

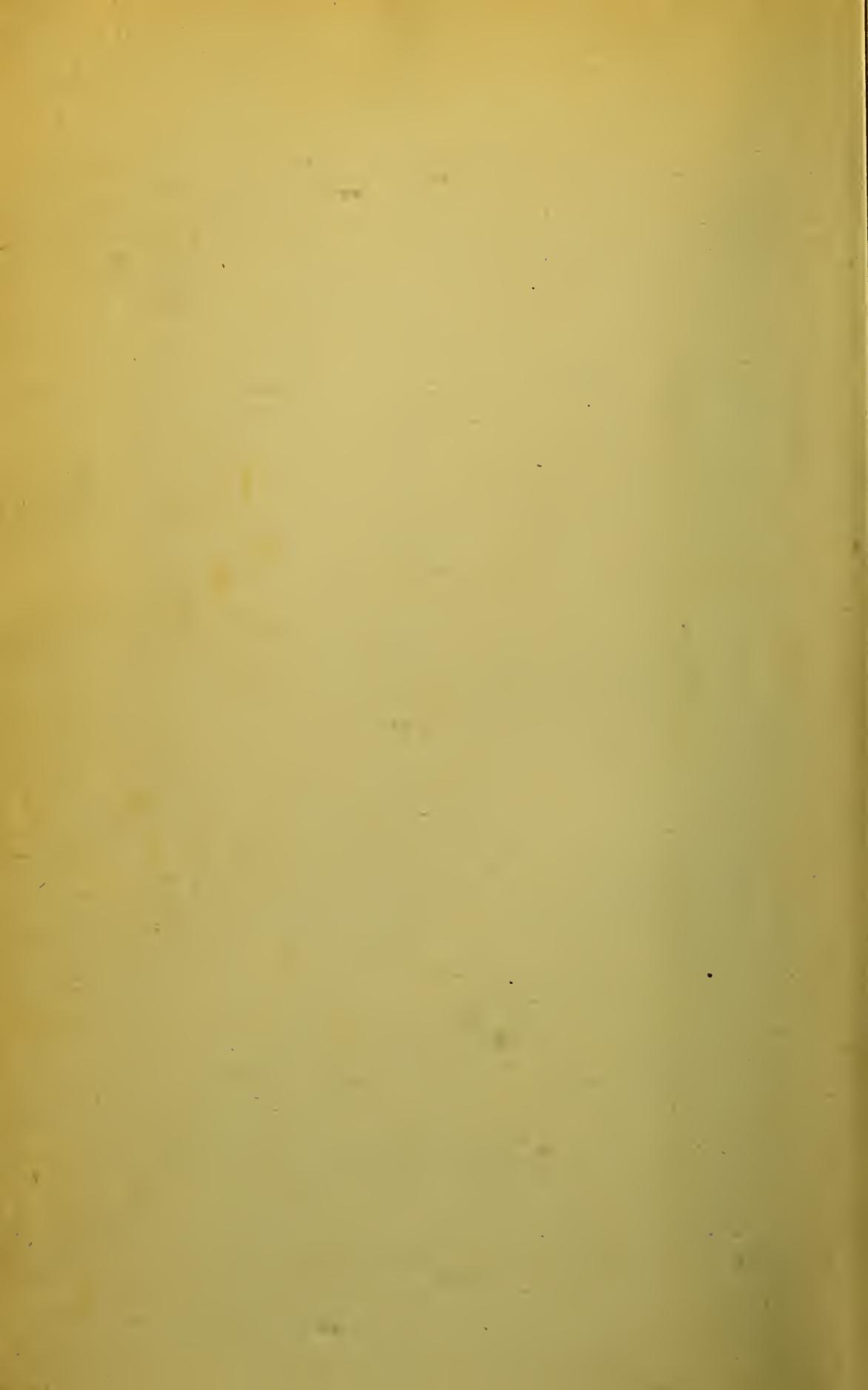


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EDWARD SOUTHWELL TRAFFORD.





A. M. D. C.



RECORDS OF THE ENGLISH PROVINCE  
OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

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FATHER RALPH CORBY, S.J.,  
MARTYR FOR THE FAITH.

Suffered at Tyburn, Sept. 1, 1644.

*(From the original portrait at Lanherne Convent.)*

A. M. D. C.

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R E C O R D S

OF THE

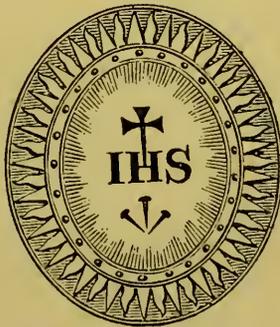
ENGLISH PROVINCE OF THE  
SOCIETY OF JESUS.

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

VOL. III.

Fifth, Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Series.

By HENRY FOLEY, S.J.



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

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES.

—  
1878.

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## INTRODUCTION.

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IN presenting a Third Volume of the *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, the Editor feels called upon to account for the unusual proportions which it assumes. This fact is owing partly to his desire to include in this volume, as promised, the lives of Thomas Pounce, George Gilbert, and Father Thomas Darbyshire, with much additional matter, formerly published under the title of *Jesuits in Conflict*, but in a still greater degree to the increasing stores of information kindly supplied, in order to make his work the more complete. In confirmation of this, want of space has obliged him to relegate to a subsequent volume, two series announced for publication in the present one; but, while regretting these alterations of plans, he feels that the work itself is a gainer by them.

The several addendas to be found at the end of the book have been inserted either to correct, or to supplement matter already contained in these volumes. They chiefly consist of a further portion of Father Christopher Grene's MS. "F," which immediately follows upon the life of Father Darbyshire, concluded in page 729 of this volume, and was not known of or possessed by the Editor at the time, as his observation in page 214 makes evident. Indeed it seems that another part of the same valuable MS. still exists, though it is not at present within his reach. This MS., as is evidenced by the portions already given, forms an important historical

document, and fully confirms Father Richard Holtby's account of the "reign of terror" in the north of England under the cruel President, the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Protestant Archbishops, and other authorities of the time.<sup>1</sup> The reader is left to form his own conclusions upon the startling narratives. Two things strike us forcibly—the patient and cheerful endurance of the sufferers, and the incontestable evidence afforded of the divine origin of the Catholic faith of our forefathers, which so victoriously withstood those worse than pagan onslaughts. The MS. will likewise be found to furnish occasional interesting additions to Bishop Challoner's brief accounts of several of the martyrs named in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*.<sup>2</sup> It is most probable that these narratives were collected by Father Richard Holtby, the Superior of the Jesuits in the north, and forwarded by Father Henry Garnett, the head Superior of the Society in England, to Rome; in fact, Father Grene himself leads us to this view in a note inserted in the volume of MSS. "M," in which he gives extracts from several of the narratives in "F," upon the relation of John Fletcher, viz.: "Fletcher wrote the narrative of his own long imprisonment, and the original or a copy, bound up in the *collectanea* 'F,' was sent to Rome by Father Garnett."

The note upon Father James Bosgrave<sup>3</sup> has been added in consequence of an article from the pen of the Editor of the *Christian Apologist* for October last, upon certain discrepancies between the opinions expressed by that Father in his alleged examinations, and those of Father Edmund Campian and other martyrs.

<sup>1</sup> See Father Morris' *Troubles*, Third Series.

<sup>2</sup> Since the above was in type, we are glad to welcome an exact and magnificent reprint of Bishop Challoner's "truthful" memoirs, well illustrated, and further enriched with a copious introduction by Father Law, of the Oratory, Brompton.

<sup>3</sup> Pp. 771, seq.

The autobiographical statement of Hugh Anderton, S.J., (page 489), with further subsequent matter, leads to the paper in pp. 774, seq., "The Andertons of Lostock," which, with the pedigree annexed, may be read as a note to the recent valuable antiquarian volume of the Reverend T. E. Gibson, *Lydiat Hall and its Associations*.

Two addendas are made to the first volume of *Records*, one being in connection with Father Rivers' letters,<sup>4</sup> with some account of the old family of Skinner; the other gives some further particulars regarding the Rookwood family (with pedigree), to which the autobiography of Robert Rookwood in page 198 of that volume leads us.

To the second volume is added a further document connected with the history of Father Thomas Fitzherbert of Swynnerton, with an amended pedigree of that ancient and interesting Catholic family; also a paper regarding the relics of St. Chad, and a short but amusing account of the bold adventures of Mr. Geoffrey Pole in Lancashire.

Lastly, is added a list of confessors for the faith, or rather martyrs, who, in several instances being at the time under actual sentence of death, succumbed to the horrible dungeons within the prisons of those times, and gave up their souls to God, in defence of the faith. The names in this catalogue, which is carried down to the year 1677, have been incidentally collected in the course of researches. Another list will be prepared for the continuation of our historical collection subsequent to 1677. These names, which are not recorded in Challoner, nor are included amongst the many collected in Father Bridgewater's *Concertatio*, form but a handful of gleanings out of the thousands who have perished for their religion either in the prisons, or in the woods and caves and mountains of England, and whose

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. page 9.

names, though unknown to us upon earth, are reserved to be revealed with triumph, when the books shall be opened on the last great day of account.

The Editor entertains but little apprehension that his readers will experience any feeling of sameness in the various lives and shorter biographies, and historical narratives, for in truth each one presents, more or less, some new feature in the existing events of the times recorded, whether in the desperate and determined effort on the part of the Government for the rooting up of the Catholic religion on the one hand, or its resolute and equally determined defence by its professors, both clerical and lay, on the other; yet, should any such passing feeling arise, he begs to repeat what was said in the commencement of the series, that the work is but an authentic collection of records of the labours and sufferings of the members of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, in the propagation and preservation of the precious deposit of the Faith of their ancestors during the most eventful and exciting periods of its existence. It will facilitate the future compilation of a more concise history, whilst at the same time it furnishes the reader with a general outline of the history of the times treated of.

We take this opportunity of correcting a misprint in Vol. I. page 138, note 116. The date of the elevation of the Lord Arundell of Wardour to the peerage is placed in the year 1639, instead of in 1605.

The Editor begs to repeat his acknowledgments to Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, Knight, Deputy Keeper of the Rolls, for allowing access to papers in the Rolls House; likewise to thank the Lord Arundell of Wardour, Charles Weld, Esq., of Chideock, C. R. Scott Murray, Esq., J. O. Payne, Esq., of Southbro'; the Reverend Dr. Knox, of the Oratory, and the Reverends Joseph Stevenson and T. E. Gibson, for

communications kindly furnished; also to the Father Rector of Stonyhurst College for the loan of manuscripts, to Father Murphy for assistance in translations, and to Fathers Anderdon and MacLeod for their continued patient labour in the revision and passing of the volume through the press; to Mrs. Richard Simpson for the use of a volume of MSS. of the late Richard Simpson, Esq.; and especially to Dame Mary (English), O.S.B. of St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, for valuable information from old records of her venerable Order, and from her own collections towards a history of its ancient houses on the Continent.

The photographs are from the well-known studio of the Woodbury Permanent Process Company.

*London, Christmas, 1877.*

ERRATA.

Page 132, line 7 from bottom.—*For* “February 26, 1672,” *read* “1679.”

Page 240, line 3.—*For* “be,” *read* “he.”

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*Fifth Series.*



THE RESIDENCE OF  
ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

WITH THE MISSION OF DURHAM.



## THE RESIDENCE OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST.

*With the Mission of Durham.*

THIS was one of the original Residences or districts created by Father Richard Blount, the first Provincial after the English Vice-Province had been raised in 1623 into a Province of the Society. It included the counties of Durham and Northumberland, and was generally known by the name of "Mrs. Durham."

The following places (amongst many others of which no record exists) were formerly served or visited by the Fathers of this Residence, viz. :

Alswick.	Harber House.
Auckland, or Bishop's Auckland.	Hardwick.
Berrington.	Heborne, near Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Berwick-on-Tweed.	Horseley.
Biddleston, Rothbury.	Morpeth.
Callaly Hall.	Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Cheeseburn Grange.	Pontop.
Durham.	Stella Hall.
Ellington, near Durham.	Swinburn Castle, near Hexham.
Gateshead, Newcastle.	Thornby, or Thornley, near Durham.
Haggerston, Northumberland.	

We annex the following list of secular and regular priests in this district, copied from a return made to Rome about 1632 :<sup>1</sup>

DURHAM.	<i>Benedictines.</i>
<i>Seminary Priests.</i>	
Cuthbert Trollope.	John Hutton.
William Oglee.	Robert Hungate.
Robert Blunston, D.D.	Beeds.
Edward Taylor.	<i>Jesuits.</i>
Simon Skelton.	Richard Holtby.
Francis Forde.	William N.
James Balson.	Francis Forcer.
John Hodgson.	Francis Mason.
	Gerard [Ralph] Corby.

<sup>1</sup> Old Clergy Chapter, London.

2 *The Residence of St. John the Evangelist.*

NORTHUMBERLAND.	<i>Jesuits.</i>
<i>Seminary Priests.</i>	William Palmes.
Thomas Martin.	John Stronge.
Thomas Cartar.	WESTMORELAND.
William St. George.	<i>Seminary Priests.</i>
Thomas Collingwood.	Francis Robinson.
George Douglas, footman ( <i>sic.</i> ).	James Ducket.
<i>Benedictines.</i>	A. North.
John Wartburne.	CUMBERLAND.
Cuthbert Wartburne.	<i>Seminary Priest.</i>
<i>Franciscans.</i>	Robert Sewell.
James N.	<i>Benedictine.</i>
<i>Minims.</i>	John Worsley.
Thomas Browne, footman.	<i>Jesuit.</i>
A. Seaton, footman.	Thomas Swinborne.

The following are extracts from old Catalogues of the English Province for the years 1642 and 1655, giving the names of the missionary Fathers at that time :

1642.				
<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Patria.</i>	<i>Ætas.</i>	<i>Temp. in Societas.</i>	<i>Gradus.</i>
Michael Freemannus ... (Superior)	Eborac.	... 65 ...	34 ...	Prof. 22 Julii, 1621.
Joannes Armstrongus ...	Northumb.	... 50 ...	21 ...	Prof. 6 Maii, 1632.
Guliel. Palmus ...	Eborac.	... 51 ...	24 ...	Prof. 11 Nov. 1631.
Christ. Simsonus ...	Eborac.	... 37 ...	8 ...	
Rodulp. Corbingtonus ...	Dunelm.	... 42 ...	26 ...	Form. 10 Maii, 1640.
Thomas Roffensis ...	Cantab.	... 46 ...	22 ...	Form. 30 Nov. 1631.
Franciscus Forcerus ...	Dunelm.	... 59 ...	38 ...	Prof. 29 Martii, 1623.
Thomas Gaskinus ...	Eborac.	... 37 ...	22 ...	Form. 7 Oct. 1641.
Joannes Robinsonus ...	Cumberl.	... 64 ...	14 ...	
Georgius Smithæus ...	Dunelm.	... 31 ...	11 ...	
1655.				
Joannes Armstrongus ... Superior ( <i>vide sup.</i> )		... ..	... ..	
Christ. Simsonus ( <i>v.s.</i> )...		... ..	... ..	Prof. 25 Oct. 1648.
Franciscus Morlæus ...	Dunelm.	... 66 ...	33 ...	Form. 1 Aug. 1633.
Thomas Gaskinus ( <i>v.s.</i> )...		... ..	... ..	
Thomas Roffensis ( <i>v.s.</i> )...		... ..	... ..	
Nichol. Danbæus, <i>als.</i> } Joan. Rylæus }	Eborac.	... 45 ...	15 ...	
Stephan. Falconensus ...	Cantian.	... 33 ...	5 ...	
Thomas Caræus ...	Suffolc.	... 34 ...	16 ...	

The number of Fathers generally serving the missions in this Residence, from the earliest records preserved until 1677, to which period the present history extends, averaged about

nine. The conversions to the Catholic Church for the same period, so far as they are recorded, amounted to about forty or fifty each year.

The following members of the English Mission of the Society of Jesus serving in this Residence demand special notice :

#### FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY.

FATHER RICHARD HOLTBY,<sup>2</sup> who was frequently known as RICHARD DUCKETT, RICHARD NORTH, and RICHARD FETHERSTON, was born at Fraiton, Yorkshire, about the year 1553. Amongst the labourers of the Society of Jesus who in the reigns of Elizabeth and James first cultivated the English vineyard, none was more successful than this good Father in concealing himself, and none continued so long a time in the exercise of his apostolical functions. A perusal of his careful report to his Superior, Father Henry Garnett (which is given at length in Father Morris' *Troubles*, Third Series), leaves a strong impression that his wonderful escapes from "the snares of the fowler" in that period of bitter persecution, and active diligence on the part of the authorities and their officials, must be ascribed to more than human means. Having received his early classical education in local schools, he studied philosophy first at Cambridge, then at Oxford, where he afterwards publicly lectured to numerous attended classes. Wood,<sup>3</sup> in his notice of the martyr, Father Alexander Briant, says : "That he had for his tutor in Harts Hall<sup>4</sup> (after he had been there for some time) one Richard Holtbie, born at Fraiton in Yorkshire, educated for a time in Cambridge, and afterwards going to Oxford, settled in the said Hall in the year 1574, æt. 21 and more, but departing without any degree in this University, he went beyond the seas to Douay, then to Rheims and other places, became a noted Jesuit, and spun out his time to a fair age." Being strongly drawn towards the ancient faith of his forefathers, he instilled the same sentiments into the hearts of his pupils, strengthened them therein with great zeal, and could

<sup>2</sup> Father Morris, in his volume of *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 105, seq., has given a memoir of Father Holtby, as a fitting accompaniment to that Father's narrative of the persecutions in the north, written to his Superior, Father Henry Garnett.

<sup>3</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 210. Edit. 1720.

<sup>4</sup> Now Hertford College.

not endure that they should frequent the public assemblies and services of the Protestant Church. His conscience was ill at ease, and he suffered many troubles on account of his Catholic leanings, and therefore determined to free himself from them, and to secure the salvation of his soul; and consequently renouncing all expectations of University preferment which lay open before him, he passed over to Douay, which he reached on August 7, 1577, was reconciled to the Catholic Church, and there, and at Rheims, spent three years in the study of Holy Scriptures and casuistry. Then, taking Holy Orders at Cambray in 1578, he returned to England, where, entirely devoting himself to the northern districts, as far as the Scottish borders, he proved himself a strenuous labourer in the vineyard of Christ, by constantly traversing those wild and rugged tracts of country.

Great as was the fruit of his zeal, he was dissatisfied with himself on account of his deficiency in the learning most suitable for the apostolical life he had embraced, especially in the art of conducting controversial disputations with ministers and learned Protestants. In deliberating upon a remedy for this, no better plan occurred to him than to enrol himself in the Religious Order of the Society of Jesus, which he had long known to abound in men who, according to their Institute, were entirely devoted to the work of saving souls. He was confirmed in this intention by his acquaintance with Father Edmund Campian, whom he had received into his own house when engaged in apostolical labours near the same locality, and whom he had assisted to secure a retired spot, in which he might complete his book of *The Ten Reasons of the Orthodox Faith*, addressed to the Universities. He had also known at Douay several members of the Society, amongst whom were Fathers Martial, Coloñb, and Bustard. Moreover, after the happy death of Father Campian, the mind of Father Holtby was so powerfully enlightened with Divine illuminations (which he ascribed to the merits and prayers of the martyr) that, while walking in a garden, he by some interior impulse suddenly fell upon his knees and there uttered the three religious vows of the Society. As his services were then required by the Catholics, being the time of Lent, he added a fourth vow of undertaking a journey to London, to petition Father Jasper Haywood, then Superior of the Mission in England, to admit him into the Society after Easter Sunday.

He arrived in London, but not meeting with Father Haywood, who was engaged elsewhere in ministerial and official duties, in obedience to the same Divine impulse he sold his horse, and with the money thus raised crossed over to France. Father Thomas Darbyshire being at that time in Paris, Father Richard opened his mind to him, and after making the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, was duly admitted to the Society by Father Otho Page, the Provincial, in 1583, and was sent to Verdun to make his noviceship. He then studied theology at Pont-à-Mousson, where he was appointed to the charge of the Scotch Seminary. The city was not long after depopulated by a terrible pestilence, and the students were dispersed into various localities, but he remained at his post with thirteen companions, ten of whom, struck down with the plague, he buried with his own hands. He himself and two lay-brothers escaped, though they had used no other medical preservative than the washing their faces and hands with vinegar. After breathing the fresh air of Treves, he was sent into England by Father Claude Matthew, the Provincial, under directions from the Very Reverend Father General Aquaviva. The members of the Society were at that time so few in England that his first care on arriving was to associate to himself, as fellow-labourers, several secular clergy from the Seminaries abroad, distributing them in various places, and liberally supplying them with money and horses.

About the year 1593, he was at Thornby, the seat of John Trollope, Esq., as appears from the notice given to Government by Thomas Clarke, an apostate priest, who, in his examination before the Protestant Bishop of Durham and other Commissioners, says<sup>5</sup> that he was ordered by Mr. Barrett, then President of Rheims, to come to England to reconcile the people to the Church of Rome, to say Mass, &c. "Came over with two other priests, John Bennett, a Welshman and a Jesuit, and Francis Clayton, of Derbyshire, in a French bottom. Landed at Newcastle, and with Clayton went to Mr. Trollop, of Thornby, or Thornley, Durham, where they met Richard Holtby, a Jesuit, to whom they were especially directed. Staid there a week, and had a fresh jerkin made. Knows not what became of Clayton and Bennett. Brought over no letters, *superaltare*, or such like, as the Jesuits have authority to make and consecrate such stuff as is needful. Said Mass there to Mr. Trollop and his family."

<sup>5</sup> State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlv. n. 5, 1593, Jan. 7.

In vol. ccxlv. n. 24, of the same State Papers, is "A list of certain priests that are in the north country."

Richard Holtby *alias* Duckett, a Jesuite, was for the most parte abidinge at Mr. Trollop's house at Thorneley, in the Byshoprike of Durham, and came over v. yeares paste; hee is a little man, with a reddish bearde, about the age of xliij. yeares, and was borne in Yorkshere.

Francis Stafferton	}	All priests, were allso at the same Mr. Trollop's house two yeares paste.
John Nillson		
Francis Cleyton		

Cuthbert Johnson	}	Priests resorte to the Ladye Conestable, wife of Sir Henry Conestable, at Upsall, in Richmondshire.
Richemond		

Cuthbert Crafford was at Mrs. Katherine Ratcliffe's house called Ugthorpe, in Blackamore, in the com. of Yorke, a yeare paste.

Martin Nellson, preeste, useth for the most parte at Whitby Abbey with the Ladye Scrope, and was there a yeare paste.

Richard Monke.

John Muche.

Stapleton.

Middleton.

Byshop.

Yates.

Alexander Rawlins

Peter Gonne

Peter Snowe

Richard Parker, *alias* Smith

Roger Redon

Thomas Jackson

Anthony Page

John Wilton

William Muche

Sherwood

Edward Osberton

}	All these priests I have seene at the house of John Hodgeson, called Crowmonte, in Blackamore, neere to the sea-side, a yeare paste.
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}	As I have heard these kepe in Yorkeshyre, but in what place I know not.
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Father Holtby about this time had a very narrow escape from falling into the hands of the pursuivants. Accompanied by Mr. Trollope's eldest son, he had taken a distant journey to baptize an infant, whose parents wished it to be baptized according to the rites of the Catholic Church. They were returning, and were already within a bow-shot of the house, when they providentially discovered that it was surrounded by sentinels, and at once understood that the pursuivants were engaged in searching it.<sup>6</sup> The guards by chance espied them, and were waiting in expectation of their falling into their nets; but, turning upon their heels, they ran as fast as their legs could carry them to a certain wood, or cover for game, into the intricacies of which they retired and secreted them-

<sup>6</sup> This search at Mr. Trollope's house is also referred to in Father Richard Holtby's report to Father Gamett, *Troubles*, Third Series.

selves as well as they could in a spot where the foliage was thickest. Here they spent two days and nights in silence, and in anxious watching, as long as they deemed it necessary for avoiding all danger. In like manner within the house, Mr. and Mrs. Trollope, with one of their little boys, a niece aged thirteen years, and two servants, remained shut up for the space of three days and nights, without a drop of water or a morsel of bread; until by their patience they had overcome the obstinacy of the guards and searchers, on whose departure they issued forth from what might have been their sepulchre. Almost at the same time Father Holtby, along with their eldest son, came in from their shelter in the wood.<sup>7</sup>

Father Bartoli,<sup>8</sup> speaking of the cruel laws enacted by the Parliament of 1593 against Catholics, especially in Lancashire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, and even to the Scottish borders, and enforced by the President of the North with brutal severity, adds that Father Holtby wrote an account of the calamities which he had witnessed and mourned over. This account may be seen in the report to Father Garnett written 1593.<sup>9</sup> In 160 $\frac{2}{3}$ , we find Father Holtby at Heborne, the residence of Mr. Hodgson, three miles from Newcastle, as appears by a document in the State Paper Office, *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 160 $\frac{2}{3}$ , "A list of the names of the Jesuits in England," endorsed by Cecil, "The Jesuits that lurk in England." "Mr. Holtby with Mr. Hodgson, at Heborne, three miles from Newcastle." In 160 $\frac{5}{6}$ , he was at Halton, Northumberland, the seat of Launcelot Carnaby, Esq., as appears by a State Paper, *Dom. James I.* vol. xx. n. 45, 1606, "The examination of John Healy, who confesses that he hath been at many Masses with the said L. Carnaby, his master, at his house at Halton, Northumberland, since Michaelmas last; which Masses were

<sup>7</sup> In the introduction to the "Corby Family" will be found a very interesting paper from the State Papers, P.R.O., regarding Mr. Trollope, who in 1597 had been arrested and committed to prison. This paper gives a copy of his examination, &c.

<sup>8</sup> *Inghilterra*, lib. v. p. 47. Edition of 1825.

<sup>9</sup> The original, which was sent by Father Holtby in 1594, is in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. ii. n. 12. Upon it is the following note by Father Grene: "It seems the handwriting of Richard Fetherston by comparing it with divers his writings. *Sed quis hic R. Fetherston?* Certainly it was Father R. Holtby, *alias* North, Fetherston, Ducket." The late Dr. Tierney, in his edition of Dodd's *Church History of England*, obtained leave to use it, and made many extracts. A full copy of it is given in Father Morris' *Troubles*, Third Series. A document of such historical importance, from an eye-witness, could not admit of abbreviations.

said, sometimes by Sicklemore, the priest, sometimes by one Southern, a priest, and one by Father Holtby, a Jesuit, and divers times both heard Mass at the house of Robert Errington, of Limell, Northumberland, where Sicklemore was ordinarily entertained."

In the year 1606-7, James I. promulgated more stringent oaths of allegiance and supremacy than had ever before been enacted. In the notice given of Father William Wright, the great champion of the rights of the Holy See, so grievously assailed by these oaths, in the history of the College of the Immaculate Conception<sup>10</sup> this severe edict is mentioned, with the courageous opposition of Father Wright, and the unhappy fall of the archpriest Blackwell, who being then a prisoner for the faith in the Clink Prison, Southwark, succumbed, and both took the condemned oath of allegiance himself, and wrote a letter to the Catholics of England, advising them to do the same. Father Holtby had then succeeded Father Henry Garnett as Superior, and with great prudence, and acting upon the best advice, he forbade the members of the Society in England, then (1606) numbering forty-two, to take any other step than simply give an answer to such as sought their advice upon the taking or not taking of the oath. They were not to write or preach about it, nor give any public expression of opinion; as they would thus avoid all appearance of contradicting others, and nothing gave greater satisfaction to the Protestants than to see parties and divisions amongst Catholics. Upon this matter Father More<sup>11</sup> says that Father Holtby (who, ten years before, had been the comforter of Father Henry Walpole by writing to him in his cell in York Castle) first forbade the members of the Society in England to pronounce any opinion upon it, and then sent off a copy to Rome to the General of the Society, personally consulting the most learned of the clergy he could find in and about London. This he did by seeing them individually, and also in a meeting assembled at the archpriest's house, where he desired to obtain their opinion, both as to the new law, and as to the advice to be given to inquirers. Finding a want of firmness and unanimity amongst those assembled, he preferred to wait for an answer from Rome rather than have anything defined by the meeting, even should all agree in rejecting the oath. With the new enactments of government also came up the old question

<sup>10</sup> *Records*, vol. ii. Series III. part. ii.

<sup>11</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. viii. n. 6.

regarding attendance at the Protestant services, and whether it were a grave sin to do so. In answer to each question His Holiness Pope Paul V. issued a Brief, 10 kal. October, 1606, condemning them with strict censures. On receiving a copy of this Brief, Father Holtby immediately sent it to the archpriest George Blackwell, who opened it with pain and reluctance, and published it with still greater unwillingness. Then follows the affectionate letter of expostulation by Father Robert Parsons to his old friend the archpriest, with whom likewise Cardinal Bellarmine and Father Holtby both remonstrated in vain. This Brief was followed by another a year later, confirming the first. Father Holtby, with all reverence and respect towards the Holy See, enjoined its observance upon the Fathers of the English mission, and sent copies to the various houses in Belgium belonging to the English Province, together with the answer received from the Father General in Rome.

In November, 1609, Father Holtby was on a visit to Louvain, and said Mass at St. Peter's,<sup>12</sup> a convent of the Nuns of St. Monica. In the collection of Old Clergy Chapter MSS. is a very long letter from Father Holtby to Father Robert Parsons (under the name of Marco Mercante), dated May 6, 1609. This letter, partly in cipher, is almost entirely confined to matters of missionary detail. Among other points of news, the writer says, "Here were lately up in arms in Gloucestershire some three or four hundred women to resist the King's officers about cutting down the wood of the Forest of Dean. They were suppressed by one Sir Edward Wynter and the Sheriff, and many men of wealth are called in question for it, and some in prison. Poor recusants are still ransacked by the Bishop's pursuivants. My Lord of Canterbury looketh daily for R. S. his negotiations. O Lord! grant us quietness and peace, &c. I commit you to our sweet Saviour His keeping."

The following is a copy from a paper, endorsed, "Copy of Mr. Osbeston his letter, sent by Father Richard Holtby."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Troubles*, First Series, p. 50.

<sup>13</sup> The Rev. Edward Osbaldeston, who was executed at York, Nov. 16, 1594-5, for his priestly character. *Vide* Bishop Challoner, *Missionary Priests*, who gives this letter, a copy of which he says he had in his possession. He was of the family of Osbaldeston of Osbaldeston, near Blackburn, Lancashire. He was educated in Douay College during its residence in Rheims, ordained priest in 1585, and sent upon the English Mission April 27, 1589. After labouring in it for some years, he was apprehended September 30, 1594, and committed to York Gaol. His letter was written to his fellow-prisoner.

“I was apprehended at Toullerton by Mr. Thomas Clarke, the apostate priest, upon St. Jerome’s day at night, a thing much more to my comfort than at any other time, for that I had such a special patron to commend myself unto, and such a stout champion under Christ as he to whom I may in all my troubles and distresses fly unto as a great and special friend of God, and besides it pleased God (much to my comfort) to let this sign of His love to fall unto me that day, above all others, for that it was God His great goodness to call me to the honour of priesthood, and that upon St. Jerome’s day I said my first Mass, and then actually consecrated the blessed Body and Blood of my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and received Him with great reverence and devotion, and ever since have honoured St. Jerome. And that morning before I came forth of the house made my prayers to blessed St. Jerome, and in his merits offered myself a sacrifice to God, and committed my journey to Him direct to His good will and pleasure, and that I might walk aright in my vocation, and to follow St. Jerome as long as God should see it expedient for His Church, and most to His honour and glory, and that if it pleased Him to preserve me still as He had done before, I never would refuse to labour, nor murmur at any pain or travail ; and if it should please His Majesty to suffer me to fall into the persecutor’s hands, that then it would please His infinite goodness to protect me to the end, which I hope no doubt but He will, after so many and great goodnesses and gifts as He hath bestowed on me, over all my life, which are without number and inexplicable. Wherefore my hope and trust is much holpen that now He will be most sure unto me, sith this is the weightiest matter that ever I was about in my life. And so, considering these and infinite others more such like, I find great comfort, and fully trust in God His goodness, and distrust only in myself. But in Him that comforteth me I can do all things. And this actual relation of myself that morning, and this that ensued maketh me very comfortable, and bringeth me into many good and heavenly cogitations, feeling His strength so much as I have done in lesser matters, and further off from Him than this is. Therefore, I nothing doubt by His grace but He will grant me to finish that which was for Him, and by Him begun, which I pray God I may worthily do, when His good will and pleasure is, and not before, and that I may not wish or desire anything in this

life, but that which may best please Him and honour Him, and our Blessed Lady, His Mother, and all the court of heaven the most, and edify the people, and strengthen them in the way of Jesus, the King of bliss.

“The manner was thus : Francis Sayer and I came to the inn before Mr. Clarke, and we all came before night, and I knew him not fully, for that I thought he had been in the south, and at supper I looked earnestly, and methought it should be he, and yet I still persuaded with myself that he knew me not, and if he should know me he would do me no harm, which fell out otherwise, God forgive him for it, and so, when we should go to bed, he went and called the curate, the constable, and apprehended us, and watched us that night, and came with us to York, and stood by when I was examined before the Council, but said nothing then as I heard, and he was present at afternoon, when I was called again, and since I have been nothing said unto. What will follow God knoweth ; but I will not be partial to myself, but prepare me for death and what else may befall unto me. And I hope he got my horse, for he rode on him to the town in my company, and kept a fell stir with me all the way we were together till we came to Skelton, and then he and another rode before us, and they got of me all a whole suit of church stuff. Now, I pray you, for God’s sake, what you hear or learn let me know, and what is the best course for me to take in all points, and how my brethren have behaved themselves in their cases that have gone before me, and for myself I yearn and desire in all points to live in discipline and order, and as the common live ; and what I have or shall have it shall be in common, and therefore I pray you direct me in all things, both for my apparel and diet, and everything, and as my brethren have gone before, so would I follow in the humble sort.”

On the copy of this letter is written in Father Holtby’s hand, “He had a desire and voice to enter into the Society.”

The following letter is believed to be from Father Richard Holtby to Father Henry Garnett, the Superior of the English Mission. It is indorsed, “A letter about the behaviour and and martyrdom of Father Henry Walpole, 1594 :”

“Good sir,—I thought it my duty, both to him of whom I have to write, and to yourself, to send you word of that which I have understood of Father Walpole, by a gentleman

who was his school-fellow, and familiar friend in Cambridge, and lately fellow-prisoner with him in York, who having conference with him there, hath told me what himself was there an eye-witness of. First for his usage in the Tower he would not tell him any further, but that he was divers times (my friend thinks six or seven) upon a torture, I think by his description somewhat like that of Father Southwell's, by which means both his thumbs were lamed, so that he had not the use of them; he was not upon the rack.<sup>14</sup> He was very austere unto himself after his coming out of the Tower. In all his journey he neither lay in bed, nor came upon any, but lay upon the floor. In the castle he had a little mat of a yard long, upon which he used in the night to kneel, and until dead sleep came upon him, he did not sleep. And he that lay in his chamber with him did affirm that he never wakened, but he heard the Father either pray or sigh. And sometimes, when the common prisoners in the gaol did swear and blaspheme, he should hear him softly to say *Conjuro te Sathan audis blasphemiam*. Thus saith my friend, he lay upon the stones (belike his chamber being paved or done with brick), unless he leaned upon his elbow. But besides his prayers, much part of the night he spent in making verses, whereof I send you a copy, so far as he went until his death. My friend who telleth me this hath his own copy in Yorkshire, which is so ill writ (by the defect of his thumbs) that he had very much ado to read it, though I think acquainted with his hand.

“The day time was for the most part spent in disputation with divers ministers that came unto him. At one, which was the chief, my friend was present. The disputers were one Higgins, a minister, and I think a graduate in their kind of divinity, and one Sands, son of the old man of York, deceased, and he the better wit and a fine philosopher, and able to say more than any there it is thought, but he is a man of fair living, and no minister. The questions were between them of justification, and of the continuance of faith in Peter's Chair. In the first, Higgins was in the beginning very earnest, but as his reasons grew weaker, so his words, insomuch that afterwards he deferred much unto the Father,

<sup>14</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Series I., “Life of Father Southwell,” for a description of this dreadful instrument of torture, applied ten times to Father Southwell in Topcliffe's own house, Westminster, boasting that he had invented one compared to which the ordinary racks in use were but child's play.

and kept off some other ministers when they would interrupt him or be hasty with him, showing, both with words and with countenance, that the man was to be used with reverence. The particulars my friend doth not remember. Sands desired rather to prove his part *perpetua oratione* than otherwise, trusting to his wit and fine discourse, he made a speech of an hour and a quarter long, seeking to prove that the faith first might decay by Scripture, then that it had decayed, as well by councils which he alleged as by other authorities.

“When he had done, Walpole collected all his speech, reciting the sum thereof, and all his arguments so plainly, so truly, and with so good a method, that both the dissenters [disputers?] and others gave him great thanks, and seemed to say they had not heard the like. Then he answered the particulars with great facility, and, as my friend saith, he showed a great memory, laying down unto them the stories of those councils, and declaring how they were never confirmed, &c. Sands would sometimes interrupt him, but still he was satisfied, and drew nearer and nearer by granting many particulars. Insomuch that he said in the end publicly there was little difference between their opinions, using the Greek word that their difference was but in *Microticon*, I think he said. One minister, standing by my friend, having seen the Father stand so still when the other was speaking so long together, and afterwards seeing him speak so fully to the matter, and so amply, he said softly to himself, ‘This is a close fellow,’ said he, affirming it with an oath. Finally, all the company did show great satisfaction, both in his modesty, wisdom, and learning, and desired him then with great instancy that he would yield but in the least point, or do something to save his life, which, they said, they greatly pitied.

“At the time of his execution, first they brought out Mr. Alexander,<sup>15</sup> and the people would have him lie on the right side, but he refused, saying that was provided for a better man. There went divers of the chief to Walpole, to entreat him, and stayed him two hours almost, the other lying upon the hurdle. One time they asked him what he said of the Queen, and whether he would pray for her—as I take it, this was their question—and he answered he took her for his Queen, and honoured her, and would pray for her; with which answer, they being desirous to save him, ran to the President.

<sup>15</sup> Rev. Alexander Rawlins, secular clergyman (see Bishop Challoner’s *Missionary Priests*).

But it pleased God that he propounded another question, willing them to ask him, what if the Pope should excommunicate her, &c., and forbid men to pray for her. (I do not well remember this question, but I will inquire better of it.) Whether, then, he would do as before? He answered he might not, nor would not. Then they carried him away.

“Mr. Alexander was first put to death, who, being taken up, went first to Father Walpole to ask his benediction. They had been laid contrary ways upon the hurdle, and Father Walpole’s head next unto the horses. Mr. Alexander, going up the ladder, kissed it; and the people bade him kiss the rope also. He said he would with all his heart, and so did when he came unto it. When he was dead they showed him to Father Walpole, still using persuasions. When he was up the ladder they still cried upon him to yield in the least point—but to say he would confer—and he should be saved. He answered, ‘You know I have conferred.’ They kept him long with some questions, and [he] satisfied all in a few words, and prayed much. At length some asked him what he thought of the Queen’s supremacy. He answered: ‘She doth challenge it, but I may not grant it!’ His last prayer was *Pater Noster*, and he was beginning *Ave Maria* when they turned him over the ladder. They let him hang until he were dead. There were very many of the best sort there present, and the High Sheriff went with him to his death, which was never seen in the country before. I am promised a piece of his heart, which was taken out of the fire whole when the people were gone.”

In 1612 Father Holtby seems to have been in London; for in a letter of Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, to King James, dated Croydon, August 10, 1612,<sup>16</sup> a long extract of which is given in the notice of Father John Blackfan, belonging to the Residence of St. Dominic,<sup>17</sup> Abbot states that Jones the Jesuit, their present, and Holtby their late Superior, were then in London. By a letter of William James, Bishop of Durham, to Salisbury, dated Bishop’s Auckland, July 4, 1611,<sup>18</sup> it appears that Robert Holtby, brother to the Jesuit, had been apprehended and sent to gaol for refusing the oath of allegiance. The Bishop requests a line of approval to Dethinck and Barnes, the pursuivants, who had intercepted a

<sup>16</sup> State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Jac. I.* vol. lxx. n. 35, 1612.

<sup>17</sup> *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV.

<sup>18</sup> State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Jac. I.* vol. lxxv. n. 11, 1611.

letter from Andrew Duckett to the said Robert Holtby, pitying his afflictions. This letter maintains the oath to be unlawful, suggests reasons against it to be urged by him, and advises him to express his willingness to take an oath of temporal allegiance, and then to escape by fleeing his persecutors.

Father Holtby was of a robust constitution, and spared himself no fatigue in labouring for the good of souls. Every leisure moment was put out to interest, and he was never to be found idle. On the removal of Father Henry Garnett, who was martyred in St. Paul's Churchyard, May 3, 1606, Father Holtby was appointed to succeed him as Superior of the English Mission and his government, during the three years that he retained office, was signalized by prudence, industry, firmness, and charity. Father More<sup>19</sup> says that from the year 1589, in which he arrived in England, until 1640, the year of his death, he was never attacked by any bodily sickness, and contrived to baffle and escape all the nets of the pursuivants who hunted after him, labouring at the same time indefatigably in his functions, and gathering in a large harvest of souls and of merit. He was also a skilful mechanic handling well any kind of tool whatever, as opportunity required. He could do the work of gardener, mason, carpenter, or turner, and built such well-contrived hiding-places for priests, that it was said that there were none constructed by him which did not escape the efforts of the most obstinate searchers. He was also clever in plying the needle, making vestments, &c., for the use of the altar. One of his vestments was sent as a specimen to the Very Rev. Father General, Mutius Vitelleschi, in Rome, and was long preserved in the sacristy of the Gesù. He died a holy death in the north of England, May 25, 1640, æt. 87; having spent in the Society fifty-eight years; and being solemnly professed of the four vows for thirty-seven years. He was always a zealous cultivator of holy poverty, which he exhibited in his dress, when at table, in his room, and in his bed. At the same time, he was most munificent towards others, especially those who were detained in prison for the cause of the faith, and to all priests who had recently arrived to labour in the vineyard of Christ.

The summary of the deceased members of the English Province (1640) states his age as eighty-nine, adding that he

<sup>19</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.*

had been a priest for sixty-three years, that he was indefatigable in labour, and possessed of a strength of constitution above his years, that he deserved well of all by a long religious warfare, not only in the northern parts of England, but throughout the country; that he governed the English Mission happily for several years, guiding its course through times of great difficulty. At length, freed from the duties of government, in order to consecrate his last remaining moments to what would still be useful, he spent his time in making altar cloths, vestments, &c., sometimes in carpentering, at other times in constructing hiding-places for priests. By much exertion he managed to escape the dangers of the times, even up to extreme old age, and was thus able to render great assistance to Catholics.

SETH FORSTER.—We extract the following brief autobiographical account of a relative of Father Holtby from the scholars' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome.

"1610. Seth Forster, aged nineteen last December. My parents were then schismatics. I was born at Irswick, a village two miles from York.<sup>20</sup> My parents were respectable—William and Mary Forster; my mother died a Catholic in the above village. My father was converted to the faith by the Rev. Father Holtby, and, on account of the difficulties he encountered in consequence, leaving his property to his eldest son, he migrated to Belgium. I have several brothers, two of them are Catholics, the rest Protestants; also several sisters, one of whom is a nun in the English Convent of St. Bridget, Lisbon. The rest, with one exception, are schismatics. I have also several uncles, one of whom is a priest and confessor to the nuns in the said convent, and the manager of their affairs, another is a Catholic in England, the rest are heretics. I have several relations, one of them being the said Father Holtby S.J.; another is a Franciscan Father in England; the rest are heretics. As long as I was in England I made my rudimental studies in various places, the rest at St. Omer's College, where I was reconciled to the Church by the Rev. Father George Keynes."

<sup>20</sup> *Irswecci*, that is Osbaldwick, two miles from York. An antiquarian friend kindly tells the Editor that in old documents the name of this place has been variously written. Mrs. Mary Ward is said in an old Latin book by Khaman, to have been buried at *Osbrigæ*; she was interred at Osbaldwick. In another case it is changed into Orswick. Osbrige might have been Osburge or Osburgh—burgh and wick are the same.

FATHER GEORGE HOLTBY, *alias* DUCKETT, a nephew and convert of Father Richard Holtby, and who entered the Society in 1617, will be noticed in a future series, containing the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Hereford and South Wales district, of which he was Rector in 1655.

ROBERT HOLTBY.—Another relation and convert of Father Holtby, and probably a brother of Father George Holtby, *alias* Duckett, also entered the English College, Rome. We give the following extract from the students' interrogatories :

"1617. Robert Holtby, in his twentieth year, born at St. Oswald's, Yorkshire, where for four years he was brought up by Protestants. His parents, both Catholics, were dead. He had three brothers and three sisters, Catholics. Has Protestant relations, the Thorntons, the Butlers, the Chaterers, Askwiths, &c. ; his Catholic relations were the Holtbys, the Metcalfes, Ratcliffs, Waits, Franks, and Mettams. He had been always a heretic, until ten years ago, when he was converted to the true faith by Father Richard Holtby."

### LIFE OF BROTHER RALPH EMERSON.

(*Lay Brother of the Society of Jesus, and Companion of Father Edmund Campian, Martyr.*)

IF all the adventures and escapes, the tortures and sufferings of this simple, but holy and heroic member of the English Province of the Society of Jesus could be recorded, they would furnish materials for an exciting romance. We gather from his examination, taken before Sir George Hopton and others in his prison of the Clink, London, April 17, 1593,<sup>1</sup> that he was a native of the Bishopric of Durham, born about the year 1551, and was professed as Temporal Coadjutor in the Society at Rome, in the year 1579. He therefore probably commenced his noviceship about 1569, at the age of eighteen. From Father Henry More's *History of the English Province* he appears to have been one of the three first Englishmen of his degree in the Society. He was one of the army of missionaries sent from Rome on April 18, 1580, by Pope Gregory XIII., at the instance of Doctor, afterwards Cardinal, Allen. Of that noble band Fathers Robert Parsons and Edmund Campian, were the leaders. Brother

<sup>1</sup> See p. 35.

Emerson was the special companion of Father Campian in the journey to England, and also during his short but fruitful twelvemonths of apostolical labour. "The army of missionaries was led by Dr. Goldwell, the Bishop of St. Asaph; with him were Dr. Morton, the Penitentiary of St. Peter's, and four old priests of the English Hospital. . . . Lawrence Vaux, the old Prior of Manchester, was drawn from his cell at Louvain, and several young priests from Rheims joined the company. . . . Finally there were the two Fathers Campion and Parsons, with Ralph Emerson, a lay-brother; and thus all ranks in the Church—priests, both secular and regular, and laymen—had their share in this great spiritual enterprise." <sup>2</sup>

A Government agent or spy in Rome had furnished Walsingham with "a list of the names of all such English scollers as be in the English Seminarie at Rome, the Pope's scollers ther." Also "the doctors that be in Rome"—item, "the gents that be in Rome"—with those at Rheims, Paris, and Doway; then follows, "Ther departed from Rome the xviii day of April, 1579-80, and came together into Englande—Father Edmund Campian, Jesuit prieste, Father John [Robert] Parsons, Jesuit priest, and his brother, Dr. Crane, Dr. Bromebrey, Dr. Kent, Dr. Gabbatt, Father Raffe Sherwin,<sup>3</sup> prieste, Father Luke Kerbie, prieste, Mr. John Pascall, gent., Mr. Thomas Briscoe in the Tower." This document is amongst the State Papers. *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cxlviii., n. 61, 1581. It does not name Ralph Emerson, but he was no doubt the "brother" or lay-brother companion of Father Parsons.

Before the missionaries departed for England,<sup>4</sup> the places of Bishop Goldwell and Dr. Morton, who were obliged to stay behind, were filled up by two priests of Rheims, Dr. Ely and Mr. John Hart. They were also joined by Father Thomas Cottam, an English Jesuit, who had been long labouring in Poland, and who was ordered to go to his native country simply

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Campion*, p. 101. By the late R. Simpson, Esq.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Ralph Sherwin suffered death with Father Campian at Tyburn, December 1, 1581.

<sup>4</sup> As the life of Ralph Emerson, the brother companion of Fathers Parsons and Campian, the founders of the English Mission, is so intimately connected with that important event, we shall give, by way of addenda at the end of this biographical sketch, a short account of the mission, taken from the Annual Letters of the Society in 1580-1; also a useful historical document taken from the archives of the English College, Rome, showing the names of all the priests who, under Pope Gregory XIII., were sent into England from the English Colleges of Rome and of Rheims, from 1575 to 1585 inclusive.

for the recovery of his health.<sup>5</sup> They wisely determined not to risk their whole adventure in one boat, but to divide themselves into small parties, and to reach England by different routes. . . . Lastly, Campion, Parsons, and Ralph Emerson went, on June 6, to St. Omer, where was a fair College of the Order. They had to travel through a country filled with soldiers, perilous to any one falling into their hands. . . . When they reached the residence of St. Omer the Flemish Fathers thought their safe coming thither to be miraculous, and tried to dissuade them from carrying out their undertaking any further. It would be tempting Providence to dare such an accumulation of new dangers. . . . The Queen and Council had been informed of their coming, and were much exasperated. Several spies who knew all their names, who had lived with them in Rome, and could describe their persons and habits, had furnished particular information to the Council, who in turn had given it to the searchers and officers of all the ports, so that it was impossible to enter without being seized. Nay, their very portraits had been taken and were sent to the officers to help in identifying them.”<sup>6</sup>

From St. Omer Father Parsons had gone forward to prepare the way, and arrived safely in England on June 12, 1580, personating a captain returning from Flanders to England, provided with “a dress of buff layd with gold lace, and hatt and feather suted to the same.” He then proceeded to London, having informed the searchers at Dover (who had not the least suspicion of Father Parsons, and actually furnished “the captain” with a horse to ride to Gravesend) that a friend of his, a merchant of jewels, one Mr. Edmund, would arrive shortly, to whom the searchers promised to show every attention.

Whilst this was going on in England, Father Campian was left in doubt and anxiety at St. Omer, from whence he wrote the following letter to the Very Reverend Father General Everard Mercurian:<sup>7</sup>

“Father Robert, with Brother George his companion, had sailed from Calais after midnight on the day before I began writing this; the wind was very good, so we hope that he

<sup>5</sup> See his Life in *Records*, vol. ii. Series II., “College of St. Aloysius.” Father Cottam suffered death for the faith at Tyburn, May 30, 1582, æt. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of Campion*, p. 120.

<sup>7</sup> This letter is given in Father More’s *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. iii. p. 63. We insert it here, adopting Mr. Simpson’s translation in his *Life of Campion*, p. 124.

reached Dover some time yesterday morning, June 16. He was dressed up like a soldier—such a peacock, such a swaggerer, that a man must needs have very sharp eyes to catch a glimpse of any holiness and modesty shrouded beneath such a garb, such a look, such a strut! Yet our minds cannot but misgive us when we hear all men—I will not say whispering, but crying the news of our coming. It is a venture which only the wisdom of God can bring to good, and to His wisdom we lovingly resign ourselves. According to orders I have stayed behind for a time, to try, if possible, to fish some news about Father Robert's success out of the carriers, or out of certain merchants who are to come to these parts, before I sail across. If I hear anything I will advise upon it, but in any case I will go over and take part in the fight, though I die for it. It often happens that the first rank of a conquering army is knocked over. Indeed, if our Society is to go on with this adventure, the ignorance and wickedness, against which this war is declared, will have to be overthrown. On June 20 I mean to go to Calais; in the meantime I live in the College of St. Omer, where I am dressing up myself and my companion Ralph. You may imagine the expense, especially as none of our old things can be henceforth used. As we want to disguise our persons, and to cheat the madness of this world, we are obliged to buy several little things which seem to us altogether absurd. Our journey, these clothes, and four horses, which we must buy as soon as we reach England, may possibly square with our money, but only with the help of the Providence which multiplied the loaves in the wilderness. This, indeed, is not our least difficulty, so let us have done with it. I will not yet close this letter, that I may add whatever news reaches me during these three days. For though our lot will be cast one way or other before you read this, yet I thought I ought, while I am here, to trace every particular of this great business, and the last doings on which the rest, as yet unwritten, will hang. There is a certain English gentleman very knowing in matters of state, who comes very often to me.<sup>8</sup> He tells me that the coming of the

<sup>8</sup> This was Mr. George Chamberlain, a gentleman of high connection, and an exile for his faith. Being discreet and well qualified to give advice, Fathers Parsons and Campian had often consulted him as to the best plan of acting, though not as to the mission itself, which had already been decided upon. The Fathers laid their plans before him and all the assembled Fathers of the Flemish College of St. Omer, who approved of them, &c. (Simpson's *Life of Campian*, pp. 120, 121).

Bishop of St. Asaph is canvassed in letters and in conversation. Great expectations are raised by it; for most men think that such a man, at his age, would never undertake such a task except there was some rising on foot. I told him in the simplest manner the true cause of his coming. Still he did not cease wondering; for the episcopal name and function is in high honour in England.

“To-day the wind is falling, so I will make haste to the sea. I have been thoroughly well treated in St. Omer’s College, and helped to all things needful. Indeed, in our whole journey we received incredible comfort in all the residences of our Fathers. We also enjoyed the hospitality of two most illustrious cardinals, Paleotto and Borromeo, and of the Archpriest Collensi. We purposely avoided Paris and Douay. I think we are safe unless we are betrayed in the sea-side places. I have stayed a day longer than I meant, and as I hear nothing good or bad of Father Robert, I persuade myself that he has got through safely. I pray God ever to protect your reverence, and your assistants, and the whole Society. Farewell. June 20, 1580.”

Father Campian must have received Father Parson’s communication immediately after closing this letter to the Father General; he at once, with full confidence of success, prepared to follow. He rejoiced that the feast of his patron, St. John the Baptist, was so near at hand; indeed, he chanced to cross over on the very day, for he was obliged to wait at Calais four days for a fair wind, and at last put to sea on the evening of the 24th of June, and reached Dover before daylight. He landed on the sands, and, retiring behind a large rock, fell on his knees, and commended his cause and his whole coming to God, whether for life or death. Then he and Brother Ralph went to look for the searcher, whom they hoped to find in as good a humour as Father Parsons had left him; but times were changed, for strict orders had come down to him from the Council, to look more diligently to his charge, with a reprimand to him and the mayor for having, as was supposed, allowed certain priests to pass that way into the realm.

Besides this, some spy had written word to the Council from France that Mr. Gabriel Allen, brother to Dr. Allen, was about to visit his friends in Lancashire; and a description of Mr. Allen’s person had been furnished, agreeing in the main with the stature, features, and person of Father Campian.

Hereupon he and Ralph were seized and carried before the Mayor of Dover. He charged them with being foes of the Queen's religion, and friends of the old faith, with sailing under false names, with having been abroad for religion, and with returning for the purpose of propagating Popery. Campian, he declared, was Allen, but this the Father offered to swear was not the case. At last the mayor resolved to send them up under guard to the Council, and ordered the horses to be prepared. Father Campian all the while was standing praying in his heart to God, and begging the intercession of his patron St. John the Baptist. Then an old man came forth from the chamber whither the Mayor had retired: "You are dismissed," he said, "good-bye." He and Ralph hereupon made all haste they could to London, where he was anxiously expected, and where much prayer was being made for his safety, the great fear being what would happen on his first arrival. But it chanced that when the boat in which he was a passenger came to the Hythe at London, Thomas Jay, one of the Catholic Club was watching for him; <sup>9</sup> he had never seen him, but partly through Father Parson's description of his person and apparel, partly through seeing him in company with the little Brother Ralph, who had also been described to him, he suspected him to be the man, and so boldly stepped to the boat's side. "Mr. Edmund," he said, "give me your hand; I stay here for you, to lead you to your friends." And he led him to the house in Chancery-lane, where George Gilbert and the rest clothed and armed him like a gentleman, and furnished him with a horse.<sup>10</sup>

Father Campian again mentions Brother Ralph in a letter he wrote to the Very Reverend Father General in November, 1580, from London, which is a sort of continuation of his letter of June, 1580, from St. Omer. He says: "So we arrived safely at Dover the morrow following very early, my little man and I together. There we were on the very point to be taken, being by commandment brought before the mayor of the town, who conjectured many things—suspected us to be such as indeed we were, adversaries of the new heretical faction, favourers of the old father's faith, &c. 'One thing he specially urged, that I was Dr. Allen, which I denied,

<sup>9</sup> For an account of the Young Men's Catholic Club, established by George Gilbert, and its objects, *vide* the "Life of George Gilbert," in Series X. of present volume.

<sup>10</sup> Simpson's *Life of Campian*, pp. 125, seq.

proffering my oath, if need were, for the verifying thereof. At length he resolveth, and that it so should be, he often repeated, that with some to guard me I should be sent to the Council. Neither can I tell who altered his determination, saving God, to Whom, underhand, I then humbly prayed, using St. John's intercession also, by whose happy help I came safely so far. Suddenly cometh forth an old man—God give him grace for his labour!—"Well," quoth he, 'it is agreed you shall be dismissed; fare you well.' And we to go apace. The which thing considered, and the like that daily befall unto me, I am verily persuaded that one day I shall be apprehended, but that when it shall most pertain to God's glory, and not before."<sup>11</sup>

Father Henry More<sup>12</sup> shortly notices Brother Ralph Emerson. He observes that several English temporal coadjutors or lay-brothers were adopted into the Society, attracted alike by the sanctity of that degree, as by the liberality of the Father General in admitting them. He mentions three by name: John Pellison, William Lambert, and Ralph Emerson.<sup>13</sup> Ralph Emerson is spoken of as having been the companion of Father Campian in his journeys from Rome and in England, and afterwards of Fathers Creighton and Holt in Scotland, then of Father Parsons in France: as returning again into England with Father Weston, and as being for several years a prisoner in the London prison so often referred to, and known as the Clink, where his devotion and patience redounded to the glory of his Master. Being removed to Wisbeach Castle, he suffered much from bodily infirmity, having been attacked with paralysis.

<sup>11</sup> A full copy of this letter is given in the "Life of George Gilbert." A very good copy in Latin is amongst the State Papers, P.R.O., *Dom. Eliz.* vol. xxvii. n. 60, Addenda.

<sup>12</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. i. n. 31, p. 31.

<sup>13</sup> Little is recorded about the first two. Of Brother Pellison Father More finds the following notice in a letter of Father Polancus, written in the name of Father General Laynez, to Father Mercurian, the Provincial of Germany, afterwards General, dated Trent, October 20, 1562: "One coadjutor also is sent, John Pellison, who understands making, &c., of clothes; such an one as your Reverence asked for in your last letter." From this we may presume that the Brother was admitted to the Society in 1562, a few years after the death of St. Ignatius. Brother William Lambert, as we learn from Father More (*Ibid.* p. 31), was born in 1535, and admitted to the Society in the twenty-second year of his age, in the Professed House, the Gesù, Rome, July 21, 1557, one year after the death of St. Ignatius. He was the Brother cook for some years in Rome, then in Polonia and Lithuania he filled several offices in various Colleges, and showed such great industry in the care of the poor and sick as to win the esteem of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, who commonly regarded him as his doctor. He appears to have died in Poland, but the year is not mentioned.

He survived the attack, however, and was sent into exile to Belgium with the other confessors, at the commencement of James I.'s reign. Father More then briefly relates the seizure of Brother Ralph and a quantity of books which he had brought over in 1584 with Father Weston; but this is more fully recorded by Father Tanner.

Father Tanner in his *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix*, page 399, says: "Ralph Emerson deserves most justly to be enrolled in the precious catalogue of apostolical men; an Englishman by nation, who, although in the degree of a laic, spent the whole of his religious life labouring with priests in the care of souls, with Father Campian and others; and in the same cause was cruelly imprisoned in London and Wisbeach during a space of twenty years. After the mission of England had been definitely assigned by His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII. to Fathers Campian and Parsons, Ralph was attached to them as their lay-brother socius. Diminutive in stature, he yet possessed a great and noble soul; at one time attending upon them as a companion, another time as a common servant or footman, as occasion or necessity required, for the managing their journey to England with the greater security, and enabling them to perform their sacerdotal functions with greater concealment from the heretics. Arriving with the Fathers in Belgium, he remained with them there. Father Parsons preceded the other to England, Ralph following with Father Campian as a guide and guardian, to conduct him to the houses of the Catholics with whom he was acquainted. During the entire year in which Father Campian was at large and labouring for the salvation of souls, Brother Emerson continued his faithful companion and servant, his life perpetually in danger, but ready to lay it down at any moment, when the spy or pursuivant might discover in him a helper of a priest, especially of a Jesuit; this being now a capital crime. No danger however great so alarmed him but that he was ready immediately to expose himself to a greater. He had scarcely gained the port when suspicions arose in the governor's mind about them, and they were within a hair's breadth of being detained. But the governor, by the inspiration of God, certainly from no other apparent cause, ordered them to proceed free on their journey. From that moment, Ralph having consecrated his life to God, and devoted himself in every circumstance to the increase of the Catholic faith, amidst the weapons, the prisons, and the tortures of the enemy, no longer regarded his life

as his own, but clung as the faithful companion to Father Campian, and a sharer in all his labours, journeys, and sufferings in the quest of souls. Father Parsons was so assured of his fidelity and prudence that he once made him Father Campian's superior in his own stead, and placed that Father under his obedience.

“At length the two Fathers separated, to proceed into different counties of England: Father Campian into Norfolk, Father Parsons into Kent. Father Campian was most strictly enjoined not to stop at any houses of Catholics, but only in public lodging-houses where he might be more securely concealed; <sup>14</sup> yet he now earnestly entreated Father Parsons' leave to stay at the house of a certain gentleman named Yates, near which they would have to pass. Father Parsons, who saw the great danger of visiting a house so well known, that the very name of Campian would doubtless attract many Catholics, and that the danger was one from which he could not afterwards withdraw, resolutely induced to give his consent. He appeared to foresee, as by some inspiration, what would happen in that very house—the betrayal and seizure of Father Campian.<sup>15</sup> The good Father, however, pledged himself that, if leave were given to stay at Mr. Yates', the prescribed term of the visit should be strictly observed. ‘To whom,’ said Father Parsons, ‘will you pledge your faith?’ ‘To this our Ralph,’ he replied. ‘Very well,’ rejoined Father Robert, ‘I place you, Ralph, over Campian in this expedition. I commit to thee my authority. You, Campian, owe obedience to Ralph from this time, equally as to myself. I wish Edmund not to stay in that place more than one day, or for one night until the following noon, which will allow time for saying Mass and Office. Take care, Ralph, that this is not violated on any pretext.’

“But Campian finding himself beset by the Catholics assembled to meet him at Mr. Yates' house with urgent entreaties to stay longer, threw the whole burden upon Ralph his superior, who at first, indeed, was sufficiently vigorous in refusing. The faithful then assailed Father Campian with reasons; how simple it was of him to succumb to ‘a little man,’ &c. In the end they gained their point, and Ralph consented

<sup>14</sup> The houses of Catholics, especially those of note, were constantly watched and searched, and were therefore far more dangerous places than the common inns and lodging-houses.

<sup>15</sup> As we shall presently see, this was a year after the arrival of the missionaries in England.

to the Father's further stay at Lyford. This act of concession was to Ralph a source of deep repentance for the remainder of his life. It was, indeed, the cause of the apprehension of Campian, through the wicked treachery of the apostate Elliot, two days after, and ended in the Father's martyrdom at Tyburn."

As this is one of the most important events recorded in the life of Brother Emerson, we give the following account of it from the *Life of Father Campian* by Mr. Simpson, page 218 *et seq.*: "Campian, had now been labouring a year in England, and his time was almost come. Many a spy was abroad who hoped to catch him, many a false brother was ready to betray him, and the traitor who was to set him in his enemy's hands was already at work. There was a certain George Elliot who had formerly been steward to Mr. Roper, of Orpington, in Kent, and latterly had been in the service of the Dowager Lady Petre, the widow of Sir William Petre, and mother of Sir John, of Ingatestone, Essex.<sup>16</sup> Elliot was a Catholic, but either through lust of gain [or to screen himself from another and severe charge against him] he gained access to Leicester and communicated to him all he knew, and much that he invented about Catholics."

Father Parsons and Father Campian had met together near London to recount to each other the fruits of their first expedition, and to arrange upon future plans. They were proclaimed by the Council and diligently searched after, and every corner teemed with spies. "Father Parsons deemed it prudent that they should part, and so on Tuesday, the 11th of July, after the usual mutual confession and renewal of vows, he appointed Campian to proceed to Norfolk, first, however, returning to Lancashire, where he had left the greater part of his books and papers in the care of Mr. Houghton. Parsons, however, ordered him to make no stay there, and especially to avoid lodging at gentlemen's houses during his journey. After all was settled, they waited till daylight, when they mounted their horses, Campian and Ralph Emerson riding north; Parsons and his man riding towards London. They exchanged hats—as on leaving Prague, Campian and Campanus, the Rector, had exchanged habits—and bade one another what each felt to be the last farewell.

"But it was not so. They had not been long parted before

<sup>16</sup> See informations by this traitor in *Lansdowne MSS.* Burghley Papers, 33 Plut. n. 16, copied in *Records*, vol. ii. Series III. p. 586, note.

Parsons heard Campion galloping after him, to ask his permission to visit the house of Mr. Yate at Lyford.<sup>17</sup> Mr. Yate was at the time a prisoner for religion in London, but he had written to Campion to beseech him to visit his family. Father Campion had more than once refused; but now as he had almost to pass the door, he thought that he could find no excuse. And the moated grange at Lyford was an attractive place for a Catholic priest. Mrs. Yate had under her protection eight Brigittine nuns, who had migrated into Belgium at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and had been compelled by the tumults in the Low Countries to return, and were committed by the Queen to the custody of various persons, where they suffered many miseries, till some gentlemen in pity for them begged the Queen to transfer their custody to them.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Yate had for several years lodged eight of them in his house, and his widowed mother had joined their community. It was natural that these nuns should desire to see and hear Father Campion; but it was scarcely necessary, as there were two priests, Mr. Ford and Mr. Collington, always in the house to supply their spiritual needs. 'Nevertheless,' says Bombinus, 'so fired are women's imagination,' they must need confess to Campion, receive Communion at his hands, and advise with him. Father Campion himself, besides his natural courtesy, seems to have had a special liking to the kind of spiritual conference which he might expect at Lyford; and his importunity at last overcame the prudence of Parsons, who would at first by no means consent. The house was notorious; there would be a great concourse thither when Campion was understood to be there; and this would be perilous for himself and fatal to his expedition into Norfolk. 'I know,' said he, 'your easy temper: you are too soft to refuse anything that is required of you. If you once get in there, you will never get away.' Father Campion said he would stay exactly as long as Father Parsons ordered him. Parsons asked him what security he would give for that. Campion offered Ralph Emerson as his bail; on which Parsons made Ralph Father Campion's Superior on the journey, and told Campion to obey him. Then in the hearing of both he told them not to tarry at Lyford more than one day, or one night and morning; and bade Ralph to take care that this command was executed.

<sup>17</sup> Lyford, near Wantage, Berks, sixty miles from London, and about eight miles from Oxford.

<sup>18</sup> See Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, p. 148.

They then once more separated. Father Campion was happy: he had his way about the nuns, and had received a delightful humiliation in being put under the obedience of a lay-brother. At Lyford he found everything as he could wish . . . he told the nuns how short a time he had to stay with them, and they understood there was no time to be lost; the night was spent in confessions and conferences; with the earliest dawn Campion said Mass and preached; and after dinner, in obedience to Parson's order, he and Ralph took horse and rode away. This was on Wednesday, July 12, 1581.

“It happened that in the afternoon of the same day, a large party of Catholics visited the nuns at Lyford. Nothing could exceed their mortification when they learnt what a treasure they had so barely missed. It was useless to tell them that the Father had gone in obedience to the strict injunctions of his Superior. They must needs send after him. And as Mr. Collington had ridden on with Father Campion, Mr. Ford the other chaplain, nothing loth, took horse and rode after him, and in the evening overtook him at an inn not far from Oxford, where he found him with a number of students and Masters of the University around him—for it was quite out of Campion's power or even will to keep himself concealed. Here Ford whispered his message to Collington, and so on till the whole company knew his errand. They had already tried to make Father Campion preach, but he had refused to perform any public act of religion at so dangerous a time and place; and they saw that if they could prevail on him to return to Lyford, they should have him all to themselves. Mr. Ford therefore began the assault; attracted by his passionate tones and gestures, the rest of the party came up one by one; they all chimed in with him and begged Father Campion not to resist the prayers of so godly a company. Father Campion, seeing that every one was against him, declared that he was simply acting under obedience. Then there came a new assault. Commands are not to be taken at the letter; Father Parsons never thought that such a company would be gathered, or he never would have forbidden his preaching to them. He had devoted a day to a few nuns, and he could never refuse another to so many persons, all thirsting for the waters of life. It was now Thursday; on Friday he might ride back to Lyford, remain there the Saturday and Sunday morning, and then he might go. Campion, the gentlest of men, was moved almost to tears; he would do nothing contrary to obedience; but

then, after all, he was in Ralph Emerson's hands. Such an excuse was too ridiculous; so he had to explain that Ralph was made his Superior for this expedition, and that he would do whatever Ralph ordered him. This turned the tide; the assault was now against Ralph. The 'little man' was at first quite fierce in his refusals; but when they came to reason, he was soon overwhelmed. He found that he could spare Campion a deal of trouble and even danger, if he left him at Lyford, whilst he fetched his books from Mr. Houghton's. From Lyford he could easily ride to a Catholic gentleman's house on the borders of Norfolk, after dinner on Sunday, and there stay for Ralph and the books. So said, so done. Father Campion was ordered back to Lyford; and Brother Ralph rode on towards Lancashire."

We omit the account of the betrayal and seizure of Father Campian, which took place on Sunday, July 16, the immediate subject of our history not being present, but having gone off, as we have seen, to Lancashire. We have given that event most fully in the history of the College of St. Ignatius, under the head of Lyford.<sup>19</sup> The incident furnishes a wonderful proof of the sagacity of Father Robert Parsons, and a most useful lesson of the danger of departing in the least point of obedience from the orders of Superiors, though an angel from heaven should invite us to do so.

Father Tanner goes on to say that Brother Emerson, after Father Campian's captivity and subsequent martyrdom on December, 1581, being forsaken on all sides, at length happily made his escape to Father Parsons in France.<sup>20</sup> He was afterwards assigned by Father Parsons as companion to Father William Holt, in that Father's very difficult expedition into Scotland to sound the feelings of the Catholics in favour of King James. Then, after the nefarious seizure of the King,

<sup>19</sup> *Records*, vol. i. Series I. pp. 280, seq.

<sup>20</sup> In the *Life of Father Weston* (Father Morris' *Troubles*, Second Series p. 15), we read: "One other Jesuit there was, who had also managed to escape from England. This was Ralph Emerson, the lay-brother, whom Father Campion used to call 'his little man.' He parted from Father Campion the day before his apprehension, and succeeded in making his way safely to Rouen, which place served as a very convenient rendezvous. It was there, in the winter of 1581, that some of Father Parson's books were printed, and in particular the famous *Christian Directory*, which made its appearance under the name of the *Book of Resolution*. The printer first employed at Rouen was George Flinton, who devoted himself for some years to the production of English books. On his death, Stephen Brinckley, who in June, 1583, had been set free from the Tower, and had afterwards been to Rome with Parsons, was able to take his place and resume his own most useful work as an English Catholic printer."

being hindered by the fraud of the heretics from carrying out the object of his mission, Brother Emerson retired to France,<sup>21</sup> Ralph was ordered to return into England with Father William Weston (*alias* Edmonds) in 1584, as his companion and guide to the former friends of Father Campian, and especially in searching out and fixing upon lodgings and localities, with the conveniences and safety of which he was by long usage most experienced. Having arrived safely at the port, Father Weston himself went forward to London, leaving Brother Ralph to bring up to town a sack full of books on Catholic devotions, &c. He got them safely to London, but the public revenue officer having opened the sack, found it to contain a large quantity of Catholic books, which it was a capital offence to import into England. He suspected moreover that Ralph was a priest, and had him arrested, and ere he had seen Father Weston in London Emerson was immured, or rather buried alive, in some unknown prison. With all his efforts, Father Weston was, for full twelve months, unable to gain any information regarding him, or the least clue to his whereabouts, or whether in fine he was alive or dead. Regarding these books, Father Henry More says that he got safe to Norwich with them, and then to London, but that, whilst he was gone out into the city, the sack was carried to the custom-house officers. It seemed to Ralph an unworthy act to desert the books, the care of which had been confided to him; and though to claim them as his own was full of danger, he preferred to incur the risk rather than appear to desert the charge intrusted to his care. So he went to the officers and asked for his sack, and hereupon followed his arrest. Some previous information had probably been given regarding the unfortunate books, for when Father Weston visited Father Jasper Haywood, who was then confined to the Tower of London, Father Haywood said to him: "You think, Father Weston, that your and Brother Ralph's arrival in London was a secret; yet it got wind and was reported to the Privy Council."<sup>22</sup>

We must now go back a little that we may give some

<sup>21</sup> In the Life of Father William Weston, *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 18, we read: "Just at this time two Jesuit Fathers arrived [at Rouen], who had been appointed by the General of the Society to pass over into Scotland. These were William Crichton and Edmund Hay. By way of experiment, Father Crichton, the younger of the two, was sent over first, and Father Parsons gave him his trusty lay-brother, Ralph Emerson, for his companion. By April, 1582, however, they were both back again in France."

<sup>22</sup> Father Haywood had learned this from the Earl of Northumberland, then a prisoner in the Tower (*Troubles*, p. 68).

extracts from Father William Weston's narrative of their journey to England.<sup>23</sup> Father Weston and Father Parsons "were together in Paris for a little more than three months. Brother Ralph Emerson was sent down to Dieppe, to make preparations for their passage, and on the 20th of August, 1584, Father Persons wrote to the Father General: 'Ralph is just returned from the sea, where he has done wonders. He has planned two new ways of passage, by which he has sent in four priests and eight hundred and ten books, but it has cost us dearly. Father Weston in another twenty days will be at the sea with Ralph.' Father Persons parted from them in Paris on the 12th of September . . . By the 30th of September, Father Persons was at Rouen . . . Father William and Ralph had embarked twelve days before . . . 'All write in the highest terms of Father Weston and of Ralph, *supra modum*.' 'Then,' says Father Weston, 'with Ralph Emerson, who had been appointed me as my companion, I went to Rouen, and on to the harbour of Dieppe, where I embarked, and, having a fair wind, arrived within sight of England in the middle of the day.'" Father Weston with Mr. Henry Hubert (a recusant returning to England) were landed on the open coast. "Ralph meanwhile remained in the ship with the baggage; for we had agreed that in the dead of the night we should send him a horse for the conveyance of our goods, and likewise of the books, of which he had brought over no small number for distribution in England. This we accomplished with all speed; everything so far prospered, and when he joined us all his treasures were safe and uninjured.

"On the next morning, however, arrangements being made for sailing by the river, Ralph intrusted his cargo of books to a light boat, and went to Norwich; for from thence it is the custom that goods and merchandise should be conveyed by the public riders and carriers from the neighbouring places to London.'" Father Weston and Mr. Hubert rode on to London, where the Father waited with anxiety for Ralph's arrival; the Father often going out "to the spot where the carmen from Norwich were wont to assemble, looking and waiting for my friend Ralph, whom, with all joy, I met at length in the middle of the road.

"I questioned him about the condition of our affairs, and he told me that all was right, but that the baggage was still detained in the inn, and that it was not possible for it to be

<sup>23</sup> *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 37, seq.

removed without the host's consent. Here we could not make up our minds as to what course we ought to pursue. It would be too painful and cowardly to abandon the books; and yet to claim and redeem them seemed full of peril. On both sides the difficulty was great; he judged it best, however, to surmount all fear, and not to relinquish lightly what had been intrusted to his fidelity. He was confident also, that in a case of extremity, friends would aid him to carry out his purpose. Committing his business, therefore, first to God, he returned with courage to the inn, where he was immediately arrested and brought before a magistrate. Having already searched the packages, they examined Ralph concerning the books, and thrust him into a dark and narrow prison. There they kept him for a year and more, and so strictly that, with all our inquiries, we were unable to find out what had become of him. We thought that he must have been transferred to the Tower of London, whereas the prison in which they really placed him was the one called the Poultry' . . . where poor Brother Ralph was accordingly cooped up." A copy of the report of Gyttyns, the keeper of the Counter, of recusants in his charge, taken from the State Papers is inserted further on. Popham also signed a report dated 25th of September, 1586, that "he had examined Ralph Emerson, committed by the Lords for bringing in books from beyond the seas, and was servant to Parsons or Campion."<sup>24</sup>

Some of the Council would fain have seen Ralph visited with the extremity of the law; but being unable to discover any trace of his being a priest, or to fasten on him the

<sup>24</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxciii. n. 66. "It is plain enough what the books were that cost Little Ralph so dear. Two of Dr. Allen's books were just published: the *Duo Edicta* of Elizabeth, that is her two proclamations against the Seminaries and Jesuits, published at Treves in 1583, evidently under the editorship of Father Gibbons, and Allen's *Apologia* and *Admonition to the afflicted Catholics*. This, and Father Parson's recent books, and perhaps Father Gibbon's *Concertatio*, may have constituted the staple of Ralph's confiscated cargo, together with the Rheims' New Testament, which had not long been published; and the newest book of all, Dr. Allen's *Modest Defence of the English Catholics that suffer for their Faith, both at home and abroad*. This was the book 'touching some of the honourable Council,' for it was an answer to Lord Treasurer Burghley's *Execution of Justice in England*. Allen's book was so obnoxious to Elizabeth's Ministers that Thomas Alfield, a Douay priest, was indicted, not for his priesthood, but for disseminating this book, from which long extracts are given in the indictment (*Lansdowne MSS.* 33, n. 58; Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pt. 1. p. 449). Alfield was hanged as a felon for this offence on July 5, 1585. Emerson was treated with comparative leniency, his life being spared, though the first three years of his long imprisonment were spent in one of the most miserable prisons in London" (*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 42).

ownership of the books imported contrary to the statute, and as Ralph could not be induced by any severity to disclose the real owner, they removed him from his loathsome dungeon in the Counter and confined him in the Clink, a place less rigorous, in which he enjoyed for a long time familiar intercourse with Father John Gerard.

