name of their royal estates, or slanderously and maliciously to publish or pronounce, by words or writing, that the king was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or infidel. Thus it became high treason to deny the king's title of head of the Church of England, and to remain a Catholic was to expose one's self to death.

These Acts of Parliament came into force on the 1st of February, 1535; and Prior John Houghton saw that his dream of the previous year would soon be realized. He consulted Father Fewterer, the

<sup>1</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 82.

Confessor General of Sion, who encouraged him in his resolution rather to die than to accept the spiritual supremacy of the king. Unfortunately Fewterer had not the courage to do what he recommended to others; and he lived to give bad advice to some of Father Houghton's monks.

The religious of the Charterhouse were called together into the Chapter House, and the Prior told them of the danger that threatened them. It was very probable that every one would be called upon to accept the new laws or to suffer an ignominious death. The news struck terror into the hearts of the monks. Then the holy Prior addressed them to the following effect:—

“I am very sad indeed, and my heart is heavy, especially on account of our younger brethren, of whom there are so many in this monastery. You see, brethren, what pious and innocent lives these young monks lead in our midst. But their virtue has never been tried by any extraordinary temptation; and it is to be feared that, being cast out upon the world, they will be ruined by its bad example. For ‘evil communications corrupt good manners,’ and again, ‘He that toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it.’ Then there may be others amongst us, whose virtue is not solid enough to bear the dangers of the world. And what shall I say, dear brethren, and what shall I do, if I lose some of those whom God has intrusted to my care?”

Many of the monks were bathed in tears, and all cried out as with one voice, "Let us die together in our integrity, and heaven and earth shall witness how unjustly we are cut off!"

"Would God that it might be so," answered the Prior, "and that thus one common death might render to us eternal life, as one common life has rendered us dead to the world. But I do not think that our enemies will do us so great a kindness, nor themselves so great an injury. It seems more probable that, several of you being of noble birth, they will slay me and some of the elder monks, and let the young men go free to wander about the world which they had renounced. If, therefore, it depend on me alone, I will trust in the mercy of God, and become anathema for my brothers' sake, consenting to the king's will if it be lawful [or else dying in order to deliver them from danger<sup>1</sup>]. If, however, our enemies insist upon the unconditional consent of the whole community, God's will be done. If my death will not do, I pray that all may have courage for the sacrifice."

Here the Prior's voice faltered, and he became exceedingly troubled. Chauncy thought his fidelity was undergoing a dreadful trial; on the one hand was the love of the Creator, whom he would rather die than offend, and on the other was the fear of

<sup>1</sup> This phrase is not in Chauncy's history, but the sense seems to require it.

losing the souls committed to his charge. Of course the love of God gained the victory; and he resolved never to deny the Vicar of Christ, even should the preservation of the Charterhouse depend upon it. Perhaps Chauncy was mistaken, and the cause of Father Houghton's interior struggle was the thought that some of the community would not have courage to lay down their lives.

He soon recovered, and continued his instruction, telling the monks that, as they did not know what would happen, all should prepare for death by a solemn *triduum*. The first day would be devoted to sacramental confession; for he hoped all would begin their preparation by a general confession; and, in order to facilitate this, he granted faculties to every priest in the cloister. The second day, he told them, would be the day of mutual reconciliation. And on the last day, a votive Mass of the Holy Ghost would be sung, in order to obtain the grace to make whatever sacrifice might be required of them.

The confessions having been heard, the monks met in the Chapter House on the second day, and the Prior preached a long and appropriate sermon on the opening verses of the fifty-ninth Psalm—"O God, Thou hast cast us off, and hast destroyed us; Thou hast been angry, and hast had mercy on us. . . . Thou hast shewn Thy people hard things; Thou hast made us drink the wine of sorrow. . . ." The

saintly preacher dwelt particularly on charity, patience under trial, and fidelity to God even unto death, and concluded with the words, "It is better for us to suffer here a short punishment for our faults than to be reserved for the eternal pains of hell hereafter." He then said, "Dear Fathers and brothers, I beg you to do as I do;" and, rising from his seat, he kneeled before each religious separately, from the senior monk to the last lay brother, craving forgiveness of all whereby he might have offended or pained him. All followed the example of their Prior, each imploring pardon from all his brethren. It was a touching scene, and Chauncy tells us many a tear was shed; but none were so sad as the holy Prior, who was like Rachel weeping for her children and refusing to be comforted. From this day forth the monks could read in his face something of the interior trial he was undergoing. It was not, we may rest assured, the fear of being called upon to die for the Catholic faith that made him suffer, but the thought of what was coming upon the Charterhouse, and, above all, the defection of some of the monks.

On the last day of the *triduum* the Prior sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost; "and after the elevation of the Host, there came, as it were, a soft whisper of air, which some perceived with their bodily senses, while all experienced its sweet influence upon their hearts. The celebrant was so

overcome by this manifestation of God's presence among them, that for a long time he could not continue the service. The community remained stupefied, hearing the sound, but not knowing whence it came or whither it went, though all felt its marvellous effects upon their spirits, and their hearts rejoiced at the assurance that God was indeed with them." The lay brothers, though the rood screen separated them from the altar, were also partakers in this signal favour.

The holy Prior alluded to this grace at the next meeting in the Chapter House, and reminded the monks how thankful they should be for such a consolation in the midst of their troubles. He told them to redouble their fervour in the service of God, to persevere in prayer, in humility, and in filial fear of offending God even by the smallest faults. "It was not on my account," he said, "but as a reward for your virtues, that this wonder was worked." "Then," says Chauncy, "there arose a pious dispute; the Father attributing all to the devotion of his sons, and the sons attributing all to the holiness of their Father."

Father Houghton's exhortations were not in vain. Every night after Matins the religious would prostrate themselves before the Blessed Sacrament, to pray for the preservation of their monastery and the safety of their beloved Prior. As to the Prior himself, he looked upon the troubles as a punish-

ment for his own shortcomings, and used to repeat again and again the words of the royal prophet—“It is I; I am he that have sinned, I have done wickedly; these that are the sheep, what have they done? Let Thy hand, I beseech Thee, be turned against me.” “Thus,” says Mr. Froude, after translating some passages from Chauncy, “with unobtrusive nobleness did these poor men prepare themselves for their end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving of everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who, in the summer morning, sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean.”<sup>1</sup> If all had been as resolute as the Carthusians of London, King Henry’s Reformation must have proved a failure, and England would have retained her ancient faith and her monastic institutions.

<sup>1</sup> Froude’s *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 350.

### CHAPTER III.

BLESSED ROBERT LAWRENCE—BLESSED AUGUSTINE WEBSTER—  
THE PRIORS' VISIT TO CROMWELL—IN THE TOWER—THE  
TRIAL—CRANMER RECOMMENDS MERCY.

FATHER ROBERT LAWRENCE, Prior of the Beauvale Charterhouse, who succeeded John Houghton in that office on his return to London,<sup>1</sup> is described as a truly religious man and full of piety. He was a professed monk of the London Charterhouse, and, knowing that the times were troublous, he determined to pay a charitable visit to the house of his profession. He little thought what was in store for him.

Prior Lawrence had only been in London two days when another, also quite ignorant of the issue of his visit, came, as he thought, to transact some business for the monastery over which he presided. This was Father Augustine Webster, Prior of the Charterhouse in Axholme, and professed monk of Sheen.

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 85.

The two guests found the community engaged in preparing for the worst by prayer and mortification. They learnt that the danger was daily becoming more imminent; for the king, having been told of the intended refusal of the Carthusians to accept his new laws, was extremely angry. They therefore agreed to accompany Prior Houghton, who thought that a visit to Thomas Cromwell, now the king's first secretary, might prove useful.

Though the three Priors were received roughly, and must have seen that there was but little hope of success, Blessed John Houghton begged leave to ask three questions of Cromwell and two doctors who happened to be with him. And first, seeing that our Lord gave power to men upon earth by the words, "*And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven,*" which no doctor understood to be addressed to any other than St. Peter alone, then to the Apostles, and through them to the Popes and Bishops, how could the king, a layman, be head of the Church of England? The secretary replied, "You would make the king a priest, then?" and commanded him to speak no further. The two other questions, through Cromwell's impatience, were never asked. He immediately ordered the three monks to be arrested on a charge of treason; and, without any further evidence against them, they were hurried off to the Tower.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia*, pp. 27 and 99.

It was about the middle of April, 1535,<sup>1</sup> when the three holy Priors were cast into prison; and after suffering for some days all the hardships which prison meant in those days, two of them were summoned to the "Rolls." Father Houghton's question regarding the supremacy was doubtless considered an insufficient pretext for the detention of his two companions in the Tower; so Cromwell thought proper, not indeed to set them free, but to find a cause against them. The original document still in the Public Record Office is as follows:—

"Interrogatory ministered by the right honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, chief secretary to the king's highness, unto Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, and Augustine Webster, Prior of Hexham [Axholme],<sup>2</sup> and to either of them, with their answers to the same.

"Whether they or either of them would be content obediently to obey the king's highness as supreme head in earth under Christ of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and him so to repute, take, and accept; and to refuse all other potentate and powers, God's only power except, according to the statute in that behalf made.

"Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, answered

<sup>1</sup> Probably Tuesday, the 13th; Chauncy says it was a Tuesday.

<sup>2</sup> The repeated placing of Hexham for Axholme in old documents has led to the erroneous belief that there was a Charterhouse at Hexham, Northumberland.

to the said question, that he could not consent nor believe that the king's highness is supreme head of the Church of England according to the statute in that behalf made.

"Augustine Webster, Prior of Hexham, answered likewise to the said question, that he could not consent nor believe that the king's highness is supreme head of the Church of England according to the statute in that behalf made."

The remainder, which is in Latin, is to this effect: "All and each of these things took place as above described and recited, on the 20th of April, 1535, 26 Henry VIII., in the presence of the afore-said honourable Thomas Cromwell, in his ordinary court, called the Rolls, London. Being present also Messrs. Edward Foxe, the king's almoner; John Bell and John Tregunwell, doctors in laws; Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall; Richard Rich, the king's solicitor; and Ralph Sadler." The deed is attested by John ap Rice, the notary.<sup>1</sup>

The two prisoners, having thus boldly refused to renounce their religion, returned to the Tower, where they were joined by Father Richard Reynolds, the Bridgettine.<sup>2</sup> A few days later, Cromwell and the Royal Commissioners visited the prisoners. They brought with them a copy of the Act of

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., State Papers, Henry VIII., mentioned in *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 128.





Parliament under which it was intended to condemn them; and on the back of the document, which is still to be seen among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, are the following memoranda:—

“John Houghton says that he cannot take the king, our sovereign, to be supreme head of the Church of England afore the Apostles of Christ’s Church.

“Robert Lawrence says that there is one Catholic Church and one Divine, of which the Bishop of Rome is the head; therefore he cannot believe that the king is supreme head of the Church.

“Augustine Webster says that he cannot [take] the king, our sovereign lord, to be supreme head of the Church, but him that is by the docto[rs of] the Church taken head of the Church, that is the Bishop of Rome, as Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine [affirm], and is made at the Council of Basil.

“Richard Reynolds says that he intends no malice to our sovereign lord the king, but he would spend his blood for . . . that he is head of the Church that hath been this three hundred years, and not the king, our sovereign lord; and that he shall blame them that gave him such counsel. Also says that he doth this as thousand thousand that be dead.”<sup>1</sup>

Refusal of the king’s spiritual supremacy and

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., State Papers Henry VIII., abridged in *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 566.

belief in that of the Pope, that is to say, being Roman Catholics, is the sole charge brought against the Carthusian Priors. Against Father Reynolds, indeed, other accusations respecting the king's marriage were made, but they could not, even under Henry's severe laws, amount to high treason. Hence they were not made use of in the subsequent trial, and cannot possibly throw any doubt upon his being a martyr to the Catholic faith. It appears from the deposition of one of his religious brethren that he "had conversation concerning the two daughters of the queen's grace's mother;" and also that "he shewed that the princess dowager was the true queen about twelve months ago."<sup>1</sup>

The monks of the London Charterhouse, anxious to assure their holy Prior of their sympathy with him in his sufferings, persuaded Andrew Bord to write him a letter. It appears to have fallen into Cromwell's hands; and after the writer had gone over to the king's side, it occasioned him some anxiety.<sup>2</sup>

Now we come to the public trial; and we shall have to repeat what Burnet calls a calumny. "There is," he says,<sup>3</sup> "one calumny that runs in a thread through all the historians of the popish side, which not a few of our own have ignorantly

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 565.

<sup>2</sup> *Ellis's Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 305.

<sup>3</sup> *History of the Reformation*, Part I., book iii. p. 351 (ed. fol.).

taken up, that many were put to death for not swearing the king's supremacy. It is an impudent falsehood; for not so much as one person suffered on that account; nor was there any law for any such oath, before the Parliament of the twenty-eighth year of the king's reign (1536), when the insufferable Bull of Pope Paul III. engaged him to look a little more to his own safety." Bishop Burnet is plainly wrong, as the documents clearly show.

Full as they are of mere legal formalities, transcripts of all the documents relating to the trial would be wearisome; the report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records being sufficiently detailed will serve our purpose.<sup>1</sup> The originals may be found in the *Baga de Secretis*, in the Public Record Office.<sup>2</sup> The first membrane<sup>3</sup> which regards our prisoners is the justices' precept to the Constable of the Tower, issued on the 27th of April, 1535, commanding him to bring up John Houghton, Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, Richard Reynolds, Robert Feron, and John Hale<sup>4</sup> to West-

<sup>1</sup> *Third Report*, Appendix ii., p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii. bundle i. There are fourteen membranes in the bundle, very irregularly arranged.

<sup>3</sup> Membrane No. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Feron and John Hale, secular priests, the one of Teddington, the other of Isleworth, being accused of a crime distinct from that of our Priors and Father Reynolds, were tried separately. They pleaded guilty to the charge of uttering traitorous words against the king, and were condemned to death. Feron



minster on Wednesday, the 28th of April. The charge against the three Carthusian Priors and Doctor Reynolds was that they, "treacherously machinating and desiring to deprive the king of his title as supreme head of the Church of England, did, 26th April, 27 Henry VIII., at the Tower of London, openly declare and say 'the king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England.'"

At Westminster they were questioned once again regarding the charge, and pressed to answer plainly whether they meant to submit to the king's laws or not. They replied that on no account could they be persuaded to do anything contrary to the law of God or the Church. The four prisoners were then committed for trial, for their words were considered high treason. They pleaded *not guilty* to this unheard-of charge of verbal treason, and, the verdict of the jury being deferred until the following day, they returned to the Tower.

Both Chauncy<sup>1</sup> and an old manuscript account in the British Museum<sup>2</sup> tell how the jury could not agree to condemn these saintly monks. The remainder of the day having been spent in consultation, it appeared impossible to pass judgment of was afterwards pardoned, having turned king's evidence; and Blessed John Hale, remaining firm in his allegiance in spiritual things to the Holy See, became the first secular priest who laid down his life rather than receive the "Reformation."

<sup>1</sup> *Historia*, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Arund. MS. 152, fol. 308.

death, for there was evidently no malice in the prisoners. Cromwell, fearing that his victims might escape, sent to ascertain what verdict the jury intended to return. They replied that they could not pronounce such holy men worthy of the death of criminals. The messenger soon returned with Cromwell's threat, "If you do not find them guilty you yourselves shall die the traitor's death." Still the jury held out, and Cromwell seemed on the point of losing his prey. He therefore went in person to intimidate them by cruel threats, and this time he was successful; the jurymen promised to find the accused guilty of high treason.

Mr. Froude thinks this story "internally improbable." "The conditions of the case," he says, "did not admit of an acquittal; and the conduct attributed to Cromwell is inconsistent with his character. Any doubt which might remain, in the absence of opposing testimony, is removed by the record of the trial, from which it appears clearly that the jury were not returned until the 29th of April, and that the verdict was given in on the same day."<sup>1</sup> A little more care in his examination of the record might have proved to Mr. Froude the exact opposite to what he implies and asserts. He implies that the trial lasted only one day, whereas the record shows that it extended over two; and he asserts that its having lasted only one day removes all doubt as to the falsehood of

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, vol. ii. p. 251.

Chauncy's statement regarding the cruelty of Cromwell. Though the petty jury were not "returned and sworn" before the 29th of April, on which day the verdict was given, the panel of the jury was nevertheless annexed to the justices' precept to the sheriff for the return of the petty jury on the preceding day, on which day the prisoners were brought to the bar and pleaded *not guilty*.<sup>1</sup> Thus all the persons named on the panel to be returned and sworn on the following day had the opportunity, during the intervening time, to debate and prepare their verdict. Chauncy's narrative is therefore in accordance with the official report of the trial.

There is no record of a defence made by the three Carthusians; probably they kept silence. Dr. Reynolds was interrogated by the Chancellor, Sir Thomas Audley, why he had persisted in an opinion against which so many lords and bishops in Parliament and the whole realm had decreed, and his reply is singularly calm and suggestive. "I had intended," he said, "to imitate our Lord Jesus Christ when He was questioned by Herod, and not to answer. But since you compel me to clear both my own conscience and that of the bystanders, I say that if we propose to maintain our opinions by proofs, testimony, or reasons, mine will be far stronger than yours, because I have all the rest of Christendom in my favour—I dare even say all this

<sup>1</sup> *Baga de Secretis*, membranes 7 and 8.

kingdom, although the smaller part holds with you ; for I am sure the larger part is secretly of our opinion, although outwardly, partly from fear and partly from hope, they profess to be of yours." On being ordered by Cromwell to declare who held with him, he answered, "All good men of the kingdom. As proofs of dead witnesses," he added, "I have in my favour all the General Councils, all the historians, and the holy doctors of the Church for the last fifteen hundred years, especially St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory ; and I am sure that when the king knows the truth, he will be very much displeased, or rather indignant, against certain bishops who have given him such counsel."

In answer to the question why he had maliciously counselled many persons within the kingdom not to be of the king's opinion, Dr. Reynolds added, "From the moment I was brought into court I have answered as if I were before God, that I would never declare my opinion for malice against the king or any other person, unless it was asked me in confession, when I could not refuse for discharge of my conscience. It is true I am much grieved that the king should be in such error. Therefore I have never said it in public, nor have ever spoken of it except as I have said already. And if I had not done so I would do it now, because I am so bound to God and my conscience ; and in

this I do not mean to offend God, or the prince, or any one." Here, being ordered to hold his tongue, he added, "Since you do not wish me to speak further, *secundum legem vestram judicate me.*" And when the sentence had been pronounced, he said, "This is the judgment of this world. . . . *Credo videre bona Domini in terra viventium.*"<sup>1</sup>

It was, then, on Thursday, the 29th of April, 1535, that—through the malice of Thomas Cromwell, the king's first secretary, encouraged no doubt by the king himself—the three Carthusian Priors and Father Richard Reynolds were condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered for having said, "The king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England." In other words, they were to be dragged to Tyburn and cruelly butchered, for refusing to forsake the religion in which they had been brought up, and which their fellow-countrymen had held for almost one thousand years.

Archbishop Cranmer was personally acquainted with Father Augustine Webster and Dr. Reynolds, and perceiving that the submission of such learned and virtuous men would do more for the perversion of others than their martyrdom, he wrote the following letter to Cromwell:—

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 661. This account, which is taken from the Vatican archives, agrees almost exactly with Chauncy's *Opusculum. De D. Reginaldi Theologi Martyrio* (ed. 1550, p. viii.).

“Whereas the Prior of Axholme, named Webster, and Master Raynald, of Sion, are attainted of high treason for offending against the late statute made for suppressing the usurped power of the Bishop of Rome, I marvel at both, as they are learned men, and Webster promised he would never support that opinion. If there is no other offence alleged against them, it will much more tend to the conversion of others to convert their consciences by sincere doctrine, and so for them to publish it, than to suffer the penalty of the law. If they were sent to me I suppose I could do much in their behalf.”<sup>1</sup>

The Archbishop's suggestion was not heeded, for Cromwell was no lover of mercy ; and while the Fathers continued to suffer dreadful hardships in the Tower, preparations were being made for their execution. Sir Thomas More, also a prisoner for conscience' sake, writing to his daughter Margaret on the 2nd and 3rd of May, supposes, by the Councillors resorting hither, that the Fathers of the Charterhouse and Mr. Reynolds, of Sion, are adjudged to death for treason. He says he does not know their matters.<sup>2</sup>

Blessed John Houghton's dream in the prison cell was now fulfilled,<sup>3</sup> for less than a year had elapsed since his release, and he was again a prisoner ; nor was he destined to quit his dungeon until the day of sacrifice at Tyburn.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 616.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 659.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 124.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE JOURNEY TO TYBURN—THE MARTYR'S SPEECH—UNDER  
THE KNIFE—THE QUARTERING—CHAPUYS WRITES TO THE  
EMPEROR—OPINIONS ABROAD.

TUESDAY, the 4th of May, 1535, is a day for ever memorable in the annals of the Catholic religion in England; for on that day were shed the first drops of the rivulet of blood which separates the old Church of England from the new.

The Carthusian Priors and Dr. Reynolds had refused to renounce the Vicar of Christ, and to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the king; so they were led towards the Tower gate, where their punishment was to begin. Their hearts were filled with holy joy, for they knew that theirs was the surest way to heaven. Their cheerful bearing aroused the holy envy of their fellow-prisoner, Sir Thomas More, who saw them through the bars of his dungeon. "Lo!" in his sweet humility he said to his daughter Margaret, "dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed Fathers be

now as cheerfully going to their death as bridegrooms to their marriage? Wherefore thereby mayest thou see, my own good daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a strait, hard, penitential, and painful life, religiously; and such as have—as thy poor father hath done—consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously. For God, considering their long-continued life of most sore and grievous penance, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of misery and iniquity, but speedily hence taketh them to the fruition of His everlasting Deity. Whereas thy silly father, Meg, like a most wicked caitiff, hath passed forth the whole course of his miserable life most sinfully, God, thinking him not worthy so soon to come to that eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet still in the world, further to be plagued and turmoiled with misery.”<sup>1</sup>

At the Tower gates the martyrs were ordered to lie down upon the hurdles on which they were to be drawn to Tyburn. The ropes were adjusted, and away went the strange procession. It was a new sight for the people, who had assembled in great numbers, to see the religious habit dragged through the streets of London. Had the monks been indeed guilty of high treason, they should have been degraded, and then executed in secular

<sup>1</sup> Roper's *Life of More* (ed. Singer, 1822), p. 76.

clothing; but ecclesiastical law had no more force, for the King of England had become a pope.

Now jolting over the rough stones, now splashing through puddles of filthy water, the servants of God made a weary and a painful journey to Tyburn. Then the "drawing"<sup>1</sup> was over, and it was time to prepare for still more dreadful suffering.

It has sometimes been supposed that the hanging, which came next, was the cause of death, and that the subsequent brutalities were only intended to scare the bystanders and dishonour the bodies of the condemned. It was not so. The hanging was doubtless very painful; but what followed was far worse.

The first to be detached from the hurdle was Blessed John Houghton, the Prior of the London Charterhouse. His was the honour of being the first since pagan times to suffer death in England for being a Roman Catholic. After lovingly embracing the executioner, who craved his pardon, the holy martyr got into the cart which stood beneath the gallows; and there, in the sight of the multitude, he was asked once again whether he would submit to the king's laws before it was too late. Nothing daunted, he replied, "I call Almighty God to witness, and I beseech all here present to attest

<sup>1</sup> It is a popular error to understand the disembowelling by the word *drawn* in the sentence. Hence the expression "hanged, drawn, and quartered," instead of "drawn, hanged, and quartered."



E. Duques, Imprimerie N.-D. des Prés - Moutreuil. France.



for me on the dreadful day of judgment, that, being about to die in public, I declare that I have refused to comply with the will of his Majesty the king, not from obstinacy, malice, or a rebellious spirit, but solely for fear of offending the supreme Majesty of God. Our holy mother the Church has decreed and enjoined otherwise than the king and the Parliament have decreed. I am therefore bound in conscience, and am ready and willing to suffer every kind of torture rather than deny a doctrine of the Church. Pray for me and have mercy on my brethren, of whom I have been the unworthy Prior."

He then asked for time to finish his prayer, which he took from the thirtieth Psalm. The words were very appropriate: "In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded: deliver me in Thy justice. Bow down Thine ear to me; make haste to deliver me. Be Thou unto me a God, a protector, and a house of refuge, to save me. For Thou art my strength and my refuge; and for Thy Name's sake Thou wilt lead me and nourish me. Thou wilt bring me out of this snare which they have hidden for me; for Thou art my protector. Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, the God of truth."

Blessed John Houghton was now ready for the last struggle, and he resigned himself into the hands of the executioner. The rope, which was thick for

fear he might be strangled and die before the butchery, was placed about his neck. The sheriff gave the signal. The cart, on which he had preached his last short sermon and said his simple prayer, was drawn aside; and the protomartyr of the Reformation was hanging like a malefactor from the gallows. In a few moments the rope was cut, and the body fell heavily upon the ground. Then came the most revolting part of the business. They tore off his holy habit with brutal violence, and laid the martyr naked upon a plank or platform. The executioner inflicted a ghastly wound in the abdomen with a sharp knife, extracted the entrails, and threw them into a fire prepared for the purpose. The poor sufferer was still conscious; and while his entrails were being torn out, he was heard to say, "Oh, most holy Jesus, have mercy upon me in this hour!" And when at last the executioner placed his hand upon the heart, ready to wrench it from its place, the blessed martyr uttered his last words. "Good Jesu!" he exclaimed, "what will ye do with my heart?"<sup>1</sup> And then he fell asleep. The struggle was over; he had been faithful unto death, and gained the crown of life.

<sup>1</sup> These last words of blessed John Houghton were heard by a young man named Anthony Rescius, who afterwards became a Dominican and Auxiliary Bishop of Würzburg (see Simon Weisser's Preface to the 1608 edition of Chauncy).

The executions of the blessed servants of God, Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, Richard Reynolds, and John Hale, followed that of Blessed John Houghton. Each as he entered the cart was offered a free pardon if he would renounce his religion. Each preferred death to apostasy, and each suffered the same tortures as the protomartyr. "In the sight of the unwise they seemed to die: and their departure was taken for misery: and their going away from us, for utter destruction: but they are in peace. And though in the sight of men they suffered torments, their hope is full of immortality. Afflicted in few things, in many shall they be well rewarded: for God hath tried them, and found them worthy of Himself. As gold in the furnace He hath proved them, and as a victim of a holocaust He hath received them, and in time there shall be respect had to them."<sup>1</sup>

The lifeless mangled bodies of the martyrs were beheaded, and divided into four parts, which were thrown into a chaldron to be parboiled; and then they were placed in various parts of the City. One forequarter of Prior Houghton was fixed over the door of the Charterhouse, in the hope that the remembrance of their Father's fate might induce the monks to yield.

The day after the execution, Chapuys, the imperial ambassador, wrote to Charles V. "The

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom iii. 2-6.

enormity of the case," he says, "and the confirmation it gives of the hopelessness of expecting the king to repent, compels me to write to your Majesty. Yesterday there were dragged through the length of this city three Carthusians and a Bridgettine monk, all men of good character and learning, and cruelly put to death at the place of execution, only for having maintained that the Pope was the true head of the Universal Church, and that the king had no right, in reason or conscience, to usurp the sovereign authority over the clergy of this country. This they had declared to Cromwell, of their own free will, about three weeks ago, in discharge of their own consciences and that of the king; and on Cromwell pointing out the danger, and advising them to reconsider it before the matter went further, they replied they would rather die a hundred times than change. Eight days ago the Duke of Norfolk sat in judgment on them, as the king's representative, assisted by the Chancellor and Cromwell, and the ordinary judges of the realm, and the Knights of the Garter who had been at the feast of St. George. The monks maintained their cause most virtuously. No one being able to conquer them in argument, they were at last told that the statute being passed they could not dispute it, and, as they would not alter their language, they were remanded till next day to hear their sentence. Next day, in the same

presence, they were strongly exhorted to recant, and, after a long discussion, they were sentenced by lay judges and declared guilty of treason. Nothing was said about degrading them or changing their habits. And the same fate has overtaken a priest [John Hale] for having spoken and written concerning the life and government of this king. It is altogether a new thing, for the Dukes of Richmond and Norfolk, the Earl of Wiltshire, his son, and other lords and courtiers were present at the execution, quite near the sufferers. People say that the king himself would have liked to see the butchery ; which is very probable, seeing that nearly all the court, even those of the Privy Chamber, were there—his principal chamberlain, Norres, bringing with him forty horses ; and it is thought that the king was of the number of five who came thither accoutred and mounted like Borderers with vizors before their faces. That of the Duke of Norfolk's brother got detached, which has caused a great stir, together with the fact that while the five thus habited were speaking all those of the court went away.”<sup>1</sup>

It does not appear probable that Henry was really there. Chapuys afterwards heard that he was not present, as he was told, and that he was very angry with the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Wiltshire for not replying to Prior Houghton, “ who made a very fine sermon.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 666.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 751.

In England fear closed almost every mouth and stopped almost every pen but that of Chapuys. The dread of a similar fate kept people from giving vent to their feelings with regard to King Henry's victims. Abroad, however, it was different; for there people were free to talk about, and to criticise, the conduct of England's new royal Pope; and in some places it was criticised with just severity. Considering that the butchery of humble monks would naturally attract less notice than the executions of such men as the Bishop of Rochester, just created Cardinal, and the ex-Chancellor, Sir Thomas More, a good deal of sympathy was shown for the protomartyrs, and some of the foreign letters relating to them are interesting, though in minor details they are not always accurate.

On the 17th of May, 1535—less than a fortnight after the martyrdom of our three holy Priors, with Richard Reynolds and John Hale—we find the Bishop of Faenza, papal nuncio in France, writing thus to Signor Ambrogio, the Pope's secretary: "There is strange news here of the cruelty of the King of England to certain religious men. He caused them to be ripped up in each other's presence, their arms torn off (*con farli scarpar le braccia*), their hearts cut out and rubbed upon their mouths and faces; and this for having caused remorse (*per haver fatto coscienza*) to certain ecclesiastics who had sworn that the king was head

of the English Church and not the Pope." The Bishop goes on to say, with his usual inaccuracy as to circumstances, that he has seen a letter of the 5th, from London, stating that on the 4th, a Prior of one of the three Charterhouses, two friars of the Order, a Prior of Sion, and a priest, who refused to swear to the king's supremacy, were hanged without degradation, as rebels. They were dragged, he says, through the streets in carts, their heads and feet were to be placed on the public gates, and the rest of their bodies burnt. "The whole city," he adds, "is displeased, as they were of exemplary and holy life."<sup>1</sup>

On the 31st of the same month, Dr. Ortiz, the imperial agent in Rome, writing to the empress, tells her that he has learnt from Chapuys that on the 8th of May—he should have said the 4th—"were martyred three Carthusians, a monk of Monte Sion of the Order of St. Bridget, a very learned man, and another priest, who would not acknowledge the king as supreme spiritual head, but only the Pope. They died with great constancy, and with much blame of the judges who condemned them. Without any degradation, they were dragged [to the place of execution] in their habits, to the great grief of the people." After giving the particulars of the butchery, which we have just mentioned, he speaks of the arrest of some other

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 726.

Carthusians for the same cause. It seems strange that Dr. Ortiz should have known this so soon; but when he wrote, the blessed martyrs, William Exmew, Humphrey Middlemore, and Sebastian Newdigate, were suffering terrible tortures in prison.<sup>1</sup> "The Cardinal Bishop of Rochester," he continues, "and Tomas Mauro, late Chancellor, have also been arrested for the same reason and their defence of the queen. They have been ordered to recant their opinions in eight days, but, animated with the same constancy, they have replied that they want no time to deliberate, but are prepared to die for the Catholic faith. . . ." He thinks our Lord will give Bishop Fisher "the true red hat, the crown of martyrdom," before he is aware of his having been created Cardinal.<sup>2</sup>

Another letter from Rome, partly in Latin and partly in cipher, shows something of the sentiments of foreign Catholics with regard to the execution of the monks. The writer is Sir Gregory da Casale, King Henry's agent in the holy city, and an enemy to the Catholic cause. His letter is dated the 1st of June, 1535. "The French ambassador," says Casale, "has received letters about certain monks executed in England for denying that the king could be supreme in the English Church. A copy of the letters was read in Consistory. They are full of pity for the monks; they make a great deal of

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 786.

the matter, and report that they gave most wise and holy answers to the king's Council, and the kind of death is explained as most cruel. There was great talk in Rome on the subject, and some even of the Cardinals said they envied such a death, and wished they belonged to the band. To those who related this to me, I replied that they might tell the Cardinals that if they really wished such a death, they might go to England and imitate the folly of the monks." "I really wondered," he adds in cipher, "that the French ambassador showed those letters, nor do I quite know what he means. . . . As regards the execution of the monks, it is Frenchmen especially who are surprised at it. . . ." <sup>1</sup>

At Venice, too, great indignation was shown on account of King Henry's cruelty, as well as esteem for his victims. On the 15th of June, Edmund Harvel writes thus to Starkey, the royal chaplain : "You wished to know the judgment here of the death of the monks in England. It was considered to be extreme cruelty, and all Venice was in great murmuration to hear it. They spoke long time of the business, to my great displeasure, for the defaming of our nation, with the vehementest words they could use. They are persuaded of the dead men's honesty and virtue, and that their opinion conformed to that of the rest of Christendom. They consider their execution as against all honest

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, vii. 605 ; and *Letters and Papers*, viii. 807.

laws of God and men, and as *novum atque inauditum*. I never saw Italians break out so vehemently at anything; it seemed so strange, and so much against their stomach.”<sup>1</sup>

About this time Dr. Starkey, anxious to win over to the king's side the famous Reginald Pole, wrote him a long letter, a draft of which is preserved in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> It seems that he hoped that Pole would also use his influence to calm the general indignation excited by the news of the cruel death of the monks, for he sanctions his repeating to those who are misinformed an account of how they came to die. This passage from Starkey's letter is, we think, worthy to be reproduced here, for it shows how a contemporary Protestant wrote upon the question, and how far he was from denying that the martyrs were really put to death for no other crime than that of refusing to abandon the old religion.

“At the last Parliament an Act was made that all the king's subjects should, under pain of treason, renounce the Pope's superiority; to which the rest of the nation agreed, and so did these monks,<sup>3</sup> three Priors, and Reynolds of Sion, though they afterwards returned to their old obedience, affirming the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 874.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, E. vi. 458.

<sup>3</sup> An error of Starkey's: these monks, though they swore to the Act of Succession, never meant to agree to the royal supremacy, and the nation only accepted it through fear.

same, by their blind superstitious knowledge, to be to the salvation of man of necessity, and that this superiority of the Pope was a sure truth and manifest of the law of God, and instituted by Christ as necessary to the conservation of the spiritual unity of the mystical body of Christ. In this blindness their superstitious minds were stabled, lacking judgment to discern between the unity spiritual and the unity political, which they thought would run to ruin for lack of this head,<sup>1</sup> whom they made immediate under Christ, and on whose judgment, as the Vicar of Christ, all Christian men ought of necessity to hang. Reynolds, whom I have often heard praised by you, would admit no reason to the contrary, though divers were sent to them in prison by the king's commandment to instruct them. They were so blinded and sturdy that they could neither see the truth in the cause, nor give convenient obedience due to such persons as of themselves cannot see the truth. Therefore they have suffered death, according to the course of the law, as rebels to the same, and disobedient to the princely authority, and as persons who, as much as in them lay, have rooted sedition in the community. This is the truth; for by Mr. Secretary's license I was admitted to hear Reynolds' reason, and confer with

<sup>1</sup> The subsequent history of religion in England has shown that they thought rightly, and that no kind of unity of faith or morals can be maintained without this head.

him. I found in him neither strong reason to maintain his purpose, nor great learning to defend it. I conferred with him gladly, for I was sorry to see a man of such virtue and learning die in such a blind and superstitious opinion. But nothing would avail. They themselves were the cause. It seemed that they sought their own deaths, of which no one can be justly accused. You may repeat this, as you think expedient, to those whom you perceive to be misinformed.”<sup>1</sup> It need hardly be observed that Dr. Starkey did not succeed in his attempt to make a Protestant of Reginald Pole; nor did he persuade him that the three Carthusian Priors and Dr. Reynolds were anything less than “martyred saints in England.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 801.