Mention is made of Brother Emerson when in the Clink prison by Father Garnett in a letter to Father Parsons in Rome, dated September 6, 1594. Speaking of the arrest of Father John Gerard, he says: "He hath been very close, but now is removed from the Counter to the Clink, where he may in time do much good. He was glad of Mr. Homulus his company; but he had been taken from him and carried to Newgate, whence he hopeth to redeem him again."<sup>25</sup> Mr. Homulus (or "little man") was the bye-name of Brother Emerson. Father Garnett's letter is in P. vol. ii. p. 550, MSS. Stonyhurst. In the P.R.O. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxiii. n. 64, is the confession of one Ralph Miller, who says: "There is a little fellow called Ralph, who is in England for Father Parsons: he is a great dealer for all the Papists: he is a very slender, brown little fellow, of whom Harrington [martyr, Feb. 18, 1594,] can tell most certainly."<sup>26</sup>

Father John Gerard often describes him while he was his fellow-prisoner: "I had just such neighbours as I would have picked out had I had my choice. My next door neighbour was our Brother Ralph Emerson, of whom Father Campion, in a letter to Father General, makes mention in these terms: 'My little man and I.' He was indeed small of body, but in steadfastness and endurance he was great. He had been already many long years in bonds, ever keeping godly and devout, like a man of the Society, and after my coming to the Clink, he remained six or seven years more. At last he was sent off with other confessors of Christ to the Castle of Wisbeach, where he was attacked by palsy. One half of his body was powerless, so that he could not move about or do the least thing for himself. He lived, notwithstanding, to add by his patience fresh jewels to the crown that awaited him. Being driven into banishment with the same company, he came to St. Omers, and died a holy death there, to the great edification of the bystanders. I found this good Brother my

<sup>25</sup> For a notice of the various prisons in London at that time, see "Life of Thomas Pounce."

<sup>26</sup> Miller was not aware that Ralph was already safe in prison.

next neighbour in the Clink ; overhead I had John Lilly, whom God's Providence had shut up there for his own good and mine. I had other godly men around me, all true to their faith. These having the free run of the prison, any one might visit them without danger. I arranged, therefore, that when any of my friends came to the prison they should ask to see one of these, and thus they got to have talk with me without its being noticed. I did not, however, let them into my room, but spoke to them through the aforesaid hole. . . . In the meantime I was so fully taken up in the prison with business and with the visits of Catholics, that in the next room, which was Brother Emerson's, there were often six or eight persons at once waiting their turn to see me." <sup>27</sup> Father Gerard for the last time mentions Brother Emerson under the following circumstances. There was in the Clink prison a certain priest named Atkinson, who afterwards apostatized and betrayed Father Gerard to the Council, upon the ground of certain letters he had received from abroad. Father Gerard had formerly been very kind to him and his family, yet he could not deal confidently with him, as he did with others in the prison, especially Brother Emerson and John Lilly. "Acting on his information, the persecutors sent a Justice of the Peace to me one day with two Queen's messengers or pursuivants as they call them. These came up to my room on a sudden with the head gaoler ; but by God's Providence they found no one with me at the time except two boys, whom I was instructing with intention of sending them abroad. But they found nothing else in my room that I was afraid of being seen ; for I was accustomed to keep all my manuscripts and other articles of importance in some holes made to hide things. All these holes were known to Brother Emerson ; and so after my removal [to the Tower] he took out everything, and among the rest a reliquary that I have with me now, and a store of money that I had in hand for the expenses of my house in town, of which I have before spoken, to the amount of thirteen hundred florins (130*l.*). This money he sent to my Superior, who took charge of the house from that time till I was got out of prison." <sup>28</sup>

The following is a copy of an examination of Brother Emerson, taken by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners when he was a prisoner in the Counter, 1593. A copy of this exami-

<sup>27</sup> *Vide* Life of Father John Gerard, in *Condition of Catholics*, pp. lxx. seq.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.* p. lxxxix.

nation is in the British Museum.<sup>29</sup> In the margin is this note, "Lay Jesuit."

Ralph Emerson, of the bishopric of Durham, scholar, of the age of forty-two years or thereabouts, examined before Sir George Hopton, Knight, Mr. Doctor Goodman, Dean of Westminster, Mr. Dale, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Young. Who refuseth to be sworn, but saith first that he hath [been] in prison these nine years, namely, three years and a quarter in the Counter in the Poultry, and the rest of that time hath been in the Clink, committed by Mr. Young for bringing over of books, called "My Lord Leicester's books," as he saith, and hath been examined before Sir Francis Walsingham, and before Mr. Young, and before others divers times, and was never indicted to his knowledge.

*Item*—He confesseth that he is a lay Jesuit, and took that degree at Rome fourteen years since, and was some time Campian's boy, and saith when he took that order he did vow chastity, poverty, and obedience to the Superior of their house, and if he sent him to the Turk he must go.

*Item*—Being urged to take the oath of allegiance to her Majesty, refuseth the same, and saith he may not take any oath.

*Item*—He saith he hath neither lands, goods, nor other living, but will not set down by whom he is maintained and how relieved.

*Item*—He refuseth to be reformed and to come to church, affirming that he will live and die in his faith.

*Item*—Being demanded whether, if the Pope should send an army into this realm to establish that which he calleth the Catholic Romish religion, he would in the like case fight for the Queen's majesty on her side against the said army, or on the army's side, saith that he will never fight against her Majesty, nor against the religion which he professeth.

*Concordat cum originali.*

H. FERMOR.

The following report is endorsed "The Keeper of the Counter in the Poultry.<sup>30</sup> The names of the recusants in his custody, June 14, 1586."

Poultrey. May it please y<sup>r</sup> honour to vnderstand that wee have no more in our custody, but one Ralphe Emerson, for bringinge over sartayne books touchinge some of the honorable Counsell, who was comytted the xxvj. of September, anno 1584, by Sr Edward Osborne, then Lord Maire of London, examined befor hym, Mr. Topcliffe, Justice Younge, the Mr. of St. Catern's, and others at sundry tymes. Wee have no recusants, no Jesuits, but only the afore-named Ralphe Emerson, whose examination remayneth in the hands of the said Justices.

Your honor's most humble,

ROBERT GYTTYNS, Keper.

Father Tanner concludes his account of our confessor thus: "Being removed with other champions of Christ to Wisbeach,

<sup>29</sup> *Harleian MSS.* 6,998, fol. 65; *Strype's Annals*, vol. iv. p. 258.

<sup>30</sup> *State Papers, Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 32.

where Father William Weston was then confined,<sup>31</sup> he was thenceforward constantly under his discipline, living in a religious community in the practice of all those exercises whereby in a college of the Society God is wont to be served, their time being piously divided into certain hours, with stated changes of months and years. He moreover diligently devoted his labour, so long as his health and strength allowed, as the servant and general helper of all; for he was at length, for the greater increase of his merits, seized with paralysis, brought on by his many sufferings and deprivations.<sup>32</sup> He lost the use of half his body, but was nevertheless always an example of invincible patience. At length, after twenty years of imprisonment, on the occasion of the public rejoicings upon the accession of James to the throne of England, he was, with other priests, banished into Belgium, and soon afterwards died at St. Omer."

In the State Paper so often noticed in our Records, *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, endorsed by the Earl of Salisbury "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England." "The names of the Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode, date 160 $\frac{2}{3}$ ," we find after a list of twenty-one English members of the Society of Jesus, and their addresses, the list gives the names of eleven, and amongst them "Mr. Emersham, prisoner at Frammyngham" [Framlingham Castle, Suffolk]. They had been removed to that prison from Wisbeach, preparatory to their banishment.

We close the life of Brother Emerson with the following extract from the Annual Letters of the English College of St. Omer for the year 1604.

After noticing that there were then eleven members of the Society in the College, and upwards of one hundred scholars, that two youths had been sent to the English College, Rome,

<sup>31</sup> For some account of this horrible prison, see "Life of Thomas Pounce."

<sup>32</sup> The extent of his sufferings may be imagined when we remember that he was confined in some of the most loathsome prisons—the Counter in the Poultry, the Clink and Newgate, in London, and Wisbeach and Framlingham Castle, in the country. "Poor little Ralph Emerson was in a helpless state, that rendered imprisonment a peculiar hardship. A stroke of paralysis deprived him of the use of half his body, and in this condition he lingered till James I. came to the throne. He was then shipped off to Flanders, after twenty years, all but a few months, spent in English prisons, and died at St. Omer, March 12, 1604" (*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 269). Father Tanner would seem to be incorrect in saying that Father Weston and Brother Ralph were together at Wisbeach Castle, Father Weston having been transferred to the Tower in 1598, before Ralph's arrival at the former prison.

and eighteen to the English College of the Society at Valladolid for their higher studies, and that the talents and dispositions of all the youths held out the brightest hopes of their future success, the report proceeds: "Our Brother Ralph Emerson has edified the House. After twenty years' imprisonment, being at length driven into exile, he found here his final resting-place. He was only with us for ten or eleven months, and so infirm that he was scarcely able to move. In the meantime he was remarkable for his great patience, and especially for his piety towards the Mother of God, whose hours he daily recited. With heroic obedience he esteemed both his life and liberty to be subject to the beck of his Superior. It was he who conducted the blessed martyr Father Edmund Campian into England, and was his companion in every danger of life and journey.

"It was his greatest consolation (spent as he was by so many sufferings and labours endured for his beloved England) that the feast of the great St. Gregory, the Apostle of England, was to him the closing day of his life—the 12th of March, æt. 53."

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ADDENDA.<sup>1</sup>

*The English Mission S. J., 1580—1.*

"WHEN Queen Elizabeth constituted herself head of the Church of England, in order to shield that impious usurpation by a greater crime, she raised the bitterest storm of persecution against Papists (for so the heretics misname Catholics who acknowledge the Roman Pontiff as Supreme Head of the Christian religion). Many noble citizens, for opposing the ambition of this perverse woman, suffer in their estates, and moreover by exile, bonds, and death. To such an extent does this insane and cruel disposition of the Queen increase, that in most cities new prisons are built, the old ones being too small to receive the multitudes of the condemned; and into these prisons, which are frightful by reason of their darkness, are thrust crowds of Catholics, who miserably perish in them, laden with fetters, in want and horrid filth; or at least, without exception, are first or last tortured in the rack-chamber. Others

<sup>1</sup> See note 4, p. 18.

she commands to be dragged by horses<sup>2</sup> through the city, and hung, cut down alive, dismembered, disembowelled, their intestines burnt before their eyes, and their bodies afterwards quartered; others are hung up aloft upon the rack and so cruelly extended that all their joints are dislocated; others are tortured by having needles thrust beneath their nails, and others<sup>3</sup> crushed beneath enormous weights piled upon their bodies. But the more this woman's hatred rages to root out the name of Catholic, so much the more is the courage of Catholics aroused to resist; and to this they are moved both for virtue's sake and from an innate obedience to the Sovereign Pontiff engrafted in the nation. They are also encouraged thereto by the exhortations and persuasions of the English youths who had been sent over from the Seminaries of Rheims and Rome; these, inflamed with the desire of restoring religion, and furnished with all the aids and defences of learning, confirmed many in the faith, and reclaimed those who had fallen away, some of whom were seized and cruelly put to death. To share in these dangers and merits, our Fathers are invited by the English themselves, with most pressing entreaties and by constant letters; they desire to have some of the Society to whom they can fly for advice and assistance amidst the innumerable dangers which every moment threaten them. Two priests are destined for that province, viz., Father Robert Parsons and Father Edmund Campian, to whom a third, a lay brother, is added as companion. These, starting from Rome in the month of May [April], 1580, arrived in the following month of June in England. Their arrangements, however, could not be so secretly carried out but that the Queen, by means of her spies (of whom she is said to have numbers posted up and down), was made fully cognizant of them long before. On this account our Fathers incurred great danger to life on landing, because, not only were the ports most diligently guarded,

<sup>2</sup> Because the hurdle, on which the holy martyrs were dragged from the dungeon to the gallows, was placed on the ground, and attached to the horses that drew it. On this they were extended, without any protection from the mud or joltings during their transit, so that their sufferings must have been severe before they reached the place of execution.

<sup>3</sup> e.g., Margaret Clitheroe, who was pressed to death at York on March 26, 1586 (*Vide* Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, and Father Morris' *Troubles*, Third Series): this most cruel mode of execution being the portion of those who refused to plead "Guilty" or "Not Guilty." The martyrs were accustomed so to refuse, lest by adopting the latter, the only true plea, they should bring more definitely on their persecutors the guilt of their innocent blood.

but the Queen was furnished with their names, and with a most minute description of their countenances and their persons. A portrait of Father Campian was likewise hung up at each port, with which every person on landing was confronted. Yet by the mercy of the good God, combined with some caution and foresight on their part in disguising themselves, they at length happily penetrated into the kingdom, where, upon their becoming known to the Catholics, they reaped in a short time incredible fruit in strengthening the faithful and in the conversion of Protestants. By mutual arrangement, one took the towns, the other the villages, with no lack of employment for both. For better concealment they assembled in the houses of Catholics, where our Fathers daily said Mass early in the morning, administered the Most Holy Communion and preached, after which they betook themselves to writing. After dinner they rode up and down upon various missionary errands, at the same time preparing their sermons for the morrow. In the evening they heard confessions, and solved questions of practical duty, of which there were many and difficult ones.<sup>4</sup> This was their daily manner of life, and they were so overwhelmed by these numerous occupations as scarcely to find breathing time. But when it was reported that, in spite of so many precautions, the Jesuits had really insinuated themselves into the kingdom, the Queen was highly incensed, and immediately issued the most cruel edicts, threatening all those who should harbour, or in any way assist the Jesuits, with banishment, confiscation of goods, chains and tortures. But these savage proclamations were not of sufficient weight to divert our Fathers from their arduous undertaking, nor to deter Catholics from showing them every duty of charity and hospitality. One Catholic nobleman, indeed, alarmed at these severe edicts, when Father Parsons visited his mansion, gave orders that he should be denied entrance, and bidden to divert his course elsewhere, for that his visit would be most unwelcome. But presently repenting of his denial, he followed the Father, and with many entreaties brought him back to his house, notwithstanding the inevitable danger he incurred, both to life and fortune.

“ Our Fathers, nevertheless, although diligently hunted after for death, by the Protestants, yet by a constant change of dress, and never remaining beyond two days in the same house, have

<sup>4</sup> This is confirmed by Father Campian, in a letter dated November, 1580 given at length in the “*Life of George Gilbert.*”

hitherto eluded their fury, and in this we trace most remarkable signs of Divine Providence, of which I will add some instances. The heretics had surrounded a house in which Father Parsons lived, in the dead of the night, but he escaped by hiding himself in a hay-rick. The same Father, being invited by a Catholic priest to supper, for the purpose of reconciling certain schismatics to the Church, although he was well acquainted with the house, yet after thrice traversing the whole neighbourhood, and making inquiries of the inhabitants, could not succeed in finding it; at length, wearied out, he turned his steps in another direction. The next day he discovered that at the very time he was searching for it, the house was in the possession of the heretics, waiting to receive him on his arrival, and the priest himself, with six Catholics, were carried off to prison. Another time, when Father Parsons was spending the night in the house of a priest, at daybreak he became disquieted by a strong impulse, urging him to depart as quickly as possible. Scarcely had he put his foot out of the door when the heretics, entering the house, arrested the priest. Another time, when a house to which Father Parsons was accustomed to resort was taken possession of in his absence, he was returning home, ignorant of what had occurred, at the very time when the searchers were turning everything upside down; and he would have inevitably fallen into their hands had he not received timely warning of his danger from a faithful friend, and so changed his route. The following fact especially displays the goodness of God, and the courage and presence of mind of the Father himself. The house in which he happened to be staying was suddenly beset by the pursuivants, with loud clamours. Father Parsons, with great self-possession, met them at the door and demanded their business; they replied, 'The Jesuit' (for his face was not known to them). 'Very well,' he answered, 'come in and look for the man, without such a noise.' The searchers were thus thrown off the scent, and the Father escaped.<sup>5</sup>

"Father Campian experienced escapes equally numerous and providential. Returning to London from the country, where he had been writing one of his books, a Protestant who was also going to town, joined company with him for three days' journey, and on arriving left the Father in a convenient inn, whilst the traitor posted off to acquaint a magistrate of the

<sup>5</sup> "Sheldon of miracles" (Gee's *Foot out of Snare*) says, "Parsons apprehended by pursuivants at Northurch, Cheshire, the bolted door flew open three times."

Father's arrival. A boy happening to become cognizant of the affair, instantly ran off to acquaint Father Campian, who, whilst the enemy were preparing to arrest him, had time to change his dress, remount his horse, and thus escaped for that time the hands of the pursuivants. But not long after (as though God would that this should be a forewarning to him), being taken by the heretics, he was most cruelly put to death, as will be found very fully related in the book *De persecutione Anglicana*, and which will excuse my brevity in this account of the mission. The sweet odour of this Father's memory diffuses itself more and more widely in our esteem, so much so that Allen, a most learned man, to whom, as to the parent of that nation, every particular small and great is sent, writes two remarkable things of Father Campian especially; first, that he produced much greater fruit among these people in his death than he could ever have reaped living, by twenty years' labour; and again, that in his martyrdom and torments he was not inferior to any one of the early martyrs. He says further, that he was present at a sermon in which the preacher affirmed that he met Father Campian on All Saints' Day, in the prison, with both arms in a sling, from the effects of the previous day's racking, and that he spoke with such joy of heart that it appeared to strengthen others. He also added that Father Campian was again most cruelly tortured on the following day, so that when taken down from the rack he was scarcely alive.

“ Besides Father Campian, the heretics had likewise another Father in chains, viz., Father Bosgrave, who had crossed over to England from Poland upon some family business, and was seized. At first, indeed, keeping the secret of his religion, he was detained in a freer custody; but afterwards, upon the occasion of Father Campian, he was closely confined and severely treated.<sup>6</sup>

“ In the midst of so many and such great terrors, the Society will not desert this province once undertaken, but on the contrary, two priests are this very year sent to the same labours and dangers.”

*Names of all priests who under Pope Gregory XIII. were sent into England, from both the English Colleges of Rome and Rheims—1575—1585.*

1575.

D. Barlow, Lewis, who was the first of all sent into England, after labouring in conversion of souls for ten years was thrown into Wisbeach.

<sup>6</sup> See “Life of Father Bosgrave,” in present volume.

- D. Tirrett, Nicholas.
- D. Shanus, Henry, M.A., of Oxford, and Bach. of Theol., Douay.
- D. Thompson, Christ., sent into exile from Tower of London, 1585.
- D. Cronkerus, Baccal. at Douay, died in the Marshalsea Prison three days before being led off to banishment.
- D. Hadock, Richard, of whom see *Concert. Eccl. Angl.*, fol. 133.
- D. Alan, Roger, who after many labours for the Catholic cause in England, entered the Society of Jesus, who died a Professor of Theology.
- Smith, William, (Cognomen, Niger); having been exiled, and again returning to England, was again banished in 1585—but afterwards returned again 1591.

1576.

- Eighteen priests were sent to England, five of whom were martyrs.
- D. Stevenson, Thomas, formerly a Protestant minister. See *Concert. Eccl. Angl.* 409.
- D. Gwyn, Robert, Bac. in Theol., Douay, who by writings and labours rendered great help to his afflicted country.
- D. Nelson, John, martyr, 1578. See *Concert.* fol. 49.
- D. Sherwood, Philip, sent into exile from York.
- D. Maine, Cuthbert—formerly a Protestant clergyman—M.A. of Oxford, martyr. See *Concert.* fol. 50, styled protomartyr.
- D. Pains, John, martyr, 1582. *Concert.* fol. 81.
- D. Johnson, Robert, martyr, 1582. *Concert.* fol. 89.
- D. Pitts, Robert, died in England.
- D. Smith, Richard, now in banishment.
- D. Ford, Thomas, M.A., Oxford, glorious fellow martyr with Father Campian. *Concert.* fol. 86.
- D. Collington, James, after four years in the Tower, banished, and again returned to England.
- D. Meredith, Jonas, banished from prison 1585, returning to England, is a second time in prison.
- D. Spenser, John, banished from prison 1585, returning a second time to England, is detained.
- D. Wakeman, Roger, died *in vinculis*. See *Concert.* fol. 412.
- D. Chapman, John, for a while in exile.
- D. Blackwell, George, M.A., Oxford, and Bach. of Theol. Douay.
- D. Blackburn, Launcelot.
- D. Stephen, Richard, now in exile. Returning from England was made Doc. of Theol.

*Anno Dom. 1577. Eleven priests were sent into England, three of whom were martyrs.*

- D. Arnsteadus.
- D. Godsall (Godsalous), George, banished in 1585.
- D. Tippetts, John, banished and died in exile.
- D. Scott, Mountford, condemned to death at York. Removed to London, he was martyred there, after four years incarceration, 1591.
- D. Cox, William, died in England.
- D. Nelson, Thomas, brother of the martyr Nelson.
- D. Sutton, William, returning from England he entered the Society of Jesus.
- D. Johnson, *alias* Richardson, Laurence, martyr, 1582. See *Concert.* fol. 93.

- D. Stokes, Thomas, taken from prison and banished 1585.
- D. Simpson, Richard, martyr, 1588.
- D. Brown, Thomas.

*Anno Dom. 1578. Thirteen priests were sent, two of whom were martyrs.*

- D. Metham, Thomas, Licentiate of Sac. Theol. Louvain, now in Wisbeach Prison.
- D. Wright, Thomas, Sac. Theol. Licen. Douay, sent from prison into exile 1585.
- D. Sutton, Robert, } brothers, of whom the elder was martyred at  
D. Sutton, Richard, } Stafford 1587.
- D. Bluett, Thomas, in Wisbeach prison.
- D. Alanus, Ralph.
- D. Huesius (or Hugo), Edward.
- D. Griffiths, George, banished from prison 1585.
- D. Bromley, George.
- D. Shert, John, martyr, 1582. See *Concert.* fol. 87. He was the first alumnus of the English College, Rome, who entered England.
- D. Watts, Richard.
- D. Worthington, Thomas, Theol. Soc. Doc., banished from the Tower of London, 1585. *Concert.* fol. 409.
- D. Slade, William, returning from England is now at Ingoldstadt.

*Anno Dom. 1579, twenty-one priests were sent into England, of whom three were martyrs.*

- D. Florence, Bartholomew, after his return from England became a Carthusian.
- D. Stamp, Thomas.
- D. Holtby, William;<sup>7</sup> returning from England and entering the Society of Jesus, he is again sent by superiors to England.
- D. Stransham, Thomas, is again returned to England after his banishment.
- D. Filbey.
- D. Kirk, Richard, martyr, 1583. *Concert.* fol. 116.
- D. Haudsey, John,
- D. Low, John, banished and is again returned to England.
- D. Otway.
- D. Wootton, is dead in England.
- D. Appletree, John.
- D. Barnes, John, banished from the Tower 1585.
- D. Kirkman, Richard, martyr, 1582. *Concert.* fol. 100.
- D. Briant, Alexander, the companion of Father Campian, martyred, 1581. *Concert.* fol. 72.
- D. Norris, Richard, exiled from prison, died in Portugal.
- D. Askew, John, returning from England died at Rheims.
- D. Horner.
- D. Vivian, John, exiled from prison and now a monk of the Order of St. Bridget.
- D. Yeates, Nicholas.
- D. Davis, Richard.
- D. Parker, senior.

<sup>7</sup> Should be Richard. He left Rheims, February 26, 1579, with Stampe, Stransham, and Filbey.

*Anno Dom. 1580, were sent twenty-nine priests; two of them of the Society of Jesus, five of whom with Father Campian were martyred.*

- D. Neale, Thomas, Principal of a College in Oxford. Exiled from prison 1585.
- D. Trafford.
- D. Clifton, Thomas, at present for the second time in chains.
- D. Hadock, Richard.
- D. Array, Martin.
- D. Hide. Leonard, prisoner in Wisbeach.
- D. Hempworth.
- D. Osliff, George.
- D. Bennett, John, most cruelly tortured in Wales, afterwards banished and entered the Society of Jesus, and again sent by superiors to England. See *Concert.* fol. 193.
- D. Shevell.
- D. Birkett, George.
- D. Byers [Byarus].
- D. Hibbert, in prison.
- D. Fenn, James, martyr, 1584. *Concert.* fol. 143.
- D. Normicot, Richard.
- D. Anglus, Richard.
- D. Marsh, Thomas, banished from York; became monk of the Order of St. Bridget, at Rotterdam.
- D. Hudson, William, banished from York.
- D. Hart, John, Sac. Theol. Bac., condemned with Father Campian. After cruel torments in the Tower, at length banished and having been admitted to the Society of Jesus, died.
- D. Rishton, Edward, also condemned with Father Campian. Afterwards banished and died in France.
- D. Cottam, Thomas, martyr, 1582. See *Concert.* fol. 93.
- D. Giblett, William, banished from prison and died in Rome.
- D. Sherwin, Ralph, the other companion of Father Campian.
- D. Hartley, William, at first exiled from prison. See *Concert.* fol. 68. Returning again to England was martyred 1588.
- D. Kirby, Luke, martyr, 1582. *Concert.* fol. 91.
- D. Pole, Edward, died *in vinculis*.
- D. Cornwall, William, brother of the noble Knight Sir Thomas Cornwall.
- In the same year were sent from the Society Rev. Fathers Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, of whom see *Concert.* fol. 52.
- D. Abred, John.
- D. Crane, Thomas.

*Anno Dom. 1581 were sent into England forty-seven priests, of whom thirteen were martyrs.*

- D. Warmington, William, banished from prison 1585.
- D. Alfield, Henry, once or twice liberated from prison, afterwards betrayed by his own father and seized, was martyred 1585.
- D. Ballard, John, twice returning to England, with twelve nobles, suffered death.
- In this year, of the Society, Fathers Gaspar Haywood and William Holt arrived in England, of whom the first was banished 1585.
- D. Lacey, William, a noble priest and martyr 1582. See *Concert.* 96.

- D. Bost, John.  
 D. Adam, John, banished from prison, returning again was martyred 1586.  
 D. Richardson.  
 D. Holmes, Robert, died in prison famished.  
 D. Crayford, Edward.  
 D. Smith, Richard.  
 D. Garnett, Stephen.  
 D. Harrison, William, in prison.  
 D. Chambers, Edward.  
 D. Allot, William, banished.  
 D. Long, John.  
 D. Slack, John, banished from the Tower of London.  
 D. Pitts, Arthur, banished from the Tower of London 1581.  
 D. Fowler, Andrew, banished from prison; entered the Order of St. Francis of Paul.  
 D. Harrow [? Hanse], junior, martyr, 1581. See *Concert.* fol. 78.  
 D. Clink, Henry, senior.  
 D. Freeman, Thomas, banished.  
 D. Filbey, William, condemned with Father Campian, martyred 1582. *Concert.* fol. 90.  
 D. Fingley, John, martyr 1586.  
 D. Harrison, Robert.  
 D. Hart, William, martyred 1583. *Concert.* fol. 104.  
 D. Probart, Hugh.  
 D. Sikes, Edmund, banished from prison and martyred 1587.  
 D. Annas, John, martyr 1589.  
 D. Stransome, Edward, martyr 1586.  
 D. Holland, William, S. T. Licen.  
 D. Taylor, Edmund.  
 D. Marcott, William, martyr.  
 D. Woodbine,<sup>8</sup> [originally Goodfenn], martyr, 1586. See Sander's *Schism*, lib. iii. in the end.  
 D. Tonson, William, martyr 1586.  
 D. Fox.  
 D. Bristow, Richard, Soc. Theol. Doc., died in England.  
 D. Small, Christopher, banished.  
 D. Floyd, Andrew.  
 D. Wrench.  
 D. Chaplain, William, died *in vinculis*.  
 D. Denton, William, banished from prison.  
 D. Smith, banished.  
 D. Osborne, Edward.  
 D. Hussey.  
 D. Harley, Richard.  
 D. Brookes, John.  
 D. Cottesmore, died *in vinculis*.

*Anno Dom. 1582, were sent thirty-one priests, of whom eight were martyrs.*

- D. Suffield, Roger.  
 D. Bishop, William, an exile, Doc. of Sorbonne, again returned to England.

<sup>8</sup> Nicholas Woodfen, *alias* Wheeler, martyred at Tyburn, January 21, 1586 (Challoner).

- D. Copley, Peter, returning from England, entered the Society of Jesus.
- D. Hadock, George, martyr, 1584. *Concert.* fol. 133.
- D. Nutter, Robert, banished from prison, returning again was again in prison.
- D. Dean, William, returned from exile to martyrdom 1588.
- D. Smith, Nicholas.
- D. Hardwick, John.
- D. Ludlam, Robert, martyr, 1588.
- D. Rouse, Stephen, banished from his country, returning was again arrested, was crowned with martyrdom, after a most brutal butchery at Gloucester, which he endured with the greatest constancy, 1586.
- D. Bell, Thomas, formerly a Protestant minister, endured many kinds of torments, but is now free.
- D. Morgan, Rowland.
- D. Griffiths, Ellis.
- D. Clenock, Morgan.
- D. Floyd, Thomas, died in England.
- D. Cowling, William.
- D. White, Giles, banished.
- D. Shelburne, John.
- D. Langden, William.
- D. Munden, John, martyr, 1584. *Concert.* fol. 139.
- D. Dryland, Christopher, imprisoned.
- D. Filcock, Hugh.
- D. Clarkenson, James, exile, and afterwards martyr 1588.
- D. Thomas, William.
- D. Kemp, David.
- D. Ingram, died in England.
- D. Fetter, John, died in prison.
- D. Smartworthy, Thomas, exile.
- D. Nutter, John, martyr, 1584. *Concert.* fol. 156.
- D. Woodruffe, Robert, martyr, 1591.
- D. Conier, Samuel, exile, died in exile.

*Anno Dom. 1583, were sent thirty-six priests, six of whom were martyred.*

- D. Cooper, Richard.
- D. Sudall, Henry.
- D. Eaton, William, who afterwards entered the Society of Jesus.
- D. Garlick Nicholas, first an exile, then a martyr.
- D. Wiggs, William, died in prison.
- D. Darbyshire, Robert, exile.
- D. Collinson, William.
- D. Stephenson,<sup>9</sup> Robert, sent into exile from prison, entered the Society of Jesus, and was again sent by superior into England.
- D. Fenn, Robert, exile.
- D. Pilchard, Thomas, first an exile, afterwards suffered a most cruel martyrdom at Dorchester.
- D. Sherwood, Richard.
- D. Dickenson, Robert, martyr at Winton 1591.
- D. Thomas Morgan, imprisoned.
- D. Pilkington, Robert, exile.

<sup>9</sup> Father Thomas Stevenson.

- D. Norden, first M.D., afterwards priest.
- D. Libbs, *alias* Bleakington.
- D. Hemerford, Thomas, a glorious martyr, 1584.
- D. Bickley, Ralph, S.J., imprisoned.
- D. Lomax, James, died in prison.
- D. Shirkley, John.
- D. Gardiner, James.
- D. Flues, Lewis, exile.
- D. Snape, Anthony.
- D. Bishop.
- D. Rowley.
- D. Serjeant, Richard, martyr at Gloucester 1586.
- D. Harley, Thomas.
- D. Braddox, Edward.
- D. Parker, Bernard.
- D. Mush, John.
- D. Cornelius, John [S.J., mart. 1594—July 4].
- D. Johnson, Cuthbert.
- D. Nutchard, John [Nutcharius], exile.
- D. Pounce, John, died in exile.

*Anno Dom. 1584, were sent eighteen priests, nine of whom were martyred.*

- D. Dakins, Edward, returned to England from exile.
- D. Low, John, martyr, 1586.
- D. Crows, Alexander, martyr, 1587.
- D. Fenell, Simon.
- D. Ingilby, Francis, martyr, 1586.
- D. Shaw, Francis, after exile returned again to England.
- D. Holiwell, Oliver, died in England.
- D. Strangunishus [Stranguish or Strangwidges], Philip, imprisoned in Wisbeach.
- D. Powell, John, lived in Wisbeach prison.
- D. Dibdale, Robert, martyr, 1586.
- D. Nicholsey, George, and
- D. Yaxley, Richard, martyred in Oxford with two laymen, the one a noble youth Thomas Belson, formerly an alumnus of Rheims; the other Humphrey Griffiths, 1589.
- D. Thompson, James, martyr. *Concert. fol. 101.*
- D. Floyd, James.
- D. Spenser, William, martyr, 1589.
- D. Nightingale, Robert.
- D. Lister, Thomas.
- D. Sands, John, martyr at Gloucester 1587.
- D. Auden, Christopher, banished from prison, returned a second time to England.

*Anno 1585, eighteen priests were sent into England, of whom six were martyrs.*

- D. Chaplin, Rochet.
- D. Taylor, Hugh, martyr, 1585.
- D. Clayton, James, condemned to death; died in prison.
- D. Williamson, or Williams.
- D. Godsall, junior, exile.
- D. Simpson, Richard—once a Protestant minister—exile and martyr, 1586.

- D. Stafforton, Francis.  
 D. Harrison, John.  
 D. Thorpes, Thomas, martyr, 1591.  
 D. Bagshaw, Christopher, D.D., Wisbeach Prison.  
 D. Baldwin, William, died *in vinculis*.  
 D. Edward, Francis.  
 D. Hanmer, Humphrey.  
 D. Davis, Thomas, martyr, 1587.  
 D. Tillison, Francis, in Wisbeach Prison.  
 D. Robinson, John, martyr, 1588.  
 D. Bolton, John, in chains in Wisbeach.  
 Hervitt [Hervettus], John, martyr, 1588.  
 Total of priests, 252 ; of them 51 were martyrs.  
 Martyrs from these two seminaries, 100.
- 

FATHER HENRY MORSE, whose life belongs to the history of the College of St. Ignatius, London, was for some time in this Residence, 1643. He suffered at Tyburn February 1, 1645.<sup>10</sup>

FATHER WILLIAM PALMER, a native of Lindley, Yorkshire, born 1591 ; entered as an alumnus the English College, Rome, under the assumed name of William Coniers, at the age of nineteen, on October 4, 1614 ; was ordained April 29, 1618. He left the English College September 27, 1618, having made his higher studies and one year's scholastic theology there. He joined the Society of Jesus in 1618, and was solemnly professed November 11, 1631. In the year 1651 he was seized, with Fathers John Taylor and Charles Harris, on suspicion of being a priest, and committed to prison. He appears, however, to have soon recovered his liberty, for in the catalogue of the Province for 1655, his name occurs as serving in the Residence of St. Michael, the Yorkshire mission. He is there stated to have been thirty years engaged in missionary labours. After twenty years more of work, he died in peace on January 8, 1670.

<sup>10</sup> See his life in *Records*, vol. i. Series I.

## FATHER JOHN ROBINSON.

FATHER JOHN ROBINSON, *alias* TAYLOR, *alias* VALENTINE UPSALL, and sometimes called Collingwood, was born in Yorkshire, in the year 1598, according to the catalogue of the English Province for 1655, although the Diary of the English College, Rome, gives 1600 as the date. He entered an alumnus of that College at the age of sixteen, on October 13, 1616, and took the usual College oath on May 16, 1617, in which year he received minor orders. The students' interrogatories, in the archives of the same College, state as follows :

"1616. John Robinson, *alias* Taylor. I am seventeen years of age come next Christmas ; was born in Yorkshire, in Upsal Castle, where I remained as long as my father lived. I made my rudimental studies for the most part at home, one while under Fathers of the Society, then with others, at their choice. I never heard that my parents were infected with heresy, they were of the respectable class ; moreover, in defence of the Catholic religion they brought not only all their property, but, I may justly say, life itself into jeopardy. Their property daily dwindled away, and they fell into pauperism. At length, by the will of our great and good God, my father himself was seized and thrown into fetters in prison, and, as we are permitted to hope, having fought under His banner, he now triumphs with Him. The lot of my mother was more lingering, since, as it was fitting, she suffered during a greater length of time for the cause of Christ. She was detained for years in prison, for having had priests discovered in her house, and this was accompanied by loss of goods and risk of life. At length being liberated from chains, she died, leaving two sons and two daughters, all of whom are yet living. My eldest brother is at Ghent ; the other will remain here [himself] as long as it is the will of God. My sisters, very young, live with their paternal aunt in the north, upon portions left them by their father. I have no relations heretics, except one youth, Robert Robinson, formerly a convictor at St. Omer's College, who, upon the supply of money failing on account of the persecution in England, obtained leave of his Superiors to return, and though then of remarkable virtue, was over-reached, and fell into heresy, and so still remains. Unless my hopes

deceive me, I have a relative, still living and well, a very venerable priest of the time of Queen Mary of England, of great age, who had charge of me, and rendered me every assistance when I went to College. He paid my viaticum of fifty florins, and likewise my expenses and outfit for Rome. His name is Valentine Taylor. Among other relations in the north is Robert Collingwood, a Catholic of high family. I made my studies both at Ghent and St. Omer's."

He entered the Society on November 21, 1620, and took the degree of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor on December 6, 1631. The Diary of the College states that he was tried at the York Assizes March 27, 1652 (O.S.), and found guilty by the jury "because he was a Jesuit and a priest." When this note was made they had not received news of the sentence of death passed upon him. He was sent upon the English Mission in 1628.

From a letter of Father William Stillington, dated April 2, 1652 (O.S.), from England, of the capital conviction of Father John Robinson at York.<sup>1</sup>

"One Mr. John Robinson (whom some called Collingwood and others Taylor) was called from prison for trial of his life on March 25 (O.S.), for being a priest and a Jesuit, contrary to the laws of England. These charges, which at first rested on very slight evidence and simple suspicions, were afterwards bolstered up by the testimony of a certain woman, principally through the agency of the Justice of the Peace who had committed him to prison on his apprehension. This woman's name was Mary Draycott, and she claims relationship to the respectable family of that name, how truly is not known. This, however, is certain, that she has been long notorious for thefts, frauds, and lies, and on that account, to avoid the merited punishment, has fled up and down the country. This, then, was the sort of witness who was instructed and suborned by the judge to testify on oath that Mr. Robinson had once, twice, or more frequently heard her confession, administered the sacraments, and lastly, formally excommunicated her! After giving her evidence to this effect, the judges asked the accused whether he knew this woman by sight? 'Extremely well,' said he, 'for who does not know a woman so infamously notorious; who for her frauds, and the perjury of which she had been convicted, was to have been publicly whipped out

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the original, Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. v. n. 32.

of Stafford, had she not sought safety by flight.' She was, however, a very fitting tool to bring others into trouble. So they ask him, 'Are you a priest and a Jesuit?' 'It is your business,' said he, 'to prove that to conviction, not mine to confess it.' Upon their telling him that he must categorically answer 'Yes' or 'No,' he adhered to his former reply, upon which the judges remanded him back again to prison. The next day being again called to the bar, and the former accusation repeated, the woman's evidence being given upon oath, he displayed great courage when the judge asked him if he was guilty or not. He urged that the evidence of such a woman was not to be relied upon. The judge answered, 'You see how great a matter is at stake in this cause. I would have you again and again think it over, and take counsel for your soul. I extend your time for deliberation till to-morrow.' 'By God's goodness,' replied he, 'I will take care of my soul.' On the following day, March 27 (O.S.), being again placed at the bar and the same evidence repeated, the case was at length left to the jury in the usual form. Their opinion differed for a long time, as seven were for the prisoner and five for his conviction. Their differences did not end until the judge admonished them that it was the crime of treason they had in hand, and so they should not hesitate. Learning the mind of the judge by this speech, the jury immediately pronounced him guilty. On hearing this, 'It is greatly to be lamented,' said he, 'that such is the iniquity of the time, that in a public trial for life and death the evidence of one infamous woman should find credit to condemn an innocent man to death. Be that as it may, my cause is just, and my consolation great.' Then kneeling down he recited with great feelings of joy the *Te Deum*. When the report of this matter was spread abroad in the city [York], it brought together many spectators of every class. Heretics and Catholics mingled together to see the prisoner overflowing with gladness of heart for the great hope he had of suffering insults and death for the name of Jesus. And indeed, if his sins hindered him not, as he himself says (for many of these things are taken out of his own letter), he hopes that the event is near at hand, which he hath desired these thirty years. This is the very day appointed for giving sentence either of life or death. Good Jesus, give strength to His soldier in his combat and a crown to his victory. I must not pass by in silence what I had almost forgotten to state, that the judges offered the prisoner

his life and liberty on condition that he would give up the authority of the Pope by taking what they call the oath of allegiance. 'Far from me,' said he, 'be such wickedness and indeed madness, as to buy the goods of this passing life by the loss of my immortal soul !'"

Endorsed—"April 2, 1652 (O.S). Of the sentence of death passed on Father John Robinson at York."

*The noble confession of the Catholic faith made by the Rev. Father John Taylor, S.J., priest in England, 1652.*<sup>2</sup>

Nearly at the same time in which that most courageous soldier of Christ, Father Peter Wright, suffered death in London for the cause of Christ, Father John Taylor, priest of the same Society, was apprehended in the county of York, who, we hoped, would have been crowned with the same laurels. And certain it is, though martyrdom was wanting to him, he was not so to martyrdom, as will clearly appear from his own relation of the whole matter forwarded to me.

I did not indeed receive this narrative, written by himself the 2nd of April, until my return from Rome in the middle of May. It is to be observed that in this relation the good Father always speaks of himself in the third person, under the name of some other John. John, therefore, thus speaks of him.

"Whilst our John was returning on the 6th of June from a celebrated chapel of the Immaculate Virgin in the county of York, which takes its name—*a Monte Gratiarum* (Grace-mount), he fell in with a commissary of the Parliamentary army, who, after passing him for a space, ordered him to turn back. But he, unwilling to hear the order, held on his course; and although the road was very well known to him, yet he happened to deviate some little from it, and by this mistake again encountered the same commissary he had wished to avoid, whose name was Robinson. He immediately interrogated John, whence he came and whither he was bound? He replied that he came from Grace-mount, and was now making for Beverley. 'It is well,' said the commissary, 'but tell me, have you not been ordained?' John replied that he did not well understand that phrase. 'At least,' added the commissary, 'are you a Catholic?' To whom John answered, 'I have never at any time denied my faith.' The commissary: 'If you refuse to deny your faith, neither do I think that you

<sup>2</sup> Translated from Father Robinson's personal narrative (*Collectio Cardwelli*, MSS. S.J., copied from the original at the Public Record Office, Brussels, *Vite Mart.* pars i. p. 41).

will deny your being a priest.' 'This does not follow,' replied John. The commissary (who was a Justice of the Peace), more able to effect his object by virtue of his authority than by subtilty of argument, ordered his servants to search John diligently, and they most minutely examined everything about him. Nor were they contented with a first scrutiny, but proceeded to a second, pulling off his very boots or greaves. But the search was in vain, for although John had about his person articles by which he might readily have been suspected of being a priest, yet by the providence of God nothing of the kind was found.

Simply, however, from his profession of the Catholic faith, John rendered himself so suspicious, that on this ground alone, as though he were abundantly criminated, he was led away prisoner by seven constables, like a malefactor, from the town of Malton, where these things occurred, to the city of York. Here he was again examined regarding persons he knew in that county; and, inasmuch as, not to cause danger to any, he asserted that he knew no one in those parts, nor was known to any, he was thrust into a public prison, and there kept in close confinement. So narrowly was he guarded, that none were allowed access to visit him, unless he would profess himself to belong to the sect of the Independents.

"But the wife of the gaoler, a woman of arrogant effrontery, being one day intoxicated, treated John so ill, that the judge, under pretext of suspicion of his being a priest, ordered him to be removed to York Castle, where priests were accustomed to be incarcerated. This occurred on the 7th of September, to John's great joy. For although in his former gaol he was not destitute of interior consolations, yet this change of prison brought him the greatest addition of comfort, both because now an opportunity was offered of his often saying Mass, and because he had for companion Father John Thompson as fellow-prisoner, who, having long been Superior of the Fathers of the Society in that county, had at length fallen into the hands and fetters of the heretics. John lived in the same cell with this Father for three months, when the latter was seized with a deadly disease. This was the gaol fever, which often follows upon the squalor of a long imprisonment, through which this glorious confessor of Christ and candidate for martyrdom, after having received from Father John the sacraments of the Church, was translated from prison to the liberty of the children of God, December 21 [1642].

“John, having spent another three months after the death of this much-beloved Father in the same prison, was at length called up for trial, when the men, thirsting for the blood of a priest, considered themselves sufficiently prepared for accomplishing this crime. For they found a certain abandoned woman; an apostate from the Catholic faith (if indeed she ever was a Catholic), who, having in the county of Stafford fallen under the rod of public justice for her many crimes, to save her skin had fled into Yorkshire. The day before the assizes they brought the fugitive to John, thinking that, as they suspected him to be a priest, he might have been known to a woman once a Catholic, and who had wandered about in so many places. John was summoned to the place where the officials awaited him with this woman. He was asked if he knew Mrs. Mary Draycot, for the miserable woman was called by this name. John, fully aware, from various circumstances, of the snares laid for him, answered that he knew no woman of that name; he had, however, heard something of a certain vile, wretched, and vagabond woman of that or some such a name, who was everywhere badly reported of. ‘And if by chance this is the woman so notorious, you have truly got hold of a person fit to accomplish any crime whatever.’ Then one of the officers said, ‘Do you suspect us of contriving some wickedness?’ To whom John replied, ‘Truly, any one who lies in wait for the blood of the innocent is not wanting in iniquity. I know that the cause of the Catholic religion, which I maintain, is held according to your laws in such odium, that even if a single witness can anywhere be found, if even this flagitious woman shall be suborned to bear witness capitally against me; so will it be done at the cost of my life. But however, if you seek my life out of hatred of my faith, most willingly will I lay it down on that account.’ ‘I believe,’ said the official, ‘that your ambition is to be enrolled in the catalogue of your martyrs.’ ‘If you wish to bestow this honour upon me,’ said John, ‘know that I am most ready to accept it.’ These things were done on that day, which was the 24th of March. On the following day the indictment was framed against John, who was summoned to plead thereto at the bar before the judges at the assizes, which were held that day. On his appearing at the bar, the judge asked him if he was a priest? He answered, ‘If any one wishes to find me guilty of undertaking the priestly office, it is incumbent upon him to prove that I am a priest; for according to all laws, the

proof of the charge alleged falls upon the accuser.' Though he thus answered, he was again urged to say if he were a priest—yes or no. He again insisted upon the same reply. 'Away with him—away with him!' shouted out one; which rude voice, when John heard, 'I see,' said he, 'that you thirst after my blood, and I thirst to shed it in this cause.' Nothing more was done that day in John's trial.

"But the next day he was again summoned before the Bench of judges, and publicly fortifying himself with the sign of the Cross, he said, '*Domine, labia mihi aperies, et os meum annuntiabit laudem tuam*—O Lord, open Thou my lips, and my mouth shall declare Thy praise.' He was ordered to raise his hand at the bar of the criminals, and to answer shortly 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty' to the charge of the priesthood. He replied that the alleged offence must be proved by proper and fit witnesses, without which he could not lawfully be convicted of the charge. The judge here interrupted him, and admonished John that it was not the custom for criminals at the bar to speak in their defence until they had distinctly pleaded 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty.' John, fearing that if he should plead 'Not guilty,' when no one could possibly prove him to be guilty, he might lose the thing he so desired, the crown of martyrdom, bethought himself of some subterfuge, after the example of our Lord Christ, and replied, 'You say that I am guilty; but I contend that this fact must be proved by you.' Then the judge: 'Don't throw away your life, but weigh well what answer you will give, which, that you may do more maturely, I allow you an interval until to-morrow morning.' 'I, by the grace of God,' replied John, 'shall come to the same conclusion to-morrow as I do to-day. But because I am not sufficiently acquainted with the letter of your laws, I thankfully accept the offered favour, provided my doing so does not tend to the prejudice of the Catholic faith.'

"When, therefore, at length the morrow arrived, John, placed in the midst of robbers, murderers, and other malefactors, exulting with joy that, after the example of his Lord, he was reputed with the wicked, again appeared before the judges, and was again urged to say, shortly, 'Guilty' or 'Not guilty.' He answered, 'Not guilty,' for he judged it to be safer to adopt the same mode of answer which so many most holy priests had been accustomed to hold to in English trials. Wherefore, since he could not be convicted by his own confession, the infamous woman Mary Dracot was brought forward,

who, in order to curry favour with the heretics, by an impudent lie, boasted that she had once been a nun amongst us. Being then solemnly sworn, she gave evidence that John had heard her confession, and communicated her, and that she had been put under excommunication by him. Then, bursting into tears, she protested that she desired to pour out her very blood for the salvation of his soul. On John's contending that the evidence of this perverse woman was both false and incoherent to such a degree, the judge asked her if she had seen with her own eyes the excommunication against her signed by John. She said that she had not seen it, but that she had heard from one Mr. Walker, now dead, that it was signed by him. Upon this John, addressing his accuser to the point, said, 'Oh, my good woman, have you no other but dead witnesses to prove what you say?'

"But the judge, resolved (as it appeared) upon the death of John, ordered the words of the Acts of Parliament passed against priests and Jesuits to be publicly read; which being done, he directed the jury to retire and consider their verdict, and say whether John was guilty or not of the charge alleged against him, since it belongs, according to the laws of England, to twelve men to pronounce upon the truth or falsity of charges preferred. But these good men are so obsequious to the nod of the judge, that when they think they can gather from his mode of proceeding and summing up what the feeling of the judge is, they entirely accommodate themselves to his lordship's wish. Hence before the jury pronounced their verdict, John perfectly well knew that he would be convicted, and therefore silently congratulated with himself *in sinu* (in his breast), as they say, upon his coming death.

"After the jury had deliberated for a considerable space of time, they returned, and found a verdict of 'Guilty' against John upon the count of being a priest. Then John, addressing the judge, 'My lord,' said he, 'good is my cause and great is my consolation.' Which words of John were so cheered, that the boys caught up the applause outside, and ran shouting through the streets. The judge also himself confessed that he had heard the verdict with impatience; nevertheless he ordered him to stand aside amongst the criminals, and a day or two afterwards the sentence of death was pronounced against him. John, seeing himself amongst these felons, fell upon his knees, and, out of himself for joy, recited aloud the *Te Deum laudamus* and other forms of thanksgiving used in the Church, and gave

special thanks to the Immaculate Virgin, because that on a Saturday, the day particularly consecrated to her, he had been found worthy to be pronounced guilty, on which day he likewise remembered to have received no few favours from her.

“The assizes ending that day, John returned to his prison, so intoxicated with joy and walking along in such great raptures, that the surrounding multitude beheld with amazement the breaking forth of the feelings of his joyful heart, and many persons of all conditions and either sex shed copious tears. Many cried out that it was a shameful thing that an innocent man should be condemned to death on the testimony of one vagabond woman. Some persons also of high rank came to John, protesting the same thing, and begging him candidly to declare what he judged should be done for averting his death; and, strongly against his will, they interposed their authority with the judge, and professed themselves willing to spare neither gold nor silver in the matter. So that John’s greatest fear was lest the sentence of death passed upon him should be respited. The intercessions of so many, however, had no effect upon the judge. But the very day before the capital sentence was to have been executed, behold a new order was received from the Parliament, warning the judges to condemn no more to death on account of religion alone. Whence, although on the appointed day John was led forth with the other convicts to receive the sentence of the judge, yet his lordship gave secret directions to his keepers to lead him back again to prison. John returned in silence with folded arms, shedding many bitter tears and reciting to himself the Psalm *Miserere* over his sins which, to use his own words, had thus caused *suum dilectum* to fly from him.”

“*Father Robinson to Very Reverend Father General Nickell.*<sup>3</sup>

“Very Reverend Father in Christ,—

“P.C.

“Having thought very often of writing a letter, I now at length on my bended knees, not without confusion and blushes, humbly salute your Very Rev. Paternity. I kiss the hem of your garment, and entreat your benediction and pardon for my neglect. I have been detained in prison during almost three years, and am now at greater liberty. For the first three months I was most closely confined, and all access to

<sup>3</sup> Translated from the original Latin; Stonyhurst MSS. Several facts regarding himself are narrated in the third person.

me was denied. John Robinson was arrested on his journey by an officer of his own name.

“At length he was accused by an impostrix (who feigned herself to be a nun), and affirmed on oath that she had confessed, been absolved, and had received the Most Holy Sacrament at the hands of John Robinson, a priest, and lastly had been excommunicated by him, which was most false. This evidence was held by the judge to be insufficient; but the twelve jurymen (as they are called) declared that John, according to the laws, was guilty of death, who in my opinion indeed is most unworthy of such an honour. Who will give to me, most Reverend Father, that I may be hung for my Lord Jesus! I hoped, indeed, but in vain; my sins prevented so great a glory. Some assert that it may be that the woman may come to herself by the next county assizes, March 14. But what hope will there be of my following the Reverend Father Henry Morse, whose fellow-captive I was in prison twenty-six years ago, when as Zacharias Vendersteen I received his vows. May he himself be pleased to accept those of his fellow-soldier, and may your Paternity deign to impart to your most unworthy son your blessing, and also to pray that I may be found worthy to suffer something at least for our Jesus. I commend myself to your Paternity’s Holy Sacrifices, &c.

“Your Very Reverend Paternity’s unworthy Son,

“JOHN ROBINSON.”

“From the Castle and Prison of York, February 28, 1653 (O.S.)”

Father John Robinson had been previously confined in York Castle in 1628, which was the year of his arrival in England. Father Henry Morse was his fellow-prisoner there, and actually made his noviceship in that prison under Father Robinson’s guidance, and took his simple vows before him. In the Catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, Father Robinson’s name is inserted as a missionary in the Yorkshire district, so that he must either have been released or his capital sentence commuted for banishment. In which case, like many other zealous lovers of souls, he, probably at the risk of his life, soon returned from exile, and resumed his apostolical functions in the north.

Father Robinson died in the College of St. Thomas, or the Hampshire district. The Annual Letters of 1675 say: “In

this year died, on the 20th of September, Father John Taylor, *alias* Valentine Upsall, remarkable for his great zeal and piety, a veteran soldier of Christ, who for the faith and on account of his priestly character, had suffered fourteen years' imprisonment, and had been condemned to death. He had spent forty-nine years on the English Mission in great labours for the good and consolation of the Catholics. Æt. 78. In religion fifty-six."

THE CORBY FAMILY.<sup>1</sup>

UNDER this head we proceed to notice a Catholic family distinguished by the faithful conduct of its members during persecution.

Gerard Corby was compelled to quit his native land for conscience' sake, and for some years lived in Ireland. Afterwards he retired into Flanders, where his three sons, Ralph

<sup>1</sup> RALPH CORBY. Died = A. B.  
after having been reconciled to the Church by means of his son Gerard, when about 100 years of age.

GERARD, only son and heir. = ISABELLA RICHARDSON,  
When 70 years of age, he entered the Society of Jesus as a Lay-brother, Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1628. Died at Watten, 17 September, 1637, æt. 80.  
At the age of 80 she became a Benedictine nun at Ghent; professed 1633; died 25 Decr., 1652, a centenarian.

Daughter. Died an infant.	ROBERT. Entered the Society of Jesus 1626—1627. Died on Good Friday, 1637.	RALPH (martyr) Born 25th March, 1598; entered Society 1626; suffered at Tyburn for the faith of Christ, $\frac{7}{17}$ September, 1644, æt. 46½.
RICHARD. Died a scholar at the English College S.J., St. Omer, preparing for the Novitiate.	MARY. Became a Benedictine nun at Brussels, 1621; professed 1623.	AMBROSE. Born 1604; entered Society 1627; professed August 5, 1641; died at the English College, Rome, April 11, 1649, æt. 45.
		CATHERINE. Became a Benedictine nun at Brussels about 1625; professed 1627.

(afterwards martyred), Robert, and Ambrose entered the Society of Jesus. The fourth son, Richard, died at the English College of the Society at St. Omer while engaged in his humanity studies, preparatory to entering the Society. Mr. Corby's two daughters became Benedictine nuns at Brussels; and the father and mother themselves, being then well stricken in years (Mr. Corby was seventy years of age and Mrs. Corby eighty), by mutual consent followed their children's example in renouncing the world. Mr. Corby was allowed by special permission to enter the Society as a lay-brother, whilst Mrs. Corby became a Benedictine nun at Ghent.

The Editor is indebted to Dame Mary (O.S.B.), of St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, for the following beautiful extract from the old necrology of the Benedictine Convent of Ghent, regarding Mrs. Corby.

The dear old mother of the martyr, Sister Benedicta, died on December 25, 1652. She entered religion when she was near fourscore, and lived more than twenty years at Ghent Monastery. Her original name was Isabella Richardson; her husband, Gerard Corby, was a yeoman. Both suffered great persecutions for the faith. Expelled from their native soil, the north of England, and forced from place to place, they fled to Ireland, then to Lancashire, at last to St. Omer's. They placed their four sons students in the College, three of whom were Jesuits, but the fourth died whilst a student. The father and mother followed the example of their children, who had all entered religion. Their mother having been admitted at Ghent, was very devout to Holy Mass and to the ever-adorable Sacrament, and by reason of her old age had leave to hear all the Masses, from none of which she would ever be absent, though very many were said of a day, and to perform all her other devotions with all freedom. She had a special devotion to the holy time of Advent, fasting it strictly to a meal, and lying on straw all that month, which practise she did also in Lent; and this she continued till her last Advent, when, being in her hundredth year, Superiors expressly forbade her to fast. She was much devoted to our Blessed Lady, to St. Benedict, to St. John Baptist, and St. Stephen, saying daily a world of prayers, and practising austerities with constant zeal. And very much compassion she had for the souls in Purgatory, offering up many devotions for their comfort and deliverance. Notwithstanding her old age, she would still sweep her cell, make her bed, and mend her clothes herself. Some six days before her death she made an extraordinary confession, and at Mass, four days before Christmas (the last she ever heard), being on her knees at the Elevation, doubtless an extraordinary devotion was bestowed on her, and she uttered in a loud and fervent tone: "Jesus, my sweet Jesus, wash my soul in Thy Precious Blood! For Thy bitter Passion, have mercy on me! Oh, my dear God, my good Jesus, let me never be separated from Thee!" That very night she was taken with an apoplexy, and though she had gone to bed well, was found speechless in the morning, but soon

after recovered herself, and on Christmas day asked for the last rites, which she received very devoutly, and quietly expired between eight and nine in the evening. She was buried on St. Stephen's day. An English gentleman, who saw her after she was laid out, was so struck with the majesty of her countenance, that he asked what noble lady that was.—R.I.P.

We are, however, more especially concerned with Father Ralph Corby, who suffered death for his religion at Tyburn on September 7, 1644, æt. 47, in religion 20. Of the other sons we have little information. At the end of this life will be added a brief memoir of Brother Cuthbert Prescott, S.J., a lay-brother, fellow prisoner and assistant to the martyr in Newgate. He died in that loathsome dungeon, February 20, 1647, martyred by a lingering death for our Lord.

The following extracts from the State Papers, Public Record Office, are illustrative of the state of Catholic affairs in the "Bishoprick" in the time of Gerard Corby.

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxii. n. 25, Feb. 1, 1597.  
Dr. Wm. James, Dean, and the Chapter of Durham, to Secretary Cecil :

By virtue of the Commission for Ecclesiastical causes, we con-  
victed before us three obstinate and wilful recusants, now prisoners  
in the gaol, to whom we offered all favour if they would be content  
to admit conference and hear instruction. We send their answer.  
Trollop is an ancient recusant, and was apprehended in the  
company of a seminary [priest], whose assistant he was. He  
denied that he promised to say "Amen" if the party who accuses  
him should pray for the Pope, but the other, who is an honest  
young man, avows it on oath. The number of recusants is great,  
and increases, and as they are of good calling and wealth, and  
generally refuse to confer with any, or to join in prayer for her  
Majesty, we suppose that many of them are reconciled, and most  
of the rest of Trollop's resolution. As the Bishop of Durham is  
occupied in her Majesty's service, and we cannot confer with  
him, and thinking this is a matter we ought not to conceal from  
the Council, we desire to know what course to pursue with regard  
to Trollop and others. Enclosed are :

I. Examinations of Thos. Trollop and Launcelot Hodgson  
before the D. & C. of Durham. When asked whether they would  
say *Amen* at the end of the Lord's Prayer, as also the prayer for  
the Queen, they replied they would not ; whereupon, after some  
godly exhortation, they were sent back to gaol, but had up two  
days after, when they were of the same mind, and would not  
confer with any preachers upon matters of religion, nor join with  
them in prayer. Trollop said he would pray for her Majesty to be  
defended against her enemies, but not against the Pope, the Turk,  
or King of Spain by name, as he did not know them to be her  
enemies ; he refused to sign his answers as taken down. Thomas  
Bourne, servant to Dr. James, having been appointed by his  
master to attend upon Trollop, asked the latter whether he would

say *Amen* to a prayer offered up for the Pope, when he said he would ; upon telling him that if half a score of recusants like him were hung for it at the next assizes, it would be an example to others of a like nature to beware hereafter, he answered that if it were so, and all to God's glory, the sooner the better.

Dean's House, Durham, 27 and 29 January, 1597.<sup>2</sup>

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cclxiii., n. 55, May 26, 1597.  
The same to Lord Burghley.

You said at my coming into these parts that I might here do her Majesty some good service, which is my chief desire, and my pains and charges have not been wanting. This country has many recusants, men and women of good place, who are almost all ignorant and obstinate, generally refuse all conference, and not only do not come to church, but when prayers are had before us, the Commissioners, for her Majesty's safety and protection from all her enemies, the Pope and Spaniard, they have denied to say *Amen*. Many of them are married, if not by Seminaries and Jesuits, by old Mass Priests, and by the words of the Mass book ; their children are not christened in the churches, neither do their wives go there to return thanks for deliverance ; their education is, in the same way, not being [brought] up in common or good schools, but at home, and in secret, and with their nurses' milk they suck dislike and disloyalty, and learn first to hate the truth before they know it, which I wish was only a disease in the north. Much pains and care have been taken by the bishop and other Commissioners, but by the lurking and flying of some, and the wilfulness of others, that which is desired cannot be effected.

MR. GERARD CORBY, *alias* CORBINGTON.

THE subsequent narrative, telling us of some events in the life of Gerard Corby, and the particulars of his family, is to be found in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angliæ*, vol. v. n. 18. It is in the handwriting of Father Ambrose Corby, and consists of (1) a copy made by him of a report concerning the death of Gerard Corby, written by Father Robert Stafford, then Master of Novices, to the Rev. Father George Duckett, *alias* Holtby, dated September 18, 1637 ; and (2) a brief narrative relating to his father and family, added by Father Ambrose himself, and dated October, 1644, soon after his brother's martyrdom. The whole appears to have been intended for, and sent to Father Robert Grant, Rector of the Scotch College.

*"A copy of the circular letter which Father Robert Stafford, the Rector of Watten, sent to Father Duckett, Rector of Liege, concerning the death of Brother Gerard."*

"About the midst of this last night departed out of this life our dearest brother in Christ, Gerard Corbington, almost eighty

<sup>2</sup> In the "Life of Father Richard Holtby" (pp. 5, seq.) there is interesting mention of Mr. Trollope.

years of age, after a sore and long combat with sickness and death. He began his sickness, having completed nine years since his entrance into the Society, and upon the very anniversary day thereof, to wit, the Vigil of St. Bartholomew. So that one jesting with him piously, yet truly, spoke thus unto him at the beginning of his sickness. 'Well, brother, nine years ago you began your first probation for the Society of Jesus, and now you begin your first probation for the Kingdom of Heaven.' And truly many things there are which offer themselves unto us in proof of this our late brother's happiness; for first, if we regard his life led in the world, it is manifest, as well otherwise as by his own ingenuous acknowledgment, that it was no other than holy and innocent; for there happening once in familiar speech some mention of drunkenness, he affirmed sincerely that he had never been touched with blemish of that vice, which, though in itself may seem to some not so great a matter, yet truly, in a man living till his old age in the midst of a depraved nation, it must needs argue no ordinary temperance, and be a proof of a most chaste and pure soul in other matters. Neither was there wanting the furnace of tribulation to make proof of his golden charity; for the enemies of our orthodox Catholic faith, suffered him not, a man truly orthodox, to rest quiet in any place. Hence came it that he was first fain to fly into Ireland, where he remained exiled for many years. Then, returning again into England, was continually in a manner constrained to be changing his dwelling-place from shire to shire, till at length, after notable damage in his temporal means, he made voluntary choice of a new banishment in the Low Countries. But this which I am to say now was rare indeed, and a singular kind of felicity; that, having sent before him all his children to religion, to wit, his three sons to the Society, his two daughters to the religious order of St. Benet, he himself (by the mutual consent of both) followed his sons, and his wife her daughters' example. What he did in his noviceship, and all the rest of the succeeding time, there are as many to set it forth as there are witnesses of his actions. Truly nothing was done by him but with exceeding innocence and purity. Being seventy years of age, he came first to undergo the experiments of novices, and afterwards applied himself promptly and diligently to the performance of other employments as long as it could be, for five years before his death, being deprived of his sight, he was only able to attend

to himself. All which time of his blindness it is wonderful how saintly and how laudably he carried himself. His blindness he received as a guest sent from heaven, and more than once hath told me that he was so well content with his lot as that he wished for no other. He was not more solicitous of anything than not to be troublesome to any one. Hence was it that, being blind, he made his own bed, swept his chamber, and went from place to place in the house without any guide. Many times he recounted with exceeding gratitude the Society's and the Superior's beneficence towards him, neither would he easily complain that he wanted anything (as it might be incident) but when he stood in need, would make humbly his petition to his Superior with as great modesty, bashfulness, and submission as any poor beggar. It is needless to speak of his piety, being he spent daily, both forenoon and afternoon, many hours with exceeding reverence upon his knees, either before the Blessed Sacrament or our Lady's Altar. Moreover, being of the age he was, he omitted not the accustomed corporal penances, nor the public acknowledgment of his faults in the refectory, nor the fasts of the Church, nor other suchlike actions not usual to old men. And therefore it must not seem strange if a religious man furnished with such provisions, showed in his last sickness exceeding confidence in Almighty God, and no fear of death at all. In his greatest pains he was not heard to demand of Almighty God anything, but forces only to suffer patiently. He made much esteem of the prayers of his brethren, and begged that in his last agony they might in great numbers be ready to assist him. After he had received his Viaticum and Extreme Unction he most earnestly desired after some time, to receive again the Most Blessed Sacrament, and to his great comfort obtained it. Finally, after he had performed excellently all the parts of a religious man, he sweetly gave up his soul into the hands of his Creator, to be carried forthwith, as we hope, to the everlasting joys of heaven. Yet I beseech your Reverence let him not want the accustomed prayers. Commending myself, &c.,

"Your Reverence's servant in Christ,  
 "From Watten, Sept. 18, 1637.                      "ROBERT STAFFORD."

*"Father Ambrose Corbie's narrative of his Father."*

"My father, till he grew to be a man, was, according to the corrupted times, brought up by my grandfather Ralph Corbie in Protestantism, but lighting upon some good books began to

be touched in conscience, and to inquire further, and seek satisfaction. He passed some years before he could find help, though he sought it earnestly in different places of the country ; so wary was every one become of trusting in others, by reason of the dangerousness of the times of persecution under Queen Elizabeth. Well, at length God granted him his desire, and, being now reconciled himself, he was a means of many others finding the like assistance by good priests, insomuch that he became shortly to be much noted and marked for an earnest Papist. My grandfather set upon him fiercely, using also the endeavours of divers others to pervert him, but in vain. At length, not being able to prevail, and fearing troubles by occasion of his recusancy, dismissed him from his house to shift where he would for himself, though he were his only son and heir, and born to a very competent means which he had. He had already begun to manage for his father, as being a dexterous and prudent young man. He left Bishopric [Durham County], his native home, to provide for himself elsewhere by his own industry and God's assistance, in Whom he was confident, and not being brought up to labour or trade, he betook himself to attend in service upon others ; first for some time in England, then in Ireland with my Lady Kildare, God concurring with his good carriage to make him grateful and acceptable to every one. After some time he returned back to England, but not to stay, and having married my mother, already by his means become a Catholic, at length carried her also into Ireland with him, where they lived some twelve years or more in very good esteem with my lady of Kildare, serving in her house. But now, having children to provide for, and my grandfather being old, and spending all, they were called back into the Bishopric, by their friends' counsel, to settle what they could, and what was left for themselves. Being returned they could not long rest there, but were forced by persecution to fly into Lancashire, and even there, for divers years, to flit from place to place. Then they returned again into another part of the Bishopric, and at length came over to dwell at St. Omer, where they were about nine years, till they resolved upon the religious life. They had seven children in all, four sons and three daughters. The eldest daughter, and first child of all, God Almighty took to Himself, some four or five days after baptism. My brother Richard, the third son, died a young student at the Seminary of St. Omer, before I came thither. My sister Mary, some two or three years elder

than I, was the first of us that entered religion, some twenty-three years since at Brussels, where she still lives.<sup>3</sup> My sister Catherine, some two or three years younger than I, within some four years after followed her, and is still living with her.<sup>4</sup> My happy brother, Father Ralph, was the next at Watten, then Father Robert, the eldest living, and when, by God's goodness, I also was called that way, my parents resolved to follow, my mother her daughters at Brussels; but troubles at that monastery deferred her profession there, and at length brought her where she is, at Ghent. Of my father I have in a manner said all I have, at least enough. He passed and repassed the Irish seas some eight or ten times; oftener the seas for these countries, living in a manner in continual travel, to provide for his children and family for the best, which he did abundantly. God increase his glory in heaven for it. In all his persecutions he never fell into the enemies' hands but once, being cast then into prison for refusing the oath. He converted his father also, and saw him die in the Church, about one hundred years old. My brother Robert died in England, 1637, upon Good Friday. He was one of that mission for Valladolid, which was taken either by the Turks or other pirates (for I know not the truth of the story), and had his part to the purpose, in that bad usage, after which captivity he returned again to St. Omer, and was sent the next year to Seville, where he ended, and defended publicly his divinity, though he had interrupted the study of it, being called down to these countries and sent to England upon just occasions by my father. So as he was three different times in Spain before he ended his studies. But at length having done all, he entered at Watten, was Procurator at Liege, operarius again at Watten, then sent to Rome and Loreto, whence he returned sick, and died, as I said, in England. He heard confessions in Spanish, Italian, French, and Dutch.

“Reverend dear Father, if any of all this, or anything else I can do for you to concur to your laudable employment, I shall be most ready to serve you. I could wish myself an invisible auditor of your panegyric, wherein I doubt not but you will surpass yourself, at being to have so worthy and so learned an audience as the house and city affords, &c.

“R<sup>æ</sup>. V<sup>æ</sup>. Servus in Christo.

“Gant, October 26, 1644.”      “AMBROSE CORBINGTON.”

<sup>3</sup> Mary was professed in the year 1623.—[Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.]

<sup>4</sup> Catharine was professed in the year 1627.—[*Idem.*]

The Annual Letters of the English Province for the Novitiate at Watten, 1637, state that the house had suffered greatly from the war which still disturbed the neighbouring country, and from a very malignant fever which had succeeded the pestilence of the preceding year, and which, having attacked every member of the community, had reduced some to imminent danger, and carried off two.

The first of these was Gerard Corbington, a temporal coadjutor. After mentioning his admission to the noviceship on the Feast of St. Bartholomew, and that on the same day, nine years later, he caught the fever, the report proceeds to notice the fact of his having, five years before his death, totally lost his eyesight, which, like another Tobias, he suffered without repining; continually blessing God, and expressing his gratitude to the Society for the happiness which he still enjoyed. He was often heard to say that he was so contented with his lot that he could desire nothing better. Under this privation his great solicitude was to avoid giving trouble to others. He insisted on arranging his own room and bed, would painfully feel his way about the house, and spent most of his time kneeling in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament, or the Altar of Our Lady. Nor would he omit any of the fasts of the Church or of the usual penitential exercises and religious mortifications. Thus prepared, after many years of intense suffering, borne with the greatest patience, he gave up his soul to God, full of hope and joy. He died September 17, 1637.

In the State Papers, Public Record Office, are two short intercepted letters: (1) *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. ccxxxviii. n. 143. Durham, May 1, 1591.

. . . to his [brother] Gerard Corby. After speaking of private affairs he goes on to say that the persecution of Catholics began to be great, and was likely to increase. Many gentlemen, gentlewomen, and others expect imprisonment daily. Hopes those who are able will relieve the necessitous. Gerard's father was examined before the commissioners concerning his family, and he promised not to receive any seminary priest or Papist into his house, and to take his mother to confer with Dr. Burton.

(2) *Dom. Eliz.* same vol., n. 148. Hett., May 9, 1591.

*Ralph Corby to his son Gerard Corby, Maynooth, Ireland.*

. . . He has been before the great commission divers times on account of his mother not coming to church, and because she had maintained him and his sister. He is charged with knowing where

they both are ; is forced to be bound in one hundred marks not to maintain them ; yet he has the friendship of the Dean [of Durham], and has been put in charge as a doer [bailiff] for him at Ranton Coal Pits, &c.

#### FATHER RALPH CORBY.

THE life of this martyr is taken principally from the *Triplex Certamen* written by his brother, Father Ambrose Corby, S.J., from which Father Tanner in his *Vita et Mors Jesuitarum*, &c., and Bishop Challoner in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, derive their notices of the martyr. To this have been added some interesting statements and letters from Stonyhurst MSS. *Angliæ*, hitherto unpublished.

On Thursday, March 25, in the year of our salvation 1598, Father Ralph Corby was born near Dublin, in Ireland. Both his parents, however, were English, from the county of Durham ; who, being in a respectable station of life, and neither opulent nor indigent, were more illustrious for their true spiritual blessings, and for Christian piety, than for wealth or family. When, on the dispersion of the clouds of error in which they had been brought up during their earlier days, the light of Divine truth shone upon their minds, they embraced it with such courage, ardour, and constancy, that the manifold devices of the enemy of truth which assailed them, were never able to move them from their fidelity to the Catholic religion, which they had adopted, nor from the profession of their faith. I omit to mention the troubles they suffered, solely on account of this fidelity, and their frequent enforced removals from place to place, and from one country to another, till at length they arrived safely in Belgium, where they enjoyed peace and security in the practice of their religion till the end of their lives. These things would oblige me to write at greater length than I purpose, nor are they now necessary to mention. They first fled for refuge into Ireland, and there entered the service of a lady of high rank in order to serve God with greater liberty. In this place of concealment their family was increased by several children, and among these by Ralph, the subject of this notice, who was thus an exile even before his birth.

At the age of five years, he returned along with his parents to their native country, and spent his childhood in the bishopric of Durham, or in Lancashire ; for the enemies of the faith did not allow them to stay long in any one place. The time passed in the innocence befitting his years, but with a piety unusual at his age ; for he used few words, guarding even those with

much care, and never spoke on subjects opposed to virtue and modest recreation. He had so great a love for perfect truthfulness, that they who were most intimate with him at that period affirm he could never, by any means, be induced to tell the slightest falsehood. It is equally to his praise that he was so averse to quarrelling, that when any quarrel arose between him and his companions, he would immediately give in, as if he did not know how to dispute, always saying, "Let it be so then, and say no more about it." Money he neither sought nor willingly retained; but as soon as any was given him, he generally handed it to his younger brother. What shall I say of his remarkable dutifulness towards his parents? He used in every respect to act entirely and without hesitation according to their will and orders, and advised others to do the same. He showed a very marked veneration and devotion to the Most Holy Virgin; and was accustomed to recite with great care her Little Office on Sundays and festivals. He often exhorted his sister Mary to do the same; assuring her that if she did, she would in all things be assisted by God and His most Blessed Mother.

Having said thus much regarding the birth and education of Ralph, we shall best learn what course he pursued in after life from his own words; for when near his death, he was requested by his Superior to give him a brief account of his past life, and wrote for him the narrative from which we take the following passages:—

"When I was about fifteen years of age, I passed over from England to St. Omer's College having lived some five years in my native country, Ireland, and ten in England. During the rest of my life, I have lived either under the discipline of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, or in the Society itself; for I studied my humanities in the seminary of St. Omer for six years, and philosophy and part of my theology for five years in Spain, viz.: for one year at Seville, during which I suffered from weak and indifferent health, and four years at Valladolid; where having been made priest, I returned to Flanders, and being admitted into the Society twenty years ago, made my novitiate at Watten.<sup>1</sup> I then

<sup>1</sup> In a list of English students removed from St. Omer to Valladolid, 1616—1621 (Old Clergy Chapter Collection), we find that Father Corby arrived there with Richard Stanley in 1621, and that both of them, after their fourth year, and their ordination to the priesthood, were sent to the Novitiate at Watten. He was a fellow-student of Father Holland the martyr at each of these Colleges.

finished the remainder of my theological course at Liege ; after that I spent two years at Ghent, and the second of them in my third probation. Having been sent back thence into England by order of my superiors, I have served for the salvation of my neighbours, twelve years in this country; all which time I seemed to have passed so easily, and so free from any serious interruption, that I ought to acknowledge the singular goodness of God, and the kindness of my fellow-men towards me ; and to mention with gratitude the various aids given me, especially when I consider my small abilities, and the weak health which I have always had. But now, from the time of my return to England I confess that I have studied, according to my calling and power (to God alone be the glory), to be a help and consolation to others, both by administering the sacraments of the Church, and by privately instructing in the truth, and exhorting to virtue ; for I have never been able to preach in public, a thing which has been sometimes the cause of no small grief to me, but yet has impressed on my mind a constant and salutary feeling of humility. And thus I have easily persuaded myself to pursue a moderate and poor style of living with the humbler class of men, and always to visit the neighbouring places on foot. Concerning the state of my soul, I hope indeed, by God's mercy, that it is well with me. I have at least endeavoured to advance daily in virtue, and have kept before my eyes, the uncertainty of life, common to all, and especially my own weakness and infirmity; for during the last eight years I have usually lost a good deal of blood in the autumn and spring. This has not only changed my bodily constitution, but has also very much weakened my head, so that I cannot now meditate or read for any length of time ; but I pass most of my leisure in pious reflections and ejaculatory prayers, or in reciting the Divine Office, and the Rosary of the most Blessed Virgin. Moreover, being of late unable to walk as before, I have been obliged to use a horse, to my great inconvenience and trouble, especially in these perilous and hazardous times. All which things have increased my desire of laying down my life and shedding my blood for the sake of Christ, which may He indeed at last grant of His great mercy. Dated from prison, September  $\frac{3}{13}$ , 1644."