<sup>2</sup> An expression of Dr. Ortiz' in October, 1535.

## CHAPTER V.

THE VACANT PRIORATE — BEDVLL DENOUNCES THREE OF THE  
MONKS — RELICS OF THE PROTOMARTYR — TORTURE, TRIAL,  
AND EXECUTION OF FATHERS WILLIAM EXMEW, HUMPHREY  
MIDDLEMORE, AND SEBASTIAN NEWDIGATE.

LET us return to the London Charterhouse. The daily round of prayer and praise had not ceased. The great bell was still heard ringing in the dead of night to call the monks to Matins, and with its wonted regularity it sounded at intervals throughout the day for *Angelus*, for Mass, for Office. The Prior's stall was empty, nor was it destined to be filled again by any but a man unworthy of the name of Prior. Yet for the present all went on quietly under the direction of Father Humphrey Middlemore, the Vicar, and Father William Exmew, the Procurator, aided by Father Sebastian Newdigate. There was no question of electing a Prior according to the Rule of the Order, for the Charterhouse was closely watched, and it was intended to bring the monks to acknowledge the king's new title, or else to let them feel the rigour of his cruel laws, the full

force of which had just been so startlingly brought home to them.

Bedyll visited the Charterhouse on the very day of the Prior's martyrdom; and two days later he wrote the following letter to Cromwell:—

“ Please it you to understand that on Tuesday, forthwith upon my departure from you, I repaired to the Charterhouse, and had with me divers books and annotations, both of my own and others, against the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and also of St. Peter, declaring evidently the equality of the Apostles by the Law of God. And after long communication, more than one hour and a half, with the Vicar and Procurator of the house, I left those books and annotations with them, that they should see the Holy Scriptures and doctors thereupon concerning the said matters, and thereupon reform themselves accordingly. And yesterday they sent me the said books and annotations again home to my house by a servant of theirs, without any word or writing. Wherefore I sent to the Procurator to come and speak with me, seeing I kept my bed by reason of sickness, and could not come to him. And at his coming I demanded of him whether he and the Vicar and other of the seniors had seen or heard the said annotations, or perused the titles of the books, making most for the said matters. And he answered that the Vicar and he and Newdigate had spent the time upon them until nine or ten of the clock at night, and that

they saw nothing in them whereby they were moved to alter their opinion. I then declared to him the danger of his opinion, which was like to be the destruction of them and their house for ever. And, as far as I could perceive by my communication with the Vicar and Procurator on Tuesday, and with the Procurator yesterday, they be obstinately determined to suffer all extremities rather than to alter their opinion, regarding no more the death of their Father in word or countenance than he were living and conversing among them. I also demanded of the Procurator whether the residue of his brethren were of like opinion, and he answered he was not sure, but he thought they were all of one mind. I showed him that I thought that the spirit which appeared afore God and said he would be a false spirit in the mouths of all the prophets of Achab, had inspired them and sowed this obstinacy in them." The remainder of the letter shows the cruelty and rashness of the writer. "Finally," he says, "I suppose it to be the will of God, that as their religion had a simple beginning, so in this realm it shall have a strange end, procured by themselves, and by none others. And albeit they pretend holiness in their behalf, surely the ground of their said opinion is hypocrisy, vainglory, confederacy, obstinacy, to the intent they may be seen to the world, or specially to such as have confidence in them, more faithful and more constant than any other. From Alders-

gate Street, this morning of Ascension Day.<sup>1</sup> I am so troubled with the fever, that I am fain to keep my house.

“ By your own, THOMAS BEDYLL.”<sup>2</sup>

This letter soon produced its effect, and brought to justice, or rather to flagrant injustice, the Vicar, the Procurator, and Father Newdigate. In the mean time, however, an event of a different nature occurred, and it is worthy of being recorded. On Friday, the 7th of May, the monks got possession of the quarter of Blessed John Houghton which was placed over the gate of the Charterhouse. Two lay brothers were standing near the gate when the precious relic fell down at their feet. Glancing in all directions for fear they were being watched, and seeing nobody, they carried the treasure into the monastery. The religious had already the blood-stained hair-cloth in which the martyr was executed.<sup>3</sup> Father Exmew wrote the cause of his death, and both relics and writing were placed together in a small chest. It was intended to send them to the Father General at the Grande Chartreuse; but after the imprisonment of Blessed William Exmew the monks thought

<sup>1</sup> Thursday, the 6th of May, 1535.

<sup>2</sup> Wright's *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, Letter xiv., from MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. 252.

<sup>3</sup> *Cilicium*, a part of a Carthusian's underclothing. It seems doubtful whether it was left on during the butchery, or whether, lying close by, it got sprinkled with the martyr's blood.

it safer to bury their treasure, "until the time when God should gather together the congregation of His people and be propitious unto them." These precious relics are most probably still in their hiding-place under the Charterhouse, and may yet be discovered and duly honoured. It is just possible that Hearne found them, and, if so, there is reason to fear that they are lost, for he was not the man to treat them with great respect. "Occasionally," he says, "searching in the dust and foundation of the present Charterhouse, now and then I could not but meet with a *leg* or *an arm*, some strokes of the Ancient Model, some few fragments of the old foundation.'

A small portion of the blood-stained hair-cloth, and a note in Father Houghton's handwriting of all the questions proposed to the martyrs in the Tower, together with their answers, were intrusted to a certain Peter de Bardis.<sup>2</sup> He promised to take them to the Pope or to the General at the Grande Chartreuse, but there is no record of their arriving at their destination.

Three weeks after Bedyll had denounced them, Fathers Exmew, Middlemore, and Newdigate were arrested and thrown into the Marshalsea, where they suffered most cruel tortures. They were bound

<sup>1</sup> Preface to *Domus Carthusiana*. London, 1677.

<sup>2</sup> Chauncy says de Bardis was a Spaniard; but the name is not Spanish, and was well known at Thame, in Oxfordshire, in the fifteenth century. See Dr. F. G. Lee's *History of Thame Church* (1883).

in an upright position to posts, their necks, arms, and legs being held fast by iron chains. And orders were given that on no account should they be released even for an instant.<sup>1</sup> An old manuscript from the collections of Camden and Stow confirms Chauncy's statement with regard to this cruel treatment. "Three of them [the Charterhouse monks], that is to say, Humphrey, William, and Sebastian, first stood in prison upright, chained from the neck to the arms, and their legs fettered with locks and chains, by the space of thirteen days."<sup>2</sup>

Father Transam's manuscript<sup>3</sup> tells how the king went in disguise to the prison, in order to persuade Sebastian Newdigate to purchase his liberty by acknowledging the royal supremacy. Blessed Sebastian had already been bound to the pillar in the filthy dungeon for about three days. His body had become extremely weak ; but his holy soul had lost nothing of its former courage. "See," said the king, "how sincerely I love you, Sebastian, and how deep an interest I take in your welfare ! Think what kind of return my affection deserves. Return loving obedience for loving condescension, and submit to my laws before it is too late." The king even told him that he need not remain a Carthusian, for he would load him with riches and honours if he would only accept the law already re-

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Passio*, cap. xi.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. MSS., Harl. 530, f. 54.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 99.

ceived by most of the great men of the land. Our manuscript does not give Dom Sebastian's answer; according to Henry Clifford, it was as follows:—"I must acknowledge this for a special and great honour, yea far greater than my unworthiness can deserve, that your Majesty hath vouchsafed, in so undecent a lodging, to visit your poor servant, and so poor a religious. I confess I have received many great favours of your Majesty. God Almighty reward you, which I daily ask of His Divine Majesty; and I shall, while I live, pray for your health and prosperity, and for the happiness of your kingdom. I am a religious man, and therefore more obliged sincerely to speak the truth. The desire to save my soul, which our Lord Jesus Christ redeemed with so great cost as the price of His life, and the shedding of His most precious blood, insinuating and dictating to my soul the hazards and dangers of the world, to retire myself from them (otherwise my demerits might suddenly have overthrown me) to this port of religion, wherein I daily commend, as all of our Order do, the welfare and life of your Majesty to Almighty God, to multiply His graces towards you, and prosper you with all desired felicity; taking the same our Lord Jesus Christ for witness, that it is neither contempt, nor obstinacy, nor discontent, nor intent of gainsaying, nor counsel of any that hath power to withdraw my submission to the law, or to make me not to yield to the oath pro-

pounded, but the doctrine of the Holy Church and the Law of God, the offence whereof I may not incur.”<sup>1</sup>

Henry Clifford adds that “the king would have no more ; but went away in a great rage, threatening and cursing.”

Some days later, the prisoners having been removed from the Marshalsea to the Tower, the king, who happened to be there, renewed his attack upon Sebastian Newdigate. “Do you,” he asked, “think yourself wiser and holier than all the clergy and laity of the kingdom, who have subscribed to my laws? For God’s sake, give up this fool-hardiness before it brings you to an untimely end. Take a lesson from the fate of those three Carthusians who suffered as traitors only the other day ; for you may be sure that if you choose to imitate them in life, you shall shortly imitate them in death also.” Promises and threats were equally thrown away upon the faithful servant of God ; riches and honours had long since lost for him their charms, and he was ready to follow his Prior along the road to Tyburn.

On Friday, the 11th of June, the three monks were brought to trial at Westminster. The official documents in the Public Record Office<sup>2</sup> show that

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Jane Dormer* (ed. 1887), pp. 28, 29.

<sup>2</sup> *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii. bundle 2. See the *Third Report of the Deputy Keeper*, Appendix ii., p. 239 ; and *Letters and Papers*, viii. 886.

our martyrs had the honour of being mentioned in the same indictment as Blessed Cardinal Fisher, though the prelate's trial was postponed for another week ; " . . . that John Fisher, late of Rochester, clerk, otherwise late Bishop of Rochester, did, 7 May, 27 Henry VIII., openly declare in England, 'The king our sovereign lord is not supreme head in earth of the Church of England.' Also that Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Newdigate, late monks of the Charterhouse, London, under the obedience of John Houghton, Prior, now deceased, did at Stepney, in the county of Middlesex, 25 May, 27 Henry VIII., each of them say to several of the king's true subjects, 'I cannot nor will consent to be obedient to the king's highness as a true, lawful, and obedient subject, to take and repute him to be the supreme head in earth of the Church of England under Christ.' "

The three Carthusians were brought to the bar by Sir Edmund Walsingham, deputy of Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower. They pleaded *not guilty*. That is to say, not guilty of high treason ; for they did not pretend they had not denied the king's spiritual supremacy. Chauncy tells how they argued with the judges, showing by many texts from Holy Scripture that the king could have no right to the title of head of the Church, since our Lord had conferred the Supreme Pontificate upon St. Peter and his successors in the See

of Rome.<sup>1</sup> Hall says that "these men, when they were arraigned at Westminster, behaved themselves very stiffly and stubbornly; for, hearing their indictment read, how traitorously they had spoken against the king's majesty, his crown and dignity, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very foolishly and hypocritically acknowledged their treason, which maliciously they avouched, having no learning for their defence; but rather, being asked divers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterward in the Tower of London it did appear, for so they said that they thought those men, which was the lord Cromwell and other that there sat upon them in judgment, to be heretics and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be either answered or spoken unto. And therefore, as they deserved, they received as you have heard before"—that is, "were hanged, drawn, and quartred at Tyborne, and their quarters set up about London, for denying the kyng to be supreme head of the Churche."<sup>2</sup>

From these words of one who was bitterly hostile to the Catholic religion and also to liberty of conscience, it may be gathered that the three

<sup>1</sup> *Historia*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> Hall's *Chronicle* (ed. 1809), p. 817. This chronicle was first published in 1548, under the title of *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York*. The writer must not be confounded with Dr. Hall, a Catholic, who wrote a *Life of Blessed John Fisher*.

martyrs neither blushed at nor were ashamed of having refused to acknowledge the king's spiritual supremacy. And after boldly confessing their faith and defending it, they kept silence, for they saw that their judges were not open to conviction. And, therefore, as they deserved, they received the martyr's palm, having willingly laid down their lives for the Catholic faith and the rights of the Sovereign Pontiff.

The execution took place on the 19th of June; when the martyrs were drawn on hurdles to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, mutilated, ripped up, disembowelled, beheaded, and quartered in the same brutal manner as their Prior, Father Houghton, a few weeks before. One account tells us that the executioner, in a fit of diabolical rage, forced the martyrs' hearts into their mouths.<sup>1</sup> The quarters were parboiled, and then placed in various parts of the City to frighten the people; and the souls of the martyrs entered into everlasting rest.

<sup>1</sup> Preface to first edition of Chauncy's work. See ed. 1888, p. 6.

## CHAPTER VI.

SECLARS IN CHARGE—SEIZURE OF BOOKS—PREACHERS—A VISIT FROM BEYOND THE GRAVE—DEFECTIONS—ANDREW BORD AND THE SUPERIOR GENERAL—“ CARELESS MEN AND WILLING TO DIE ”—THE COMMISSIONERS’ “ INSTRUCTIONS ”—NEW RULES.

THE persecution of the remaining monks, which followed the imprisonment of the Vicar and his two companions, was less violent, but in some respects more trying and more dangerous. For two years nobody was tortured or put to death; nobody was even cast into prison, but all were made to feel that the Charterhouse was no longer the peaceful, prayerful, happy home it had been in the days of prosperity. Hitherto the monks had been aided by holy and enlightened Superiors; now every one was left to himself to bear the cruel treatment he received from the Royal Commissioners who took charge of the monastery, and to resist the constant attacks made upon both his religious belief and the faithful keeping of his vows.

The chief business of the Commissioners in residence at the Charterhouse seems to have been the

conversion of the monks to the new religion, by persuasion, privation, and threat. An apparently willing submission on the part of the community would have been a great victory for the king's men, and every means was tried to bring the monks to make it. As time went on the cruelty of the Commissioners augmented, until at last the life of the poor religious became a burden almost too heavy to be borne. Yet, by God's grace, they bore it well.

The first resident Commissioner appears to have been a certain John Whalley. "It is of no use," he says in a letter to Cromwell, "for one Mr. Rastall to come here. He pleads, indeed, that you wished him daily to resort hither, but the monks laugh and jest at all things he speaketh. No question of it, they be exceedingly superstitious, ceremonious, and pharisaical, and wonderfully addict to their old *mumpsimus*. Nevertheless, better and more charitable it were to convert them, than to put them to the extremity of the law." He suggests a plan to convert them. Cromwell is first to send some honest, learned, and loyal men to stay with the monks; and then to let the Vicar of Croydon, Dr. Buckmaster, Symonds, and others of the popish sort, preach before them against their superstitious and pharisaical ceremonies, and the Pope's usurped power. "And after all this to cause the Bishops of York, Winchester, Durham, Lincoln, Bath, and London, yea and divers other Bishops that be near

at hand, in like manner to preach; for they have great consideration and trust in them, insomuch that some of them heretofore have said to me that these foresaid Bishops and divers others will not say nor yet think but for fear, that the king's grace should, or in any wise may, be supreme head of the Church of England." If all this does not answer, Whalley thinks they should be called before the whole nobility, temporal and spiritual, and sentenced according to law. He adds, in conclusion, that Fyloll, Cromwell's servant, had spoken to some of the monks. Several other persons had been there, to whom Whalley, not knowing Cromwell's pleasure, refused admission.<sup>1</sup>

Whalley seems to have been altogether master of the Charterhouse. He gave orders that no persons, spiritual or temporal, should enter the cloister, unless they brought with them Cromwell's token, or were known "to be of an honest sort." He made Cromwell a cheap present of some apples belonging to the monks. "If they like you," he says, "they shall be kept for you as long as they last, and [I will] provide for the convent almonds and figs accordingly."<sup>2</sup>

The exact dates of the two letters we have just quoted are uncertain. They were most probably

<sup>1</sup> Father F. A. Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. p. 222 § and abridged in *Letters and Papers*, vol. viii. 600.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 601.

written soon after the imprisonment of the three blessed martyrs, Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdigate. Another letter from Whalley, dated the 29th of May, shows that Cromwell sent orders, through Rastall the preacher, to take from the monks such books as the Statutes of Bruno and "suche lyke doctors." Accordingly Rastall and Jaspas Fyloll examined the books in every cell. Whalley thinks if Jaspas were to "lye here in the Charterhouse," he might do some good. Of the monks, he considers that three or four will forsake their opinions; the rest trust much in Dr. Hord, the Prior of Hinton,<sup>1</sup> for whom Cromwell must send. "Some of these old preachers might preach unto them every week; and I think they will soon be at appoint."<sup>2</sup>

Though Whalley was mistaken in his opinion that the community would "soon be at appoint," they were beginning to suffer the slow persecution which was destined to divide them into three categories—the good, the weak, and the bad. Whalley and Fyloll, who appear to have been the two seculars mentioned by Chauncy, certainly treated the monks somewhat roughly. "They pampered themselves," says Chauncy, "while the religious were allowed to suffer hunger and thirst. Taking away all substantial food, they portioned out to them a

<sup>1</sup> Hord had been Procurator of the London Charterhouse.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 778.

little cheese or some such thing as their daily pittance. Moreover, they brought into the monastery a number of wicked persons, who insulted and even struck us whenever they could get an opportunity. Others were appointed to watch us. We had, however, courage enough to fight, with Holy Scripture and sound reason for our arms, against the wicked king.”<sup>1</sup>

The loss of their books was among the most keenly felt of all the misfortunes which befell the poor monks. Their books kept alive in them the spirit of their holy vocation; their books supplied them with arguments with which to refute the false reasonings of their adversaries; their books helped them at times to forget the troubles that had come upon their house and Order. Hence this seizure of the books was a well-aimed blow, and likely to make havoc in the community. “The Statutes of Bruno and such like doctors,” that is, no doubt, their spiritual books, were, as Whalley tells us, the first to be taken away. Other records which have still to be quoted will show that they were afterwards deprived of almost all.

But their spirit was not broken. When unable to study, they found in prayer and meditation an inexhaustible source of wisdom; and, though some of the monks confounded their persecutors by learned arguments, the greater number fought still more

<sup>1</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 109.

successfully with holy innocence and simplicity for their arms.<sup>1</sup>

The constant visits of the preachers, and of such men as Cromwell and Bedyll, were also very trying to the community. Sometimes they would be kept so long in the Chapter House that Vespers or even Matins had to be postponed. One Sunday morning four of the monks were dragged out of the Church during the Conventual Mass, and taken to St. Paul's Cathedral to hear an heretical Bishop try to prove that the king had become head of the Church of England. Fathers Rochester and Walworth were probably two of the four, Chauncy was certainly one of them. He tells us how they were obliged to occupy a front seat in the sight of a very large congregation.<sup>2</sup> The four monks returned home as faithful and as resolute as ever.

Now we will turn to the public records for more minute particulars of the history of the Charterhouse during the latter half of the year 1535. Dom John Darley<sup>3</sup> had, if we may believe his story, a very interesting vision. The following is his own account, which is still to be seen amongst the Cotton Manuscripts in the British Museum<sup>4</sup> :—

“Memorandum, that I, John Darley, monk of the Charterhouse beside London, had in my time license to say service with a Father of our religion

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Historia*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> Cleop. E. iv. 129.

named Father Raby,<sup>1</sup> a very old man, when he fell sick and lay upon his deathbed. And after the time he was aneiled and had received all the Sacraments of the Church, in the presence of all the convent, and when all they were departed, I said unto him: 'Good Father Raby, if the dead may come to the quick, I beseech you to come to me;' and he said, 'Yea,' and immediately he died the same night, which was in the cleansing days last past, anno 1534.<sup>2</sup> And since that I never did think upon him to Saint John Baptist day last past.<sup>3</sup>

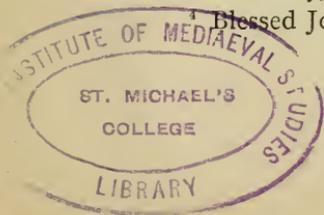
"*Item*, the same day at five of the clock at afternoon, I being in contemplation in our entry in our cell, suddenly he appeared unto me in a monk's habit and said to me, 'Why do ye not follow our Father?'<sup>4</sup> And I said, 'Wherefore?' He said, 'For he is a martyr in heaven next unto angels.' And I said, 'Where be all our other Fathers which died as well as he?' He answered and said, 'They be well, but not so well as he.' And then I said to him, 'Father, how do ye?' And he answered and said, 'Well enough.' And I said, 'Father, shall I pray for you?' And he said, 'I am well enough, but prayer both for you and other doeth good;' and so suddenly vanished away."

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Lent, 1535, New Style, for the year began on the 25th of March.

<sup>3</sup> Thursday, the 24th of June, 1535.

<sup>4</sup> Blessed John Houghton.



It may be worth while observing that in the sentences, "Why do ye not follow our Father?" and ". . . prayer both for you and other doeth good," allusion is made to Darley's state of mind. It is but too probable that he was already thinking of leaving the Charterhouse and abandoning his holy habit. If this vision and the history of the toads infesting his cell<sup>1</sup> are true, they make poor Darley's subsequent conduct all the more inexcusable.

"*Item,*" Darley continues, "upon Saturday next after, at five of the clock in the morning, in the same place in our entry, he appeared again, with a long white beard, and a white staff in his hand, lifting it up; whereupon I was afraid. And then, leaning upon his staff, [he] said to me, 'I am sorry that I lived not to I had been a martyr.' And I said, 'I think ye be as well as ye were a martyr.' And he said, 'Nay, for my Lord of Rochester<sup>2</sup> and our Father was next unto angels in heaven.' And then I said, 'Father, what else?' And then he answered and said the angels of peace did lament and mourn without measure; and so [he] vanished away.

"Written by me, John Darley, monk of the Charterhouse, the 27th day of June, the year of Our Lord God aforesaid."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Blessed John Fisher, Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church and Bishop of Rochester, who was martyred on Tuesday, the 22nd of June, 1535.

<sup>3</sup> He should have put 1535, for the only year "aforesaid" is

It has already been stated that Dom Darley was wanting in solid virtue, subject to great temptations, and discontented with his food. His vision being considered a crime,<sup>1</sup> special efforts were made to persuade him to apostatize; and unfortunately he fell. Cromwell forbade the publication of the vision.<sup>2</sup>

Rawlins and Salter were also longing to get free. This flattered Bedyll, and he fancied that all would shortly yield; for on the 15th of July he writes, "I have now some better hope of the obstinates of the Charterhouse, which, lacking wit and reason, hitherto have been more like madmen than other."<sup>3</sup> Bedyll was mistaken, for Rawlins the lukewarm and Salter the detractor were very different men from their fervent and pious brethren.

The conquest of Rawlins was certainly no sign of the persuasive powers of the persecutors or of any real change in the dispositions of the community. His own letter to Cromwell shows what sort of man he was. "I hear," he says, "without seeing or reading of them, that the king with his commonality, both of the spirituality and temporality, learned in the laws, who have a conscience and a soul to keep as well as I, have by Act of Parliament granted

1534, though according to our computation it certainly means 1535.

<sup>1</sup> The word "*crimina*" is written on one corner of the document.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ix. 681.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, viii. 1043.

that the king is supreme head of the Church of England ; which as our Father Prior of this house, with others of our religion, would not consent unto, they suffered death. I wish you to know my poor mind towards my prince, and you shall order me as you think best, which should be to the profit both of my body and soul. If I were examined before my brethren here they would hate me, and wonder at me, as a many of crows or daws at a tame hawk, for they suspect my affection for my prince." He then asks for a dispensation from his vows, saying that he was professed more than six months before the time on account of sickness. If he remains there he will die ; it is so hard, what with fasting and the 'great watch' (*i.e.* the night Offices), that there are not six monks in the cloister who have not one infirmity or other. He complains of the Prior for having taken £8 from him when he entered the Charterhouse ; and also of hard treatment received from the Bishop of London, who sequestered the fruits of a benefice he had held before becoming a Carthusian. The Bishop told his parishioners he should not be parson there, as he was the patron. In a word, he wished "to return to the state of a secular priest," and he tried his best to find some reasons for leaving the Charterhouse.<sup>1</sup> He need not have taken so much trouble to prove his case, for the new head of the Church and Cromwell,

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ix. 1150.

his Vicar-General, were not scrupulous with regard to the breaking of vows. One of Fyoll's letters shows that Rawlins found a friend in Archbishop Cranmer, changed his habit for "secular priest's clothing," and ate flesh meat.<sup>1</sup> Salter, who had made application to Cromwell in the previous year, and Dom Henry, of whom very little is known, also left the Charterhouse.

Thus it was that those whose conduct was reprehensible in the days of prosperity fell away in the time of trial.

Before returning to the more edifying subject of the holy monks, who had, as Mr. Froude says, "the spirit of the old martyrs," we must mention the conduct of Andrew Bord.<sup>2</sup> A letter of encouragement from the Grande Chartreuse would undoubtedly have been a consolation for the community in the midst of their troubles. They received, on the contrary, nothing but evil counsel; and for this "Merry Andrew" is to blame.

Unable to "bide the rugurosytè" of it, he left the Carthusian Order "without a dispensation from the Bishop of Rome," and went abroad. Scruples with regard to his vows, or fear of being obliged to return to the Charterhouse, led him to the Grande Chartreuse, where he gave a garbled account of what was going on in England. None of the English Priors had been able to attend the General

<sup>1</sup> *Infra*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 108.

Chapter ; and, according to Andrew Bord, the reverend Father, John Gailhard,<sup>1</sup> who had only been in office a few days, believed his story, and sanctioned his writing the following letter to "Master Prior and the convent of the Charterhouse of London, and to all the Priors and convents of the said Order in England" :—

"The Father of the head Charterhouse advises you to love God and obey the king, being sorry to hear that there have been wilful and sturdy opinions amongst you to the contrary. If any of your friends die, he desires the *obiit* of them to be sent amongst you, that the order of charity be not lost, *pro defunctis exorare*. He sends the *obiit* of his predecessor,<sup>2</sup> but will not write other letters ; and wishes you not to write, lest the king should be offended. Though I had license before record to depart from you, my conscience was not satisfied, and I visited the said reverend Father to know whether Father John Batmanson obtained for me, from the General Chapter, the license that Dom George has.<sup>3</sup> When Dom George was dispensed with the religion, I and another were also dispensed withal, considering I cannot nor never could live solitary, and 'intrusyd' in a close air among you, could never have my

<sup>1</sup> Father John Gailhard was General of the Order from 1535 to 1540.

<sup>2</sup> Father William Bibuyck (Bibaucius), who died on the 24th of July, 1535.

<sup>3</sup> *Supra*, p. 107.

health. I was received among you under age, contrary to the Statutes; wherefore, now I am clearly discharged, without the dispensation of the Bishop of Rome, as you who received me have dispensed with me for lawful causes. The said reverend Father has made Master Cromwell and my Lord of Chester<sup>1</sup> brethren of the whole religion, praying you that you do nothing without their counsel. In the cell of the reverend Father called John, and with his counsel. 2nd August.”<sup>2</sup>

If the monks believed Bord's assertion that Thomas Cromwell and Roland Lee had become brothers of the Order, and that they were to do nothing without the counsel of these unprincipled men, it must have been sad news for them. It came, too, from the place where above all they would have looked for encouragement and sympathy.

Fearing to address himself directly to the monks, the Father General wrote a Latin letter to Roland Lee.<sup>3</sup> He complains that the Priors of the English Province had neither come nor written to the General Chapter, and, unless the obituary could be sent, the offices for the dead would go unsaid. The

<sup>1</sup> Roland Lee, of whom we have spoken already. He was sometimes called Bishop of Chester.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ix. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, ix. 8; and our Appendix, No. viii. The original, badly mutilated, is in the British Museum, Vit. B. xiv. 135.

remainder of this letter reminds one of Morton's advice when treating with the Claverhouse's dragoons, "Speak them fair, sirs; speak them fair." Bord had evidently deceived the General, or he would never have written thus. In another letter we find Bord saying, "The reverend Father of the head Charterhouse, a famous clerk, . . . doth hold with our sovereign lord the king in his acts."<sup>1</sup> Father Gailhard was not the man to hold with King Henry if he had known the true story of his conduct.

A letter of Archdeacon Bedyll's, dated the 28th of August (1535), shows something of the writer's character, and the spirit of the men with whom he was dealing.

"I am right sorry," he says, "to see the foolishness and obstinacy of divers religious men, so addicted to the Bishop of Rome and his usurped power, that they contemn all counsel, and likewise jeopardy their bodies and souls and the suppression of their houses as careless men and willing to die. If it were not for the opinion which men had, and some yet have, in their apparent holiness, which is and was for the most part covert hypocrisy, it made no great matter what became of them so that their souls were saved. And as for my part, I would that all such obstinate persons of them, who be willing to die for the advancement of the Bishop of Rome's authority, were dead indeed by God's hand; that

<sup>1</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. ii. p. 300.

no man should run wrongfully into obloquy for their just punishment. For the avoiding whereof, and for the charity that I owe to their bodies and souls, I have taken some pains to reduce them from their errors, and will take more if I be commanded, specially to the intent that my sovereign lord the king's grace should not be troubled or disquieted with their extreme madness and folly. I mean this not only by divers of the Charterhouses and chiefly at London, but also by others, as by divers of the friars at Sion, who are minded to offer themselves in sacrifice to the great idol of Rome. And in their so minding they be cursed of God, as all others be who put their trust and confidence in any man concerning eternal life. And in case they had no such confidence in the Bishop of Rome, they would never be so ready to lose their temporal life for him and for his sake."<sup>1</sup> Bedyll then makes some remarks about Sion, where his failure had been less complete.

Mr. Gairdner's abridgment is sufficiently detailed.<sup>2</sup> "The Confessor (Father Fewterer) preached twice and did his duty; so did Master David Curson twice, except that once he brought in the words *mea culpa* out of frame—perhaps by inadvertence. On Sunday last one Whitford preached—one of the

<sup>1</sup> *State Papers*, i. 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, vii. 1090. The error in the date is corrected in vol. ix. 200.

most wilful—and said nothing of the king's title. On St. Bartholomew's Day, one Ricot<sup>1</sup> did as he was commanded, but added, that he who so commanded him should discharge his conscience. Nine of the brethren immediately left the Church, viz. Copinger, Lache—a very wilful and seditious person in this cause—Letell, Bishop, etc. . . . It would be well that some of the king's servants thereabouts were ordered to be present at their sermons and report them. . . .

“The brethren of the Charterhouse of London have got a friend to write to me, wishing my Lord of London to come thither again before you (Cromwell) come to London, and me to come with them, as they think it likely they will be brought to good conformity. Will go there if commanded; otherwise will not meddle, as he has already laboured so much in vain.”

Friar Lache, of Sion, whom Bedyll denounces “as a very seditious person” and a “head of the faction,” and Friar Copinger, who left the Church when heresy was preached, were afterwards persuaded by Cromwell and Stokesley, Bishop of London, to accept the royal supremacy. With the approval of Fewterer, the Confessor General, they

<sup>1</sup> Probably the same as Robert Rygote, who wrote to the king, “I have prayed for your Majesty as supreme head of the Church of England, next under Christ, and for so doing have been called wretch and heretic” (*Letters and Papers*, vii. 1092).

wrote a long letter to the Carthusians. Smythe, who gives this letter in full, says it "contains a summary of the arguments in favour of conformity;"<sup>1</sup> and very feeble arguments they are. It could scarcely be interesting to reprint them once again in full. "If any Church be in England," they say, "his Grace (King Henry) is supreme head of it. St. Paul doth bid all the Church to be obedient to his Grace, *quia superior potestas*, as to the highest power and authority. St. Peter doth bid all the Church to be subject to his Grace as the most precellent person among them." According to this strange interpretation of the Scriptures, the sovereign would be head of the Church even if he were not a Christian, and the Gospel would be true just as long as that sovereign thought proper.

On the 5th of September, Jaspar Fyloll wrote to Cromwell with regard to the Charterhouse. The letter, which is preserved in the British Museum, must be given in full, for it contains some interesting particulars.

"My duty to your good mastership humbly premised, pleaseth it the same to understand that, with this my rude letter, I have sent you a paper of such proportion of victuals and other [things] as the lay brothers here tell me of necessity must be provided for them; which will not be borne with the

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of Charterhouse* (London, 1808), p. 64. See also *Letters and Papers*, viii. 78.

revenues of the house ; for the yearly revenue of the house is £642 os. 4½*d.*, and the provision in that proportion amounts to £658 7*s.* 4*d.* And yet, since the making of that proportion, wheat is risen 4*d.* in every quarter, and malt 20*d.* in every quarter, and commonly all other victuals rise therewith.<sup>1</sup> I learn here among the lay brothers, that heretofore, when all victual was at a convenient price, and also when they were fewer persons in number than they now be, the Procurator has accounted for £1000 a year, their rent of assize being but as above, £642 os. 4½*d.* ; which costly fare, building, and other [expense] was then borne of the benevolence and charity of the City of London. Now they, not regarding this dearth, neither the increase of their superfluous number, neither yet the decay of the said benevolence and charity, would have and have that same fare continual that then was used ; and would have like plenty of bread and ale and fish given to strangers in the buttery and at the buttery door, and as large livery of bread and ale to all their servants, and to vagabonds at the gate ; which cannot be. Wherefore, under the favour of your mastership, it seems

<sup>1</sup> “The corn harvest was well-nigh a complete failure, the yield being scarcely more than one third part of an average crop. It had rained, so said the people, ever since the execution of the Carthusians, and they looked upon this as a mark of Divine anger at the misdeeds of Henry” (Father F. A. Gasquet’s *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. p. 244).

to be much necessary to minish either their number or dainty fare, and also the superfluous livery of bread and ale.<sup>1</sup>

“These Charterhouse monks would be called solitary; but to the cloister door there be above twenty-four keys in the hands of twenty-four persons, and it is likely that many letters, unprofitable tales and tidings, and sometimes perverse counsel, come and go by reason thereof.<sup>2</sup> Also to the buttery door there be twelve sundry keys in twelve men’s hands, wherein seems to be small husbandry.<sup>3</sup>

“Now is the time of the year when provision was wont to be made of ling, haberdines, and of other salt store, and also of their winter vestures to their bodies and to their beds, and for fuel to their cells; wherein I tarry till I may know your mastership’s pleasure therein.

“I think, under correction of your mastership, that it were very necessary to remove the two lay brothers from the buttery, and set two temporal persons there in their room, and likewise in the

<sup>1</sup> This passage is very suggestive.

<sup>2</sup> Every Carthusian still carries the latch-key which scandalized Fylloll (*scandalum pharisaicum*). It does not, as Fylloll insinuates, open the entrance gate, but the cell doors and some other doors inside the monastery. Thus the doors remain open to the monks, while for strangers, who might disturb their solitude, they are closed.

<sup>3</sup> These were doubtless for opening not only the buttery, but all the “obediences” or workshops of the lay brothers.

kitchen, for in these two offices lie the waste of the house.<sup>1</sup>

“In the beginning of August last past, my Lord of Canterbury sent for two monks here, Rochester and Rawlins.<sup>2</sup> His lordship sent Rochester home again, but he keeps Rawlins still with him; and I understand he has changed his habit to secular priests' clothing, and eats flesh. I know that some of them, and I think that divers more of them, would be glad to be licensed to the same.

“One lay brother, apostate, late of the Isle of Axholme as he said, being sick in the great sickness, was secretly, without my knowledge, received here into the cloister, where he died within four days. One of the lay brothers kept him in his sickness, and is now sick in the same great sickness. God's will be performed.

“Whereas the lord Reed, late chief justice of the Common Pleas, has here founded a chantry of eight pounds yearly, for term of thirty years; his chaplain<sup>3</sup> died the first day of September, and there is yet fourteen years to come. Master John Maidwell, commonly called the Scottish friar, has been

<sup>1</sup> By putting seculars in the buttery and kitchen the Commissioners were able to half starve the monks (as Chauncy says they did), to refuse relief to the poor, and to have good cheer for themselves.

<sup>2</sup> Blessed John Rochester, the martyr, and Nicholas Rawlins, the apostate.

<sup>3</sup> John Heth. In a former chapter we have given a copy of one of his quarterly receipts for two pounds.

here with Dom John Rochester (William Marshall and other then being present), and has exhorted him to the best, but they could find no good towardness in him ; but after an hour's communication they left him as they found him.