Thus did he describe himself candidly and sincerely to his Superior, and it is evident that although, impelled by his love of obedience, he scattered here and there however sparingly some facts worthy of praise, like so many rays of light, yet in

his desire of humbling himself, he veiled them beneath the darker shadows of contempt and self-abasement, a virtue which he ever cherished as the root of all others. From this sprang a genuine and frank simplicity in word and deed; a disposition more inclined to obey the suggestions of others than the impulse of his own will; and in matters of conscience, a diligent scrutiny and an anxious care even of trifles. He not only carefully restrained his tongue from the slightest approach to detraction (a distinguishing trait in his character, and for which he was celebrated amongst his acquaintance), but also held such a command over all other emotions of his mind, that they who were most intimate with him confessed they never saw in him any appearance of a want of tranquillity. From this proceeded a holy and constant hatred of his body, as of a treacherous servant, and though naturally weak and infirm, he never indulged it in sloth, nor in avoiding laborious occupations, as human weakness might have persuaded him; but he used to accustom it to labours, inure it to hardships, and keep it in the continual practice of active charity, as the salvation of souls and the honour of Christ demanded.

In the neighbourhood where he lived, were many Catholics of narrow means and obscure station, who could neither maintain priests at their houses, by reason of their straitened circumstances, nor go to them elsewhere, owing to the danger they would incur. These he always thought it his duty to console, to assist in every manner, to administer to them the sacraments of the Church, and to visit amongst their villages and in their houses. He was indefatigable in doing this not only by day, but towards dusk or late at night, in the heat of summer and the cold and rain of winter; he always walked on foot, carrying in his hand his stick, which he jestingly called his horse, and at his entrance into a house, he used to commend it accordingly to the care of the domestics. That he might more freely and without suspicion frequent the cottages of the poor, he would go without a cloak, in a very humble dress, so that he might have been taken for a servant, or farm-bailiff, or letter-carrier. His reception too and manner of living was such as is usually to be met with among the humbler classes, he did not visit by appointment, but casually: and he always used to declare, with a pleasant countenance and a grateful and joyful heart, that he was as much delighted with chance fare as with the greatest luxuries. So that it is not to be wondered at, that

after labours carried on in such an apostolic spirit for twelve years, considering also his modest and gentle manners, he was commonly called by the poor Catholics of those parts their "dearest Father," and "the Apostle."

How could these pious and humble labours, endured with such contentment and cheerfulness, fail to feed within him that holy thirst which usually follows a long and happy course? I mean that thirst, which he had long ago conceived in his soul, for reaching heaven by the way of the gallows, and for shedding also his blood in the cause on which he had expended so much care and labour. It was on July 18, 1644, that Father Ralph Corby, ignorant of the happiness destined for him by Heaven, was before the holy Altar offering the Unbloody Sacrifice in a secluded house, called Hamsterley, surrounded by a wood and situated in the county of Durham, near Newcastle-upon-Tyne. There he was engaged in reading the Epistle when he was taken by the Calvinistic soldiers, who violently rushed in. Scarcely had he put off his sacerdotal vestments, and at once confessed the fact (for what would hesitation have done when the Altar and its furniture were before their eyes?) he was immediately taken away to Sunderland, a town on the seacoast, where the Parliamentary Commissioners were then sitting.<sup>2</sup> They, having inquired about the crime (which was no crime at all) from the soldier who had brought him in custody, and being informed who he was, and what he had already confessed concerning himself, ordered his confession to be committed to writing and given to them. The Father therefore wrote down with his own hand to this effect: "Being taken by the Parliament forces the 8th day of July, I was brought the same day to the Committee at Sunderland, when the soldiers that brought me, told them the chief of my confession, so as being willed to pen the same I wrote after this manner: I, Ralph Corby, priest, whilst living in the bishopric of Durham, was taken to-day, the 8th of July at Hamsterley, by the Parliamentarians, about nine in the morning, when about to offer the Sacrifice of the Mass, and at the same time were seized my sacerdotal vestments and other furniture." They demanded, further, where he had been made priest. He said, in Spain. Was he

<sup>2</sup> Father Corby says in his letter to his sister, given towards the conclusion of this biography, that he was *about* saying Mass. Challoner writes it, "when going to Mass at a country house in Hamsterley, not far from Newcastle," &c.

one of the Jesuits? He replied that by the great goodness of God he was of the Society of Jesus; which, at their bidding, he readily added to his declaration. It happened that, near the top of the paper on which he wrote these facts, he had made with his pen the sign of the Cross, as is usual among religious men. They, interpreting this as an act of superstition, took it ill and were much incensed; for they belonged to the school which sacrilegiously execrates every cast, sculpture, or painting of the Cross of Christ, and would wish to exterminate its memory from among men. At length, having questioned and examined him as long as they wished, at about eleven at night they took him off to a ship to carry him immediately to London. And when he had been kept in close confinement for one day, he afterwards, as he tells us, obtained greater liberty, and was treated more humanely, being allowed to walk on the deck. His greatest consolation, however, was that he found there, by the singular providence of God, the Rev. John Duckett, a secular priest, who a few days before had been seized in a neighbouring place, and was, for a similar cause, condemned to the same fate; he was a man of much constancy, and of a very high degree of virtue, worthy of the greatest praise. I am desirous, in the rest of this account of Father Corby, to write and speak of both these missionaries together, since it would be scarcely fair to separate two companions when commemorating their victory, whom God has united in the victory itself. After their first meeting on board ship they lived together as twin brothers and kindred souls, were committed to prison together, brought to trial together, and together happily met the same holy death.

And now, having been brought by sea to London, and taken before the Parliamentary Commissioners at Westminster, where also the confession of their priesthood which they made at Sunderland was urged against them, they again boldly adhered to it, and so without longer examination or delay, were committed to the prison of Newgate;<sup>3</sup> and with much insolent

<sup>3</sup> The martyr's own words are—"Landing at London, I was guarded to the examiners, where, showing me my writing, I acknowledged it, so as they examined me little. As where I was born, I told them in Ireland, my father being fled thither for his conscience. Some other frivolous questions, as whether I knew Dr. Cozens, or were in the King's army or not, to which I answered negatively, although they have put it down affirmatively; and so they committed me to Newgate." We find the following mention of the arrival of the martyrs in London and committal to Newgate, in the *London Intelligencer*, "King's Pamphlets," n. 167 (British Museum), 17th to 26th July, 1644: "On the same day also (July 23) there were two Popish priests brought to town and committed to Newgate,

cruelty. For a troop of about forty armed soldiers, with a captain at their head, was ordered out, and as a military escort, half in jest, with drums beating and guns firing, led these innocent and peaceful confessors of Christ, as though they had been malefactors, traitors, and disturbers of the peace of the kingdom, like those lately taken in the enemy's army; and all this out of hatred to the Catholic religion and priesthood. Thus were they conducted to prison and chains, on the very day on which the feast of St. Peter *ad Vincula* occurs in the calendar of the Church. From that time till September 13 following, there are abundant proofs to show how piously and religiously, with what demonstrations of constancy, and with how consoling an effect on those who beheld them, they passed their time, awaiting the assizes at which they were to be tried. For, in their seclusion from all earthly cares, they had more time to give to themselves and to God, and in order to strengthen themselves the better for the last conflict of life, they seem to have entered into a sort of holy emulation which of the two should excel in humility, charity, patience, and zeal for the glory of God, and all other heroic virtues; yet so as always to preserve the most perfect mutual love and harmony.

The general expectation was that each of them would soon undergo the penalty of death in confession of his faith and priesthood. Therefore, according to custom, many came to receive the sacraments from them in prison.<sup>4</sup> Amongst these, when Father Corby was officiating, one person received the most Holy Body of Christ whom many knew to have taken the oath of supremacy, and to have persevered in his defence of an act which had been so strongly condemned. As soon as this was known to the good priests, they took counsel together

which were sent up from Sunderland; they were taken as they fled upon Prince Rupert's rout near York, and were priests to the regiment of the Popish party, employed to settle the Protestant religion (as say our lukewarm malignants *a medley Protestant [sic]*), has been often protested by his Majesty. The one of them his name was Mr. John Ducket, and the other Mr. Ralph *Corley*; and for the more clear opening of this business, that the malignants may have as full conviction as may be, they have confessed under their own hands in writing to that effect, *that they were both priests, and taken by the Parliament's forces at Hamperly the 8th of July about nine of the clock, about saying Mass; that their vestments and other things were taken, and that they received order of priesthood in Spain, were of the Society of Jesus, and were sent over into England to convert soldiers, which they had done,*" &c.

<sup>4</sup> It was the common practice in those days to admit visitors to the priests in their prisons. The keepers, who were handsomely paid for their connivance, made a profitable thing of it.

how best to remove the slur cast upon the truth, and to correct any erroneous impression as to their own opinion of the said oath, so that no injury might arise to the souls of men by this example. Therefore, they agreed that Father Corby should go to this person and admonish him in a friendly and gentle manner, telling him that if the fact was true as commonly reported, and he did not repent of his act, he must abstain for the future from the reception of the Blessed Eucharist; as he and his companion had made up their minds not to admit to the Holy Table any defenders or favourers of an oath so often condemned by the Apostolic See.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, on other occasions also, they both unani- mously declared that they heartily detested the said oath, which undoubtedly could not now be defended with a clear conscience, and that the sacraments were to be refused to such as taught and acted otherwise. Nor do I doubt that both of them would have been willing to lay down their lives for this article of Catholic verity alone. As a year and a half before, that great man of the Order of St. Francis, Father Henry Heath, or according to his name in the cloister, Brother Paul of St. Magdalene, professed himself ready to do; who, as he found the Fathers of whom I speak imitators of his zeal for the true doctrine on the oath of supremacy, also had them as imitators of his avidity, if I may so say, to suffer for the faith of Christ.

Indeed, though many other proofs existed of the great desire of martyrdom that consumed them, the greatest was the exceeding joy of each, and the wonderful serenity observ- able in their countenances while in prison. This was so much noticed by those who were with them, that some were found, who, on leaving their company, openly bore testimony to it by words, tears of joy, and admiration. Therefore they watched with great anxiety lest by any chance the palm should be plucked away when almost in their hands, and the crown be lost which was now suspended over their heads, a crown so precious, and sought for by so many prayers. It was the opinion of some that, with regard to Father Corby, if authentic certificates could be procured of his birth in Ireland, and could be brought forward in time, sentence would be stayed. He heard, then, with great regret, that such letters were being procured, and as far as he might, consistently with obedience, he abstained from promoting that object. Certainly Divine Providence seems to

<sup>5</sup> See Father Ralph Corby's letter upon this subject, pp. 90, 91.

have favoured his ardent aspirations against the attempts made by his friends to save his life ; whose success in obtaining this public testimony, God was pleased to render so tardy, that a notary at Ghent made out the certificate of his early birth-place on the same day, and almost at the same hour, that he, being hanged at London, began to be born in heaven.

I think, however, his desire of suffering is equally shown by what I am about to relate. It chanced that some persons were treating with the Ambassador of the Emperor of Germany for obtaining the liberty of a Scot, of the rank of colonel, who had been taken prisoner in that country.<sup>6</sup> Immediately the German Ambassador, with his usual zeal in a good cause, began to urge vehemently the desirableness of exchanging Father Corby for the Scotch captive in Germany ; adding that he would very willingly undertake the conduct of that business. When the good Father found such an unexpected favour offered to him, in his anxiety to decline it, he could think of no better means of averting the kindness so graciously offered, than by begging that it might be transferred to his blessed colleague, Mr. Duckett. And he alleged (so ingenious is love) as the strongest reason to persuade him to this, that he himself, as a native of Ireland, would not so greatly need that aid ; but that it seemed certain that Mr. Duckett, an Englishman by birth, could not escape except by such interposition. He added that his colleague, still young and strong, and eminently gifted, might be of much service for a long time to come in furthering the salvation of souls ; that he himself was more advanced in years, and of weak health, and had so exhausted his strength, that he could not labour much longer in Christ's vineyard. To these arguments he added humble prayers, in which he begged this favour to be granted to him by his superiors, and by the good-will of the Ambassador, who deserved, he said, his everlasting gratitude. If (he declared) his having been born in Ireland would not avail to save his life, he was, by God's grace, in such a frame of mind, that he was infinitely more willing to die in so glorious a cause than to live. Moreover that, for the last four years especially (a little before which time he had been admitted to the degree of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor), the same flames had burnt within his breast, and that he had not ceased to implore the Divine Goodness, that he might be allowed one day to obtain his wishes.

<sup>6</sup> In some accounts he is called a sergeant-major.

From all this it was evident that his mind was urged to the noble conflict by a clear celestial impulse. In the meanwhile, the Ambassador determined to act no longer by means of messengers, but to go himself to the prison, and to understand definitely what these Christian combatants finally intended. He was present at a memorable exhibition of humility and mutual charity, in which each endeavoured to persuade the other to accept this hope of life and liberty now offered to him; so that all who were present were filled with silent admiration, marvelling at the novelty of this contention. One of their number, a grave religious, declared it to be his opinion, that in this pious and holy strife the humility and fervour of the early martyrs of the Church seemed to be brought before his eyes; and the event showed that God was pleased that each victim should be brought to the altar, and that neither should lose the sacrifice.

Let us hear then, from the facts recorded in the letter of Father Corby, dated September 15, 1664, how each was indicted and condemned, for much of the process was common to both. He says: "When the sessions were held on Sept. 4 (O.S.), which day is in Catholic countries the 14th, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, I was the second called. After I had made my appearance, and the indictment had been read, which was to this effect, 'That Ralph Corby, an Englishman, having been made a priest and Jesuit beyond the seas, had returned into England, contrary to law,' I was asked by the Recorder of the city, the ordinary judge in these cases, 'Guilty or not guilty?' I answered that I was a priest and Jesuit, and acknowledged it; but that I considered this an honour, not a crime. He urged me to answer 'Guilty, or not guilty?' I repeated a second and third time that I was a priest and Jesuit, and that if that was guilt, I confessed myself to be guilty. When no other answer could be got out of me, he asked whether I had anything further to say for myself; but I said, 'That I was not born in England, as was laid in the indictment, but in Ireland, at a time when my parents, for conscience and religion's sake, had fled thither from England; and that I had mentioned this to the commissioners before whom I was brought at my first coming to this city.' 'But this,' said the judge, in a somewhat irritable manner, 'will be no excuse for you. Why, do you not know the statute of Queen Elizabeth?' And he ordered the statute to be read. I do not remember its language; but, according to his inter-

pretation, the wording of the statute extended to all parts of the Dominions of Queen Elizabeth, of which Ireland was a part, 'And so,' he said, 'if you be so courageous, you must die.' Whereupon the jury immediately came forward and pronounced me guilty of the crimes charged in the indictment, and convicted by my own evidence, and I was ordered to be led away.

"The next day I was sent for into court, and when I was placed at the bar, the Recorder again asked what I had to say that sentence of death should not be passed on me according to law. I said that I had pleaded yesterday that, having been born in Ireland, I desired my cause to be tried in my own country, and that this had been denied to me. 'To this,' said he, 'sufficient answer was given yesterday; for the statute comprises both England and Ireland.' And so he passed sentence on me, as follows: 'That I was to return thence to prison, to be taken from prison, placed on a wicker hurdle, and dragged to Tyburn, where I was to be half hanged with a rope, and when half dead, to have my bowels taken out, and my body divided into four parts, which parts were to be taken to Newgate, and exposed in some place appointed by his Majesty.' This sentence having been passed on me, I went gladly back to my prison of Newgate, where I expect that blessed and happy Saturday (he wrote this two days before September 7), which is the vigil of Her glorious nativity by whose holy intercession I hope to be born again to a new and everlasting life; which may the infinite goodness of God grant, by the prayers and merits of the same Mother of God and of His glorious saints. Amen."

In another page of the same letter there are many expressions which reflect very brightly to us the solid and perfect virtues so abundantly infused by the Divine bounty into his soul; and, indeed, those who knew him best could not be ignorant that great graces had evidently been conferred on him from heaven; and that they were so much the greater, because "humility, the secure guardian of graces," kept them the more carefully concealed. But since much that was contained in this letter related to individuals, I pass over the rest, and only copy the last lines. Having with the greatest lowliness of mind confessed himself a dull and imperfect scholar in the school of virtue, he addressed as it were his last farewell on earth both to the Father to whom he wrote, and to the whole Society, in these words: "And now, my most dear Father, that I may

make an end at once of my letter and of my life, for the love of Almighty God, I earnestly beg pardon from your Reverence and from the whole of the Society, for all my errors, defects, and offences, and for every duty neglected during my past life."

In proceeding to narrate what followed, I will first mention that these constant confessors of Christ had scarcely been removed from the bar, when, through the barbarous inhumanity of some malignant officer of the prison, they were thrust into a vile and filthy dungeon, amongst a rabble of murderers, thieves, and malefactors, and "were numbered with the transgressors." There they were being stripped, loaded with chains and iron fetters, and otherwise shamefully treated, when the governor of the prison, having heard of the case, and detesting such atrocious conduct, interfered, and strictly forbade its continuance. They were obliged, however, before their dismissal from this place, to redeem themselves from such excess of ill-treatment by the payment of money. All this they endured with a placid countenance, and undisturbed mind, and without making complaint against any one.

And now only one more day and night of this mortal life remained to them; the whole of which they felt should be given to prayer, fasting, and watching, without once closing their eyes in sleep; both that they themselves might be more ready to meet the heavenly Spouse of their souls, by thus waiting for their last hour, and that they might meanwhile the better console others, and exercise works of charity. For many used to come and see them by night as well as by day, both English Catholics and foreigners, and also many Ambassadors of orthodox princes, then residing in London: some perhaps for one reason, some for another, if one were to inquire into each particular case; but all, as it seemed, full of veneration for the blessed warriors of Christ, whom they already looked upon as men certain to be soon inhabitants of heaven. Nor did they, on their part, fail in their duty, for by faithful counsels, by salutary admonitions, by the humble and sedulous exercise of their priestly office, in every mode of gratifying them, and alacrity in serving them, they could show, they endeavoured to satisfy all. Father Corby had studied the various branches of literature and science in the Seminaries founded for our countrymen by Philip II. of Spain, at St. Omer, Seville, and Valladolid, and had also finished his theological education in the

College piously founded at Liege by Bavarian munificence. He could not therefore fail, with the utmost humility, by words, by writing, and other proofs of gratitude, to show his indelible recollection of these benefits. Especially he promised to pray for his Catholic Majesty, and his Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria, both now and in that eternity of happiness with the saints which he was then, by the mercy of God, rapidly approaching. But the French Ambassador was not satisfied with having affectionately visited the "white-robed martyrs" of Christ on that last evening, and especially begged for their prayers for himself, he also wished to make his confession to Father Corby (as likewise did his companions), and he received from him a rosary, and a blessed medal, which he was to send into France as a gift to the Queen-mother, with a paper bearing this inscription in Latin: "I, Ralph Corby, priest of the Society of Jesus, promise to pray for the welfare of the most Christian King of France, for her Majesty the Queen, and her family, and for the French nation." He at the same time wrote a paper for the King as follows: "I, Ralph Corby, priest S.J., promise that I will pray for the welfare of the most Christian King of France." The Ambassador on leaving declared that he had never seen such an example of Christian fortitude, and as he had been not only filled with sincere admiration of them, but had with great joy of soul received deep sentiments of piety, and many salutary counsels from their company and conversation, so also he declared that he would not forget to publish their praises to others.<sup>7</sup>

Nor must we pass over in silence the piety of a lady of great nobility and position,<sup>8</sup> which is worthy of mention and of

<sup>7</sup> The French Ambassador was the Marquis de Sabran, father of Father Louis de Sabran, who was Provincial of the English Province, 1709-12. The manuscript from which Father Ambrose Corby derived much of his data for the Life of his brother, states that the Marquis did not visit Father Ralph with the intention of confessing, but was drawn to do so, being so greatly struck with all he saw. He expressed the consolation he had received thereby, and resolved out of devotion, as long as he remained in England, to fast every Friday, with his family, as the English Catholics then did. After the martyrdom, he procured the best relation of the facts he was able. He ordered his servants to go with scissors and cut off what they could of the martyr's garments, but a devout person kept them from cutting his cassock in prison, pleading the unsightliness of his going to execution in a mangled habit. By which admonition (says the same manuscript) "the Society enjoyeth his entire cassock." Mr. Duckett's garment was cut, it was believed at Tyburn, and by a servant of one of Father Corby's friends, who was beaten for doing so.

<sup>8</sup> This was the Duchess of Guise.

being handed down to posterity. Being a stranger, and having come to London about the time when, in the sight of heaven and earth, was to be exhibited this spectacle, so pleasing to God and to the angels, she rejoiced greatly in having, beyond expectation, the privilege of partly witnessing it. She desired, then, to omit no means of showing her respect both for these holy victims devoted to death; and, in their persons, for the Catholic cause itself. Nor did she merely do this herself, but persuaded others also to do the same, for she came to the prison with the Marquis de Brossay, and with the entire suites of both, neither allowing the unseasonable hour nor straitness of the place to deter her. There she spent that whole night, the last on earth of these holy priests, in watching and prayer, as in a sacred vigil, and assisted most religiously while they offered the Unbloody Sacrifice of the Altar; and, having confessed to Father Corby, and been fed by his hand with the most Divine Banquet of the Eucharist, she also purchased the chalice which had been used for the sacred rite, and keeps it religiously to this day as a precious treasure. A great number of other Catholics were also present, who, at the same time, having first duly confessed, were refreshed by these priests, with the same Angelic Food, and testified that they had thereby received great consolation.

It is also worthy of notice that Father Corby, after receiving sentence of death as above mentioned, continued undaunted, cheerful, and happy as before; and the nearer he approached to his departure from this life, so much greater tenderness of soul did he show, often melting into tears, not of grief or fear, but in evidence of that joy which he now derived still more abundantly from the near approach of the happiness which was almost in his sight. This he acknowledged to a member of the same Society, who was always with him in prison,<sup>9</sup> and declared that he was not touched by any sense of fear. But yet in this his last Sacrifice of the Mass, that former serenity, as if by the interposition of a cloud, appeared for a short time overshadowed, and he himself, like his Saviour in the garden, fell into an agony of sadness and fear; for whilst offering up the Holy Sacrifice he began to move more slowly than usual, and to be longer in pronouncing the words, and even stood sometimes as if his arms were bound, his voice also from time to time failed him, which caused much wonder and astonishment to those present. When afterwards asked what had caused this,

<sup>9</sup> Brother Cuthbert Prescott.

he said that some sad thoughts had pressed in upon him, which overclouded his mind, till by earnest prayer to God they were dispelled and put to flight, and he was restored to his former tranquillity and joy, receiving indeed new strength of mind and cheerfulness, which lasted till his happy death. He bade his friends, who wept at their last parting with him on his way to execution, to be cheerful and glad, although with his usual tenderness of heart he was himself somewhat moved; and sweetly smiling he said there was no reason for weeping, but ample cause for congratulating him, who was going to meet so great a happiness and triumph.<sup>10</sup>

Meanwhile the 7th of September, the looked for day had dawned, and the hour was close at hand when these holy martyrs were to come forth from the prison, in which they had hitherto nobly played their part, to act now their last scene of life on a wider stage. About ten o'clock in the morning they were summoned to be placed upon the hurdle, going forth with a cheerful and courageous heart, and with their usual self-possession and confidence in their cause. Wherefore they did not blush to present themselves to the gaze of the populace, in a new and strange sort to most of those who were there. For they appeared no longer in disguise, as heretofore, but acting their own part; one in a long cassock, such as is usually worn by secular priests in Catholic countries, the other in the usual religious habit of our Society; and each having his head neatly shaven in the form of a crown. Then, they were bound together on the same hurdle covered with straw, Father Corby, being placed on the right side, as the elder of the two and weaker in health, which his thin and pale countenance showed; and Mr. Duckett on the left, for he was stronger and younger,

<sup>10</sup> For a very striking instance of a similar sadness and desolation before execution, see *Records*, vol. i. Series I. page 429 note. The original manuscript, above referred to, states that among others who heard Father Corby's last Mass was a gentleman and his wife, with whom the martyr had lived for some years, and who greatly respected him for his many virtues, but especially for those two (1) that in all their long and close intimacy, they had never heard him utter a word which could hurt the feelings of any person, nor would he allow this to be done by others in his presence, so careful was he to preserve charity; (2) that he so restrained and regulated his passions, and practised such recollection before God, that they could never discover in him the least symptom of anger or impatience. The same manuscript adds that, after Mass, the martyr explained to these two friends the cause of his distraction, which was that, casting his eyes upon them, he fell into a lively apprehension of his approaching departure from them, and from his other intimate friends who stood by, and this so deeply touched him as almost to prevent his going on. But from this sensitiveness he was freed the moment that he lifted up his heart to God.

healthy-looking, and of a cheerful and amiable aspect. And while, amid a dense crowd that accompanied them, they were thus drawn to the gallows, so modest, so patient, so cheerful, in the mutual union and more than fraternal charity of their souls, they seemed to impress a feeling of reverence on the Protestants themselves, who openly said, "It was a wonderful thing to see and to reflect with how great courage and constancy for the sake of religion men of that kind could meet death."<sup>11</sup> But the Catholics, when they saw them being led to execution, each in his proper garb, so contrary to custom, congratulated and venerated them, begging their blessing on the way; and this they imparted, with great cheerfulness and charity.

Having been drawn through the town and country, they arrived at Tyburn; where, as I am told, they first devoutly saluted the gallows itself with their embrace and kiss, and with many thanksgivings to God; then, having ascended the fatal cart, and the rope being placed about their necks, they stood amongst the criminals, who were five in number, and were to be hanged together with these innocent men. Mr. Duckett did not think it necessary to address the surrounding multitude, but stood with his head erect, and his eyes meekly raised to heaven. And perhaps this silent eloquence, indicating his inward joy and tranquillity, that shone forth so clearly in his whole behaviour, was both suitable to the occasion and had great influence in moving the hearts of the spectators. But Father Corby, thinking it well to say a few words to the people on the cause of his death, spoke with this view to the Sheriff of London, who is usually present with his attendants at public executions: "Mr. Sheriff, tell me, if you please, what cause has brought us to this place of punishment? Tell me, sir, I say, what cause of death is alleged against us?" And when the sheriff made no answer to him on his repetition of these questions, the Father went on to explain the facts, as follows: "We were living in the county of Durham; there we were taken, and brought all the way to London. And now in this city, far from our homes, we are to suffer death. Nor, meanwhile, has any one appeared against us, no accuser, no witness; none has charged us with any crime, nor can any one,

<sup>11</sup> The same manuscript observes that this was the first known instance of martyrs who were priests enjoying the consolation of dying with tonsured crowns and priestly habits. It adds that Mr. Duckett was a handsome man, of a sanguine and cheerful countenance, and that Father Corby's long infirmity, tending to consumption, combined with his severe treatment, caused him to appear the sadder of the two.

as far as I know, accuse us, even if he would. We have confessed, and willingly confess, that we are Catholics and priests. And this crime is the only cause of our death, which appears more strange to me, speaking for myself, because, as I said, having been born in Ireland, I never remember the profession of the Catholic religion or the Catholic priesthood to have been looked upon as a crime, nor any Irishman put to death for his religion, or for being a priest." Hereupon one said he had known one put to death for that cause in Dublin. Unto whom Father Corby replied, "I believe it is more than you know or can justify." "Whatever," said the sheriff, "may be the case in Ireland, it is quite different in England. You are scholars, and, having made your studies in England, have crossed the seas to foreign parts; and there having taken orders and come back into this kingdom, you have gone about the country seducing the people from the true Church of God." The Father replied, "We seduce no one from the Church of God, but bring back the sheep, who are wandering in error, to the fold of Christ. However, not even this, which is falsely called a crime, was ever proved against us, nor even laid to our charge in the court of justice." "Nay, indeed," interrupted the sheriff, "you have seduced many, and therefore you are to die to-day, because, having been made priest in foreign parts, as I said, you have returned to England and seduced the King's subjects, contrary to the laws of God and this kingdom." "Not contrary to the laws of God," said the Father, "certainly not. But if to have studied for the salvation of others—if to have lawfully received Holy Orders instituted by Christ—if to have recalled the erring to the faith—if this be considered contrary to the laws of this kingdom, and a crime punishable with death, I should wish everybody to know that on this ground we do not dread death, but desire it, and embrace it with open arms. Wherefore, Mr. Sheriff, we most willingly this day give up to Christ our Saviour, who so lovingly died for us all, a life due to His merits and death, a thousand times over, and we shall joyfully die for the love of Him and for the cause of our religion."

This is the sum of what he said, which was diligently noted down by a sincere Catholic, who stood near him as he spoke. He uttered it with a far more smiling countenance than was usual with him. Nor had he any opportunity of saying much more, so great excitement was there about one of the five convicts during the greater part of the time. His name was

Havard, and he deserves to be honourably mentioned. Having been charged with coining (though falsely, as it is said, and as he declared to his last breath), he had, a little before he was led out to punishment, been converted to the faith by the labours and example of Father Ralph and Mr. Duckett, and professed it so freely, so boldly, and with such a sense of penitence for having so late acknowledged the truth, that the Protestants were mainly incensed against him, and the Calvinist minister troubled him beyond the rest, impatient at his open declaration, at the gallows, that there was no hope of obtaining eternal happiness outside the Roman Catholic faith. He was particularly challenged by a minister present for having seen him at their church, which fact he sorrowfully acknowledged, and expressed his hearty repentance for having thereby offended God. The more the minister urged him, the more full and fervent were his expressions of the holy Catholic faith, to the great comfort of the Catholics and edification of all present, and confusion of the heretics, who showed divers ways their spleen, both at the execution and afterwards. And I think we may hope for the best with respect to the salvation of this man, whose constancy no importunity of gainsayers could resist. Certainly Father Ralph remarkably displayed his zeal for the salvation of others in this man's case, by animating him in various ways in the confession of his faith, exhorting him to perseverance, and consoling him to his latest breath, as far as the place and the time allowed.

Meanwhile some priests were present in disguise, who, at a sign previously agreed upon, gave sacerdotal absolution to the brave Christian combatants; and having received this, and affectionately embraced each other, the cart was quickly drawn from under them, and they hanged for some time, till their happy souls had left their bodies. The sheriff had remitted this part of the severity of the law, so that they were not cut down and quartered half alive, as was the custom. Moreover, with great humanity, he ordered an artery to be tried, that it might be evident that they were quite dead. But this lenity he immediately stained by his harshness; for he at once ordered whatever was found tinged with their blood to be burnt, and even the aprons worn by the executioners, and the sleeves drawn on over their arms to be washed, that, forsooth, the Popish dogs (inhuman language!) might have nothing to venerate and kiss, or to keep by way of relic. Some, however, obtained fragments torn from the cassock of Mr. Duckett, and

one of his hands which had been cut off, and some other things, either by craft, or for money, or with pious daring; and also the whole cassock of Father Corby, which they brought to the Fathers of our Society in London as a most acceptable token of remembrance.

Such is what we have hitherto been able to learn concerning the glorious departure of Father Corby from this life; and we have heard it from men most deserving of credit, who were themselves present at the deed. If any other circumstances should become known by degrees, these too, I trust, will in time be published, to the greater glory of the King of martyrs. One thing only need be mentioned further, that, whereas he suffered, as we have said, A.D. 1644, in the twentieth year from his admission into the Society, and in the seventh month of the forty-seventh year of his life, on September 7, O.S. according to our reckoning September 17), he died on the very day on which, seven years before, his father, Gerard Corby, happily expired; who set this notable example, that after sending three sons into the Society of Jesus, and two daughters into the venerable Order of St. Benedict (who are still living in the English Convent at Brussels), having no other surviving children, he by mutual and cordial consent of his wife, bade farewell to human affairs seventeen years before this time, and followed his sons into the Society of Jesus, in which he died holily at Watten; and his wife followed her daughters into the Order of St. Benedict, in which she lived piously at Ghent, both thus consecrating themselves and their whole family by vows to Almighty God. May the most merciful Father of the afflicted, grant that England, once the faithful spouse of Christ and fruitful parent of religious men, but now so utterly abandoned, may return again to the faith which she owes to her Heavenly Bridegroom, and to the veneration of the Virgin Mother; and, having been watered by the precious blood of so many of her own martyrs, may she again flourish, bringing forth her ancient fruits of holiness, and blessed with a new offspring and chaste posterity of saints! Amen.<sup>12</sup>

The following "Relation concerning Mr. Duckett," and "Some few particulars concerning the two happy men," &c., were written by Mr. John Horsley, Father Corby's cousin and fellow-prisoner in Newgate (see his letter to Father Ambrose

<sup>12</sup> "O quam pulchra est casta generatio cum claritate!" (Antiph. Brev. Rom. *De Comm. Virg.*)

Corbie, p. 94, in which he mentions having drawn up a brief relation, &c.).

As it is difficult to separate these two affectionate friends and fellow-champions, the papers are given in full. The originals may be seen in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. n. 18. Occasional repetitions are unavoidable in these plain records of facts.

*A relation concerning Mr. Duckett.*

What I write concerning Mr. John Duckett, who was lately some month or 5 weekes prisoner with us in New-Gate, and suffered death at Tyborne Sep. 7, 1644, I have, partly from the relation of such who very well knew his conversation in the College at Douay, partly from himself, and my own observation of his carriage since he was deteyned amongst us.

He was born in Westmorland, of a very antient and worthy family and allyed to the best gentry in those northern parts. His mother was a Girlington, a very antient and worthy family in Yorkshire,<sup>13</sup> and, tho' most of his friends on both sides were Catholiques, yet I know not how it came to passe, he was Protestant in his younger yeares, and reconciled to our holy Mother the Catholique Church, but some yeare or thereabouts before he was sent to Douay, where in the English Colledge he began in the lower schooles, and ended his humane literature. Afterwards with applause went through the courses of philosophy and divinity. This gent. was observed to have been ever much recollected and retyred, not out of a tetricall [morose] stoicisme (his constant affability and pleasing comportment evincing the contrary), but, as was then and is now imagined, because his more serious thoughts still conversed with Him Whom, by a happy martyrdom he was selected to glorify. He frequented, as the other students, the ordinary harmlesse recreations allowed and ordered in the Colledges for the remission of their more intense studies and preservation of the schollers' healthes; yet even in those tymes would he select some with whom he discoursed of matters concerning piety and learning; in all exercises of eyther he was very punctuall, and ordinarily prevented the appointed tymes. And, though he were singularly devout, yet his devotions were such, as I heard testified by a condemned priest, his collegian, that they rather gave additions, than in any wayes hindered his progresse in learning.

<sup>13</sup> Frequent mention occurs of this Catholic Yorkshire family in Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*, 1604. In page 69, under the head of "Grinton Parishe," among a number of "non-communicants since Easter, 1603," we find "Edward Stuble, servant to Henry Girlington, of Fremington, gentleman." In pages 77, 78, "Hornbie Parishe" (among others), "John Girlington of Hackforth, and Christopher (*sic*) his wife. Recusantes for 12 monthes last." "*Scolmaster* reteyned. William Mease a scolmaster to the said Mr. Girlington." In page 80, "Wyclif." "John Girlington sonne of Nynian Girlington, gentleman" (with others), "non-communicant for a yeare last past." "*Private baptisme*. Ninian Girlington, gentleman, had a childe borne in his house, by his daughter Margaret, the supposed wife of George Smithson of Newsom, but by whom when or where it was christened they know not." "Ninian Girlington of Girlington, gentleman, John Girlington his sonne" (with others). "Recusants since xxv. March, 1603."

In which exemplarity of life, serious application to his booke, and affable conversation, he spent 8 yeares in the Colledge of Douay, admired, esteemed, and beloved of all, till having compleated his course of philosophy, and two yeares of divinity, he was with 5 or 6 prime gentlemen of the same howse, sent to Paris (where he accomplished his divinity) to studie, and take degrees in a foundation promised by that great Churchman, Card. Richlieu, at the solicitation of Dr. Richard Smyth, the present Bp. of Chaldeon. But, I know not upon what occasion, that desyne fayling, he was sent last Christmasse a missionary into England, and arriving in the northerne parts of the kingdome in and about his native country, he labored in this our Saviour's vineyard, which now yeelds scarce any other fruit than the bloode of martyrs. This last summer the Scots, invited by our Parliament, invading England, this gentleman going with some others for his guides and assistants to help a sick person, eyther in his journey or returne was taken by some of the Parliamentary soldiers, and threatened to be tormented with burning matches betwixt his fingers and toes if he did not confesse himself to be a priest. Discoursing with him why he confessed his function, Mr. Duckett tould me he did it, first, because his holy oyles were taken about him, with certaine theologicall books, which he removed from his former residence. 2nd. That his confession might free his companions from suspicion, and obteyne their freedome, both which it effected.

He was sent to Sunderland, and thence with that glorious companion of his passion, Mr. Ralph Corbye, conveyed by sea to London. The hard vsage of the souldiers and mariners by the way in their passage I omit, because it is better related in a story written by Mr. Corby's kinsman. Onely I say their conduct was like those leopards which brought St. Ignatius to Rome. *Quibus cum bene feceris peiores fiunt.*

What followes concernes indifferently those glorious martyrs—*qui ut in vita dilexerunt se, ita in morte non sunt separati.* They were both arraigned and found guilty of being priests (a capital treason in this religious age, where are so many religions that vnlesse we light on Catholiques we shall scarce find 3 of the same religion). The next day, September 6th,<sup>14</sup> they were carryed downe from Justice Hall to the Sessions in the Old Bailey, to receyve sentence of death. At their going out of the doore, John Wingfield, the horse leech of Newgate, one of the turne keyes, demanded his fees.<sup>15</sup> They gently answered him he should be satisfied, not having so much present money as this griping bloodsucker demanded. Whereupon he put them in the common house, amongst rogues, thieves, and murderers—*et cum sceleratis reputati sunt.* Irons were brought to be put on both their legs. Mr. Duckett being the younger and more healthy man, offered his legs first, and the bolts were fastened on them. Wolleston, the chief gaoler, relenting the indignity, caused them to be taken off; but first they paid 12s. for that courtesy. They receyved sentence of death most cheerfully, and returning back to the prison, the same malicious Wingfield would have had them carryed to the comon gaole, but by mediation of friends they went to their former in Justice Hall. This is that Wingfield who, when the Lord Maguire and Machmahoone were brought to the Tower by Newgate, tould my Lord Maguire that he hoped to see him and his comrouge Machmahoone hanged, though

<sup>14</sup> In the margin it is put "5th."

<sup>15</sup> In the margin—"No fees were due to him."

through my hands the said Lord had given not a contemptible piece of money, and for no curtesies, and never in his life had in the least sort injured him. Sept. 7. They both suffered at Tyborne, with great constancy and resolution, and enjoyed the crowne of martyrdome, and being not permitted to speake, we cannot dilate ourselves further concerning their death. Onely this were certified by those who were present, that Mr. Ducket was so close girt up with the cord that it was half hidden in his neck, and he half hanged before he was turned out of the cart, which was testified by the Duke of Thelderland [Count Egmond, Duke of Gueldres], and an outlandish priest, his chaplayne, who were both present at the execution.

Almighty God, in joyning together this blessed couple, never after severed the one from the other, manifested the celestial hidden treasures in them both, and particularly their profound humility, supream charity, and most ardent zeale of God's glory, and thirst of suffering for His sake, and care of preserving themselves from all aspersion that might be any wayes fastened on them by the subtile frauds of the common enemy and his instruments. Indeed they seemed not onely firmly united in the several graces of priestly and apostolical missionary vocation, but as if they had been bred in the same holy course of life. For particular prooffe whereof, omitting all the rest, may be well alleadged their humble, charitable, and fervent contention in the occasion of an exchange offered by the Resident of the Emperor, which Mr. Corby never ceased until he had procured to be conferred on Mr. Ducket, but nothing els could have effected it, had he not served himself of his being borne in Ireland, and therefore not believed to be lyable to the law of death for priesthood; for unto all the rest Mr. Ducket found ready answers, retorting with like humility, fervor, and charity Mr. Corby's allegations for his enjoying that benefit. As when Mr. Corby pressed his owne, being in yeares, sickly, and quite spent, Mr. Ducket yonge, and in respect of his talents also being still able to endure greate labours for the goode of many soules, for all which, and what els Mr. Corby could urge, Mr. Ducket would not acknowledge any pre-eminence at all, the eye of their truly humble soules being fastened upon what might postpose each one of them to the other. In that occasion that apostolical voice and expression, amongst many others, was heard from Mr. Ducket, whereby, shewing to understand his obligation to preserve his life, and not by refusing the offered exchange (not esteemed in any way needful for Mr. Corby), he would be sure withall to doe what lawfully he might for the obteyning of the crowne of martyrdome. In which expression of doeing out of that desyre what in conscience they might, in sense, words, and deeds, they seemed to be two in body, but with one and the same spirit and soule. It fell out whilst the holy men were in prison, amongst many who in respect of their being speedily to enjoy the crowne of martyrdome, procured to communicate at their hands, one notoriously knowne to have taken the condemned oath, called of allegiance, and to persist in the defence thereof, did communicate at Mr. Corby's Masse. Vpon the due reflexion thereof, the holy men, advising that no aspersion might be wrongfully cast vpon them of their beinge otherwise than they ought in that particular, to the prejudice of soules, it was resolved and thought necessary by them that Mr. Corby should admonish the aforesaid communicant, if he found him not duly penitent, to forbear the attempting any more the like, in regard he should be

forced to refuse him the sacraments if he did. Which, though Mr. Corbye performed with all meekness and humility, was not receyved as it ought, but threatens vsed by the sayed party to write in defence of the said oath, and the party's confessour finally desyred to be spoken vnto about it, which was done, Mr. Duckett concurring unanimously and with all prudence and zeale therein, and both expressed their resolution not to admit to the sacraments any defender of that oath, condemned by the Apostolic See, and therefore not to be disputed of, which they desired might be forborne, the tyme and place not being fitt for it, it sufficing that the Sea Apostolique had condemned it; neyther were they wanting to consider seriously what might be fitt to doe to hinder any aspersion that might be falsely layed upon them vpon this occasion. But nothing more being attempted, or anything more spoken after these two or three dayes' conference about it, before their martyrdom, more was not judged necessary than Mr. Corbye's setting downe vnder his hand the summe and substance of what passed, and Mr. Duckett's concurring in all therein, which he did, and shewing it to Mr. Duckett he approved of it. Almighty God, no doubt, so directing these blessed men that both the happy bodies of which they were members might be vindicated from what hath been, or ever shall be, falsely and shamefully said against them.

These two last passages (concerning their humble contention about the exchange, and their proceeding about the oath of allegiance) are sett downe conformable to what I heard them say themselves.

The following is a letter of Father Corby (probably written to the Envoy of Germany), relating to the fact of a person having received Holy Communion who had taken the condemned oath of allegiance, as mentioned in the foregoing narrative:

Sir,—Since my coming hither, Mr. D. Belwood, having once received at my hands, and I understanding how he had taken the oath of allegiance, desired him, if it were so, that he would not come any more to me, for I was not of that opinion. He was somewhat troubled, saying it would give him occasion of writing in defence of it, and for the present objected either it was heresy or no: if it were, give it under my hand, if not, I offered him an injury. To which I answered whether it were or no, was not now time for me, being as I was, to dispute; but it was sufficient for me, it being forbidden by the Head of the Church. As for injury, I offer you none, for once you have received at my hands, and I now but desire you after a fair manner to do so no more. Yea, if it were truly considered, you rather offer me an injury, for if I should go back again, and it were reported that I allowed of the oath, I should not be welcome. He said he would communicate it to Mr. Wilford; for that, do as you will, said I, for I have nothing with him. He did so, and for two or three days had some discourse about it. He alleged the Fathers in Paris, and in particular how Father Fisher allowed Sir Richard Lashferd in the fleet, which I heard, but believed not. In fine, we being weary (for Mr. Duckett took my part) with this discourse, as not being fit at this time, we desired to speak no more of it, to which they

willingly condescended, since not a word of it, only Mr. Wilford in private told me for his own part he would not take it for the whole world, because the Pope had forbid it; but for others he would give way because their loss was great, which they endured for refusing it, and he knew not how to make satisfaction if he hindered them. I said little, but thought the answer somewhat strange. As for your kind offer of freeing me by the man of Germany, I thank you, and have given it freely to Mr. Duckett, for I shall allege I was borne in Ireland, which if it does not prevail, I find myself more willing, thank God, to die for so glorious a cause, then to live. And truly since the Scotts came in about four years ago, I have had this desire, and asked God Almighty that He would effect it in me if it were His blessed will. And this is all that I remember since I came into this prison of Newgate. Wherefore I send this 3rd of September.

Yours ever,

RALPH CORBYE.

The Annual Letters of the English Province for the year 1644, thus record the death of the holy martyr: "In this year another of the Fathers, Father Ralph Corby, more commonly known by the assumed name of Corbington, suffered a similar death to that of Father Holland in the same glorious cause.<sup>16</sup> He was a native of the county of Durham, where his family had long been settled. He was employed in the mission of his native county, and was saying Mass on the  $\frac{8}{18}$  July, when a party of the Parliamentary troops broke into the house as he was reading the Epistle, and before he had time to unvest, he was seized and hurried on board ship to be conveyed to London. He was there tried upon the charge of being a priest and religious, and being convicted upon his own avowal that he was so, he was hung, drawn, and quartered. At the place of execution he repeated his avowal of his profession, and, what was unusual, appeared in the dress commonly worn by the Society in Catholic countries. He suffered on the  $\frac{7}{17}$  of September, æt 46 years and a half, in religion 19 years, and made a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor four years. He was a man of great innocence of life, and delicacy of conscience, of profound humility, and great obedience. He had been employed twelve years on the mission, and though slightly made and of delicate health, had not only borne, but had eagerly coveted the fatigues of that laborious ministry. Devoting himself principally to the spiritual help of the poorer Catholics, he travelled over a large district, generally on foot and meanly dressed, and well pleased with such humble food and accommodation as might be offered to him."

<sup>16</sup> Father Holland's Life is given in vol. i. Series I. p. 542.

Father Nadasi, *Annus dierum memorabilium S.J.* briefly notices the martyr, "whose father and two brothers entered the Society, and his mother and two sisters entered the order of St. Benedict. '*Celebris fuit Rudolphi virtus ab admirabili rectione linguæ meditatè loqui, et prudenter tacere scientis.*' He laboured for twelve years in England, privately making excursions on foot. On July 18, 1644 *ferè in Sacro* [almost at Mass] he was apprehended, and did not deny his profession. He tenderly embraced and affectionately kissed the gallows. On September 17 (N.S.), the sheriff distinctly declared to him that he died that day, *quod plures ad Ecclesiam Romanam seduxerit* [because he had seduced many to the Church of Rome]. Priests were present at the gallows, who upon a given signal, gave him and his friend John [Duckett], who suffered with him for the same cause, the last absolution. He was thus hung and then quartered, on the same day upon which seven years before his father, Gerard Corby, had departed this life."

In the Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. is the following fragment of a letter written by Father Robert White, who was a native of Northumberland, and, after "labouring nearly twenty-four years for the salvation and consolation of many souls," died in London in September, 1677, æt. 56. The letter is supposed to be dated 1644. He thus speaks of Father Ralph Corby:

His manner of traveling vp and down ye cuntry was in a plaine thredbare sute, without a cloake or cote (not vnlike to some carrier of letters or messenger too and froe), with a little staffe in his hand, which he called his horse, desyring those of ye house where he came, to *set by his horse for him.*

He was so beloved of ye poor people and so revered and esteemed for his pious labours and functions, that he was commonly called by them ye Apostle of the country.

ROBERT WHITE.

[1644, September 7.]

The following is a memorandum by Father Thomas Whitfield, regarding the martyr. It would probably have been intended for the use of Father Ambrose Corby in compiling his brother's life. It is in the same MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. n. 18:17

<sup>17</sup> Father Whitfield entered the Society in 1630. He passed most of his missionary career in the ancient Residences of St. Mary and St. Stanislaus, in England, and died, it is believed, in the latter (Devonshire) in the year 1686, æt. 71.

I let your Rev. briefly know heer some things which I noted in your blessed brother, father ———

1°. A strainge kind of respect, and humble submission to Fr. Fforcer, under whom he lived at Harber-house, when I was familiar with him—truly like a novice to his master of novices.

2°. I never saw him laugh, y<sup>t</sup> I can remember; though I found him alwaies chierful.

3°. I cannot thinke of y<sup>t</sup> rule, *submissa voce*, &c., but I remember him, having never seen in a colledge one more exact in this than he in y<sup>t</sup> secular house, and in all other places.

4°. His meek silence and modest innocency made him often to be laughed at, and suffer jests by the young gallants: yet on the other side I observe each of them did extremely reverence him for his many virtues w<sup>ch</sup> discovered themselves precisely to all.

5°. He was in his paradise when he was with the poore Catholics at Durham, and in the villages.

6°. Often speaking with him and hearing him, I doe think y<sup>t</sup> never I heard him speake an idle word.

Having once ended my confession, w<sup>ch</sup> I made to him at Durham, he desired me to let Mr. Forcer (who because he had converted me was my ghostly father) know y<sup>t</sup> I had confessed to him; at which thing I often wondered since; yet considering some holy rules, I persuaded myselfe y<sup>t</sup> it was to ye end y<sup>t</sup> he might ye better comply with ye perfection of them.

I doe not think y<sup>t</sup> there is any man living w<sup>th</sup> whome he was soe intimate as with my vncle, Mr. Robert Hopper, who without all doubt could tell rare things of him, but it is impossible for me to have a letter from him; neither doe I know whether he be now living or not.

R. Father in Xto.

THOM. WHITFIELD,

Of ye Socy of Jesus.

Letter from Father Ralph Corby to his sisters Mary and Catherine, professed nuns, Benedictine Convent, Brussels: <sup>18</sup>

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Dear and loving sisters,—As you have heard of my imprisonment, so I make not doubt but you esteem it (as I hope it is) a great favour and benefit of God Almighty bestowed upon me. I was took in Bishopric by the Parliamentary forces when I was about saying Mass, who took my vestments and other things from me, and sent me to London, where confessing myselfe to be a priest, &c., I was committed July 22, being St. Mary Magdalene's day, to Newgate, where thanks be to God, I with five others are very well and merry as ever I have been. What will be done with me will be known about the beginning of September, and then you shall hear more at large. In the mean time, I desire you to pray for me, as I, God willing, shall not be unmindful of you. I end the 20th of August, hoping you are well and in good health, and commending myself to all your holy company there.

Your loving brother,

RALPH CORBYE.

Letter of Rev. George Gage to Father Ralph Corby : <sup>19</sup>

Hon. Sir,—The same noble person who sent you by my means 20s. at your first entering into Newgate, sends you likewise as much more at your going out, and begs that this his charity may kiss your dying hands, and be part of what your piety intends to bestow on the way, or at the place of execution, where no doubt you will have many needy spectators, amongst others whose mere devotion will carry them to attend you there. And now give me leave, I beseech you, to beg part of your sufferings for my own necessities, and in particular for the conversion of my miscreant brother, the apostate, for by your intercession, *quis sciat si convertetur, et ignoscat Deus?* [who knows but that he may be converted, and God may pardon him?] Since I am sure next unto the dreadful Sacrifice of the holy Altar, there is nothing more acceptable to Almighty God than the sacrifice of martyrs' blood, which, amongst other ruptures, I hope will cement up that breach the common enemy made in England amongst our churchmen, and render a happy union to them where the devil made his discord and disunion, than which nothing was ever more zealously desired.

Sr. Your devoted servant,  
G. G.

I may not seal up this before I beg your blessing, which on my bended knees I would do if the times permitted.

The following is the letter of Mr. John Horsley, cousin to the martyr, who was a prisoner for the faith at Newgate at the same time, referred to in page 86.<sup>20</sup>

To my loving cozen.

Mr. Ambrose Corbington. These I pray convey, G<sup>t</sup>. [Gant].

Good Cozen Ambrose. Sir,—After the absence from one another of at least 32 yeares, I make bold now to salute you with most happy and most welcome tidings unto you of your happie brother, being partly a command of his to me, to give you an account of what befell him since his last letter he wrote from Newgate, unto which I shall refer all former passages, making no doubt but he gave you full satisfaction in those things himselfe by that. Since which time you may please to understand that on the 4 day of Sept. *stilo vetere*, he, together with one Mr. John Duckett, a young gentleman, a secular priest, were called to their triall, and both convicted on the same day. The next after they were called and received judgment together, and on the 7 day they both of them finished their happy course together by a most glorious

<sup>19</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. The same Rev. Mr. Gage who is named in the Life of Father Peter Wright, *Records*, College of the Holy Apostles, Series IV. Mr. Gage stood high among the English clergy. He was brother of the good and brave Colonel Sir Henry Gage, Governor of Oxford, who was killed at the battle of Columbridge, near Abingdon, fighting for the royal cause.

<sup>20</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. n. 18.

martyrdom in all things (both before and then) carrying themselves with singular piety and undaunted resolution and constancy to the great edification of all people, and to the honor and glory of Almighty God, whose battaile they most courageously fought, and fighting, overcame. My good cozen's accommodation after he came to us was according to his owne liking, havinge all things fitted for him daylie whatsoever, which were requisite and convenient, wherein I myselfe performed by daylie and willing service. And in all other things he was continually fitted by the industry and care of Mr. Cuthbert Prescottt, and long time prisoner here with mee, who saw all things performed with great care and conveniency unto the very last. I have myselfe drawne up a briefe relacon of all passages, which I would willingly send you a copy of, if I had a good opportunity to send. Sr. to give you a little touch of my poore self, I have bin a prisoner in Newgate 3 yeares, and God knowes how long I shall continue. Now, at this present altogether friendless, they being all either plundered or fled from vs, so that wee live now as the birds and beasts merely upon God's providence, which I most humbly resign vnto, humbly praying for His grace and patience, and then all will be well. Sr. my paper is spent, and therefore with my duty to yrself, yr good mother my aunt, and ye happy sisters my couzens, I rest, allwayes remaining

Your very loving kinsman,

JO. HORSLEY.

Newgate, Sept. 24, 1644.

I pray, good Sr, let mee heare from you.

The following is a copy of an ancient ode, author unknown, found amongst the MSS. at Stonyhurst relating to Father Ralph Corby. We give the Latin accompanied by an English translation, for which we have to thank the Rev. Cyprian Splaine, the late librarian of Stonyhurst College :

*Cantus de Rdo. P. Rodulpho Corbæo, dum post primam examinationem Londini in carcerem, cui "Nova Porta" nomen est, ob religionem Catholicam conjiceretur.*

*Chorus.*

Angusta novæ limina Portæ  
Succede Pugil; nova porta tibi  
Aurea pandet limina cœli.

*Vocce sola recitativa.*

Ingrederere nigri carceris umbras :  
Perfer amata crucis ærumnas.  
Auferet umbras æterna dies,  
Merces crucis est æterna quies.  
O illa dies ! O illa quies !  
Pretio quovis merenda dies !  
Mille catenis, crucibus mille,  
Nec millena redimenda quies !

*Hymn upon Father Ralph Corby, in memory of his being cast into Newgate Prison, London, for the Catholic faith, after his first examination.*

*Chorus.*

Enter, athlete, enter ! see,  
Newgate opes her arms for Thee !  
Gloomy Newgate will unfold  
Heaven's brightest gate of gold.

Seek the cheerless house of durance,  
Bear therein the Rood's sweet sorrow,  
Endless light will stay thy weeping,  
The Cross will bring thee peace to-morrow.

Come, oh come, eternal Sabbath !  
Who may count thy value truly ?  
Where are chains or crosses fraught  
with  
Pains enough to buy thee duly ?

*Chorus.*

Hanc suspiret corpore vincto  
Mente solutâ pectoris ardor,  
Optet, anhelet generosus amor.

*Voce sola recitativa.*

Eia caducas exue curas.  
Læta propinquat, fausta propinquat,  
Instat amanti, venit optanti,  
O ! illa brevis mora tormenti,  
Illa. O ! felix hora coronæ !

Lætare Pugil, momenta tibi  
Fragilis vitæ pauca supersunt ;  
Spatia ad metam pauca supersunt.

Citat ad pugnam, citat ad palmam  
Amor ille tuus, vita salusque,  
Dux tuus et lux, dulcis Jesus.

Pretiosa sacro laurea capiti  
Imminet, horto sata cœlesti,  
Cingetque comam fronde perenni.

*Chorus.*

Auspice Jesu, Jesu duce,  
Gaudente polo, mirante solo,  
Spectante Deo, vince, triumpha.

*Chorus.*

To Thee my fettered body sighs !  
My mind, my heart, in freedom flies !  
My soul takes wing, to Thee it hies !

Avaunt, oh lowering cloud of cares !  
My joy is near, my glory dawns ;  
The gulf of woe now transient  
yawns ;  
Oh shining crown ! oh endless years !

Rejoice thee, athlete ; there remain  
Few moments of life's fleeting reign,  
Ere long thou shalt thy goal attain.

Thy love, thy life, thy hope unique,  
Thy guide, thy light, thy Jesus seek ;  
Thy conquering sword with blood  
must reek.

Thy hallowed brow with laurels bright  
From heavenly gardens shall be dight ;  
Thy head shall wear a crown of light.

*Chorus.*

Behold, O Jesu, Jesu guide,  
The joy of heaven, of earth the pride !  
Advance, meek warrior, conqueringly.  
Thy God beholds thee lovingly.

The reader is referred to the *Life of Father Holland, Records*, vol. i. Series I. page 564, for an extract from a very important and interesting document by Count Egmond, Duke of Gueldres, regarding the relics of Father Ralph Corby and other martyrs.

### FATHER ROBERT CORBY AND FATHER AMBROSE CORBY.

OF Father Robert Corby, *alias* Corbington we have little to relate beyond what appears in his brother's historical narrative of the family, in page 66. He was the eldest son living, and entered the Society after his brother Ralph, the martyr, who joined it in 1626, and before Father Ambrose, who entered in 1627. We find his name occurring in a list of English students who passed from St. Omer's College in 1616 to Valladolid for their higher studies—he was called in the list Robert Corbington.<sup>1</sup> He died in England in the year 1637, upon Good Friday. He was evidently a learned and talented man, for besides making the grand act in theology, he was able to hear confessions in Spanish, Italian, French, Dutch, and English.

<sup>1</sup> Old Clergy Chapter collection.

FATHER AMBROSE CORBY, *alias* CORBINGTON, was born on December 17, 1604, near Durham. It does not appear where he made his humanity studies, though he probably did so at the English College of the Society at St. Omer, as his brothers had done. He made his higher course at the English College, Rome, where he entered as an alumnus at the age of seventeen, on the 11th of October, 1622, and took the usual College oath on the 1st of May following. After receiving minor orders September 16, 1625, he left Rome for Belgium in order to recover his declining health in his father's house. He returned again, and after spending three years in the College, most piously, he at length entered the Society at Watten, in September 1627. He died Spiritual Father of this College in the year 1649.<sup>2</sup>

The following short account of himself on entering the English College is extracted from the students' interrogatories in the College archives.

Ambrose Corbie.—“I was born, as far as I recollect, seventeen years ago next Christmas Day, and was almost entirely brought up and educated in Yorkshire, and my father emigrating from England to St. Omer, placed me in the English College there at the age of twelve years, where I have lived ever since. My parents are Gerard Corby and Isabella Richardson, both of a respectable stock, who long ago by the great mercy of God, were freed from the deceitful snare of heresy, by which in their early years they had been miserably entangled; they have for some years, strengthened by Divine grace, cheerfully sustained troubles for their profession and defence of that faith which, by the singular goodness of God, they had embraced. I have two brothers and two sisters, all Catholics. I have made my humanity studies partly in England, partly at St. Omer's. It is my desire to enter the ecclesiastical state and follow a religious life.”

It appears in the Minister's Diary of that College, August 20, 1623, that he defended logic with distinction. Four years later, he entered the Society at Watten; was ordained priest at St. Omer's, September 22, 1633, and was solemnly professed of the four vows, August 5, 1641. He was confessor at the English College, Rome, where he is said in the obituary S.J. Prov. Angliæ. to have died April 11, 1649.

Alegambe, *Bib. Script. S.J.*, says that he taught the *belles lettres* for some years at St. Omer's College with great applause;

<sup>2</sup> English College Diary.

and was highly accomplished in Latin and Greek literature ; and distinguished for great modesty, self-abjection, patience, and charity towards others, and piety towards God.

Father Ambrose was the author of the *Certamen Triplex*, or the relation of the glorious deaths of Fathers Thomas Holland, Ralph Corby, and Henry Morse, 12mo. Antwerp, 1645. Dr. Oliver observes that this Latin book is in great requisition amongst collectors. It was translated and published in English for the first time by the Catholic Publishing and Bookselling Company, London, in 1858. The translator in his notice says : "This little work of Father Corby has always been held in estimation for the authenticity of its facts connected with the persecution of the Catholics of England, and its elegance as a biography of three amongst the many distinguished martyrs of the Society, who testified to the truth of religion with their blood in those dark days of British history. Copies of the original volume have sold for very large sums ; that belonging to Mr. Bindley produced at his sale nine guineas."

Father Ambrose Corby also wrote the history of Brother Thomas Stillington, an English novice of the Society of Jesus. It has been made use of in the life of that holy youth, which we give in Series VI., the Residence of St. Michael.

#### BROTHER CUTHBERT PRESCOTT.

(*Confessor of the Faith and fellow-prisoner of Father Ralph Corby.*)

FATHER TANNER in *Vita et mors Jesuitarum pro fide intersectorum* prefaces his notice of this confessor of the faith, by observing that scarcely anywhere in the world was the Society of Jesus oppressed with persecutions more severe or more bitterly protracted than in England, wherein were no prisons which it did not fill ; no racks, no gallows, no swords which it did not stain with its blood ; no city gates, no pinnacles of the bridges, towers, and walls which were not rendered horrible by the lacerated limbs and heads of Jesuits affixed thereon. The Society, then, after the glorious confession of several of its members, who sealed with their blood their firm opposition to the unlawful oath of allegiance, now directed its attention to selecting the flower of the English Catholic youth, and sending them abroad to the College of St. Omer for education.

The care of making this selection was intrusted to Cuthbert Prescott, a native of Lancashire ; who, on account of his great

virtues and tried zeal for souls, was admitted to the Society of Jesus in the degree of temporal coadjutor, or lay-brother, in the year 1624. He spent many years, with incredible skill and industry, in a truly laborious work, as full of cares as of dangers. Any one, who reflects upon it, may easily see how great must have been the trouble and hazard of collecting together these children throughout the kingdom, in the face of the severest laws ; and how great the difficulty of getting them on board the vessels at the sea-ports, strictly guarded as they were, and of providing his tender charge with the necessary supplies for the voyage. He performed, however, the duty imposed on him with great discretion and tact, and, though the outlets of the country were most narrowly watched by satellites and spies, for the very purpose of apprehending youths of this description, in no year did he transmit to St. Omer's Seminary less than one hundred, and often indeed two hundred, gathered from every county in England. These, when they had been duly educated in all learning and devotion, would return home to aid the cause of Catholicity in their native land.<sup>1</sup>

Such frequent emigrations of these juvenile colonists to foreign seminaries could not long remain concealed from the Privy Council. Anxious above everything to seize the prime agent in this movement, they placed spies all over England, and employed pursuivants, by whom Brother Prescott was closely followed, often captured, and even carried before the Judges. Yet such was his ingenuity that he never remained long in their power, always escaping safely out of their hands and from prison, until the troubles of the Parliamentary rebellion.

Soon after the commencement of these disastrous times, a more severe search than had ever before been made was instituted against Catholics, especially for priests, and our confessor himself was one of the first victims that fell into their hands. He was thrown into the vilest of all prisons [Newgate], and was charged with treason for being a priest, and as such liable to capital punishment. But when found not to be in Holy Orders, as he could not be hung for merely being a Catholic, he was ordered to take the condemned oaths of allegiance and supremacy. After they had in vain sought by intimidations and threats of every kind to force these oaths upon him, finding him ready to undergo a thousand deaths for

<sup>1</sup> Instances are not wanting of the wholesale capture of these children at the ports, who were carried off to prison, and were with great difficulty liberated and sent home.

the Catholic faith, they condemned him under the statute of *Præmunire*, to a confiscation of all goods to the treasury, and imprisonment for life in a felon's gaol. Every outlet being thus closed against him, his zeal for souls, hitherto extending far and wide throughout the whole kingdom, had now a narrower sphere, between the old walls of his prison. Here for some years he so actively and diligently exercised his vocation in serving the captive priests, in attending the dying Catholics suffering for their faith, and in cheerfully rendering his services to all who were detained in prison, that he was deservedly and universally beloved, and held in the highest opinion for virtue, even by the gaolers themselves. He liberally shared with his fellow-captives the alms which were abundantly bestowed upon him by Catholics of means and station, so that they came most providentially to many who would otherwise have died of starvation. Hence, when he died, they mourned for him with no less sorrow than children for a tender and provident father. Brother Prescott died in chains in London [Newgate], worn out by sufferings and the squalor of his prison, February 20, 1647, in his fifty-fifth year, and twenty-third in religion.

We have seen the honourable mention made of him by Father Ralph Corby's cousin, Mr. John Horsley,<sup>2</sup> to the effect that Father Ralph, was "in all things continually supplied by the industry and care of Mr. Cuthbert Prescott, a long time prisoner here with me, who saw all things performed with great care and conveniency unto the very last."

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FATHER WILLIAM ELLIS, erroneously named Flisk in Oliver's *Collectanea*, was a native of Bucks. Born in the year 1590, he entered the Society in 1624, became a Spiritual Coadjutor, and died in this Residence, January 2, 1640, æt. 50. He was assiduous in his labours for the salvation of souls. His last illness was a consequence of his zeal in administering the holy Sacraments to the sick in very inclement weather. This was on the feast of the Circumcision, January 1, 1640, after he had said Mass at daybreak. On the following day he happily expired, and went to receive from our Lord the rewards of his laborious life. The Annual Letters describe him as *operarius insigniter industrius*.

FATHER THOMAS GASCOIGNE, who served for many years in this Residence, and died in it, July 27th, 1669, is thus noticed in the summary of the deceased members of the English Province: "Father Thomas Gascoigne, a native of Yorkshire, æt. 64, in the Society 39; Formed Spiritual Coadjutor 28; on the 27th of last July (1669) died a pious death in the northern parts of England, where for upwards of thirty years he had served amongst the poor. As a youth he was remarkable for his piety, and always took pains to advance it; for 'A young man, according to his way, even when he is old he will not depart from it.' Being called to this mission, he never deserted it even in the most difficult times of war, never complained of it, although if we regard feeling and taste, it was neither pleasant nor desirable.

"Every month he had to make excursions extending some two hundred miles, over mountains and precipices, through snows, floods, and bypaths almost impassable in the winter time. These dangerous journeys he had often to take with but very poor accommodation for his lodging. And it is worthy of note, that amongst so many wanderings he not only never missed his morning meditation, but scarcely ever deferred it. At the beginning of the day he was accustomed prudently to forecast all impediments. When not obliged to make these excursions, he remained at home, and cleansed and arranged his chamber (which might rather be termed a cave than a room), strewed the uncovered roof with bark, and, although easily wearied, he prepared materials for his fire. The following fact will testify how careful he was of the practice both of humility and poverty. He frequently visited the house of a blind woman for the sake of assisting her, and she as often, in order to make him some return, placed two pieces of silver coin ready for him. This money one of her daughters always privately abstracted, placing two pieces of brass or copper coin in their stead. The pious Father was never heard to complain to the blind woman, or to inquire whether the money had been changed, but kept the brass coin, although not of the least value, and as a treasure more estimable than gold left it when dying to his Superior. His love for the virtue of obedience was equally great; and, as during life he directed everything according to its command, so did he wish that in death itself his last breath should be rendered up under obedience. Hence when near his end, and eagerly awaiting the arrival of his absent Superior, gasping for

breath, he continued to lament in mournful accents, 'Oh, when will my Superior come! when will it be given me to behold him! I have spent all my life under the directions of holy obedience, my last desire is that I may breathe out my soul at its bidding.' Obedience crowns everything, and God willed to crown the painful life of this truly innocent man by a most blessed death, and to reward him with a sure foretaste of future happiness; for, the day before his death, a ray of heavenly light shone brightly at the foot of his bed, upon which, to the wonder of the bystanders, he kept his eyes rivetted for a long time. What he saw, or what was revealed to him, is unknown, but he appeared to be so inundated with torrents of delight as to remain for the rest of his time in a state of heavenly joy, which he expressed both by words and gestures. Being wonderfully inflamed with the love of God, he exclaimed: 'God cannot be sufficiently praised, the time left me here is too short in which to pay my debt of praise.' Then turning to the Virgin Mother, he sang the hymn *Ave Maris Stella* with such fervour and animation, as to cause no small astonishment to those who stood around. When he came to the words *Iter para tutum*, he uttered them with expressions of the sweetest consolation, pronouncing them over and over again with pious ardour. Retaining life and speech to the versicle, *ut videntes Jesum semper collætetur*, with these words he resigned both, instantly breathing out his holy soul to rejoice for ever, as we hope, in the vision of Jesus.

"JOSEPH SIMEON."<sup>1</sup>

Father Gascoigne entered the Society in 1620. He seems to have been a missionary all his life. He took his last vows October 17, 1641. Dr. Oliver says that he was of a good family, that had been fruitful in sending members to various religious orders.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Father Joseph Simeon, *vere* Emmanuel Lobb, was then Provincial.

<sup>2</sup> The Gascoignes were a very ancient Catholic family of Yorkshire. We find frequent mention of them in Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*. Under the head of "Rothwell" (p. 13): "William Gascoigne, Elynor, his supposed wief," with others, "Recusants for 12 yeares."

"John Chamberlaine in house with the said Gascoigne," with others, "Recusants 2 yeares." . . . "Secretly married William Gascoigne aforesaid, Elynor his wief."

In p. 14: "Westriding, Skyrack, Barwick Parish."—"John Gascoigne, Esqr., of Barnebow, Anne, his wief, Robert Lambert, his serving man, Laurence Wilson, master of his colemyns, Edward Bennet, his milner at Hillome" (with other servants and), "Elizabeth Wortley, an

FATHER THOMAS CAREY, a native of Suffolk, was born in the year 1621, entered the Society 1639, and made his higher studies at Liege. In the Catalogue of the English Province

antient servant there, she is thought to be a dangerous recusant in persuading . . . recusants retheyned." Several other servants of Mr. Gascoigne are named, his "shepparde," labourers, &c. . . . "Recusants for j yere."

"Mawde Gascoigne, mother to John Gascoigne, Esq., a Recusant."

"Secret baptism.—Mr. John Gascoigne his children weare all secretlye baptized, and none of them came to ye church; nether is it knowne where they were baptized."

Mr. Peacock adds two notes to the above, (1) That John Gascoigne, Esq. was a member of a very old Yorkshire family, sprung from the Chief Justice. The John Gascoigne above mentioned married Anne, daughter to John Ingleby of Laukland, a younger branch of the Inglebys of Ripley (*Dugdale's Visit Ebor.* 46, 289; *Loidis and Elmete*, 180); (2) that Maud Gascoigne was a daughter of Ardington of Adwyke-le-Street.

In p. 17: "Leeds:" "John Hopton of Armeley, Esquier, Jane his wief, John Gascoigne his servant . . . non-communicants." Note by Mr. Peacock to John Hopton: "The representative of a family that had been settled here from an early period. His wife Jane was the daughter of one of the Thomas Gascoignes, who were flourishing in the latter half of the sixteenth century. . . ."

In pp. 23, 24 mention is made of a very zealous lady, Mrs. Agnes Rawson, who was probably, says Mr. Peacock, "the Agnes, daughter and heiress of William Gascoigne, Esq., who is stated in *Burke's History of the Commoners*, vol. ii. p. 47, to have married William, eldest son of William Rawson of Bradford, who, we are told, acquired the manor and estate of Shipley by her." This lady makes a great figure in the Popish recusant returns to the Bishop, under the head of "Sherborne" . . . "a dangerous Recusant, Agnes Rawson, wedow," . . . "Frances Rawson, wief of Thomas Rawson, Recusant for a yere or more."

"Resort of Semynaries.—Agnes Rawson aforesaid, as it is presented upon report, hath had Semynaries or Jesuytes dyvers times resorting to her house, and that some of her servants have confessed that they found dyvers things in her barne, as cope, chalice, bookes and such like thinges as they vse for Masse, but the names of the priests they know not."

"Running recusant or messenger among [them].—They also present that there is one John, a tayler, . . . commonly called John, . . . which hath resorted to ye house of the said Agnes Rawson for these 7 years or more, and is thought to be a dangerous fellow and a common messenger from one recusant to another, and never came to the church. . . ."

"A recusant retheyned by Agnes Rawson. William Midelton, a recusant doth sojourn with the said Agnes Rawson, and hath been going and coming for 2 or 3 yeres past. . . ."

"Agnes Rawson, a nourisher and mayntyner of recusants." Several are named, among others "Frances Rawson, daughter of Thomas Rawson, a recusant of 22 yeres old, brought up by the said Agnes Rawson. . . ."

A "secret baptisme" is also recorded in the house of the same lady, but "by whome it was baptized is not knowne."

In p. 63: North Ridding, Richmond parishe.—Lady Gascoigne, wief of Sir William Gascoigne, Knighte, . . . recusants."

In p. 76 (note): Mr. Peacock states that Thomas, the eldest son of Christopher Wyvill of Constable Burton, who was eldest son of Sir Marmaduke Wyvill, Knight, married Isabella, heiress of Sir William Gascoigne, of Sledbury.

In p. 82: "Gilling parishe."—"Jane Gascoigne of Sadbury [? Sledbury], wedowe, a recusant for divers yeres last past," with "John Rainardson, servant to the said Mrs. Gascoigne, non-communicant."

Father Gascoigne was probably a brother or near relative of Father Placidus Gascoigne, O.S.B., Abbot of Lambspring, who died in that dignity

for 1655, he is mentioned as serving in this Residence, having been sent upon the mission the year before. Recalled from the mission, he was appointed Rector of the English College S.J., St. Omer, 1669, and died in that post on the 10th of June, 1672. The Annual Letters of the English Province say of him: "Vir spectandæ virtutis, et teneris juvenum animis ad omnem pietatem formandis natus." In the year 1666 he wrote the following letter to Father Martin Grene regarding various martyrs, in reply to inquiries: <sup>3</sup>

Audom, 4 June, 1666.

P.C.

Of those blessed martyrs I can say little. What I know is this. I was acquainted with a niece of Mr. Watkinson, who told me y<sup>t</sup> he came from Rome into England for his health, before he had ended his studies, and y<sup>t</sup> soon after his arryvall, walking in London streets, he mett a poor man unknowne to him, who welcoming him into England, sayd, "Sir, you are come hither for your health, within a month you shal be ridd of all diseases." Mr. Watkinson, woondering whence this from a stranger, putt his hand into his pockett for to give him an almes, but the poor man was vanished, and soon after Mr. Watkinson was apprehended for a priest, and within a month delivered from all misery, and crowned a martyr.<sup>4</sup> Of some few of the rest we have some sacred relicks, wch we keep as decently as we can in the sacristy of our Sodality, where there is also fixed a catalogue of them. "Digitus et particulæ ossium Dni Richardsoni, duæ pantæ cutis D. Jo. Almond seu Molinau : digitus pedis P. Rob<sup>ti</sup>. Southwelli." Concerning Mr. Edward Duke, who suffered att Durham ; there were put to death with him three

July 14, 1681, at the age of eighty-three years ; also of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, Bart., who died at Lamspring, amidst the prayers of the religious, in 1686, aged ninety-three years. Eight years before his death the venerable baronet was dragged to trial upon a foul charge of treason for plotting the death of King Charles II. He was one of the Oates' plot victims, and even in the delirium of the nation at that time, no jury could be found to convict him, and in spite of the efforts made to procure an adverse verdict, he was acquitted (see his trial in Howell's *State Trials*). Retiring to Lamb-spring, to visit his brother, the Abbot, he was admitted to the Confraternity of the English Benedictine congregation, and died and was buried there, near his brother, the Abbot. Another brother of the above Father Placidus, was the Reverend Michael Gascoigne, "a painful missionary, who died October 13, 1657, in the north of England, on his return from York homewards" (Oliver's *Collections, Eng. Ben. Cong.* p. 494, quoting Weldon's *Chron. notes*, p. 177).

Justina Gascoigne, a daughter of Sir Thomas Gascoigne, became a Benedictine nun at Cambray, and from thence removed to Paris, 1652, and was chosen Prioress of a monastery of her Order there, in 1665. She governed the community twenty-five years, being re-elected every fourth year, and was succeeded by Agnes Temple, 1690 (Diary of the English Benedictine Nuns, cited by Dodd, *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 327).

<sup>3</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. v. n. 72.

<sup>4</sup> The Rev. Mr. Watkinson was executed at Tyburn, April 20, 1602, with Father Francis Page and Rev. Mr. Titchbourne. See Life of Father Page, *Records*, Series I.

other prs.—viz., Mr. Richard Holiday, Mr. John Hogg, and Mr. Richard Hill, and of one of these four we have an arme w<sup>ch</sup> we keepe as a most precious treasure, yet we know not to which of them it belongeth, after their execution their quarters being mingled and confounded together.<sup>5</sup> There is kept with this holy relick, a toe of Father Hugh Whitfield, who being a native of Durham, informed himself of them, and what he could learn writt to the Sodality; y<sup>e</sup> substance thereof I have here copyed out [many yet alive at Durham and thereabouts rēmbere the martyrdom of these, and to this day speak of them with great feeling, the quarters of all four were promiscuously thrown into a cart brought thorough the city of Durham, and hung up upon the severall gates of the same, and upon the bridges and castle, so that it could not be distinguished which were which: yet diverse of the quarters were stolen away by Catholicks, by which y<sup>t</sup> relick came to the hands of y<sup>t</sup> devout family from w<sup>ch</sup> I had it, altho' none of the persons be alive y<sup>t</sup> I could learn of, who were eye-witnesses of the first bringing of this relick to Sir Robert Hudson's, who married Father John Foster's sister, whence I had it; yet the devout Cath<sup>s</sup>. who gave it unto me upon condition y<sup>t</sup> I would send it to some H. Congre<sup>on</sup>. affirme y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> arme is of one of the 4 martyrs S.J. St. Omer, 4 June, 1666.]

When a novice, Father Carey made the following edifying oblation:<sup>6</sup>—

“ 1641.

“ *The oblation of Father Thomas Carey 'ad omnia.'*

“ Rev. Father in Xt.,

“ P.C.

“ That I may offer myself a more complete holocaust to God my Lord in the pronouncing of my vows, and may render that act more agreeable to the most Blessed Virgin Mary, my Lady, and show a grateful heart to my holy and blessed mother the Society of Jesus, and to your Reverence, being, though most unworthy, admitted, and cherished with a more than paternal and maternal care and affection, I faithfully promise and protest that I will diligently and punctually observe according to my strength, by the grace of God, all the rules of the Institute and orders of Superiors, and all the ordinations of your Reverence. Nor will I suffer any human considerations to hinder me from promptly performing whatsoever shall be ordained by your Reverence, or by your vicars or successors, at whose word I shall always be ready to under-

<sup>5</sup> The Rev. W. Richardson suffered at Tyburn, February 17, 1603; John Almond, *alias* Molineaux, at Tyburn, December 5, 1612; Father Robert Southwell, at Tyburn, February 21, 1595 (see his Life in *Records*, Series I.); Mr. Edmund Duke and the Revds. Messrs. Holiday, John Hogg, and Richard Hill, at Durham, May 27, 1590.

<sup>6</sup> *Collectio Cardwelli*, vol. iii. p. 876.

take with indifference, during my whole life, any humble and laborious office, such as to be prefect in a College, to teach little figures, to catechize children, or to go to the Indies, and others of which I am as yet ignorant ; although, as I sincerely confess, I am urged to all this rather from inclination than humility. I will endeavour to be like wax in the hands of your Reverence, and of all the Superiors of the Society of Jesus, as far as in me lies, God helping me and giving me courage for this solemn and sincere promise.

“ Commend me earnestly in your SS. SS.

“ Your least son in Xt.,

“ September 8, 1641.

“ THOMAS CAREY.”

FATHER JOHN FORCER, *alias* MIDFORD,<sup>7</sup> was son of Thomas Forcer, Esq., and was born at Eden, Durham, in the year 1581-2. He entered as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on October 15, 1601, æt. 20 or 21 ; took the usual College oath on November 3, 1602 ; and after receiving minor orders was ordained subdeacon on the 5th, deacon on the 18th, and priest on Christmas Day, 1604. He entered the Society (says the Diary of the same English College) on October 30, 1605, after spending four years in the College with great edification.

The following autobiographical account is taken from a transcript of the original preserved in the archives of the College :

“ JESUS + MARIA.

“ October 14, 1601.

“ My name is John Forcer ; I am twenty years of age. My father's name was Thomas Forcer, my mother's Margaret. I was born at a place called Eden, in the Bishopric of Durham, but brought up at another place in the same Bishopric, called Harber House, with my grandfather ; and there, for about eight years, I lived and studied. My family is one of good birth, and so were all my ancestors. One of them was a Benedictine and Prior of Durham. My paternal grandfather is dead ; my maternal is still living, as I think, and his name is John Trollope, formerly a Catholic, but now become either a schismatic or a heretic, but which I cannot say. My parents at the present time are not very rich, on account of the great persecution against the Catholic faith.

<sup>7</sup> See Harber House, p. 127.

For they passed twenty-two years of their life in continual troubles and persecutions, having been twice, I think, despoiled of all their goods and possessions, except only a third part, which was left for their sustenance, and they could only redeem them again for a heavy sum of money.

“I have brothers ; one of whom is studying in Spain, another is at St. Omer’s College, a third, a boy, lives with his parents in England.<sup>8</sup>

“I have three or four sisters and seven other relations all Catholics.

“After the death of my grandfather I always studied at home, except half a year, during which time my parents sent me to a public school at Gainford, the master of which was a Protestant. I then returned home, where I had a private tutor who accompanied me to the Continent, but having been ordained priest, he went back to England. I have not made much progress in my studies, for the severe persecution does not allow great opportunity of study.

“I am and always was a Catholic. About four years ago, being arrested in London, I thrice gave in to the heretics, by my very great sin, during the time I was imprisoned in Bridewell, which was nearly two months. After my discharge, as Father Gerard had been removed to other prisons, and I had no friend in London who could send me abroad, I returned to my father’s house ; whence, by the help of the Rev. Father Holtby, who had baptized me, I came to St. Omer, and from that I was sent to Rome by Fathers Fleck and Baldwin.” He finally declares it to be his great desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

Father John Forcer was professed of the three vows of a Spiritual Coadjutor. He was always employed in the English Mission, and died in this Residence of St. John on September 4, 1630, as we learn from the Summary of the deceased members of the Society, of that date.

FATHER FRANCIS FORCER a younger brother of John, was born in 158 $\frac{3}{4}$ , and is the one mentioned in Father John Forcer’s declaration, as being then in Spain engaged in his studies. In the Catalogue of the Province for 1642 he is

<sup>8</sup> The brother in Spain was Father Francis Forcer, noticed below. The boy at home may have been the gallant and loyal Peter Forcer, who lost his life in the Royal cause during the civil war between Charles I. and the Parliament (See *Catholic Apology*).

mentioned as serving in this Residence; he was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on March 19, 1623. Two years later we find him at Madrid. He also died in this Residence, or in that of St. Michael, March 5, 1655, in the sixty-ninth year of his age.

The Summary of deceased members states that he was a man of the greatest integrity, devotion, and charity towards his neighbour. He filled satisfactorily the offices of Procurator at Madrid and of Superior in England. He was remarkable for a singular facility of uniting himself to God in the midst of labours, in which for twenty-four years, even until old age, he exhausted himself upon the English Mission.

He is mentioned by Father Hugh Whitfield, in speaking of the virtues of the martyr Father Ralph Corby, "who paid," he says, "when I was familiar with him, a strange kind of respect and humble submission to Father Forcer, under whom he lived at Harber House, truly like a novice to the master of novices."<sup>9</sup>

FATHER CHRISTOPHER ROBINSON was a native of the northern district. He was born in the year 1585, and entered the English College, Rome, October 10, 1606, as an alumnus; took the usual College oath on the 24th of June following, and was ordained priest December 18, 1610.

On applying for admission to the College he gave the following brief account of himself:

"1606. Robinson, Christopher. I am in my twenty-first year, and was born in a certain village called Woodside, Cumberland, three miles from Carlisle, where I was brought up in my father's house until I was sixteen. I then went to London, where I spent one year with an uncle, and two more at Douay. My father is of the middle class, and a schismatic; I have four brothers and five sisters; all my principal relations are Protestants. Before I went to London I was a Protestant, but three years ago, by means of a certain fellow-countryman named Smartford, a priest, I was converted to the orthodox faith."

The Catalogue of the English Province states that he entered the Society in the year 1616, and the same year was sent upon the mission, and was probably admitted in England. He was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on February 25th, 1628. In 1655 he was employed in the mission of

<sup>9</sup> See page 93.

St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, and died, according to Oliver's *Collectanea*, in England, November 14, 1667, æt. 82.

FATHER JOHN LAYTON, *alias* PORT.—This Father heads our list of those who were connected with this Residence by birth and family, and some also by their labours in it. He was born in the year 1587–8, in Yorkshire, within the diocese of Durham, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on the 19th of October, 1608; he took the usual College oath on the 10th of August, 1609, and was ordained priest on the 28th of October, 1611. He and Thomas Rogers defended the whole course of philosophy with applause.<sup>10</sup> He entered the Society in 1614. According to the Summary of the deceased of the English Province of the Society, he died on the 18th of February, 1624—"a devout religious, an excellent preacher, and zealous missionary." There is a short notice of him in Father More's *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 459. The late Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea*, seems to be of opinion that he translated into English some of Father James Gordon's works.

We extract his brief autobiography from the scholars' replies to the usual interrogatories on entering the English College, Rome:

"1608. Layton, John, *alias* Port, John. I am in my nineteenth or twentieth year. Born in Yorkshire, in the diocese of Durham, at Gaterlay [? Gateshead]. I was brought up there, and in other places in Lancashire, Derbyshire, and Bucks. My parents are Catholics, and of the middle class. I am unable to speak as to their means, on account of the uncertainty of the persecution, and their abode, so great is the change of things in England, and the vicissitudes of fortune. I have an only brother at St. Omer's; no sisters, but two step-brothers by the same mother, of whom the one is married, the other has been studying at Valladolid for four years, where he is called Webb, but his true name is Peckham.<sup>11</sup> Of uncles, one is of the Society of Jesus, the other is a Protestant. These are of the Gerards, knights. I studied in Yorkshire, Derby, and

<sup>10</sup> See letter of Father Coffin, May 28, 1611 (*Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 103).

<sup>11</sup> This was Father Robert Peckham. We learn from Nadasi (*Annus Dierum Memorabilium S.J.*) that he was born in 1587, and entered the Society in 1612, and died in England, January 21, 1621. He probably made his humanity course of studies at St. Omer's College, and as mentioned above, his higher course of studies at Valladolid. He was a very holy man. Having received the last sacraments, he asked if the priest who was then saying Mass had already consecrated. When told that he had, he said, "Then the time of my death is at hand. Jesus and Mary

Bucks, but with little fruit; what I have gained I owe to the Fathers S.J. of St. Omer. I was always a Catholic."

FATHER THOMAS LAYTON, *alias* THOMAS PORT, who was no doubt a brother of the above, was born in Derbyshire, in the year 1592, probably during the sojourn of the family in that county, as referred to by his brother. He entered the Society in the same year as John Layton, viz., 1614, and was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on the 19th of April, 1626. In the Catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, he is mentioned as having filled many offices of trust in his Order, and was then teaching grammar in the lower schools of St. Omer, of which College likewise he was Rector for several years until 1646. He died in that College, a martyr to the disease of the stone, on the 7th of January, 1661, æt. 69.

The following brief eulogy of him is taken from the Annual Letters of the College for 1661 :

"1661. Father Thomas Port died this year at St. Omer's, on the 7th of January. He was a native of Derbyshire, born 1592; entered the Society 1614, and was for several years Rector of St. Omer's College, until replaced by Father Edward Courtney, in 1646. The praises of this humble and saintly Father are briefly detailed in our Annual Letters for 1649."<sup>12</sup>

The Summary of the deceased members of the English Province gives a fuller eulogy: ". . . Father Thomas Layton

bid me come," and calmly expired. Even from early infancy he was much given to abstinence, and every Friday refused the breast when offered. He suffered frequent imprisonments at the hands of the heretics on account of his religion, enduring great want, hunger, and torment from vermin, which allowed him no rest. His conversation was sweet and heavenly, never descending to earthly things, nor was he ever heard to injure any one by a harsh word. When the violence of his pains seized him, his very couch trembled beneath him. After the paroxysm had passed, he said that he expected another, but added, the Blessed Virgin, to whom I have always been devout, will deliver me; and so it happened. He was at the same time overwhelmed with delights: whereupon, seizing his crucifix, with tender affection he exclaimed, "My love—my Crucified!" The evil spirit appeared to him in the night, under a horrid form, upon which he cried out, "My enemy the devil threatens me with all extremities; begone, begone, cruel monster!—thou shalt have nothing of me."

<sup>12</sup> These state that, "in consequence of the civil and Continental wars, the College had suffered very severely, and was at one period of the calamities actually reduced to twenty-four scholars; but in 1649 they had risen to ninety, many of them children of the first families in England, while the ancient religious and literary spirit had revived with undiminished vigour. . . . The lower school of grammar was divided into two classes with separate masters, on account of the number of new scholars. The master of one of these divisions was the Father who had been the late Rector of the College [Father Port], and had held that office many years, and now, at an advanced age and feeble health, presenting a singular example of modesty and humility, he had solicited and obtained of

was educated in this College (St. Omer's) from his boyhood, and when grown up was sent to Madrid with some companions, in the hopes of continuing the Seminary there, but this plan failing, he finished his philosophy at Alcala. Returning thence into Belgium, he entered the Society in 1614, in which he made remarkable progress, and was distinguished for the virtues of patience and humility. Besides filling responsible offices in the Society, such as Procurator at St. Omer's and Brussels, Spiritual Father, &c., he was appointed Rector of St. Omer's, which he governed for about ten years, to the great satisfaction both of his brethren and of externs (especially during the siege of the town). He was also Rector of Ghent for three years. He was a man of great and mature judgment and evenness of soul under every change of fortune. Ceasing to be Rector, he was employed for nearly the same length of time in teaching the lowest classes of grammar and rudiments, and in forming the characters of the scholars. His patience was truly heroic in bearing for nearly thirty years, without any betrayal of pain, and with joy both of countenance and conversation, the severe torments of the stone, which had formed in his intestines to an enormous size, and on being extracted after death filled the hand, weighed twenty-eight ounces (troy weight), and was in the shape of an egg." Other

the Provincial the appointment to the irksome and laborious office of teacher of the lowest school, and he exercised it with no less advantage to his scholars than general edification."

As the same report gives a short and remarkable account of Brother John Rimer, a temporal coadjutor, and a man evidently above his position, we take this opportunity of inserting a brief summary of it: He had been brought up a Protestant in England, and had felt some inclination to become a Catholic, but had taken no step for that purpose, when he had a remarkable dream. He thought he saw what seemed to be a college and church, in which some religious ceremonies were going on; a voice told him that he was to become a Catholic, and was to ask admission into that college. Soon after this he became a Catholic, and hearing of the College of Douay, and thinking that he was designed to be ordained a priest there, he set out on his journey for that purpose. Coming to St. Omer on a festival day, he heard of and sought out the English College. On entering the church, where High Mass was going on, he recognized to his amazement the place and the ceremonies which had been pictured in his dream; yet, disregarding this impression, he went on to Douay as he had intended, but did not remain there long; for, feeling himself now decidedly called to the Society, he asked for and obtained admission to it in the degree of a lay-brother. After his noviceship he lived at St. Omer's College for more than thirty years, in the fervent practice of all the virtues of his state of life. For twenty-five years he was Socius Procurator of the College, the labours of which office in those severe times, and the grief occasioned by the distress into which the Seminary had been reduced, brought on a severe illness, of which he died most holily, fortified with all the rites of the Church, on the 24th of April, 1646.

terrible sufferings consequent upon the disease are then described, such as a parching dryness of the mouth and of the whole system, ending in an inability to swallow any nourishment, solid or liquid, which reduced him to such extremities, that after receiving the last sacraments, though still in full possession of his faculties, he slept placidly in our Lord, awaiting the crown of his many rare virtues.

FATHER JOHN ARMSTRONG, *alias* STRANGE, and ALANSON, son of Robert and Margaret Armstrong, was born in the county of Northumberland in 1591. He entered the English College as an alumnus, in the name of Strange, October 12, 1613, was ordained priest in Rome on December 27, 1616, and sent from thence into England on April 29, 1620, and entered the Society in the year 1621.

The following is extracted from his replies to the scholars' interrogatories preserved in the archives of the English College :

"1613. I am son of Robert and Margaret Armstrong; born in Northumberland, brought up partly there and partly in Durham. My family is respectable, but poor; all are Catholics, except my eldest brother, who is, I fear, a time-server. I studied at various places, and lastly at St. Omer's. I was always a Catholic, and was once beaten in the public school by the master because I refused to attend the heretical Church; afterwards I was adopted as a son by Roger Witherington, with whom I lived for two years, and who then sent me to St. Omer's College."

He is named in Gee's list (1624) as "Father Armstrong, a Jesuite, one that insinuateth dangerously, and hath seduced many."<sup>13</sup> He was professed of the four vows on May 6, 1632. In the Catalogue of the English Province for the year 1655, he is mentioned as being then, and also at various times, Superior of St. John's Residence, and to have been sent upon the English Mission in 1620. The Summary of the deceased of the Province (1659—60) eulogizes him as "a distinguished labourer in the English vineyard, who with indefatigable industry toiled amidst the midnight snows and northern colds of full forty years, for the benefit and salvation of his neighbour, in the endurance of much suffering. By his virtuous example and good instructions he made many converts to the Catholic Church." He died, probably in this district, on December 30, 1660.

<sup>13</sup> See Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in *Records*, Series I., Appendix.

FATHER THOMAS ROGERS, *alias* ROCHESTER and ROFFENSIS. He was born in the year 1596, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on September 29, 1617, and took the College oath on the 1st of May following, and was ordained priest on August 9, 1620. He left the College on the 12th of October following for Liege, where he was admitted to the Society. He took the solemn vows of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor on November 30, 1631, and was sent upon the English Mission in the year 1627; and in the Catalogues of the Province for the years 1642 and 1655, he is included among the missionary Fathers of this Residence.

The Annual Letters for 1656 record that he was then a prisoner for the faith. He died on September 29, 1657, very probably in prison. Of the thirty-seven years of his life in the Society of Jesus, he spent thirty in the very difficult missions about Westmoreland.

We extract the following brief autobiography from his replies to the students' interrogatories in the archives of the English College, Rome :

"1617. My true name is Thomas Rogers. I am about twenty-one years of age, and was born at Burwell, Cambridge-shire, where chiefly I was brought up. My parents are Godfrey and Margaret, of the middle class of society, and are, as I hope, Catholics; but my brothers, William, Godfrey, and Richard, and my sister Margaret [the words here omitted in the transcript were probably, 'are heretics or schismatics']; but my chief and intimate friends profess and firmly hold the Catholic faith. I made my studies partly at home, partly at Wisbeach, and for five years at the famous Seminary of St. Omer. I then studied my philosophy in Spain. I was for some time involved in the dense darkness of ignorance; but about seven years ago was recovered, through the goodness of God, by Father John Floyd, S.J."<sup>14</sup>

FRANCIS MAG[1]SON was born of parents who were confessors for the faith, and became a student of the English College, Rome. His replies to the usual questions on entering the College in 1616 are here subjoined. "I am about twenty-two years of age; born in Durham, in which city my parents were cast into prison for the Catholic faith, and in which prison I was born and brought up for some years. My parents from the commencement had embraced the Catholic faith, and on

<sup>14</sup> He signs, "Thomas Roffensis."

that account suffered great loss in their property. I have two brothers and three sisters Catholics. I was never, thank God, a heretic; but, as I said before, by the good pleasure of God I was both born and brought up in the prison, where my parents were for a long time confined for their faith." He then states his great desire of embracing an ecclesiastical life.

CUTHBERT REYNE was a convert of the northern parts, and a student of the English College, Rome. He thus describes himself on entering the College in 1613: "I am about twenty-two years of age, and was born at Ganisford [Gainford] upon the banks of the river Tees, six miles from Darlington. It is not entitled to be called a town, but merely a village, though a very beautiful one, where a certain aged Bachelor of Arts of Oxford, a thorough Calvinist, took some young men as pupils to teach them grammar. I likewise strove to live under his government for about eight years. I was never subjected to any servile or low employments, but it was sometimes imposed upon me as a duty, and I was accustomed accordingly, to call up the domestic servants in the morning to their work.

"My father is still alive, and of high birth, but in moderate circumstances; my mother died about twelve years ago. I have three younger brothers living, but no sister. I have an only paternal uncle, Mr. Nicholas Reynes, living at Rogermy; his eldest son is in high favour with the King, for when Elizabeth was yet reigning, he used every year to visit Scotland, and to go to the King for the sake of hunting. I have a relation named Craddock, a Protestant minister.

"I made my humanity studies with the said B.A., also poetry in Poland, and rhetoric for nearly a year with the Fathers of the Society of Jesus at Cadiz."

After responding upon the point of health he continues:

"I confess before Almighty God that I adhered to the heretics in ignorance (for one who is born of heretics and educated by men of wrong judgment does not deviate from the right ratio of living); however, I always hated those by whom the Mother of God and the Saviour of men were held in contempt, and esteemed those whom I observed extolling the merits and virtues of the most Holy Virgin, considering it was impossible but that men should love her whom God so loved as to decree that His only Son should be born of her, and be subject to her for thirty years. But, however, I could

not understand what He wished by that commandment, 'Thou shalt not make to thyself an idol,' which the heretics so frequently objected; so also that one so common with them, 'Nothing that entereth by the mouth defileth the soul;' and others, such as 'It is not good for man to be alone.' But after that the Divine light broke in upon my soul and dispersed the darkness, whereby I was enabled to distinguish between virtue and vice (and I had likewise held some conversation with certain Catholic students upon the subject of the faith), heresy began more and more to displease me.

"At length my course of studies under the said B.A. being given up, I thought of going to Newcastle, and from thence to London to a brother of mine, who was in the service of the King. But behold, God came to my counsels. For having been detained in Newcastle, which is a maritime town, I was informed of a certain generous and noble Catholic lord, who lived in Northumberland, who having heard that I desired to become a Catholic, and having no Catholic tutor to teach his son, he invited me, through a relative of mine, named Hobson, to go to his mansion and to remain at least one year with him. Therefore, overwhelmed with joy for this opportunity so convenient for entering upon a new course of life, I readily assented to the nobleman's request. I remained with him for two years, and there by the operation of the Holy Ghost, and the aid of the Reverend Mr. William Sutherland, a priest, I became a Catholic."

He then relates that having an opportunity of crossing over from Dover to Flanders (and unwilling to appear before the Mayor who was accustomed to exact of Catholics the oath against the Pope) he ventured to commit his diminutive body to the ocean waves, nothing doubting but that the Divine assistance would not be wanting to him.<sup>15</sup> "Nor was I deceived in my opinion, or rather in the confidence I placed in God. For, when we were wrecked, and no hope of saving the ship was left, we abandoned her and made for the shore in the boat, with the greatest difficulty. At this time one of the malicious sailors called out: 'Where is the Papist?' Then presently seeing me, 'Art thou then indeed safe and uninjured,' he said, 'who oughtest rather to have been swallowed up in the sea? It is on your account, thou

<sup>15</sup> The passage is obscure, but seems to mean that he swam to the vessel.

Papist, God is punishing us;’ and at the same time he gave me a blow on the ear. If the captain, to whom I had been recommended by Mr. Henry Réyne, had not taken my part and befriended me, I should certainly have been worse handled, and perhaps have been thrown overboard.” He then declares his desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

The English College Diary states that he was admitted to the College as an alumnus of the Holy Father, by Father Thomas Owen, the Rector, in May 1613, æt. 22, in the name of Peter Simpson. He took the accustomed College oath on May 4, 1614, was sent into Spain for the recovery of his health to the College of Seville, on October 1, 1614; but died on his way. He had received the four minor orders.

FATHER CHRISTOPHER SAMPSON, *alias* SIMPSON.—We read in a letter of Father George Grey, Provincial, to the Very Reverend Father General, dated London, March 3, 1674:<sup>16</sup> . . . “Now I have to report likewise that Mr. Christopher Simpson is dead. He was truly a religious man, and a distinguished missionary in this vineyard. He was Superior of our Fathers in Northumberland for about twenty years. It is a wonderful fact that he was enabled, in the midst of an heretical nation, to open with impunity an academy for select youths of the higher class, and to support and preserve it even to this very time. The known probity and candour of the Father drew many of the leading men among the heretics to him, insomuch that they did not hesitate to intrust their sons to be educated by him. He entered the novitiate at Watten, being already a priest, on May 27, 1634, æt. 28; was raised to the degree of a Professed Father on October 25, 1648, and died on March 3, 1674 (N.S.), in his sixty-eighth year.”

Father Sampson was a student at the English College, Rome, and on entering it gave the following short autobiographical statement:

“1625. My true name is Christopher Sampson. I am twenty years of age, as far as I know, and was brought up at Upsall, in the county of York. My father died long ago, but my mother survives and lives a Catholic by the exertion and aid of others, and brought up her six children in the same faith, of whom I am the eldest but one. I went to numerous schools in the neighbouring towns, and then at length to

<sup>16</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. v. n. 77.

St. Omer's College. It is my wish to enter the ecclesiastical state if found to be fit."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus in the name of Christopher Simpson, (*vero nomine* Sampson,) of Yorkshire, on November 11, 1625, at the age of about twenty; took the College oath on May 3 following, and was ordained priest in the Church of the English College on August 26, 1629. He left the College for the English Mission on September 9, 1632, with this encomium noted in the Diary — *Vir solidæ virtutis et profectus in literis non vulgaris.*

The family of Sampson abounded in Yorkshire, and Mr. Peacock, in his *Yorkshire Catholics*, names many members as recusants, non-communicants, &c.

MICHAEL JENISON was a secular priest, and nearly related to several members of the English Province, viz., the Laytons and Jenisons. On entering the English College, Rome, he gave the following account of himself and family:

"1649. I am twenty-one years of age, born in the county of Durham, about Christmas Day. I am of a family of the higher class. My father is an esquire, and is living; my mother's name was Bowes, of a respectable family, and has been now dead seventeen years. They were always Catholics. My father was sufficiently well to do before the civil war, but his loss in these wretched times, on account of his profession of the Catholic faith, was so great that he has not sufficient now to enable him to live up to his rank. I have only three brothers and one sister, who is married to a Catholic of rank. My eldest brother for the last six years has, with his wife, been a Protestant, induced to leave his religion only from fond affection; the next is in the English College in Spain, and I believe is now a priest; the third is at home. I had others, but they died in their infancy, except two, one of whom, after making his studies at St. Omer and Rome, went to England and died there, the other likewise died at home. I have four uncles on my father's side, of whom one was of the Society of Jesus, and died in the house of the Lady Digby;<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> This must have been Father Michael Gray (*vere* Jenison). He is mentioned in a Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642, in the name of Michael Gray, born in Lancashire in 1603, entered the Society in 1622, and took the degree of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor on the 6th of August, 1640. He was sent to the English Mission in 1632, and was serving in the Residence of St. Mary (the Northamptonshire and Oxfordshire district) in 1642. He died November 16, 1648.

another is a secular priest; another was a general in the army of the King of Spain, and was killed; the fourth, likewise of the Society of Jesus, who was called Father John Thompson, died in Rome. I have one only uncle on my mother's side, a secular priest. I have many relations; some are Catholics, some heretics. Among my relatives are two of the Society of Jesus, one of whom is called Jenison, *alias* Beaumont;<sup>18</sup> the other is Father Port, S.J. Rector of St. Omer's College. Among my Protestant relations is the Earl of Clare, and others whom I can name. I made my studies partly in Flanders and partly in France, at the College of Fleck, and I was, thank God, always a Catholic. I have a great desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

He entered the English College as an alumnus on November 11, 1649, at the age of twenty-one; and having been ordained priest on March 2, 1653, was sent to the English Mission on March 2, 1654.

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The following extracts from the State Papers in the Public Record Office relate to the country lying between this northern district, and afford evidence of the extent to which spies were employed against Catholics:

*Dom. James I.* vol. lxxxi. n. 54. Durham Castle, August 9, 1615. "Letter from Bishop James to Archbishop Abbot."

Sends him information given by a Polish surgeon [Christ. Newkirk], a pretended Catholic, and much courted by the priests, who wish to learn from him how to make "still powder." He is to meet Winter and Digby in Doncaster. They have given him an altar, devotional books, beads, &c. The Bishop has furnished him with a house and money for the journey. The King's life is the object aimed at.

No. 54 I. are informations of this worthy. July 16, 1615.

He met Humphrey Clesby of Morpeth, who, talking of a sermon against Popery at Paul's Cross, said there would soon be a redress of these oppressions. He pretended to be a Catholic, because he wished to know more of Clesby.

No. 54 II. July 2, 1615.

Clesby told him that in Queen Elizabeth's time a man might have Mass for 100 marks, but now it is treason, &c. That nine priests were coming over from the Pope. Sundry meetings were projected at Cleveland, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, &c.

<sup>18</sup> Father Robert Jenison, *alias* Robert Freville and Robert Beaumont (See *Records*, vol. i., Clerkenwell Discovery).

No. 54 III. August 21, 1615.

Meetings of Papists are held at Sir Thos. Blakeston's House, at Sir John Claxton's at Nettleworth, Mr. Hodgson's of Heborn, Mr. Swinburn's of Capheaton Castle, Northumberland, &c.

No. 54 IV. August 7, 1615.

The spy went with Cleesby to his lodgings, where an altar, books, and beads were given him from a chest full of them. Was present at a Mass where were six persons. Cleesby said the King and Prince had not long to live, many means being wrought for their despatch. He gives particulars of priests and their meetings, &c.

In the same vol. lxxx. n. 58. August 16, 1615, dated Durham Castle, is another letter from the same Bishop James, to Archbishop Abbot, sending information.

Mentions the flocking of priests, even in a walled town like Newcastle, where, a few years ago, was not one recusant. He urges the danger of the King's lenity towards priests. Some mischief is at hand, and there is great need of caution, and then tells the Archbishop that he has sent the above spy, Newkirk, to York, to a meeting of priests, furnished with beads and a manual, that he may not be suspected. He incloses (No. 58 I.) Newkirk's information of his conversation with William Sutheran, a priest, who told him (*inter alia*) that the north of England would raise 20,000 men for a hurly-burly on a given signal, to join 20,000 more from France, &c. He also mentions the projected meeting at York. August 9, 1615.

We annex the following "Account, dated London, 15th Nov., 1618, of the present state of the persecution":—<sup>1</sup>

The persecution of Catholics in the northern parts at the present time exceeds in intensity all former vexations and afflictions. It would occupy too long a time and space to write your Reverence a full detail of places and sufferers. There are three sorts of officials employed in the execution of the laws against Catholics, viz., the sheriffs, the pursuivants, and the justices. Of the pursuivants there are twelve kinds.

The first are those of the Privy Council, who are employed in the search after, and arrest and committal to prison of Catholics, according to the instructions of the Council.

The second are those of the pseudo-bishops, who go about two and two, and each month cite Catholics to the Bishops' Court, called of "the High Commission," where the oath of allegiance and supremacy is tendered to them. The Catholics are made to pay the expenses of these pursuivants, at 13d. per mile, although continued many days together; and this is exacted from all, both male and female, rich and poor, and men and women servants; and they are unceasingly engaged in searching.

<sup>1</sup> MSS. *Hist. Angl.* 1590—1618 † (Rome). Translated from the Italian copy in the collection of Charles Weld, Esq., of Chideock House. The document is one of much historical interest and importance.

The third are the special pursuivants of the pseudo-bishops, the head of whom is a man called Harrison, with his son, who is sent out from London with forged letters as coming from a priest to Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, concerning their sons at the seminaries on the Continent. These they cause to be summoned and committed to prison. Under pretext of searching for Catholic books, and especially for the *Corona Regia*, they carry off all the books that fall into their hands. This man has power to examine the Protestants as to their knowledge of some Catholics who will never ransom themselves by bribing the London pursuivants, and to commit such as they find faulty to prison, or to conduct them to London. He goes about accompanied by a body of armed men, some carrying pistols, some muskets. Upon being once charged before the Council with having taken a ransom bribe from Catholics, he admitted the fact, and said that the Lord Treasurer was not aware of it.

The fourth sort, like the third, possess a higher authority than the rest that follow. The head of this class is one Dales, a servant of Lord Sheffield, Governor of York, who lately caused a priest to be martyred at Newcastle.<sup>2</sup> This Dales is notorious, on account of two or three murders he committed, and for his brutal and immodest conduct towards a lady, whom he both struck with his cudgel and loaded with abusive epithets, and then robbed her of her shoes, stockings, and under-dress, declaring that they were the dress of some priest; he also carried off her towels, table-cloths, &c., pretending that they belonged to the altar; and he has already carried off property of this description to the value of thirty crowns. Gentlemen he commits to prison as priests; of the priests he will sometimes take forty crowns for ransom money. He examines all in the public streets in the towns, the roads in the country, and the inns; carrying off everything he can lay hold upon, and committing to prison with all fury.

Of the fifth kind, the head is one Beverley, the companion of Dales, who goes about everywhere, plundering necklaces, jewelry, and gold from purses. This man has compelled parishes to compound with him for an annual sum.

Of the sixth sort, the head is likewise a man named Harrison, who exceeds the others in violence, taking sometimes, as much as 240 crowns in the streets, for ransom money from priests. Searching the house of a Protestant, he badly wounded the master of it and ten Catholics, and killed the servant of the house; and yet this fellow is allowed to go free and pursue his office as before.

<sup>2</sup> This was the Rev. W. Southern. He was an alumnus of Douay College, and the last Douay priest that suffered under James I. His mission was chiefly among the poor, in converting and assisting them. He was condemned for the priesthood, under the statute of Elizabeth. When sentenced, he fell upon his knees, and gave hearty thanks to God. He was detained for six days after sentence, in a dark and loathsome dungeon, because no hangman could be found. His head was fixed upon a spear on one of the town gates, and was observed by many, for some days after, to smile. He is said, in one account, to have been a missionary among the poorer sort of Catholics at Bassage, Staffordshire, an estate belonging to the Fowlers of St. Thomas, and to have been seized at the altar, and hurried away in his vestments to a neighbouring Justice of the Peace, who committed him to Stafford gaol. He was immediately tried and convicted at the assizes at Newcastle-under-Lyne, and his head carried back and fixed up at Stafford (See Bishop Challoner, and the authorities quoted).

Of the seventh class, the head is one Laiman, Dale's father-in-law. This man commands the principal magistrates to rise by night to assist him ; and he goes about, followed by a great crowd, to the houses of the leading Catholics, and in default of finding any he carries off all kinds of books, &c., under the pretext of searching for arms.

Of the eighth sort, the chief is another servant of Lord Sheffield, with the same authority as the others, only confined to the county.

Of the ninth sort, one William Johnson, an apostate priest, is the head. He goes about secretly with his own bailiffs, and has discovered to the Governor all the old hiding-places into which he himself was formerly received, together with the usual resorts of the other priests. He it was who betrayed the above-mentioned priest and martyr.

The above classes of pursuivants have no other source of livelihood than what they can get from the plunder of the Catholics, who are reduced to a state of the greatest misery, unknown even in the times of Elizabeth herself, or in the previous year of the present King, there being no security for person, place, or time from the fury of these harpies.

Of the tenth class, the chief is one Hayton, lately out of prison. He is sent from London to get information about recusant wives who use the Catholic ceremonies in baptism, and such like. He resorts among the merchants, and in the fairs and public streets, and compels women either to pay him ransom money, or else to take the oath ; or in default to prison. In this work he is assisted by the principal officials of the county.

Of the eleventh sort, the head is a man named Bradford, who has discovered twenty-one fresh Catholics, who have not as yet compounded for their property, which he now compels them to do. The special office of this man is to ascertain more correctly what Catholics have heretofore compounded, and amongst these is one who has already done so five times over, and is compelled to do so again.

The twelfth kind are the ordinary bailiffs of the county, and these are very numerous and malicious, and execute their office rigorously, summoning gentlemen for carrying arms, offensive or defensive ; and for this, as likewise for composition for their wives having incurred Protestant excommunication, and likewise for concealing their goods, they are committed to prison. This is carried out with the greatest severity, not excepting even the aged and infirm ; and at the present time several are in prison.

The narrative then goes on to describe some of the methods adopted by these pursuivants. They exacted from all two julii<sup>3</sup> for each festival, for exemption from going to the church : in some places two julii for the morning and two for the evening services. This was general, including all, even those who had compounded for their "entry." And this exaction is pursued with such rigour that some poor people, having lost their all, falling from worse to worse, even their very sheets and bedclothes are taken from their beds, and the pots and frying-pan from the fire, and all the rest of the furniture of the house.

In the case of one poor old woman, who had nothing left in her cottage wherewith to pay, they took a sheet she had concealed

<sup>3</sup> The julius, a Roman coin, named from the reigning Pope, probably of the same value as the paulus (about 6d. English).

to serve for her winding-sheet at death, and then carried her off to prison. Upon application, however, to the pseudo-Bishop the sheet was restored to her.

Many now find themselves in prison fleeced of all, who but lately were in affluence.

Some are sent to the mad-house, and there bound hands and head to a pillar, then stripped to the waist, and cruelly scourged many times a week, whilst the Ministers stand looking on, endeavouring to pervert them in the midst of their torments, and crying out at every stroke, "Come, then, to our church!"

The treatment in prison is next referred to, where the keepers make them pay for everything at a high price, and refuse them even a cup of water to drink, in order to force them to pay for beer, a cruelty not shown to the robbers and murderers confined in the same prisons. Those who are unable to pay for other rooms are thrust into filthy cells below, bound in irons and fetters. This treatment has driven some mad, and killed others.

On the 1st of October, at a general assizes, the Judge addressed the magistrates and officials assembled, charging them in the bitterest terms against Catholics, and to use all possible severity in enforcing the penal laws and edicts. . . .

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The following are extracts from the Annual Letters of this Residence. The cruel circumstances of the times rendered the collection of information extremely difficult, and may account for the scantiness of the records remaining to us:—

"1635. Through the labours of eleven Fathers, ninety conversions to the Catholic faith were made; and in the next year, 1636, fifty.

"1637. In this district a zealous Father afforded much consolation by travelling about on foot during the night to visit Catholic houses, with less danger to their inhabitants. He thus visited especially the dwellings of the humble classes, and thereby acquired the honourable title of the Priest of the Poor.<sup>1</sup>

"The heavy fines to which Catholics were subjected by law were rigorously exacted in these northern counties. This severe infliction deterred some Protestants from embracing the Catholic faith, to which they were strongly inclined; and all the zeal of the Fathers was demanded to restrain some Catholics from seeking relief by conforming to the Established Church, especially those who, being otherwise in straitened circumstances, suffered most from the cruel exaction.

"1638-39. In these years the number of conversions was, respectively, thirty-seven and eighty. The Fathers had entered upon a new mission in the mountains of Westmoreland.

<sup>1</sup> This refers, no doubt, to Father Ralph Corby, the martyr.

Several instances of the miraculous powers of the Church's exorcisms are mentioned. One of them was that of a Protestant woman who had suffered much pain and vexation, which was attributed to witchcraft. She had applied for relief to Protestant ministers, but without effect. She now betook herself to one of the Fathers, who, having instructed her and administered the Sacrament of Penance, applied to her the exorcism of the Church, on which she became perfectly freed from her torments. Thinking herself now safe the inconstant woman returned to her former heresy, but soon relapsed into a state of hopeless bodily disease."

The following cases of conversion to the Catholic faith are recorded: "(1) A Protestant servant had kindly undertaken to teach a Catholic woman to read her prayers in a Catholic English prayer-book. Not disliking the prayers, she used the book for her own devotions. After some time, the Catholic left and took her prayer-book with her. The Protestant now thought to resume the use of her own Protestant prayer-book, but, on opening the book, she found to her astonishment that she could not see to read a word in it, though her sight was still perfectly good regarding all other objects. Struck by this miraculous occurrence, she sought and obtained admission into the Catholic Church. (2) A Protestant youth, being dangerously ill, sent for one of the Fathers to visit him. The youth's father positively forbade the visit, and threatened the priest with all the severity of the penal laws if he entered his house. Presently after the boy's father suffered a paralytic stroke, which confined him to his bed for three months. At length becoming convinced that his illness was a punishment justly inflicted on him by God, he sent for the Catholic priest whom he had repelled, and who now received both son and father into the Church. Neither of them recovered, but both passed happily, under the care of their instructor, to a better life.

"1640. In this district the sufferings and dangers of the Catholics were greatly increased by the irruption of the Scottish army, to the great terror of the inhabitants generally, and specially of the Catholics, against whom they denounced utter extermination. They broke into their houses, tore up the very floors, and searched every part so closely that they discovered books, vestments, &c., which had been concealed from the English pursuivants. These violent proceedings greatly increased the sufferings and dangers of the Fathers, and obstructed the exercise of their ministry. Many Catholics

feared to admit them to their houses to offer the Holy Sacrifice, or even to administer the sacraments to them. Yet this active persecution was not without its salutary effects. Protestants who had before been hesitating were brought to the determination to enter the Catholic Church, and many Catholics who had neglected their duty were aroused to reform their lives.

“1641-45. The same state of things continued, and the Fathers were greatly impeded in their functions by the bitter hostility of the Scottish soldiers, who spread throughout this district.”

So also in the succeeding years 1645-9, in which the report merely records that the missionaries bore their share in the common sufferings of the times, subject to spoliation and want, living in constant apprehension of the incursions of a hostile soldiery, and often driven to flight or concealment.

“1654. In Northumberland the Catholics were subjected to severe persecution. Many suffered sequestrations of their property, and many others were confined in loathsome prisons; yet they persevered in their faith with a fortitude and constancy which extorted admiration even from their persecutors. One woman, having been carried by force to the Protestant Church service, threw herself on the floor, closed her ears, and so remained until the service was over. In the village of Abberwick, a Catholic boy, nine years old, went to a school in which he was the only Catholic. Some itinerant Protestant ministers had sent word to the master of the school that they intended to come and catechize the children, and requested him to keep the boys in the school till they came. The Catholic lad, hearing this, asked leave to go home. The master refused it, being determined that he should hear the intended instruction. The boy took the first opportunity to slip out of the school, and though the master and the other boys called out to him to come back, he ran home. The next day he fearlessly returned to the school, where he was severely flogged. The master then asked him tauntingly whether it would not have been better for him to have stayed and hear the preachers the day before. The little confessor answered, “No,” for that if he had willingly listened to the false doctrine of these teachers he would have been liable to eternal punishment in hell. The child said nothing of all this to his affectionate parents, who learnt it accidentally a fortnight after, and immediately withdrew him from the school. They reported the occurrence to one of the Fathers who was

missionary there, who warmly encouraged the brave little boy to constancy and perseverance. He was before well instructed for his first Communion, which had been deferred on account of his tender age. The Father now justly thought that no further probation was necessary, and admitted him without delay to the participation of that Divine Food, which would best reward and confirm his early virtue."

1671-2. The report, after stating that there were fifty conversions to the Catholic faith, briefly recounts a remarkable case of healing at a miraculous well: "In a family of rank a boy was born with hideous knots in his limbs, and a general deformity. For seven years this miserable object was unable to use his feet. He was taken to a Holy Well, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and after frequent immersions was happily cured.

"1673. There were eight Fathers in this Residence. Forty-one cases of conversion to the true faith were reported, and four instances of miraculous cures by means of the blessed water of St. Ignatius. They had also contrived to send over ten youths for education in the Seminaries abroad. The following narrative is recorded, given in the words in which it was related to one of our Fathers: A man of high birth and good character (Mr. John Thornton), who was ever most devout to our Blessed Lady, lay sick of a disease of which he died. Fourteen days before his death, about the middle of the night, whether asleep or awake he could not tell, he had the following vision: 'About the first hour of the night, being nearly, if not quite awake, my apartment appeared to shine with a wonderful light shed around it. As I lay astonished at this great light, for the fire was gone out, and the lamp removed, to my utter amazement I beheld, as it seemed to me, three most beautiful virgins standing by my bed. Trembling, I asked who and whence they were at that unseasonable hour of the night? The furthest of the three replied, "She in the middle is the Mother of God, who is come to pay you a visit," Lifting myself in the bed, I said with feelings of great joy: "O Blessed Mother, give me your benediction." But turning aside, as though displeased, she replied, "You do not merit a blessing." Then completely melted into tears, I again and again entreated earnestly for a blessing. Moved by my entreaties, she turned and, blessing me, asked if I wished to be restored to health. "Thou knowest," I replied, "what will be best for me hereafter; to

you, and to your Son, I recommend the matter." "Then you wish to live, my son?" I rejoined, "I very often offend my God, neither do I avoid occasions of sin, nor overcome temptations. I fear, if I live, that I shall again fall into the same offences; I had rather die now than live to offend my God." "Thou hast answered well," she replied, "and so shall it be, and your soul shall be safe." Upon this I awoke up with my face flooded with tears.' During the last fourteen days of his life he remained most serious, never expressing a desire for a longer life, nor listening to those who wished it for him.<sup>2</sup>

"1675. The following striking miracle, attributed to devotion towards the suffering souls in Purgatory, is recorded. A pious lady had for many years been oppressed with deep melancholy, verging upon insanity, and her case defied all the arts of medicine. At length one of the Fathers arrived in those parts and persuaded her to place all her trust in God, and to embrace this affliction as a purgatory sent to her by Him; and, at the same time, to offer Him some devotions for the aid of the souls suffering in the expiatory flames of Purgatory. She promised to give alms, and to do other pious works for their consolation. When, wonderful to say, she who before had been unable to stir from one room to another, nor even attempt it, on the following day walked six miles to return thanks to God and to the good Father for her unexpected cure, attributing it under God to the suffrages which she had been led to offer for the souls in Purgatory. When this account was written she still remained well and active."

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The four missions in this District, which we now mention, are of great antiquity.

*Durham*, the head-quarters of it, was probably connected with the Society from its first existence in these northern parts. In the person of Father Holtby, we may trace it as far back as at least the year 1585. Durham owed its existence to the monks

<sup>2</sup> There were three Fathers of the name of Thornton in the Society. Father Robert Thornton, who was born in the year 1657, and entered the Society September 11, 1678, after labouring in the districts of Staffordshire and Devonshire died in the latter, February 14, 1704, æt. 47; Father John Thornton, born in the year 1675, who joined the Society in 1693, and became a Professed Father, March 19, 1720, and after serving in this Residence for many years, at Haggerston, died at Durham, March 19, 1759, æt. 84, having been Superior of the district from 1736 to 1749; and Father James Thornton, born 1680, entered the Society 1700, and died at Ghent, December 2, 1752, æt. 72.

of Lindisfarne, who, fleeing from the Danes with the precious relics of St. Cuthbert, after occupying some intermediate stations, at length, in 995, fixed their residence on the rocky eminence then called Dunholme. After clearing a space of the woodland, they began a monastery and cathedral church, around which gradually grew an assemblage of dwellings that formed the basis of the infant city. In the Cathedral are still found the tombs of St. Cuthbert and of Venerable Bede. The Bishop of Durham, in process of time, became a Prince-Bishop, with State officials and a secular authority. This intermixture of the temporal with the spiritual, perilous to the holder even amid the counter-checks and safeguards of the faith, would readily favour the darker tyranny of persecution, when that faith had left the commanding heights of Dunholme. The Society had a College in Durham in the time of James II., but it was destroyed during the Revolution of 1688.

*Harber House*, in the Bishopric or county of Durham, was a place of resort for the Fathers of the district. It belonged, we believe, to the Forcer family which gave two members to the English Mission;<sup>3</sup> or it may have been a residence of Mr. Trollope, who was connected with that family by marriage. Father Ralph Corby, the martyr, resided there for a time.

*Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, with *Gateshead* annexed, was also a very ancient mission of the Society. The old chapel and presbytery stood in Gateshead, or, as it was called (probably by a corruption) "Goates-head," *ad capræ caput*. A Saxon monastery had stood here prior to 653, of which Uttan was Abbot. Gateshead House now stands upon its site. About the year 1200, or perhaps earlier, the Hospitals of St. Edmund and the Holy Trinity were already founded. The ruined chapel of St. Edmund stands about a mile from Tyne-bridge, in the High Street. Here was formerly an extensive monastery to which the hospital was attached. These buildings, having been subsequently re-arranged as a Catholic chapel, were burnt down by the mob.<sup>4</sup> This act of violence seems to have taken place on the retreat of the Scots during the rising of 1745.

The Annual Letters of the Province for the year 1654 make the following mention of Newcastle, and of Father Hugh Whitfield. "This Father was betrayed at Newcastle by a man

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 106, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Gorton's *Topographical Dictionary*.

whom he had reconciled to the Church, and to whom he had rendered other important services. A Protestant minister induced him by the promise of a bribe to denounce his benefactor. On the 22nd of April, 1654, the feast of the holy martyrs SS. Soter and Caius, Father Whitfield had scarcely unvested, after saying Mass, when he was seized, and with him between twenty and thirty persons who had been present at the Mass. Those who belonged to the town were released, on giving bail to appear whenever called upon. The rest, who were from the country, together with Father Whitfield, after being led through the principal streets of Newcastle, thronged with market people, were brought before the magistrates. By these and some Protestant ministers who were in attendance, the prisoners were subjected to a long and rigorous examination. The result was that those from the country were dismissed, and the Father was informed that he would be liberated on finding two responsible persons who would give bail to the amount of £200 each for his appearance when called upon. There was no likelihood of his being able to do this, as no Catholic would be taken as bail. After some delay, two Protestants with whom Father Whitfield was wholly unacquainted, unexpectedly came forward, and gave the required bail. Father Whitfield, after testifying his gratitude, had hardly got out of the town, when the magistrates repented of their leniency, and sent officers to apprehend again all who had been released. Three respectable Catholics of the town were taken, and consigned to prison, the magistrates now refusing all bail. When the time of the assizes drew near, the Father gave notice to his bail that he should surrender himself in court for trial, and thus release them from the responsibility they had so generously incurred for his sake. The neighbouring Catholics being informed of his intention, resolved to raise amongst themselves the sum of £400 to indemnify the bail, and thus enable the Father to remain at liberty. The chief promoter of this resolution was Mr. Ralph Clavering, a gentleman of ancient family, distinguished for his attachment to his religion, and prudence in the management of business. But this exercise of their pious liberality was not eventually required, for the Judge, on examining the depositions, determined not to summon the accused party, and his bail were accordingly discharged.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Two members of this ancient Catholic family were alumni of the English College, Rome, viz. : Thomas Clavering, *alias* Thomas Coniers, admitted November 14, 1649, ordained priest April 4, 1654, and sent to

“ Father Whitfield was a native of Durham. He is referred to in the letter of Father Thomas Carey, in page 105. After his release we do not trace him. Father Martin Grene, who died in 1667, mentions a relic of this Father preserved among the relics in the sacristy of the sodality chapel of the English College S.J. of St. Omer. His name does not appear in the Catalogue of the Province for 1655.<sup>6</sup>

In the continuation of the history of this Residence in the times of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688, we shall have to return to Newcastle, where in 1688, as was said above, a college and chapel existed, until their destruction at the Revolution.

*Stella Hall* was one of the missions or chaplaincies of this Residence, but we do not ascertain the time when the Fathers commenced to serve it. It once belonged to the families of Tempest and Dunn, and afterwards to the Widdringtons, three members of which family entered the Society, viz., Anthony, who died at Ghent, 1682; Henry Widdrington, who entered the Society in 1687, and died a Professed Father, November 16, 1729, æt. 61, at Callaly Hall, near Alnwick, the seat of the Clavering family, whose chaplain he was; and Robert, also a Professed Father, who died at Durham, January 26, 1742. Dr. Oliver thinks that Robert is the “ Jesuit eminent

England March 4, 1657; and Ralph Clavering, son of Thomas and Mary, admitted æt. 28 on May 11, 1683, with high recommendations from Father Hitchcock, O.S.B., President of the English Benedictines, Douay, with whom he had made his humanities for five years; also from Father John Clare, S.J., English Procurator at Paris. He was ordained priest April 13, 1686, and left the English College for France 1688, after making three years' moral theology.

<sup>6</sup> There is reason to suppose that this Father Hugh is the same as Father Thomas Whitfield. The name of Hugh Whitfield does not occur in the Catalogue of the Province for 1655, but Thomas is mentioned as serving in St. Mary's Residence. In that of 1642 Thomas is also named as a scholastic at Liege, but no notice of Hugh. We have already given a letter of Thomas Whitfield, preserved in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. v., regarding the virtues of Father Ralph Corby, the martyr at Tyburn, 1644. Father Thomas Whitfield says that he was intimate with Father Corby in the Durham mission, which was the seat of Father Hugh's labours. After his release from prison in 1654, he may have retired to St. Mary's Residence (the Oxford district), as a place of greater safety. If the two are really identical, then Father Thomas Whitfield must have been dead some time before 1666, since in that year Father Thomas Carey wrote to Father Grene the letter printed above, and mentions a relic of Father Hugh Whitfield, preserved in the sodality chapel of St. Omer's College. It is remarkable that neither Father Southwell, Mr. Dodd, or Dr. Oliver state the time of Father Thomas Whitfield's death. Dr. Oliver supposes it to have been in 1686, and confesses that he cannot trace Father Hugh Whitfield after his release.

for his piety," who assisted James Drummond, Duke of Perth, in the affair of his conversion to the Catholic faith.<sup>7</sup>

Sometime before the year 1149 Stella Hall was granted by William de St. Barbara, Bishop of Durham, with the priory and convent there, to God, St. Bartholomew, and the nuns of Newcastle. As early as the tenth century the Scottish Kings endowed this convent with lands. Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, in 1153-59, confirmed the former grant of Stella to the Benedictine Nuns, who retained the convent until the dissolution by Henry VIII. in 1540. Lady Agnes Lawson, one of the Lawson family of Byker, now of Brough Hall, Yorkshire, was the last Prioress, and at that time Thomas Tempest was their steward, who had held courts for the nuns in Durham and Northumberland. At the dissolution, Stella was purchased by and became the residence of the Tempests of Newcastle, a mercantile branch of the ancient house of Holmeside, Durham. The following letter of Dr. Toby Matthews, the Protestant Bishop of Durham, which relates to this family and the Catholics of the neighbourhood, and is a specimen of the anti-Catholic spirit of the times, will be interesting. It is dated May 27, 1598, and is addressed to Burleigh, the Lord Treasurer. Dr. Matthews was father of the noted convert, Sir Toby Matthews, who died October 13, 1655, at Ghent, the English house of Tertians.

"Right honorable,—Maie it please your lordp. to be advertised that I have lately caused the Ladie Katherine Neville, widow, one of Northumberland's daughters, to be apprehended by Mr. John Conyers, the Sheriffe of this countie, and Mr. Tailboys, one of the Justices of the Peace, and have admitted her to the safe custodye of Christopher Glover, gaoler of Dursem [Durham] Castle.<sup>8</sup> The ladie was manie years sought

<sup>7</sup> *Vide* his Grace's letter, p. 204, part 27, of *London and Dublin Orthodox Journal*.

<sup>8</sup> This gaoler and his wife, by means of a servant-maid, endeavoured to poison the Rev. Thomas Palason, a priest, Mr. John Norton of Ravensworth, and Mr. John Talbot, whom Bishop Matthews had thrown into prison for their religion. Poisoned broth was prepared and brought to them. It pleased God as the servant handed it to them to work a miracle. The woman was horror-struck at the sight, confessed all, and fell upon her knees before the priest, and asked pardon. She afterwards became a Catholic, and lived for many years with Mrs. E. Forcer. All these three prisoners were hung, drawn, and quartered for their religion at Durham, August 9, 1600. Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoir of Missionary Priests*, says: "The Reverend Cuthbert Trollop, in a manuscript relation which I have in my hands, writes thus—that Mr. Pallicer and his companions 'being in prison, were like to be poisoned by the malice of the gaoler's

by the late Earl of Huntingdon, was detected for the receiving and relieving of sundrie Seminarie priests, as Stafferton with the flesh mark in his face; Bost, who since was executed; Mushe and Patterson, besides some others whose names come not presently to my mind. She hath always eluded the processes and messengers of the Ecclesiastical High Commission, by withdrawing herself hitherto from all appearance of late times. Somewhat synce Mattemas last, she tooke to farme a house and land called Greencroft, nigh Lanchester in this countie, letten vnto her by Mrs. Hall, a widowe, and sister to Nicholas Tempest of Stella, that great recusant, where the ladye hath been going and coming ever since, and sometimes made good cheer to twenty of her friendes at once, especially at Christmas, and where, and at Stella, if I be trewly informed, they kepe up a Popish spiritual service. Within half a mile dwelleth at the Manor House one Wm. Hodgson, he is a special recusant, and is reported (how certainly I know not) to have married this ladie. This William Hodgson is a perillous Papist, conformable to all her Mat<sup>tes</sup> proceedings, and farms the whole deanery of Lanchester dissolved. In Lanchester towne dwelleth Launcelot Hodgson, when he is at home, but we have him now in prison for recusancie; a dangerous person and not unlearned; who the last yeare was married, as he himselfe hath beene made to confess, by an old Popish priest, not by a Seminaryst, nor at a Masse, to Mary Lee, daughter to another of the Earl's chief officers at Branscepeth in those dayes. The lordship, since the Earl's attainder, belongs to her Majestie, and therefore I thinke the Lady Gray did there meane for the tyme to set up her rest, soe nighe her father's olde tenants. The house itselfe is strong built, with many shifting contrivances yieldeth good opportunitie to lodge and entertayne not only other Popish

wife; for an impoisoned broth was prepared for them, and first brought to Mr. Pallicer, who, offering to taste of it, the bone of mutton on the dish began to run blood in form of crosses and of O's in the broth, which he wondering at, abstained from eating of it. The maid who brought in the broth noting this, carried it back to her mistress; she casting some spice over it, sent the broth again by the same maid to Mr. Talbot and Mr. Norton, which they offering to taste, the blood in like sort issued forth of the meat as before, which caused them likewise to abstain. The servant seeing this again, was touched in conscience, and came upon her knees to Mr. Pallicer, and asked him forgiveness, and desired for Jesus Christ's sake that he would make her one of his faith, and instruct her what she had to do to be saved; which he did, resolving her in all points, and reconciling her to the Catholic Church. The aforesaid maid, whose name was Mary Day, at that time servant to the gaoler, afterwards served a Catholic gentlewoman called Eleanor Forcer, who informed me of this."

ill guests, but perchance the Earle himselve, *si et quatenus*. Now that she is in handes I would from your l'ship be directed with some expedition, how she is to be dealte with and used, with such other particulars as your l'ship in your wisdom shall think fitt to impart to me. I betake your l'ship to the grace of God.

“Your l's'ps most hble in Christ,

“TOBIE DURESME.

“Apud B'ps Auckland, Maie 27, 1598.

“I suppose Mr. Topcliffe could saie much touchinge this ladie and the other recusants, if your l'ship would require him earnestly.

“To the right hon. my singular good lord, the Lord Burgleigh, Lord Hi. Treas. of England.”

This branch of the Tempests always continued to profess the ancient faith: Nicholas Tempest of Stella was imprisoned for recusancy and heavily fined. Michael and Robert Tempest of Durham were both attainted in the reign of Elizabeth, and lost all they had. This family has been fruitful in religious. Edward Tempest, a secular priest, as appears by his letter to the Archpriest Blackwell, dated Clink Prison, London, January 15, 1599, had been taken ten days before by the apostate Sacheverel. Robert Tempest, S.J., died July, 1640. The Annual Letters for 1640 mention this model of religious obedience and humility for nearly thirty years as *vinculus Christi*. Another Francis Tempest, O.S.B., was professed at Lamspring, October 9, 1664, elected abbot 1709, and died 1729. Nicholas Tempest, S.J., died a prisoner for his faith, February 26, 1672. John Tempest, O.S.B., professed at Lamspring, 1666, died 1711. John Tempest, S.J., died at Thorndon Hall (Lord Petre's), 1737. Adrian Tempest, O.S.B., died July 3, 1737. Euphrasia Tempest, died at Cambray, 1689.<sup>9</sup>

The history of this Residence subsequent to 1677 will belong to the general history of the Province in the periods of Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688.

<sup>9</sup> *Orthodox Journal*, vols. i. and ii. 1833.

Sixth Series.



THE COLLEGE OF  
ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL;

OR,

THE YORKSHIRE DISTRICT.



THE COLLEGE OF  
ST. MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL, OR THE  
YORKSHIRE DISTRICT.

THIS Residence or district of the English Province is coeval with its neighbour, that of St. John the Evangelist.

The following places, among others of which no record remains, were formerly served or visited by the Fathers of the Residence, viz. :

Allerton, Stourton.	Lindley, near Huddersfield.
Blinkhouse, Doncaster.	Ossil, Hague Hall.
Bolsterstone, Sheffield.	Pontefract.
Bransby Hall.	Richmond.
Brough Hall.	Sawston, Hull.
Broughton Hall.	Selby.
Carlton.	Skipton.
Danby.	Stockheld Park.
Danthorpe, Hull.	Sutton.
Everington, Poplington.	Mr. Stapleton's.
Fountains, Ripon.	Stubbs, Walden.
Frickly, Doncaster.	Thorpes.
The Grange.	Walton Hall.
Hague Hall ( <i>olim</i> Ossil).	Wakefield.
Haughton.	Yarum.
Holderness.	York.
Helvington.	

Of these places Broughton, Pontefract, Richmond, Skipton, and Wakefield are still served by Fathers of this Residence.

The average yearly number of Fathers, so far as they can be ascertained from the few and imperfect reports left us, was about ten from 1635 to 1677, to which period the present notice is carried; and the average number of annual conversions to the faith was about forty for the same period.

The following is extracted from a Catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, and shows the missionary Fathers of the Residence at that period.

<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Patria.</i>	<i>Ætas.</i>	<i>Tempus in Soc.</i>	<i>Gradus.</i>
Antonius Hunterus (Superior)	... Eborac.	... 49	... 6	...
Georgius Annus	... Eborac.	... 60	... 32	Form. 6 Dec. 1631.
Andreas Stonas	... Eborac.	... 61	... 21	Form. 8 Feb. 1647.
Gulielmus Palmius	... Eborac.	... 64	... 37	Prof. 11 Nov. 1631.
Joannes Taylærus	... Eborac.	... 57	... 36	Form. 6 Dec. 1631.
Antonius Burdettus	... Eborac.	... 45	... 13	Prof. 1 Julii, 1653.
Carolus Fosterus	... Londini.	... 32	... 12	Form. 3 Dec. 1654.

The following State Paper is interesting, and illustrative of the times :

*Dom. James I.* vol. xiii. n. 52*b* (about 1604). Endorsed, "Proceedings at the Assizes at York and Lancaster."

*A true declaration of the proceedings at the late assizes in the counties of York and Lancaster.*

In Yorkshire, this : First, Mr. Pounce, by order of the Starre Chamber, being there to make acknowledgment of his faultes, refuseth the same otherwise than that if he had offended, then was he sorry for it.<sup>1</sup>

Secondlie, one Thomas Robinson was there convicted for that he published and maliciouslie affirmed that it went not soe well with the Protestantes as they looked for. For although the judges had manie recusants before them at Durham, yet it would be no more soe hereafter.

For the King had sent a poste to Durham not to proceede against recusantes till they knew further of his pleasure, and that he hoped oncè within a twelvemonth to see all the Protestantes in England hanged, or ells to turne from their religion, and that he hoped once within this yeare, all the ministers in England should be hanged, and that he should have the hanging of thirtie or fortie of them.

For this offence he staid on the pillorie and remaineth prisoner during his Matie's pleasure.

He was also convicted for wounding and beatinge a Minister in the church, for which he had one of his eares cutt off.

Thirdlie. There were also condemned Thomas Welborn and William Browne (both servants to Thomas Darcy, Esq., a notorious recusant), of high treason for practysinge to seduce and withdraw divers of his Maty's subjects from the religion established to the Romish religion, to the intent to seduce and withdraw them from their natural obedience to the King's Maty.

The execution of them is staid untill his Maties pleasure is knowne. These men appeared too great practisers in withdrawing his Highness' subjects from their ecclesiasticall obedience, and to stirre them to the Romish re-

Fourthlie. There were about one thousand recusants there indicted, and few or none of the better sort omitted.

<sup>1</sup> This has reference to the proceedings in the Star Chamber against Mr. Pounce, recorded in his Life.

At this place his Maty's gracious zeal and resolution in religion being made knowne and delivered, the applause and joy thereof appeared exceeding great in and to all sortes of people ther present.<sup>2</sup>

ligion. And Brown being before the Assizes interrogated whether if the Pope should make warrupon the kinge he would take part with the Kinge or with the Pope, he then and at the barr publicklye said he woulde not answer it. And being before asked that if the Pope should excommunicate his Highness whether he and others of his religion were dissolved from their obedience to the Kinge. He said he would answer nothing. Welborne being asked the same questions answered that he had nothing to say to that wch is to come; and further answered would not make.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, quoting the catalogue of martyrs, gives three laymen in 1605 who suffered death for the Catholic faith, viz.: Thomas Welbourn, who was a schoolmaster, a native of Kitenbushell in Yorkshire, and John Fulthering, a layman of the same county, who being zealous Catholics, and industrious in exhorting some of their neighbours to embrace the Catholic faith, were upon that account arraigned and condemned to suffer as in the case of high treason. As was also William Brown, another zealous Catholic layman, a native of Northamptonshire, convicted of the same offence. They were all executed according to the sentence—Mr. Welbourn and Mr. Fulthering at York, August 1, and Mr. Brown at Ripon, September 5, 1605. In *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 283, in a list of "Recusants and non-communicants within the city of York and county of the same city," January, 1598, is recorded (among many others)—"In the Ainsty: *Healey*—Susan Browne, wife of William Browne, non-communicant." In page 284 (*Ibid.*), among the "Convicted recusants to be abjured in the county of the city of York, 1599," is recorded "William Browne, of the parish of St. John at Ouse-bridge-end, labourer." "To abjure the realm was to swear to leave the kingdom by the port that should be assigned, and not to return without leave of the King. Those abjured were attainted in blood, and forfeited their goods and chattels" (Note in *Troubles*, as above, p. 284). The "notorious recusant, Thomas Darcy, Esq.," was probably the same mentioned by Mr. Peacock in his *Yorkshire Catholics*, p. 77, "Hornbie Parishe." "Thomas Darcie of Hornbie, Esquier, Elizabeth his wife, . . . recusants for 12 months last." "Recusants retayned. The said Mr. Darcie, Esq., doth kepe in his house one Thomas, whose surname they know not, and his wife." This return is dated 1604, and the said Thomas may have been the above martyr, Thomas Welbourn.

The proceedings at Lancaster.

First. Mr. Pounce there being resolved, both by the attorney of the warders and Mr. Tilsley, to whom he appealed in the Starre Chamber for testimonie, and by all other the justices of peace at the former and these assizes present, of the untruth of his information to his Maty, he thereupon confessed his faulte, and with humilitie submitted himselfe.<sup>3</sup>

Secondlie. There was one Bursco, a priest, condemned of high treason, but the execution of him staide until his Maty's pleasure knowne.

This priest seemed to be of small learning and mild and temperate disposition, free from practise, and much condemning all P'swadrs or stirrers to faction or rebellion.

Thirdlie. There were convented before us twenty-nine p'sons which were apprehended with the said priest, being prepared for the hearing of a Masse? of which number twenty-six at the barre conformed themselves and went to the churche.

There were also fifty-six other recusants convented, of which fifty-two submitted themselves and goe to the church; of which number Thomas and Henry Clifton, being gentlemen of good descent, and about thirty years of age, havinge been never before at churche, now submitted and reformed themselves.

There were indicted at this time six hundred recusants, and fewe of the better sorte omitted.

At this place the relation of his Majesty's gracious disposition and zealous resolution in religion, was with great joy applauded, and the same with the assurance of his Maty's gracious clemency and mercy to all reformed offenders hath, and is hoped to work an exceeding reformation in these parts.

The following Fathers, among many others, served in this Residence, though their particular locality does not appear :

FATHER JAMES SHARPE, *alias* POLLARD.—In *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV., "The College of St. Hugh, or the Lincolnshire District," we gave a biographical sketch of this Father, and his extraordinary adventures in Yorkshire in his attempts to convert his parents and family. He was a priest in that county for three years before he crossed over into Belgium to enter the Society; and, during his novitiate at Louvain, wrote his interesting *Recollections of the Yorkshire Mission*. The original MS. in the Stonyhurst College collection, has been lately printed in *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 445, seq. We refer our readers to it for additional instances of bitter persecution, which brought that county into such an unenviable notoriety in those dark days of her history.

<sup>3</sup> See "Life of Thomas Pounce."

FATHER CHARLES THURSLEY was a native of Durham, born in 1572; he entered the Society in 1606. After suffering imprisonment for the faith both at York and in London, he died of fever in the College of St. Ignatius, London, December 31, 1639, at the age of sixty-seven. The Annual Letters for 1640, record that he had rendered himself a useful labourer in England, and dear to all with whom he lived, on account of his singular candour of soul, patience in labours, piety, and remarkable sweetness of manner. He cast out five devils from a possessed person. The fame of this miracle being published throughout the country, he was betrayed by some man unknown and cast into chains by the Archbishop of York. His sincere piety and the example of his virtues sanctified the prisons both of York and London for several years, and he would have been crowned with the martyr's reward, had it not pleased the Providence of God to reserve him for gathering in a richer harvest. Thus did he gain a still greater weight of merit by having the palm of martyrdom plucked from his hands.

FATHER MICHAEL FREEMAN was a native of Yorkshire, born during the year 1578, in the village of Manthorpe, near York. His parents were Catholic, his father was a farmer and cattle-dealer in moderate circumstances, and in 1594 was incarcerated in York and other prisons for his profession of the Catholic faith, and remained in durance for five years, and most of his property was confiscated. Father Michael made his earliest studies at a public school at Driffield, a mile from home; the master of which, discovering after some time that he was a Catholic, refused to continue his instruction. He then studied at home for a short time, after which he went to a school at Castleton, twenty miles distant, kept by an Oxford schismatic, who had many other Catholic boys under his care. After a year and a half, when he had completed poetry and rhetoric, the parson of the parish on finding that Michael did not attend the church applied to a magistrate, a Protestant gentleman of rank, named Bunney, and procured a warrant for his arrest. Armed with this he went to the school, but the pupils having meanwhile forewarned Michael of the danger, he made his escape and returned home again, where he resumed his studies. He obtained the situation of private tutor in a nobleman's family, but being exposed to great danger, crossed over to Douay College, where he completed rhetoric, and made a year's logic. He then entered an alumnus of the English

College, Rome, on the 31st of October, 1599; took the usual college oath on the 1st of May, 1600; received minor orders in September and November, 1600; was ordained subdeacon and deacon in April and May, and priest on the 29th of May, 1603, and was sent into England on the 22nd of April, 1606. He ever lived in the college most observant of the rules, obedient to Superiors, and constant in piety of life.<sup>4</sup>

Father Freeman entered the Society at Louvain on the 13th of July, 1608, at the age of 29; was solemnly professed of the four vows on the 22nd of July, 1621, and returned to the English Mission in 1630, having in the meantime been professor of theology at Liege, besides filling other offices of responsibility, such as Minister, Confessor, Spiritual Father, Master of the Tertians, &c. In 1642 he was Superior of the Residence of St. John the Evangelist, and died of apoplexy on the 26th of September in that year, being sixty-five years old. In the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 108, is a letter from Father Michael, dated Louvain, January 12, 1612, to the Father General Aquaviva, in which he reports favourably of that house.

FATHER BRIAN CANSFIELD *alias* CHRISTOPHER BENSON, or BARTON. We learn from his own statement on entering as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, in 1601, that he was born at Roberts Hall in the County of Lancaster, where he lived for some time, until he was sent to various schools, such as Lancaster, Tunstall, Blackburn, Orswick, Warton, and Thornton. At the age of sixteen he went to the College of the English Province at St. Omer, where he remained for three years. We thus find that he was of the ancient but now extinct Catholic family of Cansfield of Cansfield and Roberts Hall. In the time of the civil wars we read in the *Catholic Apology* (quoted in Dodd's *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 59) that "Sir John Cansfield, of Cansfield and Roberts Hall in Lancashire, having taken up arms in defence of the royal cause, received several desperate wounds at Newbury fight, under which he lingered for some time, until they brought him to his grave. The family is now extinct, and the estates have fallen to the Gerards of Brinn, who married the heiress."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> English College Diary and scholars' interrogatories.

<sup>5</sup> According to *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage*, Sir William Gerard of Bryn, the fifth baronet, eldest son of Sir William Gerard, the fourth baronet, married Mary, second daughter and eventually heiress of John Cansfield, Esq., of Cansfield. The name of Cansfield seems to have been kept up in the Gerard family. The ninth baronet was Sir Robert Cansfield Gerard, and the eldest son of the present Lord Gerard of Bryn is named William Cansfield.

On October 15, 1601, Brian Cansfield, being then in his nineteenth year, having left St. Omer's College entered an alumnus of the English College, Rome, for his higher studies. He took the usual college oath on November 3, 1602, and during that and the following year received minor orders, and entered the Society on November 18, 1604, and was in due course raised to the degree of a Professed Father. He says in his personal statement that his parents were then (1601) dead ; that his principal friends and connections were persons of rank and wealth, some Catholic, some Protestant, but chiefly Catholic ; that on leaving England in 1598 for St. Omer he had two brothers and three sisters Catholics, and that he was himself brought up a Protestant until his sixteenth year, when, upon the exhortations of his brother, he conferred with Father Stanney, S.J., by whom he was converted to the faith, and received into the Church by Father Fleck at St. Omer.

Father Cansfield laboured for many years in this Residence, and died on August 3, 1645, from the effects of ill-treatment received in York Castle, from which he had just been discharged.

The thirty-nine years of religious life which Father Cansfield spent most piously in the Society were to him a perfect school of martyrdom. He was so severe, not to say cruel, to himself, and waged so constant a war against the desires of the flesh, that he would allow to it nothing it coveted, but, on the contrary, embraced with great eagerness whatever was most abhorrent to the senses, esteeming this the most agreeable offering he could present to our Lord in His Passion. He returned to Belgium a voluntary exile for the Catholic faith, where having laudably passed through his humanity studies, abandoning the world, he resolved to embrace a religious life in the Society of Jesus, to which he was admitted, as we have stated, in the year 1604, and, in consequence of his virtues and learning, was in due course promoted to the degree of a Professed Father. All the longings of his soul aspired after the English Mission, in which he hoped to crown his apostolic labours by a happy death for Christ. He was at length sent to that battlefield, no less in obedience to the will of his Superiors than to his own deep yearning.

Under the assumed name of Christopher Benson, or Barton, amidst daily dangers and vexatious persecutions, he so devotedly laboured to gain souls, until the age of sixty-three, that he gathered into the Lord's garner a copious

harvest in the conversion of Protestants, and the strengthening of Catholics in their faith. When, full of merits and ripe for heaven, he had begun to abandon all hope of gaining a happy death by shedding his blood for the faith, he suddenly and unexpectedly found what he desired; though, as it turned out, his captors did not intend his death, which seemed specially sent to him from heaven.

One of the Fathers of the Society had reconciled to the Catholic Church the wife of a certain Judge upon the Yorkshire Circuit. This lady had formerly been a Catholic, but had conformed to Protestantism, and was tormented with deep remorse of conscience. The husband, greatly enraged at what had been done, despatched pursuivants in all directions, and used every contrivance to discover the Father, determined not to rest until he had succeeded in hanging and quartering his victim. While the pursuivants were ransacking every place in this search, they came upon Father Cansfield during his Mass, and seized him as he stood with his vestments at the altar. They dragged him to the house of the exasperated Judge, abusing and dealing him heavy blows, amid the laughter and jeers of the people; and at length cast him into prison, where he was harshly and brutally treated during his confinement. The mistake, however, being discovered, and the mind of the Judge pacified, Father Cansfield was liberated and allowed to go whither he would. The discharge was of little service, for his health was broken down by his severe treatment, added to the damp prison, and bad and insufficient food. He never rallied again, but died amongst his brethren in the Yorkshire mission, and as it is said in the city of York, on August 3, 1643, in the sixty-first year of his age, and thirty-ninth of his life in religion.

FATHER GEORGE ANN, *alias* ANGIER, was a native of Yorkshire, born in the year 1595. At the age of twenty he entered as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on the 8th of June, 1615, having made his earlier studies at the English Colleges of the Society of St. Omer and Valladolid. He was ordained priest on the 25th of March, 1620, left Rome for England on the 5th of March, 1621, and entered the Society in 1623. After completing his noviceship in Belgium he was sent back to the English Mission in 1625, was made a Spiritual Coadjutor on the 6th of December, 1631, and died in June, 1660, aged 69. He was for many years

Superior of St. Michael's Residence, and as such wrote the following letter to the Father General Vitelleschi, dated about the 1st of October, 1640:<sup>6</sup>

“Very Reverend Father in Christ,—  
P.C.

“I perceive by your Paternity's letter, that you were in great anxiety lest matters here were rushing on from bad to worse, and no wonder; for the time is fast approaching when the perfidious nation of the Scots, like a swarm of locusts, may lay waste everything far and wide. On August 28 they entered England with an army of three thousand men, of this however we make but little account. The clemency and forbearance of the King towards them, and some treacherous counsel in their regard, will do us more harm than their barbarous phalanx can do; for no exertions will suffice to put them down in the course of another year. We are not in danger at present, if intestine treachery does not elsewhere ensue. The seat of war is fixed in this county of York, for Northumberland and Durham have yielded to them.

“All of ours have withdrawn to other places, the Superior alone, Father Michael Freeman, thirsting as I conjecture for martyrdom, intends to remain. An engagement took place on the banks of the Tyne in Northumberland and Durham; the combatants met in the very river, where a fierce contest ensued, though with very unequal numbers, as the Scots have twenty-five thousand men, and our side has only one thousand, all of whom were not collected together. They possessed cannon of the largest calibre, whilst our forces had none, and were therefore at length compelled to retreat. The slain on both sides number about sixty or seventy; the Scots, however, lost the most. They purpose to present a petition for the slaughter of Catholics, bishops, &c., and also for political reforms.

“All the inland parts hereabouts are plundered and sadly devastated, nor do any hopes appear of a change for the better, unless our King opposes them in earnest and forcibly expels them. Nor must I omit to mention that a valiant captain by name Compton Hare, belonging to a family of great distinction, and lately received into the orthodox faith, was murdered by his own soldiers with the greatest barbarity, solely for

<sup>6</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. v. n. 105.

refusing to attend the Protestant Church. This is the present state of our affairs. Let us hope for better.<sup>7</sup>

“Very Reverend Father,

“Your servant in Christ,

“GEORGE ANGIER.”

FATHER WILLIAM STILLINGTON, a native of Yorkshire, born 1596, entered the Society 1624, and died November 27, 1654, æt. 58, in religion 30, having been solemnly professed for 18 years.

In the history of the Residence of St. John,<sup>8</sup> a letter of this Father to the Father General has been given, bearing date April 2, 1652, and containing an account of the trial of Father John Robinson, *alias* Taylor, at York. He was probably one of the missionary Fathers of this Residence at the time of the trial.

From the Annual Letters of 1654, it appears that Father Stillington had been afflicted with calculous disease, and with the help of frequent meditations on the Passion of our Saviour had borne his acute pains with admirable patience. As his end drew near, he made a solemn profession of his firm adherence to every part of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. He repeatedly renewed his religious vows, thanking God, and calling upon the angels and saints to thank Him, for the grace of his vocation to the Society, and for his perseverance in it till death. Out of devotion to the Passion of our Lord, he prayed that he might die on a Friday, and kept frequently asking if that day was come. Being at length told that it was, he declared he had now reached the end he had so much wished for.