“ Then I entreated Rochester and four or five of the monks to be contented to hear him preach one sermon among them, one day that week, wherewith they were then contented. But on the next day, when they had spoken with their other brothers, they sent me word that I should not bring him among them, for if I so did, they would not hear him, because they heard tell of him that he preached against the honouring of images and of saints, and that he was a blasphemous of saints. And I said that I marvelled much of them, for there can be no greater heresy in any man, especially in a religious man, than to say that he cannot preach the Word of God, neither will not have it preached.<sup>1</sup> And they say that they will read their doctors, and go no farther. And I told them that such doctors have made some of their company to be strong traitors, and traitorously to suffer death.

“ Now, sir, standing the case in the premises as I have now written, I dare do nothing till I know somewhat of your mastership's pleasure ; for I have learned of my fellow, John Whalley, that your

<sup>1</sup> If they had preached the true Word of God it would have been called treason and heresy.

pleasure is that I should break none old order of the house. But your commandment once known, I trust to endeavour myself to follow and accomplish it, with such diligence and discretion as I am able, and as God will give me grace, and as I think to answer to your mastership in dread of your displeasure, as knoweth God, who ever lead you from henceforth forward, as He has done hitherto, in His Holy Spirit, the comfort of our most Christian and most Catholic prince, the king's highness, and of all his noblemen, and all others his true subjects.

"At the Charterhouse next to London, the 5th day of September. Your humble servant,

"JASPAR FYLOLL."<sup>1</sup>

The postscript is as follows:—"Sir, I have sewed to the bill of proportions a parchment containing the names of the whole household of the Charterhouse, and by cause" (*i.e.* in order that) "ye shall not marvel upon the order of that bill, in the first line, before every man's name that hath confessed himself to be the king's true man, there is set a *g* for good, and before the others a *b* for bad.

"In the second line is set the letter that stands upon his cell door. The third line is the number of the persons."

Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 67 From MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. 35.

The parchment to which Fylloll alludes is lost. It would have been interesting to see a list of the community at this time and to learn who were unfortunate enough to deserve the *g* for good.

Probably there were none except the apostates of whom we have spoken already; and amongst them would certainly be found Salter and Darley, for Fylloll writes in a memorandum to Cromwell, "Dom Thomas Salter and Dom John Darley would fain be out of the cloister by favour of your mastership. Dom John Darley is provided of a service at Salisbury."<sup>1</sup>

The high price of victuals and the mismanagement and rapacity of the Commissioners seem to have reduced the Charterhouse almost to insolvency. "The Sacristan," writes Fylloll, "has secretly conveyed two or three hundredweight of wax out of the storehouse. I asked him what he meant; and he says the Fathers of the cloister commanded it. I suppose they will sell it to buy their winter's clothing. I think it expedient that I should know your pleasure in the articles I left with you. Wheat is 18s. 4d. a quarter, and malt 7s.; and fifty-six persons are fed in the house daily, besides strangers. And now servants are looking for their wages and liveries."

Though Fylloll, Whalley, and Bedyll had for months past been doing their best to render the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ix. 284.

monks uncomfortable and to prevent the strict observation of the Rule, they had received orders from Cromwell not to make any serious changes. Preaching, discussion, promise, threat, and unkind treatment had all been tried ; and they had produced but little effect upon the community. It was becoming more and more evident that, unless some new measures were taken, there was little likelihood of bringing the majority to acknowledge the king's spiritual supremacy. Fylooll therefore drew up a list of "instructions" and sent it to Cromwell on the 2nd of October.<sup>1</sup>

"If," says Fylooll, "it be the king's pleasure and yours that this Charterhouse shall stand without a Prior as it now does, it seems, saving your master-ship's correction, to be very necessary to minish the number of the cloister monks and also of the lay brothers, at least by so many as have not or will not confess the king to be their supreme head under God here in earth, and that will not renounce all jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, and of all his laws that be contrary to the good laws of this realm."

This is a bloodthirsty suggestion and imprudent besides ; for the martyrdom of so large a number of these popular monks might have enraged the

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Smythe's *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, pp. 80-83 ; from MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. 36 ; and abridged in *Letters and Papers*, ix. 523.

people and stirred them up to rebellion. Cromwell was too wise to act upon such advice. He preferred the other alternative of appointing a false Prior, who might induce the monks to acknowledge the king's new title.

“That done,” the Commissioner continues, “it seems to be necessary that they shall sit daily in their ‘fraytowr’ (*i.e.* Refectory), and four of them at a mess of meat;<sup>1</sup> and that so done, that meat that now serves twelve persons will serve twenty persons honestly.

“It seems also to be convenient that their lay stewards, and their other lay servants, and strangers, should eat flesh in their hall and parlour contrary to their old ill custom.

“Also if any of the cloister monks lust to eat flesh, it were pity to constrain him to eat fish; for such constrained abstinence shall never be meritorious.

“It is no great marvel, though many of these monks have heretofore offended God and the king by their foul errors; for I have found in the Prior's and Procurator's cells three or four sundry printed books from beyond the sea, of as foul errors and heresies as may be; and not one or two books be new-printed alone, but hundreds of them. Wherefore, by your mastership's favour, it seems necessary that these cells be better searched, for I can perceive few of them. But they have great pleasure

<sup>1</sup> Meat does not here mean flesh meat, but any kind of food.

in reading of such erroneous doctors, and little or none in reading of the New Testament, or in other good books."

This fully bears out Chauncy's statement regarding the seizure of the books. The foul errors were of course the Catholic doctrines concerning the divinely appointed authority of the Pope. Had Fylloll taken the trouble to be present at the Divine Office and in the Chapter House, he would have known that the monks were constant readers of the New Testament and the Old as well. Fylloll seems not to have read in his Bible, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour." Where did Chauncy learn the Bible almost by heart, if the Charterhouse monks found little or no pleasure in reading it? To whom, if not to monks, are we indebted for the preservation of the sacred Scriptures before the invention of printing? "It is much to be feared," says a Protestant writer, "that, had it not been for the labours of the monastic orders, . . . Europe might not have possessed a single copy of the Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> Though this may be a little exaggerated in the opposite direction, it is much more correct than Commissioner Fylloll's observation.

The next two points of the "instructions" bear witness to the constancy of the monks, and especially of Blessed John Rochester.

<sup>1</sup> Stonehouse's *History of the Isle of Axholme*, p. 256.

“Also Master Bedyll, and our Doctor Crome, in this vacation time, called Rochester and Fox before them, and gave them marvellous good exhortations by the space of an hour or more. But it prevailed nothing, but they left those two froward monks as erroneous as they found them; wherein was much lack of grace.

“Also William Marshall gave lately to be distributed amongst all our monks, twenty-four English books named *The Defence of Peace*. Many of them received those books, and said if their president would command them to read them, they would so do, or else not. The third day following, all they, save one, sent home their books again to me, saying that their president had commanded them so to do. Yet, at more leisure, John Rochester was so far entreated to read one of them, that he took the book, and kept it four or five days, and then burned him, which is good matter to lay to them at the time when your pleasure [shall be] to visit them.”<sup>1</sup>

The rest of this document is of minor interest. The lay brothers who are in the offices of the house are very prodigal, “every one of them to the others, and to their friends elsewhere.” Chauncy says they were very charitable. This different way of looking upon the same actions is easily understood. The lay servants are accused of doing as they like, and

<sup>1</sup> It seems probable from this passage, that Father Rochester was the president.

of "bringing letters, tidings, and credence to and from the convent in the cloister." Fylloll then complains of some tenants who do not pay their rent, and of another who steals and destroys carp to treble the value of his rent. He also says that Master Maidwell, the Scottish friar, has slept two nights in the Charterhouse to examine some books which are thought erroneous. "I beseech your worship that I may know your worship's pleasure whether he shall tarry here any longer or nay. The man is very honest, but he has no money to pay."

The following "Order for the Charterhouse,"<sup>1</sup> which was probably written by Cromwell's command on the receipt of Fylloll's "instructions," gives us an idea of the terrible pressure that was brought to bear upon the community, making the lives of the good a living martyrdom, and gradually subduing the courage of the weak.

"First, that there be five or six Governors, of temporal men, learned, wise, and trusty, appointed; whereof three or two of them shall be continually there together every meal, and lodge there every night.

"*Item*, that the said Governors shall call all the monks before them, and all the other servants and officers of the house; and to show them that the

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Cleop. E. iv. 26, and Harl. 604, fol. 3.

king's grace hath pardoned them of all heresies and treasons by any of them committed before that day, giving them warning that if they eftsoons offend, to die without mercy. And that there be a pardon purchased for them all under the king's Great Seal.

“*Item*, that the said Governors take the keys from the Procurator and other officers, and to govern the house, and to receive all rents, and make all payments, and to be countable to the king's grace thereof.

“*Item*, that the said Governors call all the monks to them severally, one after another, at divers times, and to examine them of all their opinions, and to exhort them to the truth, showing them that if any of them will, he shall have a dispensation to leave that Order and to live otherwise, and to have convenient stipend for a year or two, till he have provided himself of a living, so that he conform himself to the king's laws, and to endeavour himself to learn and to preach the Word of God, which every priest is bound to do, and yet by their religion (as it is said) they have professed falsely the contrary, that none of them shall never preach the Word of God.

“*Item*, to put all the monks to the cloister for a season, and that no man speak to them but by the license of one of the said Governors.

“*Item*, to take from them all manner of books

wherein any errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

“*Item*, to cause them to show all their ceremonies, and to teach them, and to exhort them to leave and to forsake all such ceremonies that be nought.

“*Item*, if they find any of them so obstinate that in nowise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison till the Council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the company of the obstinates, and to be gently handled to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them.

“*Item*, there would be three or four times in every week during this visitation, a sermon made by some discreet, well-learned men, and all the monks, officers, and servants to be caused to be there present, none exception save only sickness ; and the said preachers to have their chambers there, and meat and drink, that they might quietly study therefore during that time.

“*Item*, the lay brethren be more obstinate and more froward and more unreasonable than the monks ; therefore they would be likewise examined, and the obstinates punished or expelled, and the others kept for a season for knowledge of divers points of them to be had.”

Severe as this “Order” was, there was one thing for which the word of command had not been

given—the denial of substantial food, so necessary for the proper observance of the Rule. With the long night Office sung without instrumental accompaniment, the protracted fast, the perpetual abstinence from flesh meat, and the other austerities of Carthusian life, most monks require one moderately hearty meal in the twenty-four hours. This the royal Commissioners were not inclined to allow; for cruelty, avarice, and the hope of introducing relaxation of discipline prompted them to reduce the rations. The substitution of secular persons for the two lay brothers who had hitherto been in charge of the kitchen and buttery was doubtless the thin end of the wedge; but it must have been late in 1535 before the monks' dinner was reduced to "a little cheese or some such thing."<sup>1</sup> Whenever this starving system began, it seems that there was not much to complain of from Sunday to Wednesday, 10th to 13th of October. Probably the poor monks were treated extra well during those days, in order that Cromwell might see how sumptuously they fared, and sanction some changes. "On Sunday, at dinner, every monk had furmenty, a hot pie of lampreys, and three eggs; the lay brothers, salt fish and cheese. Monday: monks and lay brothers alike had pottage of herbs, plenty of Suffolk or Essex cheese, and three eggs. Tuesday: furmenty, oysters, and a piece of ling for each monk and lay

<sup>1</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 109.

brother. Wednesday: pottage of herbs, a great whiting, and two eggs; for the lay brothers, pottage, oysters, and a whiting to each man."<sup>1</sup>

The satire contained in another curious paper seems to intimate that the starving was about to commence. "Father Proctor, ye must have some man of the town to be friends to you, though ye give him a reward once in the year." This man is to search the ships of the Steelyard, Lombards, Spaniards, Genoese, etc., and all the wharves between London Bridge and the Tower, for victuals for the Charterhouse. The Spaniards will provide salt lampreys, onions, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, vinegar, sardines, "schurdfyssch," "dowlfyns," and olive oil. There are similar specifications of what may be found in the other vessels; and the paper is endorsed, "The profitable provision of dainty acates for the Charterhouse."<sup>2</sup>

Still the monks stood firm. The report received at Rome, that they were "constant and prepared for martyrdom," was quite correct.<sup>3</sup> Chauncy tells us how they put their persecutors to shame by holiness of life in the midst of snares which were laid in the hope of finding some grave accusation against them. They were modest, cheerful, industrious, and regular

<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, *Letters and Papers*, ix. 597.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Letter from Dr. Ortiz, imperial ambassador at Rome, to the empress (*Letters and Papers*, x. 10).

as in the happy days gone by. "Being deprived of a Prior exterior to themselves, each man's conscience was his own Prior, directing and instructing him in all things."<sup>1</sup>

Cromwell, the king's Vicar-General, took to heart the continued resistance of the Carthusians. It was difficult to "get him in a good mood"<sup>2</sup> for any other business. Accustomed as he was to being hated but obeyed, he found the respectful disobedience of these resolute monks very hard to bear.

<sup>1</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters and Papers*, ix. 950.

## CHAPTER VII.

AN UNWORTHY PRIOR—VISITS FROM RELATIVES—FOUR MONKS  
SENT TO OTHER CHARTERHOUSES—MARTYRDOM OF BLESSED  
JOHN ROCHESTER AND BLESSED JAMES WALWORTH.

IN the spring of 1536, the persecutors, being fairly tired out by the monks' continued resistance, resolved to try new means of bringing them to acknowledge the royal supremacy. It was hoped, moreover, that they would be persuaded to surrender their house and property into the king's hands. Cromwell thought that the appointment of a Prior would be a step towards gaining their end. A good and conscientious Prior would doubtless have strengthened the opposition of the community. But it was not a good and conscientious Prior that Cromwell thought of placing at the head of the London Charterhouse. He was to be a wolf in sheep's clothing, leading the monks into heresy, and the monastery to profanation and destruction.

New laws, new rules, new cruelties, had become

the daily portion of the poor monks ; and they can hardly have been surprised to learn that their new Superior was not to be elected according to the customs of the Order, but according to the will of Thomas Cromwell, the king's Vicar. This kind of election had become the order of the day. Even Bishop Burnet says that "all the Abbots were now placed by the king, and were generally picked out to serve his turn."<sup>1</sup>

Dom William Trafford, who thus became the unworthy successor to Blessed John Houghton in the priorate of the London Charterhouse, had been Procurator at Beauvale, where he had made himself conspicuous by his bold refusal to acknowledge Henry's new title. Sir John Markham and other royal Commissioners were at Beauvale to "take the value," and they proposed the royal supremacy to the monks. "We showed them," they say to Cromwell, "that the king was of right supreme head of the Church, delating the story true of Lucius and Eleutherius, and of Ethelbertus and Bertha his wife, and Gregory and Austin. Hereon, one William Trafford, Procurator of the said house, said, 'I believe firmly that the Pope of Rome is supreme head of the Church Catholic.' On our asking, he said he would abide by his words *usque ad mortem*. He wrote them down, and they rest with Sir John Markham, sheriff, in whose ward he

<sup>1</sup> *History*, vol. i, p. 226.

is. Send word how he is to be treated *in exemplum aliorum.*"<sup>1</sup> This happened on the 16th of April, 1535. One year later a great change had taken place in Dom Trafford's ideas; and he was deemed a fit person to become Prior of the London Charterhouse, with the express purpose of bringing about its ruin. "What happened to change the heart of this religious," Father Gasquet says, "does not appear, but the fact of his appointment and that Bedyll praises him would be sufficient to prove the surrender of his conscience to the king, to whom he subsequently resigned the monastery."<sup>2</sup> There is, however, another letter which seems to throw some light upon the question of this unhappy change, and it also proves that a whole year intervened between Trafford's bold confession of the Catholic faith and his appointment to the priorate of London. Some time during that year Trafford was sent, probably by order of Cromwell, to the Charterhouse at Sheen, where he fell under the influence of Henry Man, the unworthy Prior of that monastery.

Anthony à Wood gives, in his *Athenæ Oxoniensis*,<sup>3</sup> an account of this Henry Man. He was a native of Lancashire, and a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He left the university without taking a degree, and became a Carthusian. In 1534 he was

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, viii. 560.

<sup>2</sup> *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, vol. i. p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Bliss, 1815, vol. ii. col. 772.

Prior of Witham, and in the following year he succeeded to Father Jonbourne in the priorate at Sheen. Very probably he was not elected according to the rules of the Order, but "picked out to serve the king's turn." The office of Provincial Visitor being made vacant by the imprisonment and martyrdom of Blessed John Houghton, Henry Man became the Visitor by royal appointment. His business was to persuade his brethren to renounce their religion, and surrender their monasteries to the king; and so well did he perform his task that he was subsequently counted worthy, first to receive a handsome pension, then to become Dean of Chester, and finally to be elected Protestant Bishop of Man.

Trafford's change was most likely due to the words and example of this unhappy monk. It is certain that one year after his confession of the faith at Beauvale he was sent from Sheen to London, ripe for his destructive mission. Prior Man gave him a letter of introduction to Cromwell, which is preserved in the Public Record Office.<sup>1</sup> It runs thus:—

"Right honourable Master, in our Saviour Jesus be your salvation, with many humble thanks for all your singular goodness showed to me. This is to beseech your mastership to accept the bearer be-

<sup>1</sup> Mentioned in *Letters and Papers*, viii. 585.

nignly, even so accomplishing that you have begun in him. This is Father Trafford whom your mastership has appointed to be Prior at the Charterhouse in Smithfield. I doubt not but he will order himself therein as shall be to the honour of God and of the king, with much worship to your mastership, honesty to himself, and profit to the said house, by the grace of Jesus, who ever preserve your good mastership in grace and virtue. From Sheen, the 23rd day of April, by your daily orator and beadman

“HENRY, the Prior of Sheen.”

The appointment of William Trafford must have added to the weight of the heavy cross the Carthusians of London were obliged to bear. There was, however, another kind of persecution to which they were submitted, more heart-rending, and, perhaps, for some more dangerous, than all the means of perversion which had hitherto been employed. This was the encouragement given to relatives who desired to visit them in their cells. Now trying to prove that the king was supreme head of the Church of England, now growing angry and passing from argument to threat, now down upon their knees and bathed in tears, these relatives endeavoured to shake their resolution rather to die than to abandon the old religion.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia*, p. 110.

But, as Mr. Froude puts it, "nothing answered;" for some of the bravest, besides being proof against all temptations, encouraged the weaker brethren to continue their resistance. Hoping that without their aid the others would be induced to surrender their consciences, the Commissioners singled out four monks who seemed the most resolute. They were Blessed John Rochester, of whom we have spoken already, Blessed James Walworth, Father John Fox, and Dom Maurice Chauncy, who was probably not in priest's orders. Chauncy, with his wonted humility, does not say that he was one of these four incorrigible *Papists*, but the State Papers place it almost beyond a doubt.

On the 4th of May—the anniversary of the holy Prior's martyrdom—these four monks were sent to two other houses of the Order. The two future martyrs went to the Charterhouse of Hull, Fox and Chauncy to that of Beauvale.

Leaving for a few instants the London Charterhouse, where Trafford was performing his destructive task, we must follow the two religious who were sent to Hull. A few months previously, the Prior of that Charterhouse had consulted Lee, Archbishop of York, as to the question of the spiritual supremacy. The Archbishop, writing both to Cromwell and Henry VIII., claims the honour or the odium of having perverted him as well as some other Carthusian Priors. He says that he "turned and satisfied

[them], though they were stiff and determined to abide the last danger rather than yield to the said title.”<sup>1</sup> “I have always said to them, ‘What counsel shall I give you but to do as I have done myself, and as many others have done, both great and learned men, and taken for good men?’ and that they might not think that such men would do but that they might avow. The Priors of Hull and Mount Grace were sore bent rather to die than to yield to this your royal style, but I have persuaded both to change their opinions.”<sup>2</sup>

It appears that the Prior of the Hull Charterhouse had induced his community to yield, for, towards the end of May, the royal Commissioners gave a favourable report of their visitation of the monastery.<sup>3</sup> The Fathers Rochester and Walworth, from London, were therefore the only two who were singled out for punishment. It has been stated by more than one well-disposed writer that they were put to death for having taken part in the insurrection known as the Pilgrimage of Grace. This “pilgrimage” was a rising of the people in defence of their religion and their rights, and the insurgents were zealous Catholics. But these two Carthusians were not executed for having taken up arms against the king in ever so good a cause. They died, like their brethren in London, for having refused to acknowledge the king’s new title of head of the Church

<sup>1</sup> *Letters and Papers*, x. 93.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 980.

of England, and to renounce the authority of the Apostolic See.

The story of these two holy martyrs is soon told, for but few details are recorded—too few, indeed, but sufficient to show why they died. The insurgents had already been quelled, when a certain nobleman, who resided in the neighbourhood of Hull, informed Cromwell that the two monks sent there from London just one year previously were still rebellious, obstinately refusing to submit to the king's laws. The informer got permission to treat them according to the rigour of the law; and, being ill-disposed, he brought them to judgment. The Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent to the north to suppress the rising of the people, still held his court at York; so the two servants of God were taken there for trial. These particulars are from Chauncy.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately the "true bill" found against them may still be seen in the British Museum.<sup>2</sup> This document, after setting forth the law regarding the spiritual supremacy, accuses John Rochester and James Walworth of having hidden traitors and rebels in the monastery of Our Lady by Hull. This is all they had to do with the Pilgrimage of Grace. The true cause of their condemnation follows. "They falsely, traitorously, and maliciously said and affirmed, and either of them said and affirmed, that the aforesaid lord the king was not

<sup>1</sup> *Historia*, p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. Cotton, Cleop. E. vi. 231.





E. Duquat, imprimerie N.-D. des Prés - Montreuil. France.

now supreme head on earth of the Church of England, but that the Bishop of Rome was and is supreme head on earth of the same." So they were accused of being Roman Catholics ; and for that they were condemned to die.

On the 11th of May, 1537, just two years and one week after the martyrdom of their Prior, Blessed John Houghton, the two martyrs of York were led to execution. Mercy was shown towards them, for instead of being butchered according to the letter of the sentence, they remained hanging until they were dead, and, indeed, for a long time after they were dead ; for they were hanged in chains like pirates or highwaymen, as a warning to others. The bodies dangled from the gibbets of York until, the flesh being consumed, the bones fell to the ground.



## CHAPTER VIII.

TEMPTATIONS AT SION HOUSE—THE OATH OF SUPREMACY—TEN  
HOLY MARTYRS—THE CHARITY OF MARGARET CLEMENT—  
“DESPATCHED BY THE HAND OF GOD”—TRAFFORD SUR-  
RENDERS THE CHARTERHOUSE.

THE royal Commissioners soon discovered that the removal of the four monks who seemed to be the leaders of the opposition had not brought the remainder of the community to acknowledge the king's title. It was still unsafe to propose a general submission, lest well-nigh all might be found ready to lay down their lives for their religion. It was thought that a few days' conversation with ecclesiastics who had already yielded might work a change in some of the Carthusians. Accordingly eight Fathers were sent to Sion House, where most, if not all, of the religious had by this time subscribed to the heretical oath of royal supremacy.

Father John Fewterer, the aged “Confessor General,” was on his death-bed when, sending for the eight guests from the Charterhouse, he addressed them thus: “Good Fathers,” he said, “I implore

your forgiveness, for I am guilty of the blood of your reverend Father Prior. I encouraged him in his resolution to die in the cause for which he suffered, and to which you still adhere. But soon after I changed my mind, and now I do not consider the question one for which we are bound to suffer death."

These words of the dying priest, or rather—as Chauncy observes—of the devil speaking by his mouth, deceived the Carthusians, and several of them were persuaded by him. But on their return to the Charterhouse, where they found their brethren still firm, they saw they had been imposed upon, and, acknowledging their fault, they continued to refuse the oath. It is to be feared, however, that their courage had been permanently weakened or their faith shaken, for, shortly after, the community began to be divided. Then, alas! their strength was gone, and the triumph of their enemies was near at hand. Trafford, the false Prior, was doubtless more instrumental in bringing about this division than the dying Confessor General of Sion. Weariness resulting from the protracted persecution must also have had something to do with it. But whatever the causes may have been, a large number of the community were at last found willing to swear to the royal supremacy. The form of oath, with the signatures of the religious, may be seen in the Public Record Office. It is as follows :—

“We, the Prior and convent of the House of the Salutation of Our Lady of the Order of Carthusians near London, and the convent of the same, swear that from henceforth we shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction.

“And that we will never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall exercise or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other of the king’s dominions, but that we shall resent the same at all times to the uttermost of our power. And that from henceforth we shall accept, repute, and take the king’s majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England.

“And that to our cunning, wit, and uttermost of our power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, we shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and statutes made and to be made within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and all other Acts and statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the king’s power of supreme head in earth of the Church of England; and this we shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in nowise do or attempt, nor to our power suffer to be done or attempted, directly

or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof by any manner of means or for any manner of pretence.

“And in case any oath be made or hath been made by us to any person or persons in maintenance, defence, or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, we repute the same as vain and annihilate.

“So help us God, all Saints, and the holy Evangelies.

“Given in our Chapter House, under our common seal, the 18th day of May, the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our said sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth.

“Being then and there present, the Right Worshipful Mr. Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and Master Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, witness in this behalf required.”

Then come the twenty signatures of those who preferred taking this oath to dying for the faith of the old Church of England. Of these twenty, headed by William Trafford, the false Prior, thirteen were members of the community when, three years before, all swore to the Act of Succession. Their names were Edmund Sterne, Bartholomew Burgoyne, John Boleyn, William Wayte, Everard Digby, John Nicholson, William Broke, John Enys, Oliver Batmanson, choir monks, and the lay brothers Thomas

Cloy or Clogger, Robert Cardin, Richard Billingsley, and Thomas Owen. The remaining seven must have come from other houses of the Order, for it seems certain that no postulants were received during those three years; and it is probable that they were known to be likely to submit, and were sent to London on purpose to swell the number of the "king's true subjects."

Chauncy tells us that these thirteen—he makes no allusion to the others—vainly endeavoured to quiet their consciences by making a tacit protest against the oath which exteriorly they took. They pleaded as an excuse the straits to which their enemies had brought them, the threatened destruction of the Charterhouse, should they continue to resist, forming the staple argument in favour of their dishonest action. "Thou knowest, O Lord," they said, "how false and wicked the oath is which they force us to take. Thou knowest the exceptions, distinctions, and interpretations which we have proposed and they have accepted. Thou seest, moreover, the straits to which we are brought, and that even the destruction of our house is threatened if we refuse our consent. . . ." <sup>1</sup> "I know most certainly," says Chauncy, "that the oath was indeed taken thus, but in this *we* <sup>2</sup> are not justified."

<sup>1</sup> Chauncy's *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> As Chauncy consented eventually, he classes himself through humility with his weak brethren. He and Fox were at Beauvale and still standing firm when this oath was taken.

Thus—alas! for human weakness—these men who had borne so bravely the long months of persecution with all the sufferings they involved, at last lost courage and tried to persuade themselves that they might follow the example of so many others, both secular and regular, and renounce externally the religion to which in their hearts they still adhered.

The above form of oath with the twenty signatures, and attested by a public notary named William Say, is immediately followed by another instrument in which the same notary testifies that “some of the convent, though frequently and earnestly requested and exhorted to take the same oath, contumaciously refused to do so.” There were ten of them. Three were professed monks and priests, Dom Thomas Johnson, Dom Richard Beer, and Dom Thomas Green; one was a deacon, Dom John Davy; and the remaining six were *Conversi* or professed lay brothers, Robert Salt, William Greenwood, Thomas Reding, Thomas Scriven, Walter Pierson, and William Horn. All these ten were, according to Chauncy, professed of the London Charterhouse, though the name of Thomas Green is not in the list of those who took the oath of succession in 1534.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Father Thomas Green and Dr. Thomas Greenwood, of St. John's, Cambridge, are probably the same person. Otherwise no record has come down to us regarding the time, place, or circumstances of the death of one whom his contemporaries called “a famous martyr.”

The final separation of these holy men from their weaker brethren took place on the 18th of May, 1537, and on the 29th of the same month they were cast into Newgate to suffer and to die for their fidelity to the dictates of conscience. In a filthy dungeon, bound fast in iron chains, and kept without food, the martyrs would have been dead within a few days had they not become objects of the heroic charity of a valiant woman. May the name of Margaret Clement, adopted daughter of Blessed Thomas More, be ever in benediction! The Rev. John Morris, S.J., was the first to print the story of her kindness to the Carthusian martyrs in Newgate. We transcribe the passage from his *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*<sup>1</sup>:—

“The persecution being very great, especially against the Charterhouse monks, who were then in prison and cruelly handled, and after martyred for the true faith; which when she did understand, bearing a singular devotion unto that holy Order, and moved with great compassion of those holy Fathers, she dealt with the gaoler that she might secretly have access unto them, and withal did win him with money that he was content to let her come into the prison to them, which she did very often, attiring and disguising herself as a milkmaid, with a

<sup>1</sup> *The Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers related by Themselves*, 1st series, p. 27—“Life of our Rev. Old Mother Margaret Clement.”

great pail upon her head full of meat,<sup>1</sup> wherewith she fed that blessed company, putting meat into their mouths, they being tied and not able to stir, nor to help themselves, which having done, she afterwards took from them their natural filth.

“This pious work she continued for divers days, until at last the king, inquiring of them if they were not dead, and understanding that they were not yet dead, to his great admiration, commanded a straiter watch to be set over them, so that the keeper durst not let in this good woman any more, fearing it might cost him his head if it should be discovered. Nevertheless, what with her importunity, and by force of money, she obtained of him that he let her go up to the tiles, right over the close prison where the blessed Fathers were. O rare example and courage of a woman! And so she, uncovering the ceiling or tiles over their heads, by a string let them down meat in a basket; approaching the same as well as she could unto their mouths as they did stand chained against the posts. But they not being able to feed themselves out of the basket, or very little, and the gaoler, fearing very much that it should be perceived, in the end refused to let her come any more; and so, soon after, they languished and pined away, one after another, what with the stink and want of food and other miseries which they there endured.”

<sup>1</sup> See footnote, p. 200.

The following letter from Thomas Bedyll to Cromwell shows that nine out of the ten holy prisoners died of the cruel treatment they received in Newgate. Bedyll's remarks about Prior Trafford show how completely he had changed since his confession of the Catholic faith, at Beauvale, in 1535.

“ My very good Lord,—After my most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here in London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour long time continued against the king's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by the bill inclosed. Whereof, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the king's highness and his worldly honour were in like case.

“ My lord (as you may), I desire you in the way of charity and none otherwise to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charterhouse, which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit (or else I am much deceived), and is one which never offended the king's grace by disobedience of his laws, but hath laboured very sore continually for the reformation of his brethren. And now at the last, at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands, and goods into the king's hands, and to trust only

to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my lord, that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortations made unto him to surrender his said house, and think that he might have kept the same, if your lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But surely, I believe I know the man so well, that howsoever he be order[ed], he will be contented without grudge. He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like.

“As touching the house of the Charterhouse, I pray God, if it shall please the king to alter it, that it may be turned into a better use (seeing it is in the face of the world), and much communication would run thereof throughout the realm, for London is the common country of all England, from which is derived to all parts of the realm all good and ill occurrent here.

“From London the 14th day of June, [1537].

“By your lordship’s at commandment,

“THOMAS BEDYLL.”

The inclosure alluded to is still extant.

“There be departed: Brother William Greenwood, Dom John Davy, Brother Robert Salt, Brother Walter Pierson, Dom Thomas Green.

“There be even at the point of death: Brother Thomas Scriven, Brother Thomas Reding.

“ There be sick : Dom Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horn.

“ One is whole : Dom Beer.”<sup>1</sup>

A parchment document formerly in possession of the English Carthusians, and which as early as the year 1608 was called “ an old manuscript,” gives the days on which the blessed martyrs went to their reward—William Greenwood, 6th of June; John Davy, 8th of June; Robert Salt, 9th of June; Walter Pierson, 10th of June; Thomas Green, 10th of June; Thomas Scriven, 15th of June; Thomas Reding, 16th of June; Richard Beer, 9th of August; Thomas Johnson, 20th of September.<sup>2</sup> The perfect agreement of these dates with Bedyll's letter is remarkable.

Chauncy says that Cromwell, on hearing that all the prisoners except Brother William Horn were dead, flew into a violent rage, and swore “ with a great oath ” that he had intended them to suffer something worse. It seems probable, however, that the king preferred their being “ despatched by the

<sup>1</sup> The above letter with the “ bill inclosed ” is in the British Museum, Cotton, Cleopatra E. iv. f. 256. Printed in Bearcroft's *Historical Account of Thomas Sutton* (London, 1737), p. 193; Ellis's *Original Letters*, 1st series, vol. ii. p. 76; and elsewhere. It is strange that Mr. Wright should have mutilated the letter and omitted the inclosed list of names. Cf. *Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries*, Camden Society, 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Appendix to Dom Arnold Haven's *History of the Carthusian Martyrs of Ruremond* (ed. 1608), p. 70.

hand of God," for fear of exciting the people, who were still attached to the old religion.

Blessed William Horn, whom Bedyll says was sick, was destined to suffer more than all the others, for when his nine companions were "clothed with white robes, with palms in their hands," he was still languishing in Newgate. He was afterwards transferred to the Tower, where the severity of his treatment must have been somewhat moderated, for three years later he was still alive. On the 4th of August, 1540, he was drawn to Tyburn to die under the knife of the executioner.<sup>1</sup> His martyrdom closed the list of the eighteen English Carthusians who died for being Roman Catholics. One of his fellow-martyrs was Giles Heron, Blessed Thomas More's son-in-law. Edmund Brindholm, priest, and Clement Philpot, layman, who suffered at the same time, are now ranked amongst the venerable servants of God. Our Carthusian lay brother has received from the Church the honours of the blessed.

To return to the Charterhouse. It has been observed that Bedyll, in his letter of the 14th of June, 1537, alludes to the surrender of the house,

<sup>1</sup> Father Chauncy gives the 4th of November, 1541. Wriothesley's *Chronicle*, p. 121, says, "This yeare [1540], the fowerth daie of Awgust, were drawn from the Tower of London to Tiburne, Giles Heron, gentleman . . . William Horn, late a lay brother of the Charter House of London. . . ." Wriothesley and Stow, who give the same date, were both in London at the time. Chauncy, who was living at Bruges, must have been misinformed.

lands, and goods into the king's hands. The deed, drawn up by Bedyll himself, and bearing, through Trafford's connivance, the seal of the monastery, is dated the 10th of June, 1537, just three weeks after the oath of supremacy had divided the community. This deed, which is in Latin, has already been printed more than once;<sup>1</sup> and as it is full of mere formalities and legal repetitions, it is needless to give it in full. The following is Father Morris's translation of the preamble<sup>2</sup> :—

“ Forasmuch as the most and greater part of us, and others not a few of our convent, both living and dead, have grievously offended the most illustrious royal majesty of England, and have so provoked the indignation of his Majesty against us and our priory, that for our deserts by the laws of England, not only could the moveable and immoveable goods, the rights and possessions of our priory be confiscated, but also the bodies of those who are living might justly and lawfully be adjudged to a most severe death; considering that it is more prudent and better for us spontaneously and freely to give over all that is ours to the hands and will of the royal clemency than to experience the severity of the laws against us and ours; and that the most just anger of his Majesty against us, and the rigour of

<sup>1</sup> Bearcroft's *History of Thomas Sutton*, p. 255; and Smythe's *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, Appendix xix.

<sup>2</sup> *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 1st series, p. 24.

the laws, may be more mild and tolerable ; we give, grant, and deliver to our illustrious prince and lord, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, supreme head in earth of the Church of England, and our patron and that of our monastery and priory, the said monastery and priory, and all and every its manors, etc. . . .”

The monks seem to have believed that after making over their property, or rather the property of the Church, to the king, they would be allowed to live together in peace, and to keep, as in the days gone by, their holy Rule. Under this pretext they suffered themselves first to be persuaded to declare that Henry was head of the Church, and then to make him owner of the Charterhouse. Of course the tyrant and his sycophants only meant the monks to remain there until it was convenient to disperse them. In the mean time, however, they were doubtless permitted to enjoy greater exterior peace than for years past they had been accustomed to, but their guilty consciences can have allowed them but little real repose.

## CHAPTER IX.

FATHERS FOX AND CHAUNCY ARE SENT TO SION HOUSE—THEIR FALL, AND RETURN TO THE CHARTERHOUSE—EXPULSION OF THE MONKS.

IN August, 1537, Father Henry Man,<sup>1</sup> Prior of Sheen and, by royal appointment, Visitor of the English Charterhouses, and Father John Mitchel, Prior of Witham and Assistant Visitor, visited the Charterhouse of Beauvale. They found there two monks from London who had not yet acknowledged the king's alleged right to be head of the Church of England. These were Fathers John Fox and Maurice Chauncy, two of the four religious who, on the 4th of May, 1536, had been sent from London to other houses of the Order. The glorious death of the two who went to the Charterhouse of Hull has already been recorded;<sup>2</sup> it remains to be told what happened to Fox and Chauncy, who, when the Visitors arrived at Beauvale, had been guests there for over fifteen months.

The two pious monks being very desirous to

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, pp. 214-217.

return to the house of their profession, the Visitors granted their request and sent them back to London. They were not, however, permitted to return at once to the Charterhouse, for it was thought proper to pervert them before they rejoined their brethren. So, not unwisely, they were sent to the Bridgettine Fathers at Sion, who it was hoped would induce them to take the oath. Their state of mind at this time—nearly three months after Trafford's surrender of the Charterhouse—may be gathered from the letter which the Visitors addressed to Father Copinger, who had succeeded Father Fewterer in the office of Confessor General at Sion.

“To the good and religious Father, Master Copinger, General Confessor at Sion.

“Father Confessor, in our Saviour Jesus be your salvation. We have sent to you our brethren Fox and Chauncy, to whom we beseech you to show your charity, as you have done to divers others of our brethren before this. They be very scrupulous in the matter concerning the Bishop of Rome, but they be not obstinate. We trust you shall find them reasonable and tractable, for they be much desirous to have your counsel, and to speak with you *facie ad faciem*. Each of them hath a book wherein be such authorities as they do lean unto. We pray you hear all that they will propose, and thereto make such answers as your learning and wisdom shall move you. We were purposed to have reasoned with

them in every point contained in their books ; but their desire was so much to speak with you, and to be removed from the house where they were, that we thought it good to condescend to their request, and not to spend so long time with them, for we had much business with certain others, as they can tell you. Therefore, good Father, for the love that you have to God's honour and the king's, to the wealth of their souls, and to the honesty of our religion, help to remove their scruples, as our trust is that you will. We pray you recommend us to our good mother, Lady Abbess, desiring her good will and furtherance herein. And we shall see that such cost as they shall put your house to shall be recompensed by the grace of Jesus, who augment His grace in you.

“ From the Charterhouse of Beauvale, the last day of August [1537], your loving brethren in God,

“ HENRY MAN,

“ JOHN MITCHEL,

“ *Visitors of that Order assigned by the king's grace.*”<sup>1</sup>

At Sion House, Fox and Chauncy must have learnt the fate of the ten monks who had refused the oath. They were told, moreover, how the others, by taking the oath, had preserved the Charterhouse from destruction. But the Charterhouse,

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Smythe's *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, p. 84, from MSS. Cotton, Cleopatra, E. iv. 247 ; and abridged in *Letters and Papers*, vol. vii. 1105.

they heard, was still in danger of being suppressed, unless they would add their consent to that of their brethren, for the submission of all the monks was required.

When Prior Trafford informed his monks of the efforts the religious of Sion were making in order to bring Fox and Chauncy to conformity, Dom William Broke and Dom Bartholomew Burgoyne, two of the eight who were sent to Sion on a former occasion,<sup>1</sup> wrote the following letter to Father Copinger :—

“ To the Father Confessor of Sion.

“ Right worshipful Father, we two, your children and sons unworthy, recommend us to you in our most loving manner. We have heard by our worshipful Father Prior, part of the great pains which (of a sincere love and pure charity that ye have to God and our religion) ye take with our two brethren now being with you, for whom we thank you as for our own selves. We cannot but think St. Paul's words to be verified in you, viz. ‘ *Caritas non querit quæ sua sunt,*’ etc. We have not yet forgotten the pains and patience and longanimity that ye had with us when we were with you, and how hard it was (and in a manner impossible) to us to follow your counsel. But in process of time we did follow your counsel, thanks be to Jesu. This we write, for we suppose it to be thus with our brethren; and if it be thus, we instantly desire you to continue your

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 218.

patience to them, '*et fiducialiter age quod agis, et erit Deus merces tua magna nimis.*' Glad would we be to hear that they would surrender their wits and consciences to you, that they might come home, and as bright lanterns show the light of religious conversation amongst us, as they can right well, to God be glory. If it chance otherwise, as God forbid, we would they had never come to you. We cannot be fully merry till we hear some good tidings from you of them, but we depend all in hope. . . . Salute in our names your sons of Sion and our brethren of the Charterhouse. Written in our house of the Charterhouse, London, this Tuesday, very early in the morning, by your twins,

"WILLIAM BROKE.

"B. BURGOYN."<sup>1</sup>

For a time Fox and Chauncy continued their resistance. At last, however, they allowed themselves to be persuaded, and, stifling as best they could the voice of conscience, they took the oath. In their hearts they disapproved of the heretical words which outwardly they pronounced, pleading

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus., Cotton, Cleop. E. iv. 38. Mr. Gairdner (*Letters and Papers*, vii. 1093) and Father Gasquet (*Henry VIII.*, etc., vol. i. p. 213) are clearly mistaken in placing this letter and the letter from Beauvale in 1534. In that year Blessed John Houghton was Provincial Visitor, and not Henry Man; Fewterer, not Copinger, was Confessor of Sion; Broke and Burgoyn had not acknowledged the royal supremacy, and Fox and Chauncy were at home in the London Charterhouse.

for excuse their duty to return to the Charterhouse and observe their vow of stability.<sup>1</sup> Poor Father Chauncy! Bitterly did he weep during the rest of his long life over this one blot upon the history of his career. He makes no excuses for his weakness, and even endeavours to hide from his readers the fact that he and Father Fox were the last of all who fell. They had not, as their brethren had in the previous May, the example before them of the ten who were willing to die. Those who had stood firm were either dead or suffering cruel torments in prison, and Fox and Chauncy seemed to be standing out alone in the face of an apostate nation. Had they been in the London Charterhouse when the great division took place, they might have gladly cast in their lot with the martyrs. But Dom Maurice Chauncy makes no such excuses for his conduct; and, as we have already observed,<sup>2</sup> he does not hesitate to compare himself to the arch-traitor Judas, to Saul among the prophets, to a son of Ephraim turning back in the day of battle. With beautiful humility he urges his unworthiness to be called or considered a member of the community of the London Charterhouse.<sup>3</sup> Thus Chauncy the penitent is by no means the least edifying of the

<sup>1</sup> By the vow of stability monks are obliged to remain in the house of their profession unless holy obedience ordains otherwise.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> See *Historia* (ed. 1888), pp. 35, 36.

Carthusians of London. He must be spoken of again in a subsequent chapter.

It was probably about the end of November, 1537, when Fathers Fox and Chauncy, with guilty consciences and anxious hearts, returned to the London Charterhouse. They had gained, so they thought, the king's good will by their concession, and preserved the monastery from destruction. They had not been told that Prior Trafford had already made over the Charterhouse to Henry, and that Bedyll had suggested its being "turned into a better use."

The monks were allowed to remain in the Charterhouse and enjoy their ill-gotten tranquillity until the 15th of November, 1538,<sup>1</sup> when all were driven out with a wretched pension of five pounds a year for each choir monk, except Trafford, who received twenty pounds. A small sum of money was probably divided among the lay brothers. A list, signed by Thomas Cromwell, gives the names of the choir monks who were to receive their pensions—William Trafford, Prior; Edmund Sterne, Vicar; William Wayte, Procurator; Thomas Barningham, John Enys, Richard Tragose, Thomas Baker, Everard Digby, John Bardeyn, John Fox,

<sup>1</sup> A printer's error in the first edition of Chauncy's works, and reproduced in subsequent editions, has caused almost all writers on the subject to put 1539. The monks were certainly driven out in 1538. See *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. xxi., note 1, and our Appendix ix.

William Broke, Bartholomew Burgoyne, John Thomson, John Bolleyn, Oliver Batmanson, John Nicholson, Maurice Chauncy.<sup>1</sup> Of these seventeen religious, eleven were in the Charterhouse in 1534, when all swore to the Act of Succession; four more are in the list of signatures to the royal supremacy in 1537; while the other two, Richard Tragose and John Bardeyn, appear for the first time in the pension list. Chauncy says that at the time of the expulsion there were twelve monks, three guests (*i.e.* professed of other Charterhouses), and six professed lay brothers or *Conversi*. It is unlikely that a member of so small a community should be ignorant of the number of his fellow-monks. Perhaps the two who appear for the first time in the pension list were not really Carthusian monks at all; or, again, it is quite possible that Chauncy says there were only fifteen choir monks because he deemed two out of the seventeen unworthy to be named. In another part of his work he says, "I do not number or count apostates as members of the community."<sup>2</sup> This remark, and the absence of all mention of the unfortunate Trafford, show that the omission of two unworthy persons in this place would not be out of keeping with the style and ideas of the pious historian.

<sup>1</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon* (Ellis), vol. vi. p. 10. From a Pension Book of the time of Henry VIII., preserved in the Augmentation Office, London.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 64.

It is remarkable that Trafford, with all his abject submission, and backed up by the recommendation of Commissioner Bedyll, received a pension of only twenty pounds a year, which is the smallest sum allotted to any Superior of a religious house who had sworn to the royal supremacy. This was probably on account of his conduct at Beauvale in 1535.

Now, at length, the powers of darkness had done their worst. The monks were expelled from their holy Charterhouse, and—as blessed John Houghton had foreseen—they were free to wander about the world with the danger of becoming its slaves. To repair to other monasteries of the English Province was quite out of the question; for all were on the eve of dissolution, and were destined within a year to share the fate of the Charterhouse of the Salutation of Our Lady by London. A few, though this was dangerous and difficult, escaped beyond the seas, to continue in a foreign Charterhouse their life of penance, prayer, and praise, and to await the return of their country to the ancient faith.

PART THE THIRD.  
*AFTER THE DISSOLUTION.*







## CHAPTER I.

THE "BETTER USE"—SIR EDWARD NORTH—THE DUKE OF NORTH-  
UMBERLAND—ROYAL VISITS—HOWARD HOUSE.

FOR three years and a half after the dispersion of the monks the Charterhouse remained in the king's hands. He seems to have used it simply as a storehouse for his tents and pavilions, allowing it at the same time to be shamefully abused by a number of persons who committed most disgraceful outrages within those hallowed walls. They cut up the pictures of the saints, and broke in pieces and trampled under foot even the representations of Our Lord upon the cross. The sacred altars, on which the Christian sacrifice had so often been offered up, now served as gaming-tables. The blasphemous oath, the ribald song, the lewd jest, and the drunken laugh took the place of the Lessons, Psalms, and Canticles which had formerly been the only sounds that re-echoed in the vaulted roof of the Charterhouse Church. Other crimes were committed within the precincts of the suppressed monastery—crimes which, says Chauncy,

“are rather to be wept over than to be described.” This, it seems, was Bedyll’s “better use.”

On the 12th of June, 1542, the royal robber, keeping the revenues of about £640 a year for himself, granted the Charterhouse to John Bridges and Thomas Hale for their joint lives, in consideration of the safe keeping of the tents and pavilions, which had already been there for some time. It is to be feared that this grant left the Charterhouse in about the same state as before; for the second of the joint owners, being groom of the king’s fishing nets and tents, probably lived in the desecrated monastery before it became his property.

Poor Father Chauncy was so horrified by the outrages committed in the Charterhouse he revered so deeply, that he speaks with a sense of relief of its becoming a gentleman’s residence. This change took place on the 14th of April, 1545, when the buildings were given to Sir Edward (afterwards Lord) North. He turned the church into a dining hall, and pulled down most of the cloister. Bridges and Hale received by way of compensation an annual pension of ten pounds each.

Edward North, the new owner of our Charterhouse, was born about the year 1496. Having studied the law with great success, he was elected one of the counsel for the city. Later he was appointed Clerk of the Parliament. Shortly before he became owner of the Charterhouse, he was made

one of the king's serjeants-at-law. Soon after, he was knighted, and, as member for the county of Cambridge, he took his seat in Parliament. At last he became a privy councillor. All this success shows that Sir Edward was a favourite of the king's. But Henry was a dangerous master even to his best friends, and had not Sir Edward been a supple courtier, it is said that the grant of the Charterhouse might have proved fatal to him. The story, which rests upon the authority of one of Sir Edward's servants, is told by Dr. Bearcroft in his *Historical Account of Thomas Sutton*.<sup>1</sup> "Once, early in the morning, there came from the king to the Charterhouse, then the mansion house of Sir Edward North, a messenger, known to be no friend of his, to command his immediate repair to the court, which message was delivered with some harshness. This was so terrible in the suddenness and other circumstances, as he (the servant) observed his master to tremble at the delivery of it, who yet, finding it dangerous to use the least delay, hasted thither, and was admitted speedily into the king's presence with this his servant attendant on him. The king was then walking, and continued doing so with great earnestness, and every now and then cast an angry look upon him, which was received with a still and sober carriage. At last the king broke out into these words, 'We are informed that you

<sup>1</sup> London, 1737, p. 199.

have cheated us of certain lands in Middlesex.' Whereunto, having received none other than a plain and humble negation, after some time he replied, 'How was it, then? did we give these lands to you?' Whereunto Sir Edward answered, 'Yes, Sire; your Majesty was pleased to do so.' Whereupon, having paused a little while, the king put on a milder countenance, and calling him to a cupboard conferred privately with him a long time; 'whereby,' said this servant, 'I saw the king could not spare my master's service as yet.' But whether or no the cause lay in the king's occasions, or in the other's humble behaviour and answers, must be left to judgment, for as Solomon saith, *A soft answer turneth away wrath.*"

A few years later, Sir Edward North appears to have sold the Charterhouse to the unfortunate Duke of Northumberland, who, having been condemned to pay the penalty of his treasonable attempt to place Lady Jane Grey upon the throne of England, forfeited all his property to the Crown. Thus, in 1553 our ruined monastery was in the hands of Queen Mary; and when the Holy See ratified the alienation of Church property, she graciously returned it to Sir Edward North. This we gather from the following memorandum, which, according to Smythe,<sup>1</sup> is endorsed upon a copy of the letters patent granting the property to Sir Edward:—

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Account of Charterhouse*, p. 111.

“There is enrolled a grant from the queen unto Sir Edward North, of the site of the house and priory of the Charterhouse within mentioned, to be granted by these letters patent of 36 Henry VIII., and of the gardens, gates, conduits, and other things within mentioned; and in the said letters patent of 1 *Mariæ* specified to come to the Crown by the attainder of John, Duke of Northumberland.

“So it seemeth that Sir Edward North, after the grant thereof to him, 36 Henry VIII., did sell or convey the same to the Duke of Northumberland; who afterwards being attainted of treason for rebellion, the premises thereby came to the Crown again at the beginning of Queen Mary’s reign, who granted the same again to Sir Edward North, with the same liberties as are mentioned in this of 36 Henry VIII.”

Sir Edward North knew how to change with the times, and was generally to be found on the winning side. He was one of the sixteen executors to whom Henry VIII. wished the kingdom to be entrusted during the minority of his son, Edward VI. After devoting himself for a very short time to the cause of Lady Jane Grey, Sir Edward became a zealous supporter of Queen Mary, who, besides returning to him the Charterhouse, made him a baron under the title of Lord North, Baron of Kirtling, in the county of Cambridge. He took care, however, not to give offence to the Princess Elizabeth, who

immediately after her accession, "was brought to the Charterhouse, where she stayed many days."<sup>1</sup> Less than three years later, in July, 1561, Queen Elizabeth honoured Lord North by another visit. It was necessary to display all possible magnificence in the reception of such visits. It is supposed, indeed, that this four days' entertainment almost ruined Lord North, for very soon after he left the Charterhouse and lived in retirement until his death, which took place in 1564.

On the 31st of May, 1565, Roger, Lord North, who had inherited the Charterhouse from his father, sold the greater part of the estate, with most of the buildings, to the Duke of Norfolk. The price was £2500. The smaller portion of the buildings, to the east of the Church, Lord North retained for himself. This part of the property subsequently became the residence of the Duke of Rutland, and it still bears the name of Rutland Place.

The Duke of Norfolk made the Charterhouse his town residence, changed its name into Howard House, and spent a large sum of money on beautifying it. He lived there until 1569, when he was committed to the Tower on a charge of seeking to contract a marriage with the unfortunate Queen of Scots. After some months' imprisonment, he promised to abandon his idea, and was released from close custody. He returned to the Charterhouse,

<sup>1</sup> Stow's *Annals* (ed. Howes), p. 635.

where he remained a prisoner in his own residence, under the surveillance of Sir Henry Nevil. But the duke soon forgot his promise, and on the 7th of September, 1571, he returned to the Tower under the charge of high treason. He was accused of "imagining and compassing the death of his own sovereign—(1) By seeking to marry the Queen of Scots, who claimed the English crown to the exclusion of Elizabeth. (2) By soliciting foreign powers to invade the realm. . . . (3) By sending money to the English rebels and the Scottish enemies of the queen."<sup>1</sup> Though he maintained his innocence, he was found guilty. It was the queen's will that he should die, in order to prepare the way for the legal murder of the pious and unoffending Queen of Scots. In 1572 the duke was brought to the scaffold.

By the attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, his estates became the property of Queen Elizabeth, who seems to have allowed the Portuguese ambassador to live in Howard House. A long, narrow gallery, running along the south side of the monastic "little cloister," served as the ambassador's chapel, and Mass was celebrated there. In 1573 a man was accused of breaking into this chapel. A letter from David Jones, a Protestant minister, who tried to earn a penny by betraying Catholics, shows that Catholic services were still held there in August,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lingard's *History of England* (ed. 1855), vol. vi. p. 132.

1574. Writing to Francis Mills, Walsingham's secretary, he asks if he may attend the service at the Charterhouse, to which many *Papists* resort.<sup>1</sup>

By an Act of Parliament, the Venerable Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, eldest son of the Duke of Norfolk, was restored in blood and to his father's estates in 1581. Thus he became the next owner of the Charterhouse. "But afterwards he embraced the Catholic religion, and, having been twice cited before the Council, . . . he was confined in his own house. Six months after, he had his liberty again, and came to the House of Lords; but he withdrew the very first day, that he might not be obliged to be present at the sermon. As he was extremely addicted to his religion, he resolved to leave the kingdom in order to have the free exercise of it; and, before he set out, he wrote a letter to the queen, which was not to be delivered till after his departure. The letter was full of complaints that his innocence was oppressed. He said that in order to avoid the misfortune which had befallen his grandfather and father, and to serve God with freedom, according to his conscience, he had resolved to quit the kingdom, but not his allegiance to his sovereign. But being betrayed by his own servants, he was apprehended just as he was going to embark, and sent to the Tower."<sup>2</sup> He was con-

<sup>1</sup> *Calendar of State Papers*, Dom. Elizabeth, vol. xcvi. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rapin's *History of England*, vol. ix. p. 48.

demned to death, but the queen gave him his life, probably in order that he might suffer for a longer time. He died a prisoner in the Tower, and now he is honoured as a venerable servant of God. By the attainder of this holy confessor of the faith, the Charterhouse became once again the property of the Crown ; it was granted, however, to Thomas, Lord Howard, the second son of the late Duke of Norfolk.

James I., like his predecessor Elizabeth, favoured Howard House with his first visit on reaching London after his accession in 1603. This visit was paid in great state ; the king's escort consisting of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London, with five hundred of the principal citizens on horseback. He stayed there for four days ; and, before leaving, he conferred the honour of knighthood on more than eighty gentlemen. Lord Thomas Howard was soon after created Earl of Suffolk.

This brings to an end the short history of the Charterhouse as a nobleman's mansion. The Earl of Suffolk sold it to Thomas Sutton, who founded there an hospital which has ever since been intimately associated in the minds of Londoners with the name of Charterhouse.

## CHAPTER II.

THOMAS SUTTON—SUTTON'S WILL DISPUTED—THE HOSPITAL IN  
THE CHARTERHOUSE — THE BOND OF UNION — RECENT  
CHANGES AT THE CHARTERHOUSE—PARLIAMENT DEFENDS  
THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS.

THOMAS SUTTON, the founder of the Protestant Charterhouse, was born at Knaith, in Lincolnshire, about the year 1532. His ancestors were, according to Hearne, "not so low that his descent should be a shame to his virtues, nor yet so great but that his virtue might be an ornament to his birth."<sup>1</sup> His father, Richard Sutton, was a lawyer, and held for some time the office of Steward to the Courts of the Corporation of Lincoln. His mother was a member of the Stapleton family, one of whom, Sir Miles Stapleton, was among the first knights of the Garter.

Richard Sutton sent his son to Eton College. Afterwards, it is said that he passed two years at St. John's College, Cambridge, but Dr. W. Haig-Brown gives good reasons for doubting whether he

<sup>1</sup> *Domus Carthusiana* (London, 1677), p. 38.

was ever at Cambridge at all.<sup>1</sup> He certainly became a student in Lincoln's Inn, though he does not appear to have remained there very long. He had more taste for picking up practical knowledge by travel and experience than for poring over folios in Lincoln's Inn. It is said, moreover, that the return to the Catholic religion in Queen Mary's reign was the determinant cause of his visit to foreign parts; for he, being a zealous Protestant, was afraid of getting molested on account of his belief or unbelief.

Thomas Sutton was not—like Cromwell, Cranmer, or Bedyll—an apostate. Having been brought up in the new religion and heard nothing but evil of the old, he was, like many an honest Englishman of later days, a *bonâ fide* Protestant. Far from being one of those unprincipled "Vicars of Bray," so common in his troublous times, Sutton may be counted among the earliest proofs that, although the standard of virtue was lowered by the Reformation, England could still produce noble and charitable individuals—men who were prevented by early prejudices from being fervent and exemplary Catholics.

Thomas Sutton travelled, it is said, through Holland, France, Italy, and Spain, and, after several years' absence, he returned home with a rich store of knowledge gained by careful observa-

<sup>1</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 27.

tion. His father being now dead, he attached himself to the Duke of Norfolk, in whose service he spent some time. Afterwards, through the duke's recommendation, he became secretary to the Earl of Warwick. The earl, who was Master-General of the Ordnance, showed great confidence in his secretary by making him Master of the Ordnance of Berwick-on-Tweed. This was a difficult post, for it was no easy matter to persuade the people of the north to embrace the new religion.

Sutton, having shown "loyalty, valour, and wisdom" in his new office, was eventually elevated to the post of Master-General of the Ordnance of the North. On one occasion he marched into Scotland at the head of fifteen hundred men to aid Morton, the regent, against the partisans of the Scottish queen. But, though Sutton performed his warlike duties creditably, he was better suited for mercantile pursuits. While apparently engrossed in military affairs, his business-like eye was scanning the unworked coal-fields of Northumberland. It was in coal that lay the source of his future wealth, and consequently of his future alms-deeds. He therefore purchased the lease of some land near Newcastle, having "rich veins of coal;" and he worked it so well that his purse was said to be fuller than Elizabeth's exchequer.

In 1582 Thomas Sutton married Elizabeth,

widow of the wealthy John Dudley, of Stoke Newington, and daughter of John Gardiner, of Chalfont, in Buckinghamshire. The manor of Stoke Newington, which was a portion of his wife's property, became Sutton's country residence. His London house was at Broken Wharf, in Thames Street. He became one of the most successful merchants of his time. His agents in various parts of Europe, while helping him to become richer and richer, appear to have been useful for political purposes. Thus Thomas Sutton, according to the traditions of the Protestant "Carthusians," aided Walsingham's plans, and became instrumental in frustrating the designs of Philip of Spain for the invasion of England. Buying up the chief drafts on the Bank of Genoa, he withdrew the amount just before Philip made application for a supply of money. This caused delay in the preparation of the Armada, and delay meant defeat. Sutton was also the owner of one of the ships which went out to meet the Armada.

So far we have seen Thomas Sutton growing rich in a manner worthy of an honest man. It is to be regretted that he is also found dabbling in another source of wealth. He fitted out privateers, which were little better than pirates. One of them took a galleon worth £20,000. But it must be remembered that in Sutton's time privateering was "held to be not only not disreputable, but highly

praiseworthy. . . .”<sup>1</sup> Such men as Drake and Hawkins were considered heroes; and Queen Elizabeth made no scruple to share in their ill-gotten gains.

At last Sutton began to grow weary of business life, and to turn his thoughts to something better. In 1594 he relinquished his patent of Master-General of the Ordnance of the North, and began to provide for the distribution of his immense fortune. He made a will in which ample provision is made for Mrs. Sutton; and, perhaps to insure her against the envy of the queen, he bequeathed to her Majesty the sum of £2000, as “a proof of his true and faithful heart borne to his dread sovereign, Queen Elizabeth, in recompense of his oversight, careless dealing, and forgetfulness in her service, most humbly beseeching her to stand a good and gracious lady to his poor wife.” In the provision of £3000 for the building of an hospital and free school at Hallingbury, in Essex, is seen the beginning of what eventually became Sutton’s renowned foundation in the Charterhouse. But the will of which we are speaking did not take effect, for Sutton survived his “dread sovereign, Queen Elizabeth,” as well as his “poor wife,” who died in July, 1602. A very brief quotation from one of her letters shall be Elizabeth Sutton’s panegyric:

<sup>1</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 32.

“ There is in all the wheat dressed 15 quarters 3 bushels since you went, and now they be about your best wheat. Good Mr. Sutton, I beseech you remember the first for the poor folk and God will reward you.”<sup>1</sup>

Letters still in existence, several of which have been published by the Protestant “ Carthusians,” to whom we are indebted for most of the present chapter, prove that such appeals were not thrown away on their benevolent founder. He was ever ready to show kindness to the poor and needy, even before the general distribution of his fortune, made a short time before his death.

At length the hour came for Sutton's great benefaction, which has associated his name with the history of the London Charterhouse. “ After careful thought and earnest deliberation,” says the present Head Master of Charterhouse School, “ he determined on the foundation of a hospital, not with the vain intention of securing a posthumous reputation, but because he earnestly believed that by so doing he could best discharge the stewardship which God had entrusted to him.”<sup>2</sup> Moreover, he joined prayer to thought and deliberation, for Fuller says that he was in the habit of repairing to a private garden in order to pour forth his prayers to God. One of his petitions which happened to be overheard

<sup>1</sup> Smythe's *Historical Account*, p. 135.

<sup>2</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 50.

is very edifying: "Lord, Thou hast given me a large and liberal estate; give me also a heart to make use thereof."<sup>1</sup>

In 1609 he obtained an Act of Parliament allowing him to devote a considerable part of his fortune to the "erection and establishment of an Hospital, a free Grammar School, and sundry other godly and charitable acts and uses, done and intended to be done and performed by Thomas Sutton, Esquire." No reason is recorded for the transfer of the site of Sutton's Hospital from Little Hallingbury, mentioned in the Act, to the Charterhouse. But whatever the cause may have been, the founder purchased the Charterhouse for £13,000 on the 9th of May, 1611; and in the following month the transfer of the site was sanctioned by royal letters patent.

Now Sutton's work was done. He had intended to become the first master of the Hospital, but he did not live to see the foundation completed. On the 12th of December, 1611, having made a wise and charitable will, he died in his house at Hackney.

On the funeral day—after the ceremonies at Christ Church, Newgate Street, and the "magnificent repast" at Stationers' Hall—the governors named in the letters patent met at Sutton's residence at Hackney. After filling up two vacancies which death had caused in their numbers, they began

<sup>1</sup> Fuller's *Church History of Britain*, vol. iv. p. 20.

to take the necessary steps towards the fulfilment of Thomas Sutton's benevolent intentions. All would easily have been arranged had not an unforeseen check been met with. Mr. Simon Baxter, nephew to the deceased, presented a petition to King James, begging that his uncle's will might be set aside, and that he, as heir-at-law, might receive all the property. Baxter injured his own reputation without gaining anything, for his petition was not granted. It was necessary, however, to purchase James's good will, for at that period the sovereign had considerable influence over the decisions of the law courts. Hence we find £10,000—one-half of the sum bequeathed for the foundation—being handed over to the king for the repair of Berwick Bridge. The governors having thus bought the royal favour, Baxter's design proved a failure, though it was defended, if not suggested, by no less a personage than Sir Francis Bacon. He wrote a long letter to the king against the foundation.<sup>1</sup>

At a meeting held at the Charterhouse on the 30th of July, 1613, the governors drew up some rules with regard to the class of persons who were to benefit by Sutton's charity. This hospital was never intended to be a house for nursing the sick. Formerly the word did not convey that idea. Sutton meant his hospital to be a bringing together under a common roof of the two extremes of life,

<sup>1</sup> Smythe's *Historical Account*, p. 208.

by providing a comfortable home for a number of poor old men, and a sound education for a number of boys whose parents had not the means of bringing them up properly.

As to the first category, a very few words will be enough. From the day that Sutton's designs were carried out down to the present, the pensioners or "poor brethren" of the Charterhouse have lived their quiet, secluded life, aloof from the world and its frivolities, not altogether unlike their predecessors the monks. But reasons which are very seldom the motives for embracing, never those for persevering in, the monastic state often bring new inmates to Sutton's institution. "Failure of plans," says Dr. Haig-Brown, "disappointment of hopes, loss of fortune, are generally the passport to Sutton's Hospital, and it is not to be expected that those who have sought a home in its seclusion can offer much material for history."<sup>1</sup> Yet the poor brethren of the Charterhouse are not always men whose story is not worth telling, but often they prefer to keep it to themselves. Formerly the restrictions with regard to admission were very narrow, none but gentlemen who had become poor, soldiers who had borne arms by sea or land, unfortunate merchants who had failed through piracy or shipwreck, or servants of the king or queen, being eligible candidates. Though this regulation has long since

<sup>1</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 163.

been modified, care has always been taken to observe the rule laid down by the first governors, which orders the exclusion of "rogues and common beggars." Thus several men of distinction, to whom the world has proved treacherous, have found a home among the remains of our Carthusian monastery. One had been Lord Mayor of London; another, Mayor of Ramsgate. Clergymen, doctors, lawyers, schoolmasters, tradesmen of all classes, have swelled the ranks of the poor brethren. They can boast, too, of men of science who, in the untiring search after some secret of nature which might prove beneficial to mankind, have passed away the best years of life, until, old age setting in, they found their purses as empty as their minds were full.

Something must be said about the second object of Sutton's bounty—"to feed, clothe, and educate a certain number of poor boys, who without such assistance would be likely to go untaught." The last clause was soon forgotten, and the forty foundation boys were generally well connected. The masters were allowed to admit others whose parents paid for their education. Soon these were in the great majority, and Charterhouse School resembled most other Protestant public schools pretty closely. The foundationers were distinguished by their gowns, and for this reason they were called "gown-boys."

Thackeray, the famous novelist, was a Charterhouse boy; and in *The Newcomes* he speaks more

than once of his old school, substituting Grey Friars for the word Charterhouse, and Cistercian for Carthusian. Thackeray's affection extended itself even to the ancient buildings, which we old-fashioned Carthusians look upon with sentiments of profound respect. This love of the venerable buildings is, indeed, the bond of union between the Carthusians founded by St. Bruno and those instituted by Thomas Sutton. The Carthusian monks must needs feel interested, to a certain degree, in those who cherish the hallowed walls of their martyrs' home; and the Carthusian boys, putting aside for a moment their prejudices against the old religion, have almost always a kind and truthful word for the original proprietors of the Charterhouse.<sup>1</sup>

Two incidents from the records of Sutton's institution may be added.

King James II., anxious to ameliorate the position of the English Catholics—his co-religionists as well as the most necessitous of his subjects—endeavoured to make openings for them in the universities and in various charitable institutions which for many years had been closed against them. In this spirit he tried to persuade the governors of the Charterhouse to admit a Catholic, named Andrew Popham, as a pensioner. They were to receive him "without tendering any oath or oaths .

<sup>1</sup> Samuel Hearne, in his *Domus Carthusiana* (London, 1677), seems to be the only notable exception to this rule.

unto the sayd Andrew Popham, or requiring of him any subscription, recognition, or other act or acts in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as the same is now established, and notwithstanding any statute, order, or constitution of or in the sayd Hospitall with which his Majesty was pleased to dispense." The king's letter was read to the meeting of governors, and Lord Jeffreys recommended submission to the royal will. A warm debate ensued, in which Thomas Burnet, master of the Charterhouse, took the lead in a bold opposition to the king. The meeting decided that a message should be sent to the king, "to represent in the most humble manner to his Majesty that wee apprehend ourselves to be soe tyed up and to lye under soe strict obligations that we are not at liberty to comply with what is required from us."<sup>1</sup>

The other incident is of less importance than the refusal of Andrew Popham, but it is suggestive of ill feeling towards the old religion. We allude to a play entitled "A dramatic piece by the Charterhouse Scholars, in memory of the Powder Plot, performed at the Charterhouse, November 6th, 1732." "The scene," we read, "is the Vatican, and the characters represented are the Pope, the Devil (in the character of a pilgrim), and two Jesuits." To save the honour

<sup>1</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 112, from an entry in the Order Book of the assembly. Lord Macaulay gives an account of this meeting of the governors (*History*, ed. 1849, vol. ii. p. 293).

of the Charterhouse boys, who are doubtless lovers of what they believe to be true, let it be observed that this play was written and performed when the sources of authentic history were carefully sealed up, and the falsehoods of each pretended historian were copied and recopied, until they appeared to be well-attested facts. We feel sure that to-day no Charterhouse boy above the class of "the petties" would believe that the Pope approved of the Gunpowder Plot, or that the Jesuits were in the slightest degree to blame in the matter.<sup>1</sup>

To continue our narrative. For over two hundred and sixty years Sutton's Hospital, with both pensioners and scholars, occupied the "late dissolved Charterhouse." Throughout this long period four tables were daily spread in what was in monastic times the guests' dining hall, enlarged by adding to it the Fraternity or Refectory of the monks. One table was for the officers of Sutton's Hospital, one for the poor brethren, another for the boys, and, lastly, one for the servants. It was good Thomas Sutton's intention that all should worship and dine together. As to the worship, morning and evening prayer have always—except perhaps during the Commonwealth—been said in the chapel. The

<sup>1</sup> Father John Morris, S.J., published in 1872 a complete history of the Gunpowder Plot in *The Condition of Catholics under James I.* This work is out of print; but many interesting details may be found in his *Life of Father John Gerard* (Burns and Oates, 1881).

attendance, moreover, has generally been pretty regular. At one time, indeed, it was deemed necessary to impose a fine of one shilling upon the pensioners for each non-attendance at chapel or in the dining hall. But there was in reality very little to complain of, and this penal law was never enforced. Mr. Locker's remarks on this subject are too severe.<sup>1</sup>

In 1872 a considerable change was made by the removal of Charterhouse School into the country, where the Public School Commissioners considered that it "would thrive much better."<sup>2</sup> "Such a change," says the present head-master, "had come over the neighbourhood of the school, that even those who had been educated in it began to withdraw from it. They regarded it indeed with that strong attachment which generally binds Englishmen to the schools in which they have been trained, and declared that they would do anything for it except send their boys to it."<sup>3</sup> This was on account of the blocks of houses which, as London went on increasing, were built up to the very walls of the playground. So in 1872 the boys went away. Their beautiful new school at Godalming is called Charterhouse in memory of the old place.

Yet the remains of our monastery are not wholly freed from the sound of youthful voices; for before

<sup>1</sup> *Old and New London*, vol. ii. p. 398.

<sup>2</sup> Report for 1864.

<sup>3</sup> *Charterhouse Past and Present*, p. 170.

Sutton's School was gone, the governors had sold a portion of the property to the Merchant Taylors' Company, whose premises in Suffolk Lane were not spacious enough for the development of their school. The Merchant Taylors' boys, five hundred in number, mostly day scholars, are now being educated at the Charterhouse. The quadrangle of the monks' cloister is their playground.