He soon passed into his agony, and a priest who stood near placed the crucifix to his lips. In dying accents he asked what it was, for his sight had entirely gone. The Father replied: “It is the holy and saving sign of the death of our Lord for us upon the Cross. Embrace the feet, and commend yourself

<sup>7</sup> A brother, we believe, of Father George Angier was likewise a student at the English College, Rome. He says, in his replies to the usual interrogatories put to the scholars on entering—“My name is Angier. I was born at Frickley, Yorkshire. Both my parents, George Ann, Esq., and Margaret his wife, are Catholics. I have five brothers and eight sisters, all Catholics. I studied at home under a private tutor, and for four years at St. Omer’s.” The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor among the alumni, aged about twenty, in the name of Angier, on October 4, 1623, and left again for England on March 11, 1625.

<sup>8</sup> P. 50.

and your agony, to His merits and Passion." Father Stillington by a last effort gently raised his head, which he had been unable to do for some days, kissed the sacred Wounds, and expired.

The Summary of the deceased members of the Society for 1654 state that he had fulfilled, with the greatest satisfaction to all, the duties of Procurator at Madrid and Brussels, and those of Superior in England. He was remarkable for a gentleness of manner which, combined with his devout life, wonderfully attached every one to him. He was greatly missed when he died, especially in England, where he had laboured with much fruit for fifteen years.

FATHER RICHARD RILEY, *alias* NICHOLAS DANBY and JOHN RILEY, who really belonged to the Residence of St. John, also exercised his pastoral functions in Yorkshire with such industry and success (as is mentioned in the annual report for 1656), that where he found fifty souls, he had increased his flock to five hundred and fifty at the least, among whom were six or seven families of distinction.

Father Richard Riley was born, according to the Diary of the English College, Rome, in 1611, but according to the Catalogue of the Province for 1655, in 1610. He was a native of York, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, October 20, 1629, æt. 18. He was ordained priest March 24, 1635, at St. John Laterans, and left Rome for the English Mission, March 18, 1636. *Vir magna pietatis et orationis.*

On entering the English College he thus describes himself: "1629. John Riley [or Ridley, signs Richard Danby]. My father's name was the same, my mother's Rosa Walcher. I was born at Farnley in the county of York, and parish of Leedes, and was there brought up until my seventh year. I then privately studied in the house of a friend for some years, until I was sent to St. Omer's College, where I made my humanities for three years.

"My parents and friends are of the middle class, neither rich nor very poor. I have two brothers, who are Catholics, and several sisters, one of whom only is Catholic, whether the others are Protestants or Puritans I cannot tell. All my other relations, as far as I recollect, are obstinate heretics.

"I was brought up among heretics until my sixth year, but from that time until the present among Catholics, in the

service of a certain noble lady, and I embraced the Catholic faith.

“I left England three years ago, and am come to Rome with the intention of study, and of rendering assistance thereby to others. It is my intention to enter the ecclesiastical state.”

He entered the Society in 1640, and in 1645 was camp missionary among the English and Irish troops serving in Flanders, and soon after came over to England. His death is stated to have occurred in England on January 17, 1661.

FATHER ANTHONY BURDETT, a native of Yorkshire, who was a secular priest and professor of Philosophy at Douay College before he entered the Society in 1642, is stated in the catalogue of the Province to have been serving in this Residence in 1655, and to have been then seven years on the mission. He was solemnly professed in 1653, and died September 14, 1657 in the forty-seventh year of his age. In the Annual report for 1651, &c., it is recorded of him that he had reconciled to the Church the eldest son of Dr. Richard Chambers, a Protestant minister. The indignant father trusting to his talents, learning, and cause, insisted on having a religious discussion with the Father in the presence of his son and the rest of the family. The result disappointed and exasperated him, for not only was the eldest son confirmed in his faith, but a younger brother, a sister, and another person being convinced of the truth, followed his example.

FATHER THOMAS FORSTER, about 1608 to 1642. Having been driven out of Yorkshire by the Parliamentary troops he took refuge in the Residence of St. Dominic, or the Lincolnshire District. There he fell into the enemies' hands and was thrust into the gaol of Lincoln, where he died of dropsy in the year 1648.

A short biography of this confessor will be found in *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV. part ii. the Residence of St. Dominic, or College of St. Hugh.

FATHER JOHN THOMPSON was long Superior of this Residence prior to 1642. In the narrative of Father John Taylor, *vere* Robinson, given in the history of St. John's Residence, this Father is mentioned as having been found by him in York Gaol on his being committed to that prison in September, 1651. They lived together in the same cell for three months, when Father Thompson was seized with gaol fever, and died a martyr for religion on the 21st of December, 1651.

We must not omit to notice the holy martyr, the Rev. WILLIAM HART, who suffered at York on March 15, 158 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and a sketch of whose life will be found in Challoner's *Missionary Priests*. The following note concerning him is taken from Father John Thorpe's MS. Notes of Martyrs of the English College, Rome.<sup>9</sup>

"His godfather was Father William Goode, S.J., afterwards for many years confessor in the English College, Rome, who often commended him, and with great veneration kept many of the spiritual letters that he wrote in prison, truly worthy of his excellent apostolical spirit. He was called the Apostle of Yorkshire, on account of the great good he effected there by his spirit of prayer, and graceful manner of preaching and writing. He earnestly begged to be admitted into the Society of Jesus while he was in the English College, Rome, but an infirmity, which then greatly afflicted him, was an hindrance. He sent several of his converts and penitents to Rome.

"From his assiduity in disputing with ministers, and encouraging and confirming many in the faith, it was foretold that he would be the fourth martyr of York, a city which had always shown an inclination towards the Catholic faith, and had been greatly animated by the blood spilt there in its defence.

"He took the usual college oath at Rome with the Rev. Ralph Sherwin, the martyr; he had an excellent talent for preaching, and pronounced several public harangues at Rome before Cardinal Buoncompagno, at his first visit as Protector of the English College. He had done the like before Cardinal Maroni, and also before the Pope at his departure, to the great satisfaction and pleasure of His Holiness and all present. Dr. Allen hearing of his weak state of health in Rome, desired the Rector of the English College to send him to Rheims."

<sup>9</sup> Stonyhurst MSS.

LIFE OF BROTHER THOMAS OGLETHORPE  
(*alias* STILLINGTON).<sup>1</sup>

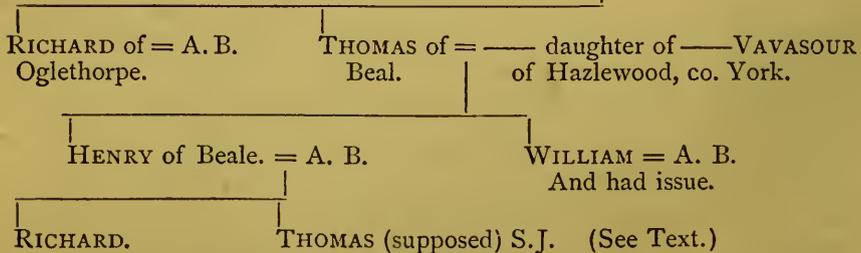
THIS holy scholastic novice of the English Province was a native of Yorkshire, who died in the odour of sanctity in the Sicilian Novitiate at Messina, on September 15, 1617, æt. 23, and who may be justly styled the English Stanislaus. We give prominence to his life as presenting a model for the imitation not only of novices, but of others more advanced in religious perfection.

Thomas Oglethorpe was of an ancient Yorkshire family, and born in London in the year 1594. The Harleian manuscripts—*Visitations*—mention several branches of this family. Brother Thomas may have been a son of Henry Oglethorpe, Esq., of Oglethorpe, who was son of Thomas Oglethorpe of Bevill, or Beal (1585). He is stated to have had two sons, viz., Richard and Thomas, though Brother Oglethorpe mentions having two brothers.<sup>2</sup> His father unhappily apostatized, yielding to

<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Oliver, in his short notice of this holy novice in the *Collectanea S.J.*, has fallen into an error in saying that Thomas Stillington was sent by Dr. Allen from the English College, Rheims, in August, 1580, to the English College, Rome. The Thomas Stillington sent to Rome in 1580 was a secular priest, educated in the English Colleges of Rheims and Rome. He took the degree of D.D., and was an eminent professor. He returned from Rome to Rheims, October 22, 1585. Upon the founding of the English College of the Society of Jesus at Valladolid in 1589, by the labours of Father Parsons, Dr. Stillington conducted a number of students thither from Rheims, beginning his journey May 15, 1589 (See Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 87). Dr. Stillington remained for some time at the new College, as appears from two intercepted letters of his in the P.R.O. London, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxxxiv. nn. 7 and 8, both dated Valladolid, November 7, 1590; the one to Dr. Webb, and the other to Rev. James Vavasour, priest. The Doctor was then very busy with Father Parsons, who was there engaged in arranging the new foundation. Dr. Stillington taught there, and was also a prefect and confessor. He was a warm friend of the Society of Jesus.

<sup>2</sup> OGLETHORPE OF BRANDESBY.

JOHN OGLETHORPE of Oglethorpe, = A. B.  
co. York.



(From Dugdale's *Visitation of Yorkshire*, p. 262. Pomfret, 1666.)

Mr. Peacock, in his *Catholics of Yorkshire*, names Thomas Oglethorpe, of Knottingley, Gent., as having been reported along with others amongst

the terrible persecutions of the time in order to save the confiscation of his property. Thomas was brought up under the care of his paternal uncle, who not only remained steadfast in the faith, but was a sufferer for it by a long imprisonment. The nephew was sent to the College of the English Province of the Society of Jesus at St. Omer, where he made his humanity studies, and from thence to the English College, Rome. He entered an alumnus of that College at the age of nineteen, on October 12, 1613, and took the usual College oath on the 4th of May following. The College Diary makes the following honourable mention of him: "Discessit in Siciliam, Aprilis 17, 1616, et in Soc. Jesu ibi admittendus, relicto magno sui desiderio. Vixit enim in Collegio sine ulla unquam querela, et erat omnibus carus ob morum suavitatem,

the non-communicants for one year. He observes in a note that "the Oglethorpes took their name from a village so called, near York. Dugdale gives two pedigrees of the family in his visitation, 1665-6. . . . It is not improbable that the Thomas above is the second son of John Oglethorpe of Oglethorpe, who married a daughter of one of the Vavasours of Hazlewood, whom we may certainly assume to have been a Catholic." Under the head of "Emley," Mr. Peacock mentions "William Wilson, son of William Wilson of Fryeston," and "Bridget his wief, have sojourned in the house of Robert Oglethorpe of Rawden, aboute halfe a yeare: recusants. *Secret baptism.*—The said Wilson and his wief had a childe there secretlie baptysed in ye house of ye said Robert Oglethorpe, which they say was baptized there by ye minister of Mounk Fryeston, where they remayned before with their father, Mr. Wilson." Bishop Oglethorpe was of the same family, of whom we give the following brief account. Owen Oglethorpe was born at Newton-Kime, near Tadcaster. He was sent to Oxford, and admitted Fellow of Magdalen College about 1526, and took degrees in divinity and received priest's Orders. In 1533 he was chosen Proctor of the University, and, February 21, 1535, President of Magdalen College. He was made Canon of Christchurch, Oxford, and likewise of Windsor, and possessed the rectories of St. Olave in Southwark, and of Newington and Haseley. In 1551 he was chosen Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and replaced in the Presidentship of Magdalen College, which for some time had been held by Walter Haddon, in the year 1553, about the same time being made Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Garter. About April, 1556, he was consecrated Bishop of Carlisle, and upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth to the throne, was the person who put the crown upon her head. Though he complied with the Queen and Government as to civil matters, he could not be brought to allow of the alterations made in religion, but was deprived with the rest of his brethren about midsummer, 1559, and died soon after of an apoplexy in the beginning of 1560. Dr. Allen (in his answer to *England's Justice*, 8vo., 1585, p. 51) says, "When he saw the issue of that matter, and both himself and all the rest of his sacred Order deprived, and the Church's holy laws and faith against the conditions of her consecration and acceptation into that royal room violated, he sore repented himself all the days of his life, which were for that special cause both short and wearisome afterwards unto him." His memory is preserved by several works of piety. He founded a school at Tadcaster, and endowed it with a salary of £40 a year. Also a hospital in the same place for twelve poor people, who had twelve pence a week allowed them, with several conveniences. [Dodd's *Church History*, vol. i. p. 487—quoting Godwin, *De Pres. Angl.*, and Anth. Wood, Oxon.]

pietatemque doctrinæ." Having received minor orders in 1614: "Panormi diem sanctissime clausit in Dom. Prob., cujus vitam præpositus tyronum scripsit, utpote in quo miranda nonnulla illuxere."

The following is a copy of Thomas' reply to a portion of the usual interrogatories put to the students of the English College, Rome.

"1613. Thomas Stillington, *vere* Oglethorpe. I am twenty years of age, born in the county of York, where I was chiefly brought up. Both of my parents are of respectable families. My mother, when I was quite a boy, passed, I hope, to a better state. My father is lately dead. As to their state in life I am altogether ignorant, for I was brought up and educated by strange masters from my earliest youth, and was never, even in the least degree, allowed to touch upon family affairs. My father was a schismatic (the worst of states). My mother, by the persuasion of her parents, held to the true religion. I have two brothers, the youngest of whom was lately converted at St. Omer's College, and is now studying there. My eldest brother is a Protestant. I have an only sister and two uncles, the elder a Catholic, the younger a Protestant, and one paternal uncle, a schismatic. I studied three or four years in England, and ran through my whole course of humanities at St. Omer's College, and, by the help of God and the Blessed Virgin, with good success.

"As to my religion I have nothing to say. In England I was neither Protestant nor yet Catholic. I went to Protestant churches and was present at sermons. By means of an uncle, and through a species of artifice, I came to London, from whence, unknown to my friends, I was sent to St. Omer's College, and placed under Father George Keynes, S.J., of pious memory, and was instructed by him in the elements of the Catholic religion and received into the Church."

After distinguishing himself in his philosophy and higher studies in Rome, he was admitted to the Society of Jesus in 1616, by the Father General Mutius Vitelleschi, who had succeeded Father General Claudius Aquaviva. On his admission he was sent, to his great joy, to the Novitiate at Messina in Sicily, where, after only sixteen months of his probation, he died a holy and a happy death in the odour of sanctity, and in repute for miracles.

The life which follows has been compiled from (1) the account of Father Emmanuel Aquilera, of the Sicilian Province, given in his *Res gestæ ab ann. 1612, ad ann. 1672*, pars. 2<sup>o</sup>, pp. 61-67. Ed.

1740; (2) from an abridged narrative of the death of Thomas Stillington, in Father Henry More's *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.*, l. 9, n. 29 seq., in which the various virtues of the deceased are arranged in order. This same account, more fully detailed, but without any special arrangement, is to be found in the narrative copied by Father Richard Cardwell, in his valuable collection of MSS., *Collectio Cardwelli, S.J.*, Public Record Office, Brussels, vol. iii. p. 763 (Stonyhurst MSS.); (3) from an Italian manuscript life at Stonyhurst College, in the handwriting of Father Ambrose Corby, S.J., which embraces the whole of the above narrative (n. 2), with additional facts, and was evidently its source, and which is, no doubt, a copy of the original letter of Father Licander, the Rector and Master of Novices at Messina, to his Provincial, written October 9, 1617; (4) from two original letters of the novice himself, written from Messina to his former Rector at the English College, Rome, Father Thomas Owen, S.J. These are preserved in Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. nn. 42 and 44.

Father Henry More thus introduces the subject of our memoir: "Amongst many students of the College of St. Omer who may be mentioned as either carrying away with them sentiments of affection towards the Community, or imbibing a desire to lead a very holy life, I must not omit Thomas Stillington, who, although he died far away from Belgium, yet inhaled the first principles of learning and sanctity at St. Omer's, which were matured by the three spiritual retreats he made under Father Roger Lee, to the accomplishing of great things in the Divine service, and who died in the same year of this century (1617) in which Father Schondonchus, the Rector of St. Omer's, also departed this life."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Father Giles Schondonchus was born at Bruges, August 31, 1556. In 1576 he entered the Society of Jesus, and was appointed third Rector of the English College of St. Omer in 1600. He was possessed of great talent both in teaching and governing, and was also a good preacher. Under his management the new College, which was founded in 1593, greatly increased, and soon numbered above one hundred scholars; and on the solid foundation created by his talents, successful method, and tender piety, rested the enduring character for practical religion and classical attainments which that College maintained, until the tyrannical expulsion of its members by the Parliament of Paris in 1762. After filling the office of Rector for seventeen years, Father Schondonchus died, January 29, 1617, æt. 61 (*Vide More's Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. v. n. 7). A report or letter from the College in 1613 thus speaks of this excellent religious—"Our Father Rector, the best of men, Giles Schondonchus, a lover of the English vineyard, is himself a complete Englishman, most distinguished for his piety, learning, and zeal of souls. Of all the Rectors who have governed this College, he is the most respected, as he is also the most worthy" (*Vide Collectio Cardwelli, MSS. S.J., P.R.O. Brussels, vol. i. p. 263, Stonyhurst*).

The following is the narrative given by Father Aquilera, with various additions from the Italian manuscript of Father Corby :

“Thomas Stillington was a native of London, born in the year 1594. His father was a Lutheran,<sup>4</sup> but by the care of his paternal uncle, who was a Catholic, he was imbued with the best sciences. He made his humanities and philosophy with the greatest credit at Liege, in Belgium,<sup>5</sup> where, by his innocence of manners, and remarkable devotion to the Blessed Mother of God, he merited to be miraculously called to the camp of the Society of Jesus.” Father Aquilera then recounts an apparition of our Blessed Lady to him at St. Omer’s. The Mother of God appeared to the novice, accompanied by St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier, and led him to a beautiful church of the Society, telling him that *there* was his home, and recommending him to the special care of those two holy Fathers. This vision is more fully narrated by the novice himself on his death bed, as will be seen in Father Licander’s account, given below.

“By the advice of our Fathers,” continues Father Aquilera, “he went to Rome in 1614, where he found the Very Rev. Father General Claudius Aquaviva, an aged man, sick, and near to death, who received the pilgrim and stranger youth most kindly, first ordering him to be placed as a guest in the English College, afterwards as an inmate and alumnus, so that, before admitting him amongst our number, he might give some proof of his abilities and fitness. In that school of learning and *belles lettres* Thomas easily outstripped the English youths, being keen and lively in disputations, and strenuous in overcoming opposition. In the arena of philosophy he stood the first for talent, nor was he less distinguished in the science of eloquence and rhetoric, for he composed a Latin tragedy, which was given in the autumn vacations, in which he was also an actor himself, and rivetted the ears and eyes of the spectators beyond all the other performers, for he was of a comely appearance, open-hearted, and of a sanguine complexion, fluent in speech, with a full-toned and sweet voice, a composed and graceful bearing, combining activity and gentleness.

<sup>4</sup> He had apostatized from the Catholic faith many years before, for fear of losing his property. This afterwards appears in the narrative of Father Licander, the Master of Novices.

<sup>5</sup> This is a mistake for St. Omer. Our College of Liege did not then exist. Father Licander’s narrative states it correctly, on the authority of the novice himself. He made his philosophy at the English College, Rome.

The Roman citizens, princes of the Court, and Prelates both in and out of Rome, with many Cardinals, moved by his fame, flocked to the College theatre, and the excellences of Stillington began to be prized. The applause given to his tragedy spread with such acclamation that it reached the ears of His Holiness Pope Paul V., who, having carefully read it, highly approved and extolled it.

“Father General Aquaviva being now dead, his successor, Father Mutius Vitelleschi,<sup>6</sup> was led to entertain favourably the petition of Thomas for admission to the Society, and in the beginning of his government destined him, as a notable token of his love to the province of Sicily, for the noviceship of Messina, and our venerable Fathers always revere him as a special gift from heaven to the Province.

“Nothing could have turned out more agreeably to the pious and modest youth, whose soul was somewhat grieved at the celebrity of his name in Rome. He therefore gladly embraced the opportunity which absence from the place afforded him, of retiring and concealing himself, where for the future he would be as a stranger, unknown to all. He came then to Messina, and began his noviceship on the 5th of the ides of May, 1616, under Father Demetrius Licander, the Master of Novices, which, however, he closed on the 15th of September in this year, 1617, rather as a skilful veteran in religion than as a novice. He was then in the twenty-second year of his age, and came not so much to learn the elements of our warfare as, by reproducing those in use amongst us, to show in the very beginning that he had long reached the highest pinnacle of all virtues. Esteeming himself the meanest of all, he earnestly laboured that all should think the same of him. As soon as he entered the novitiate, to all inquiries as to his birth, learning, studies, &c., he not only concealed the station of his family and the excellence of his abilities, but, by his words and actions, implied that he was sprung from the lower orders, and was ignorant and very backward in his studies; and he led all to believe this, for he would add that, having been born of an heretical father, and in a Protestant country, he had when a child imbibed nothing of Latin or of polite literature, but having now joined the Society of Jesus at a mature age, and

<sup>6</sup> Father Aquaviva was elected General, February 19, 1581, and died January 31, 1615, æt. 72. Father Mutius Vitelleschi was elected November 15, 1615, and died February 19, 1645, æt. 82.

so ignorant, he would be quite contented if he could succeed in conquering the chief difficulties of untaught manners, get rid of his clownish habits, and be admitted to the priesthood."

Father Aquilera then recounts his various artifices of humility to pass himself off as an ignorant person; such, as, repudiating all skill in composition, keeping silence at the usual repetitions of the exhortations to the novices, &c. He most diligently engaged in the servile duties of the rest, embracing the more readily such as were esteemed the meanest. His Superiors he regarded as the representatives of God, not only with deep reverence for themselves and for the least indication of their will, but with a sacred veneration for the articles which belonged to or had been touched by them. When, on account of his health, he went into the country, and for that purpose received his usual letter of licence from Father Licander, he would only receive it with uncovered head, and, kissing the paper, would read it upon his knees. The same also he would do on returning. On one occasion he received a letter of obedience to visit a certain locality for change of air, where the Holy Father had ordered a jubilee on account of the Italian war. Besides obeying the command, he preserved the letter in the best spot in his room. One of the community, seeing the letter so carefully preserved, and suspecting the reason, asked him what letter it was. Thomas replied that, having been written by the hand of the Father Rector, he preserved it as a holy relic, at the same time uncovering his head and most reverently saluting it. When the Father Provincial visited him, although exceedingly weak and confined to his bed, he would throw himself prostrate upon the floor at his Superior's feet.

"On account of his failing strength, through the severity of his pulmonary complaint, he had difficulty in walking, and, when directed upon a certain occasion by Father Licander to go to the top of a high tower in the orchard of the novitiate, which lay upon a hill, whence a most delightful prospect was gained of the city, of the harbour, and bay, and, in the horizon, of the Italian Apennines, he complied, and, made the attempt, panting as he went, but fell down exhausted by the effort. Running up, his companions raised him and urged him to return to his room and rest, but they could not induce him to do so. He wished, he said, rather to die than to depart from any precept of his Superiors. Wherefore, after waiting a

short time, he started again upon the difficult ascent, nor did he pause till he had reached the tower itself.

“Another similar case is given, in which the novices were on a certain day taking recreation in a vineyard some distance off. The Father Rector, not knowing that they were there, and seeing Thomas, who was then exceedingly weak, said to him—‘Go to recreation with the rest.’ He proceeded with all solicitude, objecting neither to the steepness of the hill nor the distance of the way, though, on account of his debility he was obliged to make frequent halts. He met some of the brothers, who wished to finish recreation with him in a more convenient place, but Thomas refused to comply, saying with great animation that he would act according to holy obedience; nor did he stop until, with help and support, he arrived at the place indicated by obedience. The Father Provincial, when visiting him, asked Thomas if he would wish to change his room, which was upon an upper storey, to one lower, and so avoid the fatigue and difficulty of going up and downstairs, but the only answer his Reverence could get was, that he would act according to holy obedience.

“He went on pilgrimage, conformably with the custom of the novices, with two companions, of whom one was made superior. He was as obedient to him in the whole journey as to the Superior at home, and showed himself so ready and submissive that he often put him to confusion. It pleased God that once at night they had only one mattress to lie on, and this being insufficient for the three, the brother superior ordered Thomas to lie upon it, whilst he himself was satisfied with a bare table. Thomas immediately obeyed, saying, ‘I do so by holy obedience.’ But how? The holy fire of charity that burned in his breast, the desire that he had of suffering himself, and the pain of seeing his superior sacrifice himself by lying on the hard and uncomfortable table, was so grievous to him that he strove to change places, but, the brother not consenting, he gave up the attempt and remained silent.

“He suffered from severe nausea, arising from delicacy of stomach, yet would refuse no kind of medicine or of food, provided only it was ordered him by obedience. Holy poverty he esteemed amongst the most precious of religious virtues. Nothing was more delightful to him than to be sent out to beg and collect alms from door to door. He obtained leave, by earnest entreaties from Father Licander to have the

oldest and even the left-off articles of clothing, of every description, allotted to him. He always kept before his eyes the poverty of our Lord amongst His creatures upon earth, as the sweetest point of his meditations, and held it in the greatest esteem, as the master-principle of his life and soul. He was also accustomed, when he asked anything of God, to petition for it by the poverty of Christ, and, when relating this to Father Licander, he added that nothing he petitioned for in this way was ever denied him. He gave a proof of this when, on one occasion in his sickness, they presented him with a fine gold crucifix to kiss, but he begged for a poor wooden one, as he could gain no sentiments of devotion from the other. A certain heavenly modesty shone in his countenance as the image of his interior candour, which, with his gravity of step, his religious decorum, and the composure of his whole body, attracted the eyes of the beholders, and inspired them with sentiments of piety, some pronouncing him to be a second Blessed Stanislaus, others an angel from Paradise.

“At the time when, according to the custom of the novices, he was sent upon the spring pilgrimage, being present at Mass at Taormini (Taurominium), some persons fixing their eyes upon him, and unable to divert them, inquired of his companions after Mass who that young man was, in whom such serenity of countenance and such unusual modesty indicated a heavenly soul concealed within, and hearing that he was an English novice of the Society, exclaimed—‘You are indeed happy in having for a companion of your journey a youth who looks more like one descended from heaven, than a mere man!’” In afflicting his body he allowed himself no indulgence, except in cases wherein Father Licander interposed his authority, from whom, when he could not obtain leave for fastings, watchings, disciplines, short repose, and painful modes of taking his rest, &c., he would beg and obtain from God instead the acutest pains, the severest of which were seated in the side, the part of the body in which Christ was pierced with the lance, and remained so until his death, causing him intense agony. As far as he could, he never appeared to hunger and thirst for the mere satisfying of nature, and would take nothing extra beyond the common fare. He also denied his eyes any sights, and patiently bore the stings of the flies, though very troublesome in those countries, not allowing them to be driven away by others, as he lay confined by sickness to his bed.

“In the customary manual works of the house he would seek out the worst implements; in sweeping, for instance, being tall, he would take a broom with a short handle, as being more wearisome to him. And because, as our holy Father Ignatius says, the more that a man shows himself liberal to God, so much the more does God show Himself liberal to him; in like manner our Lord wished to favour His servant by giving him frequent occasions of suffering.

“It happened on a pilgrimage that some children, espying the novices, began to mock them, saying, ‘See the pilgrims! see the pilgrims!’ and with a kind of cross-bow shot stones after them; but our good novice, every time they hit him, received the blow with wonderful joy.

“He devoted to the contemplation of heavenly things, not hours, days, and months only, but every moment of his life. He was ever present with God, and in his close union with Him was carried away by such great raptures of love as sometimes to cause him to swoon. This assiduity in prayer, like a secret file, gradually wore away his bodily strength, and much injured his health; Father Licander perceived this when too late, and forbade him to occupy his mind in prayer for more than one hour at a time.

“He loved the Blessed Mother of God as a son loves his parents, a soldier his leader, or a client his patron; he considered her his protectress in all his affairs. His devotion to her was so great, that he could relish no book or conversation, unless it was seasoned with her praises. The Blessed Mother in her turn treated him as a son, and, having called him to the Society of Jesus in Belgium, she never forsook him as long as he lived in it.”

The historian then relates a miraculous interposition of our Blessed Lady, at the prayer of Thomas, in his own and his companions’ behalf. Being on a pilgrimage in a certain town, they were benighted, and found that no one would give them a lodging, when a certain physician came up, and offered them his house, which he and his family resigned, to their own great inconvenience, for the novices’ use for the night. This is more fully related in the narrative by Father Licander.

“From his love of God sprang an ardent love for his neighbour, clearly exemplifying that the rule of love for our neighbour is our love for God; so that he might truly say in the words of the Apostle, ‘I am made all things to all men.’ He rejoiced with those that rejoiced, mourned with those that

mourned, prayed for the afflicted, and laboured to satisfy everybody. Once observing a brother sad and taciturn at recreation, Thomas accosted him, and with holy art led him into conversation till he became quite consoled, and joined the others most contentedly, Thomas keeping him company to the end, whilst the brother, thanking him, and speaking on spiritual subjects, conversed cheerfully with him.

“Another, likewise, was so oppressed with melancholy, that for a considerable time he could find no one who was able to console him. Thomas alone, by a single word, drove away his melancholy, and rendered him most cheerful; all that he said to him being, ‘I pray you, my brother, do me this favour; be merry to-day.’ The brother went about publishing the fact as a miracle, and such it was commonly reported to be, since his melancholy was not only cured for that time, but did not return for many weeks afterwards.

“He grieved over the miseries of worldly people, and their ignorance in things relating to the faith, and longed to assist and instruct them in the Christian doctrine.

“But the virtues of Thomas hastened on to their reward. A deep consumption had seized on him, and to this was joined a constant fever and cough, which, however, he neglected and concealed for a long time, lest he might be treated too delicately, and be deprived of the usual penitential practices of the community. When his cough became very severe, and he observed how troublesome it was to his companions, especially in public places, he begged of our Blessed Lady that it might afflict himself alone, and that his companions might be spared at those times. His prayer was answered, and its effect was regarded as miraculous. Other facts related are omitted here as being given also in the narrative of Father Licander. When the near approach of his death was announced to him by the Master of Novices, an intelligence which overwhelmed him with joy, he made a general confession of his whole life, but Father Licander himself testifies that he could find no grave sin to mention, for he had not only preserved the lustre of his baptismal innocence, but had every day nourished and increased it.

“In religion he arrived to so great a hatred of sin and fear of offending God, that he made wonderful effort to preserve purity of conscience, and never committed a deliberate venial fault, much less a grave one. This produced in time a most exact observance of all the rules. He frequently said that he would

not gather a flower from the meadows without the Superior's leave. In the ordinary conferences he once asked if he had power to help himself to a sheet of paper for some business, having asked leave for it through another. He often asked leave for his brother novice to take an account of his faults, and that he might receive a public penance for them. 'I accordingly ordered,' says the Master of Novices, 'that they should do so; but they reported virtues, not faults. He came to me lamenting and grieving that they had not told him of those defects which in his own soul he considered he possessed in such abundance; and if sometimes for his consolation they would tell him of some light matter, he took it to himself, and set to work to correct it, as far as possible, considering it no small fault to commit anew those defects for which he had already received a public penance. Hence, on one occasion, he considered he had given great scandal by not having corrected a fault which was told him in public recreation. He could not be expected to have done this, for he had misunderstood the point when told of it. When, however, it was fully explained to him, he came to me bitterly weeping and grieving for the scandal he had given to his brothers by his negligence.'

"Before receiving the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, he begged with tears that Father Licander would state to the novices who were standing round his bed that he did not deserve to go into the land of the saints, because he had been specially ungrateful to our Blessed Lady and St. Ignatius, and had made no progress in that school of virtue. He then begged the extraordinary favour of Father Licander, that after death he might be cleansed in the fire of Purgatory for two years, in expiation of his faults. To this the Father, weeping with the rest, replied that he had no power to order in a matter, which belonged to God alone. Thomas, however, would not be contented, but again most solemnly urged the Father to give leave, and not to refuse him this dying request. That he had read in the lives of the Saints of this punishment having been imposed by Superiors, and that he asked the favour only according to the Superior's extent of power to grant it, which favour God might see fit to ratify. Then the Father, to satisfy him, gave leave. These wonderful cases of humility are more fully detailed in the narrative of Father Licander.

"Having asked leave of the Father Rector to make a farewell address to his companions, he said: 'Farewell, my

brothers. Believe a dying man ; there is nothing in life more dangerous, or more to be feared, than to depart from the will of Superiors. I confess that I have been wanting in this respect, who am now, by this premature death, paying the debt of my negligence herein. Let nothing be dearer to you than Christian and voluntary poverty. Lay hold upon and love it as the most faithful guardian of your resolutions, and as the virtue that especially controls human passions.'

"After he had been anointed, and the rest had retired, Father Licander asked him how he was, for he appeared somewhat refreshed, and as though he would live on for some days longer. 'Well,' he replied, 'but to-morrow we shall not be together.' And so it was. For the next day, after prolonged and severe sufferings, borne without a groan or complaint, but on the contrary, with the joy of his soul expressed on his countenance, having first made his religious vows in the Society, he sweetly expired, shortly before mid-day, on the 15th of September, 1617, in the twenty-fourth year of his age.

"The general feeling was that the punishment of Purgatory which he had demanded of Father Licander was not ratified in heaven, for when the news of his death was given it entered into no one's mind to pray for the departed. Far from that, the united opinion of all pronounced him to be already reigning with God in heaven, as their intercessor and patron. After death, his face assumed a remarkable beauty and brightness of expression, clearly indicating that his body had been the habitation of a heavenly soul. No one feared to handle things he had used, and which he had about him, although he was carried off by a pestilential disease ; but they eagerly and hastily seized upon them, as remedies for all evils, by the application of which, as Father Tornimira bears witness, the cure of many diseases followed.

"I add," says his Master of Novices, "for the greater glory of God, and the consolation of your Reverence, the feelings of affection and devotion that remained impressed upon the hearts of all the brothers ; to such an extent that, on account of the high opinion they entertained of his sanctity, they recommended themselves to him after his death in every emergency with great confidence, and our Lord was pleased to honour His servant by granting all that they demanded.

"One brother, who suffered from a severe sore throat, accompanied by frequent fits of coughing, had recourse to the intercession of Thomas, and tying one of his shoestrings round

his neck, he was cured; nor did the disease return, although he had been very subject to it, and it was of a dangerous kind.

“Another recommended himself fervently to Thomas for a certain interior spiritual need, and by his merits obtained the favour he asked for.

“Another, upon the vigil of St. Francis, desired to receive Holy Communion the next morning, for the greater glory of God, and for the honour of the Saint. He did not, however, come to ask leave of me, fearing that I would refuse it, on account of the general Communion on the following feast of St. Placidus and his companions, who are solemnly celebrated in Messina as its patrons. I had moreover expressly drawn his attention to this Communion the evening before, when he alone had come to confession. He recommended the matter to Thomas at his morning meditation, begging that through his intercession our Lord would inspire me to give him the required permission. When lo! as I was standing in my room a certain extraordinary impulse seized my mind to give leave for Holy Communion to two or three brothers of the name of Francis, although the other feast was immediately to follow. I called him therefore to give him leave, saying that, as he was named Francis, he might go to Communion in honour of his Saint. The novice was astonished, and attributed this change to the intercession of Thomas.

“The hour of his death was revealed to him, as appears by the statement of one of the Fathers. Thomas wished to communicate once more before he died. He had fixed to do so on the Thursday preceding his death, but forgot this at the time, and took some food which was offered him as usual. On a Father coming in to see him, he said, ‘My Father, I have made a great mistake. I wished to communicate, and I have taken food.’ The Father, wishing to console him, said, ‘You can communicate to-morrow,’ thinking that he would live for some days longer. He replied he could not do that; hinting that he would be dead. These words the Father observed, and found to come true. He was, however, allowed to receive Holy Communion by way of Viaticum.”

The following is the narrative of Father Licander, taken from the *Collectio Cardwelli*, along with several interesting additions from Father Corby's manuscript. The marginal headings have been added.

“ On September 15, 1617, the octave day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, departed from this life to a life of happiness and immortality, Thomas Stillington, an Englishman, at the age of twenty-six years and a half.<sup>7</sup> His life, and the sweetness of his character, together with his most happy death, were so remarkable, that I think I should be wanting in my duty, did I not make your Reverence a partaker of the joy which we received at his most holy death, and acquaint you with the grateful memory he has left behind him, and the illustrious example he gave of all virtues and religious perfection in his life, and in his death.

“ He had not been here many months when it pleased God to afflict him with great bodily indisposition and a trying sickness; and he was worn down by a slow hectic fever, so that his last day seemed not far distant. When, according to my duty, I warned him of this, and bade him raise his thoughts to heaven, it is impossible to express into what marvellous joy he

His joy at the news of death. immediately broke out, and how it spread over his countenance, tone of voice, and his whole person. ‘This is the best of all news to me, my Father,’ he said, ‘and I receive from it greater pleasure than does one who has obtained his most earnestly desired petition.’ ‘Then,’ said I, ‘to-morrow morning you shall receive the Most Holy Viaticum,’ at which announcement the excellent youth was scarcely able to contain himself for joy. He had so great a desire to shed

His desire of martyrdom. his blood for Christ in England, and to suffer upon the gallows, that, in proof thereof, he begged to be allowed to die with a rope fixed round his neck, modestly adding that his desire was not so fervent as to merit this favour. He at the same time earnestly asked leave to wash away any inadvertencies in himself by corporal afflictions; but this, on account of his great weakness, was not permitted. After spending the whole night in preparation with incredible diligence for the morrow’s Divine Banquet,

Holy Viaticum and fervent reception. which he received at daybreak, he was all at once wonderfully inflamed by the thought of the Divine benefits, especially of the Passion and death of our Lord, the Presence of Christ working this effect in the soul of His servant. Wherefore, asking for his crucifix, he would now clasp it to his heart, now move it to his lips, then kiss it with the tenderest piety and devotion. Sometimes

<sup>7</sup> According to the Diary of the English College, Rome, he was in his twenty-fourth year.

beholding it with a fixed gaze, he sent forth burning ejaculations to heaven, arising from his ardent desire, as he himself openly acknowledged to some, of being fastened with his Lord upon the hard wood of the Cross.

“A certain Father soon after visited him, to whom he discoursed, with wonderful tenderness of feeling, upon the superabundant benignity of God towards His servants, and who was fully persuaded that at that time our Lord had engraved, in a visible manner, in his heart the Sacred Wound of His own side. During his sickness no complaint had been heard hitherto to proceed from him in his pains or sufferings; now, however, he told the Father that he suffered most excruciating agony in his right side. The Father, moved by the novelty of the occurrence, and, as it is believed, by Divine instinct, said, “Indeed? perhaps our Divine Lord is pleased to imprint the Sacred Wound of His side within yours.” Upon this Thomas began to disclose the origin and cause of his pain, when, in the midst of his conversation, he suddenly became silent; nor could the Father ever succeed in eliciting more, although he frequently asked him, Thomas ever turning the subject of conversation to other things. Whence this Father solemnly declares he is ready to affirm upon oath, that from the clearest indications he observed in Thomas, he concludes it to be a certain fact that our Lord Himself, as a singular favour, was pleased to inflict upon His servant that pain, in memory of the Sacred Wound of His own Heart.

“He was not anointed until after the fourth day, the whole of which time he most piously spent in reciting psalms and hymns. He was wonderfully delighted with the hymn of St. Peter Damian: *Ad perennis vitæ fontem*. And also with that verse of Psalm cxxi.: *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi*—‘I am rejoiced at that which is said to me, I shall go into the house of the Lord.’ Nor did he henceforth turn his thoughts towards or seek aught but his heavenly country, as appears from the words which he softly uttered to a fellow-novice: ‘I have but one only desire, my brother,’ he said, ‘under heaven, which I beg for with all the ardour of my soul, viz., that of beholding the Most Holy Trinity, and promoting the greater glory of God.’

“After receiving Extreme Unction, with the usual ceremonies, he asked my leave to speak, and thus addressed me: ‘O Father Rector, Father

Receives the Divine stigmata in his heart in a sensible manner.

After Extreme Unction.

Rector, will your Reverence give these holy brothers to understand that no real solidity of virtue or spirituality has ever been in me, but only an external show and appearance, entirely affected and put on.' And to make his declaration the more solemn, he affirmed it by the most holy Blood and Wounds of Christ. He then obtained permission, according to the custom of the Society to accuse himself publicly, and,

Rare example of  
penitence.

looking at me with incredible intensity of feeling, implored, with the same earnestness and asseveration as before, that, in expiation of his faults, he might be punished by two years of suffering in the flames of Purgatory. This so moved all present that none could refrain from tears, and, when I replied that to God alone belonged the ordering of these punishments, and that I had no authority whatever in the matter, he again so much the more vehemently insisted upon it that, in order to comfort and pacify him, I ventured to say, 'Be it so, and, as God sees fit, spend two years in Purgatory.'

Two spiritual ad-  
monitions.

admonitions to his companions standing by, and laid great stress upon them. The first was an exhortation to all to comply, most promptly and without the slightest delay with the will of Superiors in everything, however small, 'Lest,' as he said, 'it may happen that God, seeing the least cause for it in you, may chastise you as He does me, who on this account am cut off in the very flower of my life, because I have behaved myself negligently in this respect; and, had I avoided this fault, I should without doubt have made far greater progress in the practice of religious life.' The second point which he urged on them was the ardent study and tender love of holy poverty; of which virtue, we may say in passing, he was always most observant.

"When I visited him late in the evening, he, on seeing me, placed his hands over his breast in the form of a cross, and prayed and besought me by the Most Precious Blood of our Lord, and also by the sweetest name of the Blessed Virgin, to allow him again, the next morning, to receive the Holy Eucharist, as there was no prohibition against doing so. I was so touched by the inflamed desire and tears with which he begged this, that, although greatly inclined to the contrary, I held out to him good hope of receiving. About the middle of the night he fell from his bed with such violence that the brother, who watched by the bedside in order to render assistance if necessary, aroused by the noise, instantly ran to him

Combats with the devil. and found him prostrate upon the floor. He lifted him again into bed, and asked the cause of the accident. 'I was wrestling,' he said, 'with the wicked demon and his companions.' Nor does it seem improbable that this furious beast, finding he could bring no charge against the soul of this most innocent youth, turned, by the permission of God, all his rage against his body. In fact for the rest of the night he still persecuted him with the most troublesome spectres, and with threats of all kinds of evil. Early in the morning, about half an hour before the bell rang for rising, he was again thrown from his bed to the floor with the same violence, and no doubt by a similar infernal assault; for he was in himself so weak as to be quite unable even to turn in his bed. When, therefore, I came to him in the morning and learnt what had happened, and marked in him the general weakness that indicates approaching death, I gave up all thought of administering the Holy Eucharist. But he, raising his attenuated arms as much as he was able, and moving them to his breast, in the same words as before implored me not to deny him this last favour; and, lest I should distrust his strength, he moved his body, opened his mouth, and showed me that there would be no difficulty in swallowing. In order

Holy Viaticum—  
 second time. that, according to the form and constitutions of our Society, he might first pronounce his vows, I caused him by way of trial to begin the first words. This he had the greatest difficulty in doing, on account of the swollen state of the tongue, so much so that I

Makes his vows. had to assist him; but not liking this, he made a desperate effort and succeeded in uttering the whole form of words. Lastly, having received the Most Holy Eucharist, with his eyes entirely motionless, and as one fixed in the deepest contemplation, he spent a long space of time in spiritual union with his most blessed Jesus. After he came to himself again, speaking but a very few words full of the deepest piety, his body lying modestly composed, he entered upon his last struggle with death, which having continued for about half

Dies. an hour, his soul most placidly flew forth from the prison of his body to his Creator.

"A little after Mass, while I was making my thanksgiving, and the novices were still present, the tolling of the bell and a special message together brought the news that he was now dead. All the novices, as though by one general impulse of soul, instead of pouring forth prayers for the soul of the

departed, as is usual, recommended themselves to his intercession; nor was there one amongst them who did not earnestly endeavour to obtain something for himself, which the deceased had been accustomed to use when living. One <sup>Repute of sanc-</sup> <sub>tity.</sub> would have his rosary, another his writings, even his very pens; each one got something, which he religiously preserved as a sacred relic. Many privately shut themselves up in the room where the body lay; and one amongst the rest, remarkable for his timidity, spent there much time in silence, imploring his prayers. Another, who was very weak, and feared the sight of his own shadow (as we say), and who, while in the world, would avoid a corpse as if it were a monster, now, when darkness came on, privately entered the church to which the body had been carried, and approaching the bier spent a long time there, most piously recommending himself to the prayers of the deceased; this he did with so great a sense of security and of pleasure that he afterwards declared that he had never in all his life experienced so much joy. How great the opinion of his sanctity was among externs and seculars, plainly appeared from the immense concourse of persons attending the funeral obsequies, some of whom kissed his <sup>His relics sought</sup> <sub>for.</sub> hands with great veneration, others embraced the bier, others were admitted to touch the body with their beads, feeling at the time so much devotion that there was no one but declared that he had received thence some wonderful interior grace. All of them sought for a portion of his clothes, which they piously preserved.

“Your Reverence I think, may easily conceive from this most happy death of our Novice, what was the sanctity of his past life, and how he excelled in integrity and innocence; nor can there be more certain proof of the great virtue of this admirable youth, than his having died so holy a death. But to show forth the greater glory of our good God, who worketh whatsoever perfection is found in His servants, and also for our own greater consolation, to whom it has been given to enjoy the example of such eminent virtue, I will endeavour to relate, as briefly as I can, a few of his more praiseworthy and admirable actions during the sixteen months of his noviceship; for that was the full extent of his life in the school of religious discipline, manifesting the truth of that sentence of the Wise Man: *Consummatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa.*

“This excellent youth well knew that the foundation of all

virtue is laid in humility ; and hence, in order to rear the edifice of religious perfection upon a solid rock, he applied himself with his whole heart to the practice of self-contempt. He was endowed with excellent abilities, a remarkable judgment, and a happy memory, most retentive of things once learnt ; and of this he gave innumerable examples during his course of philosophy, which he had almost finished. In his humanity studies he attained great success, and wrote either from prose or verse very elegantly, both in Greek and Latin, and there was no Greek author whom he could not translate into Latin off-hand. Yet he thought so meanly of himself, and of his abilities, that although possessing so many accomplishments, both natural and acquired, he esteemed himself inferior to all, yielding to them in everything, and earnestly seeking to be esteemed backward and slow in all branches of learning. At the usual daily repetitions of the novices, he was for the most part silent, and listened attentively to the others ; but when ordered to undertake this duty himself he did so immediately and without the least hesitation, so that his fellow-novices understood that this silence was not the effect of weakness of memory or slowness of capacity, but proceeded entirely from humility and modesty of disposition. He diligently observed the same line of conduct in times of recreation, so that although he was most active at games, and possessed great personal dexterity, he would be guided in all points by the directions of his companions. [The narrative gives several examples of his humility and pious artifices in regard to games, &c.].

“ He was remarkably skilful, likewise, in dissembling his talents, so that, although some who conceived a high opinion of him would frequently attack him with much art and by various schemes, they could never discover from his words and acts anything which was very notable. Sprung from a family of wealth and consideration, he used every effort to pass himself off for one of humble birth, and of mean and narrow circumstances. The sin of his father, who had openly apostatized in order to save a small property (as he said), he frequently enlarged upon with deep sorrow of heart. On the other hand, he most cautiously concealed the fact of his paternal uncle having been stripped of great wealth, and reduced (as St. Augustine was by the President Nolanus) to the extremest poverty, and of his having endured a most rigorous imprisonment of forty

years. He was equally silent regarding other relations of his who had undergone similar sufferings with remarkable constancy. Nor did he show less diligence in hiding the heavenly gifts conferred upon himself, and also the devout exercises of his inner life. He was never heard to speak of his personal experiences in these matters, either of the method of prayer he adopted or of the affections of soul he drew from them. If, in spiritual conferences, it was necessary to say anything, he would refer to what he had heard done by this or that person, adding that he approved of it. One of his companions amongst other discourses on pious things said: 'Brother I am convinced that the servants of God derive from the news that death is near, and from the anticipation of eternal joy, a great desire for its arrival, and much exultation of soul.' Thomas saw that the brother had said this to discover what would be his own sentiments at that time, therefore with holy artifice and to prevent the application of that feeling to himself, he said: "My brother, I am not of the number of these, and therefore what relates to them is entirely hidden from me; however, it is lawful to believe that they must feel no small pleasure from that cause.' It was clear that this was his own experience from his admirable serenity and sweetness of countenance, the joyful expression of which increased, the nearer his last hour approached. I may add this—that he earnestly sought by every effort the last place, and when he was permitted to do so, would place himself behind the rest, and, if about to sit down, he would take the most incommodious and uncomfortable seat. To be praised by any one caused him the greatest pain, which he showed by blushing, by his downcast eyes, and other gestures.<sup>8</sup> He greatly magnified his least faults by speaking of them as much as he could, but in the praise and admiration of the virtues of others he was unbounded. I must not omit the following—when he understood from the words of a certain novice who visited him that the life of some one was to be written (a remark made in joke by myself in reference to some other person), suspecting that I was thinking of writing his life, he instantly became alarmed, and breaking out into sighs and tears would not be pacified till he had sent for me, and I had learnt from him the cause of his great perturbation. I then

<sup>8</sup> During his sickness a brother-novice, visiting him, said, "You merit much before God in this long illness," but as he was proceeding to say more, Thomas suddenly interrupted him, and, with a distressed countenance said, "Speak not so, my brother, speak not so," and changed the conversation.

assured him that the opinion entertained of his virtues was not such as to give him any cause of anxiety upon that account.

“Poverty was, I may say, his great delight, and towards the close of his life he often asserted that whatsoever favour he asked of the Divine Goodness by the poverty of Christ he always obtained it. As often as he was sent out, according to custom, to beg alms, he heartily rejoiced, because it afforded an occasion of increasing his affection to this much loved virtue. He would never accept anything as his own, not even pious things, such as pictures or beads, &c., to which, indeed, if they were of unusual value, he had a great repugnance. [The narrative then refers to the instance already mentioned of the costly crucifix presented to him to kiss, and to his custom of taking the worst hat and cloak when summoned to walk out.] Also, when sick, if any specially prepared nourishment or food was offered him he received it unwillingly, as not becoming a poor man; for such he esteemed himself, and as such he wished to be treated.

“Then what shall I say of his obedience? It was prompt, blind, and most submissive. He so heartily recognized Christ our Lord in every Superior, as most religiously to venerate all his words and actions. His equals also, and inferiors, he esteemed in his heart as being his betters; he was always the first to salute and make way for them, and was never heard to interrupt any one in speaking. Quick and active in serving and ministering to the wants of others, he unwillingly accepted any services for himself; so much so, that he appeared afflicted if, on account of his exhausted strength, anything was offered him by those who were present—but his perfect obedience towards the infirmarian, was greatly praised by every one who observed it.

“I now come to the gift of prayer, which was so admirable in him that he may be truly said to have prayed everywhere and at all times; since, in whatever matter he was engaged, he was rapt in the contemplation and love of God. He nevertheless attended most diligently to domestic duties, when employed in them; he always prayed upon his knees, unless enjoined to the contrary by his Superior, and readily obtained the petitions asked for. [The narrative then mentions the fact of his pilgrimage with two companions, and their being benighted in a large town, when they were unexpectedly assisted by a kind hearted physician, as we have already narrated.]

“The secret of the efficacy of his petitions was his complete submission to the Divine will in his prayers and desires. His disease having for a long time confined him to his bed, and his recovery being now despaired of, though consumed with a most ardent desire for the enjoyment of Christ in heaven, he never could be induced to petition for this ; and on some inquiring what he particularly wished them to ask of God for him, he answered, ‘That I may do His most holy will.’

“Thomas had a deep devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, rejoicing to make his meditations before It. The keys of the side door of the church, which was near, were often given to him. He received them with unspeakable joy, as one completely out of himself, because it afforded him the opportunity of remaining assiduously before the Blessed Sacrament. Out of fear of the injury he might receive from over-exertion in prayer, he was forbidden to remain in the church beyond the space of a *Pater* and *Ave*. The day before Holy Communion he was accustomed to speak most sweetly and affectionately of this Most Holy Sacrament, clearly showing the feelings and tenderness of his enamoured heart. He was ordinarily dispensed from attending the recreations, on account of his weakness. One evening, before Holy Communion, Thomas came to the recreation, and observed to his companions, ‘You well know, dearest brothers, how I am not accustomed to come to recreation ; this evening, however, I feel led to come here, to the end that we may converse together upon the Most Holy Sacrament.’ And during the entire recreation he treated upon this most august Mystery, to the great consolation of all. The evening preceding Holy Communion he would earnestly ask leave to be allowed to sleep in his clothes, in order to be the better prepared to give himself to his beloved Jesus.

His devotion to our Blessed Lady. “The following are marks of his piety towards the Blessed Virgin Mother. A few days before his death, moved thereto, as is believed, by devotion, he began, though obscurely, to relate to the Father Rector a certain favour bestowed upon him in times past by the most holy Virgin, but which he could not bring himself to express clearly except by command of holy obedience. This favour he had never before named in the whole course of his life. Yielding to the command he related as follows—‘When I was in Belgium, studying my humanities at St. Omer’s College, I seemed to be rapt out of my senses, and in that ecstasy to behold the most Blessed Virgin, between St. Ignatius

and St. Francis Xavier, approaching me. Taking me by the hand, she led me along a luminous and most delightful path to a large and splendid house, and said—"Enter, for there is thy dwelling-place," it appeared to be a church of the Society of Jesus. Then, addressing her companions, "This youth," she said, "is yours. Take care of him; I commend him to your protection." She then departed. Coming to myself again I was seized with a great and constant desire to join the Society, and, by the assistance of the same most holy Mother, as I believe, I have obtained my desire.' Then indeed for the first time we understood a saying that he constantly had upon his lips—'Although we are received to the Society by the bounty of the Blessed Virgin Mother, yet do I, beyond all others, owe this favour to her.' In every assembly his greatest pleasure was to direct the conversation towards her, frequently desiring to be sent to the rude and ignorant heathen, that he might especially publish among them the praises of this Queen of Heaven, and teach unlearned people why she was to be so venerated. In the course of one journey from Rome to Naples, he scarcely proposed any other topic for conversation than heralding the praises of the Blessed Virgin.

Love of mortification. "He, who when dying could desire a two years' suffering in Purgatory for the expiation of his offences, was certainly not indulgent to himself in life. It was observed in his last sickness, as also in his former life, that he never brushed away the troublesome flies and gnats; and he would often say to the bystanders, who wished to relieve him from this torment—'Allow them to refresh themselves.' When sitting, although weary and sick, he would not lean upon anything, nor in his illness did he ever complain. He never asked for anything extra, whether for his refreshment or relief, nor did he complain if anything was wanting—he was content to do without it.

"When this devout youth spoke, his words were inflamed with the Holy Spirit, nor were idle or indifferent words ever heard to proceed from his mouth. On the contrary, if at recreation time any conversation the least approaching to levity occurred, he forced himself suddenly to retire in spirit. The brothers wondered to see him in this act completely covered with blushes, withdrawing into himself, and often becoming silent, when his endeavour to change the subject of conversation had failed.

"As regards custody of the eyes he was most careful.

Whilst Thomas was standing with some other brothers a little bird lit near them, of exceeding beauty, from the diversity of colours with which nature had adorned it. The others, enticed by its loveliness, admired the bird, and in it praised the works of our Lord. But Thomas, who lived in a constant practice of mortification, placed his hands firmly before his eyes, that they should not gratify themselves in this, in spite of the importunities of the others.

“The inhabitants of Messina are accustomed, out of devotion to our Blessed Lady, on the vigil of the feast of her glorious Assumption into Heaven, to carry in solemn procession a very sumptuous bier, which for its height, the variety and beauty of its embellishments, and its skilful workmanship, is much admired, and afforded a grand spectacle for the people. On this occasion, not only from every part of the city, but from all the surrounding country, they flock in great numbers to feast their eyes on that solemn representation of the glorious triumph of the Queen of Heaven, who appears borne upwards in the arms of Jesus triumphant, attended by a great multitude of angels. These, by a skilful contrivance, move of themselves, and are attended by other saints, who are represented by boys appropriately dressed; and the triumph of that festivity was so represented to the life, that it may well be said to have been one of the most beautiful and devout sights in all Europe. The novices were sent to this spectacle, and with them our holy Thomas. But he, esteeming it to be more pleasing to the Blessed Virgin to mortify the curiosity of his eyes than to take pleasure in admiring the beauty of the spectacle, although it was most devout and holy, closed his eyes during the whole time he stood there, and returned home without having seen anything but the street through which he passed, and the ground beneath his feet.”

“As to the sense of smell, he was never seen to approach a flower. On the contrary, when towards the close of his last sickness, one of the brothers placed a bunch of white jasmine near Thomas, that he might be refreshed by its sweet scent, he gave such signs of dislike that a Father out of compassion removed the flowers to a distance.

“In his sickness they often asked him how he was, and his invariable answer would be, ‘I am well;’ and this he said to the very last, nor was there ever heard to proceed from him any one exclamation indicating suffering. He would never ask for anything extra in the way of food, although the

infirmarian would often urge him to do so; and he never complained of the opportunities of suffering caused him by the infirmarian, who was new and little practised in the office, but would rather praise him."

The Father Rector thus concludes his narrative—"I do not think it necessary to enter into more minute details, as I prefer that his acts should speak his praises rather than my words." But when he preached his panegyric in Italian, he did not hesitate to assert that many favours were miraculously obtained by his prayers, and by the merit of his sanctity, and amongst them the multiplication of things belonging to the domestic offices in which he was engaged. His panegyric ends with the words—"I shall inflict a great injury, not upon our Thomas only, but also upon the Divine gifts so liberally heaped upon him by the hands of God, were I to pass over in silence, what is well known to all, that our good and great God was pleased to confer a singular benefit upon this house in giving him to us. He was accustomed, when dying, to say very frequently to myself, that he had obtained from God and the Blessed Virgin, with many tears, the favour of being a member of the Society, and of dying in the novitiate. Learning that the physician had prescribed a change of air for his recovery, he turned to his companions and said, 'By no means; know for certain that here I must die.' And he observed to me—'What could I desire, my Father, but that I should die here?' To the Rev. Thomas Berington, an English priest, himself in weak health, who was visiting him, he said—"Treat no more about change of place; Christ our Lord wishes us to go another way." And so it happened, for God called both of them to Himself in that place, to the reward of their virtuous lives."

The following compendium of our saintly novice was sent from the novitiate of Messina to Rome<sup>9</sup>—

"September 15.

"In the noviceship of Messina is the happy memory of Brother Thomas Stillington, *alias* Oglethorpe, an Englishman by birth, in behaviour an angel;<sup>10</sup> a novice in religion, but a veteran in virtue. When a student in the Low Countries, he

<sup>9</sup> *Collectio Cardwelli*, MSS. S.J., P.R.O. Brussels, vol. i. p. 116; also Father Henry More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. ix. n. 31, p. 434.

<sup>10</sup> A repetition of the well known play upon the words, *Anglus* and *Angelus*.

was called to the Society by the Blessed Virgin, who appeared to him in a vision between Saint Ignatius and Saint Francis Xavier, and having conducted him to a church of the Society, said to him, 'This is thy home,' and then recommended him to her holy companions. All his lifetime after he showed himself a true son of so worthy a Mother. His exterior manner had all that angelic composure which so clearly proves the calm purity of the soul within. He had an eminent gift of prayer, obtained what he wished, and was ever united with God, in whatever distracting exercise he may have been engaged. His humility was perfect, always endeavouring by holy industries to hide the talents he had received. He delighted in being esteemed mean and of no parts, was grieved when any respect was shown to him, loved poverty as a mother, was a great friend of holy mortification, held his eyes always fixed upon the ground, and chose the worst things for himself. In sitting he never leaned, neither in health nor sickness did he ever drive the flies away from his face. When ready to die, he asked leave to inflict upon himself corporal mortification. He foreknew the hour of his death, and obtained from God by his prayers that it might happen in his noviceship. On receiving warning of its near approach, his great joy showed itself in his countenance, nor did he ever exhibit greater tokens of gladness than in the few days he lived afterwards, especially when receiving the Holy Viaticum. He died with the repute of sanctity, so that none could be induced to recommend his soul to God, but each one rather recommended himself to the holy youth. His relics were sought for with great devotion, and from their use many graces followed. Even his dead body inspired security to the timorous and devotion to all. The novices were inflamed with singular devotion to heavenly things at his death, which took place on the octave of our Lady's Nativity. Whence it would seem that the same holy Queen who had called him to the Society of Jesus militant on earth had, after perfecting her work, conducted him to that same company triumphant in heaven."

The following is copied from an original letter of Thomas Stillington to Father Thomas Owen, taken from Stonyhurst MSS. *Angliæ*, vol. iv. n. 42.

Pax Xti.

R<sup>de</sup> Father,—I had thought at my first arrivall to geve account to your R<sup>ve</sup> of our journey and other businesses, how they stood

with us, but being altogether uncertain as then what, or how superiors heere wo<sup>d</sup> dispose of us, I deferred to write till this present, wherein Fr. Barthe cometh to me to take his farewell ; for this morninge he was warned to dispose himselfe for Palermo, and departed from the noviceshippe, where wee both as yet remained ; but the wind not favouring, hee returned, and this afternoon God hath sent comodity of a galley w<sup>ch</sup> came in ye morninge, and departeth this very same day. Our journey, God be thanked, passed well, though we made it two days longer than wee might have done. Heere wee have been just a weeke, wherein we have almost ended our first probation, w<sup>ch</sup> being done, wee shall p'sently be admitted amongst the rest ; for heere they doe not use all these first entrances, to make the spiritual exercises, but after some few monethes, when they may, with more profit, and greater facility undertake soe great a matter : yet nevertheless they will geve certain meditations which dispose us for our general confession, which at the entrance they use to make, yf they have not made it before. As for other things, I have had hithertoe great comfort, both in the companie, which I love extreame, as soe many angels, and especially in my superiors. Father Rector hathe shewed extraordinarie kindness and charity vnto me, and I persuade myselfe that I shall find Rome in Sicily ; such is the providence of God towards them, who, though not with that p'fection they should, desire to serve Him. But, lest I be troublesome to you in the greater businesses, I was humbly desiring that you will vouchsafe to remember me in your holy sacrifices and prayers : I, as my duty is, will be alwayes mindfull of y<sup>r</sup> Rev<sup>e</sup> in my poore devotions.

Your Rev<sup>ces</sup> son in Xt. Jesus,

THOMAS STILLINGTONUS.

From Messina, this 16 of May, 1616.

Fr. Barthe att his departure desired me to doe his duty to you, for he was so suddainly warned that he could not write.

Addressed—To Rev<sup>d</sup> Fr. Thos. Owen, Engl. Coll. Rome.

The following is a translation of another letter from Thomas Stillington to the same Father Owen, on the 15th of September following.

Reverend Father in Christ,—

Pax Christi.

If my delay in writing seems to have been somewhat long, I would have your Reverence know that time itself is the only cause for this, for with us it glides past so silently and so rapidly, that we behold days and even whole months recede and fly from us before we see them coming. Nor indeed do I much wonder at this, when I consider that heavenly abode of the glorified, in which those blessed spirits are bathed in so great joy and consolation, that many years are accounted as but a moment. Wherefore since this earthly paradise approaches very nearly to that heavenly and truly blessed one in its manner of life, why should it not also share in that delight which makes even months shorter than days? And truly it does share in it abundantly, as I myself have proved ; and I doubt not, nay feel certain, that the other inhabitants of this paradise—as I may

justly call it—being nearer than myself to that paradise of heaven, do themselves daily prove it in a far higher way. But why do I say all this? Not so much to excuse myself, as to intimate that which I am sure your Reverence especially desires to know; namely, how matters stand with me, and how kind has been the admirable counsel of my Superiors, or rather, of God Himself, by Whose favour I came here. This certainly I have already found to be most true, that they who follow His counsel receive a hundredfold in this life. And I earnestly desire that, in His infinite mercy, He will fulfil in another life the second part of His promise, Who with the utmost goodness has abundantly fulfilled the first as to the hundredfold in this life. For to say nothing of the other advantages and consolations afforded by the Society, which are shared by me in common with the other members, it is assuredly by particular favours, that I have obtained admission into the province, towards which some secret force draws me with such affection, that even if virtue could not, that alone would soothe and dispel the thoughts of home that sometimes trouble novices. That same favour has brought me into a house of probation which, while it is inferior to no other, is to my mind singularly pleasing and desirable, because it is the first novitiate which the Society had separate and apart from other houses. What a great comfort that deservedly is to its inmates, I leave to your Reverence to judge. I add to all these favours in the last place, that which should have come first, the goodwill and kindness of Superiors towards me, which is so great that, if I thought nature was the source of it, I should call my Superiors, I candidly confess, not so much my countrymen as my natural parents; but if it proceeds, as really is the case, from the true spirit of the Society of Jesus, which imparts immense charity to its children, I must own that it is not so much the rest of the Society that I should thank as the Superiors of it, those who are proposed to the imitation of others in the Society for example of exceeding charity even towards such as do not deserve it. Within a few days our Reverend Father Provincial visited this house in his customary round of the Province. His charity in bewailing the miseries of our country is truly beyond belief. He openly showed it at Rome both by words and deeds, and now that he has left, he does not cease to speak of it in his discourses both public and private. How great is his love, how great his affection towards us all! No mean proof of his extreme goodwill towards us have been his frequent visits to our College, passing by others which had at the time greater ties on him. But he gave still more signal mark of his kindness when he was going away, for that he might not lose sight of that which had struck daily deep roots in his heart, he took two of our members with him, to be before his eyes. But these things are better known to your reverence than to me; what follows belongs to myself. Yet why do I say that it belongs to me? To me least of all, seeing that I was least able to deserve them, do those benefits bear reference, which have been conferred on me by a love that knows no measure in doing good to our nation. How often has he shown his concern for me! How often has he asked me whether I wanted anything, and whether he could be of use to me in anything! And, to make an end of speaking of that which in itself had no end, he could not have done more for me, had he come here for my sake alone. Truly did I grieve that a love so strong and tender had fallen, by an unhappy lot, on one who could least of all deserve

or requite such singular affection. It will be for your Reverence therefore to supply what is wanting in me, that is, to take upon yourself the entire duty of gratitude.

I commend myself to your prayers and Holy Sacrifices.

Your Reverence's servant in Christ,

THOMAS STILLINGTON.

Messina, September 15, 1616.

To the Rev. Father Thomas Odoën (Owen) S.J.  
English College, Rome.

The following is translated from a letter sent by Thomas Stillington from the novitiate of Messina to Father Edward Coffin, S.J., then in Rome.<sup>11</sup> His reference to the White and Red Roses of York and Lancaster, though unintelligible to us, was evidently understood by both the correspondents. Brother Stillington may perhaps be alluding to the martyrdom of Father Henry Walpole, some twenty years before; and Father Coffin may have written to tell him of two Lancashire Fathers who had died in prison. Hence Thomas Stillington may be understood to say, that the one White Rose of York, besprinkled with blood, is equal to those two that have kept their own colour.

“Reverend Father,—

P.C.

“I rejoice greatly to see the palm which yields banquets most pleasing to heaven flourishing once more in English soil; and so much the more do I rejoice, in that the malice of certain men, who envy England this noble plant, seems to be altogether brought to nought. It is not I only, but men of great judgment, who are of opinion that the Garden of Mary will not be restored to its former beauty, until this tree shall have enclosed it entirely with its boughs. I mean, that the Dowry of Mary, usurped, alas! and foully violated by the prince of this world, will not be made pleasing again nor acceptable to the lawful Heir until it is tried like gold in the furnace; that so, if the stains be not altogether effaced, they may be in a measure burnt away so as to appear less foul. The houses of York and Lancaster are now at peace, and this peace has been sealed with blood. And herein I congratulate you, inasmuch as, in its single sacrifice, it has besprinkled with ruby drops, as by a cunning artificer, its one white rose, whitened by many winters: so, though it exceeds not, yet certainly is it equal

<sup>11</sup> From the Archives of the English College in Rome.

to that other of native hue. O happy rose, that hast not lost thy bloom in the inclement season of so many years! It was in the garden of Mary thou didst grow, and she would not have thee mown down with the common sickle, for long ago she had determined to weave thee into her crown of choice flowers. God grant that we may be worthy, if not of so rich a crown, yet of a like death, and for the same cause, in whatsoever spot of the earth. Your Reverence has been already informed of Father Bartholomew's departure. Meanwhile, I remain, though not in England, yet in a happier isle, and one which provides me with all that England used to provide; except, indeed, incentives to evil. She provides then not in equal measure only, but more largely; forasmuch as England did but nourish me at the hidden instigation of nature, while Sicily has superadded to my natural insular characteristic that which is kindred to her own, the flame of Divine love. But, to use your Reverence's own words, and speak more clearly, I find so great affection and such charity in all my brethren, and especially in my Superiors, that, did I not know the root of that love, I should say this island was my parent England, and had thus infused into those born in it, a brother's, nay, a mother's love towards myself. But this love is derived from another source; and, to speak truly, is so great as to make me ashamed that I correspond with it so little. What your Reverence says of the roses of England, I will also say of this my adopted country. We have here no regretful wish, either for the rose of Lancaster, or of York. That of York is truly the happier, since it is able to attain to the highest indeed to absolute perfection; while that of Lancaster, though it may reach some degree of it, could not, in this island at least, receive the touch that perfects all.<sup>12</sup>

“But I would not have your Reverence suppose this to be said for the purpose of filling my paper, for in very truth there are those here who are known and held in no common esteem for their sanctity. One especially is lately deceased at the end of his noviceship, who came in from the world with no ordinary reputation for sanctity; and this, as might be well supposed, attained here to such a height that all were rapt in admiration at it. But to what does all this tend?

<sup>12</sup> Because Sicily, not being in a state of persecution, could not yield martyrs. The novice is playing upon the same idea, which was perhaps more happily expressed in the former part of his letter.

It is to show you how much I owe, first of all to God, then to Superiors who have placed me here, and have given me such men for associates. God grant that I may correspond worthily to so great a favour. And in this I shall the better succeed in proportion as I am aided by your Reverence's Holy Sacrifices and prayers.

“THOMAS STILLINGTON.

“July 12, 1616.

“Rawley is still in confinement at Father Beaumont's, he denies having received any letters.”

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We now give short notices of several students of the English College, Rome, including two of the Society, Fathers Grosvenor and Cater, or Corker (*alias* Berry), derived principally from the scholars' personal replies to the customary interrogations.

October 14, 1607. “RALPH GREENE, son of Henry Greene and Anne Ellerker, twenty years of age last May; born in the county of York, in a town called Barne, where I was brought up until my eleventh year. I was then sent to Selby until I was sixteen, and lastly to Oxford until I was twenty. My father was the son of a gentleman, and my mother daughter of a knight; both are dead, the former a Protestant, the latter a Catholic. I have one brother unmarried and a Catholic; and two sisters Catholics, one single, one married. My relations on my mother's side are mostly Catholic or schismatic, the chief of whom are Mr. Henry Constable, Mr. Ralph Ellerker; those on my father's side are of a lower class, and all Protestants. For sixteen years I was a Protestant, but during that time I was separated from my family, and scarcely ever thought about religion, but, after being at home for a short time, the pious conversation and devotion of my mother and sisters soon convinced me of the superiority of their lives and religion; yet when I went to Oxford, the sermons almost turned me back again. During this time I frequently revolved in my mind various arguments in favour of both the one and the other religion. Besides various worldly delectations, all of which the Catholics seemed deprived of, I could not make up my mind to be a Catholic: but returning home, my mind was again excited by the example of friends. I then determined

by earnest prayer to beg of God to lead me into the right religion, and I sought for books, by which my mind might be led from earthly things, and for controversy, with both of which my friends supplied me. When I had read these, many doubts or difficulties seemed to remain, which hindered my conversion. But when I had resolved upon a change of life, and the time of my conversion was at hand, an almost infinite multitude of doubts and difficulties presented themselves to me. All of these, however, vanished, upon my resigning myself to the will of God, and resolving upon the step. Father Jackson,<sup>1</sup> a priest, reconciled me to the Church on the second Sunday after last Easter; but a most worthy man, Mr. William Plunson, on the feast of Pentecost, carried me, now a convert, over with him to Belgium."

1614. FATHER ROBERT GROSVENOR or GRAVENER, *alias* ROBERT ARDEN. The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as an alumnus in the assumed name of Arden, at the age of thirty-two, on October 26, 1614, and took the usual College oath on May 1, 1616. He was ordained priest on the April 27, 1616, at Rome, and sent into England on April 29, 1620, and there entered the Society of Jesus in the same year, and was professed as a Spiritual Coadjutor on February 23, 1630, dying full of days and merits on February 14, 1668, at the great age of eighty-six. In 1620, he left England for the novitiate, to complete, afterwards, his theological studies. During a portion of this time he acted as camp missionary to the English and Irish forces in Flanders. He returned again to the English Mission in 1624. In 1640 he was labouring in the College of the Immaculate Conception (or Derbyshire District), as appears by a paper written by Father Michael Alford, and which is published in *Records*, vol. ii. Series III. p. 306, to which interesting document the reader is referred. Going to help a neighbour, he was apprehended by the Parliamentary troops and carried from garrison to garrison, until at length he was lodged in prison, and after nine months' incarceration was liberated when the King retook the town [Derby or Leicester].

In 1654, and probably some years both prior and subsequent to that date, he was serving in the Residence of St. George (or the Worcester District), at the very ancient mission of Grafton Manor. By his autobiography, which we

<sup>1</sup> Father Thomas Jackson, S.J., mentioned in pages 182, 183.

now give, it appears that he was connected with the Grosvenor family of Eaton, Cheshire.

1614. "My true name is Robert Grosvenor. I am in my thirty-third year, born on the feast of SS. Philip and James, at Carlton, in the parish of Rotywell [Rothwell] near Wakefield, in the county of York. I was brought up at home with my mother and step-father, until I was about seventeen. I was then called to London, where I studied the law in New Inn outside Temple Bar for three years and a half. During this time I was converted to the Catholic faith, and within two years was imprisoned in Wakefield, and afterwards liberated, but six months subsequently was again thrown into prison at York, and at the end of six weeks was transferred to Hull, where I remained nearly two years. I was then released, but in the interim two parts of the estates my father had left me were confiscated to the use of the King, and by Letters Patent were granted to another, 260*l.* being fully paid thereout, by virtue of the statute which ordered that all Catholics should pay £19 each month. In these exigencies I at length entered into the service of the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom I lived, and to whom I sold these lands, and everything was amicably settled between myself and those who had previously bought them (before I entered the service of the Earl), by whom, on account of my recusancy, I had been most shamefully treated.

"My father had been dead twenty-two years; his father was the second of twenty-two, of the very ancient family of Bellaport, Salop. But the old mansion has almost perished on account of the misfortunes of the last heir, who sunk about £20,000 in a speculation of manufactory of iron and iron implements of every kind. I have a relation called Gravenor, of [*sic*] *Eatoenbote*,<sup>2</sup> Cheshire, who can spend £2,000 a year; and another called Gravenor, of Prand, Salop, who is now the next heir of our ancient family, but he has not more than £300 a year. On my mother's side I have many respectable Catholic and Protestant relations; of whom two Catholics,

<sup>2</sup> *Eatoenbote*, now Eaton Hall, the seat of the Grosvenors (Duke of Westminster). *Bote* is an old Saxon word, used by us as synonymous to the French *estoven*, or *estouviers*, that is, furnishings (from *estoffer*, to furnish), and means a liberty for the servant taking necessary wood from the estate for the use or repairs of the house, or to burn, also for the repair of the farm implements, hays, hedges, or fences. These were called house-bote, plough and cart-bote, hay-bote, hedge-bote, &c. (*Vide* Blackstone's *Commentaries*).

one called Middleton, of Stockhill, Yorkshire, has at least £2,000 a year; and the other, Gascoign, of Barmbow, who has in lands £1,000 a year. My mother's name was Malet, of an ancient Yorkshire family. She had two brothers, Catholics, who had both suffered imprisonment at Wisbeach and several other places. I have a step-brother by my mother, called Hunt, of Carlton, who has suffered much for religion, and another, a secular priest, called Gilbert Hunt, who studied at Douay, and strenuously labours for the Catholic faith.<sup>3</sup> I have a Catholic sister and very well married, also a younger brother, who is a Catholic. My mother was married three times, her first husband was Hunt, the second my father, and the third a gentleman named Bland, who has been married twenty-one years. He is very rich and wicked, and dishonestly cheated me of 1,500*li.*, and the rest of my brothers likewise; but what is much worse he will on no account allow my mother to live as a Catholic.

"I studied grammar at St. Omer's, but made little progress, for I had not been there eight months before I was sent at the request of Father Lee into England; returning again to St. Omer's, I made the Spiritual Exercises under Father Walpole, and there disposed of the few things I possessed, in order that, having no further need of returning to England, I might, should it please the Divine mercy to incite me to do so, take the habit of religion, a thing I daily pray for, and this in His most holy Society. The last time I was sent into England was at the instance of the Rev. Father Rector of Louvain and Father Thompson.

"I was converted to the Catholic faith chiefly by the exhortations of my Catholic brothers, and was reconciled to the Church by means of Mr. John Hemsworth, of Yorkshire, a learned man of Rheims, who lived with my uncle Jackson, who is now dead. This Mr. Jackson was my mother's brother,

<sup>3</sup> This was Father Gilbert Hunt, S.J. We do not trace his entrance to the Society, but he was sent into England in 1602, with Father Thomas Jackson. He died March 31, 1647. (See note on Thomas Jackson). In Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*, p. 13, we read, under the head of "Rothwell"—"William Gascoigne, Elynor his supposed wief, Bridget Hunt, Mary Hemsworth, recusants for twelve years." "John Chamberlain in house with the said Gascoigne, William Hargrave, son of William Hargrave, recusants two years. Jayne Leigh, servant to the said William Gascoigne, George Parker, non-communicants. Secretly married William Gascoigne aforesaid, Elynor his wief." "Robert Gravenore of Carleton came not to church since April last" (Presentment made to Bishop's Court, 1604).

and was a most holy confessor.<sup>4</sup> He had two sons, of whom the younger was called Smythson at Louvain, both of them Fathers of the Society; the other lived for a long time in England, a truly pious man, and was called Brown, and lived with Mr. Hodgson, in the diocese of Durham.<sup>5</sup> I have a yearly annuity of £14 arising out of the lands of William Vavasour, Esq., of Hazlewood, Yorkshire, also another of £10 from the lands of another respectable and very learned Catholic gentleman, Rutland Molyneux, Esq., of Little Warkham, near Tuxford, Notts, the total being £24 a year." He asks to be received to the College as a convictor, and earnestly desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state.