All the ancient buildings are still the property of the governors of Sutton's Hospital, and without an Act of Parliament they can neither be alienated nor destroyed. A scheme was lately mooted for the sale, for building purposes, of at least a portion of the land, including all the modern buildings. The monastic remains would also have been in danger had not Parliament happily refused to pass the Bill. It was thought that the ancient buildings ought to be preserved untouched, and that it was not advisable to cover the open space with warehouses.

In the passing at some future date of a Bill to allow the governors to part with the Charterhouse, but forbidding at the same time the destruction of the old buildings, lies the only hope of seeing the Church of the Carthusian martyrs restored to Catholic worship. The Charterhouse could never again be a Carthusian monastery, for Carthusians do not live in crowded towns; but the Christian sacrifice might still be offered upon the very spot whereon Blessed John Houghton stood on the memorable

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morning of the *Missa de Spiritu Sancto*. The restoration of an ancient chapel to its former use has recently been seen at Ely Place, not far from the Charterhouse. May we not hope that, sooner or later, the Carthusian Church of the Salutation of Our Lady may become the Chapel of the blessed martyrs who used to worship there ?

## CHAPTER III.

## A PILGRIMAGE TO THE CHARTERHOUSE.

IT is difficult to realize that we are still in the very heart of the chief town of the commercial world; for, as we approach the Charterhouse, the din of the London thoroughfares is abated into a confused monotonous rolling like the grumbling of a distant storm. The spirit of the silent monks seems to haunt their ancient dwelling.

Shutting our eyes to adjacent buildings—eighteenth-century work—let us glance for a moment at the gateway before us. From an architectural point of view it is very simple, consisting of an arch of the fifteenth century, with drip-stone terminating in plain corbels. This was the Carthusian monks' entrance, and under it still hang the gates they placed there. In monastic times these gates were generally closed, though ever and anon the wicket was thrown open by the lay brother whose business it was to feed the poor and to usher in the guests. Through this gateway the monks came forth week

by week to take the walk prescribed by the Statutes of their Order. By this gateway entered the commissaries of the despotic Henry VIII., with their messages of persecution, death, and suppression. Over this gateway, where now we see a pent-house,<sup>1</sup> was fixed up as a scarecrow a fore-quarter of Prior Houghton.

Breathing a silent prayer as we cross the threshold of the martyrs, we enter what was the courtyard of the monastery. It is very small, and convinces us at a glance that it is not there that the Guest House must be sought, though this would generally be the most likely place to find it. The contiguity of the Charterhouse to the City, as well as the popularity and high reputation of the monks, attracted many visitors. We must, therefore, seek elsewhere for the accommodation which the courtyard can hardly have afforded. Straight before us stands an archway somewhat resembling the one by which we entered, but having no drip-stone, and apparently of earlier date. On our right is a block of buildings evidently monastic. An ancient passage through them will lead us to the next station of our pilgrimage.

Now the difficulty with regard to the Guest

<sup>1</sup> The pent-house, which is quite flat and supported by grotesquely carved lions, is middle or late sixteenth-century work. It was probably erected by Lord North or the Duke of Norfolk, in order to give a less monastic appearance to the gateway.

House disappears, for we are in a quadrangle<sup>1</sup> which was almost certainly the "Little Cloister" of the Charterhouse, and around it buildings which must have served as guest chambers are still to be seen. A staircase and door at the south-west corner enabled the guests to enter and leave the upper story without going into the quadrangle, and doors on either side under the archway leading from the court-yard answered the same purpose for the ground floor. Hence this very unusual combination of Guest House and Little Cloister did not interfere with the solitude of the monks. The buildings on all four sides of this cloister are of monastic times, though many a modern window disfigures them, and on three sides the old walls are hidden by a coating of brickwork. No vestige remains of the arcade which formerly occupied the lower part of these walls on all four sides. This arcade was the Little Cloister properly so called. In it the monks used to converse together after None on Sundays and Chapter Feasts; and when the Prior thought fit, some of the guests were allowed to be present.<sup>2</sup> Blessed Thomas More was probably more than once among these privileged friends.

The block of buildings to the north of the Little

<sup>1</sup> Now called "Master's Court" because the residence of the Master of Sutton's Hospital is there.

<sup>2</sup> According to present custom strangers are very seldom permitted to take part in the monks' recreation.

Cloister is worthy of notice. There is the great hall where the guests used to dine. Behind it, and opening into the Great Cloister, is the Fraternity or Refectory of the monks; and close by stand the remains of the Prior's cell.

A narrow vaulted passage on the west side of the Little Cloister will lead us into a smaller quadrangle known now as Wash House Court. It is apparently of the same date as the Little Cloister—late fifteenth century—though it is probable that Blessed John Houghton rebuilt the west block and part of the north. Post-Reformation owners have laid their hands less heavily upon this smaller quadrangle; and quaint-looking doorways, narrow windows, and walls of rough unhewn stone speak of the good old times. It is very edifying to see in every piece of ancient work how well the monks of the London Charterhouse understood Carthusian simplicity. Some modern windows speak of the changes that have taken place. The attics, too, are post-Reformation work, and extremely ugly. On the first floor of the buildings around us were the little cells of the lay brothers, where they used to commune with God during their free moments, to take their meals on ordinary days, and to sleep. On the ground floor we recognize their "obediences" or workshops. It was, then, in Wash House Court that the lay brothers spent the greater part of their time, doing day by day the will of God in the

observance of the Rule. Here the six holy brothers who have received the honours of the blessed prepared themselves for their high places in heaven. Their deaths, indeed, rather than their lives have led to their being beatified; but it was by the daily performance of their humble duties, in voluntary poverty, in spotless chastity, and in perfect obedience, that they obtained the grace to lay down their lives for their religion. These are the thoughts Wash House Court suggests.

Passing through a passage in the west side of Wash House Court, and then turning round, we have before us the outside wall. It is evidently one of the latest of the monastic buildings, and worked into it in brick are two bold capitals, IH. What do they mean? Some have supposed them to be the first two letters of our Saviour's monogram, I.H.S. They sought for traces of the final letter, and not finding any, they were obliged to abandon their theory. All now agree that they are very probably the initials of Blessed John Houghton, the builder of the wall. We must leave some other curious signs to the conjectures of antiquaries, and continue our pilgrimage.

The martyr's initials having recalled to memory many a detail of his holy life, we would gladly seek the parts of the monastery which would bring his virtues still more vividly before us. The Chapter House would be extremely interesting, but unfor-

unately no vestige of it remains. The old plan tells us where it stood, and that is all. It was on the south side of the Great Cloister, close to the east end of the Church. Other buildings contiguous to the Church have also disappeared; the sacristy and the vestry have long since been replaced by "Sutton's extension."

The south side of the exterior of the Church is very interesting, and will repay a visit as well from antiquary as from pious pilgrim. The most ancient of all the monastic remains may be seen there. Archæologists will tell us that the wall with its low buttresses and the filled-up doorway are fourteenth-century work. They were probably there in 1371, when the Church was consecrated, and Father John Luscombe was installed as first Prior of the Charterhouse of Our Lady's Salutation.

Let us see what remains of the Great Cloister and the monks' cells, which stood all around it, only leaving room on the south side for the Church and Chapter House. The covered arcades have been pulled down, and the cells are only represented by two doorways, with traces of the hatch through which the monk received his daily bread. Still the site of the Great Cloister is clearly defined. The quadrangle has never been built upon, and the boundary lines are indicated by walls partly of monastic and partly of later date. The arcade on the west side is not monks' work, excepting a portion of the back

wall, though it occupies the exact position of a structure which must in some respects have resembled it pretty closely. If Lord North had spared the Cloister it would have answered the Duke of Norfolk's purpose quite as well as his clumsy building of 1571.<sup>1</sup>

Now we approach, through a kind of cloister which does not seem to be of monastic origin, the door of the Church. On entering we find the Brothers' Choir intact. It was rebuilt during the priorate of the pious William Tynbygh,<sup>2</sup> and it still remains as he left it. Its present owners sometimes call it the Baptistry, from a font which they have placed there, or, less incorrectly, the Ante-Chapel. We prefer to name it the Brothers' Choir, for the term explains its original use. The lay brothers met here every night, and during the day on Festivals; and while the Office was being sung in the larger choir beyond the rood screen, they used to join their silent prayers to the holy Psalms and Canticles. How beautiful in its simplicity is this outer choir! Solid, plain, thoroughly Carthusian! As to style, it is Perpendicular, with stone-vaulted roof, the groining terminating in corbels decorated with angels holding shields. The stalls are no more.

<sup>1</sup> The figures 1, 5, 7, were stamped in iron upon the wall. 1571 being the date carved on the duke's music gallery in the Great Hall, it was judged that the arcade was most probably erected at the same time, and a figure 1 was added to the 1, 5, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, Part I. chap. vi.

The screen that once divided this choir from that of the Fathers has also disappeared, and with it have vanished the two small altars that very probably stood against it on either side.<sup>1</sup>

Over the Brothers' Choir is a vaulted chamber closely resembling it. This must, we think, have been the visitors' gallery, commanding a view of the high altar through some apertures, now closed up, in its eastern wall. This gallery was well known when the monastery was flourishing, for it was a common saying about London that those who wished to hear the Divine Office chanted with devotion should go to the Charterhouse.<sup>2</sup>

Now our pilgrimage is nearly over. Passing under the arch where the rood screen used to be, we enter the Fathers' Choir. How changed it is! Only the south and east walls are preserved, and even these are disfigured by modern windows. A sliding panel conceals a small piscina in the east wall. The flat roof, ceiled and decorated in Jacobean style, is no more in keeping with the monastic remains than the two pillars supporting three semi-circular arches, which occupy the position of the ancient north wall. The two aisles beyond the

<sup>1</sup> A screen, which is now in another part of the building, occupied, until 1842, the exact position of the rood screen. It is seventeenth-century work and much lighter and more open than the monastic screen would have been, and is surmounted by the royal arms in the place of the cross.

<sup>2</sup> Chauncy's *Historia* (ed. 1888), p. 69.

pillars, with Thomas Sutton's tomb, might be interesting on another occasion. They have nothing to do with our pilgrimage.

In this choir, for one hundred and sixty-seven years, the Carthusian monks sang by day and by night the praises of our Lord ; and in spite of the three centuries and a half which have elapsed since they were driven out, their memories cling to the place with the ancient name it still retains.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE RETURN TO ENGLAND—AT THE SAVOY—SHEEN RE-ESTABLISHED—DISAPPOINTMENT—IN THE FLEMISH CHARTERHOUSE—SHEEN ANGLORUM—JANE DORMER AND MARGARET CLEMENT—PROPHECIES OF FUTURE PROSPERITY.

DOM MAURICE CHAUNCY and Brother Hugh Taylor seem to have been the first of the English Carthusians who, braving the law which forbade unauthorized going abroad,<sup>1</sup> left their native land in order to continue their monastic life. Shortly after the suppression of the London Charterhouse, in November, 1538, they made their way to the Charterhouse of Bruges,<sup>2</sup> where they were kindly received. There Chauncy wrote his history of the martyrs, made a second profession of vows, and, according to a manuscript which will frequently be our guide,<sup>3</sup> was

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 5 Richard II. (1381). This law remained in force until 1606 (4 Jac. I.), though it was not always enforced in the same way. See Stephen's *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (ed. 1883), vol. ii. p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> The Charterhouse of Val-de-Grâce. Founded in 1318, and suppressed by the Emperor Joseph II. in 1783.

<sup>3</sup> *Notitia Cartusianorum Anglorum*, by Father James Long,

appointed Sacristan of the monastery. The second profession of vows after removing to another Charterhouse was formerly a custom of the Order, and it entitled those who made it to enjoy the privileges of the professed religious of the house, and to hold offices in the community. The General Chapter of 1547 authorized the Prior and convent of Bruges to admit the English refugees to this second profession.

Fifteen or sixteen years in the Flemish Charterhouse prepared Father Chauncy for the arduous duties of the remainder of his life. It was early in 1555 when he received instructions from the Grande Chartreuse to return home and endeavour to re-establish the Order, for England had returned to the Catholic faith. Father John Fox, who had followed him to Bruges, and Brother Hugh Taylor were to be his companions. We have lost sight of Brother Hugh while telling the story of the troubles, for there is no record of what became of him during those dreadful years. Perhaps he was sent for some time to another monastery, or else he may have managed to absent himself from the meetings in the Chapter House. Whatever the reasons may be, his name is neither in the list of signatures to the oath of supremacy nor in that of the recusants. Without falling, like Chauncy and

Prior of the English Carthusians at Nieuport, Flanders. The manuscript is now in the possession of the English Augustinian nuns of Bruges.



Fox, he escaped from the persecution, and lived, as has already been observed, to aid in the great work of preserving a remnant of the English Province of his Order.

At the end of May, 1555, the three religious arrived in London, where they were very kindly received by Sir Robert Rochester, brother of Blessed John Rochester, the Carthusian martyr. Sir Robert, who was Comptroller of the Queen's household, allotted to them some apartments in the Savoy;<sup>1</sup> and as soon as a favourable opportunity presented itself, he introduced them to Cardinal Pole, and afterwards to Queen Mary. Both queen and cardinal encouraged the monks by the assurance that one of their Charterhouses should shortly be restored. In the mean time they were to be provided for in the Savoy at her Majesty's expense.

On the 24th of July, 1556, Dom John Fox died of a fever, and was interred in the Savoy Chapel,

<sup>1</sup> The Savoy was built in 1245, by Peter, Earl of Savoy and Richmond. Its history is somewhat eventful. First it was a *cell* to the Priory of Hornchurch by Havering-at-the-Bower, in Essex. Eleanor, queen of Henry III., purchased it for the king's second son, Edmund, Earl of Lancaster. In 1356 it served as an honourable prison for John, King of France, after his defeat at Poitiers. Here also, on a subsequent visit to England, he died. In 1505 Henry VII. founded a hospital in the Savoy, endowing it for the relief of one hundred poor. This hospital, dissolved in the last year of Edward VI., was re-established by Queen Mary during the residence of Father Chauncy and his companions. See Wood's *Ecclesiastical Antiquities of London*, 1874, p. 202; and *State Papers, Domestic, Mary*, vol. ix. 8.

Sir Robert Rochester paying the expenses of the funeral. This loss obliged Chauncy to write for another monk to be his companion in London. Accordingly a certain Dom Richards, late of the Charterhouse of St. Anne's, Coventry, was sent over to England.<sup>1</sup> Since his escape beyond the seas he had made a second profession of vows in a Dutch Charterhouse, and had been appointed to the office of Vicar. Only five weeks after his return to England, he died, and was buried in the Savoy Chapel beside his predecessor, Dom John Fox. Poor Father Chauncy was so disheartened by the death of these two monks, that, had not the Cardinal and Sir Robert Rochester encouraged him to persevere, he would probably have abandoned the projected restoration and returned to Flanders.

At length it became known throughout England that some Carthusians were living in the Savoy with the hope of re-establishing one of the old houses of the Order, and several monks who, since the suppression of their respective Charterhouses, had been living in the world desired to become members of Chauncy's community. The inconveniences which result from lack of proper accom-

<sup>1</sup> If Richards was his surname, this religious is not mentioned in Rymer's list of the ten monks of Coventry, who surrendered the Charterhouse to Henry VIII., on the 16th of January, 1538. His *obit* and that of Dom John Fox are both in the obituary of the Grande Chartreuse for 1557.

modation now took the place of the difficulties arising from want of numbers. The Savoy, moreover, was a very unsuitable place for Carthusians, and regular observation of the Rule there was impossible. So new efforts were made to restore an ancient monastery, and, owing to the zeal of Cardinal Pole, the monks were able to remove to the Charterhouse of Sheen before the end of the year.

It was in November, 1556, just eighteen years after his expulsion from the Charterhouse of London, that Dom Maurice Chauncy took possession of that of Sheen. By mutual consent he seems to have been looked upon as the Superior, and in the Cardinal's official letters of restoration, dated the 31st of December, he is appointed Prior, "in consideration of his faith, his learning, and other manifold virtues and deserts." The royal charter, which was issued on the 26th of January, 1557, completed the re-establishment of the Charterhouse of Sheen. In the spring, the General Chapter of the Order confirmed Chauncy's election to the priorate; but while thanking the Cardinal for his kindness, they gave him a broad hint that even a Papal Legate should not install a Prior without consulting the General Chapter or the Prior of the Grande Chartreuse.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Gratiam quam Reverendissimus Cardinalis Angliæ, Legatus de Latere, Domui ipsi facere dignatus est, ratam, gratam, et acceptam habemus, gratias exinde plurimas agentes, propter hoc

When the community removed from the Savoy to Sheen, there were nine choir monks and three lay brothers. Soon after, the number was increased by the return from foreign Charterhouses of seven more choir monks. Several of these nineteen religious had, like their Prior, been weak during the persecution under Henry VIII. Two of them must be mentioned by name: Father John Mitchel, late Prior of Witham and Assistant Visitor by appointment of King Henry,<sup>1</sup> and Father John Wilson, late Prior of Mount Grace, whose submission was due to the continued efforts of Lee, Archbishop of York.<sup>2</sup> Father Mitchel became Chauncy's Vicar, and Father Wilson, who was very old, died soon after his return to England.<sup>3</sup>

•Father Long, to whose manuscript we are indebted for most of the present chapter, gives a list of the benefactors of Sheen restored. Amongst them are the names of Sir Thomas Englefield, Justice of the Common Pleas under Henry VIII.; Sir William Roper, son-in-law of Blessed Thomas More; and Lady Jane Dormer, sister of Blessed

tamen non intendentes in aliquo derogari Privilegiis Ordinis nostri. Quibus nec ipse Reverendissimus Dominus Cardinalis Legatus derogare vult, nec intendit" (*Ex Charta Cap. Gen.* 1557).

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Ellis's *Original Letters*, 3rd series, vol. ii. pp. 335-345.

<sup>3</sup> It is probably by mistake that the obituary and *Ephemerides* say he died at Bruges, September 10, 1557. If he ever returned to England at all, he must have been at Sheen in 1557.

Sebastian Newdigate. Thus, with Maurice Chauncy at the head and several London monks under him, with so many relatives of the blessed martyrs among the benefactors, this monastery may justly be considered a continuation of the Carthusians of London, as well as a restoration of the Charterhouse of Sheen.

The community at Sheen had only enjoyed their solitude and silence for two years, showing by their piety and fervour that they were worthy successors to the martyrs, when the death of both queen and Cardinal Archbishop gave the signal for new troubles. The Princess Elizabeth had declared with oaths that she was a Roman Catholic; but she soon lent a willing ear to her Protestant tempters, who urged upon her the expediency of renouncing the authority of the Holy See. To acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Pope was, they reminded her, equivalent to admitting that she was not born in lawful wedlock, and could have no hereditary right to the crown. To be head of the Church must also have had its attractions for the ambitious Elizabeth. But whatever the new queen's motives may have been, it was clear that the short-lived revival of the old religion was at an end, and that mutilated Christianity, with its inconsistencies, its changes, and its divisions, was about to be enforced by law.

Prior Chauncy saw that it was time to seek

another home for the English Carthusians, and, through the influence of the Duke of Feria, he obtained leave for them to quit the kingdom without being molested. Still Chauncy was loth to abandon the Charterhouse of Sheen. So he determined, somewhat indiscreetly, to pay a visit to the court. It is said that, had not Brother Hugh Taylor interfered, this visit would have got Dom Chauncy into trouble. The good lay brother took his Prior by the shoulder and led him out of the royal precincts. Shortly after, the whole community went over to Flanders, where most of them were received at the Charterhouse of Bruges. They were supported partly by King Philip II., and partly by some charitable English Catholics, the Duchess of Feria, namesake and granddaughter of Lady Jane Dormer, being a special benefactress. Without her aid they would have been unable to pay for their board in the Flemish Charterhouse, for the Spanish pension came very irregularly.

The General Chapter of 1561 elevated Father Chauncy to the priorate of the monastery, notwithstanding his being a foreigner. His second profession at Bruges during his former stay there made the appointment less astonishing to the Flemings; yet it was hard to see their monastery filled even to inconvenience with English monks, and one of them placed in the Prior's stall. The exiles, moreover, were desirous of keeping distinct from the native

monks, and of having a novitiate of their own, in the hope that they might shortly be able to return to England. These things naturally led to some little misunderstanding in the community. In 1562 the General Chapter reminded Chauncy that his officers should, if possible, be Flemings, or, at least, that they should be thoroughly acquainted with the language of the country; and in the Report of 1568 a separation was authorized. Prior Chauncy was to look for a suitable house for the English Carthusians.<sup>1</sup>

The charity of several other voluntary exiles



SEAL OF SHEEN.

from England, and of some foreign friends—of whom the Holy Father St. Pius V. was one—enabled Chauncy to profit by the permission of the General Chapter; and in the following year a house in St. Clare's Street, Bruges, was ready for the English Community. Chauncy then resigned the priorate of the Flemish Charterhouse, and resumed his former title of Prior of Sheen. From this time until their final suppression the English Carthusians,

<sup>1</sup> *Ex Chartis Capituli Generalis*, 1561, 1562, 1568.

whenever they had a Charterhouse of their own, called it *Sheen Anglorum*, and used the seal of Jesus of Bethlehem.

We have just alluded to there being other English Catholics who had left their native land in order to serve God according to the dictates of their conscience. Two of these must be especially mentioned here, on account of their connection with the history of the London Carthusians. They are Lady Jane Dormer, sister of Blessed Sebastian Newdigate, and Margaret Clement, the benefactress of our martyrs in Newgate. Henry Clifford, in his life of her granddaughter,<sup>1</sup> gives the following interesting particulars with regard to the former of these two valiant women:—

“In the year 1558, Queen Elizabeth succeeding, altered the government, entertained heresies; the defenders of them being her chief counsellors and commanders. This good lady [Jane Dormer], seeing this lamentable alteration, although full of years, such was her zeal and love to the observance of true religion, as she left house, son [Sir William Dormer, father of the Duchess of Feria], country, and friends; choosing rather a banished life to serve freely Almighty God than to remain in a kingdom so perverted and corrupted. With this Christian and zealous purpose, in the year 1559, she passed

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Jane Dormer, Duchess of Feria*. Edited by Father Joseph Stevenson, S.J. London: Burns and Oates, 1887.

the seas with her granddaughter, the Duchess of Feria, into Flanders. And a little before the duchess parted from Mechlin for Spain, she went to Louvain, there to keep house and settle herself; where resided many worthy and learned English priests, exiled for not conforming themselves to the new and heretical injunctions of England. There she lived the rest of her years—which were about twelve—with so great fame of virtue, piety, charity, and other Christian works, as not only that town and university, but the country about did much reverence and honour her; and she is yet, among the old people that knew her, remembered with renowned commendation. Yea, such were her works of liberality and piety, as the learned Doctor Sanders, in his book entitled *Visibilis Monarchia Ecclesiæ*,<sup>1</sup> praised her as an eye-witness in these words: ‘The noble widow, the Lady Jane Dormer, grandmother of the most illustrious Duchess of Feria, when she saw her country overrun by heresy, willingly exiling herself, hath so lived in Louvain for these twelve years, as not only to keep herself from all schism, but also hath been a foot to the lame, an eye to the blind, a staff to the weak, a true mother of orphans, and a patroness of widows.’

“Like another Dorcas,” Henry Clifford continues, “she made many coats and garments for widows and poor people. . . . Always in the Holy Week

<sup>1</sup> P. 708, ed. Louvain, 1571.

on Maundy Thursday, this lady called together twelve widows, or rather poor women, washed their feet herself, gave every one a new gown, a smock, a little purse with money, and her dinner that day, and on Easter Day following. Her house was a refuge and harbour for banished priests and Catholic gentlemen of her country; many poor students were daily relieved by her, as of this day some living, in my hearing, have given grateful testimony. . . .

“In the year 1571, the 7th of July, this lady—being about eighty years of age—left this natural life to live for ever with God Almighty.” She was buried “with the solemnity fitting her quality” in the choir of the Charterhouse at Louvain, between the first step of the high altar and the monks’ stalls of the left-hand side.<sup>1</sup> The body, or at least the marble monument, was removed in 1603 to the centre of the choir on the occasion of the burial of Lady Hungerford, her granddaughter and sister of the Duchess of Feria.

We will now turn to Mrs. Margaret Clement, whose name must never be forgotten by those who revere the nine holy martyrs whom she aided in Newgate.<sup>2</sup> She was one of the first to leave home and country in order to seek, with her husband,

<sup>1</sup> *Chronique de la Chartreuse de Louvain. Manuscrit No. 771a, aux Archives générales du Royaume à Bruxelles.* Printed in *Analectes de la Belgique*, tome xvi. p. 210.

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 224.

John Clement, and her numerous family, the religious freedom which was denied her in England. After remaining for a short time at Bruges, the Clements removed to Mechlin, where they edified all who knew them by their piety and charity. Their house was, like the devout Jane Dormer's, a harbour for persecuted priests, who found there both relief in their needs and consolation in their troubles.

“But the time now being come,” says a manuscript published by Father John Morris, S.J.,<sup>1</sup> “that God had appointed to reward His handmaid for her aforesaid good works done unto the Fathers of the Charterhouse, He visited her with an ague which held her nine or ten days, and having brought her very low and in danger, she received all the Sacraments with great devotion, and being desirous to give her last blessing to all her children, who were all present excepting her religious daughters and one more that remained at Bruges with her husband, she caused her to be sent for in all haste; but being not able to come so speedily, Wednesday being now come, which was the day before she died, and asking if her daughter were come, and being told no, but that they looked for her every hour, she made answer that she would stay no longer for her, and calling her husband, she told him that the time of her departing was now come, and she might stay no longer, for that there were standing about her bed

<sup>1</sup> *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, 1st series, pp. 30, 31.

the reverend Fathers, monks of the Charterhouse, whom she had relieved in prison in England, and did call upon her to come away with them, and that therefore she could stay no longer, because they did expect her, which seemed a strange talk unto him. Doubting she might speak idly by reason of her sickness, he called for her ghostly Father, a reverend Father of the Franciscans then living at Mechlin, to examine and talk with her, to whom she constantly made answer that she was no way beside herself, but declared that she had still the sight of the Charterhouse monks before her, standing about her bedside, and inviting her to come away with them, as she had told her husband. At the which all were astonished.

“ The next day being Thursday, in the morning she called for her son Thomas, and willed him that he should take care that all her apparel should be made ready, for by God’s grace she would not fail that day to go to Corpus Christi anthem; which he taking to be spoken of distraction, and comforting her as best he could to put this out of her head, she replied that by God’s grace she would not fail in her purpose, and therefore all things should be in readiness. And so it fell out, that she from that moment drawing more and more to her end, as soon as the bell of St. Rumold’s began to toll for the anthem of Corpus Christi, she gave up her happy soul into the hands of God, thereby showing to have



E. Duquat, Impimerie N. D. des Prés - Montreuil. France.



foretold the hour of her death, and that she departed with that blessed company to heaven, who had so long expected her to be partaker of their glory, as no doubt but she is. Her body was buried in the cathedral church of St. Rumold, behind the high altar, before the memory of our Blessed Saviour lying in His grave, where also her husband was laid by her within two years after.

“ Now to return to my purpose, for this was but to relate that these holy martyrs whom she had so carefully assisted, would come to fetch her at her last end. The which so happened, for at her very departure she did see all those Carthusians in their habit perfectly appear before her, which with a smiling countenance she so expressed to those that were about her that it was admirable to the beholders.”

The English Carthusians lived in St. Clare's Street, Bruges, for over nine years, following their holy Rule in peace and tranquillity. In 1572 Chauncy published his edition of Dom Peter Sutor's treatise, *De Vita Cartusiana*. The only other events of this period were the decease of some members of the community and the reception of a few novices. The old country, and the speedy re-establishment of the Carthusian Order there, were always present to the minds of the exiled monks, and these matters provided them with matter for conversation as well as for prayer. This may be illustrated by an extract from the

notes of Father John Suertis, a member of the community.<sup>1</sup>

“It chanced the same time [about 1571] that Sir Francis Englefield with other strangers dined with Father Maurice [Chauncy]. Sir Francis asked Father Maurice of Father Norton’s vision, how it was? Father Maurice said: Father Norton was Prior of Mount Grace, a monastery of our holy Order in Yorkshire, a very godly man, and the last Prior there save Prior Wilson. Our Blessed Saviour did appear unto him divers times visibly, as it pleased Him. This was in King Henry the Eighth’s days, when England was infected with Martin Luther’s doctrine, and King Henry dissolved all religious houses. Our Lord spoke to Prior Norton and said: ‘Thy nation doth begin to refuse Me, and pull down all religion. What sayest thou now unto this?’ He said, ‘Blessed Lord, I can say nothing, but desire grace and mercy from Thee.’ Our Saviour answered, ‘I have done for you all that I could, and have given you a golden button as one friend doth to another; this is, I have given them a free will that they may amend if they will; if they will not, they shall find my justice. As they amend with Me, so I will amend with them.’ ‘Yet, Blessed Saviour,’ said Prior Norton, ‘I beseech Thy mercy and grace

<sup>1</sup> John Suertis joined the English Carthusians in 1571, and remained with them until his death, which is announced in the obituary of 1620. Some of his writings have been preserved by Father Long.

for this holy Order.' 'In that,' said He, 'I will hear thee; *for the time shall come that where there was one house of your Order there shall be three.*'

"Then," continues Father Suertis, "Sir Francis began to say that his tenants in England had written unto him that they, dwelling near Sheen, heard for nine nights together the monks that Father Chauncy had buried in Sheen to have sung service with light in the Church; and when they did of purpose set ladders to the Church walls, to see them in the Church, suddenly they ceased. And they heard Father Fletcher's voice, which every one knew, above them all."<sup>1</sup>

Suertis asked Brother Hugh Taylor whether Father Norton's story was worthy of credit. "Yes," replied the pious brother, "it is most true." And he added that "our Blessed Saviour had said unto him in a Divine vision, *that there should be yet thirty-three Charterhouses in England.*" If we count the short-lived foundation at Totnes,<sup>2</sup> and the Scotch Charterhouse at Perth, Hugh Taylor's thirty-three houses will agree with Prior Norton's three to one. As this worthy lay brother died during the period now under consideration, a few more remarks regarding him may be added from the traditions of the English Carthusians.

Brother Hugh was a true contemplative, but—as

<sup>1</sup> Dom Thomas Fletcher was a professed monk of Hinton Charterhouse before the Dissolution (Rymer's *Fœdera*, tome xiv. p. 614).

<sup>2</sup> *Supra*, p. 12.

is frequently the case—he was quite able to apply himself to active work. When he was well advanced in years and ripe for heaven, he still held the office of Procurator, for as long as Brother Hugh lived Dom Chauncy would never have another. Nor was any one displeased at seeing him in a position which is generally suitable for a choir monk only, for “he was so charitable to all men.”

It is said that Brother Hugh had many Divine visions. He lived, so to speak, on familiar terms with our Lord. But he never sought in these favours an excuse for idleness, nor a pretext for being less “charitable to all men.” The *Ephemerides Cartusienses* tell us that one day, after promising another lay brother that he would help him with some work at a certain hour, he began to meditate in his cell. Our Blessed Lord appeared and held sweet conversation with His faithful servant. The hour for work came and the apparition still continued. So, without the least hesitation, Brother Hugh begged his Divine Guest to excuse him, and hastened to the workshop. At length, the task being completed, Hugh returned to his cell, where he found our Lord still present, and heard these consoling words: “Hugh, the duty that thou hast just performed has pleased Me more than anything thou hast done hitherto, for thou hast renounced the enjoyment of My sensible presence in order to aid thy brother.”

One more vision must be mentioned, and then, though more might be said, we have done with Brother Hugh Taylor. "He told me once," says Suertis, "our Saviour in a vision called him saying, 'Hugh, dost thou love Me?' 'Yea, Blessed Lord,' said he, 'I love Thee with all my heart.' Then our Lord in the figure of His humanity reached him His foot, which he reverently kissed. 'Ask of Me,' said our Blessed Lord, 'what thou wilt, and thou shalt have it.' 'I will ask nothing but what pleases Thee, Blessed Lord,' said Hugh. Then our Lord said, 'I promise thee I will do more for thee than for any mortal man in the world now living.' And so, suddenly He was gone." What this promise was nobody knows. Suertis thought it might be the preservation of a remnant of the English Carthusians. Perhaps it would be rash to hope that it might be the foundation of the thirty-three English Charterhouses. Having suffered exile, poverty, and many a contradiction for his fidelity to the old religion, Brother Hugh died on the 30th of September, 1575. We learn from the obituary that "he lived fifty-seven years in the Order *in a praiseworthy manner.*"<sup>1</sup>

In 1577 there was some correspondence between Father Chauncy and Cardinal Allen. It appears from a letter of the Cardinal's that our Prior had objected too strongly to the secular disguises of the

<sup>1</sup> Obituary of the Grande Chartreuse, 1576.

clergy on the English Mission.<sup>1</sup> These disguises were absolutely necessary in order to escape the vigilance of the pursuivants, and work for the salvation of souls. It is not surprising, however, that Chauncy should have been shocked at such deception until the reason for it was fully explained. He had learned Carthusian simplicity from the lips of Blessed John Houghton and Blessed William Exmew. At Sion House, in 1537, he had forgotten this lesson and been guilty of dissimulation, and his unhappy fall was ever present to his memory. For forty years he had been doing penance for having refused the palm, but still his trials were not over. More troubles, more cares, more labours were in store for him before he could join the blessed martyrs in their heavenly home.

<sup>1</sup> *Douay Diaries*, Introduction, p. xlv.

## CHAPTER V.

THE HUGUENOTS AT SHEEN ANGLORUM—EXPULSION OF THE MONKS  
—WANDERINGS—AT LOUVAIN—LAST JOURNEY AND DEATH  
OF DOM MAURICE CHAUNCY.

THE daily round of prayer and praise, of study and work, went on as usual at Sheen Anglorum until early in 1578, when the peace of our little colony was disturbed by the arrival of a detachment of the army of the Prince of Orange. Father Chauncy's account of the new troubles which now befell him and his community appears to be lost. We are indebted to Prior Long<sup>1</sup> for the preservation of the account written by Dom John Suertis, who was Sacristan of the Charterhouse when these troubles commenced. It has already been observed that one of the duties of the Sacristan is to recite in Church, before the Blessed Sacrament, those portions of the Office which the other monks say in their cells. This accounts for Dom Suertis being alone in the Church when his story begins.

“I was,” he says, “saying the Prime of the Day

<sup>1</sup> *Notitia Cart.*, Appendix viii.



[at six o'clock in the morning], and suddenly [there] came in a well elderly man, nothing like a soldier, nor anything in his hand, a black hat on his head, a fustian white doublet, and a pair of white stockings and said never a word, but took off his hat when he was within the choir door, and went right up before me to the high altar, looking here and there, and went directly to the Deacon's table, where I had got five chalices for the altars. He took them all in his arms and went unto the priest's chair, took off the cushion, opened the coffer under the cushion, put in all the chalices, and covered all over with the cushion again. [He] went out on the other side of the choir, looking on me, and as he went out put to the choir door. Then, straight the soldiers rapped at the gates and cried, '*Ouvre la porte! ouvre la porte!*'

"They came in two and two with their swords in their hands and their pieces charged, and went round about the choir, but took nothing besides a purificating cloth for the chalice. They went forth of the Church, opened my cell door and went in, and sat round and about my cell. I, coming into my cell, asked them what they would have. They said apples, and so sat and drank. So I went to Father Prior's cell door and told him what they would have. He brought forth a great salmon pasty, and I gave it them. They went into the court, and divided it amongst them. Then, they seeing Father Prior themselves, three of them came

to him and promised him to bring twelve of the honestest men amongst them for to keep his from all harm ; the rest, they said, were all naught. So they did. Yet the rest would not consent before they had drunk with the Prior. Then all the companies came in, and drank first one barrel of beer, then another, so that they left not one drop in the house. When all was gone, two went into the beer brewer's and fetched in a fresh barrel for themselves. They permitted us only to say private Masses. They had the Refectory, we the Church. They remained with us in this manner about six weeks, and were all very well treated.

“Father Prior asked me what became of the chalices ; so I told him of the old man, and I desired he would reward him for his good will, thinking he had been a soldier. But when Father Maurice had desired of the captains that this man might be brought unto him, both they and all the soldiers protested that there was no such man amongst them all that was clothed with a white doublet and white stockings, for all the soldiers had buff coats.

“Notwithstanding the good and fair usage they had, they all conspired with their captains to have killed us all.<sup>1</sup> And the same day that they had given their soldiers the watchword—there was

<sup>1</sup> These men or some of their comrades had cruelly murdered twelve religious of the Charterhouse of Ruremond a few years before. See Dom Arnold Havens' *Historica relatio duodecim Martyrum Cartusianorum*.

nothing but crying sa! sa! sa! that night—at five of the clock after Evensong, the Spaniards came to fight beside Bruges. So they all marched forth of Bruges to fight them. But so they fought that the Spaniards left not one man of them alive. After which victory, the magistrates were so grieved, that they sent word to Father Prior to be gone within twenty days; else he and all the house should be burned without mercy. This was cold news unto us all. Father Prior went and prostrated himself before them all, but he could get no mercy. So he sold all things at random, and paid all debts. And on St. George's Day,<sup>1</sup> the first waggons went with Father Vicar [Dom Roger Thompson] and half the convent; and the last day,<sup>2</sup> Father Prior with the other part of the convent.

“For the packing up of all the stuff, the magistrates of Bruges sent their packer, and one of their sixteen men to see the packing of everything—for they feared that we should carry bullets and shot unto the enemies—and on every pack was set the Prince of Orange's Great Seal. This favour they showed.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 23rd of April, 1578. Father Long, who had a copy of Chauncy's narration, tells us that the dates do not always agree with Suertis. For this first departure Chauncy gives the 19th of April.

<sup>2</sup> Probably he means the last of the twenty days allowed by the authorities of Bruges.

<sup>3</sup> It seems uncertain whether they really meant it for a favour,

“When we were at our gates to take our waggon God knows how many weeping eyes both of rich and poor there were, and even the best of all the city. We came that night to a poor place of a house where the waggoners were wont to roost. But for beds, all the way we took great patience, and were in great danger of the enemies. The next night we came unto Lille, where we found all our brethren in good health.<sup>1</sup> When we should go to supper, came all the heretics of the whole city, and had almost rifled our packs. Our host stood very stoutly in our defence for life and death. When they saw the Prince of Orange’s seal on everything, they were appeased; but we rose early in the morning, by good counsel, and so escaped the danger they proposed.

“The next day, at night, we came to Douay. They did let us in at the gates; but none dared to receive us to lodging. So we sat in our waggons two or three hours in the streets; and at the last, two poor sisters bid us come into the house and we should be welcome. It chanced Doctor Hely came and supped with us. And when we were in the midst of supper, the captain with the soldiers came, and would see our passport. So it was read, and

or simply to prevent anything else being taken. The sequel shows how useful it proved to the fugitive monks.

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.* those who had left Bruges some days before with the Father Vicar.

they departed, and willed us to be gone by four o'clock in the morning. So we did.

“The next night we should have lodged at Cambray, and word came that if we came there we should all be cut to pieces. So we went beyond Cambray an English mile, and lay on boards in great fear of the enemy.

“Then we went from thence unto St. Quintin's in France, on a Sunday. There we stood about three hours without the walls, for it was the law not to open the gates to any one without license. When we understood this, Father Prior sent Thomas Evans and John Story<sup>1</sup> unto the magistrates to speak for us, that we might enter. So Thomas Evans, as he was going into the Church—for it was Evensong time—met with a Frenchman of his old acquaintance, which had lately married a rich widow that kept the Inn of the Windmill; and when he had broken the matter unto him, he said he would willingly go with him unto the magistrates, and that he would receive all into his house; and so he did.

“When the magistrates had heard of the matter, they were glad thereof, and appointed Chanon [?] to bring us in. When we were well settled, came the Dean and other venerable priests to salute Father Maurice and the convent, and gave him a

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Evans and John Story were not Carthusians, for their names are not mentioned in the list given by Father Long.

good alms. We were there a month and more, and very well used. And from thence we came to a house of our Order beside Renaud, called St. Ludovick's House.<sup>1</sup> There we were another month and more. Thence Father Prior went to Don John of Austria to speak for us, and we stayed there till he sent for us to Louvain."

It appears that Prior Chauncy obtained from Don John of Austria, who was the Governor of the Netherlands, a letter of introduction to Dom Peter de Merica, Prior of the Charterhouse of Louvain,<sup>2</sup> where there were a number of unoccupied cells. Chauncy was himself the bearer of this letter, and he was allowed to take possession of the cells and prepare them for the reception of his community. He then sent for the religious, who were waiting in the Charterhouse near Noyon, and he came back as far as Rocroi to meet them. After many more sufferings and dangers they arrived at Louvain on the 17th of July, 1578. At this time the English Carthusians were twenty in number, eighteen choir monks and two lay brothers.

The next event worthy of being recorded is the death of Dom Nicholas Dugmer, a former monk of

<sup>1</sup> The Charterhouse of *Notre Dame du Mont-Renaud*, or *Mont-Saint-Louis*, near Noyon. Founded in 1308, and suppressed by the Revolution in 1790.

<sup>2</sup> The Charterhouse of "Saint Mary Magdalen under the Cross." Founded in 1469, and suppressed by the Emperor Joseph II. in 1783.

the Beauvale Charterhouse,<sup>1</sup> which took place on the 10th of September, 1578. The obituary tells us that "he lived fifty years in the Order in a praiseworthy manner." "Our good old Father Dugmer," says Suertis, "told me that when he was young and Sacrist, and one day had washed the Church Corporals, and had laid them in the garden upon the lavender borders to dry, in the midst of his dinner he went into his garden to see the cloths, and he saw our Blessed Lady sitting beside the Corporals tending them, and our Blessed Lord in likeness of a little child, pulling the lavender knops and, as little children will do, casting them upon the Corporals. 'Then,' thought the good Sacrist, 'I may well go to my dinner again, for the cloths are well kept.' The tears poured forth of his eyes as the good Father told me this. My master, Father Powell,<sup>2</sup> who had many times heard his confessions, for he was his daily Confessarius, told me that he would take upon his conscience that this Father did never commit one deadly sin. After their dispersion into the world, he never left off his *cilicium* or hair shirt. And when the king's Commissioners asked for the supremacy, and how he took the king, he answered plainly: 'I take him as God and the Holy

<sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xiv. p. 660.

<sup>2</sup> His calling Dom William Powell his master seems to indicate that Dom Suertis was Sub-sacristan when that Father was first Sacristan. Father Powell died in 1580 or 1581.

Church take him ; and I am sure he taketh himself no otherwise.' With this simple answer they were contented ; and so he saved his life."

Dom Nicholas Balland, one of the twenty-two monks who, in 1538, surrendered the Charterhouse of Hinton,<sup>1</sup> died about the same time as Dom Dugmer. Prior Chauncy was then the only member of the community who remembered the English Province in the days of its prosperity.

The English Carthusians had not long been settled at Louvain, when they lost their friend and benefactor Don John of Austria, who died on the 1st of October, 1578. Dom Peter, the Flemish Prior, then refused to supply them with food for fear they might be unable to pay for it. In those days every Charterhouse was obliged to be self-supporting, and their resources were often very limited. It is said, moreover, that Dom Peter was by nature rather "a hard man." The kindness of some of the English Catholic exiles, and particularly of Lady Hungerford and Sir Francis Englefield, saved the community from being dispersed.

The General Chapter of 1579 allowed the exiled Fathers to keep certain festivals according to the ancient custom of the English Province. These were the Solemnities of the Blessed Trinity, of the Visitation and Compassion of Our Lady, and the Feast of St. Anne. They were also allowed to

. <sup>1</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tome xiv. p. 614.

celebrate the Feast of St. Barbara more solemnly than in the other Charterhouses, and to sing a votive Office of the Blessed Virgin, with three lessons and Festival Lauds on Saturdays. This recalls to mind the special devotion of Old England to the Virgin Mother.

During the session of the same General Chapter, Father Bernard Carasse,<sup>1</sup> Prior of the Grande Chartreuse and General of the Order, granted some special privileges to Dom Maurice Chauncy. He calls him "Visitor of England," and promises him a full *monachatus* and a Mass of Our Lady throughout the Order. He then adds that after his death, by a still more ample privilege, a prayer for the repose of his soul will be said in the Chapter House after Prime on all Sundays and Festivals, not only in the English Charterhouse abroad, but also in all Charterhouses that may be restored or founded in England.

Dom Maurice Chauncy was sixty-seven years old when, on the 24th of February, 1580, he set out upon a journey to Spain. His object was to inform the king of the great needs of his community, and to obtain a more liberal grant; for, notwithstanding the kindness of Pope Gregory XIII. and several other charitable friends, the exiled Carthusians were in danger of being separated for want of sufficient means of support. After a fatiguing

<sup>1</sup> General of the Order from 1566 to 1588.

journey, broken by three months' illness in the Charterhouse of Paular,<sup>1</sup> Chauncy arrived at Madrid, where he and Dom Thomas Lawrence, his Procurator, were very kindly entertained by the Duchess of Feria. After a successful interview with the king, Chauncy would have returned to Louvain; but he was growing old and infirm, and winter travelling was very trying in those days; so he was prevailed upon to spend the winter with the duchess. In the spring, he set out upon his homeward journey. "But," says Father Long, "coming to Paris, he was taken ill at the Charterhouse there,<sup>2</sup> and his indisposition, meeting with a weak, fatigued body, increased daily, till at length, his strength being quite exhausted, he resigned his pious soul to God upon the 12th of July, 1581, being sixty-eight years of age, and having governed as Prior twenty-four years, odd months. He was of good learning, endued with great moderation and temper, singularly exemplary in all the duties of his profession; in short—excepting his facility in being drawn in to subscribe to King Henry the Eighth's supremacy, against his conscience, which, however, he quickly repented of—his whole character is edifying and ever to be held in veneration by those

<sup>1</sup> Charterhouse of Our Lady of Paular, near Segovia, in Castile. Founded in 1390, and suppressed in 1835.

<sup>2</sup> The Charterhouse of Paris was founded in 1257 by St. Louis IX., King of France. It was a famous monastery, and gave several Generals to the Order. It was suppressed by the Great Revolution.

who till this very day [1739] reap the fruits of his labours."

A Latin letter from Dom Bernard de Castro, Prior of Paular, addressed to the English monks at Louvain, shows what good impressions Chauncy's visit made upon the Spanish Carthusians. "Father Maurice," says Dom Bernard, "so venerable on account of his advanced age and the ripeness of his virtues, seemed entitled to every attention and service. His personal appearance, his words, his countenance, his gait, all manifest his interior qualities. Though his body is growing weak, his intellect is still intact, and he enjoys the full use of his senses for prayer, meditation, and other spiritual exercises, the part of Mary, while old age undermining his constitution renders him less capable of fulfilling the duties of Martha."

So, at last, Maurice Chauncy's work was done; and he went to join his old companions the martyrs in everlasting rest, leaving a high opinion of his virtues and merits in the minds of all who knew him.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH CARTHUSIANS FROM 1581 TO 1777.<sup>1</sup>

THE death of Dom Maurice Chauncy dealt a great blow to the exiled Carthusians, and, had it not been for some consoling letters addressed to them by Lady Hungerford and other zealous English Catholics, they would probably have been dispersed among their foreign brethren. Encouraged by the interest thus shown in their welfare, they proceeded to elect a new Prior. The choice fell upon Dom Roger Thompson, the Vicar. Dom Roger was a monk of the Flemish Charterhouse at Bruges, where in 1565 he received the religious habit from the hands of Prior Chauncy. His life was highly edifying, and he was beloved and respected by his monks. His priorate, however, was very brief, for he died at Louvain on the 20th of October, 1582, only one year after his promotion. It is remarkable that this Superior and his two immediate successors

<sup>1</sup> Where no reference is given, our ordinary authority for this chapter is Father Long's *Notitia Cartusianorum*, compared with the obituaries of the Order.

were considered Priors, for in reality they had no monastery to govern, but simply the English refugees in the Flemish Charterhouse of Louvain. Thus there were two distinct communities, the Flemish and the English, living in the same house, and each under the direction of its own Superior.

Dom Francis Barnard was the next Prior of the English Carthusians. He had been but a short time in the Order, having made his profession of vows in 1579, since the arrival of the exiles at Louvain. He held office as Prior for three years, and then, towards the end of 1585, tendered his resignation. He died on the 26th of April, 1594. Notwithstanding the kindness of Sir Francis Englefield and other charitable friends, the community suffered terribly from poverty while Dom Barnard was Prior; and on the withdrawal by Pope Sixtus V. of the annual pension allowed by his predecessors, Pius V. and Gregory XIII., most of the monks sought hospitality in other houses of the Order.

Father John Arnold, who, in 1575, had left Douay College in order to join our Order,<sup>1</sup> was appointed Prior on the resignation of Dom Barnard. Seeing that unless some steps were taken the whole community would be dispersed, he undertook a journey into Spain. His object was to obtain from King Philip an increase of the annual pension.

<sup>1</sup> *Douay Diaries*, p. 98.

This journey was successful, for the pension was raised from one hundred guilders to one hundred crowns. Suertis has left "an account of King Philip II. of Spain his words to Prior Arnold" on this occasion. "Prior Arnold," he says, "going unto the old King of Spain for his *ultimum vale*, the king said unto him these words: 'Father Prior, now I have granted unto you your request. Hear now what my will and intention is. If this be not enough for your convent to live on, send at all times unto me or mine, and you shall have it augmented. So long as I have a penny you shall have the half of it. But I will that it be monstrated to the convent without fraud or deception according to my will and intention; that is, as they feel my love and charity towards them, so I and my children may feel their devout prayers and charity at all times, but especially in time of necessity. And therefore my will is that, as soon as you come home, you shall show this my will and intention unto one of your convent whom you think most fit and longest life, that whosoever be the minder of the said pension, he, by commission from the king's own mouth, put them in mind of the king's will and intention, in ministration thereof. And, Father Prior, I charge and command you . . . that this my will and intention be truly fulfilled, and when he that hath this commission doth wax old and towards death, that he give the same commission unto

another whom he thinks most meet, so that there be ever one in the convent to see that the king's will be fulfilled according unto his intention, and to put the convent always in mind to pray for the king and his children, and especially in time of necessity.' *Vivat Rex. Amen.*" So King Philip II. was justly considered a benefactor of the English Carthusians, and shared in their prayers.

The Carthusians at Louvain were regarded with especial interest by the English Catholics and their friends, for they were the only existing convent of English monks. Pope Sixtus V. therefore issued a Bull in favour of the community. It was addressed to Henry Cajetan, the Cardinal Protector of England and of the Carthusian Order, and to Cardinal Allen; and by it Father Jerome Lignano, the General,<sup>1</sup> and all Visitors and Priors of the Order were required to provide a proper house for the English monks, and to send back all who were dispersed in various foreign Charterhouses. The Holy Father, moreover, expresses a wish that, being unable himself to support the English Charterhouse, the richer monasteries of the Order will "help and foster this convent, so worthy of all favour and charity, an ornament and an honour to their Order." But there were so few Charterhouses which had anything to spare, that this recommendation did not produce its desired effect. The monks,

<sup>1</sup> Dom Jerome Lignano was General from 1586 to 1588.

however, returned home, and with the increased pension from the King of Spain they were able to subsist. In 1589 Prior Arnold set out upon another journey to Spain, probably in the hope of making arrangements for the removal of his monks from Louvain to a new Sheen Anglorum. He died during this journey.

Under their next Prior, Dom Walter Pitts, the English Carthusians left Louvain, and after staying for a short time at Antwerp, they settled in a large house in Bleek Street, Mechlin. About the middle of 1596 Prior Pitts resigned his office and retired to another Charterhouse, from whence he returned to Mechlin about the year 1604, and died there on the 10th of December, 1611.

Dom Robert Darbysher, who was elected Prior on the 24th of July, 1596, is described by Father Long as "a person of distinguishable merit, learning, and prudence." He was a priest before joining the Carthusian Order, and from the special interest he took in the welfare of the English College at Rome, it is supposed that he was educated there. Being sent to England, he worked for the salvation of souls until he was thrown into Newgate for performing the functions of the priesthood. While in prison he converted to the Catholic faith a certain William Rich, who afterwards joined the Franciscans, and was known in their Order by the name of Bennet of Camfield. Bennet died in 1611, in the

odour of sanctity.<sup>1</sup> As to Father Darbysher, he was banished ; and in 1592 he became a Carthusian at Sheen Anglorum. During his priorate, the donations of several friends, and of two novices who gave their property to the Charterhouse, somewhat ameliorated the position of the English Carthusians ; yet they depended mainly upon the Spanish pension, which was not always paid regularly. In 1611 Prior Darbysher obtained leave to resign his office in order to prepare himself in solitude and silence for a better world, and in the following year he departed this life.

Dom Robert Mallory, who became Prior in 1611, is described as a man of "singular piety and devotion." The constantly recurring difficulty with regard to the Spanish pension, and the presentation by the community of a handsome coloured window to the Charterhouse of Brussels,<sup>2</sup> are the two events of this priorate. They seem at first sight somewhat contradictory. It appears, however, that a lay brother named Abraham Ellis was very useful. His being sent as agent in Spain for Sheen Anglorum led to the payment of the arrears of the pension, and probably to some donations besides. Brother

<sup>1</sup> "See his life printed 1623, p. 48, wherein the copy I have by me, after these words : 'He went to Newgate . . . found a Priest : ' in the margin is written *F<sup>r</sup> Darbysher*" (*Notitia Cart.*, chap. xiii. note M).

<sup>2</sup> The Charterhouse of our Lady of Graces. Founded in 1454, and suppressed by order of the Emperor Joseph II. in 1783.

Ellis was remarkable for his engaging manners, and for the sweetness of his temper. Born of a good Lancashire family, and pretty well educated, he chose the humble position of a lay brother. Some time, however, was allowed him for study, which is not generally the employment of lay brothers. Father Long gives a list of what he "wrote and collected": "(1) Several Saints' Lives. (2) Pious tracts upon various matters. (3) Translated Chauncy's *Martyrdom of Eighteen Carthusians*, out of Latin.<sup>1</sup> (4) Translated Molina's *Spiritual Exercises*, out of Spanish. (5) Guevarra's *Oratory of Religious Persons*, out of Spanish." Brother Abraham Ellis died in the Charterhouse of Paular about the year 1637.<sup>2</sup> On the 31st of March, 1620, Prior Mallory died, and the General Chapter, held soon after, appointed a new Superior for Sheen Anglorum.

We have just spoken of a well-educated lay brother; now we must mention a choir monk who, when he entered the Order, was somewhat illiterate, though "he greatly improved after his profession, like another St. Bernard, rather by fervent prayers and meditation, than by deep application to books." This was Dom Thomas Hallows, who was Pro-

<sup>1</sup> This is, probably, the translation now in the possession of the nuns of Nazareth House, Bruges. It is taken from the Latin edition of 1608.

<sup>2</sup> Father Long says he died about 1620, but the obituary is the surer guide.

curator of the Charterhouse when the General Chapter promoted him to the priorate. In the world he had been a merchant; in the cloister he became remarkable for his fervent prayers, his prolonged vigils, and his love of mortification.<sup>1</sup>

In 1623 the hopes of the English Catholics were raised by the projected marriage between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Infanta of Spain, for one of the stipulations was to be the suspension of the cruel laws against the adherents of the old religion. With the permission of the Father General,<sup>2</sup> Prior Hallows sent one of his monks to England to purchase a suitable house for the Carthusians, should their re-establishment be practicable. Such hopes were soon dashed to the ground by the breaking off of the Spanish match, followed by renewed persecution of the Catholics. The priests received orders to leave the kingdom under the penalty of death; the magistrates were commanded to enforce the laws against recusants; the Lord Mayor was admonished to arrest all British subjects who heard Mass in the chapels of foreign ambassadors, and schemes were mooted for the Protestant education of the children of recusants.<sup>3</sup> So the re-establishment of a Charterhouse in England seemed as unlikely as in the cruel days of Queen Elizabeth.

<sup>1</sup> Manuscript of Father Transam.

<sup>2</sup> Dom Bruno d'Affringues, General of the Order from 1600 to 1631.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lingard's *History of England*, (ed. 1854), vol. vii. p. 132.

Yet the English Carthusians were anxious to find a more suitable dwelling than the house in Bleek Street, Mechlin, and they wished to be as near as possible to England, in order to receive postulants more easily. Accordingly they purchased two good-sized houses, with gardens, in the little town of Nieuport; and in 1626, with the consent of King Philip III. of Spain, the community removed. They were then only ten in number—nine professed, and one novice. At Nieuport, however, fresh candidates presented themselves, and with the aid of some generous benefactors, one of whom, Richard Banister of London, gave one thousand pounds, Sheen Anglorum seemed to be flourishing. But poverty and anxiety were the portion of the exiles. The sudden withdrawal of the Spanish pension, which was their main support, threw them once again into danger of being dispersed. They obtained leave from the Grande Chartreuse to receive stipends for their Masses—an unusual thing for Carthusians in those days—and these stipends, with some charitable donations from England and elsewhere, became their principal means of subsistence.<sup>1</sup> A lay brother, named Bartholomew Kelham, was obliged to live in England in order to collect alms for the main-

<sup>1</sup> One of the obligations thus contracted was the solemn celebrating of two Masses a year for the conversion of England and Scotland.

tenance of the community. Father Long has recorded a curious incident in the life of Brother Kelham in England: "Passing on a fasting day, through Warriston, in Lancashire, he bespoke a fish dinner. This one who made it his business to inform against priests observing, he presently apprehended the brother, and swore against him as a priest, asserting that he had formerly assisted at his Mass at Gravelines, in Flanders. As Brother Kelham was well known amongst the Roman Catholics, witnesses were not wanting to prove his not being in Holy Orders. He himself judiciously disavowing his ever having been at Gravelines, he was fully discharged, to the great grief and confusion of the informer, who escaped not long unpunished for his perjury; for soon after, standing upon a pair of stairs, he fell down backwards and broke his neck."

On the 27th of October, 1642, Father Justus Perrot, the General of the Order,<sup>1</sup> granted a dispensation to the monks of Nieuport, allowing them to eat melted butter instead of oil in times when abstinence from "white meats" is prescribed—"oil, as it was then represented, being abhorrent to the most part of English constitutions."

Prior Hallows died on the 3rd of January, 1644, "leaving," says Father Transam, "a high opinion

<sup>1</sup> Dom Justus Perrot held the office of General from 1631 to 1643.

of his sanctity." Of the next three Priors nothing remarkable is recorded. They were John Duckett, who died in August, 1647; John Hutton, who died in October, 1651; and Thomas Gerard, whose resignation was received by the General Chapter of 1654. He was afterwards sent over to England to collect alms for the Charterhouse. The place of his death, which took place in June, 1667, is uncertain.

Dom Gerard was succeeded in the priorate by Dom Transam, whose manuscripts have been mentioned more than once. Though in our Order he has always been known by this name, it appears that his real name was George Tyas, and his birth-place London. He escaped abroad in order to study for the priesthood at Douay College, where he was first called George Transam.<sup>1</sup> He was ordained priest on the 23rd of December, 1628, and remained in the college as a professor until the 6th of September, 1631, when he came to England as a missionary priest.<sup>2</sup> In less than a year he returned to Douay, and resumed his professorship until, in 1637, he joined the Carthusians at Nieupport. Eleven years later, having distinguished himself by his discretion, learning, and piety, he was made Vicar; and in 1654 the General Chapter named him as successor to Prior Gerard.

Father Transam proved an able Prior, and, with the valuable assistance of his Procurator, Dom

<sup>1</sup> *Douay Diaries*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37.

Dolman, formerly Sir Peter Dolman, he was useful to his own community, as well as to the inhabitants of Nieuport. He built a refectory and a sacristy for the Charterhouse. He also finished the Great Cloister, which he "wainscoted archwise above." "The windows of the said Cloister," observes Father Long, "were set up with several of the histories of the New Testament, neatly painted upon the glass; the noble families of the Howards, Brudnalls, etc., having contributed to the whole, as appears from the [coats of] arms."

It has just been said that Fathers Transam and Dolman were useful to the people of Nieuport. A passage on this subject from Father Long's manuscript may be worth quoting. "Anno 1658. So many and frequent had been the captures made by the English of the fishing sloops of the places above mentioned [Nieuport and Blankenberghe] as deterred others from stirring out. Hence many of the people were compelled for want of employment to forsake their native dwellings, and seek out abroad for a livelihood. And the rest must have taken the same course had not Dolman, by his friends in England, obtained an order from Cromwell, the Protector, not only for the releasement of the prizes already taken, but also a formal license for their fishing unmolested during the continuation of the war. In consideration of which extraordinary favour, and the great charges the convent had been at to obtain it,

the two companies of the fisheries aforesaid obliged themselves by public instruments<sup>1</sup> . . . to the giving unto the said convent, so long as it shall subsist at Nieuport, a reasonable portion for a monk out of each boat as often as they shall return from fishing." Later on, when Charles II. had been restored and peace concluded with Spain, the Charterhouse had a fishing-boat of its own. It was called the *St. Bruno*, and was guarded by letters of protection of James, Duke of York, who was then High Admiral of England.

One more event of Father Transam's priorate must be recorded. Mr. Francis Warner, of Parham, in Suffolk, whose brother, Sir John, had lately entered the Society of Jesus, determined to abandon the world still more completely by becoming a Carthusian. After his postulancy of one month, he asked leave to go to England in order to settle his temporal affairs before receiving the habit. "He went on board the Nieuport packet boat, which was scarcely clear of the harbour when the sea, running high, unfortunately washed him overboard. His body, shortly after being cast ashore by the tide, was found by a fisherman, who, having cut off the fingers for the sake of the rings, buried it secretly in the sands, where it lay for a few days, till the matter being discovered to Prior Transam, he

<sup>1</sup> These documents were still at the Charterhouse of Nieuport when Father Long wrote.

removed it home, and solemnly interred it in the north-west corner of the monastery churchyard."<sup>1</sup>

A few days after the death of Dom George Transam, which took place on the 17th of June, 1668, the community met for the election of a new Prior, and the choice fell upon Dom Peter Bilcliffe, the Vicar. He was an exemplary religious, and proved useful to the community both from a spiritual and a temporal point of view. The fame of his virtues and of his prudent government gained many friends for the Charterhouse. Dom Peter Dolman, seeing the monastery presided over by so able a Prior, thought that his services were no longer required, so he resigned his office of Procurator, and returned to the solitude and silence of the cloister. This was in 1669; and on the 24th of December, 1671, he died, beloved and respected, not only by his religious brethren, but also by the inhabitants of Nieuport, who testified their esteem by a solemn Requiem in the Church of St. Mary, and a special entry in the parish register.

Another monk whose name must not be omitted was Dom Robert Clark, who died in 1675. Educated at the English College, Douay, he was ordained priest, and left for the English Mission in 1629.<sup>2</sup> "But," says Father Long, "apprehensive of his own frailty and the manifold dangers incident to that

<sup>1</sup> Father Long took this from the *Life of Lady Warner*.

<sup>2</sup> *Douay Diaries*, p. 37.

holy but tremendous vocation, [he] retired shortly after to Nieuport, and professed himself a monk of the Charterhouse there." He was always a very exact observer of the Rule, though, his efforts to live silent and unknown in the cloister being successful, he never held any office in the monastery. He wrote several Latin poems, the best of which seems to have been the *Christiados*, a history of the Passion of our Lord, in heroic verse. It was published at Bruges in 1670.

Several benefactors are recorded during the priorate of Dom Peter Bilcliffe; and among them we find the names of John Caryll, afterwards created Earl Caryll by James II. at St. Germain's; Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk; and Walter, Lord Aston. The Prior was thus enabled to rebuild the Guest House of the monastery; "the same being finished in the year 1688, according to the plan as altered by Innocent Le Masson, then General of the Order,<sup>1</sup> who, on its being presented to him as the Statutes require,<sup>2</sup> disapproved of many cornishes, festoons, etc., as savouring too much of worldly pomp and vanity."

Sheen Anglorum was now at the height of its prosperity. The monks were fervent and regular, novices were presenting themselves, and charitable friends seemed likely to keep the community from

<sup>1</sup> Dom Innocent Le Masson was General from 1675 to 1703.

<sup>2</sup> *Statutes of the Order*, P. II. c. xii. 14.

need. But a great calamity was about to befall this little colony of English Carthusians—a disaster from the effects of which it never fully recovered. This was “a kind of epidemical distemper” which, in the year 1693, carried off all the senior monks. The Prior was one of the first victims. He died on the 13th of February; and while the funeral ceremonies were being performed, Dom John Garnet, the Vicar, died also. In a few weeks half the community were in the churchyard; and young monks, neither fully formed to regular discipline nor acquainted with the spirit of their Order, were in charge of the monastery.

Then was fulfilled a prophecy of the pious Brother Hugh Taylor. “I tell you truly,” he had said, “you shall be separated before you go into England, and shall have young Priors that shall burn the can in the pan, and bring the convent into nothing unless you look better about you.” The young monks, unable to bear the thought of having a foreign Prior, proceeded to the election of one of their number. The choice fell upon Dom Thomas Thorold, and the General reluctantly consented to his being installed.

A letter of Dom Innocent's<sup>1</sup> to Bishop Ellis, O.S.B., Vicar Apostolic of the Western District of England, shows that the monks at Nieuport had persuaded the English prelate to defend their cause

<sup>1</sup> A copy is preserved in the archives of the Grande Chartreuse.

at the Grande Chartreuse. It appears that the General had decided on closing for a time the novitiate of Sheen Anglorum, but he observes that he would not be opposed to English novices being formed to Carthusian life in another monastery of the Order. He blames the young monks for being too ready to receive postulants without a sufficient trial of their vocation. He also reproaches them for wishing that their Prior should be English; "for," says he, "it is not always easy to find in a community of four or five religious one who is qualified for such a position." The three novices, together with their Master, Dom William Hall, himself less than two years a Carthusian, were removed to the Charterhouse at Brussels. Dom Innocent Le Masson must not be blamed for these changes. He was not wanting in affection for the religious of Sheen Anglorum, whom he called "the good English Fathers," and whose re-establishment in England he spoke of with hope. He only performed his duty in enforcing an ordinance of the General Chapter which forbids the reception of novices in Charterhouses where the smallness of the community hinders the full observance of the Rule, with the singing of the Divine Office by day and by night.<sup>1</sup>

In 1695 Prior Thomas Thorold was relieved from an office for which he was not suited; and the Char-

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes*, P. II. c. xvii. 7 (*Ordinatio anni 1597*).

terhouse was governed by a Flemish monk, Dom John Baptist Von Herenbeck, professed of Ghent.<sup>1</sup> Within a year Dom John Baptist received orders to return to Ghent, and the community were permitted to choose a Prior for themselves. William Hall, of whom we have just spoken as Novice-Master, was then raised to the Prior's stall. He was a Londoner, born in 1665, and educated for the priesthood at the English College, Lisbon. Having been ordained considerably under the canonical age, he returned to England, where he became one of the Preachers in Ordinary to King James II. In 1688 he followed the king into France, and two years later he accompanied him in his unfortunate visit to Ireland. Father Hall was taken prisoner by the Orangemen, but was soon released. He then set sail for France, and, being overtaken by a violent storm, he made a vow to enter the Carthusian Order should his life be spared. He kept his word, and in April, 1692, he received from Prior Bilcliffe the habit of St. Bruno. Thus Dom William Hall had only been four years a Carthusian when he was chosen Prior. He held the office for three years and then resigned.

The next Prior was Dom Jerome Nyversele, a monk of Brussels. He was a very holy man, and "a pattern of all virtues;" so that the monks, though

<sup>1</sup> The Charterhouse of Val-Royal, near Ghent, was founded in 1328, and suppressed by the Emperor Joseph II. in 1783.

naturally averse to having a foreign Superior, "could not sufficiently love and admire him." Unfortunately for the English Carthusians, this excellent religious was elected Prior of the house of his profession after a few months' residence at Nieuport, and once again they were obliged to proceed to an election.

Dom George Hunter, who now became Prior, "was born," says Father Long, "at Calile-High-Houses in Northumberland, and first educated in the Jesuits' College at St. Omer; from whence, having no inclination to enter into the Society of Jesus, he went to the English Seminary of Valladolid, in Spain, but stayed not long there; for finding himself upon due and serious examination called to a more austere state, he determined to profess himself a monk of this monastery, which he did on the 21st of October, 1694." He was one of the three novices who were sent to Brussels with their Master, Dom William Hall. He was permitted, however, to return to Nieuport at the end of his year's probation, in order to make his profession in the English Charterhouse. Father George Hunter held the office of Prior from the year 1700 to 1715, when, at his own earnest request, he was allowed to return to the solitude and silence which are so dear to fervent Carthusians. His death is recorded in the obituary of 1728.

Dom William Hall was then re-elected to the priorate, and he held it until, in 1718, the Father

General, judging him peculiarly fitted for the office of Procurator, nominated Dom Columban Townley to succeed him as Prior. Father Hall must have died very soon after this change, for his name is in the obituary of 1719.

Father Townley was a native of Lancashire. He was sent to Douay College, where he remained until he had finished his humanities, and then returned to England. After some time he resolved to forsake the world and to consecrate himself to the service of God. Accordingly he went to La Trappe, in order to consult the celebrated Abbé de Rancé with regard to his vocation. He was advised to join either the Carthusians or the Benedictines of the Congregation of St. Maur. He chose the Carthusians, and being acquainted with the Procurator of the Charterhouse of Bourg-Fontaine, he made application to be admitted into that monastery.<sup>1</sup> He made his profession of vows on the 22nd of July, 1700, and about three years later he was transferred to the English Charterhouse, Prior Hunter being in want of a Procurator. In 1708 Dom Columban Townley returned to the house of his profession, where he remained until he was appointed Prior of Sheen Anglorum. Nothing remarkable is recorded during his short priorate of less than four years. He

<sup>1</sup> The Charterhouse of Fontaine-Notre-Dame or Bourg-Fontaine was situated near Villers-Cotterets, in the diocese of Soissons. It was founded in 1325, and suppressed by the Great Revolution in 1790.

resigned his office in 1722, and died at Nieuport on the 17th of January, 1729.

The next Prior, Dom Joseph Betts, was elected by the community. His father was John Betts, one of the physicians to Queen Catharine, dowager of Charles II., and his own name before joining the Carthusian Order was James.<sup>1</sup> He was born in London in the year 1674. Having received his elementary education at the College of the English Jesuits at St. Omer, he removed to Douay in 1686.<sup>2</sup> He remained there until he had completed his course of philosophy, and then expressed a wish to join the Carthusian Order. Meeting with strong opposition on the part of his parents, he returned to England. Shortly after, he married Frances Trinder, who bore him two sons and three daughters, and died in 1704. He then provided for the education of his children, set in order his temporal affairs, and retired to his old college at Douay, where, being free from worldly cares, his former attraction to a life of penance in solitude and silence returned with redoubled force. So he went to Nieuport, and, after the usual trials of vocation, he became a Carthusian monk.

Dom Joseph Betts had a taste for useful manual

<sup>1</sup> We gather this from the entries in the *Douay Diaries*. It appears that about this time the custom of changing the Christian name on receiving the habit or on making profession was becoming general.

<sup>2</sup> *Douay Diaries*, p. 50.

labour. "He greatly embellished several cells, which before were scarcely habitable." Even during the year for which he held the office of Procurator, he found time to wainscot his cell. After his promotion to the priorate he applied himself to still greater improvements in the buildings of the Charterhouse, having, as Father Long puts it, "a singular genius that way." He superintended the erection of the Chapter House, and, with the leave of the Bishop of Ypres, he blessed it in honour of the Holy Guardian Angels, on their Festival, the 2nd of October, 1723.

"At length, being quite spent with the yellow jaundice, which flung him into a lingering fever, he expired in his elbow chair, October the 31st, 1729, John, his eldest son, a clergyman and licentiate in divinity, then kneeling at his feet. Joseph, his other son, died some years before, a student at Douay. As for his daughters, he had the satisfaction of seeing them all settled in nunneries—Dorothy amongst the Poor Clares at Dunkirk, and Anne and Frances under the same Order at Rouen, where he had a sister also." Prior Betts left several manuscripts consisting chiefly of translations from spiritual writers.