The following member of a very ancient and high Yorkshire family,<sup>6</sup> on his conversion to the Catholic faith, entered the English College, Rome, with a view to the priesthood, and died there. We extract the following brief account of himself from the students' interrogatories preserved in the English College :

1616. ROBERT DOLMAN. "I am about twenty-six or twenty-seven years of age, and was born in a castle called Gunby, in the county of York, where I was brought up until my fifteenth year. My parents are of no inferior grade or families, and are likewise sufficiently wealthy; also my brothers and sisters, who are Catholics, except the heir himself, who is now, I think, a schismatic; also other relatives, besides two uncles, who are all of some note, and I think Catholics.

"I was educated in various places in England, also in Belgium at St. Omer's and Douay Colleges, and made my philosophy in Spain, where, on account of sudden and severe illness, I was obliged to cease for a short time.

<sup>4</sup> Many Jacksons are recorded in Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics* as being presented to the Bishop's Court for "recusancy," "private baptism," and as "non-communicants." Also in *Troubles*, Third Series (*Vide Index*).

<sup>5</sup> These cousins of Father Grosvenor were—(1) Father Thomas Jackson, *alias* Thomas Brown, born 1564. He entered the Society in Germany 1596, and was sent into England in May, 1602, in company with Father Gilbert Hunt. On their arrival in England, Father Nicholas Smith, the Socius of Father Robert Parsons, by Father Parsons' directions, wrote them an excellent letter of advice as to their conduct in England, the original of which is preserved in Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 16. The county of Durham and the northern parts appear to have been the seat of his missionary labours, and there he probably died, but we have no record of his death. (2) Father Francis Jackson, *alias* Smithson; born 1577; entered the Society at St. John's Louvain, December 24, 1608, at the age of thirty-one, and died in the Residence of St. Michael, April 16, 1645, æt. 68.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*, p. 132.

“I was altogether infected by that wicked poison of the heretics until my sixteenth year, when it ceased on my arriving at the College of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus at St. Omer.

“As to the ecclesiastical state, I am most ready to embrace it.” [Signs, Robert Terrett.]

The Diary of the English College states that he entered in the name of Robert Terrett (*vero nomine* Dolman), as an alumnus of the Holy Father, October 13, 1616, æt. about 27, and died piously in the College, December 17, 1618.

1617. WILLIAM HARGREAVES [signs, William Hart], born in the county of Lancaster, and brought up in Yorkshire until he was eighteen or nineteen years of age. “I am in my twentieth year. My parents are William and Aloysia, the latter a Catholic, the former a schismatic, both of respectable families. I have two sisters and four brothers, one of whom is a priest of the Society of Jesus. All my relatives, except one, Mr. Burk, are heretics. I made my humanity studies for five years at St. Omer. When I was a boy I attended Protestant sermons, in my ignorance—but when I grew older, and was capable of understanding the insane nonsense of the heretics and the truth of Catholicity, I began to hold the Protestants in detestation, to abstain from attending their churches, and to profess myself a Catholic. When certain of my schoolfellows perceived this, they began to quarrel with me, wishing to drag me by force to church, to be present at their services. This little persecution I suffered for the Catholic faith not being yet a Catholic, but I have suffered nothing more. I was then presently instructed and received into the Church by Father John Scroop, S.J.” He then desires to embrace the ecclesiastical state. We find no trace that this person entered the Society, but in a list of scholars sent to England as priests from the English College, Rome, in the year 1623, we find mention of William Hart, as sent on the 29th of April.

FATHER JOHN SCROOP was probably of the same family, and his real name Hart, but from our loss of records during the time of the troubles we have no means of tracing him. He may be the Father Scroop named by Dr. Oliver,<sup>7</sup> when he states that in the Diary of the Minister of the English College, Rome, is an entry of a Father Scroop having left Rome, Dec. 18, 1628, for Flanders.

<sup>7</sup> *Collectanea S.J.*

FATHER WILLIAM HART, *alias* SCROOP, a later member of the same family, is mentioned in *Florus Anglo Bavaricus*, pp. 64, 65, which narrates that both in labours and manner of death he followed the footsteps of Father Joseph Simpson, who died a few days before him, October 11, 1667, in attending the plague-stricken. Father William Hart was born March 20, 1640, the anniversary of the glorious martyrdom of his great great uncle, William Hart, who on that day, in the year 1583, shed his blood in defence of the Catholic faith, under Queen Elizabeth. Being sent by his father, who was an exile for the faith, to St. Omer's College, when a boy of eleven years of age, and hearing some wicked men who had reached such a height of impiety as to invoke the aid of the devil in their work, inflamed with pious anger, and desirous of making some reparation to the injured majesty of God, he in writing consecrated himself to Christ and the Blessed Virgin, and laid the paper upon the altar of the sodality chapel; and, in order to render the offering the more grateful, and to tie the knot of friendship the firmer, he bound himself by a vow of perpetual chastity.

After completing his humanity course, he entered the novitiate of the English Province at Watten, and having been admitted to his simple vows, was sent to Liege for his higher course, where, although conspicuous for every kind of piety, he specially devoted himself to the *cultus* of the saints. To him the College owed its possession of the sacred relics of the blessed martyrs SS. Primus and Faustus, which he brought thither from Rome, and deposited with solemn rite in the College church for the veneration of the faithful; while he himself, as long as he lived, did not cease to honour them with great affection. He never spoke with greater delight than of his own Saints, as he called them, and in all his difficulties he had recourse to them with no less confidence than success. His devotion was great towards other saints, especially those who had adorned England by their holiness. He not only sedulously studied their written lives, but made extracts from them for his own private devotion. Having been especially moved by the example of St. Francis Xavier, he earnestly begged for the Indian mission, his desire being seriously retained for three years, when an unexpected compendium of mission labours presented itself at home; for he was sent on a mission to Ipres to attend the plague-stricken in the pestilence raging there, and hastened with wonderful alacrity to

that province full of labour, sickness, and danger, making no account either of himself or of death, but choosing the most infected streets rather than be wanting in duty to a dying soldier. He carried the dead out to burial almost all hours of the day, and at length caught the infection and died a martyr of charity October 15, 1667, aged thirty-seven.

WILLIAM HART, another of the same family, entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus in 1579, aged eighteen, and afterwards joined the Society.<sup>8</sup>

JAMES DALTON is another member of a high Yorkshire family, who having been converted to the faith, went to the English College, S.J., St. Omer, and thence to Rome. He says of himself in his replies to the usual students' interrogatories: 1617. "My name is James Dalton. I am in my twentieth year, and was born in the county of York, and brought up there until my fourteenth year, when I was sent into France to learn the language and manners. I returned to England again in a year and a half, where I spent the summer with my friends, and then went to St. Omer's College, where I passed four years in learning Latin.

My father is a knight, a schismatic; my mother is a Catholic. Their annual rental is about 1,000*l.* sterling. I have seven brothers and one sister. My near relatives are the Sheffields, and Lord Sheffield, the President of the North, is a brother to my grandmother; also the Constables, the Ellerkers, and Terretts.

"I was always a Catholic in heart, but when I left my father's house, and was placed under the care of some heretical friends, I frequented the sermons and services of the heretics, but on returning home I repudiated all heresy.

"I desire nothing so much as to embrace the ecclesiastical state for the greater honour and glory of God."

We do not find his name entered in the Diary of the English College, Rome, but in the Pilgrims' Book is mention of a James Clarke, of Yorkshire, received on September 25, 1617, with a number of other students from St. Omer, and, after some days, admitted to the scholars' habit. From his position in the book among his companions, we suspect that this was James Dalton received under the name of Clarke, and that from his name not appearing in the Diary, he did not enter the College.

<sup>8</sup> *Vide* Diary of English College.

FATHER FRANCIS CATER OF CORKER, *alias* BERRY.—In vol. ii. Series IV. p. 635, we gave a short account of this Father, under the name of Francis Berry. From subsequent researches we find that his real name was Cater or Corker. He entered as an alumnus of the English College on October 9, 1618, at the age of twenty, as Francis Berry, *vere* Corker, and left on November 4, 1621, for Liege, where he joined the Society. In his short autobiography he calls himself Cater. The discrepancy no doubt arises from a mistake made by the transcriber :

“ 1618. Francis Cater is my true name. I am a little past twenty years of age, born at Legburn, Louth (Lengtonia), Lincolnshire. My father was a private gentleman, of about £200 a year. My mother was of a respectable family of the illustrious stock of the Montains and Berrys, both Lincolnshire families, now almost extinct. I have five brothers and four sisters, none of whom are yet Catholics. My father is a schismatic, my mother lately became a Catholic. I studied at York, and for the last four years at St. Omer's. Until I was twelve years old, I followed my father to the Protestant Church, but then, by means of my dear uncle, Anthony Berry, I was delivered from this misery. On his return from Flanders, where he had served for two years and upwards in the army of the King of Spain, he earnestly asked that another brother, my senior, might be placed with him for education and instruction in the Catholic faith ; but in vain, for my father considered that he was too stupid to learn. The charity of my uncle, however, did not cool, and he begged me of my father, and at length with difficulty obtained leave, for that enemy—affection, I confess, almost caused my ruin. My uncle, having obtained his desire, sent me to York, where, brought up among Catholics in the prison, I learnt, together with grammar, the precepts of the Catholic Church. I was chiefly instructed by that constant confessor, Mr. Clement Hodgson, imprisoned for the Catholic faith, to whose soul may God grant an eternal reward.<sup>9</sup> Being recalled home after two years, I was brought

<sup>9</sup> Several of this family are noticed as sufferers for their faith in *Troubles*, Third Series. In Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*, p. 17, we find under the head of “Leeds”—“Clement Hodgson of Allerton Grange, gent., Katherine his wife [with several others presented to the Bishop's Court as] ‘recusants.’ Secret marriages : Clement Hodgson and Katherine his wife, secretly married. Secret baptisms : Andrew Hodgson, Ursula Hodgson, Isabell Hodgson, children of the said Clement Hodgson.—Certefyed by Sir Thomas Bland and Henry Farrors (1604).”

into the greatest danger, and it would have been all over with me unless God had been pleased to come to my aid. My father urged me to renew my attendance at the Protestant Church, using both persuasion and commands, only he did not threaten me, but told me that I ought to obey, though without giving any reason. I remained firm through the help of God, and merely said that I was unwilling to do so, and made many other excuses, which have escaped my memory. He was unwilling to let me back to my old tutor, but sent me to another Protestant uncle, with whom I lived for a year, in nearly the same danger, as I had no one either to strengthen or to instruct me. In the meanwhile another uncle, a most studious carer for the welfare of my soul, arrived, and obtained by many entreaties leave to send me across the sea, where, by the goodness of God, I was firmly established in the faith.

“Signed, FRANCIS CATER *alias* BERRY.”

1618. JOHN FOSTER, *alias* WHARTON, was a brother of Father Thomas Foster. The Fosters or Forsters were a very ancient Yorkshire family.<sup>10</sup> In his short autobiography he says :—

“I was baptized Thomas Andomar, but in confirmation took the name of John Foster. I am twenty-one years of age, and was born in a village called Osbaldwick, or Osbridge, two miles distant from York.

“My father was William Foster, of the upper class of society. My elder brother is Richard Foster, Esq. I have two sisters, one of whom is married to Francis Hodgson, a man of rank, the other is a nun in Lisbon. My second brother is Thomas Foster, now a priest at this College, formerly an alumnus.<sup>11</sup> Both my parents are dead : my father died at Antwerp, my mother in England. I know no friends on my mother’s side ; on my father’s side I have two uncles and two aunts, all of whom, except my uncle, who is confessor to the

<sup>10</sup> See Mr. Peacock’s *Yorkshire Catholics*.

<sup>11</sup> This was Father Thomas Foster, who died in Lincoln gaol, *in vinculis pro fide Christi* (See *Records*, Series IV. part ii.). He was born in Yorkshire in the year 1590, and entered the Society of Jesus as an alumnus, in the name of Thomas Wharton (*vero nomine*, Foster), in 1609 ; took the usual college oaths on May 2, 1610 ; was ordained priest by Cardinal Bellarmine, December 26, 1614 ; and sent into England, April 22, 1616, having completed his philosophy and theology, and having always lived (adds the Diary) with great edification in the College. We are unable to trace the date of his entering the Society.

nuns at Lisbon, are married. Both aunts are Catholic; the other uncle is a heretic. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College, and my higher course at Seville.

"I was a heretic when I lived in England; I knew no Catholic, nor did I know what religion was. When I was from home I attended the Protestant churches, but when at home, none at all; nor did I say any prayers like the Catholics. I was instructed in the Catholic faith by Father Henry Thunder, of the Society of Jesus, at St. Omer's College."

The English College Diary states that he entered the College as an alumnus on October 9, 1618, in the name of John Wharton (*vero nomine* Foster). He left the College for Paris on April 29, 1620. He behaved well in the College, but was unable to apply to study.

1633. GASPARD RUDD was a native of Lincolnshire, but converted to the faith by a captive priest in York Castle. He states in his replies to the scholars' interrogatories :

"I am son of Anthony Rudd and Anne Robinson. My father was of the higher class, and the youngest of seven brothers, who are all dead. I have no brothers or sisters. I was born in the town of St. Botolph, in English called Boston, Lincolnshire, where I studied for seven years. After this I lived for several years among some friends in another part of the same county. Excited by the desire of travelling, I left England, and landed in Holland, and spent three years in Flanders and in France. At length, tired of travelling, and entreated by my friends to return, I did so. On my return home, I diligently read both ancient and modern history, and earnestly implored of God to instruct me in the right way. Nor was it in vain, for in a very short time afterwards, by the grace of God, I was united to the Catholic Church. I was reconciled by Father William Ford, at that time a prisoner in chains for the Catholic faith, in York. After my conversion I began to renew my studies under the care of James Sharp,<sup>12</sup> George Palmer, William [? Thomas] Stapleton, and other priests of the Society of Jesus. "I am in my twenty-eighth year."

The Diary of the English College says that he entered as an alumnus on November 6, 1633, in the name of John Pemberton; took the usual College oaths on May 1, 1634; received minor orders in the same year; was ordained sub-

<sup>12</sup> *Alias* Pollard.

deacon, and deacon in February 1636; and whilst preparing for ordination as priest, was suddenly seized with consumption, and took to his bed, from which, after a long probation and a very careful preparation, he passed to heaven on the vigil of Easter itself, March 22, 1636, there to celebrate with his Lord an eternal pasch.

Mr. Peacock in his *Yorkshire Catholics* mentions several of this name in that county. In p. 103: "Danby . . . wife of Nicholas Rudd, who before March 25, 1603, came to the Church, and communicated at Easter, is since become a recusant new." In p. 104 (among several others): "Kirkleaventon . . . Anne, wife of Thomas Rudd; before March 25, 1603, these all repared to the Church, and since are become wilful recusants."

1642. CHRISTOPHER BANKS, *alias* HETON, a convert of Father John Heton, S.J.,<sup>13</sup> and a student of the English College, Rome, states: "I am son of William and Alice Banks, born on my paternal uncle's estate within the parish of Giggleswick, Yorkshire, and was educated in the Royal Grammar School, York, from whence I went to Cambridge.

"I am, or rather lately was, a fellow of St. Peter's College, Cambridge. My parents were respectable, with slender fortunes. My father is dead; my mother survives. I have two brothers and one sister, another died. I am the eldest son. My second brother, partly through his uncle, and partly by my own gift, possesses most of the property left by my father. My third brother is now in his second year at Cambridge. Nearly the whole of my relations are absorbed in the contagion of the Anglican defection. Among my principal friends was Sir John Banks, Kt., the present Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in England.

"I applied myself to humanity studies, joined with some philosophy and controversy, and took the degree of Master of Arts.

"On July 2, in this very year of our redemption, 1642, I was fully admitted a Catholic, in my twenty-sixth year by the assistance and industry of the Rev. Father John Heton, of the Society of Jesus, who removed my long hesitation, and on the same day added me, unworthy, to the number of the Catholics. Hitherto I had lived in open conformity to the Anglican heresy, though every day more and more retiring

<sup>13</sup> For biography of Father John Heton, see *Records*, Series I. p. 666.

from it. Being reconciled to God and the Church on the next Sunday, and thus freed from doubts, Rome occurred to my mind, which, as connected with the Catholic religion, I began greatly to love, both as the centre of Catholicity in the Chair of St. Peter, and as abounding in innumerable holy things. The opinion of the said Father helped and encouraged this love. And I hope to be able happily to adopt all that may be imposed upon me in the College, seeing that I consider myself especially called to this state."

The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that he entered as an alumnus, at the age of nearly twenty-seven, in the name of Christopher Heton (*vere* Banks), on November 1, 1642, a convert to the Catholic faith in that very year; took the usual college oaths on May 14, 1643; was confirmed in the English College church June 21, 1643; ordained priest in St. Philip Neri's Church, January 27, 1647; and sent into England August 30, 1649, where, adds Father Christopher Grene, he was still living in 1670, an admirable missionary. He died in England 1678.

1644. WILLIAM METTAM, *alias* MANNERS and WITHERINGTON, a member of the ancient and noble Yorkshire family of that name, and probably a nephew of Father Thomas Mettam, S.J. who died a martyr for the faith in Wisbeach Castle,<sup>14</sup> was born in the year 1626, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus on September 27, 1644, in the name of Mainwaring, and on October 27 following entered the Novitiate of the Society at St. Andrew's, Rome, "to his own great joy, leaving behind him a great void, being highly esteemed by his fellow students."<sup>15</sup> Father Christopher Grene adds a note in the Diary, that he afterwards left the Society.

On entering the College, he gave the following brief account of himself and family: "I am eighteen years of age, and was brought up at home. My parents are Sir Jordan Mettam, Kt., and Lady Margaret Mettam. I have six brothers and two sisters. My relatives on my father's side are for the most part Protestants, and my father himself was a schismatic. On my mother's side they are Catholic.

"I made some humanity studies, Greek and Latin, but have not finished. I was baptized by one of the Fathers of the Society, and having been imbued with the principles of a virtuous life, was sent to St. Omer's College." [He signs, William Manners, *alias* Mettam.]

<sup>14</sup> See *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV. part i.

<sup>15</sup> English College Diary.

THE BABTHORPES OF BABTHORPE AND  
OSGODBY.

THIS ancient and staunch Catholic Yorkshire family furnished no less than five members to the English Province of the Society of Jesus, besides one Benedictine Father, and eight or more nuns to various orders.

The manor of Babthorpe is in the township of Brackenholm, in the parish of Hemingborough, about fifteen miles south of York, and four south-east of Selby. It gave name to, and for many centuries was the residence of a considerable family.<sup>1</sup> The annexed pedigree indicates the members of this family who became also members of the Society; and of these we proceed to give the very scanty information that we possess.

RALPH BABTHORPE was the third son of Sir Ralph Babthorpe, by Grace Birnand, heiress of William Birnand, Recorder of York, who, on the death of her husband in 1617, retired from the world, and became a nun in St. Monica's Convent Louvain.<sup>2</sup> Ralph was born in the year 1594, and on the 7th of November, 1611, at the age of seventeen, entered the English College at Rome as a convictor,<sup>3</sup> under the assumed name of Ralph Smith. He took the College oath on June 24, 1613; received minor orders in 1614, and was sent to Madrid, *admittendus in Societatem*, January 7, 1615, having defended the whole course of philosophy with great applause.<sup>4</sup>

On his applying for admission to enter the English College, among other answers to the customary interrogatories put to the students, after mentioning his parents and home, he says: "I was born and brought up at my father's house at Babthorpe. I lived for nearly four years at a town called Knasbrooke [Knaresbro'], in Yorkshire. I was born of a family of distinction. Many of my relatives and friends would be wealthy did they prefer their riches to their religion, which is the Catholic; for they have suffered many things, and have lost much for their faith; nevertheless, they have a sufficiency left

<sup>1</sup> Father Morris, *Troubles*, First Series, "Babthorpes of Babthorpe."

<sup>2</sup> See the history of St. Monica's Convent, *Troubles*, First Series.

<sup>3</sup> A convictor was one who paid his own "commons," in contradistinction to the Pope's alumni.

<sup>4</sup> Diary of the English College, Rome.

DIGREE.

BRIAN PALMES,

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Born 1654; was  
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died at Munich,  
20.

BABTHORPE OF BABTHORPE.—PEDIGREE.

AUSBORD, AUSBERT, or ASBERT DE BABTHORPE =



After fifteen generations,

Sir WILLIAM BABTHORPE, = AGNES, daughter of BRIAN PALMES,  
Died 1555. Justice of Naburne.

Sir WILLIAM. = (1) BARBARA, daughter of Sir ROBERT = (2) FRANCES, daughter of Sir THOMAS  
Died 1581. CONSTABLE of Everingham. DAWNEY.

Sir RALPH. Died at = GRACE, daughter and heiress of WILLIAM  
Louvain, 1617, a BERNARD of Brimham (Burton says  
voluntary exile for "Knaresbro'"), Esq., Recorder of York  
the faith. in 1573; born circa 1571; professed at  
St. Monica's Convent, Louvain, 1621;  
died 1635, at. circa 64.

KATHERINE = (1) GEORGE VAVASOUR of = (2) JOHN INGLEY of  
Spaldington, Esq. Ripley, Esq.

MARGARET = Sir HENRY, son of Sir  
RICHARD CHOLMLEY  
of Roxley, Knight.

MARY = HENRY FAIRFAX of Bolton Percy.

Sir WILLIAM. Born 1580. Sold = GRACE of URSULA, daughter of  
Osgobly Manor to Sir Guy Palmes WILLIAM TYRWHITT, Esq.,  
and Babthorpe to Sir Richard and granddaughter of Sir  
Rowes. He was first a private, ROBERT TYRWHITT of Ket-  
then a captain in the Spanish telby, co. Lincoln. Died of  
service, and was killed by the French the plague at Bruges 1634.  
near Ardres in 1635.

ROBERT, O.S.B. Imprisoned for the faith.

RALPH, S.J. Born 1594; entered English College, Rome, as RALPH SMITH, November 7, 1611; left Rome January 7, 1615, for Madrid, having been admitted to the Society. Was still living 1621.

THOMAS, S.J. Born 1598; entered English College, Rome, October 17, 1615; entered Society of Jesus 1618 at Liège; rector of English College, Rome 1639-3, and of St. Omer's College 1633-6; professed of four vows 1634; died at Ghent 1656.

CATHERINE = Sir GEORGE PALMES of Naburne.

URSULA. Born 1607; professed at Bruges 1631; died November 20, 1679, at. 72.

ELIZABETH = JOHN CONSTABLE of Carethorpe Esq.

GRACE. Professed at Louvain 1625. Died at Bruges 1673.

BARBARA. Born 1592; was Superioress-General of Institution B.V.M.; died at Rome April 23rd, 1654, at. 62.

RALPH = daughter of HAMILTON.

WILLIAM. Ob. sine prole.

ROBERT.

THOMAS (alias TYRWHITT) S.J.; born 1613-14; entered English College, Rome, October 10, 1634; entered Society of Jesus October 28, 1635-6; professed of four vows December 8, 1652; died at St. Omer's College, October 4, 1655, at. 41.

JOHN. Died S.P.

RICHARD, S.J. Born 1618; entered English College, Rome, November 5, 1641; left Rome September 6, 1648; entered Society of Jesus September 7, 1651; died at Stafford 1681, at. 63.

FRANCES. Born 1604; professed at Louvain 1621; died 1656.

GRACE. Died unmarried.

ELIZABETH.

URSULA. Born 1612; professed 1642; died at Bruges, October 3, 1652, at. 40.

WILLIAM. FRANCIS. JOHN. Died before the year 1620.

ALBERT, S.J.; born circa 1647; entered Society of Jesus circa 1666; professed of four vows December 8, 1682; was Rector of the College of St. Aloysius (or Lancashire District, S.J.) 1712, &c.; died at Croxeth Park, April 13, 1720.

URSULA. Born 1652; entered the Convent of Bruges as Convictress 1660, and died there, November 1, 1719.

MARY ANNE BARBARA. Born 1647; was Superioress-General of the Institute of B.V.M.; died at Munich, March 10, 1711.

MARY AGNES. Born 1654; was Superioress-General of the Institute of B.V.M.; died at Munich, February 20, 1720.

for a respectable livelihood. My mother was incarcerated for five years, or thereabouts, for the Catholic faith. I have three brothers and the same number of sisters, all Catholics from their cradles. I studied grammar for two years in Knasbrooke, and made my humanity studies at the College of the English Fathers S.J. at St. Omer."

We find him mentioned in St. Monica's chronicle as having been present at his mother's clothing in St. Monica's Convent in 1621, and preaching on that occasion. We have no record of the date of his death.

THOMAS BABTHORPE, *alias* SMITH, was brother to Ralph, and the fourth son of Sir Ralph Babthorpe. According to the Catalogue of the English Province for the year 1655, he was born in the year 1594; but the Diary of the English College, Rome, is probably more correct in giving 1598 as the year, since Ralph was born in 1594. On October 17, 1615, Thomas likewise entered the English College as an alumnus, and took the usual College oath on May 1 following. After receiving the minor orders in May and June, 1616, he proceeded to Flanders on September 27, 1618, for the purpose of entering the Society at Liege. He was a man of distinguished merits, and was appointed Rector of the English College, Rome, which he governed from 1650 to 1653. He then became Rector of the College of St. Omer, and died in that office in 1656, æt. 58; in religion 38; professed of the four vows for 22 years. He is named in the above-mentioned Catalogue as having been three times Rector of different Colleges, Professor of Philosophy and Moral Theology, English Procurator at Brussels and Madrid, and a good preacher. The Obituary of the Society for 1656 gives the following brief account of him:

"Father Thomas Babthorpe received his education in humanities at St. Omer's, and in philosophy and theology at Rome. He was admitted into the Society, and became a thoroughly learned and prudent man, pleasing to every one for his moderation of mind and affability of conversation. He taught philosophy and moral theology at Liege. Thence he was sent to England, and for a second time to Madrid as Procurator, in both which places he was highly valued—in England for his remarkable powers of preaching, in Spain for his solid judgment in business and for his familiarity with all languages. He had been Rector at Liege, and afterwards in the English College at Rome. In the Tenth General Con-

gregation he was Socius of the Provincial; and on his return from the Congregation to Belgium, was declared Rector of St. Omer's College. He was on his way to Rome as Procurator, when in travelling through Germany he was seized with a fever which brought him to death's door. A change of air being now the only hope of saving his life, he returned to Ghent, where he died on October 20 [1656]. He was professed of the four vows on March 7, 1634, and was sixty years of age, thirty-eight of which he spent in the Society."

Charles II., while in exile, used every effort to gain over the Sovereign Pontiff to his cause, by specious promises of favour to the Catholics, by repealing the penal statutes, and granting religious liberty. His Ambassador at the Court of Madrid, Lord Cottington,<sup>5</sup> treated with the Papal Nuncio at that Court, and addressed himself to Father Thomas Babthorpe, then Rector of the English College, Rome, to use his en-

<sup>5</sup> "Sir Francis Cottington—whom Lord Clarendon describes 'as a very wise and prudent man, well versed in business of all kinds, and of a sedateness of temper much to be admired, and spoke and understood the Spanish, French, and Italian languages'—was created Baron Cottington of Hanworth, county Middlesex, July 10, 1631, and was of Godmanston in Somersetshire. At what precise period he was reconciled to the Church I cannot discover. His estates were sold by the Rump Parliament on July 16th, 1651. His lordship died most piously at Valladolid, June 19, 1652, æt. 74. For twenty-seven years his body lay in the Jesuit's church there, whence it was removed to Westminster Abbey by Charles, his nephew and heir. The title died with his lordship. Charles, his only son by his wife Anne Meredith, at whose baptism at Hanworth, King Charles I. assisted, with the Duke of Buckingham and Marchioness of Hamilton, July 21, 1628, dying eight years later, in his father's lifetime, was buried at Hanworth, July 27, 1636. His two daughters, Frances and Anne, had been buried there before their brother" (Dr. Oliver's *Collections in Devonshire, Somersetshire, &c.* pp. 70, 71). It is very probable that his happy conversion to the Catholic faith followed upon the plunder of his estates. Edward Cottington, an earlier member of this family, was converted to the Catholic faith when a student at Trinity College, Oxford, by reading Cardinal Bellarmine's treatise on Purgatory. He was a native of Somersetshire, near Wells, upon the borders of Wilts, born 1581, and studied for five years, as far as rhetoric, at the Worcester Collegiate School, and thence went to Trinity College, then lately founded, as a convictor only. After his conversion he went to Rome, and entered the English College as an alumnus on January 16, 1600, being then aged nineteen years. He took the usual college oath, and received the Sacrament of Confirmation on February 26, 1600, and the minor orders in September and November following. He left the English College, on account of ill health, for Belgium, on October 16, 1602, and soon afterwards died at St. Omer's College. Before leaving Rome, he had earnestly asked and obtained permission to join the Society of Jesus. Feeling his end rapidly approaching, he begged leave at St. Omer's to be allowed to take the first or simple vows of religion, which was granted. His death must have occurred about the end of the year 1602. A more full account of this saintly youth is reserved for our intended "History of the College or District of St. Francis Xavier," which includes within its limits the county of Somerset.

deavours for Charles, and this, for the sake of his afflicted fellow-Catholics at home, he would have been only too glad to do. But, as usual, Rome was prudent and deliberate, and nothing appears to have come of it. The subsequent conduct of Charles himself, in opposing the wish of his brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester, to become a Catholic, seems to have damaged his cause in Rome. A letter of the King to this brother is extant, from which we make the following extracts. The original draft of it is preserved in the Bodleian Library, a copy also exists in the Lambeth Library (*Codex. Penison*, 645, n. 3); and it is printed in Thurloe's State Papers, vol. i. p. 661. In the two last named it is erroneously supposed to be addressed to the Duke of York.

10 November, 1654.

Dear Brother,—You mention that Mr. Montague has endeavoured to pervert you in your religion. [He then reminds him of his commands on that point, on his going away.] Letters that come from Paris say it is the Queen's purpose to do all she can to change your religion, which, if you hearken to her or any one else in that matter, you must never think to see England or me again. . . . I must lay all the mischief that shall befall me from this time upon you, as the only cause of it. . . . Consider well what it is, not only to be the cause of ruining a brother that loves you so well, but also your King and country.

I am also informed that there is a purpose to put you in the Jesuit's College, which I command you upon the same grounds never to consent unto. [He dissuades him from disputing with any one upon religion.] If you do not consider what I say, remember the last words of your dead father, which were "to be constant in religion and never to be shaken in it;" which if you do not observe, this shall be the last time you will ever hear from,

Dear brother,

Your mo. affectionate,

CHARLES R.

\* Father Babthorpe to Lord Cottington. Endorsed—"Gives the same account as Mr. Meynell of the state of negotiations there [Rome], in which he cannot proceed for want of powers."<sup>6</sup>

*For my Lord Cottington.*

Rome, 12 April, 1650.

My Lord,—I doe much wonder to read in yours of the 14th of February that you have not as yet received any from mee, this being the fourth which I send since my coming hither; two I sent by the ordinary way and one by the Florentine Ambassador, by whose means I received one from your lordsp.: in these I gave

<sup>6</sup> Bodleian, Clarendon State Papers, January and May, 1650.

you an account both of my stay here, and that I have let his Holiness know of the good desires of his Majesty, who desired his Holiness to entertain no other conceit of him untill his actions could give a clearer character of him and witness his true desires with effects. This was very gratefully heard and received by his Holiness. Then I further desired he would be pleased that ordre might be sent to his Nuncio in Madrid to treat with your lordship, who had ordre from the King to represent some things to his Holiness for the good of Catholics; for this I was remitted to Cardinal Capone, who shewed himself very ready to doe his maj<sup>ie</sup> any service; but since I perceive by him, y<sup>t</sup> his Holines will not give any such ordre at my entreaty. All the judgment which I can frame of this is, not that there is any backwardnes in his Holines to comply with his Mat<sup>y</sup>, whose affection unto him doth discover itself in maine occasions, but y<sup>t</sup> I not having any commission from his Mat<sup>y</sup> in writing, the Pope will not give way, or take any notice of any proposition I can make, which was the thing I always feared: and I believe all the construction they can make of me, is y<sup>t</sup> I would willingly serve my King in what I can, and therefore intrude myself into more than I have ordre for. This is all which I can say in this. I cannot yet since the receipt of yours gett an occasion to speak with the Duke of Infantado, and so I cannot yet send your lordp. any account of what he is like to doe.

I cannot understand what your lordp. means in willing mee to deliver my instructions to F. Courtney<sup>7</sup> in case of my departure hence, for I suppose you may remember that I never had any instructions or commission at all from his Mat<sup>y</sup>, nor from any but yourself, from whom I had only ordre to acquaint his Holiness with his Mat<sup>y</sup>'s good desires, which I have done; neither have I any ordre or advice how to send any dispatches to his Mat<sup>y</sup>, by which you see I can be able to negotiate nothing. Yet if any thing shall come within the compasse of my power, I will greedily lay hould of all occasions to do his Mat<sup>y</sup> service. I conceive Mr. Meynell is better furnished for any treaty than I am, and I dare answer for him he will not be backward to doe his best, and what I may assist him I will.<sup>8</sup>

If I might be fitt to give you my opinion in this, I should conceive your way were to make your propositions there unto the Nuntio in writing, or perhaps it would be more effectual to make them to the Pope, and send them to the Nuntio; he will be forced to send them up hither, and you will by him receive some answer there, or from hence; but you must be sure to offer somewhat, what you have ordre for, in his Mat<sup>y</sup>'s name, and such as his Mat<sup>y</sup> may presently preforme, for this Court is too clear-sighted to be taken with words or promises. If you can offer nothing it will be to little purpose to treat; if you can, this will be y<sup>e</sup> speediest way to work some good effect.

I hope your lordp. will pardon my boldness in delivering my opinion, which only riseth out of a desire of his Mat<sup>y</sup>'s service, and an unfeigned resolution to be ever,

My lord,

Your truely devoutful ser<sup>ts</sup>

THOMAS BALTHORPE.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably Father Edward Courtney, who succeeded Father Babthorpe as Rector in 1653.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. Meynell was the agent of Charles II. in Rome.

Madrid, 18 June, 1650.

I have received within these four or five days yours of the 12th of April, by which you may judge how long letters are upon the way between Rome and this Court, at least our letters have that misfortune, though others sometimes have not. When I writ to you the 14th of Feb., I had not then received any from you, and I have since acknowledged the receipt of every one as it hath come to my hands, and that of yours by the Florentine Ambassador came sooner to me than usual, and therefore if you have the same conveyance offered to you, I pray make use of it, except you meet with others which in your judgment you prefer before it.

Concerning Mr. Meynell, you very well know he went to Rome before there was any thought of your going thither, and the authority he carried was only such a testimony or certificate under the King's hand that he might be known to come thither with his Majesty's privity, and a letter from me to Cardinal Capone to vouchsafe such credit to him, as to a person that had grounds for what he said, his Majesty proposing to himself this way to be informed how the inclinations of that Court stood towards him, both in respect of his Holiness' compassion towards his person and condition, with reference to the horrid proceeding against his father, in which all princes are concerned, and in consideration of the Catholics like to be extirpated in all the dominions which should be subjected to the rebels, and if the affections of his Holiness stood so disposed, as his Majesty wished (though he was not without apprehensions by reason of the proceedings he heard were against the Catholics in Ireland for their affections to him) he did believe there would not have been the least scruple of remitting all particulars to be digested here between the Nuncio and us, which might have been as compendious a way of transaction as any other, and in some consideration it may be better than at Rome itself. And if the matter of his Majesty's offers, which might have been well enough understood, were liked and approved, the manner and assurance for the performing them would be easily agreed.

Shortly after Mr. Meynell's arrival at Rome his letters to the King and to us gave great hopes, but his last of the 13th of April to us was to another tune, and made many of the same objections which are contained in yours; and therefore I have sent you an extract of my answer to him, by which you may perceive from whence I think this coldness and reservedness there proceeds. You can best judge of it upon the place, and if you will deal freely with me (which I hope you will do if you have received my cipher) you can instruct me so fully that I may be able to judge what overtures of this kind will come to.

You say that Court is too clear sighted to be taken with words or promises, and that what his Majesty offers he must presently perform, which you know is absolutely impossible; as if his Majesty were never so desirous to repeal any laws that are prejudicial to Catholics, it is not in his power to do it, till he return into his kingdoms, and can observe those formalities which are necessary; yet very reasonable security may be given for the future performance of it. That which the King will be ready and willing to do is to give his consent for the repeal of all the penal laws and statutes which have been made in the prejudice of Catholics, and to put them into the same condition of his other subjects. Now you can judge whether this frank offer of the King's be like to prevail with the Pope to use his authority in the uniting his Majesty's Catholic

subjects to his service, and to the inclining Catholic princes to aid him with money, and such other assistance as may be necessary. If you find (and the discovery may be very easy) that this will give satisfaction and produce that fruit, I mean produce it so far as to incline his Holiness to it, it shall be proposed in any way, and with any circumstances you shall advise. Otherwise his Majesty will believe that, whatever he intends hereafter to do out of his own goodness, it will not be fit for him to publish any such purpose. And to this point I pray write freely to me and at large; but above all, whether it be possible that any overtures from the Independents, made either through the Irish or English Catholics, can obtain any credit at Rome; for in that case nothing that I can say, or the King can offer is like to be considerable. I wish you all happiness,

And am, sir,

[Unsigned].

Endorsed—"No hopes from Rome, for what cause he is not certain."

My Lord,—I am forced to write this in haste, and in an occasion where I neither have your lordp's lettre nor cypher, by mee, and therefore I must in one word plainly tell you, y<sup>t</sup> for the present there is nothing to be done here now; for though I cannot absolutely say y<sup>t</sup> they doe here treat with Crelly,<sup>9</sup> and by him with Cromwell, yet I know y<sup>t</sup> he writes weekly to y<sup>e</sup> Court here, and receives answers, and that all eares are shut for ye present to what may be proposed for the King. Whether this be by reason of his being in the hands of the Presbyterians, and having promised them to sett forward the covenant, or whether it bee an unwillingness to part with any money, or engage themselves in any thing that may at last come to that, or whether it bee that now they need the Parliament's ships to keep ye French at home from looking into Italy, I will nor can determine, only I know y<sup>t</sup> there is for the present noe hopes of any thing, and were there any, yet I can bee noe fitt instrument for it, unless I were able to shew some ordre or authority for what I might say, which I cannot, as being unfurnished of all those things.

If his Majesty were not where he is, I should hope that ye rendering of Portolongo might give some vertue, which by agreement is to be given up upon y<sup>e</sup> 14th of the next, if not succoured by France before that time, of which there is not much likelihood. This is in brief all that I can say, and soe I kiss your lordship's hands and rest,

My lord,

Your humble servant,

THO. BABTH.

This 31st of July, 1650.

For his Excellency my Lord Cottington, these. Madrid.

The Annual Letters for the English College, Louvain, 1617-18, give a short but affecting notice of Sir Ralph Babthorpe, their father. He had been just chosen Prefect of the

<sup>9</sup> An Irish Cistercian Abbot.

recently established Sodality of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception, at Louvain. On the very threshold of his appointment he was called to a better life, after having, with much patience, undergone dangers and sufferings in the cause of God. Besides the constant annoyance which he suffered at home from the rudeness and violence of the pursuivants, and which often drove him from his house, the pseudo-Archbishop of York showed himself hostile to him on every occasion, causing even his children, who had been privately baptized by Catholic priests, to be re-baptized by Protestant ministers. Lastly, seizing upon Sir Ralph's private estate, the Archbishop divided it into three portions, assigning only a third part to the rightful owner. Even this he was not allowed to possess in peace, for the grievous fines imposed had totally absorbed it. At length, after long continued troubles, the failing health of his wife, weakened by imprisonment, induced him to leave his country and take up his abode at Louvain. Here he led for five years so religious a life as to set an example to all. "Many (continue the Letters) were in admiration that a man, once so flourishing in his own country, supporting a splendid establishment that numbered upwards of thirty retainers, and possessing, besides his castle, several mansions adapted to the various seasons of the year, could so patiently endure such great reverses for the cause of God, and bear himself so contentedly in his old age, with health broken down and scarcely a servant to wait upon him." Such was his pious liberality that he was called "the father of the poor." The Father Rector, who was his confessor, had allowed him, after frequent entreaties, to make the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius; and on the fifth day of his retreat, having the previous day made his general confession and received Holy Communion, while actually engaged in spiritual conference with Father Rector, he was suddenly seized with apoplexy, to which there was a hereditary tendency in his family, and so passed away.

THOMAS BABTHORPE (*alias* TYRWHITT), son of Sir William Babthorpe, by his wife Grace or Ursula Tyrwhitt, daughter of William Tyrwhitt, son of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of Kittleby in the county of Lincoln, and nephew to Fathers Ralph and Thomas, was born in the year 1613-14. He entered the English College at Rome as an alumnus, on October 10, 1634. Having completed a year of logic, he entered the Society on October 28, 1635.<sup>10</sup> In his replies to the usual interrogatories on entering

<sup>10</sup> English College Diary.

the College, after naming his father and mother, Sir William and Ursula Babthorpe, and his two brothers Ralph and Richard, he says that his father, who is a knight, was for some time a prisoner in England, with his mother, for the Catholic faith, and that from having been once wealthy he was then reduced in fortune, and served under the standard of the King of Spain. He mentions three sisters, all consecrated to God in religion, Ursula, Frances, and Elizabeth. He made his early studies in England and at St. Omer's College, and ends by saying that he had come to Rome of his own free will in order to renounce both his parents and the world; it being his desire, with the will of God, to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life, and so obtain that upon which he had set his heart. According to the Catalogue of the Province he was born in 1615, and entered the Society in 1636. He became a Professed Father on December 8, 1652, and was for six years Procurator in the College of St. Omer, and also camp missionary to the English forces in Belgium. He died, according to the Summary of deceased members, at St. Omer's, on October 4, 1655, three years after he had been professed of the four vows.

RICHARD BABTHORPE of Yorkshire, another son of Sir William Babthorpe, and younger brother of the last-named Thomas, was born in the year 1618, and on November 5, 1641, entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus at the age of twenty-three years. On the 11th of May following he took the usual College oath. Having received minor orders on July 6, 1642, he left the College for England on September 6, 1648. Three years afterwards he entered the Society. The following is extracted from Father Richard's replies to the students' interrogatories on entering the English College. "I am son of Sir William Babthorpe, Kt., who was always a Catholic, and so was his wife, and so likewise were all my friends and relations. My principal place of education has been St. Omer's College, where I have made my humanity course with moderate success. I was always a Catholic. I left England seven years ago for Flanders, and am come to Rome for the sake of study and likewise with the intention of entering the novitiate of the Society of Jesus." He was sent upon the English Mission in the year 1653. In 1655 he was serving in the Residence of St. Mary, or the Oxford District. He died at Stafford in the year 1681, æt. 63.

ALBERT BATHORPE was the fifth son of Sir Ralph Babthorpe, and great nephew of Fathers Ralph and Thomas. We have not discovered the exact date of his birth, but it must have been about the year 1647. He entered the Society probably in the year 1666, and was professed of the four vows on December 8, 1682. The chief seat of his missionary labours was the College of St. Aloysius, or the Lancashire District, of which he was for some time Superior. He was the last survivor of a family which had existed for twenty generations from the days of its founder, Ausberg de Babthorpe,<sup>11</sup> and died at Croxteth, as it is believed, on April 13, 1720. *Nostris carus, externis venerandus, egregie laboravit evangelio.*<sup>12</sup> Frequent mention is made of him in the "Blundell Diary," Crosby (1702-28); one entry being—"March 16, 1704. I sent Henry Bilsborough to Lord Molyneux (Croxteth) and Mr. Babthorpe, after their preservation from fire."

Our brief sketch of this family has been limited to those members of it who became Jesuits. We refer our readers to Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*, for much genealogical and other interesting information regarding it, including many instances of the vexations to which its members, male and female, were exposed by presentations of churchwardens and others to the Archbishop's Court, for recusancy and as non-communicants; likewise to *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*, Third Series, with respect to other persecutions which they suffered. One of the family, Leonard Babthorpe, a barrister, is mentioned in connection with the heroic Mrs. Landers and her husband, in Father Grene's MS. "F" regarding the persecutions in the north, of which we give a transcript below. Leonard, the second son of Sir William Babthorpe and Agnes Palmer, married Jane, daughter of William Redman of Twistleton, Lancashire. In *Troubles*, p. 12, and again at p. 82, the treatment he met with at the hands of the Earl of Huntingdon, the Lord President of the north, is briefly alluded to. That tyrant, who respected neither age nor sex, neither position nor moral worth, and who so long oppressed the northern parts by his deeds of blood and cruelty, had openly boasted that no Papist in England should have that right at his hands in any matter which the law would give; and we shall see how fully he acted up to his words in his treatment of Mr. Babthorpe and Mr. Lander; and, in addition to their other suffer-

<sup>11</sup> *Troubles*, First Series, *ut supra*.

<sup>12</sup> Annual Letters, 1720.

ings, we find that both those gentlemen were ruined by heavy fines and deprivation of all further professional practice. We conclude with the following edifying account of the family taken from Father Sharpe's (*alias* Pollard) "Recollections of the Yorkshire Mission," *Troubles*, pp. 467 seq.<sup>13</sup>

"In the house where I lived we were continually two priests, one to serve and order the house at home, the other to help those who are abroad, who, especially in any sickness or fear of death, would continually send to us for help, that they might die in the estate of God's Church. Our house I might count rather as a religious house than otherwise, for, though there lived together in it three knights and their ladies with their families, yet we had all our servants Catholic. On the Sundays we locked up the doors and all came to Mass, had our sermons, catechisms, and spiritual lessons every Sunday and holiday. On the work days we had for the most part two Masses, and of them the one for the servants at six o'clock in the morning, at which the gentlemen, every one of them without fail, and the ladies, if they were not sick, would, even in the midst of winter, of their own accord be present; and the other we had at eight o'clock for those who were absent from the first. In the afternoon at four o'clock we had evensong, and after that matins, at which all the knights and their ladies, except extraordinary occasions did hinder them, would be present, and stay at their prayers all the time the priests were at evensong and matins. The most of them used daily some meditation and mental prayer, and all at the least every fourteen days, and great feasts, did confess and communicate; and after supper every night at nine o'clock we had all together litanies, and so immediately to bed.

"This was the ordinary practice of the house where I remained, the chief lady of which house hath ever been a woman of that courage and resolution in religion, and of that holiness of life;<sup>14</sup> and that though in Queen Elizabeth's days and in the time of the President Huntingdon both she and her husband (who yet as then was not Catholic) were both laid in prison, she among the rest of the gentlewomen above named, and he with other gentlemen, for the Queen of Scots; and

<sup>13</sup> There can be no doubt that the house described was Osgodby, in the East Riding, and that the knights were Sir Ralph and his son, Sir William, with probably his son-in-law, Sir George Palmer (*Troubles*, p. 468, note. See also Pedigree).

<sup>14</sup> Grace, Lady Babthorpe, died a professed nun at St. Monica's, Louvain, November 10, 1623 (*Troubles*, and Pedigree).

though he himself upon his release was bound in £4,000 bond to bring all his family, both children and servants, to the church, except only his wife, whom they knew would not come (for to these conditions both he and divers more in those dangerous times were compelled), yet she not only kept her children, every one of them, of which she had eight, from going to the church, but all of them except one she caused to be christened at home by a priest,<sup>15</sup> and not at the church, in which her zeal and piety she so continued that, at the length, she won her husband to be Catholic, who always ever since hath so most zealously from the end of the Queen's reign continued; and that in such manner that never at any time, when in the beginning many gentlemen did take the last oath against the Pope's authority temporal, yet he never was consenting to it, nor was ever charged in his conscience with it; and that not only her husband she thus won to God's Church, to the great encouragement and comfort of many, but all her children she so instructed in piety and devotion, being never without two or three priests in the house even in the most cruel times, when both she and her husband lay in prison, that all of them, seven being as yet living, remain constant and religious Catholics, whereof three are Catholicly and well married, and four others in religion, or in the way, at St. Omer's for it.<sup>16</sup> Of which lady, for that she hath been the chief pillar of religion in that country, and as yet so remains, and deserveth as well not only of all priests in general who have at all times been welcome to her and her house in any peril and necessity, but of our Society in particular, to which she hath always been, and yet is, most devoted of any that I know in England. I could not omit these few among many of her best deserts and duest commendations."

<sup>15</sup> In the Annual Letters for 1618, already quoted, it is stated that the Protestant Archbishop of York caused these children to be re-baptized.

<sup>16</sup> See Pedigree.

## THE CONSTABLES OF EVERINGHAM, &amp;c.

SEVERAL members of this old Catholic Yorkshire family in later years entered the English Province of the Society. A very early member of the family, John Constable, died a noble victim for his faith in the foul dungeons of York Castle in the year 1581. An interesting narrative of this confessor will be found in the excerpts from Father Christopher Grene's book, "F," mentioned below. Further genealogical information regarding this family may be found in Mr. Peacock's *Yorkshire Catholics*. At page 22 of that work, under the head of "Ingleton," we find the following certificate: "Kathren, wief of Robert Constable, gent.," with others.

"Robert Constable, gent. ; Jennet, wief of Thomas Simson, non-communicants.

"The said Robert Constable had a childe secretly baptized in March or April, 1603."

"Cawood," p. 27.—"Henry Aclam, gent., and . . . his wief, who came to ye said course, about Midsommer last and not synce to ye church : recusant.

"M<sup>res</sup>. Margery Constable, who hath remayned in the house of the said Mr. Aclam, hath not come to the church synce she came thither, which was about the feast of St. Andrew last."

Again : "Drax," p. 28.—"Michael Constable, gent. . . . his wief, Dorothie ; Baxter, wief of Marmaduke Baxter : non-communicants."

Lastly : "Preston," p. 127.—"A recusant reteined. Henry Constable, gentleman, Marie, his supposed wife, Elizabeth Tirwhitt, her sister, with Anne, a waiting woman to the said Marie, have remained there ix or x weekes at the house of Michael Constable, Esquier, and came not to the church during that time. Recusantes for ix or x weekes last."

The heroic Ann Landers, before referred to, was "of the worshipful stock of the Constables." Both she and her husband died martyrs for the faith in the Counter Prison, London.

The three following, all of whom were probably sons of Sir Robert Constable of Everingham, entered the English College, Rome, as alumni, for their higher course of studies, passing thither from the English College S.J. St. Omer.

“1611. HENRY CONSTABLE, *alias* ROBINSON, twenty-four years of age, and born at Everingham, Yorkshire, and brought up and educated at various places, chiefly at Everingham, Toclinton, Cambridge, and St. Omer. “My parents are Philip and Margaret Constable, of knightly families, schismatics. I have brothers Marmaduke, Robert, Michael, Roger, William, and Francis; my sisters, Frances, a schismatic, and Jane, a Catholic; my relations, the Barons Sheffield, Protestants; George Broon [Brown] and wife, knight, and William Langdale, a noble, Catholics; Thomas Mettam, a knight, and Robert Rudson, a noble, Protestants.

“I was for a time a Protestant, or rather a schismatic, and, moved by the exhortions of my brother, was converted and reconciled to the Church by the Rev. James Pollard, S.J., and shortly afterwards came to St. Omer.”

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as a convictor among the alumni, aged twenty-four, in the name of Henry Robinson. He left again for England, with the consent of Superiors, on business, about the beginning of September, 1616. The following year he returned to Flanders to prosecute his studies. He behaved admirably in the College, and with great edification. He returned again to Rome on September 29, 1617, and was finally ordained priest on April 29, 1618, and sent into England on February 22, 1619.

1613. WILLIAM CONSTABLE, another of the Everingham family, was reconciled to the Church at St. Omer's College, and afterwards proceeded to the English College, Rome, for his higher studies. The following short autobiographical account of himself is extracted from the students' interrogatories:

“My name is William Constable, and I am in my twenty-third year; born at Everingham, in the county of York, where I was for some time brought up.

“My father alone survives, Sir Philip Constable, knight, a very noted man. His annual rental is £3,000 a year. All my brothers and sisters are Catholics, except one sister, who is out of the Church. My father was lately converted to the Catholic faith by the Reverend Father Fetherston, of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> My uncle is the illustrious Lord Sheffield, the President of Yorkshire, a Protestant; another uncle is Sir George Browne, knight, a good and pious Catholic.

<sup>1</sup> Father Richard Holtby, *alias* Fetherston.

“I studied for a year among heretics at Beverley, four years at home, four years at Pocklington; but after that, when I was seventeen, I met Sir Ralph Babthorpe, who asked me if I would become a Catholic. I replied, ‘Yes.’ And so, within three weeks, he sent me to St. Omer’s College, where I studied for five years.”

The English College Diary states that he entered the College as a convictor among the alumni, æt. 23, in the year 1613, Father Thomas Owen being Rector. He left the College on August 21, 1616.

“1616. ROBERT CONSTABLE. I am nineteen years of age, and was born at Everingham, Yorkshire; was sent by my father to York for schooling, but I rather wasted my time there in idleness than in fruitful learning. I was then removed to London, where, I candidly confess, I gained from my tutors neither learning nor virtue. Following wiser counsel, I happily passed over to St. Omer’s College, ‘the only school of learning.’ My father is a gentleman of a sufficiently ample estate, and, what is better, of sound faith. By the goodness of God, the faith has been widely diffused among my family—very few, or none of my nearest friends, but what are Catholics. It is my desire to enter the ecclesiastical state.”

Robert entered as a convictor amongst the alumni of the same College on October 8, 1616, and the above is taken from his answers to the usual interrogatories put to the students on applying for admission. We find from a note in the English College Diary, that he entered the Society of Jesus on September 17, 1619, at Rome. The same Diary calls him Robertus Salviati [Scotus, Tirquitt], *vere* Constable. He was professed of the four vows on September 21, 1637, and served the English Mission for nearly fourteen years, and a portion of that time (1642, &c.) in this Residence of St. Michael. In 1655, we find him in the Catalogue of the Province as Confessor of the Community at the English College, Liege, where for a period of thirty years he was Professor of Sacred Scripture and Controversy, and died there on April 29, 1678, æt. 81. The late Dr. Oliver has noticed him in his *Collectanea S.J.* as Robert Salvin.

“1616. MICHAEL CONSTABLE, *alias* WENTWORTH, eighteen years of age, born at Rasen, in the county of Lincoln, but was brought up at the ancient family mansion in Yorkshire. One

of my parents alone survives. There were three sons, Philip, Robert, and Michael. My studies were very meagre from beginning to end, until I made five years' humanities at St. Omer. As to religion, although for some time, when absent from my parents, I attended ignorantly the churches of the heretics, yet I ever remained in the Roman Catholic faith."

Michael entered the English College, Rome, likewise as a convictor, on the same day as his brother Robert, in the name of Michael Russell, or Rostell. He was recalled to England by his father on July 12, 1620. The above is taken from his replies to the usual questions put to the students.

1642. PHILIP CONSTABLE, under the name of More, born in Lincolnshire, and twenty-one years of age, and both parents Catholics, entered the English College, Rome, as a convictor among the alumni, on August 8, 1642, and left again for England on March 26, 1645.

He says in his replies to the usual scholars' interrogatories that he was born at West Rasen, where he had partly lived, and partly at St. Omer's College. His parents and principal friends were of the higher class, rich, and Catholics. He made his studies at St. Omer's with good success, and was always a Catholic. He passed once under the name of Coverly, but then as More.

IGNATIUS CONSTABLE, *alias* PLACE, born 1664, and at the age of forty-five entered the Society on August 9, 1709. From a book of addresses ranging from about 1725 to about 1730, we find him as a missionary in the Residence of St. George, or the Worcestershire District, and his address, "To be left at Mr. Knight's, at ye Talbot in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire." He died in England on August 21, 1727.

JOHN CONSTABLE entered the English College S.J., St. Omer's, about 1689-90, in the assumed name of Lacey. On September 7, 1695, he joined the Society at Watten, and was professed of the four vows on February 2, 1714. In the above-mentioned book of addresses his direction was to "Mr. John Constable, at Mr. Fitzherbert's, at Swinnerton, near Stone, to be left at Sandeford, Staffordshire." He appears to have been resident priest at Swinnerton for many years, dying there on March 29 (April 7), 1743. In the parish register of burials is the following entry: "1743, March 28 [O.S.], buried Mr. John Constable from Mr. Fitzherbert's."

Dr. Oliver (*Collectanea S.J.*) says that unquestionably Father Constable is entitled to rank among the ablest and best-informed men in the English Province. Under the signature of "Clerophilus Alethes," he published *Remarks on F. le Courayer's Defence of English Ordinations*, a work much admired by the Rev. Robert Manning, an excellent judge in such matters. Also, *The Doctrine of Antiquity concerning the most Blessed Eucharist, plainly showed*, in answer to Johnson's *Unbloody Sacrifice*, London, 1736. Also, *Deism and Christianity fairly considered*, London, 1739. Also, in six dialogues, *The Conversation of Gentlemen considered*, &c. Also, *A Specimen of Amendments*, &c., 1741, which was answered by the Rev. Charles Dodd, and to which Father John wrote a searching reply, but which was never published, and the MS. is preserved in the Stonyhurst collection.

JOSEPH CONSTABLE, after making his humanity studies at St. Omer's College, entered the novitiate of the Society at Watten on September 7, 1695. In 1701 he was living in Paris, and from 1704 until about 1708 was a missionary in the College of the Holy Apostles. In the above-mentioned book of addresses we find him first at Mr. Plowden's in Worcester, and afterwards at Sherington, near Weobly, Herefordshire. From September, 1737, to October, 1739, he was Rector of St. Omer's College. In 1741 he was labouring in the College of St. Ignatius (London District), and died at Watten on January 28, 1750.

MICHAEL CONSTABLE, born 1648, entered the Society in 1668, and was professed of the four vows on February 2, 1686. In 1684 he was Father Minister at St. Omer's College S.J., and from April 8, 1688, until 1693, was Rector of the same College. From that time he became attached to the Court of the exiled King James II. at St. Germain's, and was tutor to his son in mathematics. He died at St. Germain's on July 21, 1707, æt. 59.

ROBERT CONSTABLE, born 1673, admitted to the Society on May 9, 1711. In 1728 he was living in France with an English nobleman, and died at Watten on February 4, 1739.

ROBERT CONSTABLE (the third of this name) was born at Thirsk on October 7, 1705—son of John Constable and Anne O'Herboursy. After making his usual course of humanities at

St. Omer's College, he entered the English College as an alumnus for his higher course on June 15, 1722, and took the usual College oaths on April 11 following. He received minor orders, and was afterwards ordained priest by His Holiness Pope Benedict XIII. on September 18, 1728, and left the English College for the novitiate at Watten on July 19, 1729. He was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in 1747. From the register at Wardour Castle, he appears to have served that mission from 1744 to 1759, when he became Rector and Master of Novices at Watten. He is honourably mentioned in Father Joseph Reeves' MS. history of the violent expulsion of the English Fathers from their ancient College of St. Omer, in 1762, by the Parliament of Paris. Father Reeves, with a first division of twenty-four scholars, reached Watten in the evening of August 9, 1762, *en route* to Bruges. "The Rector, Father Robert Constable, received us with all the feeling and tender kindness of a Father; for he was a good religious man, and the Spirit of God was in him." Soon after the expiration of his Rectorship, he became chaplain to Lady Haggerston, and died at her house in York on February 3, 1770.

Mention is made in *Records* (Addenda, vol. i. p. 628) of Sir Marmaduke Constable, who was committed to York Castle in the time of the Stuart reaction, 1745, and effected his escape, upon which, officers were despatched to his estates at West Rasen, Lincolnshire, to seize his steward, Mr. Champney, who succeeded in effecting a timely concealment beneath a heap of loose hay, through which the officers made many stabs with their piked staves, which, entering the sides of Mr. Champney, he patiently endured, like a good and faithful steward, rather than betray his beloved master.

From the *Catholic Apology*, by Lord Castlemain, we gather that no less than three of this loyal family died fighting for their King in the civil war between Charles and his Parliament, viz., Sir Marmaduke Constable, a captain in the royal army and standard-bearer to the Earl of Lindsay, his Majesty's general, who was killed at the battle of Edgehill on October 23, 1642; Michael Constable, a lieutenant-colonel in the King's army, who lost his life at Hopton Heath, in Cheshire; Joseph Constable, a captain in the same army, who was killed at the first Newbury fight, in October, 1643.

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FATHER THOMAS CONIERS, with a brief memoir of whom we close this series of notices, is believed to have come of a good old Yorkshire family, though he never actually served the mission of the district.

Father Coniers is called by Father Tanner in his short notice of him, an exile for the faith.<sup>1</sup> He was born in the year 1562, and was connected with the Allen family of Rosshall, Lancashire.

In the Public Record Office is the following letter (probably intercepted) addressed to Father Coniers, "Jesuit College," Brussels, it was written by Helen Allen, niece to the Cardinal, and a cousin apparently of the Father to whom she writes. She was a nun at St. Ursula's Convent, Louvain, made her profession there in 1594, and died 1603.

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Reverend Father and Good Cousin,—

Having such a good messenger as your good brother, I could not but salute you with a line or two. I am sorry it was not your chance to come hither before your departure, I would willingly have spoken with you, but seeing it can't be, I commend myself in most earnest manner to your prayers; and one thing I

<sup>1</sup> The old pedigrees in the Harleian MSS., which do not come down later than the year 1585, and are utterly deficient in dates, show the name Christopher to have been a standard family name. No less than nine of the name of Conier, several of them of Yorkshire, were members of the Society, viz.: (1) George Coniers, of Yorkshire, born in the year 1578, according to the English College Diary, but in 1575 according to the Catalogue of the Province, entered an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on April 14, 1597; was ordained priest, May 17, 1607, and then left Rome for England. He entered the Society in 1604, at the age of twenty-nine; was professed of the four vows on May 12, 1622; and for forty-eight years continued to serve the English Mission, dying in the month of October, 1652. (2) George Conyers, of Yorkshire, born 1634, entered the Society 1654, and died at Liege three years afterwards, æt. 23. (3) A third George Conyers was born about the year 1647, entered the Society about 1667, was professed of the four vows February 2, 1683, served the English Mission in the London district for some years, and died in it February 28, 1711. (4) A second Thomas Coniers born in 1664, entered the Society 1685, professed of the four vows 1703, and died at St. Omer's on May 6, 1721, æt. 57. (5) Christopher Coniers, born 1669, entered the Society November 5, 1688, was professed of the four vows in 1706, and died Aug. 29, 1730, æt. 61. (6) Leonard Coniers, born 1671, entered the Society September 7, 1690, at Watten; for many years served the mission of Southend, Soberton, Hants, and died there July 15, 1745, æt. 74. (7) John Conyers, of Kent, son of James and Elizabeth, born 1675, was admitted an alumnus at the English College, Rome, on October 24, 1693, æt. 18, and the next year, on May 17, entered the Novitiate at St. Andrea, Rome. We cannot trace his subsequent history. (8) A third Thomas Coniers was born in 1715 in London, studied at St. Omer's, entered the Society at Watten 1734, for many years served the Lancashire district, where he died April 20, 1780, æt. 65.

am to desire of you, for God's sake, that if you come where St. Catherine's body is, say one Mass for me, desiring her to obtain one thing for me at God's hands, if it be God's will. Our Reverend Mother would have written to you if she had not been so weak at this present. She commends herself to your good devotions, and also my sister Catherine. Good Father, pray for our Reverend Mother, that God will spare her life long, if it be His good will. She is very sickly. I hope you will let us hear from you sometimes by your letters: thus, good cousin, desiring in most earnest manner your prayers, and in my simple manner I shall not forget you. I crave pardon.

Your poor friend and cousin,

HELEN ALLEN.

I pray you forget not our duties to Father Parsons and both our cousins.

To the Rev. Father Coniers, College de Jesuites, Brussels.<sup>2</sup>

Father Thomas Coniers, after making his higher studies with great success at Douay, earnestly petitioned to be admitted to the Society, and entered the Novitiate at Tournay in 1584, at the age of twenty-two. Soon after his entrance he was seized with so severe and painful a disorder that the medical men pronounced him a subject totally unfit for the Society. He was accordingly obliged to leave the Novitiate. This was so great an affliction to him that, all human remedies failing, he had recourse to God, and prayed with such fervour and constancy that his petitions were heard, and he suddenly felt all the force of the disease to abate, was perfectly restored, and again admitted to his probation. He always ascribed this favour to the special intercession of the Blessed Virgin. That his restoration to health was indeed supernatural, would appear from the fact that, being free from any return of the disease during his long and laborious missionary career, when broken down with age and toil it returned upon him with all its severity of pain, and never left him until, after a patient and lingering endurance, his sufferings ceased with his life.

After being employed in teaching the humanity course and logic at Douay, burning with insatiable zeal for souls in missionary work, he importuned Superiors to employ him in the missions, either in that perilous or rather fatal vineyard of England, or in the Indies, or elsewhere in Europe, as they might appoint. To satisfy his desire he was sent to exercise his apostolical vocation in Leyden and Bapaume, on the confines of France, in both of which places he gained much fruit by his incessant labours. He then settled at Dinant,

<sup>2</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* 1595, vol. cclxxiii. n. 78.

where he evangelized the villages and hamlets of the surrounding country, and the territory of Ardennes. By his indefatigable zeal the authorities of Dinant were inspired to invite other missionaries to assist him in his work, and to perpetuate it. They had, indeed, before this time conceived a high esteem for the Society through the apostolic labours of Father Henry Som, but the difficulties of the times had for upwards of ten years delayed their intention of inviting the Society to a residence. Now, however, the fervour of Father Thomas revived that former desire of theirs to establish a college at Dinant. At first some companions were sent to him from Liege, who in the meanwhile contrived to labour in the surrounding country, and this gradually grew into a college about the year 1612. The college being established Father Thomas traversed the entire province, expending himself in his zealous labours, from the borders of Hainault to the confines of Germany. His zeal embraced all classes and conditions of persons. Undaunted by any difficulty, he penetrated the narrow gorges of the mountains, and dense forests, exposed alike to heavy storms of snow and hail, and to the burning rays of the sun. His chief delight was to minister to the poorer and ruder classes. His time was fully occupied, early and late, in preaching, giving catechetical instructions, and hearing confessions.

At Bastogne, a town in the very midst of the Ardennes, the good Father laboured with equal zeal and fruit, and the people held him in such great veneration that they would leave all at the given signal and flock to hear him. As no opportunity presented itself of establishing a college of the Society in that place, he induced the authorities, in order to perpetuate the good work, and foster the ardent spirit of piety excited in the town and neighbourhood, to procure an establishment of a body of religious of another order. He also invited to Dinant a number of ladies,<sup>3</sup> who were bound by a vow of celibacy, and had with great success formed schools for girls, as a means of promoting the glory of God.

This great zeal, combined with his love and charity, gave Father Coniers a widespread influence over the souls of others. He was hard and severe towards himself, observing an extreme poverty in dress and frugality in food. He had the gift of fervent prayer, which was never interrupted by his journeyings

<sup>3</sup> Probably members of Mrs. Ward's institute, named in the memoir of Father Roger Lee. *Records*, Series I. p. 456.

to and fro. He would prostrate himself to the earth before the country roadside crosses and pictures of saints which were to be found at particular spots, according to the pious custom of a Catholic country. Engaged in arduous labours and constant devotion he reached his seventy-seventh year, when, on returning from the country for the feast of Christmas, he was again seized with the same disease which, as we have mentioned, had caused his temporary dismissal from the Novitiate of Tournay in 1584, and which had then been suspended by a special answer to prayer.

Fortified for his last struggle by all the rites of holy Church, he died at Bastogne June 24, 1639, æt 77. About the year 1600 he had been offered the degree of Professed Father, but his spirit of deep humility and self abjection, induced him to beg to be allowed to make his profession in the humbler degree of a Spiritual Coadjutor.

Father Coniers is named in several State Papers found in the Public Record Office. In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxvii. n. 59, is a letter in cipher, partly deciphered, from Giles van Harwich, a spy, to Peter Artson (*alias* Cecil), dated Lisbon, June 25, 1598: "I wrote to you about one Coniers, who has been at Madrid, Valladolid, &c., among the Jesuits, and embarked in a Scottish ship for Plymouth; he should be well examined. One English Jesuit, twenty-eight years old, is now embarked from Lisbon. No doubt both these have some confederacy against the Queen and State. . . . There should be insight into the Irish ships trading for Spain and Portugal, because in them passes the treasure of the Jesuits of that nation." In the next vol., cclxviii. n. 1, is a letter in cipher from the same to the same, dated Lisbon, July 10, 1598, in which the writer says: "The Jesuit whose name is Wilde did not depart, but Coniers goes herewith." He is also referred to in a letter from Richard, Bishop of London, to Sir Robert Cecil, dated April 27, 1602, giving him various reports from spies.<sup>4</sup> "There be maintained beyond the seas by the Pope and King of Spain five English seminaries, viz., one in Rome, two in Spain, and two in Flanders, which colleges all be governed by Jesuits, except the college in Douay, which is governed by Dr. Worthington, a priest, some time prisoner in the Tower of London, condemned, and by her Majesty's mercy banished with a great many of his consorts, whom, as I heard say, some of them come into England with the next

<sup>4</sup> A full copy of this paper is given in pp. 138, sqq., *Records*, Series II.

wind.<sup>5</sup> This president does nothing without the consent of Father Thomas Conyers, a Jesuit of great account, dwelling in the College of Jesuits in Douay." In a letter of Father John Gerard to Father Thomas Owen, Rector of the English College, Rome, dated November 4, 1614, mention is made of this Father, and of the lively and active interest he took in the removal of the Novitiate from Louvain to Liege. He offers to send them by water a cargo of timber, "the only dear material for building at Liege."<sup>6</sup>

Other members of this Residence will be noticed hereafter, when we come to speak of Oates' plot, and the Revolution of 1688.

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EXTRACTS FROM FATHER GRENE'S MS., BOOK "F."

Before giving the few extracts we possess from the Annual Letters of the Residence, we select the present, as the most fitting opportunity for introducing the following transcripts from a book marked "F," preserved in the archives of the English College, Rome, lately procured by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson. In *Troubles*, Series III., pp. 3, seq., Father Morris gives an account of Father Christopher Grene's historical notes and collections, which that Father distinguished by the letters of the alphabet. When tracing the strange wanderings and present whereabouts of these valuable collections, Father Morris observes: "Of 'F' it is not necessary here to speak, as we are informed by the Reverend Joseph Stevenson that the volume still exists in the archives of the English College at Rome."

Of the present transcript the Reverend Joseph Stevenson, in a note to the editor, says: "My extracts from Father Grene's 'F' do not exhaust the full contents of that volume, though they give its more interesting portions. My selections went no further, because there is already in England a duplicate (partly at Oscott College, and partly in the possession of Canon Estcourt) of the parts which I have not transcribed from the copy at Rome." These portions have been given by Father Morris in *Troubles* as above, so that, with the present transcript, we possess the whole of "F." The old and quaint spelling has, however, been modernized, that they may be read with greater ease. Most of the transcript relates to Yorkshire,

<sup>5</sup> See biography of Father Thomas Worthington, *Records*, vol. ii. Series II.

<sup>6</sup> See *Angl.* vol. vi.

in a few cases reference is made to the bordering counties of Derby and Stafford.

This document brings to light no fewer than twenty-two martyrs who died in prison for their religion, and another who was privately hung by the magistrate and pursuivants within the house of the magistrate himself.

“60. JOHN FLETCHER,<sup>1</sup> 1574. About the 26th of April, John Fletcher, being requested briefly to set down in writing his crosses and persecutions in prison, at the first refused, yet afterwards he delivered thus much. Although I think myself unworthy to write anything of mine own crosses, yet being requested thereunto, and persuaded that it shall tend to the glory of God, which I most of all wish, desiring all that shall peruse this homely writing to pray for the same, I will in the fear of God by His grace write nothing but that which is true in this manner following :

“Being brought before the Bishop (Mr. Grindall) for not receiving and hearing him belying the ancient Fathers, I smiled. ‘It is,’ said he, ‘against the gravity of a schoolmaster to laugh.’ ‘It is,’ said I, ‘against the calling of an archbishop to belie the holy Fathers.’ One of his ministers (Mr. Palmer) said at that time that we falsely supposed angels to be present at the Sacrifice of the Mass. I answered that I firmly believed that to be true, persuaded by the testimonies of St. Chrysostom, and I affirmed that as that was true, so must needs follow contrarily that a company of ugly devils was present at their communion. They bid their clerk write my blasphemous words against God and the Prince’s law. Upon these and other words which I spoke by the grace of God at that time with great joy of heart

<sup>1</sup> John Fletcher is mentioned as a recusant in two places in *Troubles*, Third Series. First (p. 283) in a catalogue of “Recusants and non-communicants within the city of York, and the county of the same city, January, 1598.” “Pezeholme. John Fletcher, sometime a schoolmaster, a recusant.” Secondly (p. 285) in a list of “Convicted recusants some part in the twenty-third year of her Majesty’s reign, and since that they continued wilful recusants, and several times sithence, and such not having lands and goods wherewith to satisfy, but do shiffle the law, and therefore, and for their obstinacy and wilful recusancy, are by the laws to be abjured this realm, according to the establishment in that behalf provided, viz.: . . . John Fletcher, of St. Cuthbert’s in Audmark, schoolmaster and old recusant.” Mr. Peacock likewise, in his *Yorkshire Papists*, p. 57—“St. Cuthbert’s. John Fletcher, William Fletcher his son, . . . old recusants” (1604). He also occurs in the accounts given below of Mr. Thomas Mudde, priest, and Mr. John Almond, priest, both his fellow-prisoners at Hull, to whom (with his companion in those dungeons, Mr. Tyrye) he extended his charitable services.

to Grindall and a great company of ministers, I was [sent] with a strait warrant to Mr. Brooke, one of the sheriffs in York, where for the space of eight days I had continual conflicts with him and other Protestants about the Blessed Sacrament, to my great comfort in so good a cause. Then was I brought suddenly before the Lord President and Bishop, being both together, where I was invaded with two serpents called Leveres. The first of them was beaten back at the first with a sentence or two alleged in Latin forth of the Fathers; and by the help of God, to Whom be all praise, I enforced the younger utterly to refuse the Doctors. There Mr. Meers intreated my lord to send me prisoner to Hull Castle, and to be put in some close chamber by myself alone, separated from Doctor Vavasour, being a prisoner in Hull Castle at the same time. But both lords and the counsel agreed to send me to Peter's Prison. When I was in this prison my wife refused to go to their church, and therefore was cruelly shut from me. The sheriff, Mr. Brook, consulting with some minister sent unto me, in this [prison], a blasphemous and pestiferous letter against the Blessed Sacrament, the which, through the goodness of God, I confuted, and I sent my answer to the sheriff, who immediately after the receipt, called for some officers, and coming to Bishopthorpe, perused it over with the bishop and his ministers. Their reply was this: I was suddenly taken from Peter's prison with a warrant from the Bishop and carried with his bailiff, named Edmund Kersay, to Ripon, there to be close prisoner under him in a strait place, but seven feet long, or thereabout. After a conflict had with one called Mr. Tunstall, I was so terribly tossed between him and the bailiff in searching me that I feared my life. Within a short space after, some one of the bailiff's men meaning to murder me did enter my lodgings in the night, when I was upon my first sleep, and with a sharp nail did strike through a pasted cover and many leaves of a book which was in a pair of slops which I used to lay upon my bed in the cold winter nights. That night they lay upon my body, and the book bore off the blow, by the mercy of God. The vehement stroke caused me to rise forth off my bed and to set a stool and other things against the door, thinking that the noise thereof at their next coming would awake me; but I did not know what wound my book had received till the morning. Then I prepared myself to die. Shortly after the skin came off my body in such manner that I thought myself to be poisoned. My voice was changed;

mine eyes sunk within my head ; I was almost consumed with extreme sickness, being fed with a spoon for certain weeks.<sup>2</sup> Some well disposed people in Ripon, with much ado, entreated the bailiff to let in a good woman to keep me, who laboured with all her strength and skill to save my life. The bailiff called her and others and demanded of them if there were any hope of my life ; and when she had told him that I could not live, he commanded all his household servants, and also willed an honest man called Kettlewell, then prisoner for suitorship, to say that I died a good Protestant. At the same time this fore-named Kettlewell came to visit me by stealth and told me all. And he affirmed also that the bailiff said that I should be buried in Ripon church, upon the superintendent's cost, and that he had confessed before him and other neighbours that he had promised to the superintendent, his lord, Mr. Grindall, either to turn me or kill me.

"Hearing this, I was very sorry, and causing my keeper, the good woman, to help to turn me in my bed with my face towards a wall, I wept bitterly and besought God most earnestly, even for His most true cause and sincere religion, to spare my life and not to suffer me to depart in such a place. God of His mercy heard my prayer. I was suddenly and almost miraculously restored to my health, calling in the next morning for a piece of brown bread, which made my keeper and the rest astonished. Goodman Kettlewell brought me barley meal secretly forth of Ripon, for the bailiff took all to himself which was sent openly and never told me of it. Thus by God's help I was preserved, when it was reported all over that I was dead. The bailiff's house was so plagued with sickness and other troubles at the same time that he exclaimed against me, cursing the time that ever he seen me.

"When I was amended, his master, the superintendent, was called to a Parliament. Their dean, Mr. Hutton, by warrant removed me to the Bishop's prison in York, where I was kept close in darkness<sup>3</sup> for one quarter of a year, and my wife willing to tarry with me in prison, was by force and violence plucked from me. I was removed from thence to York Castle, where in a search I was spoiled of all my treasure, my good

<sup>2</sup> Originally "five or six," but altered by the first hand.