Father Charles Lee, who succeeded the pious Joseph Betts in the priorate of Sheen Anglorum, was born of Protestant parents in 1674. After a very successful course of studies at St. Paul's School,

London, he was sent to Trinity College, Oxford. He was unable to take a degree, for his conscience would not permit him to take the heretical oaths. He therefore left the university, and shortly after was received into the Catholic Church. He studied philosophy at the English College, Douay, and subsequently became one of the professors of humanities. Falling sick, he was advised to return to England for change of air. Afterwards he went travelling on the Continent for the further re-establishment of his health. As his strength returned his distaste for the world and its vanities returned also. Douay was no longer sufficiently retired; nothing but Carthusian solitude and Carthusian austerity could satisfy the desires of his soul. So he presented himself at Sheen Anglorum and received in due time the habit of St. Bruno. He pronounced his vows in December, 1714. After a few years' tranquillity in the cell, obedience imposed upon him the office of Procurator, which he held until December, 1729, when he was made Prior.

In the fifth year of his priorate, Dom Lee obtained a license from the court of Brussels, with the consent of the governor and magistrates of Nieupoort, for the improvement of the Charterhouse. Father Long tells us that "he enlarged the monastery almost a third part, by enclosing the end of a broad street and some other adjacent ground lying north of the monastery, and converted them

into a garden, to the great embellishment and conveniency of the house." At the request of the town authorities a handsome stone gateway was erected at the entrance to the new garden, and over the arch was the inscription—" *Cartusia Jesu de Bethleem Shene. 1735.*" There being several generous benefactors during Father Lee's priorate, he was also able to buy a great bell for the Charterhouse ; and, with the leave of the Bishop, he blessed it. The bell was christened " Bruno." On the 20th of April, 1740, Prior Charles Lee went to his reward. He was deeply regretted by his monks, and also by the townsfolk of Nieuport.

Sheen Anglorum was next governed by Dom Thomas Yate, who was, at the time of his election, nominal Coadjutor of the Charterhouse of Diest,<sup>1</sup> though he resided in that of Brussels. He was, however, a professed monk of Sheen Anglorum. After a priorate of three years, during which nothing is recorded, he died on the 8th of April, 1743, and was succeeded by Dom Gilbert Jump.

From a list of the Vicars of the monastery, it appears that Dom Jump held that office twice before he became Prior. He had also been Procurator. After performing the duties of the priorate for some time, he resigned, and was succeeded by

<sup>1</sup> The Charterhouse of Mount Saint John-Baptist, near Diest, Belgium, was founded in 1328, and flourished until the French Revolution, when it was suppressed.

Dom James Long, the writer of the *Notitia Cartusianorum Anglorum*. Dom Gilbert Jump now became Coadjutor, and he held this office until his death, which is announced in the obituary of 1774. As to Father Long, his death is inscribed in the obituary of 1759, where he is called "formerly Prior of Sheen Anglorum, Coadjutor of the Charterhouse of Brussels." He had also been Vicar and Procurator at Nieuport, where the number of the monks was dwindling down to so small a number for want of vocations, that every one who was capable seems to have had his turn in almost every office.

Dom Bruno Fleming was the successor to James Long in the priorate of Nieuport. He and his Procurator, Dom Aloysius Blevin, both died in December, 1761. A monk named Joseph Dennet, and a lay brother named Whitefield, died in the same month; the community being thus reduced to only five choir monks and one lay brother.

For two years and a half after the death of Father Fleming, in December, 1761, it does not appear from our records whether there was a Prior of Sheen Anglorum. On the 8th of June, 1764, Dom Augustine William Mann, then only twenty-nine years of age, became Prior. He joined the Order in 1758, and was ordained priest in 1760. Having held the office of Prior until 1777, he was succeeded by Father Francis (Joseph) Williams, whose history belongs to the next chapter.

## CHAPTER VII.

DOM FRANCIS (JOSEPH) WILLIAMS, THE LAST PRIOR—THE SUPPRESSION—BRUGES—BORNHEM—LOUVAIN—LITTLE MALVERN—THE FRENCH CARTHUSIANS IN ENGLAND.

THREE bundles of papers, kindly presented to St. Hugh's Charterhouse by Mr. C. M. Berington, of Little Malvern Court, and some private letters, of which he has allowed copies to be taken, will enable us to say more about Father Williams than about most of his predecessors in the priorate of Sheen Anglorum.

Joseph Williams was born on the 5th of September, 1729.<sup>1</sup> His parents were Thomas Williams, of Trellynia, near Holywell, and Elizabeth his wife, whose maiden name was Mornington. Joseph had a brother named Thomas, who married Elizabeth Berington, of Little Malvern. He had another brother who was a Jesuit Father, and a sister who became a Poor Clare at Rouen.

At the age of twenty-nine Joseph joined the

<sup>1</sup> From a certificate by Bishop Thomas Talbot, Vicar Apostolic of the Midland District of England, 1778-1795.

Carthusians at Nieuport, and changed his name to Francis. On the 13th of October, 1759, the octave day of our Father St. Bruno, he made his profession of vows. On the 21st of December, in the same year, he received the clerical tonsure and minor orders from Maximilian Anthony Vandernoot, Bishop of Ghent. On the following day he was ordained Sub-deacon by the same Bishop. On the 22nd of March, 1760, he was promoted to the diaconate by his own diocesan, William, Bishop of Ypres; and in the following September he was ordained priest by Bishop Caimo, of Bruges.<sup>1</sup>

The next promotion of Dom Francis was to the office of Vicar, which he had probably ceased to hold previously to his appointment to the priorate; for the letter from Father Stephen Biclet, the General,<sup>2</sup> makes no allusion to his being already a Superior. "Receive willingly," says the General, "as your Father, him whom you have hitherto looked upon as a brother, so that the former bond of mutual love may be strengthened. We exhort him, moreover, to endeavour by word and example to aid his brethren rather than to domineer over them; and thus, being found a faithful administrator, may he merit to receive in due season the reward of the true followers of the Chief Pastor. . . ." On the back

<sup>1</sup> From a bundle indorsed by Father Williams, "My ordination Papers."

<sup>2</sup> Dom Stephen was General of the Order from 1758 to 1778.

of this letter are the words : "I was installed the 4th of September, 1777."

The community under Prior Williams was very small. It appears to have consisted of the Fathers Ignatius Norris, Joseph (Charles) Brooke, John Baptist (George) Lee, Francis Shipp (?), and Bruno (James) Finch, all of whom were professed of the house. It seems probable that there were also two or three monks of other Charterhouses. As to the lay brothers, for a long time past there had been no *Conversi*, and it appears that James Orford and Thomas Carfoot were the only two *Donati*. Thus, when the persecution in England was well-nigh over, and the exiled Carthusians might soon have returned home, they were in danger of becoming extinct for want of vocations. The suppression of their Charterhouse at Nieuport, and the confiscation of its temporal possessions, were enough to work the final ruin of the little community.

On the 17th of March, 1783, the Emperor Joseph II. issued an edict for the suppression of a large number of religious houses within his dominions. Sheen Anglorum was one of several Charterhouses which were thus confiscated. The imperial Commissioners received orders to inform the religious that they were free to choose their future habitation and mode of life, though a pension would be paid them only under certain conditions. Those who wished to enter a monastery of their

own Order in a foreign country would receive a small sum for travelling expenses, but no pension. Any who liked to pass over to another Order still existing in the Low Countries would have an annual pension of two hundred and ten, or four hundred and twenty florins, according to the institution which they chose. Those, in fine, who preferred being secular priests would get four hundred and twenty florins. "Those," the instructions continue, "who desire to serve God in peace and in an entire separation from the world can continue to follow the rules of their congregation without constraint. In this case, however, they must choose for their future dwelling a house of another Order, to which a pension of two hundred and ten florins will be paid regularly."

It does not appear in which category Father Williams was classed. There were probably special arrangements for the Superiors of the suppressed religious houses. A certificate of the "administrator of the suppressed convent of English Carthusians at Nieuport" shows that the Prior left the Charterhouse on the 30th of June, 1783, and that he chose for his dwelling-place the town of Bruges. The amount of his pension was seven hundred florins.

A question naturally presents itself as to whether Prior Williams and his monks were bound in conscience to enter another Charterhouse in order to

observe to the end their holy vows. It appears that they were not so bound, for the number of monasteries suppressed by Joseph II. was so large that all the ejected religious could not possibly have been received into other houses of their respective Orders. The Bishops were therefore authorized by the Holy See to issue papers of instructions to the various suppressed communities in their dioceses. The English Carthusians were thus permitted, by letters of the Bishop of Ypres, (1) to leave the cloister and dwell in the world, wearing the cassock of the secular clergy with a small portion of their Carthusian habit under it; (2) to celebrate Mass according to the Roman rite, and to substitute, if they liked, the Roman for the Carthusian Breviary; (3) to eat flesh-meat on days when it is permitted to the faithful, though they were recommended to abstain sometimes, especially on Wednesdays. They were admonished, moreover, to observe the fasts of the Order. The fourth item permits the reception of pensions and alms for their support, and reminds them that each monk should make a will leaving all he may seem to possess to be spent in good works. The rest of the paper is of minor interest, except the final admonition, which runs thus:—"We think it is hardly necessary to remind you [Prior Williams] and your religious that you will still be members of the Carthusian Order, and consecrated to God by solemn vows. Keep and observe, there-

fore, as far as circumstances will allow, the vows that you have taken. May your virtue be to you as a cloister! Edify now by your good example the Church which hitherto you have aided by your devout prayers. Join solitude of mind and spirit to all possible solitude of body. . . .”

Prior Williams, we have observed, quitted the Charterhouse on the 30th of June, 1783. The other religious probably left on the same day, and very little is known about them since their departure. Dom Finch and Brother Orford remained in Flanders in the hope that the Charterhouse would be re-established. The death of Brother Thomas Carfoot is in the obituary of 1787, but we are not informed where he died. Of the death of the other religious, except Dom Francis Shipp, who died before the suppression, there is no record; nor is there anything surprising in this, for a few years after the suppression of the Charterhouse at Nieuport, the Carthusian Order was almost annihilated by the Great Revolution.

To return to Father Williams. A letter to his niece, Miss Williams (afterwards Mrs. Wakeman), of Little Malvern, shows something of what he had to suffer. It was written less than three weeks after his departure from Nieuport. “Your uncle,” he says, “has doubtless informed you of the afflicting circumstances of the suppression of my convent. The trial is severe, but God is infinitely good in

somewhat lightening the cross by the kindness I meet with from Mrs. More and her whole family.<sup>1</sup> May He reward them! There was a time when I supposed I should never have occasion to trouble my friends for a subsistence. Indeed, I was always averse to mendicity in my religious state, and so long as kind Providence furnished me with the necessaries of life, I was content and sought not for more. But the Supreme Lord and Master of all things being pleased to take from me what He had lent me for my use, has laid me under the necessity of having recourse to you in my distress. . . . The emperor has granted to the suppressed religious a small sum for their clothing and maintenance till such time as their pension falls due. But, alas! this allowance is scarcely sufficient to procure the necessary apparel. I therefore find myself reduced almost to the last farthing, and it will be some months before I shall receive my pension. I could indeed apply to Mrs. More, and am persuaded she would have the goodness to advance me a little money. But I am unwilling to ask that favour of her, lest it might put her to inconvenience, for I know by experience that a Superior of a convent has not always money to spare. I therefore have recourse to your goodness

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. More was the Mother Superior of the English Augustinians of Bruges, with whom Father Williams stayed. Doubtless he gave them the *Notitia Cartusianorum* before leaving.

and charity ; and whatever you may be pleased to send me, I shall receive as an alms, and be bound to pray for you."

The present which resulted from this touching appeal was the occasion of another letter from Father Williams. An extract from it may be interesting, for it shows something of the pious sentiments which filled the heart of our last English Prior. "Give me leave," he says, "to present to your dear mother and yourself my most humble thanks for your generous and charitable present, a most seasonable relief in my present low circumstances, and which I accept as an alms from your hands, nor do I fail praying the Almighty to reward you both for it. . . . I beg a share in your good prayers, that I may bear my trials with a Christian fortitude, and embrace them as the means of Divine appointment to conduct me to heaven. They are painful indeed to nature, but very salutary to the soul ; for they serve to wean its affections from this miserable world, and to cancel, at least in part, the great debt it has contracted by sin. They afford occasions for the practice of the sublimest virtues, and to merit heaven ; for he shall reign with Christ who suffers with Him. Therefore I embrace them as the kindest pledges of God's love, the surest marks of predestination, and the seeds of eternal glory. With these and other reasons do I endeavour to excite myself to a peaceable submission to

God's holy will, and to esteem all kind of afflictions as the effect of His mercy."

On the 6th of November, 1783, Father Williams was still at the Augustinian Convent at Bruges. The date of his removal from thence to Bornhem is not recorded, but it certainly took place before the 14th of January, 1785, when he wrote from Bornhem to his brother, the Jesuit Father. At that time our Carthusian was living with the English Dominicans,<sup>1</sup> and he still finds a place in the traditions of their Order. "He abode in a garret, whence he never stirred abroad, and only saw his Director, Father Charles Bullock, O.P., in confession for two hours every week."<sup>2</sup> He endeavoured to observe as perfectly as possible his holy Rule, and as his strength began to fail him, he renounced all unnecessary correspondence instead of neglecting any of his daily exercises of piety. "I have broken off," he writes to his niece, "all correspondence with every one of my acquaintances, yourself and my brother excepted."

In 1789 Father Williams removed from Bornhem to Louvain, where he took up his abode at the convent of the Dames Anglaises.<sup>3</sup> Being now sixty

<sup>1</sup> The monastery of English Dominicans at Bornhem was founded by Father Philip (afterwards Cardinal) Howard, who, in 1657, became the first Prior. The house was abandoned in 1794, in consequence of the French invasion of Belgium.

<sup>2</sup> From a letter from Father Palmer, O.P., September 9th, 1887.

<sup>3</sup> This convent was the mother house of the English Augustinian Convent at Bruges.

years old, his annual pension was raised to eight hundred florins.

It appears that in 1790 some hopes were entertained of the restoration of the Charterhouse at Nieuport, there being a commission at Ghent for the re-establishment of the religious houses suppressed in Eastern Flanders. The notarial act for taking possession of the monastery and reclaiming the effects was drawn up. It is now amongst the papers left by Father Williams; and in it we have the last mention of a community of English Carthusians—Fathers Joseph Williams and James Finch, and Brother James Orford. This scheme failed, probably on account of their being only three in number.

Writing to his niece in November, 1792, Father Williams tells her that his health has improved, though he has a great deal to suffer in mind, on account of the troubled state of affairs on the Continent. "You are happy," he says, "in living in a country separated from the Continent, and I sincerely congratulate with you on the tranquillity you enjoy at Little Malvern. May peace and prosperity be long the portion of England! I am greatly edified, as indeed is every one, with the most charitable reception which the poor persecuted French priests meet with among you. The Almighty, I make no doubt, will bless the kingdom for it. He himself assures us that the merciful shall obtain

mercy. . . . The very precarious situation of all our English establishments in France is truly afflicting, and will become more so if a counter-revolution does not take place there. . . .”

Father Williams was then suffering less than usual himself, but greatly concerned for the welfare of others. Three months later, his own circumstances had changed, and we find him writing thus to his niece at Little Malvern: “I should have written to you sooner, as you desire, but waited a while to see if affairs would take a more favourable turn; but instead thereof they seem to grow worse and worse. I shall mention no particulars, as all letters, I am told, are opened. Till of late, my own affairs, God be praised! had not suffered; but now a last payment of my pension is stopped, and is likely to continue so till a counter-revolution takes place. The last quarter that fell due the latter end of last month was refused me; so that now I am quite reduced. I vowed holy poverty, and now God is pleased to make me practise it. My case, however, is not near so deplorable as that of many other religious who, in the like distress, are destitute of friends to assist them; but in you, dear niece, I am sure to find a charitable relation. Permit me then in my present necessity to beg an alms for Jesu’s sake. Five pounds, I believe, would suffice me till we have better times; and a few months, I trust in God, will



give a happy turn to things. . . .” In the following month, his pension being unexpectedly paid, he writes that all his wants for the present are amply supplied. In this and in almost all of his letters he mentions with fraternal affection his brother, the Jesuit Father.

From the 6th of March, 1793, the date of the letter just mentioned, until the 26th of June in the following year, we have no news of Father Williams. He then wrote a letter to Little Malvern, which seems important enough to be printed in full :—

“My dear niece, we are all here [at Louvain] in the greatest alarm on account of the progress the French make in Flanders. This convent has already sent off its most valuable effects, and the good ladies will probably set out for England very soon, if affairs take not a more favourable turn. I am advised to accompany them; and indeed to what purpose should I remain here if the French make themselves masters of these provinces? My pension then would be lost, and I should be exposed to their cruel fury, which they express against all ecclesiastics and religious. In this my distress, I with confidence have recourse to your charity and goodness, humbly begging of you either to admit me under your hospitable roof of Little Malvern, or else to allow me wherewithal to pay my pension in some retired place. The English Benedictine Abbey of Lamb-spring, in Germany, would suit me extremely well,

and I believe I might live there very cheap. Please to favour me with an immediate answer. I hope you and my brother enjoy good health; my own, God be praised! is tolerably good considering my age. My kind respects to him; and I remain, with great esteem, your most affectionate uncle,

“JOSEPH WILLIAMS.”<sup>1</sup>

“P.S.—I am apt to think we shall depart before your answer can arrive. Therefore it will be more advisable for you not to write till you hear further from me.”

By the 21st of July Father Williams was in London, “after a painful and tedious journey of three weeks.” Mrs. Stonor and her community of Augustinian Canonesses, with whom Father Williams came over, were settled at Hammersmith;<sup>2</sup> and he was lodging in a house belonging to Bishop Douglass,<sup>3</sup> in Castle Street, Holborn. “Being deprived,” he writes, “of my pension, and which was my only support, I am now totally dependent on your goodness and charity for a maintenance in future; therefore, with as much speed as possible, I shall make the best of my way to your hospitable abode. . . .” On the 30th of the same month he

<sup>1</sup> After the suppression of the Charterhouse he dropped his religious name, Francis.

<sup>2</sup> This community is now at St. Augustine’s Priory, Newton Abbot.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. John Douglass, Bishop of Centuria and Vicar Apostolic of the London District from 1790 to 1812.

arrived at Little Malvern; and then, through the charity of his good niece, his troubles and his wanderings were over.

His life at Little Malvern was extremely edifying, for he observed solitude and silence almost as strictly as in a Charterhouse, and kept as far as practicable the other rules of his Order. During the eleven years which had elapsed since his expulsion from Sheen Anglorum he had always lived in religious houses, and he had lost nothing of his Carthusian spirit. A very old man, who died lately at Little Malvern, remembered Father Williams. He told his landlord, Mr. Berington, that the Father was never seen beyond a certain tree, and that he never spoke. "And," said the old man, "it would have been of no use if he had, as he spoke nothing but Latin, as he was brought up in France." This remark, though it shows the ignorance of the speaker, is a valuable evidence of Father Williams's silence, for the old man saw him almost daily.

At length the pious Father's course was run. On the 2nd of June, 1797, he fell asleep in our Lord; and with him died out the remnant of the English Carthusians, which owed to Maurice Chauncy its unbroken succession from the martyred heroes of the London Charterhouse. Almost all that Father Williams left, including relics, books, papers, and the seal of Sheen Anglorum, is now the property of the modern English Charterhouse.

For this we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Berington.

In closing this chapter we may mention a fact which is but little known either within or without the Carthusian Order. There were other Carthusians in England when the last English Prior was living at Little Malvern. Their names and their number are unknown; but they were undoubtedly some French refugees driven from their country by the dreadful Revolution. Through the kindness of Lord Arundell of Wardour, they were settled for some time in a place known as Combe Priory, between Wardour Castle and Shaftesbury. In 1794 his lordship wrote to Father Williams, and invited him to join these "good Carthusians." The Father's answer is lost, but it is certain that he remained at Little Malvern. The present Lord Arundell of Wardour informs us that he does not think these Carthusians stayed long at Combe Priory, and that he has heard that they afterwards removed into Dorsetshire.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## THE CAUSE OF THE MARTYRS.

Now that our story is told, we may return for a moment to the worthiest of all the monks who have been mentioned—the martyrs of the London Charterhouse. Though it is only since December, 1886, that they have received on earth the honours of the blessed, these monks, as well as Bishop Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and others who died in the same cause, have always been looked upon as true martyrs to the Catholic faith.

In the Carthusian Order, the memory of the saintly John Houghton and his companions has ever been fostered. Several editions of Maurice Chauncy's *Historia* have appeared, and the martyrs' names have been repeatedly inserted in lists of Carthusian celebrities. But it is chiefly by pictures of their sufferings that the Carthusians have manifested their devotion to these glories of their Order in England. The most ancient of these is probably an engraving called of *Ferrara*. A painting on wood, at the

Grande Chartreuse, is also very old. It bears the following inscription in the French of the sixteenth century :—“ *Le martyr des Relligieux Chartreux excécute en Angleterre sobz le roy Henry hvictiesme de ce nom en lan mil cinq cent trente & cinq.*” Another is of the Italian school, and is supposed to be of the seventeenth century. There were also two large pictures at the Grande Chartreuse, painted by Mignard about the year 1670. They were lost in the fire of 1676. The two sketches by the same artist, still preserved in the Museum of Avignon, are different from those just mentioned. In the Italian Charterhouses of Pavia, Florence, Naples, and Trisulti, there are frescoes of our martyrs. That in the last-named monastery is, however, quite modern. Our monasteries at Granada and Miraflores, in Spain, can boast, the former of some very remarkable paintings, the latter of four small pictures on the retable of the high altar. There are also some pictures at Paular. It is said, moreover, that in the Charterhouse du Val-Sainte-Aldegonde, near St. Omer, there were some coloured windows in the Little Cloister, and that among the persons represented upon them were the English Carthusian martyrs. Another picture that was painted in the Church of the English College at Rome, by authority of Pope Gregory XIII., has been of incomparably greater importance, as it is due to it that our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. has published the decree

which confers upon our martyrs the title of blessed servants of God.<sup>1</sup> But first we must speak of some efforts made by the Carthusians themselves to obtain the confirmation of the *cultus* always rendered to the martyrs.

In 1841 Dom Basil Nyel, Coadjutor at the Charterhouse of Sainte-Croix de Beauregard, near Voiron, had some correspondence with Bishop Griffiths, Vicar Apostolic of the London District, and the subject of the letters was the approval of the public veneration of the Carthusian martyrs. "We have in England," wrote Dr. Griffiths in reply to the Coadjutor's first letter, "the highest veneration for those blessed martyrs to the Catholic faith; and if the other English Bishops think as I do, that the time has come when we can take part in this holy work without danger, I shall be glad to send you the letter that you ask for. I am writing to-day to the other Bishops, and, after receiving their replies, I hope to have the honour of sending you a letter to be forwarded to his Holiness."<sup>2</sup>

After waiting for some weeks, it seems that the Father Coadjutor, guessing that the other English Bishops were unfavourable to the project, wrote another letter to Dr. Griffiths. The following is a translation of the Bishop's reply, which, like the

<sup>1</sup> *The Pictures of the English College at Rome*; with a Preface by Father John Morris, S.J., Stonyhurst College, 1887. Picture No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Archives of the Grande Chartreuse

letter we have just quoted, is in French. It is dated 35, Golden Square, London, April 16, 1841 :—

“ I have had the pleasure of receiving your esteemed favour of the 27th of March, in which you are good enough to express your belief that an application from me to his Holiness might help you to obtain of the Holy See the confirmation of the honour paid *ab immemorabili* to the memory of the holy martyrs of England, for the Carthusian Order only.

“ I am very sorry, *Monsieur le Coadjuteur*, not to have let you know sooner the result of my letters to the other Catholic Bishops of England. They were almost unanimous in advising me not to ask just now for the *cultus* of these holy martyrs in England. I therefore take their advice. But as you desire the approval for your own Order exclusively, I enclose a letter to his Holiness. I beg you, sir, to have the goodness to recommend me and my flock to the holy prayers of your Order.”<sup>1</sup>

Whether Bishop Griffiths' letter to the Pope, and the application from the Carthusian Order, which was to accompany it, were ever sent to his Holiness is not known. It is certain that they did not produce the desired effect. Another application made in 1858 by the Father General, Dom John-Baptist Mortaize, was also unsuccessful, for the cause of the Carthusian martyrs was destined to be postponed

<sup>1</sup> Archives of the Grande Chartreuse.

until circumstances would permit of due honour being given in their own country to all the glorious martyrs of England.

We may mention, in passing, that Father John-Baptist, who thus showed his zeal for the honour of the martyred monks of London, and also ordered special prayers for the conversion of England, was one of the most remarkable of our Generals. He was only thirty-three years old when, in 1831, he was elected General, and his work was the reorganization and spread of the Order, which had lately been well-nigh stamped out by the terrible Revolution. He held office for more than thirty years, and then retired to the Charterhouse of Pavia, where he spent the remainder of his holy life in solitude and silence. He died in January, 1870.

To return to the martyrs. The cause of their canonization, the special efforts of their own Order having failed, now became one with the cause of all those who died for the Catholic faith under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. Father John Morris, S.J., has written, by way of preface to the pictures to which we have already alluded, an account of the process down to December, 1886, when the martyrs whose sufferings were represented in those pictures, painted by Circiniani on the walls of the Church of the English College in Rome, received the honours of beatification. For the history of the regular process—by which, without the aid of the pictures,

our martyrs would now be called *venerable*—we must refer our readers to Father Morris; a word with regard to the pictures, which have proved so useful, may be added here.

Pope Gregory XIII. allowed the pictures to be placed upon the church walls. He permitted, moreover, the publication of prints of these pictures. "The majority of the pictures," says Father Morris, "are those of canonized Saints, but nine pictures out of the whole number of thirty-six represent Fisher, More, and other modern martyrs down to the year 1583. . . . In 1871," he continues, "it was not thought that these pictures were of great importance. We in England are not perhaps apt to look on paintings on our church walls or in our stained glass windows as necessarily indicating ecclesiastical veneration; yet from this very point of view a Vicar Apostolic of Scotland applied to the Congregation of Rites to know whether pictures of various English martyrs in the windows of a church under his jurisdiction could be permitted, and he was answered that it was unlawful,—that is to say, the answer meant that so to depict them was a mark of *cultus* or honour that can be given only by the Pope's permission."

Father Morris tells us how the Roman pictures did their work at last. "A happy thought," he says, "occurred to Mgr. O'Callaghan, the Rector of the English College in Rome, who is joint Postu-

lator with Father Torquato Armellini, S.J., of our Martyrs' Cause, to take to Mgr. Promotore the book of engravings of the pictures that of old existed in the Church of the English College at Rome. The Promotor of the Faith held these engravings, and the pictures they represent, as proofs of an ecclesiastical veneration accorded to the earlier martyrs by Pope Gregory XIII. No examination was necessary in that case into the actual martyrdom. What Pope Gregory XIII. had permitted, the Sacred Congregation of Rites could ask our Most Holy Father Leo XIII. to confirm and approve. This the Promotor of the Faith proposed to the Congregation in his *Additio ad Disquisitionem*, and thus those earlier martyrs, prior of course to 1583—the date of the paintings—were accepted by the Sacred Congregation, and His Holiness approved their decision by the solemn decree with which we are now all familiar.”

Thus it came about that Cardinal Fisher, Sir Thomas More, and fifty-two others, including the eighteen Carthusians, received the honours of the blessed. On the 4th of May, the anniversary of the martyrdom of our three holy Priors, Dr. Reynolds, and the Vicar of Isleworth, a Festival is now kept throughout England, with special Mass and Office in honour of these fifty-four blessed servants of God. And in all the monasteries of the Carthusian Order, the same day is observed as the

“Solemnity of the Blessed John Houghton, Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, and their companions, martyrs.”

The Feast of these martyrs is, we may observe in conclusion, kept with special devotion, joy, and thanksgiving in the Charterhouse of St. Hugh's in Sussex, where, within fifty miles of the old Charterhouse of Our Lady's Salutation, the Carthusian monks are settled once again. In the dead of night, in the early morning, at midday, and when the sun is sinking in the west, the solemn sound of the great bell of St. Hugh's recalls to mind the days when the English Province was flourishing. The hooded monks as they pass silently along the cloisters appear exactly like those with whose history we have been occupied. The Office, too, is just the same. The tone of every Psalm and Hymn and Canticle was familiar to all the Carthusians of England. Blessed John Houghton and his seventeen companions, who will, it is hoped, soon be counted amongst the canonized Saints, were sanctified and prepared for their glorious martyrdom by the observance of the Rule which it is still the privilege of St. Bruno's sons to keep, even in an age when vigil, long office, and fast are so unpopular.

“ O beata solitudo,  
O sola beatitudo,  
Piis secessicolis.”

## A P P E N D I X .



### I.

(Referred to on p. 20.)

CARTHUSIENSE CŒNOBIUM IN SUBURBIO LONDINENSIS CIVITATIS,  
LA SALUTATION DE MERE DIEU, NUNCUPATUM (Pat. 45 Edw.  
III. part 1, m. 33).

*Licentia* EDUARDI tertii de *Fundatione ejusdem.*

*Rex omnibus ad quos, etc., salutem.*

Sciatis, quod de gratiâ nostrâ speciali concessimus et Licentiam dedimus pro nobis et hæredibus nostris, quantum in nobis est, Dilecto et Fideli nostro *Waltero* Domino de *Manny* Militi, quod ipse in solo suo proprio, viz. in quodam loco extra Barram de *West Smithfeld London*, vocato *Newe Cherche Hawe*, quod quidem solum de nobis non tenetur in capite, quamdam donum Monachorum Ordinis Cartusiensis, viz. de quodam Priore et certis Monachis ibidem, vocatam *La Salutation de Mère Dieu*, in honore Dei et B. Mariæ Virginis fundare, et xx acras terræ cum pertinentiis de solo prædicto, unâ cum quâdam Capellâ, et aliis Domibus supra terram prædictam ædificatis, dare possit et assignare præfatis Priori et Monachis, et successoribus suis, pro inhabitatione suâ ibidem facienda, ad Missas, Orationes, et alia Divina Servitia, pro salubri statu nostro, et ipsius *Walteri* et *Margaretæ* Uxoris ejus, dum vixerimus; et pro animâ nostrâ, et pro animabus progenitorum et hæredum nostrorum: nec non animabus eorundem *Walteri* et *Margaretæ*, antecessorum, et hæredum suorum, cum ab

hac luce abstracti fuerimus, et animabus Aliciæ de Henault, et Michaelis de Northburgh, nuper Episcopi Londinensis, ac omnium Benefactorum ipsius Walteri, et omnium fidelium defunctorum, in Capella, et domibus prædictis, juxta ordinationem ipsius Walteri inde faciendam, celebrandas, et faciendas in perpetuum.

*Apud Westm.*

T. REGE.

*6 die Febr.*

## II.

(Referred to on p. 41.)

### CARTA WALTERI DOMINI DE MANNY, FUNDATIONIS NOVÆ DOMUS SALUTATIONIS MATRIS DEI ORDINIS CARTUSIENSIS.

Universis Christi Fidelibus Præsentes has visuris vel audituris, Walterus Dominus de Manny, Miles, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Cum nuper pestilentia esset tam grandis et violenta in Civitate Londinensi quod Cœmeteria Ecclesiarum parochialium ejusdem Civitatis non possent sufficere pro sepulturâ personarum in eâdem pestilentia decedentium; et nos moti pietate habentes respectum ad pericula et damna, quæ tali horâ potuerunt evenisse, eo quod non esset sepultura sanctificata pro morientibus prædictis; et considerantes opus misericordiæ in hac parte, de nostra speciali devotione acquisivimus tredecim acras, et unam rodam terræ, extra barram de West Smithfield ejusdem Civitatis in uno loco tunc vocato le Spittle Croft, modo autem vocato le Newe Charch Hawe, pro sepulturâ personarum supradictarum, et eundem locum per venerabilem Patrem Radulphum, tunc temporis ejusdem Civitatis Episcopum, fecimus benedici; in quo loco plus quam quinquaginta millia personarum in dictâ pestilentia morientium sepulta fuerunt, et postea pro devotione, quam erga Deum habuimus, et suam dulcissimam Matrem benedictam Virginem Mariam, et specialiter ad Festum Annuntiationis ejusdem benedictæ Domine Matris et Virginis, in quo festo erat initium restitutionis gaudiorum quæ amisimus per prævaricationem primorum parentum nostrorum, fieri fecimus in eodem loco unam Capellam in honorem Dei, et dicti Festi Annuntiationis beatæ Mariæ Matris et Virginis. Et

quia desideramus quod secundum ordinationem nostram orationes devotæ, et divina servitia secundum formam subsequentem ibidem perpetuo fiant, et continentur, et super omnes Religiosos alios specialem habemus devotionem Sanctissimæ Religioni Ordinis Cartusensis; idcirco sciatis quod ad Reverentiam et Honorem Dei, et suæ Sanctissimæ Matris et Virginis Mariæ, et ob devotionem quam habemus ad dictum Festum Annuntiationis, nec non et affectionem quam gerimus ad Sanctam Religionem supradictam, nos per præsentem has nostras fundamus, et facimus unam Domum Monachorum ejusdem Ordinis in loco supradicto, quam vocamus et vocari volumus in futurum Salutationem Matris Dei, in honorem et perpetuam memoriam benedicti Festi præscripti. Volumus etiam, quod unus dictorum Monachorum vocetur Prior; et per assensum Prioris Cartusiæ Majoris in Sabaudiâ, quæ est principalis Domus Ordinis præfati, ubi etiam dictus Ordo originem cœpit, facimus Dominum Joannem Lusote Priorem Domus nostræ prædictæ, et donamus, et concedimus, et per hæc scripta nostra confirmamus dicto Priori et suis commonachis præfatum locum, qui continet tredecim acras, et unam rodam terræ, una cum dicta Capella, et omnibus ædificiis ibidem ædificatis pro eorum inhabitatione illic facienda. Nos etiam donamus, et concedimus, et per hæc præsentia scripta confirmamus dictis Priori et Monachis, et eorum successoribus, tres acras terræ jacentes extra muros dicti loci in parte boreali pro eorum inhabitatione antedicta: quæ terra jacet intra terram Abbatis et Conventus Westmonasterii ex una parte, et terram Prioris et Fratrum Hospitalis sancti Joannis Jerusalem ex alterâ parte, habenda et tenenda omnia prædicta, terras, Capellam et ædificia, cum omnibus eorum pertinentiis, præfatis Priori et Monachis et eorum successoribus in perpetuum de capitalibus Dominis fundi illius per servitia inde debita, et de more consueta. Volumus insuper, et ordinamus, quod dicti Prior et Monachi et eorum successores, habeant specialiter in Missis, Orationibus, et aliis Divinis Servitiis recommendatum statum Nobilissimi Regis nostri Angliæ Domini Eduardi Tertii post conquestum; et statum nostrum, et Dominæ Margaretæ consortis nostræ carissimæ, et hæredes nostros, et Episcopum Londoniarum qui pro tempore fuerit, quamdiu sumus in hac

vita, et cum ab hac luce subtracti fuerimus, orent, et celebrent pro animabus nostris, *viz.* præfati Nobilissimi Regis, et animabus progenitorum et hæredum suorum, et pro anima nostra et dictæ Consortis nostræ, necnon pro animabus omnium antecessorum, et hæredum nostrorum, et pro anima Aliciæ de Henault quondam Comitissæ Mareshall, et pro omnium animabus qui mortem per nos subierunt, et pro quibus orare tenemur, et omnium benefactorum nostrorum. Item, specialiter pro anima Magistri Michaelis de Northburgh quondam Episcopi Londoniarum et pro animabus successorum suorum, et omnium quorum corpora in prædicto loco sepeliuntur, et omnium fidelium defunctorum.

Et nos prædicti Walterus et hæredes nostri, terram, Capellam et ædificia prædicta cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, Priori et Monachis et eorum successoribus contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, et defendemus in perpetuum.