<sup>3</sup> The following note appears in the margin of the manuscript, written by the original hand. "Robert Gillman, the keeper of the Bishop's prison, coming himself with three or four men, set a dagger into my side, and did bite with his teeth my foremost finger, because I did hold my wife."

books, by one Mr. Bethell, the under-sheriff. When I had remained there one quarter of a year, I was removed to Hull Castle, and shortly after to the North Block House at Hull, where I remained close prisoner for three years in so moist a house, that the grass did grow green within some part. Whilst I was in the Block House, through the malice of Satan, my wife was accused and slandered as one dishonest. She was brought into the court for the trial of her honesty. The parties accusing her fled away, yet I in the mean season was almost consumed with sorrow and care. After this I was removed to the castle again, where I and my wife remained quietly for a year, but the devil envying this, caused me to be separated from her to the North Block again, where I and my chamber-fellow, Mr. Tirrhie, were kept four years close prisoners in a moist and dampish house, and my wife was kept prisoner in the Castle all that time of four years; during the which time neither the keeper, Mr. Beesbye, nor his wife would once permit either of us to see other, which hard dealing caused my wife to make suit secretly to her friends without my knowledge to procure her liberty, which they did, and also allured her with fair promises to fall and to go to their church, which hath been the greatest cross unto me that ever I had. And not so content they have so inclined her against me that for the space of nine years she would not vouchsafe to visit me the space of three days.

“ Thus through the grace of God I have remained in prison now twenty years at Easter next, continually suffering one cross or persecution in the neck of another; and yet by the way many sweet allurements and sugared baits craftily laid for me, enticing me again into the broad way of perdition. One gentleman was sent unto me offering twenty pounds more yearly than I had before if I would go to the church. Another by writing offered me an hundred pounds in the year in the name of a nobleman if I would be one of them. My Lord President promised me liberty if I would kneel down and say but one prayer secretly with him, assuring me that none should know of it. Mr. Hutton, then their Dean of York, bid me to dinner with him, promising to let me at liberty if I would not confer, but say that I had conferred with him. One Mr. Slater, a minister, willed me to take their last communion book but one night into my house, at his request, and not read it at all; he asked no more, but that he might tell the superintendent, Mr. Sandes, that I did take it home with me; and he

promised to keep me prisoner from Hull in mine own house, or in some friend's house. All which baits and many more I refused, through the grace of God.

"It were too long to tell what talks I have had with sundry ministers as concerning matters of faith and what comforts I received every time by defending the truth, although I were at all times more straitly kept after I had talked with them. I should weary you if I should rehearse all my troubles and hard keeping, which hath been so strait that I could not know that my natural brother came to the prison door till he was departed away; and if a cake of bread were sent unto me it must be cut in pieces lest some letters were baked within it.

"Being moved unto it by a dear friend, who persuaded me that it would be to the glory of God, I have scribbled thus much suddenly, rudely, though truly, with trembling and tears, being afraid to write anything of myself or to mine own praise. Beseeching God to pardon me a wretched sinner from all my vanity and to give me grace to refer all to His glory, from Whom proceedeth all goodness, Who of His mercy hath chosen one most unworthy to so high a calling to be a prisoner for His sake; and I beseech all good Catholics to pray for me that my life and ending may be according to this calling, that my name may be written in the Book of Life. Amen.

"Scribbled in haste,

"JOHN FLETCHER.

"*Postscript.*—I was born in York, and brought up Catholicly of my careful and dear parents; corrupted at Cambridge, yet never staggered in my firm faith as concerning the Blessed Sacrament, brought back again with good books, with one especially written *De Schismate*, terrified with the terrible and sudden coming of doomsday, and first of all with this sentence of St. Austin, Ep. 152, which was ever sounding in mine ear: 'Quisquis ab Ecclesia Catholica abfuerit, quantum libet laudabiliter se vivere existimet, hoc solo scelere quod a Christi unitate disjunctus est non habebit vitam, sed ira Dei manet super eum.' Yet driven from dissimulation with a sore sickness, wherein I cried that I was in damnable state for my dissimulation, brought home by a godly, grave, and wise Father, Mr. Henry Comberforthe, who charged me sore that I would not forsake my fair wife, goodly house, and the great company of my comfortable scholars; and therefore with great deliberation gave me a time of trial, not willing to admit me till he

was persuaded that I would renounce all these utterly ; which being done Satan forthwith raged and spoiled me, and tossed me from prison to prison. *Deo gratias* for all these good benefits.”

“63. CHRISTOPHER WATSON, JOHN CONSTABLE, gentlemen.—As our merciful Saviour, when He was here conversed in earth, did draw divers persons unto Him, whose hearts were wholly set upon worldly riches, so even now also in these dangerous days hath He drawn not a few with the beams of His heavenly grace unto Him, who, rapt and inflamed with the love of celestial things, have for His sake despised and set at naught all worldly vanities. Amongst many, I have chosen one at this time to speak of, who was named Christopher Watson, born and brought up at Ripon, a man sometimes given to gather exceeding heaps of riches, upon whom worldly wealth did so abundantly flow that, as he wonted sometimes to say, he could not well tell what to do with it. But he employed very much in costly and stately buildings, in taking of great leases, and other such worldly affairs. The greatest part of his substance was gotten at the first by merchandise. He was married twice, with such wives as both were of wealth, and also did descend of gentle line and worshipful stock. His second wife was a very earnest and fervent Protestant at the first, but by his good example she became a zealous Catholic, and still remaineth a virtuous, devout, and charitable gentlewoman. His first wife also was very pitiful to the poor. She used to visit such as were sick and sore, and pinched or oppressed with poverty. She did comfort them with meat, money, and other necessaries. The which works of mercy were supposed to proceed from his liberal and merciful heart. He therefore, as another Cornelius, did with his great alms and goods, as it were, prove and prepare himself the way to the Catholic faith and Church of Christ, without the which there is no salvation, nor any works, seem they never so fair and beautiful, can be meritorious.

“The God of all mercy, looking upon his alms and mercy in due time, did offer unto him such Catholic company that in short space he was determined to become a true member of Christ within His Church. He feeling now the grace of God still knocking at the door of his heart, and moving him continually to enter into the sweet fold of Christ, took occasion to talk with a simple, honest, and virtuous youth, such a one as at

that time frequented the company of the best Catholics, a guide and leader appointed him by God, called John Thackeray, who brought him to a grave, wise, godly, and virtuous Father, Mr. Comberford, who with godly prudence and good deliberation took him by the hand and brought him within the saving Ark of Noe, the only true Tabernacle and Church of God, to his great comfort. Oh, how joyful a man was he now! How little now did he esteem pelf of this world, when sweet Christ had once entered within the palace of his soul purged from sin, and now adorned and beautified with the bright ornaments of virtue! He never had hoarded up heaps of riches so fast before; but, as another Zachæus, he did as fast pour out the same to the relieving of all that stood in need, especially to afflicted Catholics. Now forthought him that he had bestowed so much in vain buildings. He wished now that he had employed it better, to the glory of God and the comfort of Catholics. He is now wholly rapt with the love of Christ; he is now inflamed with His truth; he now studieth to lay up his treasures in heaven; he now treadeth under foot all transitory things; he now lifteth up his heart to celestial desires; he now hath delight to pray and continually to praise God; he that before kept company with worshipful gentlemen, squires, and knights, beloved and highly esteemed amongst them, now renouncing the pomp and glory of this deceitful life, hath all his joy and delight in the company of poor Catholics; and therefore God of His mercy permitted him in short space to be apprehended and to be brought into the company of them who were his best beloved.

“But first of all, in the year of our Lord 1580, he was committed prisoner to the house of one Dearman, in York, a pursuivant, a dear and cruel house indeed, the hostess whereof had but only the form of a woman, a tigress' heart, prone and much inclined as a limb of the devil to spoil and to suck the blood of Catholics. Within short space his tender-hearted brother procured his liberty for a time. Soon after he was called again in the foresaid year, and upon St. Bartholomew his day was sent prisoner to York Castle, a place which he had so hated and detested beforetime that (as he confessed) he had sundry times gone and ridden out of his way because he would not see it, so loathsome it seemed unto him. But being here placed amongst his best beloved, in the company of poor prisoners and true Catholics, where he beheld the King of Kings truly served, where he did see the Passion of Christ

lively represented, where he received the most delicate meat and food of his soul, where he beheld all the company knit together joyfully in charity, with *Ecce quam bonum, &c.*, O God, how joyful was he now ! York Castle was now a paradise of pleasure unto him ; he now preferred prison before all liberty, before all joys and worldly pleasures, before the palaces of kings and princes, insomuch that, coming from Divine service, to the comfort of all prisoners, he oftentimes with great joy did burst out into these words : ‘ O God, how much am I bound unto Thee ; how ought I now to laud, praise, honour, and magnify Thee ! What thanks may I yield unto Thee for this Divine benefit, for this benefit of all benefits, which the knights, lords, earls, and the noble governors of this land cannot have ! ’ His continual exercise was here to pray, to praise God, and to work the works of mercy. He used most heartily to honour his Lord God daily with these psalms, pronouncing them so sweetly that therewithal he expressed the great joy of his heart — *Jubilate Deo, omnis terra : Deus misereatur nostri : Laudate Dominum omnes gentes.* And he never did hear the bell toll but for the great love he bore to our Lady, and for his inward joy conceived for the Incarnation of Christ, he joyfully pronounced, *Angelus Domini nuntiavit Mariæ, &c.*

“ Serving God here himself in prison, he had also a singular care that God also might be served at home in his own house ; and therefore he kept always at home a sage, learned, and godly priest, a reverend Father called Master Hartburn, whose whole life was spent in Divine studies, in heavenly contemplation and prayer, by whose presence and angelical life he thought his house to be blessed. He was so merciful in prison toward his persecuted brethren, that he might well be said to follow the steps of merciful Tobias. When any poor Catholics were in gyves or fetters through the cruelty of covetous gaolers, he wished that he might bear one [of] their fetters upon his own leg for the easing of them. And if they were thrust down into any low dungeon or dampish prison of their raging keepers, he never ceased to make intercession for them, and spared not liberally to give his money for their releasement and delivery. It was meat and drink for him to go from chamber to chamber to visit them that were sick and sore, or oppressed with any adversity, and not only to solace them with sweet and godly speeches, but also to remedy them with the works of mercy. God of His mercy permitted him to have such a companion and chamber-fellow at this time as his heart could have wished

and desired, one Mr. John Constable, a worshipful gentleman by birth and noble Christian by profession. As the one had to his name Christopher, most worthily, because he did bear his cross after Christ most patiently, and did bear Christ Himself in heart in his life and conversation, so might the other well be named John, because the grace of sweet Jesus did appear in his godly life, in his words, works, and in all his doings. They both joined together in serving and praising of God, in almsdeeds, in comforting of prisoners, and in all good works. They feasted their afflicted brethren, and they always took this order to prepare more meat than would suffice their own table or their servants, that the needful prisoners might be refreshed with the rest. They both alike despised and set at nought the glistening glass and glorious pomp of this brittle and deceitful life, and jointly laboured for the palm and victory over sin and Satan, and the golden crown of everlasting glory. It would have comforted any Christian heart to hear how the one of them made a benefit of the other in this manner. 'How much (would the younger say) am I bound to praise God, and continually to yield Him hearty thanks, Who of His mercy hath brought me into the company of you, a grave, wise, and virtuous man, whose prudence and wisdom may be a bridle to my youth, whose good life is life and light unto me.' 'Yea, rather (would the elder say) what praise and thanks may I render to my merciful Lord, Who after my youthful race, which I rashly and fondly misspent in pastime, sport, and play, hath sent unto me so sober, so constant, and so godly a youth, as maketh me ashamed of my former days, who may now also be unto me in mine old days a lantern of light and a glass of glistening virtue and godly manners.' There were never no profane Damon and Pythias, Scipio and Lætius, knit together with such a knot of true amity as these two were. For the pagans were coupled together, but with a false and counterfeited show of virtue; but these were linked together with the grace of God, from whence did spring the beauty and brightness of heavenly virtue, alluring either of them to love the other.

"God knoweth what a sorrowful parting there was of these two friends. Master Constable did fall into a grievous sickness, and was taken away by death, who was so careful both to succour prisoners and also to be prayed for after his death, that if he had come to his purpose and could have taken that order for his land which he determined, he meant to have left a piece of land to prisoners for a perpetuity, but being pre-

vented by death he gave forty pounds to Catholic prisoners, and departed this life in the year of our Lord, 1581.

“ Mr. Watson remained still in York Castle using continually the same works of mercy which he had used both before he came in prison and also in prison. For before he came in prison, amongst a number of his good works, when one Catholic prisoner was committed to a bloody-hearted bailiff in Ripon, he laboured continually to save his life, both relieving him with his own goods and procuring for him of others what he could, and also did endeavour with all his power to stay the bailiff's rage and cruelty against him. Being now in prison he helped many, and with his godly life and good works was a comfort to all. He followed the steps of Job in bearing most patiently injuries done against him; for when he was fast in prison some adversaries most violently and injuriously did occupy his grounds and take the profit from him before the leases were expired. He was heard to say no evil word against them, but ‘ God forgive them.’ And he prayed God for all things which were either with him or against him. He remembering the good purpose of Master Constable, which was prevented by death, determined himself betimes to leave a portion of land for poor prisoners. He disclosed this to a virtuous young man whom he loved entirely, causing him to draw his mind in writing. At this present this young man, John Thackeray, did fall into a dangerous and deadly disease, in the time of which sickness this *Pater pauperum* was as tender over him as his own child. When he had recovered his health, contrary to the expectation of all men, this good gentleman for joy (such was his charity) made a general feast to all the prisoners, meaning to proceed then with his good purpose. But who is worthy to know the secret dispositions of God? He himself also fell sick, and as the other gentleman before, so was he also now prevented by death; whose godly end, though unprofitable for the poor, yet was a singular comfort to all good Catholics. God be praised for it. He departed also in the year of our Lord, 1581, the 3rd of September.”

“ SIR NICHOLAS GARLICK,<sup>4</sup> priest, was born in a little village called Dinting, in the parish of Glossop, Derbyshire;<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> We frequently find the title of Sir attached to priests. An antiquarian friend suggests that the word exactly corresponded with the term *Father*, as *grandsire* expresses grandfather, or it may have been simply a title of respect.

<sup>5</sup> Dinting, not Vinting, was the birthplace of Nicholas Garlick. Dinting is a hamlet in Glossop, about a mile north of that town. Whitfield,

his father, a husbandman, was made Catholic by his son's means, yet being very rich and worldly, he once fell; yet his son persuaded him to rise again, which he did, and even then his son told him rather than he should fall again, he would pray to God to make him lame, so that he should not be able to go to their assemblies, which truly happened unto him. For troubles being then raised, which would have damaged him much, he fell so lame that he could not go without help. He would oft say to such as he trusted that his son's prayers had taken effect in him. He was brought up in his youth to learning, under a very learned schoolmaster. He was but in Oxford half a year, yet he was well seen in poetry, rhetoric, and philosophy. He kept a free school at Tideswell in the Peak four years, with great love, credit, and no small profit to his scholars. He was at Rheims three years; was made priest, came into England,<sup>6</sup> where he continued two years; then he was taken at London before the banishment,<sup>7</sup> put in prison, and in fine banished. Thinking then to have gone to Rome, but, taking counsel there, whether was of greater perfection, was resolved to return to his country, where he continued about two years; then was taken at Padly in Derbyshire, in the year 1588, the 12th of July, by George, then Earl of Shrewsbury. He was arraigned on the 23rd of the same month, for coming into this realm seducing her Majesty's people, which he denied. He said he came not to seduce, but to induce men to the Catholic faith, and for that cause he was called to the functions, and to that end he came into this country, which he had done, and would do, so long as he lived. Then the Judge asked him how he would be tried. He answered, by God and the Bench. The Judge said he was to try none; and, said he: 'I am loath my blood should be required of twelve poor men.' 'What,' said the Judge, 'they are honest men: do you make them beggars?'

in the same old parish, about two miles from Dinting, was the seat of the Garlick family in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, where they owned considerable landed property. The elder branch became extinct in the sixteenth century, the heiress marrying William Needham of Cowley and Snitterton. But several younger branches remained in the neighbourhood. The name is still known about there. I lately noted "Joseph Garlick, Grocer," in High Street, Glossop. Until recent alterations in the church of Hayfield (an old chapelry of Glossop), the arms of Garlick (argent, three heads of garlick, proper) were to be seen carved on an old oak pew end. [Communicated by J. Charles Cox, Esq., author of *Churches of Derbyshire*.]

<sup>6</sup> 1585, when seventy-two priests were banished.

<sup>7</sup> He was sent to England in 1583, in which year thirty-six priests were sent over, of whom six were martyrs.

'I speak not,' said he, 'to their disgrace, but we are all beggars of God, or at least ought to be.' Then the Judge persuaded him to be content to refer himself unto the country, and to this effect, and with great persuasions, so that at last he was content and so found guilty. Then was sentence pronounced. Then he said to the Judge that Cain could never be satisfied till he had the blood of his brother Abel.

"The day following he was drawn towards the place of execution; met with one of his companions who told him that they had shot off together. 'True,' said he, 'but now I am to shoot such a shot as I never shot in all my life.' When he came to the place he was commanded to go up the ladder, which he embraced and kissed. Then, because the fire was not ready, he spoke much unto the people, to this effect, to have care to save their souls. The officers did often interrupt him, but still he spoke till they pulled him off the ladder. He was hanged till he was almost half-dead, but because he had his doublet on, he came again to his perfect senses, and so was quartered.<sup>8</sup>

"WILLIAM KNOWLES of Kidware, yoeman, a married man, born in the county of Stafford, a good Catholic man; for which cause he was committed to the gaol at Stafford, where he continued about a year, and then died in prison; was not suffered to be buried in any church, but was buried in a place called the Friary, in 1587.

"MRS. JOAN VYZE, gentlewoman, a virtuous maid of the same county; committed to the said prison, where she continued above four years, and died a prisoner, 1589.

<sup>8</sup> Bishop Challoner appears not to have seen the MS. now quoted. He cites, among other authorities, the Rev. Robert Bagshaw, sometime scholar to Mr. Garlick, who calls the birthplace Vinting in Glossopdale, mentions the martyr having kept school at Tideswell for seven years, "so well discharging his duty therein, that by his good and most charitable care he had of his scholars, as if they had been his own children, he caused three of them to take the same venture and most happy course that he himself had done, viz.: go to the English College then at Rheims, who were all made priests and returned to their country with happy success, by increasing servants of God unto their mother the Catholic Church; whereof one called Christopher Buxton was martyred (October 1, 1588) at Canterbury." Mr. Garlick was made priest in March, 1582, and was sent upon the English Mission, January 25, 1582-3 (Douay Diary). The above manuscript will supply some data wanting in the Bishop's account. He says that Mr. Garlick was apprehended with Mr. Robert Ludlam, who afterwards suffered death with him for religion. The reader is referred to Bishop Challoner's short but affecting account of the imprisonment and execution of Mr. Garlick and his fellow-sufferers, Mr. Ludlam and a priest named Richard Sympton.

“WILLIAM DEEG, servant to one Bakewell, born in Staffordshire, his father a shoemaker; was taken for recusancy by Mr. Caudwell and Thornes the pursuivant, and carried to the said Caudwell's house, where he was strictly examined, threatened, and most barbarously used. For it is most constantly reported, because they could get nothing out of him by any speech, they tormented him with a hot iron. Yet not thus contented they further threatened to hang him, unless he would accuse his master. And indeed they kept promise with him, although, peradventure they had no such meaning, for in truth, they hanged him. Then, to save their credit, gave it out that he had hanged himself, and buried him as if he had so done; but without a ‘crowner’ [coroner], which is a thing not lawful in such a fact. They kept him three days. This was done in 1588, the 14th of March.<sup>9</sup>

“ALICE PAWLIN, born in Staffordshire, a good Catholic woman; was committed to the gaol of Stafford, where she suffered imprisonment two years; then died in prison, was not permitted to be buried in any churchyard there, but was buried in the Friary.

“MR. EDMUND VYZE of Stoke, gentleman, born in Staffordshire, his father a gentleman; was taken from his own house, Stoke, and committed to prison in Stafford, and, after a quarter of a year's imprisonment, died A.D. 1592.

“NICHOLAS THORNES, the pursuivant, a most bad persecutor, lying on his death-bed, said: ‘Now Queen Elizabeth cannot answer for me, nor Topcliffe, nor Thomas Fitzherbert do me any good.’ He wished he might speak with a priest specially, whom he had sought much for, and that he should both come and go safely. In the end he said he was condemned for persecuting the Church of God.

“In this year at Eckington in Derbyshire, the minister being at his later service, the devil came to visit them; but first in the most terrible and warlike manner, he came down the steeple as though he had shot off guns; so that the minister's wife, fearing some conspiracies against her husband,

<sup>9</sup> A similar wicked report was raised in the case of Father Thomas Wilkinson, who in the time of Oates' Plot was poisoned by the prison surgeon in Morpeth gaol, and buried in a dunghill. His history will be given in the Series embracing that plot.

called unto him to take heed of himself. He being altogether unarmed, called for assistance of the churchwardens, charging them very strictly to look who he was and take him. As they began to look for him, he came down so roughly, that in the bell-house he struck down two men. Then he went to the chancel so hotly that the officers thought it not good to lay hands on him. Back again he went from the chancel, so out of the church door invisible, much like a fiery bottle of hay all in burning flames of fire. The people were in such fear (as by report of some that were there) as words were not able to express. There was a young man stricken lame of all his limbs, but since he is recovered.

“In the same year, 1595, day, and very same time, there was a great tempest at Mansfield, in Sherwood, in Notts, the minister being at his service. First a great thunderclap burst a great hole in the steeple. The ringers thereat were afraid, and ran away, leaving the bells ringing. A dog only was killed. Divers persons were burned under their clothes, their apparel not hurt. Immediately after followed a pestilent perfume, worse than the smoke of brimstone, wherewith the church was filled. The people were greatly dismayed at this unacquainted smell, and made such haste to get them out of the church, as though they had bargain with [the] devil to have had the last person. Divers of their lives were greatly hazarded by reason of the great haste they made out of the door. After this they began to charge one another to be the cause of this punishment; but in the end, the best in the town laid it all on the poor minister’s neck, saying his evil life was the cause of that evil sent. How he posted off the matter I cannot assure you; but peradventure he would do as the rest did, clear himself and lay all on the devil’s back, and so load him.

“The same happened at Wakefield in Yorkshire on the same day, and in divers other places, as I have heard.

“MR. ROBERT LUDLAM, priest, was born in Derbyshire at a village called R——burne,<sup>10</sup> his father a yeoman; he taught

<sup>10</sup> This must be Radbourne, or Radborne, a village five miles from Derby. It was the seat of the Pole family for many centuries, and still is, though they are not now Catholics. They had Roman Catholic tendencies as late as 1745, for I have lately come across some curious information of the secret support they gave the Young Pretender when he got as far as this county. The then representative of the Pole family corresponded with him after his escape to the Continent. I have no doubt that Ludlam was a tutor in their family.—[Communicated by J. Charles Cox, Esq.]

a gentlewoman's children three or four years in the country. In Oxford he remained two or three years. In Rheims he studied three years. In liberty in England six or seven years. He was a very mild man, did much good in the country, for that he did much travel and was well beloved. He was taken with the said Mr. Garlick, arraigned, condemned, and executed with him, who being very bold, his answers did serve for both.

"MR. RICHARD SIMSON, born in Yorkshire; his father a yeoman; and scholar in Oxford in Gloucester Hall years, at Douay a quarter of a year, and made priest, continued at liberty about ten years; travelling in the Peak, met with a bad fellow dissembling himself to be Catholic, and when he had played his part, perceived what he was; so at the next town caused him to be apprehended, and so he was committed to Derby prison. At the next assizes he was arraigned and condemned, but yielding then to some conference, and to hear a sermon, was reprieved. But shortly after he repented this fact, and did openly recant his doing, so that then he was most hardly used till the next assizes. Then he was called again before the Judge, who told him he had not done well, and asked him what he could say for himself. But, [as] he was about to speak, he bid away with him. 'Why, then,' said he, '*In te Domine speravi non confundar in aeternum.*' So they were all three priests together [that] night. The next morning he was laid on a hurdle by himself, as the others were. What he said at his execution I cannot learn, but embracing the ladder, he kissed the steps. When he was in quartering, the people cried: 'A devil! a devil!' because he had on him a shirt of hair. But the wiser sort said he wore it because he had fallen. His imprisonment half a year.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*, gives short notices of the Reverends Robert Ludlam and Richard Sympson, but does not appear to have met with the above accounts. He mentions the temporary fall of the latter at his trial in 1588; his happy recovery by means of Messrs. Garlick and Ludlam; his severe penance in fasting, haircloth, &c., until death. The Bishop gives the following poem written, as is supposed, by an eye-witness of the execution:—

When Garlick did the ladder kiss, And Sympson after hie, Methought that there St. Andrew was Desirous for to die.	And what, if Sympson seemed to yield, For doubt and dread to die; He rose again and won the field, And died most constantly.
When Ludlam looked smilingly, And joyful did remain, It seem'd St. Steven was standing by For to be stoned again.	His watching, fasting, shirt of hair; His speech, his death, and all, Do record give, do witness bear, He wailed his former fall.

“JOHN FITZHERBERT, Esq., born in the county of Stafford, his father a Knight, in whose house at Padley, the said Mr. Garlick and Mr. Ludlam were taken. Therefore he was committed to Derby gaol, with the loss of almost all his goods, and continued there almost two years; then removed to London, then lived *six years in great want, and at the last died.*<sup>12</sup>

“JAMES CLAYTON, priest, was born at Sheafield [Sheffield] in the county of York, his father a shoemaker, and he himself bound apprentice for seven years unto the sicklesmith and shearsmith occupation, before he had learned his accidents. After which time he gave himself to his book, especially at vacant times, being never given to any vain sports, so that at length he came to an indifferent understanding of the Latin tongue. He became Catholic, then went over the seas to Rheims, where he studied positive Divinity three years.

“Then being made priest, he returned into England. After he had remained about four years, going to visit the Catholic prisoners in Derby, was apprehended, which happened in 1588, immediately before Christmas; the next assize after was arraigned and condemned, but the jury being willing to save him, demanded of him secretly whether he was made priest by the Pope’s authority or no. To the which question he answered: ‘Stick not upon that point,’ said he, ‘who doubteth that so I was made by his authority.’ Notwithstanding, at the earnest suit of one of his brothers, he was reprieved, and kept in prison, by wearisomeness thereof, as ’tis thought, he fell sick, whereof he died, July 22.<sup>13</sup>

“RICHARD KITCHEN, husbandman, born in Derbyshire, a good, honest, firm Catholic man, continued a prisoner five years, then died.

“RICHARD SPENCER, born in Derbyshire, his father a yeoman; was committed to Derby prison, being a very lame man, ever going on crutches, continued a prisoner about half a year, then died.

“MR. HUMPHREY BERISFORD, of the county of Derby, gentleman; his father an esquire, a Protestant. He studied at

<sup>12</sup> The words in italics are in another hand. The following words being erased—“About a quarter of a year.”

<sup>13</sup> The Rev. James Clayton was sent with seventeen other priests, under Pope Gregory XIII., to England in 1585. Of these eighteen, six were martyrs.

Douay about two years. Returning from thence, his father employed him about his suit in law, and having once a suit against one, who fearing to be cast by his means, accused him before the judge for a recusant. When the cause should have been heard, the judge examined him. He constantly professed his faith. Then the judge offered both favour to his cause and liberty if he would but only say he would go to their church; which he utterly refused. Therefore he was committed to prison, where he remained seven [blank in original], then died a prisoner.

“ROBERT SUTTON, priest, born in Burton-on-Trent, his father a carpenter. He was brought up in learning in the said Burton, till he came to the age of fifteen or sixteen years; then he was sent to Oxford, and first chosen scholar of Christ Church, after proceeded Bachelor and Master of Arts. He read logic, philosophy, Greek and Hebrew lectures in the college. He continued in Oxford eleven or twelve years, was parson of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire, six years. In Douay he was two years and a half; made priest in England. He remained at liberty nine or ten years. He was taken in Stafford, visiting the prisoners there, and brought before Sir Walter Aston, knight, who writ his examination as pleased himself, and when he read it to the said Mr. Roberts he utterly denied it to be his confession. Then he struck him with his staff (as it is reported) to the ground, and so committed him to the gaol, where he stayed but a while, for the assizes were at hand, when he was arraigned. Bishop Overton came hither and disputed with him of many things, but of what matter I cannot learn, but in the end, by every man's saying, he put the bishop to silence. He was condemned. Many lamented that so learned a man, as indeed he was, should suffer. He had some conflicts, and them very great, as I am certified, with thinking of death, but truly the prisoners there do assure themselves he had some special comfort in prison the night before he suffered, for in the morning, being ready to go towards execution, he turned him towards his fellow-prisoners, giving them his blessing, then said these words: ‘God comfort you all, for I am comforted,’ and so went most cheerfully and boldly towards his end.

“When he came to the place he desired he might speak, but they would not permit him. Then he took his handkerchief out of his pocket, lapped it together, made a fine discourse

of the candle we receive in baptism and in the hour of death, and in remembrance of what he said, he held up the handkerchief in token he lived and died in the light of the Catholic faith. He was put off the ladder and cut down very lively, for he stood upon his feet, was taken by great violence, dismembered, spoke these words, 'O! thou bloody butcher! God forgive thee.' So calling upon Jesus and Mary, he gave up his spirit. This happened in the year of our Lord 1588, July 27, he was martyred.<sup>14</sup>

"The said Sir Walter Aston was very earnest in giving evidence against him, and protested openly that if the evidence he gave took not place, he would never sit on the bench again; nor no more he did, for shortly after he fell sick, to whom the devil appeared; he commanded his men to take him away, and so died.

"July, 1588. In this year Mr. Erasmus Woulseley, Mr. William Maxfield, Esquires, Mr. Edward, Mr. Francis Thornbury, and Edward Spratt, gentlemen, being all prisoners, William Myners, yeoman, all these were arraigned for hearing Mass, and for that the said martyr was taken in their company; they were condemned all by the twelve as felons, but the judge, seeing the people flock about them much lamenting for them (for they were well-beloved in the town) he was moved to some compassion, and so reprieved them. So in the end they were put to their fines.

"JOHN ACRIGE, priest, was born and brought up at Richmond, who, having good knowledge in music, and competent understanding in the Latin tongue, was curate first at Wensley, under Parson Hyndmers, afterwards at a parsonage under Doctor Daykins, and last of all he did serve at Richmond, unto the rising of the earls, at which time he, repenting for his so long continuance in schism and heresy, did seek for reconciliation to God's Church again, which being obtained he did continue a firm member of the same Church until his death, passing abroad among Catholics as a poor pilgrim, until such

<sup>14</sup> Bishop Challoner fixes the date of the executions as 1587. Probably the above date might be written 1587-8. This account furnishes several interesting particulars not contained in the Bishop's *Memoirs*. In a list of priests sent from the English Colleges of Rome and Rheims, under Gregory XIII., we find in "1578, thirteen, of whom two were martyrs." Among others—"Robert Sutton and Richard Sutton, brothers, of whom the eldest was martyred at Stafford, 1587."

time as he was apprehended at his sisters' in Richmond, where, being tried by an alderman, his kinsman, of the same town, and others, if he could [be] brought into schism or his former kind of dissimulation, he utterly detesting the same, and their persecutions therein, was carried from thence to York, where, being brought to Mr. Hutton, he was asked if he was a priest. He answered, 'Yea, he thanked God, and that he thought that he also was a priest.' Mr. Hutton, like a heretic, made answer that he was a priest, but not a greased priest. The good simple man, knowing that he did speak that in a contempt of the unction of priests, said he was none of all them. He was committed to the Castle of York to be put in irons, being a priest, impotent and weak man, for bodily constituting, where, and afterwards at the North Block-house and Castle of Hull, he did remain in prison until his death, which was in the year of our Lord 1585, March 2, at six o'clock after dinner. He did give all that he had unto Catholics, and wished to die rather in prison than in any other place.

“[DOROTH]LY [DOROTHY] VAVASOUR,<sup>15</sup> gentlewoman, wife unto Vavasour, doctor of physic, and confessor. Knowing

<sup>15</sup> THE VAVASOURS OF HAZLEWOOD.—This ancient Yorkshire family, besides maintaining with steady perseverance the Catholic faith of their ancestors, and enduring many terrible persecutions in the cause of religion, furnished from among its sons many subjects for the priesthood, both secular and regular, and one son a lay-brother of the Society of Jesus; while several of its female members joined different religious orders.

In the matter of persecution, the following accounts of Dorothy Vavasour and her husband Thomas Vavasour, D.D., both of whom died martyrs for the faith, will be read with the deepest interest. Father Morris, in *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 316, gives a short extract from Dorothy's account, taken from Father Grene's Note-book. Of Dr. Vavasour's account, Father Grene gives a much fuller extract, likewise copied in *Troubles*, as above. Mr. Peacock, in his *Yorkshire Catholics*, under the head of "Spaldington," p. 132 (1603), mentions Richard Vavasour returned to the Bishop of York as a "recusant." Also, "Pocklington" (1603), "Elizabeth Doullman, widdow, recusant for one yeare last. Recusant reteined." "William Doullman, gentleman, and one Richard, his servant, recusants for half a year last. Recusant reteined." "Ellen Baiston, servant to the said Elizabeth Doullman, recusant for iiij yeares last." Mr. Peacock in a note says that Elizabeth Doullman was wife of Thomas Dolman, who was son and heir of William Dolman. Thomas died in 1584. Elizabeth was daughter of John Vavasour, and sister and heiress of Peter Vavasour of Spaldington. The Dolmans were a family of great antiquity, settled in the neighbourhood in the time of Edward III., and were at Pocklington in the fifteenth century. Elizabeth's eldest son was Sir Robert Dolman, Kt. Under the head of "Bubwith," p. 134 (1603), are mentioned, "Anne Vavasour, wife of Peter Vavasour, Katherin and Elizabeth Vavasour, daughters of the said Peter, . . . recusants for divers yeares." Also, "Richard Vavasour, of the parish of Bubwith, recusant for two yeares last."

In the *Lansdowne MSS.* British Museum, 153, n. 5, may be seen a

her husband's mind for faith and religion, and seeing him somewhat careful for her and his children, before his apprehension did desire him to cast away all care and fear for her and

letter from William Vavasour, Esq., in Newgate Prison, illustrative of the times. We subjoin a copy:—"Sr,—Being convicted in the *Premunire* and comytted to Newgate where I have contynewed longe in great miserye, and with no small peryll of my health. And being syncerely desyrous to gyve his most excellent Maiestye all humble satisfactyon of my obedyence to his Highness's lawes, yett enforced by the imminent danger of sycknesse if I should continew much longer in so pestilent a place, to sue in all humiliteye for the Kyng's most gracious mercy. And conceavyng by your often attendance upon the Lordes of his honorable Privy Council in the course of theys affyres that you may much further my humble desyres; I doe most earnestly entreat you to present unto his most Royall Maiestye my voluntary offer of seven hundreth poundes to be disposed at his pleasure out of my poore estate. The which summe of money, as it ys the uttermost I can possibly pay or performe, in regard of the small portyon of landes left me for my lyfe by my lately deceased auncestors who was not my father but my uncle: Alsoe in respect of my greate debtes, and extraordinary charge of children: So may it please his most pryncely bountye to accept thereof and release my imprisonment and vouchafe me his gracious pardon, I shall daily pray in the syncerity of my soule for the contynuance of his Highnesse happyest dayes, and his royall issue ever to rayne over us. . . . Thus in assurance of your friendly and charitable endeavours in thys behalfe, I commytt you to the protectyon of Almighty God. Ffrom Newgate this sixth of June, 1612. Your assured poore ffriend,—WILLIAM VAVASOUR. To the worshipfull my assured good friend, Mr. Henry Spyller, Esq."

From the Diary of the English College, Rome, we find that Thomas Vavasour of Yorkshire, born 1558, entered the English College, Rome, on November 2, 1581, for his higher studies. In March, 1587, he was sent into Apulia to collect alms for the aid of the English College, Rheims, then in great distress, and was killed (murdered by his guide) on the journey, near Bari.

Also, James Vavasour, a younger brother, born 1561, entered the same College on the 19th of the same month of November, 1581. Being ordained priest in 1586, he was sent to Rheims to repeat his theology, and died there July 6, 1591.

In *Troubles*, p. 459, note, we learn that Thomas Vavasour, eldest son of William or Walter Vavasour, and who was created a baronet in 1628, had thirteen children, of whom Henry became a priest, John a Jesuit lay-brother, Francis a Franciscan, Mary a nun at Brussels, and Margaret and Catherine nuns at Cambray. Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 325 (quoting the records of the convent), mentions Mary Vavasour, daughter of the above William, who entered the English Benedictine Convent at Brussels, and was the fifth Abbess. She died in 1676, having been for twenty-five years Superioress.

In the same Diary of the English College we find Henry Vavasour (*alias* Manners) admitted as a convictor among the alumni on October 25, 1615. His age is not given. On July 12, 1620, he quitted the College for England, on account of ill health, "leaving behind him an example of every virtue."

Also John Vavasour of Yorkshire; born 1628, admitted as a convictor of the same College on November 15, 1649. On entering the College, he gives the following short account of himself: "I am son of William Vavasour (who was son of Thomas Vavasour) and Ursula Gifford, daughter of Thomas Gifford. I am twenty-one years of age next Lent. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College. I have relations and uncles religious, and three brothers." He left for England on February 8, 1651.

his children, and to do that constantly and nobly in God's cause which his conscience did teach and move him to do. Herewith, he being marvellously encouraged, did take heart and comfort unto him, and prepare himself, with God's grace, to suffer what persecution soever God should suffer to fall upon him.

"After whose taking, she being troubled, sick, disquieted, and, as some thought, distract for a time, saying Our Lady's Matins with her goodman upon one of our Lady's days, she was suddenly at the same time restored unto her perfect health both of body and mind. After the which time, she being the chief matron and mother of all the good wives in York, did in a manner addict and give herself wholly unto the service of God. Her house was a house of refuge for all afflicted Catholics, of what state, degree, or calling soever, resorting thither. There God's priests, wandering in uncertain places for fear of imminent danger, had harbour, and the best entertainment that she could make them. There gentlemen and poor men too, so that they were honest and Catholics, were well accepted. There women, their times of bearing and bringing forth their children approaching, had good and safe being, both for the time of their delivery, the christening of their children, and the recovery of their health again. There all good Catholics resorting thither had free access, with her good will, unto Divine service and Sacraments. In the which good works this happy woman passing her time, in the year of our Lord 1578, upon the Assumption day of our Lady, being the 25th, the 15 day of August,<sup>16</sup> meaning to serve God, many Catholics being come there for that purpose, but for fear of that which did happen divers of them gone away, her house

Father William Vavasour, *alias* Thwinge, after making his humanity course at St. Omer's College, was admitted to the Society at Watten on March 24, 1665, with Sir John Warner, Bart. (*alias* John Clare). In 1676 he was a missioner in the College of the Holy Apostles. He quitted England during the excitement of Oates' Plot, having been marked out as an intended victim. His name occurs in the report of the trial of the noble martyr Viscount Stafford. He died at Nieuport, April 23, 1683.

Lastly, Walter Vavasour of Yorkshire; born 1664. After completing his studies at St. Omer's, he entered the Society at Watten on September 7, 1681, and was professed of the three vows on February 16, 1692. He served the mission of Preston for many years, and died there on April 10 (or May 14), 1740, *æt.* 76. His address was, "Mr. Walter Vavasour, to be left at the White Bull in Preston."

In proof of the loyalty of this family, we read in the *Catholic Apology*—  
"Thomas Vavasour, a major in the King's army, killed at the battle of Marston Moor."

<sup>16</sup> Old and New Styles.

was environed with watch and ward upon every side, and before that the Mass was entered on, became invaded by Mr. Andrew Trewe, alderman, and Mr. Richardson, the Sheriff of York the same year. The priest and many others were apprehended and put in prison, and she herself left at home, and appointed to appear in the Consistory upon such a day, as Sands their bishop would sit upon such matters.

“In the mean season the meeting John Thuikwarye [Thackrey], one of them who were taken at the house, going unto the Lord President from Ousebridge, bid him be merry and pluck up his heart, for he had God and truth on his side, against whom neither devil nor hell’s guilt could prevail.

“The day of her appearing being come, she being there beforehand, upon her call did present herself, who being asked of Mr. Sands whether she had had Mass done at her house upon such a day or no, she said no. He asking her what she would have done with five wax candles, the which were taken at her house in the aforesaid search and invasion into her house upon the Assumption day, she answered that she had purposed to have served God and our Lady therewith, if she had not been interrupted in such manner as she was, and that she had received of our Lady to serve and honour her in such wise (if otherwise she were not letted) all the days of her life.

“By favour and friendship made she was dismissed for the space of three years, in the which time she continuing, or rather increasing her accustomed devotion, was again, upon one of the feasts of our Lady, apprehended with many more, and, with two of her daughters, Anne and Dorothy, committed unto the new Counter of Ousebridge, where, and in worse place upon Ousebridge, she did continue until her death. She being in prison, her husband at Hull was taken with a sickness whereof he died, and suit being made for the said Dorothy to have warrant to go and visit him, leave could by no means be obtained. After his death she lived virtuously herself in prison, and kept her daughters in good order, who afterwards, lacking her, did neglect their duties, forget their good education, and do those things which they ought not to have done.

“The good gentlewoman herself, with the other Catholics there, upon malice of James Beckwith, the Sheriff in the year 1587, were shifted into the tower of Kidcott, infected with corrupt air, and an unwholesome odour of a poor woman lately dead there; where she and divers others being kept in throng, and to stray [strait] room in the said infected place, did

sicken and were diseased, in which sickness the most of them did continue so long as they did live. The said Dorothy being removed again into the same Counter did yield her soul unto God, the 26th day of October in the aforesaid year of our Lord, and her body was buried upon Toft Green.

“MR. THOMAS VAVASOUR.—Mr. Doctor Vavasour, a man both grave, learned, and godly for his great and Christian fortitude in defending the Catholic faith, was forced to fly, and was banished his country in King Edward's days, through the malice of heretics, who suborned one Mr. Cheek, school-master to King Edward, to procure his banishment, which Cheek, after his return in Queen Mary's time, did ask him mercy, confessing his fault. This good man now in this time, as a most valiant captain under the banner of Christ, to the good example of many, stood stoutly in his Master's quarrels, contemning and learnedly refuting the frivolous objections of barking dogs, to the glory of his Master and his soul's health, which so much vexed and tormented the spiteful devil, that he inflamed the adversaries of God's truth to frame, as they thought, a deadly and damnable excommunication, which they caused to be read openly in the pulpit of York Minster by one Moulton, sometime a religious man, but at this time a pestiferous and malt-mouthed apostate, making the people to believe that they had bound this good man in the chains of Satan (wherein they themselves are miserably entangled), whereas their course turned to his singular blessing.

“After this, the Sheriff of York, Mr. Askwithe, bursting into his house, and not finding him there, spoiled the house so unmercifully, that he left neither chair, stool, pillow, nor so much as the worst cushion in the house to lay under her poor child, when the sorrowful hearted mother, his loving wife, should have swathed it.

“About three years after this, my Lord President his men did invade his house, and beset it round about with naked swords and other weapons, night and day, the which fearful and terrible spectacle [did] drive such care and fear into the good gentlewoman his wife, having fasted three days, and wanting sleep, but she went by herself, the which her pitiful hearted husband perceiving, came forth of his secret place, and so was cruelly taken and committed to prison. Afterwards, at the entreaty of 'my Lady of Huntingdon,' who said that she was his cousin, he was permitted to go home to his

wife till such time as she was come to herself again. But he still remaining most strict and constant in God's cause, was committed the second time to Mr. Brooke of York, in whose house he had been prisoner before. Here he stoutly and learnedly stopping the barking mouths of blasphemous Protestants, began to be so famous that it was reported he would turn the whole city if he were suffered to talk, and therefore he was sent to Hull, with a most strait warrant to be kept alone, excluded from all company (except his own boy) in Hull Castle one whole year, under a cruel and unmerciful keeper, called Hawich, who locked him up continually, except when his meal was brought to him.

“ At the suit of his brother and other friends, by reason of his infirmity and sickness, he was removed from Hull to be prisoner at his brother's house. Whilst he was here under sureties, and was to appear when his day was expired before the Lord President, with the same sureties for the getting of a new day and further liberty, Satan by his instruments did surmise this false slander against him, that he was become a good man, conformable to the Protestant religion, insomuch that a worshipful gentleman rejoicing for him, did lovingly salute him as a conformable man, within the Lord President's house when he came to get a new day. He boldly told the gentleman that he was no such man, but that he was still the same he had been, and ever meant to be. And coming to my Lord President, at whose hands he might have had more new days, with all favour and courtesy, he fearing God, and detesting all offences, scandals, and stumbling blocks, with bold speeches and noble courage, did utterly refuse to take any more days, and therefore he was sent yet again to Hull, and was for certain years kept prisoner in the North Blockhouse, where daily he passed his time in virtuous studies, in contemplation and prayer, giving good counsel and ministering physic freely and cheerfully, good for both soul and body to any fellow prisoner visited with the hand of God, or summoned with sickness, the messenger of death. He and all the whole company of that house remaining alive were removed to the Castle, where they were so close and pestered with so many bodies in one chamber, that it was impossible for old and diseased men to continue any time. Here this constant confessor, being most diligent about some good aged priests, who were (saving your reverence) grievously diseased, and had very sore legs, took a sore sickness, wherein he lying

long with lingering pain, most patiently suffered both the absence of his dear wife (who could not be permitted to come to him) and all the pangs of sickness, till it pleased God to call him to His mercy. Thus ended he his life in this noble cause, which he had nobly defended with a noble and valiant heart, worthy of the noble line from whence he descended, who by his father's side was a knight's son, and had to his mother my Lord Windsor's daughter, a very good and virtuous Lady.

"He departed the year of our Lord 1585, the 12th of May, and was buried in the churchyard of a little town called Drypool, standing within the garrison walls of Hull."

[In another hand.] "What next follows is by a third suite. *Note*—That Dr. Vavasour, being delivered after his first apprehension because his wife for want of sleep and grief was bereaved of her wits, and yet in such manner as she said her Office of our Lady daily with him. It happened that having ended Matins one Lady Day (I know not which feast of our Lady it was), rising from her knees to say *Te Deum Laudamus*, she was restored perfectly to herself. Yet could not say *Te Deum Laudamus* for weeping, in that it seemed to her that she had loved Mr. Vavasour inordinately, having permitted the passion of affection so to reign as to fall from her wits."

"SIR THOMAS MADDE, priest,<sup>17</sup> was a monk of the Abbey of St. Gervase, three miles distant from Mydcham in Richmondshire, who hardly escaping death by favour and friendship in King Henry's days, executed upon all of them who did deny his unlawful usurped primacy, did take away, and hide the head of one of his brethren of the same house who had suffered death for that he would not yield and consent unto the foresaid priority wrongfully taken and challenged by him. Afterwards he did flee, lest he should offend God and trouble his conscience by the doing of any unlawful acts, unto St. Andrew's in Scotland, where he did remain unto the end of King Edward's reign. He, returning in Queen Mary's days, did spend his time about Knaresbro' in serving God according unto his vocation, and teaching of gentlemen's children and others. But in the time succeeding, wherein he could not live in such manner without the doing of something which he neither could nor would do, he continuing a firm Catholic always, for

<sup>17</sup> Called "Mudd" by Father Grene (*Troubles*).

anything which I ever heard, he was entertained of Lord Thomas Percy, the good Earl of Northumberland, where at Toplife and other his manor places, he did serve God and his good lord and lady, attending unto his functions as he was able. After the insurrection of whom, he shifting of the time amongst his friends, was at the last, in the year of our Lord 1579 apprehended at Mr. Thomas Tanckard of Borough Bridge. He and Sir John Dobson, priest, the gentlewoman of the house, Mr. Richard Norton, her son-in-law, and his wife and others, were apprehended by Sir William Malury [Mallory], knight, and other gentlemen directed and brought thither by Mr. Tanckard his eldest son and heir. The said Sir Thomas Madde was brought to York in derision in such ornaments as they did take him in at the altar, unto which city where he was carried, he dealing confidently in God's cause with Mr. Dobson, was committed unto the Counter, Ousebridge. Mr. Dobson was shortly after sent unto Hull, and the Lord President and Sands, the Protestant bishop, supposing that there were no Catholic prisoners at York learned, meaning to have a triumph over them, in the year of our Lord 1580, the 18th of July, did cause all the Catholic prisoners of the Castle and Ousebridge to be brought unto the minster, and to hear one Cole (chaplain unto the said bishop) preaching, against their wills. In the time of which sermon, none of them saying anything, the Lord President and Sands, with others, their adherents, expecting for a full victory, did after the sermon arise and go unto the Common Hall, commanding that the foresaid prisoners should be brought thither unto them. The states being set in their seats, and the poor Catholics present at the bar, one or two old men were called to reason or dispute in the cause, who excusing themselves, both for lack of books, time, sickness, and their age, the said Sir Thomas Madde was called, who, asking what the matter was, and what they would with him, answer was made that they would deal with him in the cause. He told them that he was thick of hearing, and desired that he might stand within the bar nearer unto them. His petition being granted, the controversy was of our Saviour His Real Presence in the Blessed Sacrament, wherein he did handle Sandes, Matthew Hutton, and others their assistants, so that Sandes did say that he would crush and bruise him for that day's work. Whereunto he did make answer that whatsoever he did unto his body, yet he was sure that he could not hurt his soul, and that he

would, if they pleased, and would give him leave, set down that in writing more effectually, wherein he had already talked with them, and in most of the auditors' ears convinced them also. But no offer or grant being made unto him therein, he was returned unto the New Counter, at J. Trewes, until the 3rd day of August next following, against which time Mr. Sandes, moving to perform his former words unto him, warrant was made unto the pursuivant to carry him and other five priests, who were prisoners at the Castle, from York to Hull, and there to deliver them unto the strait custody of John Beisby, then the keeper of all the Catholics in the North Block-house and Castle of Hull. There four of them, to wit, Sir Stephen Hemsworth, Sir Thomas Acrige, Sir Thomas Madde, and Sir John Akrige, under endurance, serving God in the best manner they could, did end the days of their transitory. The other two, to wit, Mr. Feildzend and Thomas Futhfeild, were banished in the year of our Lord 1515, the 26th of August, unto Newhaven in France. Sir Thomas Madde was sick the space of one month before he died, and his and all the priests' keeping was so strait that they could have none permitted to keep them but those who were prisoners with them. John Fletcher and Michael Tyrre did every night in course sit up and keep him and two or three others who were sick, all in the said time. The said Sir Thomas Madde did give all the silver and gold which he had to be distributed unto Catholics, and died 7th September, 1583, about midnight. His body was buried in the church-yard of Drypole."

"MICHAEL TYRRE was born in Aiskarth [Ripcarth] in Wenslayes Dale, whose parents' names were Arthur and Grace, his father being born in the same town, but his mother at Banckes in Denkes-dain, being daughter unto Oliver Swertwaite. He was brought up by them at the school until he was fifteen years old, at which time of his age, his mother dying, he was kept at his book by his father until he was eighteen years old, about the which time, one Leonard Idike, haberdasher, at the sign of the Plough, in Pawles [Paul's] Churchyard at London, had written unto his father that he had provided a master for his son, M. T., who but that he did stay at his request for him, might have had another £20. Sir Christopher Metcalfe, knight, did also about the same time cause him to be brought unto him at Nappaye, where he did offer both

to prefer him unto the ministry, and to place him in living. He refusing the office, did shortly after depart from his father's with his brother, who was a cupper at Doncaster, where by the leave of Mr. Mayor of the same town, and Mr. Thisson, then dean, he might, if he would, have taught the free school there, it being vacant at the same time. But he having a greater care how to increase his small knowledge than how to come unto worldly preferment, did depart from thence to his friend at London, where he did learn that in being a scribe or scrivener in such office as he would have placed him in, he might, if God should have given him life, have come unto worldly wealth; but how he might thereby increase the goods of the soul and mind, he could not perceive. Wherefore he did go from the city of London unto Oxford, where, by the favour and friendship of Mr. Edward Hyndmers, his good friend and master, but as then not known of him but only by report, he did live and abide a poor scholar and student at Trinity College for the space of four years, within the which time he, being Bachelor of Arts, was moved by his said master to stay, who told him that he had a fellowship granted for him in Balifes College<sup>18</sup> upon the next day of election, and also offered to do very liberally for him himself. He did thank his master, and doth account himself as yet very much indebted unto him, but misliking of the time, did go away from the university and return unto his father again, where at Niskarthes church first, and then at Gisborne in Cleaveland, and last of all in York, with great trouble for matters ecclesiastical and continual suspicion, he did teach scholars for the space of five or six years. The said M. T. was indeed in inward resolution a Catholic, even from his childhood, but did notwithstanding dissemble manfully to confess the same thing (although many ways, both inwardly and outwardly, moved thereunto) until the year of man's health and salvation 1573, in the which year he did resolve with himself to forsake sin and all dissimulation in God's cause, and by His Divine grace to serve Him truly in the best manner he was able according unto his vocation all the days of his life. This was his absolute resolution before his first and final conversion from his long and deep dissimulation. He made also a prayer two or three years before the same time, the which he did use oftentimes to say to the like purpose, wherein he did acknowledge God's benefits bestowed upon him, and his own ingrati-

<sup>18</sup> Probably Balliol College.

tude and negligence in not using of them unto His glory and blessed will, according unto his bounden duty, humbly suiting unto His Divine goodness for a restitution unto his former dignity and grace, and perseverance to continue in the same, being once restored, all the days of his life, what crosses, troubles, or persecutions soever should therefore be laid upon him. Afterwards, in the same year, being fully converted, he was sent for unto Mr. Bell, then prisoner in the Castle of York, the 6th day of July, where, at his request and entreaty, he did remain with him until the next morning, the gaolers of the Castle having intelligence of his being there, and of Mr. Bell his purpose and intent, did shut the gates, and make search for the said Michael Tyrye, and in William Tesimond his chamber, finding him, did apprehend him, and the same day before dinner did carry him unto the Lord President at the Manor Place, who being occupied in the solemnization of a marriage of a gentleman and gentlewoman, his domesticals, did commit him unto the porter's lodge, saying unto the said M. T. that he would talk with him after dinner. But he being otherwise occupied, did never as yet speak one word unto him, except by putting his hands unto strait warrants against him and his company. He had impugnation of divers at the porter's lodge there, but else for the time he had good entertainment, and his fees were mentioned, but freely forgiven and of the parties remitted. Upon the 25th day, being St. James' day, the Lord President going into the north, he was taken from thence by one Mr. Coultons and his servant, and carried unto Bishopsthorpe, where, as before, at the Lord President's he was committed unto the porter's lodge. After dinner he was sent for into a chamber wherein he did find Dr. Gibson, who at the time was the Judge of the Court. Mr. John Walton, secretary unto Mr. Grindall, the Protestant bishop at the time, and Mr. Coultons before named, an attorney. He being come unto them, had intelligence of their purpose, Dr. Gibson affirming unto him that besides his own office, which was known well enough unto him, yet at that time and in that place, he did supply the room of archbishop. He not doubting but that he did speak a truth, told him that he would answer truly in anything wherein he could lawfully examine him. Hereupon questions were made why he had abstained and foreborne to come unto the church for so long time, and wherefore he did not come unto the bishop at Mr. Holloway's church at York after Easter in the same year,

being admonished thereof by Mr. Summoner. After which questions followed whether he would come unto the church or not. Whereunto he answering negatively, the causes thereof were demanded. He answered that he would therefore never come to their churches or assemblies, for that they had neither lawful priest, altar, nor sacrifice. After this he would needs deal with him in the primacy, where, finally, he did grant and confess that the Roman Bishop was the supreme head under Christ of the Catholic Church Militant here on earth. His confession being written, and his hand set unto the same at their request and motions, Mr. J. Walton did say that he was in the highest degree of Papists, and that he would therefore afterwards sing *Miserere*. He replied that they had given him occasion to do that which was past, and if that God should permit extremity to fall upon him in that cause, he hoped by His grace to play the last part of the tragedy as well as he had done the first, and further that he (to wit Mr. W.) should never see that day. Dr. Gibson did say that he had been at the university longer than the said M. T. and that he durst not have spoken so much. He replied again that he was bound thereunto as much as he, and that he had the greater answer to make thereof if he did neglect his duty.

“After this and other talk, he was sent unto the porter’s lodge again until the warrant was made unto Robert Brooke, then the Chief Sheriff of York, to set him in the stocks in the worst place of the Low Kidcott, unto whom, about six o’clock in the afternoon, upon St. James’ Day, being brought by one of Mr. Grindall’s men, he had first a hot fight of talk with him, after the which he had a good supper, and last of all the warrants opened unto him, with a request that he would not be offended with him for doing that unto him which he was there commanded. He was sent by the serjeants unto the Kidcott, and there put in the stocks. The house, besides the vile odour in it, and too great a number for so little room, was full of loppes and lice. The people who were there were all against him at his entrance, but within a day or two after his being with them there they did love him so well that they would do anything which they could for him. His smelling he thought he had lost there with the stinking savour which was in the house, the which thing if it were so, God of His goodness hath marvellously restored it unto him again. He did remain in the said Low Kidcott in the stocks for the space of ten weeks ; neither was he ever released from them by any

warrant or word coming from Mr. Grindall, the author of his being therein. By the serjeants, of their good wills, he was removed from thence into the High Kidcott, from whence, being sent for once or twice unto Mr. Matthew Hutton, all means which he could devise were used for the calling of him back again into his former vomit. The said Mr. Hutton did say unto him that their cruelty had set him against them, and that if he could do anything he should not lack whatsoever he could do for him. They did talk in quiet manner betwixt themselves, both of the primacy and the venerable Sacrament of the Eucharist, with[out] dissension or yet any consent or agreement of the one of them unto the other, although unbridled tongues did speak therein at their pleasure, and otherwise than well. Their conclusion was a plain breach of favour between them, whatsoever before had been judged of their familiar conversation at these meetings, and being together at the dean's house. The cause of the said breach was a letter sent unto the said Mr. Hutton, wherein he did give his censure of two books, the which the last time wherein he was with him, he would needs lend him to read for his recreation. His letter was commended, allowed, and counselled to be sent by Father Comberford, but had been stayed by Mr. Thomas Appleyard, the Chief Sheriff of York, for a good affection which he did bear unto the said Michael Tyrye, lest his troubles thereby should be increased, but that one at his table the same time did say that there was no cause why it should not be delivered, whose speech prevailing, the writ was given. Mr. Hutton was so offended that he asked who did it, and how he did get ink and paper wherewith to write any such thing. John Crichton, the serjeant who did carry it, did make answer that he did stand by them himself when he did write it, and that his worship had commanded that he should lack neither books, pens, or paper, or other like necessaries. He continuing still in the passion of anger against him, did command them to let him have no more either pens, paper, or ink.

“On the 9th of November afterwards, 1576, he was shifted from the Kidcott unto York Castle, where he had for a quarter of one year (for so long he was there) more liberty than he had anywhere else since he was first committed unto prison, and yet was he so watched and warded by one Frubisher, put to be one of his keepers for the space of a month or six weeks by Mr. Thomas Bointon, then the sheriff of the shire, that nobody could come at him without him

so long as he continued in his office. Yea, he did bear such displeasure unto him that if his fellow, Mr. Morley, had not both withstood him and fallen out with him therefore, he would have thrust the said Michael Tyrre unto the felons in Lowe House.

“A.D. 1577.—The 29th of January, he and nine others were, by commission and warrant, sent into Hull by the Under-sheriff, Mr. Bethell, who being requested in respect of certain old men to grant them two days to make their journey thither, did answer that he would have them there in one day, either dead or alive. They being brought through, according unto his word, were delivered at the North Block-house, unto them of Hull, by whom being brought unto the Castle; certain orders made by the Lord President were read unto them, by the virtue whereof Mr. Mayor did think to move them to give every one of them *vis.* and *vijj*l.** unto their keeper at their entrance, and further, what weekly rent they were able. The *vis.* and *vijj*l.** of every one of them being presently looked for, Michael Tyrre did say that the Lord President might make orders and laws for men who had lands and living, but not for others who did lack them; and for his own part, if such rigour and extremities were to be executed against them, that it were as good for him to begin to suffer even then presently, as afterwards. Hereunto the others did consent and agree, for the which case the keeper was bidden by Mr. Mayor to keep them without fire, light, beds, or meat. At the said Hull, in a moist low house in the North Block-house, where there was no place of convenience, John Fletcher and Michael Tyrre, were separated from all other company for the space of four years, in the which time they had no other help for the needs of nature, but to carry it forth in basins themselves into the water Hull. Yea, when the plague was in the town, upon the other side of the water directly against them. At the Castle afterwards, the said Michael by strange oppressions and false slanders, being cut off from the charity of benefactors, and possibility of obtaining any debtors [*? debts*] due unto him, did for the space of two or three years live without the buying of any other food excepting bread, penny ale, and milk. He living in this manner, rumour went that he would give over, until such time as his keeper, having practised his skill for effecting this thing, did plainly affirm that he would never give over.

“He is at this present time almost twenty years prisoner, having not had one day's liberty all the said time, although he

hath written unto the Lord President, the Bishop, Mr. Mayor of Hull, Mr. Edmund Bunny<sup>19</sup> and others for the same. He hath suffered besides all the aforesaid great impugnations of invisible enemies, both before and after his apprehension. He doth live at this instant, his own goods being unjustly detained and kept from him, having no certain help or exhibition wherewith to buy him boots, apparel, fire, or any other necessaries more than his ordinary diet, and hopeth, by God's grace, perseverance and patience to pass through all, and in the end both to please Him well, for whom he hath and doth suffer all things, and to receive his penny with the rest of his brethren and societies. Anno 1594."<sup>20</sup>

"SIR JOHN ALMOND, priest.—God, of His mere mercy in this perillous and dangerous time, hath called and chosen sons of every age, order, state and condition, to confess and profess His faith openly and boldly, to His glory and their eternal salvation; among whom a religious and fatherly man called Sir John Almond of Cheshire of the Order of Cistercians, not so learned, yet grave, wise, godly and zealous in the Catholic cause, could with no imprisonment, no threatening, no terrors or fear of death, with no fair show of any liberty, be once moved to shrink in so noble a cause. When he did hear of any cruelty, as sudden searches, harder or straiter imprisonment, or death itself, pretended or threatened against Catholics, his manner was in lifting up his head and hands to heaven not only to rejoice himself, contemning all terrors for Christ's sake, but also with bold and cheerful speeches, and pleasant countenance to animate and embolden his fellow prisoners to stand forth under the banner of Christ with valiant courage. For he had a singular mother-wit, his talk was both grave, wise and sententious, and also seasoned with pleasant and merry conceits, always referred to a good scope and godly end.

"He was first tried in York Castle, tossed from thence to the Castle of Hull, and from that Castle removed to the Blockhouse, and last of all brought back again to the Castle of Hull, where, though blind and crooked with old age, he was kept more strait than ever he was before. He suffered his blindness and all those pangs and pains which old age bringeth

<sup>19</sup> This is the zealous Protestant Justice of the Peace who figures in the memoir of Father John Falkner, St. Thomas' College, Wardour Castle, later on.

<sup>20</sup> Father Grene in a note says that perhaps Michael Tyrye himself wrote this account (*Troubles*, p. 321, note).

with it most patiently. But that which is pitiful, when he was through extreme age and infirmities, and the want of good keeping, become so childlike, that, when unable to do the needs of nature with such decency as was fitting, that no entreaty nor interference of friends could move the hard and stony heart of the keeper<sup>21</sup> to allow him a convenient place where he might have a fire and one or two to keep him. And yet one or two of the prisoners made earnest suit to the keeper, offering themselves<sup>22</sup> to keep him, and watch with him day and night to the hazarding of their healths and lives for God's sake and his. You may judge what compassion was had on the rest in Hull Castle, where a very old Father, a reverend priest, blind and lame, a child again, whose memory was gone, could find no more favour at his cruel keeper's hands, who, notwithstanding, was unable to abide the strong odour when he came through the chamber where the old man lay, which chamber was filled and pestered with no less than five and sometimes six beds, in some of which lay old men, and so weak and diseased, they were hardly able to put off and on their own clothes. The which close, strait, hard, noisome and cruel keeping, was supposed to shorten the life both of this good old Father and others.

"Thus, after many troubles and crosses valiantly and cheerfully sustained for Christ's sake, by the mercy of God, he departed from this vale of misery and exile, to our true country, prepared for all good and constant Catholics, when he was near or above fourscore years old.

"He departed A.D. 1585, April 18, and was buried at Drypole."

"SIR THOMAS ACRICKE [ACRIGE], priest.—I cannot choose but speak a word to the glory of God, of another religious man, named Sir Thomas Acricke, who laboured day and night, that his light might shine through good works to the honour of our heavenly Father, and to the good example of other religious men, who with cowardice and timorous hearts, fearing the terror of prison, were drawn into the vain world, delighted with a little liberty dearly bought.

"This good man renouncing living, liberty, and according to his priestly calling, constantly confessing the Catholic faith, was committed to York Castle, where to the comfort and consola-

<sup>21</sup> "Beesby," in the margin.

<sup>22</sup> "John Fletcher and Michael Tyrye," in the margin.

tion of others, he so gave himself upon the day to contemplation and divine studies, that he was never seen to be unoccupied, but only at meat, and being of the Order of Bare-footed Friars, he observed that Order, ever in York Castle and elsewhere, so long as health and opportunity did permit him, and to go to his bed at seven of the clock at night, and to rise nightly at midnight, giving himself devoutly to continual prayer till four o'clock in the morning; then taking a little rest till six, he passed all the day in virtuous exercises, as I said before.

"He was removed from York Castle, to the [Castle] North Block-house, of Hull, where continuing for a certain time in his godly life, and to suffer for his Master's sake, he fell into a sore sickness, the pangs whereof he biding patiently, he departed this life by the mercy of God."

"SIR STEPHEN HUNSWORTH, priest.—I may say as much of another good and godly man called Sir Stephen Hunsworth, who died in the same North Block-house, after he had passed his time which God permitted in prison, with great zeal, fervent devotion, secret silence, pleasant quietness and charity towards God and all men, of whom, as of all the rest, that may be said, which the Church singeth :

Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,  
Sobrius, castus fuit et quietus,  
Vita dum præsens vigilavit ejus  
Corporis artus.

"MARGARET WEBSTER; FRANCES WEBSTER, her daughter.—We see by experience that these noble houses and gentle families, which have their first beginnings from Lady Vertue, do take very deep root, do continue the longer, and that they bring forth good grapes and beautiful branches, loaden with the sweet and delicate fruits of virtue. We try [? see] contrarily, that these houses which rise up through covetousness, or any other notorious vice, do take slender root, and that, as fading flowers, they soon and suddenly decay; yielding no good and wholesome fruit, except it please God sometimes, through His grace to His glory to cause some crab thorn, and some crooked and kraibbed [crabbed] stock or stump to bring forth some blessed Barbara, or some Christian-hearted Christian, preferring the love of Christ before all carnal kindred and worldly felicity. To the glory of God, by His grace, I will set before your eyes a sweet lily, a happy virgin, though no martyr

in act ; yet touching first of all briefly the crooked stock from which she did descend. Since Satan hath been permitted of late to rattle his chains and to rage himself against Religious Houses, being the channels of all virtue and the flourishing garden of all honesty and chastity, have many mounted up upon their high horses accounted for great gentlemen (whose ancestors were of small worship), by buying and taking of Abbey lands, which were given of good men for the maintaining of God's Divine service to His great glory.

Among these were two of late years, the one called Witham, the other Webster, who bought some lands which belonged to the Abbey of Pomfret. When both of these houses had reaped but too much profit by the same, the house of Witham, desirous to have some precedency over the other, claimed some tithe or some profit due unto it, as the superior. And, because the eldest Witham (for his younger brethren, worthy gentlemen indeed, were good Catholics) knew old Webster, his sons also, his wife and daughter to be Catholics, he was the bolder to enter suit with them hoping (as the time is) more mightily to prevail against them, being himself accounted an earnest and hot Protestant. Behold here the spite and malice of envious Satan against the true and sincere religion of Christ, if he can catch in his claws a fit instrument for his purpose, especially such an one as hath the heart of a traitor Judas, when he dare not venture upon a virtuous man or woman himself, then he useth to work by such mischievous instruments without whose help he could do no harm. And therefore in this respect, an ill man is worse than the Devil himself.

“One Arthur Webster, son to the old man, sometimes a famous cutter, yet now a Catholic, disdaining that the house of Witham should put his house to any foil, being overcome with the temptation of Satan, did fall from God, did cast off the coat, the livery and badge of Christ, and put on the coat of an earnest persecuting Protestant, and entering into the devil's service did procure a commission for the attacking of Papists, because he meant of malice to plague the house of Witham, by apprehending the good brothers of William, Catholic gentlemen. O devilish malice ! O spiteful fraud of the hellish serpent ! O traitorous traitor ! Under this commission he took Mr. Sikes, priest. The eldest Witham informed him by the virtue of this commission to apprehend his own mother, a good and constant Catholic gentlewoman and his dear sister, a

very virtuous young woman, called Frances Webster. In the miserable fall and lamentable plague of these two houses, old Mr. Webster, an old tree, a rotten stump, with one storm of adversity, with one blast of persecution is overthrown and falleth from God. His young grapes, his sons Arthur and the rest, as fading flowers, did in short space fall and decay. Old Witham, through the wicked work and craft of witches, did wither away. Here we may see that Christ hath no respect to worldly reputation, to worship, wealth, riches, to the majesty, strength or portliness of body. He hath chosen the younger brethren of Withams' house to wear His badge, His coat, and livery. He hath elected the weaker vessels and the female kind of Webster's house to fight courageously under His Cross and banner. Therefore Mistress Margaret Webster, a sincere and pure Catholic, a liberal keeper of hospitality for any poor afflicted Catholic, a good almose [almsgiving] woman, that charitable Sunamite,<sup>23</sup> the tender-hearted hostess of Elizeus, an harbourer of Catholic priests, is by the fraud of Satan, by the spite of Witham, and (O lamentable case!) by the treachery of her own untrusty son, unhappy Arthur, apprehended and brought to York Castle. And her dear daughter, his natural sister, though not a consecrated and vowed virgin, yet a sweet virgin in act and deed, in life and conversation, a redolent rose, a pure lily, an odoriferous flower in the Church of Christ, is by the same fraud, malice, envy and most traitorous train, set alone in Peter's Prison at York. In the which prison, this blessed Barbara, this holy Christian, persecuted of her brother, tormented of her own father (because the doating old fellow did fall), showed herself most constant, a bold confessor of Christ's Catholic doctrine, fervent, zealous, devout, patient, quiet, charitable, never ceasing to work good works with all her power. For, when a priest of God was put into a low prison under her, into a deep and darksome dungeon, this blessed maiden found the means to open a grate, and to let in some light unto him, into darkness. But, O God! how lightsome and how joyful an heart had he<sup>24</sup> when he considered her purity, when he heard her comfortable speeches proceeding from a chosen vessel of the Holy Ghost, when he felt also her true charity. For she obtained him a gown for the

<sup>23</sup> 4 Kings vi.

<sup>24</sup> "Mr. John Fingley," in the margin. John Finglow, or Fingley was hung for his priestly character at York, August 8, 1586-7.

clothing of his body in the day, and to stand him instead of a bed in the night. And when she was examined for this work of mercy, she boldly answered that she had given it, and that if it were to give, she would give it, and show any work of mercy to the anointed of God.

“She was removed hence to the Castle of York, where her mother was prisoner. Here the one of them was no small comfort to the other. Here the wife studied how she might raise up her fallen husband; here the daughter was careful to win again her father. Here they both laboured with all their power, to work the work of all works, a worthier work more worthy than the whole world, and all the riches, empires, and kingdoms of the same. When this godly matron, with the true heart of a trusty Natalia, had brought this to pass, requesting the diligence and good prayer of her dear daughter for the same, to their great discomfort, the doating, tottering and staggering old fellow had no grace to stand. This holy gentlewoman, this godly matron Margaret, a light of good life to all other women her fellow-prisoners, did spend her time continually in fervent prayer and devotion, working still—the works of mercy and charity to the poor according to her ability, as she had done before. And this blessed maiden, her daughter Frances, having come to a marvellous perfection, did most humbly abase herself for Christ’s love, willingly offering herself to do any drudgery, to wash dishes, sweep houses, or to do any servile work in so glorious a cause. She shone as a bright star amongst other maidens; her virtuous life was a lantern and shining light unto them, and her holy conversation was a good example and a comfort to all Catholics.

“When God called her happy mother to His mercy, this sweet virgin, bereft of the comfortable company of so good a mother, and viewing the lamentable fall of her father, the treachery of her brother, and ruin of the whole house, not through any impatience, but because she wished to follow her mother, and to see her sweet Saviour, whom she entirely loved with her whole heart, she wished, if it pleased God, that she might be dissolved, that she might be the next corpse after her mother. To the admiration of all her fellow-prisoners, her best beloved sweet Jesus did visit her with sickness, and, hearing her hearty prayer, did call her to be the next corpse in York Castle after her mother, in three months following. She took her sickness most patiently, and when death

drew near, a godly and motherly matron<sup>25</sup> brought a caudle unto her for her comfort, not dreaming at all that she would die. She quickly demanded of that virtuous woman what she meant by bringing such trash and oily food unto her. The silly woman, not conceiving her heart's desire, did impart the matter to others. Hereupon a godly young man<sup>26</sup> who used to comfort Catholics in their sickness and adversity, coming unto her, did ask why she neglecting her health did reject such comfortable food, as oily trash? She told him that that was not the food which she desired; she wished most heartily to receive that angelical food, the true manna, the meat of life, the banquet of all banquets, replenished with all heavenly delights, the Body of her best beloved Jesus. He willed her to take this bodily food, promising that she should receive the Celestial meat in due season, after she had refreshed herself with this. She did so, and [after] she had received her Maker reverently, with exceeding joy of heart, she was called from this vale of misery in the year of our Lord, 1585, June 29. Margaret Webster departed May 27.

*Postscript.*—"At her death, she gave her whole portion to poor prisoners. One meeting her ghostly father, a godly man Mr. Birckbeck, coming from her, when she departed, asked if she were dead. He answered 'Yea,' and he saw such signs of heavenly grace in her, even till death, that he said thus: 'If that soul be not well, woe to any soul.'"

"ANN LANDERS.—As in other times of persecution, so in this tempestuous time also, God hath marvellously showed His mighty power, yea, in frail and fickle women-kind, to the setting forth of His great glory. For the declaration whereof I mean briefly to bring an example of one gentlewoman, descending from a worshipful stock of the Constables, called Anne Landers, who might worthily be called Anne, because (according to her name) she was gracious, merciful, and charitable. You shall pardon me if I go a little by the way, to show the manner of her first taking.

"The Lord President of the north parts, meaning to terrify Catholics, and utterly to extinguish religion in those quarters, gave commandment and commission to the aldermen of York that they should secretly and suddenly invade and enter houses suspected of Papistry, and apprehend how many

<sup>25</sup> "Mother Nuttall," in the margin.

<sup>26</sup> "One Mark Wraye," in the margin.

Catholics soever they could, either within the city, or so far as the bounds and liberty of the same did extend. By the virtue of this commission divers gentlewomen, as Mrs. Twates [? Twaites], Mrs. Anne Tesk, and this Mrs. Anne Landers, with other good women, were apprehended and committed prisoners to Ousebridge. The scope of this commission was to arraign and condemn them for some point of religion; and therefore the aldermen and magistrates would needs enforce every one of them to yield some reason why they would not go to the church. Anne Landers, of whom at this present I purpose to speak, answered that she would not go to the church because their Church had not antiquity, universality, and consent. They having their answer, upon the which they meant to arraign and condemn them, forthwith appointed a session, wherein the Lord President, the Lord Mayor of York, with the aldermen and many worshipful and sundry lawyers were assembled, before whom all these constant Catholics were called. The wise gentlewomen having also taken wise and learned counsel, devised a letter to the Lord President, wherein they earnestly desired to have law. He answered that there was no law for them. Master Landers, then an attorney, stood up, and in defence of his good wife boldly told the Lord President that there was law for them. Whereat the Lord President astonished did grant them law, asking whom they would choose for their lawyer. They chose Master Babthorpe,<sup>27</sup> who being called they desired him to plead their cause, and did offer him his fees. The Lord President demanded of him if there were law for them. He answered there was. My lord said there was not. He boldly said that he would prove it if he would grant him licence fully to speak. He asked the same of Mr. Burman, of Mr. Payliffe, and of other lawyers, who answered to the contrary, that there was no law for them. But Master Bapthorpe stood still ready to prove it against them all if he might safely be licensed to speak. Having at last obtained licence, he had no sooner begun to plead their cause indeed, but he was put to silence and committed prisoner to one of the Sheriffs of York, called Mr. Edmund Sander, and Mr. Landers was committed to the pursuivant, and the good woman had six weeks to consider whether she would pay her fine or bide the imprisonment adjudged her. Master Bapthorpe at first, and then Mr.

<sup>27</sup> This was Leonard, second son of Sir William Babthorpe and Agnes Palmer. Leonard was a barrister (*Troubles*, p. 12, note).

Landers, upon hope to enjoy his wife, and through fair words, were content to recall and deny their former assertion, and for their pains were both suddenly sent to London, where Mr. Babthorpe was set in the Counter, and Mr. Landers committed to the Tower. Being called into the Star Chamber Mr. Landers was bitterly rebuked for giving over the defence of [his] wife which he had so boldly interposed, and they were both sent down to York to be punished. Mr. Babthorpe upon his knees must openly before the Council recant, and Mr. Landers must be set upon the pillory.