In cujus rei testimonium huic præsentì scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus his Testibus, Magistro Joanne Barnet Eliensi, Domino Joanne de Bokyngham Lincolnensi, Episcopis . . . et aliis.

Datum Londoniarum vicesimo octavo die Martii Anno Regni Regis Eduardi Tertii prædicti post Conquestum quadragesimo quinto [1371].

### III.

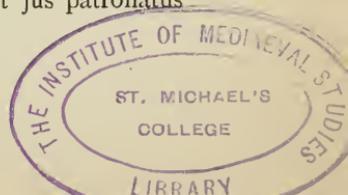
(Referred to on p. 46.)

#### BULLA URBANI PAPÆ [SEXTI].

Urbanus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei, Dilectis Filiis Priori et Conventui novæ Domus Matris Dei, prope Londonias, Ordinis Cartusiensis, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.

Exhibita nobis pro vestra parte petitio continebat, quod dudum felicitis recordationis Clementi Papæ Sexto, Prædecessori nostro, exposito, quod quondam Walterus de Manny, Miles, Cameracensis Diœcesis, tempore quo mortalitas hominum vigebat in partibus Anglicanis, locum, seu fundum quemdam prope Londonias acquisiverat, quem, de licentia Ordinarii, in cœmeterium

pro sepultura pauperum dedicari, et Capellam in eodem fundo ædificari fecerat opere sumptuoso: in quo Collegium duodecim Capellanorum, et unius qui præset iisdem, ordinare de bonis propriis, et sufficienter dotare disposuerat; ac eidem Prædecessori supplicato, ut eidem militi fundandi et dandi licentiam hujusmodi concedere dignaretur: idem Prædecessor Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et Episcopo Londinensi, non expressis nominibus, vel eorum alteri, dando per suas literas facultatem, Collegium, juxta ordinationem utriusque, vel alterius ipsorum, de perpetuis Capellanis vel Ministris, usque ad dictum vel alium majorem numerum, prout eidem militi videretur, ac persona, quæ eidem Collegio præset, faciendum in dicta Capella, fundandi tamen dote sufficienti dictæ Capellæ de bonis ipsius militis primitus assignata, jure parochialis ecclesiæ, et cujuslibet alterius semper salvo, ad instantiam ejusdem militis duxerat concedendum. Ac insuper uniendi, ea vice eidem Collegio instituto prius et dotato, tria beneficia ecclesiastica in regno Angliæ consistentia, quorum fructus centum librarum sterlingorum summam, secundum taxationem decimæ, non excederunt, ad cujuscumque patronatum spectantia patronorum ad id consensu accedente, prout in iisdem literis ejusdem Prædecessoris plenius continetur. Et demum, prout eadem petitio subjungebat, bonæ memoriæ Michael, Episcopus Londinensis, et idem miles, prædicto Collegio nondum instituto, Conventum duplicem Monachorum Ordinis Cartusiensis in loco prædicto, mutato proposito dicti militis, fundaverunt. Quare nobis humiliter supplicare fecistis quatenus iisdem Archiepiscopo et Episcopo, similem uniendi domui seu conventui vestro beneficia ecclesiastica, cum cura vel sine cura, ad summam ducentarum librarum sterlingorum, secundum taxationem decimæ ascendentia, in dicto regno consistentia, ad quorumcumque, etiam laicorum, patronatum pertineant, dummodo patronorum ad id accedat assensus, et ipsa beneficia dictam summam non excedant, facultatem concedere dignemur. Nos igitur, vestris in hac parte supplicationibus inclinati, venerabili Fratri Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi uniendi, hac vice duntaxat, auctoritate Apostolica, Ecclesias Parochiales, seu beneficia ecclesiastica, ad quorumcumque, etiam laicorum, patronatum pertinentia, dummodo patronorum ad id accedat assensus, et jus patronatus



post unionem vobis remaneat, ac eorum fructus, redditus, et proventus ducentarum librarum sterlingorum, secundum taxationem decimæ, valorem annum non excedant, dictosque Priorem et Conventum, vel procuratores suos eorum nomine, post unionem hujusmodi, cedentibus vel decedentibus rectoribus ipsarum, et beneficiorum, qui tunc fuerint, vel alias beneficia ipsa quomodocumque dimittentibus, in beneficiorum ac jurium, ac pertinentiarum prædictorum corporalem possessionem inducendi, et defendendi inductos, amotis quibuslibet detentoribus ab iisdem, ac faciendi ipsis Priori et Conventui, de ipsorum beneficiorum fructibus, redditibus, proventibus, congruas portiones ad ipsius Archiepiscopi vel Ordinarii arbitrium (super quo ipsius Archiepiscopi et Ordinarii conscientiam oneramus) taxandas, ex quibus, si sint Ecclesiæ Parochiales, perpetui Vicarii per Priorem, qui erit pro tempore, et Conventum dictæ domus, ad beneficia eadem præsentandi, commode sustentari, jura episcopalia solvere, et alia iis incumbentia onera valeant supportare, contradictores, auctoritate nostra appellatione postposita, compescendo, non obstantibus, si aliquis super provisionibus sibi faciendis de hujusmodi, vel aliis beneficiis ecclesiasticis in illis partibus, speciales vel generales apostolicæ sedis, vel legatorum ejus literas impetravit, etiamsi per eas ad inhibitionem, reservationem, et decretum, vel alias quomodolibet sit processum. Quas literas et processus habitos, et quos per eos post unionem hujusmodi haberi contigerit, ad dicta beneficia volumus extendi. Sed nullum per hoc iis quoad assecutionem aliorum beneficiorum præjudicium generari, et quibuslibet privilegiis, indulgentiis, et alteris apostolicis, generalibus vel specialibus, quorumcumque tenorum existant, per quæ præsentibus non expressa, vel totaliter non inserta effectus earum impediri valeat quomodolibet, vel differri, et de quibus quorumque totis tenoribus habenda sit in nostris literis mentio specialis, plenam et liberam tenore præsentium potestatem concedimus.

Datum Romæ, Apud Sanctam Mariam trans Tiberim, pridie Idus Decembris, Pontificatus nostri anno primo [December 12th, 1378].

## IV.

(Referred to on p. 72.)

## A LETTER FROM PRIOR TYNBYGH.

(From the original in the Public Record Office, London.)

“Aff<sup>r</sup> due recomendacon in o<sup>r</sup> Savyo<sup>r</sup> ihū w<sup>t</sup> loue and thanks for yo<sup>r</sup> charitable demenūr unto William Hoope, the whiche I desyr<sup>r</sup> yowe in charite to contynue; and wher’ ye desyre to have knowlege howe soone the seyd William may be receyved into o<sup>r</sup> religion,<sup>1</sup> I do thynke verely in as myche as he was onys in o<sup>r</sup> religion and went oute of hit, and sethe at dyu’s tymes hath be at poynt to be receyvd to the same and of his own unstabilnes hathe go frō his poyntmente, that my brethren will not receue him agayn to o<sup>r</sup> religion w<sup>o</sup>ut that they may undrestand in hym by longe tyme continuall stabilite in sad and v<sup>t</sup>us lvyngge; the which almighty god for his greete m’cy g<sup>a</sup>untt hym if . . . be his will. Ye shall receue at o<sup>r</sup> lady day Annunciacion of . . . nowell of Sheepdh<sup>a</sup> . . . of vj. viij. for William Hoope, and I pray yowe to favo<sup>r</sup> hym and to helpe hym in godnes, and Almighty e’u p’seue you. Written in the chart<sup>r</sup> hous by london the xiiij day of Fady [sic] w<sup>t</sup> the hande of yo’s

“WILLIAM there Prio<sup>r</sup>.”

[Addressed] “To Mast<sup>r</sup> William Ordeer pson of Seynte Petir in Thatford.”

## V.

(Some letters referred to on p. 75.)

The following letters, addressed to the Prior of the London Charterhouse, are mentioned in *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. viii. 611. They are printed here for the first time, from the originals in the Public Record Office, London.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* into our Order.

From John [Houghton ?<sup>1</sup>], Prior of Beauvale.

“Ihc., Maria.

“Right honorable father in our Lorde Jhu<sup>s</sup> Christe, I humbly recōmend me to you with hartely desir of psp<sup>r</sup>ite<sup>2</sup> pleas [?] the same. And wher it was yat my p<sup>r</sup>ecessor in his tyme occupied cteyn books belonging to yo<sup>r</sup> place as I am informed, w<sup>t</sup> this barrer I sand to you v of the same, and if y<sup>r</sup> be any moo of the which I may have pfect knowledge they shalbe sent to you heraft<sup>r</sup>. If y<sup>e</sup> pleas to let me have the jorniall I will gyue you money y<sup>r</sup> for ; for, as god knoweth, we haue grete nede to such books, who kepe you eūlastyngly to his pleaso<sup>r</sup>. From bevall the xx<sup>ij</sup> day of July.

“Yo<sup>r</sup> orato<sup>r</sup>. JOHN,

“Prior ther.”

[Addressed] “. . . ven<sup>r</sup>abili p<sup>r</sup>i in Xp̄o prior domus ord̄is Cartusie ppe london.”

A letter from the Prior of the Coventry Charterhouse. Dom Robert Raby is exchanged for Dom George Rogers.

“Ryght Worshipfull fad<sup>r</sup> in owr lorde, with humylyte and love I recōmend me vnto you certyfyng you that I have receyvvd our fad<sup>r</sup> visytors letters and yowres, wherby y doe pceyve your desyr to remove your brother Dan George Rogers hydd<sup>r</sup> vnto us, and to take for hym to you dan Robert Raby which also hathe made grette instans bothe to fad<sup>r</sup> Visytor and to you and me mony deys to be withe you. Therefore, trystyng in our lord hyt schalbe mooste for bothe theyr qwyetnes and helthe of body and sowle, y am well contente to fulfyll theyr dyssyres, dyssyryg you to be good and louyng fad<sup>r</sup> vnto dan Roberte Raby which schalbe withe you abowte the end of thys wyeke by the grace of god, whoe have you ever and all yo<sup>r</sup> gud brethē in hys keepyng, amen—Frō the Charterhouse by sydes Couentr<sup>r</sup> the xxij day of October.

“By you<sup>r</sup> Bedeman

“The p<sup>r</sup>or there.”

[Addressed] “*Venerabili in Xp̄o p<sup>r</sup>i p<sup>r</sup>ori dom<sup>s</sup> salutāc̄ Matris dei ppe london ordinis cartus̄s.*”

<sup>1</sup> Blessed John Houghton was Prior of Beauvale in 1531, and since that date there was no Prior named John.

<sup>2</sup> Prosperity.

The following curious letter is from Thomas Skevington, Bishop of Bangor (1509-1534) and Abbot of Beaulieu:—

“In our lorde Jesu Christe, very honorable father, I hartely recomend me unto you. And wher that vertuose man Master Doctor Harde is from yo<sup>r</sup> . . . ly monasterye amoved to a nother place of [y]our Religione, to whome heretofore I delyuered certen plate, and, by the sufferans of his devowte sp<sup>u</sup>all father the late prior of your house, to have in his custody the same plate, wich in pcells thus followeth:—Oone Basone and a yewer [of] Syllwer, and Oon cuppe callid a notte w<sup>t</sup> a cover all of syluer and gilte; oone gret bolle of syluer; oone goblet w<sup>t</sup> a cover of syluer pcell gylte; oone standing cuppe w<sup>t</sup> a cover dī gylte; ij salte, oone w<sup>t</sup> a cover pcell gilte, and the other all gilte; and xxiiij spones of syluer, in a case of ledder; not dowtinge but all thes poore things be in yo<sup>r</sup> save kepinge hartally therfore prainge you that all the same plate may reste w<sup>t</sup> you to my comyng to London, and then I to have the same. And yo<sup>r</sup> kyndenesse thus shoode shall not be put in oblyvione. The holly trinite so knowing, who pres<sup>ue</sup> you. At Beaulieu xv<sup>to</sup> Octobris

“Yo<sup>r</sup> luffyng brother in

“God, THOMAS BANGOR.”

[Addressed] “To the right honorable and very Devout father in god the prior of the Charterhouse in London.”

From the Prior of the Witham Charterhouse. Dom William Bakster, professed of London, wishes to return home.

“Right wurshipfull fader in o<sup>r</sup> lord, I recōmēde me vnto you w<sup>t</sup> vere glad desyre to here of yo<sup>r</sup> good helth. Oure gest danne Willm̄ Bakster desyryth you to have an answer of hys lett<sup>r</sup> late sent vnto you. He is vere busy in desyryng to cū home to you agayne; god knowyth, iff he wold stabyll hymself, he might lyve with us in grete rest and quyettness. And I am sure non of oure cloyster gyveth hym contrary cause. He hath writyn a nother lett<sup>r</sup> now to the fader of Shene<sup>1</sup> to have hys wyll fulfilled. I p<sup>ay</sup> God it be not *ruina sua*, but to hys p<sup>sy</sup>t and wu<sup>r</sup>ship of o<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Father John Jonbourne, the Provincial Visitor. This shows that the letter was not written later than 1532.

religion. He wold have no spekyng of his tnsgres, but it is not in my power to stop manys mowthis. Our Savyo<sup>r</sup> Jhũ stablyll him in goodnes, and p'serve you and yo<sup>r</sup>s from all adv'syteis. Amen—Wrytyn at With<sup>m</sup> in hast, the xx<sup>th</sup> day of July. Fader we have sent you brevys<sup>1</sup> for o<sup>r</sup> brother d' Wyllm̄ Burton. Jhũ have his sowle! We beseche you they may be [s]ayd shortly.

“Per filiū dom̄ Recm̄ priorē ibidē.” . . .

[Addressed] “Venerabili in Xpō patri donō priori domus Cartuss̄ ppe London dent’.”

The contents of the remaining four letters of this bundle are sufficiently explained in Part I. of this volume, Chapter VI.

## VI.

(Referred to on p. 92.)

A LETTER FROM BLESSED JOHN HOUGHTON TO FATHER THEODORIC LOER, VICAR OF THE CHARTERHOUSE OF COLOGNE.

Religioso Patri Theodorico Loer a Stratis, Vicario domus Cartusiensis in Colonia, Johannes Houghton.

S.P.D.

Miraberis forsan, religiosissime pater, quid sibi velint ignotæ hæ literæ, e longinqua regione ad te missæ. Sed ut cito mirari desinas, scias odorem illum fragrantissimum eximii patris nostri Dionysii esse, qui has literas meas ad te (imo ad se apud te latentem) jam attraxit. Is etenim adeo corda nostra suis sacratissimis scriptis et documentis sibi allexit, ut eo carere sine gravi molestia minime possimus.

Nobis etenim sapiunt opera ejus melliflua et sanctissima præ cæteris pene omnibus sacris scriptoribus (quod cæterorum omnium pace dictum sit) quos hactenus legimus; adeoque eadem ejus opera apud nos rara sunt, ut votorum nostrorum in hac parte minime compotes esse possimus; videlicet in eis legendis et relegendis. Nam quandocumque aliqua eorum huc venerint,

<sup>1</sup> A *Brevis* is the Office of the Dead, recited alone in the cell on the reception of the *obiit* of a member of the Order.

adeo ab aliis piis eruditisque viris mox rapiuntur, ut nos pauca eorum acquirere possimus, sed famelici remanere cogamur. Porro venerabilis pater Prior de Henton in hac provincia, qui dudum in majori Carthusia apud Capitulum nostrum generale fuerat, reversus nobis referebat, paternitatem tuam ibidem ei promisisse, te huc ei velle transmittere quotquot prædictorum operum desideraret, si ea emere vellet. His nuntiis auditis animatus ego, sperabam me brevi voti futurum compotem. Rogo igitur (ut ad compendium veniam) imo obsecro paternitatem tuam, ut mihi tam tibi ignoto, transmittere velis quam cito commode potueris, omnia opera ejusdem piissimi patris nostri Dionysii decies, id est, decem volumina ex omnibus et singulis operibus ejus hactenus impressis. Et præter ista mittere digneris etiam, rogo, viginti libros illius opusculi, quod nos *de Contemptu mundi* appellamus, et totidem etiam illius opusculi, quod *Scala religiosorum* intitulatur. Nec dubites quin hoc faciendo, plurimum apud Deum promereberis. Mittasque obsecro pretia omnium prædictorum operum singillatim per se. Et in partem solutionis pro eisdem, accipies ab harum bajulo pecunias ad valorem sex librarum, tredecim solidorum et octo denariorum sterling, facientes apud vos, ni fallor, 52 aureos, 5 stuferos Bra. Et quicquid solvendum fuerit amplius, si tuo rogatu, V. P. Prior vestræ domus pro me dignatus fuerit exponere, ego cum multa gratiarum actionum usura polliceor per hæc scripta, me quam brevissime potero, ei easdem pecunias transmissurum, postquam summam cognovero. Vel si maluerit (id quod ego quoque multo malim ob pericula in itinere) solvam hic cuicumque ipse mihi mandare dignabitur. Præterea quicquid deinceps de prædicti Reverendi Patris Dionysii piis operibus contigerit imprimi, si duodecim libros de singulis mihi transmittere digneris, ego polliceor me sine mora pecunias redditurum, statim postquam per literas tuas summam cognovero. Denique, et tu perge charissime pater strenue perficere quod incepisti, id est, non tepescat diligens illa et devota solertia tua, quam hactenus exhibuisti in præfatum sanctum Dionysium nostrum, chirographorum typis tradendum, donec omnia et novissima ejus videre mereamur. Nil omnino dubitans, quin a pio Domino pro mercede, cumulum benedictionis accepturus sis in cœlestibus.

Et utinam plane tum vobis, tum nobis arrideret tam abundans pecuniarum copia, quam abundat pia voluntas in omnia prædicta opera ejus edenda : tunc sperarem certe ecstaticum illum Dionysium nostrum mortalibus, quasi stellam matutinam, splendidum ac fulgidum brevi appariturum et a plurimorum cordibus tenebras illas hæreticæ pravitatis effugaturum ; verumque fidei lumen, cum piis operibus decoratum, eorumdem cordibus cito inducturum. Sed de his satis. Vale in visceribus dulcissimi Salvatoris, charissime pater.

Ex ædibus nostris Cartusianis prope Londonias in Anglia x. kal. Augusti 1532.

Per fratrem tuum in Christo Joannem Houghton ibidem priorem indignum.

## VII.

(Referred to on p. 125.)

### DE JURAMENTIS COMMORANTIUM INFRA DOMUM VOCATAM "THE CHARTERHOUSE."

Memorandum, quod vicesimo nono die Mensis Maii, anno Regni illustrissimi in Christo Principis, et Domini nostri Domini Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia, Angliæ et Franciæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hiberniæ vicesimo sexto (1534).

Nos Rolandus Lee, Covent. et Lichfelden. Episcopus ; et Thomas Bedyll, Clericus.

In Domo Capitulari infra Domum Salutationis Matris Dei vulgariter vocatam "The Charterhouse," juxta Londonias, auctoritate et vigore literarum patentium dicti illustrissimi Domini nostri Regis nobis directarum, quibus præsens certificarium annectitur.

Recepimus juramenta, et fidelitates tam Monachorum, quam etiam aliorum Servientium infra septa dictæ Domus Commorantium, qui coram nobis juxta formam et effectum in quadam Scedula præfatis literis Regiis patentibus etiam annexa, Juramenta Corporalia et Fidelitates tactis sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis præstiterunt et jurarunt.

Quorum quidem juratorum nomina, et cognomina sequuntur.

Quæ omnia, et singula sic ut præmittitur per nos gesta vestræ Regiæ Majestati vera fuisse, et esse certificamus per præsentis Sigillis nostris sigillatas.

Dompnus *Johannes Howgton*, Prior.

Dompnus *Johannes Whetham*.

Dompnus *Edmundus Sterne*,

Dompnus *Johannes Enys*,

Dompnus *Willielmus Wayt*.

Dompnus *Humphridus Midylmore*, Procurator.

Nomina Servientium et Commorantium infra septa ejusdem Domus.

Dominus *Johannes Heth*.

Dominus *Willielmus Barker*.

*John Beddyl*.

*Willielmus Rodon*.

*Henry Clarke*.

*Nicholas Horlyston*.

*Nicholas Robarts*.

*Crystofer More*.

*Item*, sexto dies Mensis Junii, anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi, et loco supradictis.

Nos Rølandus Lee, Coven. et Lich. Episcopus, antedictus; et Thomas Kytson, Miles; vigore et auctoritate aliarum literarum patentium ultrà literas illas patentes superius mentionatas, nobis in hac parte directarum quibus hoc præsens certificatorium annectitur.

Recepimus juramenta, et fidelitates tam Monachorum quam etiam aliorum Servientium infra dictam domum commorantium, qui coram nobis juxta formam et effectum cujusdam Scedulæ præfatis literis patentibus etiam annexæ Juramenta Corporalia, et Fidelitates, tactis Sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis, præstiterunt et urarunt.

Quorum quidem sic juratorum nomina et cognomina sequuntur:—

## Presbyteri.

<i>Willielmus Brooke.</i>	<i>Sebastianus Nudigate.</i>
<i>Bartholomeus Burgoyne.</i>	<i>Johannes Rochester.</i>
<i>Jacobus Walwerke.</i>	<i>Everardus Dyckby.</i>
<i>Ricardus Bere.</i>	<i>Johannes Bulleyne.</i>
<i>Georgius Bekerey.</i>	<i>Oliverus Batemanson.</i>
<i>Henricus Hawte.</i>	<i>Nicholaus Rawlyns.</i>
<i>Willielmus Exmewe.</i>	<i>Robertus Raby.</i>
<i>Thomas Jonson.</i>	<i>Andreas Boorde.</i>
<i>Johannes Darley.</i>	<i>Thomas Salter.</i>
<i>Johannes Fox.</i>	

## Professi et non Sacerdotes.

<i>Johannes Nycholson.</i>	<i>Johannes Davy.</i>
<i>Mauritius Chauncy.</i>	

## Conversi.

<i>Willielmus Grenewode.</i>	<i>Robertus Pynchebeck.</i>
<i>Thomas Scryven.</i>	<i>Walterus Pierson.</i>
<i>Robertus Billingsley.</i>	<i>Johannes Scoffyn.</i>
<i>Robertus Salte.</i>	<i>Thomas Redyng.</i>
<i>Thomas Clogger.</i>	<i>Willielmus Horne.</i>
<i>Johannes Bykerton.</i>	<i>Robertus Cardyn.</i>
<i>Thomas Owen.</i>	

## VIII.

(Referred to on p. 188.)

A LETTER FROM THE REVEREND FATHER GENERAL, JOHN GAIL  
HARD, TO ROLAND LEE, BISHOP OF COVENTRY AND LICHFIELD.

“ Humillimam cum . . . . .  
nobis referun[t]. . . . .  
constitutis a . . . . .  
per excellentiss . . . . .  
alarum suarum . . . . .  
sine difficultat[e] . . . . .  
ordinis, quæ ad cap[itulum] . . . . .

venerunt nec scripserunt . . . . .  
 audemus scribere negotia . . . . .  
 defunctorum quam alias, metuen . . . . .  
 ut nobis dicitur, et causam ac rationem . . . . .  
 regia Majestas clementissima ignoramus, lice . . . . .  
 valide commendetur, et pro ejus profectu pace et pros . . . . .  
 et alia suffragia in singulis domibus nostris ubique terr[arum] . . .  
 Quod forsitan ignoratur Nunc, reverendissime pater, viscera  
 nostra . . . nostris commota cogunt importune et humillime  
 rogare genib[us] . . . clementiam reverendissimæ paternitatis ves-  
 træ pro nobis et filiis nostris inter . . . ipsam benignissimam  
 regiam Majestatem, et de nostra bona [voluntate] et affectu  
 certioratam facere, licentiamque nobis . . . impertiri invicem  
 scribendi, ne defunctorum animæ ulterius . . . hinc inde debito  
 frustrentur, et ordo noster in suo rigore . . . confortetur et ruinam  
 non patiat. Sed continua oratione . . . ad Deum pro ipso  
 serenissimo rege, Fidei Christianæ Defensor[e] . . . nostros vel  
 alios informaremur de ejus benevola voluntate . . . nostris adim-  
 pleremus et adimpleri mandaremus; ne ampliu[s] . . . filii  
 nostri errantes inter hæc tempora nubila clementissima . . . facie  
 privemur. Valeatque quam diutissime felix R<sup>ma</sup>. D.V. . . .  
 veneranda.

“Cartusiæ, 1 Aug. 1535.”<sup>1</sup>

## IX.

SOME DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE  
 EFFECTS OF THE CHARTERHOUSE (State Papers, Domestic.  
 30 Henry VIII.  $\frac{U}{315}$ ).

(From the original in the Public Record Office.)<sup>2</sup>

“Received of William Daylle by the hands of William Doone,  
 at the commandment of Master Doctor Lee, Doctor Layton and  
 others, the 24th of November, 30th Henry VIII. (1538). For

<sup>1</sup> From *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII.*, vol. ix. 8. The original, badly mutilated, is in the British Museum, Vit. B. xiv. 135.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling of this document is so strange that it has been deemed advisable to modernize it.

Master Doctor Lee, in the Church of the Charterhouse in London.

“First, seven pews for seats, a desk, and two panes of plain panel that stood upon two chests.

“*Item*, delivered to the late Prior<sup>1</sup> of the said house, all the wood given to the said late Prior by the king’s visitors, which was sold for £15.

“*Item*, delivered to the king’s gardener, coming to the said Daylle in the king’s name, for the king’s garden at Chelsea, all such bays, rosemary grafts, and other such like things as was meet for his grace in the said garden, showing unto the said Daylle the king’s commission for the same.

“*Item*, delivered unto Master Richard Cromwell’s gardeners, all such bay trees and grafts as they thought convenient for them.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Fitz Hugh, a whole cell of wainscot as it stood, by Master Richard Cromwell’s token, which was a gold ring.

“*Item*, certain brethren took away [the fittings of] their cells as they stood, by your mastership’s<sup>2</sup> commandment as they say.

“*Item*, all the kitchen stuff, and buttery stuff, sold to Doctor Cave is had away by Master Doctor Cave’s servant, as it was *preysyd* by the visitors.

“*Item*, Doctor Byllowse’ servant had two cart load of hay away, by commandment of the visitors.

“*Item*, delivered to Sir Arthur Darcy the custody of three small cells adjoining to his house, which he had of my Lord Privy Seal by Master Chancellor of the Augmentation’s commandment, upon a token from my Lord Privy Seal, and by the said Master Lee’s assent.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Doctor Talbote, the custody of the new cell, by the Commissioners’ commandment.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Wuddall, the custody of one cell, by Master Doctor Lee’s commandment and Master Thacker’s.

“*Item*, sold and delivered to Master Pickering, by Master Doctor Cave’s commandment, all the wheat and malt in the house.

<sup>1</sup> William Trafford.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Cromwell.

“*Item*, delivered to Master William Dune, for the use of Master Doctor Lee, twelve elmen boards and quarters as many as made the full of a load.

“*Item*, delivered to Dune, one grindstone.

“*Item*, delivered to the king’s gardener, the 22nd of November, two loads of grafts.

“*Item*, delivered to the king’s gardener, the 25th of November, one load of grass.

“*Item*, delivered to the cater of my Lord Privy Seal’s house, three baskets of herbs.

“*Item*, delivered to the king’s gardener, the 23rd of November, three loads of bay trees.

“*Item*, delivered to the king’s gardeners, out of the orchard of the Charterhouse, three trees, grafts of all sorts as doth appear by the pits where they were taken—in all 91 trees.

“*Item*, sold and delivered to Master Doctor Cave, all the vinegar.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Semer and Master Smith, on St. Nicholas eve last, 200 carps.

“*Item*, delivered to Fey’s Mill pond to Doctor Layton, 100 carps for the king’s store.

“*Item*, to Master Layton, twelve car load of timber, and six car load of stones.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Brooke, all the new timber in the Charterhouse wood-yard bought for the goodman of the Splayed Eagle in *Gratys* Street.

“*Item*, to the said Master Brooke, all the hay that Master Doctor Bell has left behind him in the Charterhouse in London.

“*Item*, Master Doctor Layton’s servant fetched away four merlin birds and all things belonging thereto.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Layton, three boards in the bakehouse, and other stuff thereto belonging.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Layton, a bundle of rose trees.

“*Item*, delivered to Master Haydon, Receiver of the Charterhouse, all the wainscot in the corner cell, the 23rd of January.

“*Item*, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 new pipes of

lead, the said 23rd of January, by the commandment of the Chancellor as he said.

“*Item*, the said Master Haydon has taken and laid up all the timber and stones that he could find about the Charterhouse which was necessary for the king’s use.

“*Item*, delivered to the said Master Haydon, 22 cases of glass, which were taken down by Owen and delivered to him to keep in safe guard for fear of stealing.

“*Item*, delivered to William Myles, servant to my Lord Privy Seal, the custody of the barber [’s shop], and the cell adjoining to it, by the commandment of Master Doctor Lee and Master Layton, the 28th of January.

“*Item*, whereas he said that I the said keeper should have the charge of the Church, I never had, as it shall be proved, for the truth is that Master Doctor Cave has had the key of the Church ever since the house was suppressed, and has it at this day ; therefore, sir, it is nothing in my charges, and I pray your good mastership to charge me not with all.

“*Item*, where they would charge me with seven cells next to the Church, the truth is I never had the keeping of none of the said seven cells, but one Gerard Haydon first after the suppression of the house had the keeping of five of the said cells, and the keeping of Sir Arthur Darcy’s house. And after that, Haydon entered the Earl of Angus to the said house and five cells. And after the said earl, entered Sir Marmaduke Constable to the said house and five cells, and [he] occupies them to this day. And for the other two cells, one the same time has been in the keeping of one Master Talbot since the suppression of the said house, and is yet unto this day. Wherefore I trust your mastership, of your goodness, will not charge me with all the keeping of the said seven cells.

“*Item*, so [there] remains in the keeping of William Daylle, the 27th of February, by commandment of the Chancellor of the Augmentations, twenty cells, certain lodgings, with a hall, a kitchen, a buttery, a wine-cellar, the old brewhouse with *ij ledys and mashe-fats ij yell fats and xx<sup>ti</sup> kymnells* in the same, three stables, the saw pit, the washing house, with one place called the *fyshall* with

four houses of horses [?] under the same, two chambers, and the cundeth, the new brewhouse with *a grete leyd and iij fats* in the same, a horse mill which is above the old brewhouse, with divers things appertaining to the same.

“*Item*, delivered to the said Daylle, by the commandment of the Chancellor of the Augmentations, the custody of all the stuff remaining in the storehouse. And the master is commanded to deliver the said stuff to the said Daylle by bill indented.

“*Item*, for the rest of the said cells, which is twenty, there was one which was keeper with me, whose name was Thomas Gromes, servant to Doctor Lee, which Thomas did sell unto Gerard Haydon all the wainscot being in one great cell for £1 6s. 8d., of which sum the said Thomas and William have received of the said Haydon 5s., and so the rest of the said money remains in the hands of the said Haydon.

“*Item*, there was one little Sir William [who] defaced and took down all the new wainscot in a cell which was late[ly] billeted to his own use as he intended. Notwithstanding the truth is that one William Daylle and George Wudworth, servants unto my Lord Privy Seal, found the said wainscot where the said Sir William had laid it up; and we took it away from thence, and kept it to such time as we were imprisoned, and then we were glad to sell it to keep us with.

“*Item*, the other two cells of the said twenty, which one Master Cauton did keep, which two cells are spoiled, but in my conscience no fault in the said Cauton, nor none of his folk, for I never knew the said Cauton nor none of his hurt the said house nor the orchard at any time, but as an honest man and true keeper; and so did none but only Master Hurde and the said Cauton, keeper of the said orchard.

“*Item*, there was Master Few that brought me a gold ring for a token from Master Richard Cromwell, commanding me to deliver all the wainscot in one cell as it stood to the said Few, saying that token should be a discharge.

“*Item*, for the great clock, a gentleman called Master Mins bought it, and paid for it; and one Master Polsted did send me, William Daylle, a ring off his finger, commanding me to deliver

the said clock, and I told him I could not come to it, for Doctor Kew had the keys of the belfry; and so his servant delivered the said clock to Master Mins.

“*Item*, the said Haydon had laid up a house full of wainscot within Sir Arthur Darcy’s house, whereof he then had keeping; and after, [he] carried the same wainscot away.

“*Item*, the said Haydon gathered all the wood, timber, and stone, lying abroad in the Charterhouse, to the king’s use as he said.

“*Item*, Thomas Owen found and took down 25 cases of glass, delivering them to the said Haydon for the king’s use.

“*Item*, Thomas Owen found and took away six cisterns of lead, and delivered them to the said Haydon.

“*Item*, the said Thomas Owen has all the cocks of the water remaining within the same house.

“*Item*, the same Thomas has one of the six tables of the Frater.

“*Item*, Hilton in Chancery Lane has one of the said tables.

“*Item*, one Davison at Paul’s Wharf has one of the said tables, which he carried through the Earl of Angus’ house.

“*Item*, all the wainscot that doth lack within the Frater was given to Master Sword-bearer of London, by Master Thacker’s token.

“*Item*, all the wainscot, lead, and glass, with all other things lacking within the three cells in the keeping of Sir Marmaduke Constable, was clean gone before his coming to them.

“*Item*, the wainscot lacking in the Prior’s cell was four pieces, which I delivered to Thomas Owen.

“*Item*, I have taken down as much glass as did make and repair a dozen windows, as well within the porter’s lodge as in other places within the house. As for the rest of the glass of the said house, I will depose upon a book, I never had nor knew set to any use.

“*Item*, all the cocks and pipes wanting within the said house were sold by Thomas Owen to divers persons, which confesses the same; and [they] were committed to his charge only, for the which also he takes his wage.

“ *Item*, to Sir Marmaduke Constable, one cock, one pipe. To Master William Nevill, one cock, one pipe . . . (in all eight cocks and eight pipes).

“ *Item*, the brethren of the house were licensed by the visitors to take away such things as was meet for them, as Thomas Owen and John Waner say, who took with them much of the wainscot, as then did appear. Also Doctor Bells had away the table and a pair of tressels, and the hangings, and a paper called *mappa mundi*.

“ *Item*, Master Doctor Layton’s servant sent away the new cupboard, and the bench, out of the drinking buttery.

“ *Item*, Doctor Cave’s servant sent away one round table forth of the said buttery, and forth of the Prior’s parlour another round table.

“ *Item*, the said visitors had all the rest of the said stuff which was in the Church of the Charterhouse, that is to say, chalices, vestments, with all other ornaments within the said Church of the Charterhouse.

“ *Item*, the said visitors did give away four great painted tables, standing in every four corner of the Cloister of the said Charterhouse.

“ *Item*, the said visitors sent away all the beds in the guest chambers.

“ *Item*, the said visitors did give all the beds and books to the brethren which dwelt in the said cells. [Some] of the said brethren took away, through the said gift, certain boards of wainscot, which defaced the cells very sore within the said Charterhouse.

“ *Item*, sir, I desire your good mastership, seeing that Master Mildmay, the King’s Auditor, has sworn me, William Daylle, to show the truth of all the stuff being gone out of the Charterhouse, therefore, sir, I desire your good mastership, for the king’s advantage and for your worship, to cause Gerard Haydon and Brother Richard and Thomas Owen to be sworn upon a book what things they have known go out of the Charterhouse by themselves and others ; and I doubt not it shall be wholly for the king’s advantage if they be true men.

“Also, sir, I desire your mastership of your goodness to be so good unto me [as] to speak some good word for me, being a poor man which has kept the Charterhouse the space of a year and a half, and was promised of the visitors eight pence a day for keeping of the said. And I the said keeper had never penny therefor but £3 6s. 8d., for the which I do lose the best yeoman’s master in this realm, the which I had of truly paid £5 and three liveries by year. Therefore, sir, for the love of God, and in the way of charity, having no master nor wages, and my wife lying sick this twelvemonth on me, your mastership having the name [of one] that takes pity of every poor man and woman; wherefore I trust ye will have pity on me, so I can say no more to your good mastership, but I put me in your will and mercy. Where I have offended you here in this book, so He that bought you save you and have you in His keeping at His pleasure at all times. Written by me

“WILLIAM DAYLE.”

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