“That I may return again to this gracious Ann Landers ; here her crosses and persecutions began cruelly to increase. For her husband, well-beloved, and a man of honest fame and reputation, fearing the shame and open opprobrium now to be had by the punishment of the pillory, did write most earnest and vehement letters of persuasion to his wife, willing her, of all love, to yield something in religion, that he thereby might escape the odious infamy and slanderous punishment of pillory. Oh, God ! what griping grief, what terrible torment, what a bitter breakfast was this to that virtuous gentlewoman, whose pure conscience was to her a continual feast. She, considering her husband's fear and troubles fell into such sorrow, such sobs, such tears and carking cares that she could neither receive meat, nor drink, nor take any quiet sleep for six or seven days. It was a pitiful sight to see the alteration of her wasted and consumed body. She considered with herself how dangerous a thing it was to give a scandal by falling or doing anything at the request of the adversaries ; how horrible a thing it was to hazard her soul ; what an exceeding great loss it were to lose the love of sweet Jesus, who for her sake was nailed upon the Cross, imbrued in blood from the top to the toe, wounded in a thousand places, and suffered a most opprobrious and cruel death for her redemption. These things being well pondered, she sent for a godly young man,<sup>28</sup> and caused him pitifully to write her resolute mind in a wise letter, showing to her husband what Christ had suffered upon the Cross for his sake, which, when he had perused, beholding the Christian fortitude and virtue of his wife, he cast off fear, and bore patiently the punishment of the pillory, and afterwards by her good example and godly means, became a constant Catholic himself till death, suffering a number of crosses and troubles for Christ's sake. See how the devil was here

<sup>28</sup> “John Thackwraye,” in the margin.

deceived, seeking to suppress the Catholic truth. The property of Catholic truth is to have the victory when it is hurt.<sup>29</sup> After this she had liberty for a time; but being taken the second time, she was committed to York Castle, about 1579, where she did much good by her good example of godly life, and charitable works. From thence she was removed to Hull Castle. The terror and fearful reports of using Catholics hardly and cruelly in the Castle and Block-house of Hull did not dismay and discourage her, being suddenly, with all the fear and terror that might be, separated from her loving husband and sweet children, brought hastily to Hull Castle, and committed to a covetous, cruel, and unmerciful keeper. Here she gave a good example of constancy, patience, humility, mercy, and of other virtues. Here, in this prison, she took more upon herself than at the first was laid or inflicted upon her. For that gracious Anne who, when she was abroad, had fed daintily and delicately, and had gone bravely, according to the time, and the glorious pomp of this vain world, when she came in this strait prison, a place indeed to be preferred before the palaces of princes for Christ His sake, she viewing the place well, and considering that it was the school of Christ, in place of her brave gown, trimly set out with fringe and lace, put on a kind of mourning weed. She now laid apart her golden coifs and shining cowles, with her gorgeous hats adorned with gold, and trussing up her fine frizzled locks, which were wont to be laid abroad for a show, she put upon her head homely attire, and used to wear a mean felt hat. Here you may see a notable example, and a very excellent metamorphose suddenly made within the Church and school of Christ. This was the grace of God, this was His only power, this was an alteration made by His right hand. This good gentlewoman thus separated was kept prisoner in Hull Castle five or six years, where, besides her constancy and Christian fortitude, to the honour of God in this cause of causes, she showed with other godly virtues. Her fasting, praying, watching, her almsdeeds and works of mercy did cast forth comfortable beams and light of holy life, and brought no small consolation to poor persecuted Catholics. For she used always to cast her pitiful eyes towards them which were most oppressed with affliction and poverty. Such she did visit, such she did comfort with meat and money, such she did heart and encourage in this heavenly cause with sweet and

<sup>29</sup> "Hilary, lib. vii. *De Trin.*," in the margin.

godly speeches. I am sure she fed some daily upon her own cost with such nourishing and comfortable meat as she was able to buy, for a quarter of a year together, and they were such indeed as were forsaken and left succourless of their friends, and of their own wives.

“At the length she was called from Hull Castle by warrant, to be prisoner at London with her good husband. At her departure she gave to poor prisoners what she was able, and she humbly and earnestly entreated her brother and friends that they would bestow those gifts upon poor prisoners in Hull Castle, which they meant to bestow upon herself if she had remained. When the warrant was come from her husband for her remove, and her brother had broken day, deferring from day to day the fetching of her away from Hull Castle, she fearing lest through the keeper's covetousness, or by some other evil means, she should be stayed from her husband, as others had been stopped and stayed before, through lingering care and lack of natural rest and sleep she went by herself for a time, without raging or raving, quiet and still, most like to an innocent child. But through the mercy of God and the prayers of poor Catholics whom she had relieved, she came to herself within four days, and departing from Hull to her husband she lived (as we were certified) as godly as ever she did before. She and her charitable husband are both departed at London ‘in the Counter.’ Sweet Jesus, reward their souls.”

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In consequence of the severe persecution against Catholics, the Annual Letters concerning this Residence are very scanty.

1635. In this year the Fathers of this District are reported to have had special opportunity of practising religious poverty. Two or three of them had very small annual stipends. The rest had no fixed residence, and no other support than casual alms. Yet Providence did not suffer them to want what was necessary to their maintenance.

In the following year mention is made of a striking miracle granted through the application of water blessed by a relic or medal of St. Ignatius.<sup>1</sup>

1640. The ministry of the Fathers this year was very much disturbed by wars and rumours of wars. Great apprehensions are expressed of the calamities in which the civil

<sup>1</sup> For several miracles thus obtained, see *Records*, Series II. pp. 6, 17, &c.

war now commencing was likely to involve the whole kingdom.

1645-9. In these years there is little beyond a general report that the missionary Fathers bore their share of the common sufferings of the times, subjected to want and spoliation, living in constant apprehension of the incursions of the soldiery and other dangers, and often driven to flight or concealment.

1650-5. An account is given of Father Anthony Hunter, Superior of this Residence, and the charitable aid he rendered, at the risk of his life, to two Catholic convicts under sentence of death in Newgate.<sup>2</sup>

1656. In this year persecutions were not wanting to members of the Society. The houses in which the Fathers lodged were searched unawares. Two were captured, Father John Cuthbert and Father Thomas Rochester, and carried off to prison; the rest, not so much by their own exertions, as by the protection of Providence, eluded the vigilance of the pursuivants.

Father Andrew Stone, *alias* John Cuthbert, was born in the year 1597, of Catholic parents of the upper class, residing at Easbrow, Yorkshire, who were at one period rich in this world's goods, but became reduced to poverty on account of their constant profession of the Catholic faith. He made his humanity course of studies at the English College, St. Omer, for four years, and then spent about three months in Spain in studying philosophy, from whence he proceeded to Rome for his higher course, and entered the English College there as an alumnus, under the assumed name of John Cuthbert, on October 8, 1617. Having been ordained priest on January 17, 1621, he was sent into England on April 19, 1623, in his third year's theology, and entered the Society in 1634, and on February 18, 1647 he was professed of the three vows. He was a missionary Father in this Residence, and is named in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London (1624) as "F. Stone, a Jesuite." The English College Diary speaks in honourable terms of him as a quiet man, who made good progress in learning, piety, and modesty. We do not trace the date of his death.

The zeal of Father Richard Danby, *vere* John Riley, is

<sup>2</sup> A short Life of this confessor of the faith, who was himself under sentence of death in the time of Oates' Plot, and who died in Newgate prison, February 3, 1684, æt. 78, will be given in the history of that period.

mentioned. He laboured much in the outskirts of the county, though he belonged to the Residence of St. John. It is recounted as a wonderful fact, that although in the course of a few years every house and locality had been searched twenty times over, yet in each place where he happened to be at the time, his enemies missed the object of their search.

1672. FATHER THOMAS ERRINGTON, *alias* or *vero nomine* COLLINGWOOD, was at York during this year, though how much earlier does not appear.<sup>3</sup> His zeal and charity are highly spoken of in the annual report, which says that among the conversions to the faith was that of a certain woman, wrought through the wonderful goodness of God, and the zeal of Father Thomas Errington, of York. Towards the end of Lent this woman was condemned to die by the flames, for the barbarous murder of her husband. Father Errington, thinking it might not be difficult, by the magnitude of the crime, and the severity of the punishment, to bring this unhappy person to a salutary repentance, determined to go to the prison and make the attempt. It was one full of danger, since in a recent and similar act of charity performed towards a dying soldier, the Governor was much offended, and had afterwards often threatened the priests. Father Errington, however, despising the danger, went to the prison, and succeeded in seeing the convict. His first effort met with no result, as she believed him to be deputed by the judge to discover, under pretext of confession, the truth of the charge to which she had pleaded not guilty. At another interview, however, the Father happily succeeded, through the grace of God and his own efficacious exhortations, in bringing her to the Catholic faith and the Sacrament of Penance. To this spiritual act of charity for the salvation of an immortal soul, Father Errington added a corporal act of mercy, by obtaining a mitigation of the punishment. By the intervention of friends he procured this change, that when bound to the stake, the criminal should be strangled, before the fire reached her. Finally, the convict, now a neophyte, strengthened by faith and grace, went to the place of execution with firmness, and in truly Christian dispositions.

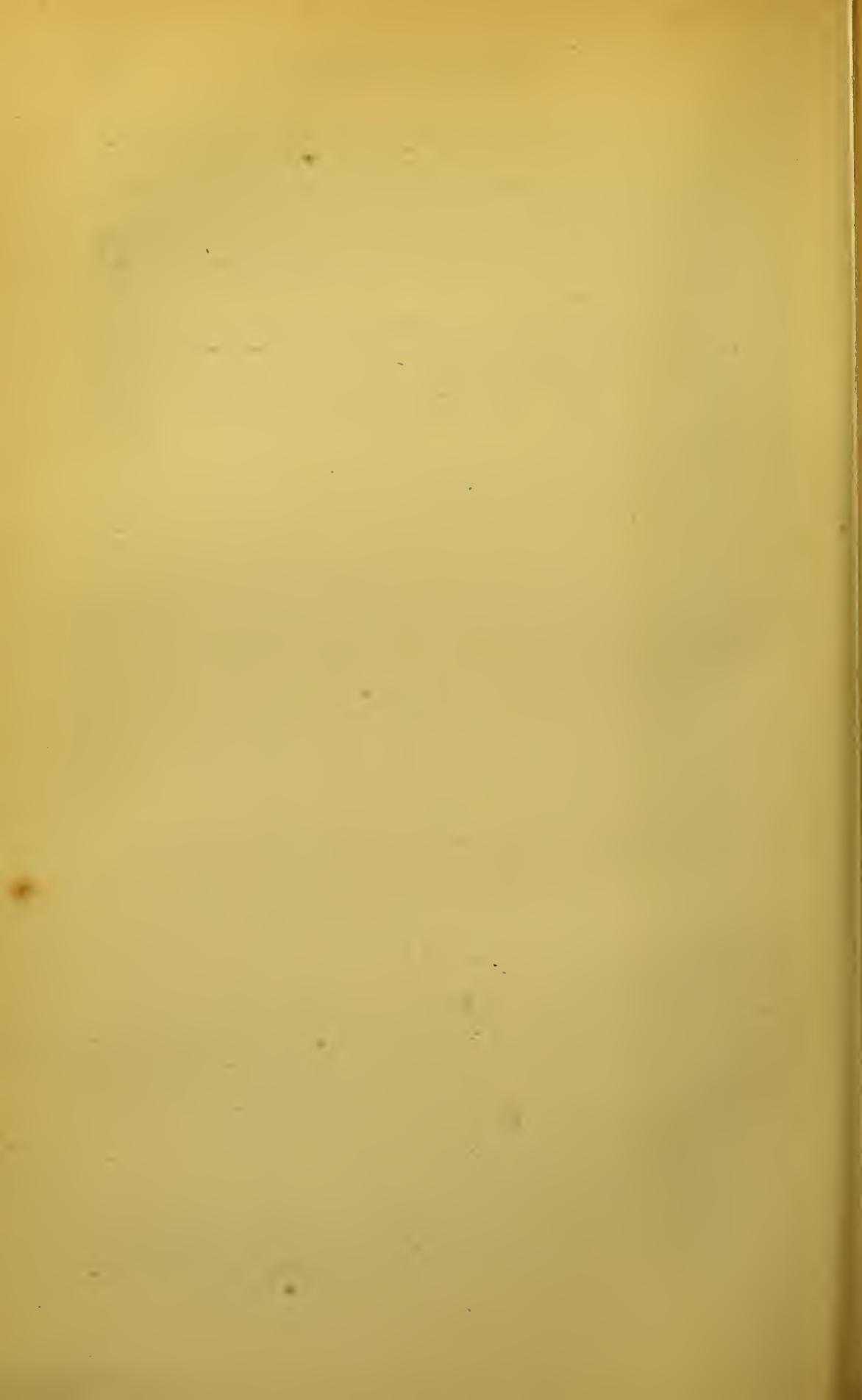
<sup>3</sup> A native of Northumberland, he was born in 1632, and entered the Society 1652. In 1655 he was making his philosophy at Liege. After completing his higher studies and receiving Holy Orders, he was sent to the English Mission, where he proved himself a zealous labourer, and gained a great harvest of souls.

She rejected the services of the Protestant minister who, according to custom, accompanied her. Father Errington, at a given signal, thrice imparted the last benediction and she calmly yielded up her soul to God. The assembled multitude were amazed at her intrepidity and firmness until death. The Father continued his missionary labours with great success for eighteen years, during six of which he was Superior of this Residence; and in that office endeared himself to his religious brethren, as also to externs, by his sweetness of manners, provident care of his charge, and exceeding charity. During the storms that were raised against every one bearing the name of Catholic, a calumnious charge of high treason was made against him. On this account he was diligently hunted after by the pursuivants, and death alone released him from the danger. This occurred on November 1, 1680, in the forty-eighth year of his age.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> From information for which the Editor is indebted to the kindness of the Lord Arundell of Wardour, it is probable that Father Thomas Errington was connected with the family of the martyr, George Errington, Esq., who suffered for the faith at York on November 29, 1596, and relative to whom (as his lordship believes) a MS. was lately discovered in the British Museum, which states that George Errington was imprisoned in the Tower in 158-. On his examination, with another prisoner, the alternative was put to them—Conformity or imprisonment? George refused, but the other conformed. His lordship thinks that George Errington (of Herst, sometimes called Hurst Castle, a small private residence with tower attached, now a farmhouse) was probably arrested about the time of the rising of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland; and likewise that Thomas Errington of Walwick Grange (mentioned in the reprint of Hodgson's *Northumberland*, vol. i. p. 370, as having been attainted for rebellion and conspiracy) must have been his kinsman. Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoirs*, gives a very brief account of George Errington and his three companions in martyrdom, William Knight, William Gibson, and William Abbot. The year 1596 (says the Bishop) was the first since 1580 that had passed without the execution of any priest. But even that year could not pass without seeing some Catholic blood shed for religious matters, no less than four Catholic laymen being executed as for high treason at York in the latter end of November, barely on a religious account. The three first-named sufferers were confined in York Castle for recusancy. A certain Protestant parson was a prisoner there for some misdemeanor, and in order to reinstate himself in the favour of his superiors he turned traitor and adopted the infamous device of insinuating himself into the good opinion of the Catholic prisoners, by pretending a desire of conversion and embracing the Catholic faith. They were deceived, and directed him to Mr. Abbot, the fourth martyr, then at liberty, who endeavoured to procure a priest to instruct and reconcile the traitor parson, but could not succeed. He however had gained sufficient for his purpose, and procured the four to be indicted for persuading him to become a Catholic, which, under the sanguinary penal laws, was high treason. At their trial they confessed "that they had, according to their capacity, explained to the traitor the Catholic faith, and its necessity to salvation; and withal had exhorted him to a serious amendment of his life, but had used no other persuasions." They were found guilty, and "suffered with fortitude and joy, November 29, 1596."

*York* was the original head-quarters of this Residence, and so remained until the revival of the Catholic religion, during the short reign of James II. ; when, in consequence of the old chapel becoming too small, and of our having opened a new one, together with a flourishing school at Pontefract (afterwards swept away at the Revolution in 1688), the head-quarters were removed to that town.

After London, *York* was more deeply dyed in the blood of the English martyrs than any city in England ; no fewer than thirty-nine being executed there for the faith between the years 1582 and 1589. This number includes the martyr, Father Henry Walpole.



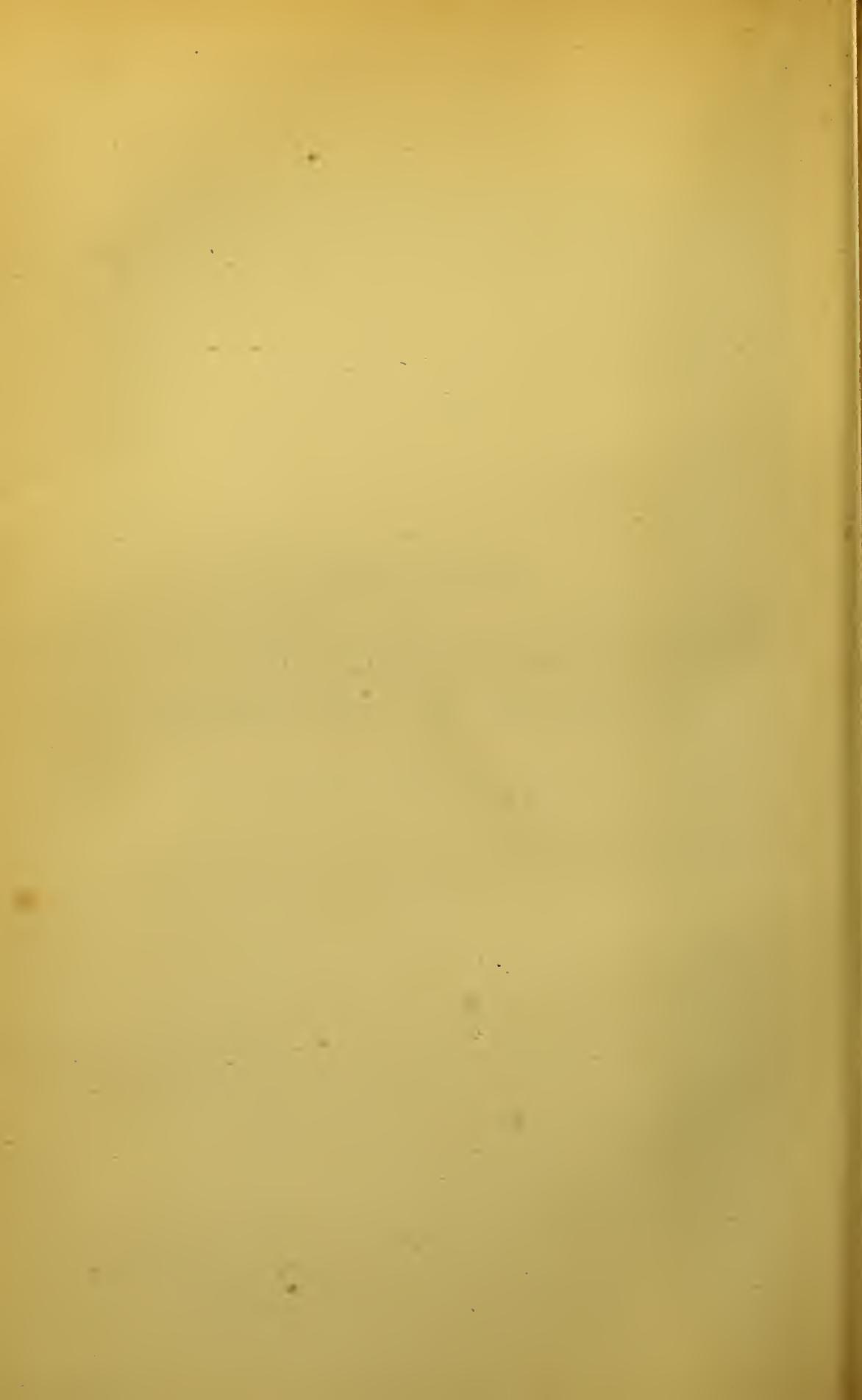
Seventh Series.



THE COLLEGE OF  
ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY;

OR

THE HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT.



## THE COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS OF CANTERBURY, OR THE HAMPSHIRE DISTRICT.

THE College or Residence of St. Thomas of Canterbury was formed in 1633 by Father Richard Blount, Provincial, S.J. It was originally styled a Residence, but in 1676 was raised to a College. It included the counties of Sussex, Wilts, Hants, and Dorset. In ancient times it usually passed by the by-name of "Mrs. Hants."

The following places can be traced as having been originally served or visited by the missionaries of St. Thomas :

Belmont, near Winchester.	Padwell.
Blandford.	Purbeck.
Bonham.	Redhill.
Brambridge.	Reigate.
Bridzor.	Rookley.
Burton.	St. Giles.
Canford.	Salisbury.
Chichester.	Scotney Castle.
Chideock.	Sherbourne.
Cranbourne.	Shirefield.
East Grinstead.	Slindon.
Firle.	Soberton, or Southend.
Horsham.	Stapehill.
Idsworth.	Swanborough.
Katrington.	Tichbourne.
Lady Holt.	Twyford.
Little Crabbits.	Warblington.
Lulworth Castle.	Wardour Castle.
Marnhull.	West Grinstead.
Odstock.	Winchester.

The average number of Fathers for many years, from the commencement of the Residence, in 1633, until 1677, to which period the present Series extends, was about eleven or twelve.

The names which follow are taken from a list of secular and regular clergy in Hampshire, sent by the Rev. Mr. Clarke to the clergy agent in Rome about the year 1632-3.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Old Clergy Chapter, London.

## HAMPSHIRE.

*Seculars.*

Dr. Tempest [Father Robert Tempest, S.J.]  
 Onuphrius Hide.  
 N. Cole, Sen.  
 N. Cole, Jun.  
 W. Morgan.  
 N. Brown.  
 N. Clinch.  
 W. Welstrop.  
 Dr. W. Wright.

*Benedictines.*

W. Palmer.                      George Gore.

*Jesuits.*

Edward Walpole.  
 Thomas Baſton [probably Father Thomas Bradshaigh].  
 John Bamfield [*vere* Rogers].  
 Thomas Shelley.  
 N. Bentley [probably Edmund or John Bentley].  
 N. Man [Father R. Blount or Father Sabine Chambers, *alias* Mann].

The next two lists are given from Catalogues of the Province for the years 1642 and 1655 :

RESIDENTIA S. THOMÆ, CUM MISSIONE HAMPTONIENSI.  
 1642.

<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Patria.</i>	<i>Ætas.</i>	<i>Tempus in Soc.</i>	<i>Gradus.</i>
Gulielmus Savillus (Superior)	... Lincoln.	.. 58 ...	36 ...	Prof. 22 Maii, 1622.
Joannes Rogerius	... Wiltoniensis.	... 57 ...	30 ...	Prof. 27 Sept. 1622.
Thomas Shellæus	... Sussex.	... 55 ...	22 ...	Prof. 7 Oct. 1632.
Thomas Curtesius	... Hampton.	... 62 ...	37 ...	Form. 25 Feb. 1628.
Alex. Pagius	... Derbiensis.	... 33 ...	11 ...	
Rich. Williamsonus	... Lincoln.	... 36 ...	16 ...	Prof. 29 Sept. 1642.
Thomas Blackfannus	... Sussex.	... 42 ...	18 ...	Prof. 10 Aug. 1640.
Joannes Dormerus	... Londin.	... 45 ...	27 ...	Form. 18 Feb. 1636.
Joannes Maynardus	... Londin.	... 43 ...	22 ...	Prof. 5 Martii, 1634.
Guliel. Bentnæus	... Cestrensis	... 33 ...	12 ...	Form. 10 Oct. 1641.
Ignatius Cuffaldus	... Sussex.	... 38 ...	6 ...	
Robertus Frevillus	... Dunelm.	... 52 ...	25 ...	Prof. 15 Oct. 1630.

## 1655.

Joannes Druræus (Superior)	... London.	... 55 ...	29 ...	Form. 7 Julii, 1640.
Thomas Blackfannus	... (see above)			
Thomas Curtesius	... (see above)			
Andreas Vitus [White]	... Londin.	... 77 ...	48 ...	Prof. 15 Junii, 1619.
Odvardus Roffus	... Sussex.	... 68 ...	41 ...	Prof. 12 Julii, 1628.
Robertus Frevillus	... (see above)			
Joannes Pletsius	... Stafford.	... 65 ...	38 ...	Prof. 15 —, 1630.
Thomas Paytonus	... Lincoln.	... 48 ...	25 ...	Prof. 18 Dec. 1645.
Laurentius Worslæus	... Somers.	... 42 ...	22 ...	Form. 25 Oct. 1648.
Joannes Maynardus	... (see above)			
Augustinus Engelbæus	... Ebor.	... 53 ...	31 ...	Form. 28 Ap. 1635.

We give an extract from the State Papers in the Public Record Office which relates both to the Colledge of St. Thomas and other districts, and is of historical interest.

*Dom. James I.* vol. xiii. n. 52, 1603-8. "The Lord Chief Baron and Justice Fenner."

Com.	}	Southampton, Wiltshire, Dorset, Somerset, Devon,	}	Total.
		Cornwall.		
Recusants.	}	Indited before the last assizes . . . . . 560	}	924
		Newlie indited more . . . . . 364		

There is informacon of many newe recusants in these counties, but not yet indited by reason that the bishoppes' officials, specially of Sarum and Exon, have not exhibited their presentments.

Manye women recusants, and their husbands come to church, but permit their wives to continue recusants and to seduce others.

At the last assizes in Devon, one Smith, a Seminary priest, was convicted of treason, and one Richard Eveleighe convicted of felonye, for maintayning and relieving him, and they both are reprieved and so remaine in prison.

At the last somer assizes in Cornwall one Thomas Mouldeford, a Jesuit, was attainted of treason and yet remaineth in prison.

John Simons, a sectary, convicted and imprisoned. He affirmeth wee have no Churche in England; that the ceremonies of our Church are abominable, and that our archbishoppes and byshopps are anti-Christian.

"Justice Gandy<sup>2</sup> and Justice Daniel."<sup>3</sup>

Com. Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, Herts.

Recusants in these counties . . . . .	114
Whereof increased sithence the beginning of his Maties' reign . . . . .	34

Robert Bastard convicted for affirminge the Romishe Churche to be the true Catholic Church, and he doth yet remain in prison.

Among other members of the English Province who were either actually missionaries in, or otherwise connected with this district, were Father Richard Green, Brother William Brookesby, Fathers Thomas Stanney, William Baldwin, John Cornelius (the martyr, who suffered at Dorchester on the 4th of July, 1594), Andrew White (the Apostle of Maryland and founder of the American Missions, which have developed into the present Catholic Church of the United States), Silvester Norris, James Bosgrave, Richard Blount (the first Provincial of the English Province), Thomas Bennett, *alias* Blackfan, Thomas Curtis, Robert Tempest, John Falkner, and Martin Grene. To our notice of each of these will be added a short account of the Rev. John (or James) Brushford, who, though obliged to leave from bad health after joining the noviceship,

<sup>2</sup> August 26, 1605.

<sup>3</sup> Feb. 9, 1604.

was during his short career in England a fellow-labourer with the Fathers of the Province, especially in this College and district, and eventually died a martyr for the faith at Wisbeach Castle in the year 1592.

FATHER RICHARD GREEN.—What we know of this Father comes from the two following letters, addressed in his behalf to Fathers John Gerard and Robert Parsons by Father Andrew White, the Apostle of Maryland, from which we gather that Father Green had been for many years a secular priest on the English Mission, and a very intimate friend of Father Garnett, the Superior, as likewise of Father White himself, that he had suffered imprisonment for the faith in England, that Father Garnett, a year after his arrival in England in (1586), had promised to admit him, but had delayed doing so, and that about 1598, being then sick and in expectation of death, he had been conditionally received. Our copy of the first of these letters retains the original spelling :<sup>4</sup>

Good Father,—If upon so small acquaintance as hath yet passed betweene us, under hope of further friendship, I am boulded before to trie your sweetnesse than I could have deserved it, the great good fame of your courtesie which possesseth the worlde like the precious breath of odoriferous incense shall pleade for pardon, since it was the only occasion and warrante for my rashnesse, not without the certayne experientiall knowledge of the good and prosperous issue of those matters which have bin brought to perfectione by your endeavours. There is a freende of mine *Mr. Richard Greene*, a man of virtuous life, and discreete demeanure, who of long time hath had a true and constant desyre to be of your blessed Societie, and by occasion accordinge to ye providence of the Superior thereof hath bin deterred until this time to his great greife. Eight or nine [years] agoe, with sufficient deliberation and counsell of his ghostely Father, thorough absolute true devotion to a spiritual life, and sincere affection towards the high order, he made a vowe to take this course of life upon him, when those who are nowe to enter and others w<sup>ch</sup> were receyved some yeares agoe had scarce the feelinge of any such desyre in themselves. Whilst he lived in Douay his behaviour was laudable and good, and in particular in those mutinous times of faction, when the unquiet came to Douay, and laboured in the minds of the schollers an aversion from the reformed government of the Romaine Colledge, he behaved himself so that theyre persuasion could take no place, theyre calumniations brede noe effecte, and did no little good in this matter ; afterwarde beinge sent in mission to the Colledge of Siville, where I came first acquainted with him, he gave great satisfaction to Superiors, and virtuous example to his fellowes, thence constreined upon sickness to goe to England, he was receyved upon condition that his

<sup>4</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 70.

infirmities woulde not permitte him to live until he came unto F. Walley [Henry Garnett], of whome he was very kindly enter-tayned and provided for verie charitably in a manner as one of the Societie, with a promise that the yeare followinge he should be receyved without faile, and had bin so, if the hope of this novitiate had not assigned him for the first subject and fundamentalle stone of this house; and of this he receyved promises at F. Walleye's handes, twice or thrise, before any others weare thought upon, or mentioned, w<sup>ch</sup> Richard Fullwood [lay-brother] knoweth well his labours in yt vineyarde weare fruitefull, full of good vertue and prosperous, accomplishinge perfection. He was desyred of the best and most principall prsons whome he filled with love and affection towards the Societie, and was guided altogether accordinge to their carde and referred his endeavours to theyre credit, and was cause that as some in Spaigne had entred into the Societie by his meane, so that others in Englande bare greate good will unto it, and held it in a highe conceyte and estimation; and I know that he hath such particular entrance to personages of great qualitie and noble bloude, whome I coulde name, that it woulde redounde much to the creditte of the Societie to be accounted instrumente of theyre conversion; but as the designs are greate, so hath his crosses bin manie, and none so greate as this w<sup>ch</sup> troubleth him most. About that time of the last commotion he was taken and imprisoned, whereupon being not able to follow his matters himself, and being deprived from the comforte of such deare friendes w<sup>ch</sup> might with safety be employed in a matter of such consequence, was constrained to committe his affaires to the kind remembrance and carefull providence of F. Anthony [probably Rivers], who having noe certainty of his banishment, made with F. Hobbey [Holtby] an absolute mission for other twoe, and upon the banishment, by some particular instances named F. Garnet and F. Blundell for the other twoe, and indeede F. Hobbey tould me that the course of things weare something troubled. Few or none of F. Walleye's wrightings or determinations were found, and Richard Fullwood gone, which should have given particular testimonye how far the matter proceeded, and therefore no merveile if the disposition of persons for this place hath bin somewhat inverted.

I beseech, therefore, yr Rev<sup>ce</sup> to speake to F. Parsons about this suite, and know that my gratefulness shall not disvalue your courtesie, but my poverty shall lye engaged to serve you with all the offices and dueties of a freynde. The man I speake for is one whome you sent first over to the Colledges, and in this I beseech you to imitate Almighty Godd, who followeth the steppes of his Christe in other virtues: *Dei perfecta sunt opera*. So lett yours—you begun his goode, I beseech you bring it to perfection.

F. Baldwin seethe nothing to come from Spaine, and therefore is loath to impowne himself for more than he must needs. I desyre that if he cannot possibly be receyved now, he may eyther be sent to the novitiates of other countries with the licence of the General, or else may have a promise to be next that is receyved at Lovaine.

Farewell, this Simon and Jude's Eave, 1606.

Yrs in duety and reverince,

ANDREW WHITE.

To his especial good friende Mr. Garret [Gerard] give these att Roome.

*Father Andrew White to Father Robert Parsons.*27th October, 1606.<sup>5</sup>

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Rev. Father,—Had not matters fallen out cross since the receipt of your last comfortable letter, wherein you yielded such comfort and sweetness unto the suit of my dearest friend as was beyond expectation, I think I should have let more time passed before that either I rendered thanks for this favour obtained, or would have been bold to have stopped the line of your more serious employments with another letter of like effect. . . . And lastly, if by those pledges of charity I lately received, I am bold to entreat you for a present accomplishment of a virtuous content. Mr. Green hath spoken with Father Baldwin after the consolation he had from you, but finding himself to be put off until another time, hath given himself to excessive grief, altogether incapable of comfort, unless your charity assist his desolation. Eight or nine years since, with counsel of his ghostly Father, he made a vow of this Order, and hath lived ever since with great virtue and good example. Three years since he was received in sickness under the condition that he died, though he himself doubted whether it were absolutely or not, he hath been occasion that others have embraced and entered into the same religion [Order] in England; his labours were happy and effectual in gaining souls and breeding in them religious spirits and increasing the number of the Society's friends. Father Walley [Henry Garnett] loved him well, and promised to receive him the Christmas was twelve months after he came to England; then the hope of this novitiate being conceived, he was assigned by Father Walley and Father Anthony [Rivers], and so as to be thought by the gravest Fathers in England to be the very first for this place. He hath the day assigned him for his departure, but things here not being in a readiness he was stayed, and soon after imprisoned, which without doubt doth not a little advance his good deservings. I beseech you, good Father, send some solid and spiritual comforts to the alleviation of his griefs, to the increase of my joy, to add obligations of duty towards you, that he may be either received now, or else may have a promise to be the next that entereth, otherwise this spring he intendeth to go to Rome to urge that suit himself. So desiring your blessing, I am, this SS. Simon and Jude's Eve,

Your obedient child,

ANDREW WHITE.

Frequent mention is made of a priest named Green in the documents among the State Papers, Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. We have met with only one priest of that name belonging to those times, and the references alluded to generally omit the Christian name—though in two instances the name of John is given. In the catalogues he is mentioned along with Father John Cornelius, and, as we shall see, was with him at Chideock; the papers speak of him as being in London, before his arrest, and after it as a prisoner

<sup>5</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 69.

in the Counter (Wood Street) and at Wisbeach Castle. We cannot help regarding him as the same individual as Father Richard Green, and proceed to give the references, leaving the reader to form his own conclusion.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxviii. n. 37, April 23, 1586. "A letter of private information from a spy to Secretary Walsingham." ". . . I do find these priests hereunder to make their abode in London, viz., Edmonds, the Jesuit . . . John Cornellys . . . Grene," &c.

*Harleian MSS.* 360, fol. 10 [date before October and after April, 1586]. "Names of all such Jesuits and Seminary priests as are in prisons in London to my knowledge. . . . Priests about London that were never prisoners, Dakin, Greene, Cornwallis, &c. . . . (all these [are] practisers, especially one Gaunt, *alias* Wilson, who is the chief collector for the Seminaries) living with the Countess of Pembroke."

10 Sept., 1586. "A collection of the names of certain priests . . . Greene, *a Jesuit*."

In his reply to the twentieth interrogatory by the Treasurer, Lord Burghley, the apostate Anthony Tyrrell mentions a priest. "Gray," adding, "I know no other name, most resident with Mrs. White, of Westminster." With respect to this answer, Father Morris makes the following note: "In the ninth chapter, Tyrrell calls him Greene. He is probably John Greene of whom the Wisbech report says: 'John Greene, a Seminary priest, a very obstinate perverse man, and a traitorous seducer of her Majesty's subjects, and a great defender of the Pope's Supremacy.' Before being sent to Wisbech, he was in the Counter prison in Wood Street."<sup>6</sup> The date of this paper is 31st August, 1586.

In the narrative of Anthony Tyrrell<sup>7</sup> we read: "I betrayed also Mr. Greene, making him repair unto Salisbury Court, and told Young at what time he should there find him. . . . I discovered both Mr. Garth's and Mr. Greene's going into Kent, and caused a pursuivant to be sent after them. I discovered the places that probably I thought they would be at."

In the same narrative<sup>8</sup> we read: ". . . And after this, he showed a multitude of innocent and good people betrayed by him. A Mr. Smith [*vere* Nicholas Phipps], the priest in the Lady Copley's house; Mr. Greene in the house of Mrs. White, which gentlewoman afterwards was condemned to death for receiving so good a guest."

<sup>6</sup> *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 385.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 439.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* p. 406.

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxiii. n. 67, in a list of "priests and others in the prisons about London, fit for Wisbeach, able to bear the charges." ". . . Counter, Wood Street, Greene. Stampe."

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 44. Names of the prisoners at Wisbeach. . . . Greene. . . ."

In the *Harleian MSS.* 6,998, fol. 220 is a list of priests at Wisbeach, among whom we find "Staff: Mr. John Greene."

The last reference we shall make is to the examination of William Holms, the servant at Chideock Castle, and the betrayer of Father Cornelius.<sup>9</sup> A full copy of this document will be found in the life of Father Cornelius. Here we find a priest *Greene*, the companion of Father Cornelius at Chideock. "Fathers Cornelius and John Currie [Father John Curry, S.J.] remained together at Chideock till Michaelmas, 1593, when Currie went to London; after whose departure one *Greene*, alias *Lustie Greene*, another priest, supplied the place of the said Currie, and remained in company with the said Cornelius, until Easter Day, 1593, at which time about one of the clock in the morning, before day, having said Mass to the house, upon intelligence of some search that should be made there, they went their ways, and he hath heard Greene went into Cornwall, and the said Cornelius having his mother at Chideock House, returned again the next day, and there continued until his apprehension."

We find a Father Green named in Gee's lists of priests and Jesuits in and about London (162 $\frac{3}{4}$ ) thus: "F. Greene lodging over against Northampton Stables."

We do not trace him beyond this date.

BROTHER WILLIAM BROOKESBY.—Father Henry More<sup>10</sup> in his account of *William Brunsley*, mistakes him for another person, *William Brookesby*, the real object of our short notice. Father More, says: "William Brookesby of the diocese of Winchester (Hants), dying during the term of his noviceship, deservedly gained the veteran's laurel. His praises are recorded in the following brief eulogy: William Brookesby, a man of high family, after succeeding to his paternal estate upon attaining his majority, in his desire for heavenly things abandoned all his fortunes and his intended wife (whom he also induced to follow his example and observe the angelical virtue), and then embraced the religious state. Entering for a year as a

<sup>9</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxlviii. n. 75, 1594.    <sup>10</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* pp. 25, 27.

convictor among the alumni of the English College, Rome, he left it for the novitiate of the Society, and passed thence to heaven." We learn from the Diary of the English College, that he entered on the 4th of October, 1580, æt. 21, for his higher studies. In the month of September following, he made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, and joined the Society of Jesus in October, 1583.

Father More, when speaking of him under the name of William Brunsley, says that being brought into the Society by a prodigy not very dissimilar to that which had led Thomas Warcop into it, although he was older both in years and in the practice of virtue, he did not live to accomplish one complete year of his noviceship.<sup>11</sup> He was a native of the diocese of Winchester. Walking one day through some gardens, and reflecting what state of life he should adopt, he was favoured with a clear vision of our Saviour, and impelled by His aspect and silent exhortation to abandon all human things, he felt himself specially called to enter that Society, which followed the plan of life, and bore the name of Him Whom he had seen in the vision. Being assured of the reality of the apparition, he resolved to obey it with the least possible delay. The Annual Letters for the year 1585, from which Father More extracts, give an interesting account of the severe combats and trials to which the angelic virtue of this noble youth was exposed, and his triumph over them. They relate that William Brunsley [Brookesby] an Englishman, died in the Roman College, after his admission to the

<sup>11</sup> Thomas Warcop, as we learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, was a native of Carlisle, born 1560, and entered an alumnus of the English College on October 1, 1583, æt. 23. He received minor orders from the exiled Bishop of St. Asaph, in the same month, having been duly dispensed *propter hæresim*. He was ordained priest in the month of December, 1584, and joined the novitiate of the Society at Messina on Easter Day, 1587. Father More says that, arrested by the singular mercy of God, he abandoned the Protestant heresy in which he had been brought up, and embraced the orthodox faith, and at the same time resolved upon a more holy rule of life. He had attained his twenty-third year while still a Protestant, and fancied himself well skilled in handling the questions of controversy mooted by the Reformers. Either for the sake of learning, or of finding fault, or of teaching others, he arrived at Rheims, whither the English Seminary had recently been removed from Douay, and lodged in the house of a Catholic citizen. His friend going early one morning to the church to hear Mass, Thomas asked if he might accompany him, and leave was given on condition that he would conform to what he saw others do in the church. During the Mass, at the time of the Elevation, when the people bowing down struck their breasts, according to custom, Thomas did the same. On returning home

Society. Born of a family of distinction, he was sent for his education at the age of fourteen to the English Seminary at Douay, where he first became acquainted with the Society of Jesus, and there conceived a strong desire to embrace it; but, because these early impressions had not taken deep root in his heart, upon his return to England they passed from his mind, rather from carelessness than design. He had attained his majority when he contracted a close intimacy with a distinguished Catholic gentleman, and, as usual at his age, love stepped in to persuade him to cement this close friendship by a nearer connection, namely, by marriage. His friend offered him his sister's hand, provided he was himself agreeable to the match, and left no means untried to obtain his consent. It seemed to the open-hearted youth himself that it would be acting contrary to friendship to refuse such a spouse, nor did he show repugnance to his friend's proposal. A mutual affection sprang up between the young people, and many hours were spent in each other's society. For fear, then, that any mortal hand should snatch this fair flower from Him, God brought back former thoughts to his recollection, and rekindled in his breast that early attraction toward the Society, which seemed to have become in a manner extinct. So vehement were the flames of the fervour thus renewed, that rejecting all thought of marriage, and despising not only the ample fortune he then possessed but also the expectancy of his paternal inheritance, he instantly prepared for flight. The mother and brothers of the lady, suspecting his intention, endeavoured by complaints and by charges of a breach of plighted troth, to divert him from his design. The lady's mother besieged him

he asked his friend, "Good sir, what was that priest doing when elevating his hands, and the people at that sacred ceremony were so affected?" "They were adoring Christ our Lord in the Most Sacred Host, which the priest then showed to them, and in the chalice presented, as Christ Himself and the Church teach us," answered his friend. "Do you say the Host and chalice? but I saw neither," he replied. His friend answered briefly, "But we all see." This blindness was salvation to Warcop. Those eyes, which curiosity had closed, God was pleased to open to the now humbled man. He was reconciled to the Church, and, after some years of study in Rome, became himself a priest, and was sent into Sicily, for the purpose of collecting alms for the relief of the Seminary of Rheims. He begged admittance to the Society in the year 1587, and on Easter Sunday entered the novitiate at Messina; before the end of his two years' noviceship, having been summoned to Spain to the new College which his Catholic Majesty had just founded there for the Society, he died on his journey at Alicant, October 19, 1589, the very day of his landing, as appears from a letter of Father Parsons to Father Cresswell, dated Toledo, December 10, 1589 (Stonyhurst MSS.).

with tears and entreaties, her brothers with threats and menaces. They even brought religious objections against him, contending that he could not be absolved from the engagement which he had entered into, and had confirmed both by word of mouth and by many tokens of affection, without serious detriment to duty and religion. Brookesby, in defence of his honour, denied having given any foundation whatever for the argument, either by plighted troth, or by any word or deed. After a prolonged discussion, the young lady herself, who was concealed in the room, suddenly sprang forward at a given signal, in the hope that, after the failure of their arguments and reprehensions, he would at last be won by her blandishments and entreaties. Being a person equally gifted by nature and art, she severely tried the soul of the youth by the sweetness of her words and the tenderness of her complaints. She used every argument and entreaty that could be devised, in order to urge him not to prefer the Society of Jesus to herself. The young man turned a deaf ear to all, and, being more solicitous for the higher grace of the angelical counsel than for earthly friendships or alliances, without answering, and without bidding adieu to any one fled from the house, and presently crossing over to France soon after arrived in Rome, whither God was pleased to lead him. Before completing his two years' noviceship, having, like another St. Stanislaus, "fulfilled in a short time a long course," he was delivered from the prison of his body, and quickly reached the goal. Father More thinks that perhaps this youth was the member of an ancient and wealthy family in Somersetshire mentioned by Father Bridgewater in his *Concertatio Ecclesie Catholicae*, as being under the private tuition of the martyr James Fenn, and as having imbibed under this master such constancy in faith and virtue that no enticements could seduce him from his holy resolve, but that abandoning both betrothed spouse and native land, he crossed the sea in order to devote himself entirely to the service of God. He offered himself to the Society of Jesus, and within a few months after his entrance, fulfilling a long course in a short time, he died the death of the saints, as Father Bridgewater states, not long before the *Concertatio* was published in 1588. Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, mentions a letter of Dr. Allen dated August 3, 1580, to his friend Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, in which he writes that this generous-hearted and accomplished youth, after studying for some years at Douay, had on coming to his fortune re-

turned to England, but that feeling a strong inclination to the Society, he was then travelling to Rome with Mr. Thomas Hemerford for the purpose of entering the Order.

Brother William Brookesby was one of the Club or Society of young men of family, organized by George Gilbert, about the year 1579-80, for promoting the cause of the Catholic religion and assisting the missionary priests, &c.<sup>12</sup>

THE REV. JOHN (*or* JAMES) BRUSHFORD died a martyr, at the early age of thirty-four, in Wisbeach Castle, in the year 1593. He deserves separate notice here, both as having made his noviceship in the Society, which ill-health compelled him to leave, and also because he laboured for a time with our Fathers in the College or District of St. Thomas of Canterbury. He was born in the year 1559, and was one of the first alumni of the English College, Rome, after its foundation in 1578-9. When ordained priest he was sent to England about the year 1585, as we learn from his examination after being arrested on his second landing in England in 1592. After his first visit to England he soon left, and proceeded to Paris, where he was admitted into the Society about the year 1590, and sent to Verdun to make his noviceship. He had completed his two years' probation, when he was compelled in 1592, on account of severe sickness, to return to England for change of air and mode of life. In the earliest list of the alumni in which his name occurs,<sup>13</sup> it is stated that he was the last of those who were sent to England during that year, and that he was seized when landing at the port and thrust into prison, where he soon after died. On that occasion he made the statement above referred to, and which we now give.<sup>14</sup>

“I came over a little before the last statute made against the coming in of priests,<sup>15</sup> and by reason thereof I found everybody so fearful as none would receive me into their houses. Wherefore I, with another priest called John Taddy, hired a chamber in a poor cottage in the wood, by Tottenham Highcross, where we remained close for six or seven months, sending the poor man to the city for victuals. After this I lay in Hoglane, at one Mrs. Tempest's, a widow woman, for the space

<sup>12</sup> See “Life of George Gilbert” in the present volume.

<sup>13</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. ii. n. 15.

<sup>14</sup> *Lansdowne MSS.* xcvi. p. 156.

<sup>15</sup> 27th Eliz. 1585.

of another five or six months.<sup>16</sup> I had also a chamber in Gray's Inn Lane, at one Blake's house, unto the which I resorted when I knew not whither to go else. I was once at Clerkenwell, at Sir John Arundell's; but, for that he was then in trouble, in the Star Chamber, about one Mr. Higgins a priest, I could not be received; but I was with him afterwards in the Gatehouse. As for my lady, his wife, I protest before God, as I have to be saved, I never was with her, or in her presence anywhere, to my remembrance; for she was ever fearful, and, after Sir John's trouble, never bore young priests any good will. What she did to old priests I cannot tell.

"After this I lived secretly in a village on the plains of Salisbury, not far from Amesbury, with one Mr. Durdoe and his wife, in the house of one Edward Wyse; unto which house resorted also Mr. John Grove. The good man of the house and his wife were Protestants, and did harbour us for no other thing but for his gain, not knowing what I was, as I think. We remained in this place about six months, and after that, some suspicion growing of the place, I went with the said Mr. Durdoe and his wife into Wales, and was lodged in one Mr. Herbert's house, not far from Monmouth, where I remained some three months, until the gentleman began to suspect what I was; and then I returned to London, where I remained until I had opportunity to depart the land, which I earnestly desired, chiefly for that I had determined to forsake the world and to serve God quietly in religion; and, taking boat at Southampton, I landed at St. Vallery-in-Caux, not far from Dieppe; and going to Paris was there, after some suit, admitted into the Company or Society of Jesus, and sent to Verdun for my probation, where I remained a novice, until I was compelled by extreme sickness to depart thence.

"The persons of any reputation that I was acquainted withal about London were Mrs. Tempest and her children, Sir John Arundell, when he was a prisoner, Mrs. Yates of Lyford (I did not know her husband), and once, I remember,

<sup>16</sup> This Mrs. Tempest of Hoglane [? Hogsdon or Hoxton] soon after (1586) married Mr. Francis Browne of Henley Park, a noted place of resort, as we read in the report of a spy, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxi. n. 23, who says, "It was never without three or four priests." The widow Tempest's house was a resort of Father Weston, *alias* Edmonds, as we find from the letter of a spy, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxxviii. n. 37: "Sithence my return I do find these priests hereunder to make their abode in London, viz., Edmonds the Jesuit, commonly frequenting the house of the late widow Tempest, now wife to Mr. Francis Browne."

I was with Sir Thomas Fitzherbert; and in the country, Mr. Durdoe and his wife, Mr. Grove, Mr. John Scudamore.

“I was, I remember, once entreated to have ridden into Cornwall, but I durst not, for that I was well known by the way. I was once also at one Mr. Coram’s house, by Winchester, and spoke with the gentlewoman; but, when she perceived what I was, she requested me to hold her excused. Her husband was not at home, her house was full of strangers, and she had sheep to shear; wherefore she prayed me to depart.”

Father Bartoli<sup>17</sup> says that Mr. Brushford came to a similar end with Father Thomas Mettam in Wisbeach Castle, being worn out by a tedious martyrdom, which by the force of its insupportable sufferings had killed so many Catholic priests in the prisons of England, and dying there in 1593. He had carried with him to England his apostolical vocation, and, what was of greater importance, the apostolical spirit with which he was so richly furnished. He had, in fact, intended to have laboured with our Fathers, and to have expended himself entirely in the cure of souls, as though one of themselves. But it was not so to be, for he was now seized by the persecutors, committed to prison, and died there in the thirty-fourth year of his age. Father Bartoli especially records that during 159 $\frac{2}{3}$  he stood first of many English youths of great parts, whom the Society had for some time counted among her novices, but who, on account of their dispositions or weakness of health, were unable to bear the fatigues and severe discipline of a religious life. These, on returning to their native land to recruit, became remarkable both for the sanctity of their lives and their success in converting souls, enduring the most painful prisons, tortures, and calumnies. While more than one of them with admirable fortitude sacrificed their lives for the confession of the Catholic faith.

<sup>17</sup> *Inghilterra*, lib. v. p. 42.

## FATHER JAMES BOSGRAVE.

FATHER BOSGRAVE was a native of Godmanstone, Dorsetshire, a parish six miles from Dorchester, of a highly respectable county family, or, as Father Parsons says, "of a very worshipful house and parentage."<sup>1</sup> He was probably a brother of Mr. Thomas Bosgrave, who suffered along with Father John Cornelius, at Dorchester, on the 4th of July, 1594, and who is said to have been a kinsman of Sir John Arundell, according to Bishop Challoner, or, according to Dr. Oliver, of Lady Arundell.<sup>2</sup>

James Bosgrave was born about the year 1547, and when a little child was taken to the Continent in order to be brought up in the Catholic faith; after making his humanity course, he was sent to Rome, where he completed his higher studies of rhetoric and philosophy, and, what is more worthy of record (says Father Bartoli), he there became a disciple of the Gospel, in the novitiate of the Society of Jesus, on the 17th day of November, 1564. He was then sent to Olmutz in Moravia, thence to Poland and divers other places, and eventually to Vilna in Lithuania; he was ordained priest at Olmutz in 1572.

<sup>1</sup> Stonyhurst MSS.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver's *Collectanea S.J.* We find several of the family of Bosgrave named among the State Papers, &c. In *Dom. Eliz.* (undated) 1586, is a document headed "Thomas Browne's directions: Inquire at Chideock." . . . "When I was at Chideock, John Stretchley was newly sent unto Cornwall to fetch a priest to marry Sir John Sidnan's son to Mr. Troublefeld's daughter of Beare, Dorset. Mrs. Troublefeld, a notable Papist, a Bosgrave by name, has three brothers of same sort; two beyond sea; the third, and worst lurketh about London, frequenting sometimes the Marshalsea or the Fleet [Prisons], bearing and bringing news, and draweth many to seditious mind." In the *Harleian MSS.* 360, fol. 20, is a letter from R. Frith to Alderman Martyn, called "A note of such places as are in my judgment very suspicious for the harbouring of Papists. . . . There is one Bosgrave, a suspicious person, living of the Papists, having no dwelling-house, but daily seen in Paul's, and very familiar amongst that crew of Papists, whose brother was condemned with Campian and yet sent out again. I take him to be a very dangerous person, so as if your worship think good, I take him to be a meet man to be examined in any matter touching Papists that may be for his Majesty's service." In *Dom. Eliz.* 1586, November 30, Nicholas Bosgrave appears "To be returned to prison, discharged by Mr. Peter Osborne" [Alderman]. In *Dom. Eliz.* 1586, in an Abstract of certificates of priests and other recusants, committed to sundry prisons since June, 1585, "Counter, Wood Street, Nicholas Bosgrave, [Alderman] Osborne dis. Recorder, September 30,

He spent twelve years, partly before and partly after ordination, in teaching rhetoric, Hebrew, and Greek, also mathematics, philosophy, and controversial theology—a study most valuable to those intended for the English Mission; he rendered himself very useful in every place, and was a particular friend of the pious Stephen, King of Poland. During the course of this continued labour and fatigue he contracted in Vilna a very severe and obstinate sickness, which rendered it necessary, in order to restore his health, that he should breathe his native air for a little while. Therefore, in the beginning of September, 1580,<sup>3</sup> he landed at Dover, where he was immediately seized, the remedy of his native air having to be tested in the foul and pestilential atmosphere of the prison dungeons. He was carried to London and brought before the Lords of the Privy Council, but on account of leaving England at so early an age, he had almost forgotten his native tongue, and (says Father More)<sup>4</sup> before the Council his want of courage in suffering and of skill in speaking were as evidently conspicuous as his weakness of health. He knew neither Father Campian nor Father Parsons, who had arrived in London two months previously; nor was he aware of the malice of the Protestants, nor of the fact that to visit their churches and be present at their services, was really a tacit profession of their sect. He was examined by the Council as to the circumstances of his condition, and the cause of his coming to England. He candidly told them what he was, viz., a Catholic priest, and a religious of the Society of Jesus, sent by his Superior to England for the recovery of his health. His pale face, broken English, and foreign tongue were evidence of his truthfulness. Upon being politely asked if he would go to the church like other loyal subjects of the Queen, he with greater simplicity than prudence consented, totally unsuspecting of any fraud concealed beneath their invitation; for he never intended to give scandal to the Catholics, but thought that the custom was the same in England as in Germany and Poland, where presence in their churches, in order to witness their ceremonies, was not considered any sign of religious conformity, either on the part of Catholics with regard to Lutheranism, or of Lutherans to Catholicism. He did not fear endangering his faith, but fancied that by hearing English sermons he would be helping himself to recover his native tongue. All this he explained in an apology which he afterwards

<sup>3</sup> Letter of Father Parsons, October 20, 1580.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 135.

wrote and published.<sup>5</sup> And, indeed, he soon saw the necessity of an apology, for the Protestants were triumphant, and anxious to publish everywhere the fact that a Jesuit, a theologian, and professor of controversy, had thus in his own person pronounced it lawful to attend the services of the reformed religion, and be present at all that it says and does in its churches; that the Father proved all this by his conformity, and was disposed likewise to prove the doctrine publicly.

The Catholics were at first amazed, then scandalized and grieved, for the reports were confirmed by this strong evidence that they saw him going about free and at liberty, whilst the other priests, especially Fathers Parsons and Campian, were eagerly searched for, and Catholics in general were grievously oppressed by the exaction of fines every month, for refusing to comply with that which Father Bosgrave reconciled it to his conscience to do. Therefore, whenever they met him they avoided him, regarded him with suspicion and kept him at a distance, as though he was an apostate, which indeed they believed him to be. He was himself equally astonished and grieved, and could not guess the reason of this treatment, and being a stranger in London, he did not know whither to go. After a while he met a brother of his, to whom he expressed his astonishment, and complained of the conduct of the Catholics towards him. He could not have fallen in with a more fortunate occasion, for his brother, though a man of not altogether regular life, was as regards his faith, a sincere and loyal Catholic, of which he gave proof by telling his brother that he really deserved this treatment from Catholics, and that every good Catholic ought not only to shun him, but moreover to abhor him. He then explained to him the real motives implied by his assisting at Protestant services. On hearing this the unfortunate Father, thus warned of his simplicity and becoming wiser though somewhat late, quickly made amends by writing to the Privy Council a protest, in which he declared that he had been deceived through his own ignorance and their fraud. He then instantly wrote and printed another protest for the Catholics, giving them a full account of the case and an entire exculpation of himself. But his

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, says that in a small 8vo printed at Rheims, 1583, by John Fogny, entitled *A True Report of the Apprehension, &c., of John Nichols, &c.*, he finds a letter of five pages called "The Satisfaction of Mr. James Bosgrave, the godly confessor of Christ, concerning his going to the church of the Protestants at his first coming into England." Dr. Oliver adds that it is highly commendable for zeal, spirit, humility, and eloquence.

best justification was the fact of his being arrested and thrown into the Marshalsea Prison, where he shared the same cruel treatment to which the priests Ralph Sherwin and John Hart were then exposed.<sup>6</sup>

Father Parsons<sup>7</sup> says that, "though he were very well learned for his years, yet knew he not the perfect state of matters in England, especially touching religion ; and therefore returning into England on the sudden for the recovery of his health, and being taken at his first landing before he could have conference with any Catholics, was brought before the Bishop of London,<sup>8</sup> and being asked whence he came, he said, 'From Germany and Poland,' which liked them not evil. And, being asked what he had done there, he said he had travelled countries, which also they took well, as being a thing much used by English gentlemen at this day. But after this they came to matter of religion, wherein he professed himself a Catholic, whereto they replied that so were they too, but the question was whether he would go to church or not. Whereunto he said that he knew no cause to the contrary, whereto they were wonderfully glad, for that they saw he was learned, and hoped by this means to have him to oppose himself against the rest of his religion in this point, which imported them as they thought very much, and therefore they praised him highly for his descretion and conformity, and made extreme much of him, giving him liberty to go where he would, and presently published about London that one of the most learned of all the Jesuits had yielded unto them in this point of going to the church, and that all the rest of them that held the contrary were nothing to him for wit or learning." This rumour and the actions of Father Bosgrave exceedingly grieved the Catholics, and the more so, as Fathers Campian and Parsons had both left London, and there was no one of the Society there to set him right, and they feared its leading eventually to great scandal, especially as the Protestants were everywhere publishing that the Father would altogether apostatize.

Father Parsons then mentions the meeting his relation, and his putting him right, the Father assuring him "that he meant no more in saying that he would go to their churches, than

<sup>6</sup> Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, lib. iv.

<sup>7</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. P. fol. 133, quoted in *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 74, 75.

<sup>8</sup> No doubt sitting at the Privy Council Board.

if in Rome or Germany he should offer to go to the Jews' synagogue, or in Constantinople to see the Turks' mosques, to hear their folly and refute the same; and that in Germany and Poland he never heard any such scruple, but that any man of learning might go to a church or meeting of Calvinists, Lutherans, Trinitarians, Anabaptists, &c., and hear their folly and blasphemy, the rather and better to detest and refute it." And this was all he meant, and he said that, by God's grace, he would soon undeceive the Protestants and "give the Catholics satisfaction of his true meaning in that cause, for which he was as ready to die, as any other." What steps he took we have already seen.

It happened that at this time Doctors Walker and Fulk and a host of heretical teachers of the same category were strutting about, greedy of glory; who, unable to conquer the priests loaded with fetters by their arguments, strove to cry them down by clamours, and then spread it abroad that they had gained the victory, though it was a mere invention of their own brain. Therefore Father Bosgrave, with Ralph Sherwin (the martyr), Hart, and others, lest religion might take hurt by the lies, demanded a public disputation, upon conditions which if observed would be a safeguard against their false rumours, while at the same time they would be enabled, by means of the conference, to instruct the audience in the truth. Nor did the adversaries themselves seem to decline. In the month of September of that year, Sir George Carey, the Knight Marshal, sent an order to the keeper of the Marshalsea Prison that if among the Papists (the nic-name they gave to Catholics, says Father Bartoli) there were any who desired to defend their religion in disputation they should write down the heads of the conference, with the names of the defenders affixed, and prepare themselves for the combat, and that in a short time he would announce the place, time, and conditions for the discussion. Accordingly the theses were written and signed, and sent to Carey and to the pseudo-ministers of the Gospel. Their theses, however, did not please them, and the ministers handed in others which the priests accepted, and which were signed by Bosgrave, Sherwin, and Hart. The day for the conference was fixed for the 29th of December, the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, and great was their expectation of the day and discussion. But lo! the adversaries, not waiting for it, carried off Bosgrave and Hart to the Tower of London, there to be exercised by torturing, not

by disputing. Sherwin had been removed to the Tower the day before. Here they were cruelly tortured, the better to prepare them, forsooth ! for sustaining a learned disputation, which then commenced with Campian ; Bosgrave, indeed, being present with others, although none but Campian and Sherwin had licence to speak.<sup>9</sup>

It was determined to indict Father Bosgrave with Father Campian and the rest for high treason. His case was a peculiar one, and presented difficulties, and among the State Papers, Public Record Office,<sup>10</sup> is the following document with the heads of the charges upon which he should be indicted :

James Bosgrave, chargeable ; being at Rome, and going in the company of Dr. Harding thither.

Saying that her Majesty is Queen of England and head of this Church, because she is the beginner of the religion which we now hold.

Saying that our Bishops be not lawful bishops, because they are not consecrated by the Pope ; neither they allowable ministers that are made by our Bishops.

Saying there be in London twelve Catholics well known to the Catholics beyond the sea, who have sent for four doctors to come over to them from Rome, which arrived in London in August last past.

Saying that his own coming is looked for by many in London ; that he can bring one to service in London, where there shall be four hundred Catholics.

Saying that her Majesty could not live ever, and that there is hope all things will here be brought into an unity when the crown of England shall be subject to Scotland.

Saying the Catholics in England are able to cast out all the Protestants in this realm, but that they lack only a head.

With having a letter sent to him from Owen, at Rome, telling him it was not yet time for him to go into England, being impossible to do good there till God send better days.

Having a testimonial from one Peres, Master of a College of Jesuits, signifying that he is a Jesuit, and without impediment to say Mass everywhere.

On Tuesday the 14th of November, 1581, Father Bosgrave, with Fathers Campian, Cotton, Sherwin, Johnson, Rishton, and Mr. Orton, were taken to Westminster Hall, and arraigned before the Grand Jury. The trial took place on the following Monday, the 20th of November, at Westminster. The first

<sup>9</sup> Mr. Richard Simpson, in chap. xiii. of his *Life of Father Campion*, gives a concise and very interesting account of this famous discussion.

<sup>10</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxi. n. 43. This paper is copied by Father Morris in *Troubles*, Second Series.

indication of the kind of judgment the prisoners were to expect was seen in the constitution of the jury. On the previous Wednesday the panel that was called included three esquires, "who, doubting that justice should have no free course that day in these men's cases, whose blood was so earnestly thirsted after, appeared not when the day came." The rest of the panel consisted of a set of men whom the prisoners did not challenge, only because they knew them not. One William Lee was the foreman. He was a man of wealth, but, as may be seen by his letters to the Government,<sup>11</sup> an informer and a fanatic, and he doubtless well understood his duty.<sup>12</sup> The presiding judge was Chief Justice Wray, who was considered at the time to be a Catholic at heart, unwillingly performing a hateful task which is said to have embittered all his remaining days, and even to have brought him in sorrow prematurely to the grave in 1592. His assistant judges were probably Thomas Gawdy and William Ayloff. John Southcote, the fourth judge of that court, was not likely to be present, as he was one of the persons whose names Hopton dictated to John Nicholls to set down in the list of those he knew to be Papists.<sup>13</sup> In *Records*, Series II. (Life of Father Cottam) we have given a full extract from the bill of indictment, which abounded in generalities and the usual legal technicalities. The three specific charges alleged against Father Bosgrave were (1) Denying the Queen's supremacy in spirituals; (2) For that being interrogated regarding the Bull of Pope Pius he would give no direct reply; (3) That having heard a report beyond seas of a conspiracy against the Queen by the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he had not sent intelligence of it to the authorities in England. As though, forsooth (adds Father More), every bruit of this kind, upon mere hearsay, ought immediately to be carried to the Government, when its foundation is doubtful, and numerous ways, and much more certain ones, of gaining intelligence lie open to it. And, regarding his alleged complicity in the conspiracy, separated from home by such distant lands, and by so many years' absence become a stranger to his kindred, and even to his mother tongue, how was it possible that he should have corresponded with Campian and the rest, as charged, for the murder of the Queen? Seeing, too, that he

<sup>11</sup> *Harleian MS.* 6,998, p. 132.

<sup>12</sup> Simpson's *Life of Campian*, p. 283.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

had never set eyes upon the imagined conspirators until he became their companion in chains !

The great hero in the trial was Father Campian, who, in fact, conducted both his own and the defence of the rest. Speaking of the close of the trial, "Never," says Fitzherbert, "was Campian's face more noble ; his conduct during the day had been full of calmness and dignity, and his arguments of point and conclusiveness ; but in his last speech he surpassed himself. His eloquence made his fellow-prisoners forget the fate that hung over them."<sup>14</sup>

Father Bosgrave, as was the case with the rest, appears from the report of the trial to have said but little, and that little would probably have been uttered with much hesitation and nervousness on account of his broken English.

Bosgrave's examination was read, wherein he had denied the supremacy, and had staggered, without any perfect answer to the Bull, but said that he came into England to persuade and teach, acknowledging her Majesty his Queen and temporal head. In which examination he had confessed that beyond the seas he had heard it reported how the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Florence would send a great army into England to deprive the Queen's Majesty both of life and dignity, for the restitution of the Catholic religion.

*Queen's Counsel.* The keeping close and not detecting of treason maketh the hearer of it to become a traitor ; and, therefore, inasmuch as you concealed what you heard, and made not information of it to her Majesty, to the Council, nor the Commonwealth of this realm, you became therefore privy and party unto it, and therefore, in these respects, you are a traitor.

*Bosgrave.* What ! am I a traitor because I heard it spoken ?

But Campian, perceiving Bosgrave daunted with the matter, spoke to excuse him in manner as followeth :

*Campian.* My lord, it is not unknown to you how brittle and slippery ground fame and reports are wont to be built on, the which, as for the most part they are more false than credible, so ought they always to make men wary and fearful to deal with them, insomuch as the broacher of rumours or news is he that getteth commonly least credit or thanks for his labour. The cause is the property and nature of fame, which is never but uncertain, and sometimes but forged ; for who findeth it not by daily experience how that in every city, every village, yea, and in most barbers' shops in all England, many speeches, both in estates and commonwealths, be tossed, which were never meant nor determined of in the court. If it be so in England, shall we not look for the like in Italy, Flanders, France, and Spain ? Yes, truly ; for though the countries do differ, yet the nature of the men remaineth the same, namely, always desirous and greedy of news. Many things there be diversely reported, and diversely canvassed by the common sort, which were never intended by the bearers of rule

<sup>14</sup> Simpson's *Life of Campian*, as above.

and principality. Were it not then a great point of credulity for a man divided from England by a many seas and lands, upon a matter only blazed among the vulgar people, either by journey or letter to certify the Queen's Council or Commonwealth of things never purposed, much less put in practice. I rather think Mr. Bosgrave's discretion to have been greater in passing such dangerous occasions with themselves, than otherwise it would have been in using means to bewray them. But supposing he had done as you would have had him, and what he heard there he had signified here, what had come of it? Marry, then, greater danger for slandering the realm, and how little thanks for his false information. So that, if he would deal either wisely or safely, how could he deal better than to do as he did?

*Attorney-General.* There is no cloth so coarse but Campian can cast a colour upon it. But, what, was it not Bosgrave's own confession that he arrived in England to teach and persuade the people, and what persuasions would they be but to prepare a readiness for these wars?

*Campian.* These be but faint and bare implications, which move but urge not, affirm, but prove not; whereas you ought not to amplify and gather upon words, when a matter concerneth and toucheth a man's life.<sup>15</sup>

Father Campian made a brilliant speech to the jury for himself and the rest: "The greater part of the lawyers and gentlemen present thought an acquittal was certain, at least for Campian; but judges and jury, says Laing, had all been bought, and the desire to gratify Cæsar prevailed; Popham, the Attorney-General, had plainly signified to them the Queen's will." The pleadings had taken about three hours, and the jury consulted for nearly an hour before they agreed on their verdict, which was one of guilty, and Father Bosgrave received the sentence of death in the usual merciless formula—to be drawn upon hurdles to the place of execution, there to be hanged, and cut down alive, their entrails to be taken out and burnt in their sight; their bodies quartered and exposed. "And may God have mercy on your souls." "All the prisoners, says the reporter, after this judgment stormed in countenance, crying that they were as true and faithful subjects as ever the Queen had any. Only Campian suppressed his affection, and cried aloud *Te Deum laudamus*, &c. Sherwin took up the song, *Hæc est dies*, &c., and the rest expressed their contentment and joy, some in one phrase of Scripture, some in another, whereby the multitudes in the hall were visibly astonished and affected. Campian was rowed back as he came, in a barge to the Tower, and the rest were sent back to their own prisons, where, being laid up in irons for

<sup>15</sup> Simpson's *Life of Campian*, p. 299.

the rest of their time, they expected God's mercy and the Queen's pleasure."<sup>16</sup> Shortly before the time fixed for the execution, a reprieve arrived for Father Bosgrave, and he remained in the Tower under close confinement until, as we read in Rishton's *Diary of Events in the Tower*, January 21, 1584,<sup>17</sup> when Father Jasper Heywood, S.J., James Bosgrave, S.J., John Hart (afterwards S.J.), Thomas Worthington (afterwards S.J.) and others (in all twenty-one), "expecting nothing of the sort, were, by the Queen's command, put on board a ship at the Tower stairs, and against our will put on shore on the coast of Normandy, and not long afterwards, fifty<sup>18</sup> others followed us into exile, and we were all expressly threatened with pain of death, if we ever returned to our country." The priests, by the mouth of Father Jasper Heywood, made an indignant protest upon being thus shipped off—that they were innocent men, punished with exile against their will, for they were ready to give their lives for the Catholics, whom they were bound to serve. Their protest was unheeded, as also their demand to see the warrant for their expulsion. This demand they again renewed upon their voyage, as we have already stated in the *Life of Father Haywood*,<sup>19</sup> but the officers, however, in charge could only answer that they had nothing to do but obey. We give the following from the original parchment commission directed by the Queen to the Lord Chancellor and others for the banishment of Father Bosgrave and his fellow-exiles:<sup>20</sup>

*Date, 15th January, 1585.* Whereas James Bosgrave, late of London, clerk, John Hart, late of London, clerk, Edward Rushton, late of London, clerk, and Henry Orton, late of London, gentleman, stand, and be indicted and attainted of high treason for divers and sondrie haynous and horrible treasons agaynst us committed, as by the record thereof more fully and at large doth appeare. And whereas also Jaspas Haywood, late of London aforesaid, clerk, William Tedder, Samuel Conyers, Arthury Pitt, William Wormington, Richard Clark, William Hartley, Robert Norrys, William Earne, and William Bishoppe, all late of London, clerks, stand and be also indicted and attainted of high treason, &c. (*ut supra*).

And whereas also Robert Nutter, Thomas Stephenson, John Collyngton, Christopher Thompson, Thomas Worthington, John Barnes, and William Smith, clerks, have been, and are holden

<sup>16</sup> Simpson's *Life of Campion*, p. 309.

<sup>17</sup> In some writers it is incorrectly stated to be June 21.

<sup>18</sup> Should be fifty-one.

<sup>19</sup> *Records*, vol. i. p. 403.

<sup>20</sup> State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* Jan. 15, 1585, vol. clxxvi. n. 10.

vehementlie suspected of, and said to be touched with the lyke haynous offences. We, by good and due meanes, understanding them to be drawn thereunto by a blind zeal and affection that they beare unto the Pope, being for our profession of the true religion of Christ a capital enemy to us and our realme, and hoping nevertheless that time and better instrucon may persuade them to a more loyall and conformable course; of our gracious clemency not minding to deal with them, or execute them by justice, as by our lawes we might doe, though without any their desert, for us, our heyres and successors, give full power, warrant, and authority by these presents to you, our sayde Lord Chancellor &c., or to any sixe or more of you, without further corporall punishment, onlie to banish out of and from all places under our obedience, the said James Bosgrave, &c., and every of them, with order and direction to be given to them and every of them under the handwriting of you, or any sixe or more of you, that neither they ever any of them retorne into this realme of England, or any other our dominions, without our expresse licence and warrant in that behalfe fyrst had and obteyned, upon pain to have the justice and execution of our lawes to be presently thereupon executed upon them, and any of them so retorning, which we will and command to be done and executed upon such their severall retorning without our licence, with all due expedition. *And whereas* divers other Jesuites, seminary priests, and other wandering and massing priestes have come over and daily do come over from the parts beyond the seas unto this our realme, to the intent to withdrawe sundrie our good and loving subjects from their due obedience unto us, and doe also seek what in them lieth to sow sedicion and styrrre rebellion within the same our realme, some stand and be indicted, and some also attainted some of *premunire*, some of high treason, by them severally committed, and the rest not yet in any wise dealt with by way of indictment or attainder. *And whereas* also there be divers others as well wandering and massing priestes, as other lay persons that are seductors of our said loving subjects or otherwise by the meanes aforesayd seduced themselves, whereof great damage might ensue in time unto us and our sayde realme, if the same be not by us the sooner foreseen and p'vented. We therefore, &c., warrant, &c., the said, &c. [Commissioners], to banish, &c., all the said Jesuites, &c. Witness our seal at Westminster the 15th of January, 27th year of our reign.

Father Bosgrave returned again to Poland, and spent the rest of his days in that province. He died at Calizzi, according to Father More, in the year 1623 (another account says 1621), upwards of seventy years of age. Nineteen years before (on the 25th of April, 1604), he had been professed of three vows of religion at the same place. Two years before his banishment his friend and patron, King Stephen, wrote a letter to Queen Elizabeth in his behalf. The letter is given by Father More in his *Hist. Prov. Angl.*, p. 136. It is translated by Father Morris, in *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 77, from which we give the following copy:

Stephen by the grace of God King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania, to the Most Serene Princess the Lady Elizabeth, by the same grace of God Queen of England.

There has been for some time detained in prison in your Majesty's kingdom, a man whose piety and learning is in many men's mouths, James Bosgrave, Theologian of the Society of Jesus and Professor in our University of Vilna, and that as we hear for no cause but the strenuous profession of the Catholic Roman religion, which he imbibed with his mother's milk. We do not doubt that your Highness will perceive that it is important that a man remarkable for his piety and learning should not be so long absent from his University. The injury that his absence has caused to literature we plainly see, and this is our motive for earnestly asking your Majesty, as a favour to ourselves, to set free and send back to us this theologian, in order that, restored to his former position, he may continue to teach piety and letters, to the great future benefit and adornment of Church and State. We do not doubt that your Highness, for your goodwill to us, will give this man up to us, and will not allow that while your subjects are free to profess any religion whatever in our kingdom, our religion should be a capital offence in yours; and we hope that in a short time the royal clemency and goodness of your Majesty will set all the Catholics free, and do at once a most humane act, and one that will be most gratifying to us. And so we bid you a happy farewell. Given at Niepolomice, this 29th of January, 1583, the seventh year of our reign.

The name of Father Bosgrave appears in the following State Papers, P.R.O. We copy the lists in full, as being of historic interest.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlix. n. 81. Endorsed, "Names of divers recusants and prestes comitted."

Doctor Watson.	Edward Pole.
Doctor Young.	Thomas Cottam.
Lucas Kirbye.	Polidore Morgan.
Henry Orton.	More.
Robert Johnson	Dibdall.
Thos. Crottesmore.	Hugh Kenricke.
John Hart.	Wisdom, a doctor of physike.
Laurence Vawse.	Henrie Sherwood, a frier.
Gilbert Tichborne.	Richard Creaghe, the Irish Bishop.
Tichborne—besydes Portes-	Edmond Campion.
mouth.	Dr. Eley, or Ellys.
Thomas Clyston.	Mr. Towneley, in the Gatehouse.
John Pascall.	Mr. Gage.
James Bosgrave.	Mr. John Talbott.
Ralph Sherwyn.	Henrie Allwaye.
Roscarick.	

Same vol. n. 83. "Names of certain papists and places where they be comitted."

*Gatehouse.* Polydore Morgan  
*Marshalsea.* Thomas Cottam, Jesuit, now in Tower.

- Gatehouse.* Lukas Kirby, p—t, now in Tower.  
 Thomas Vavasour, discharged upon repentance;  
 promise of conformitie; bond not to goe ten  
 myles from London.  
 Edward Pole.  
 Morse.  
 Dibdale.
- Compter in  
 the Poultrie.* Henrie Orton, now in the Tower.  
 Rob. Johnson, p—t, now in the Tower.
- Gatehouse.* Thomas Scottismore, p—t.  
 Henrie Sherwood, frier; in respect of extreme sick-  
 ness and upon bond discharged till Aprill next.
- Marshalsea.* John Hart, priest.
- Gatehouse.* Laurence Vawse, p—t.  
 Gilbert Titchborne, soldier.
- Newgate.* Thomas Clyfton, pt.; the Bishop of London hath all  
 papers touching him.
- Compter in  
 Poultrie.* John Pascall.
- Marshalsea.  
 Tower.* James Bosgrave, Jesuite.  
 Sherwyn.  
 Roscaryke.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cl. 1581. Endorsed by Walsingham—  
 “Lieut.’s note of certain priestes in his custodie.”

Thomas Bristowe.

Harry Orton.

Thomas Cotham, prieste; hanged 30 May, 1582.

Lucas, Kirkebeye, prieste; hanged 28 May, ’82.

Robert Johnson, priest, [martyr].

Jacob Bosgrave, prieste.

Christr. Thompson, prieste.

All theis have bin prisoners above xj monethes. Maye it  
 therefore please your Hon<sup>rs</sup> for the lessning the Queene Her Ma<sup>ies</sup>  
 chardgis that these persons maye be transfer<sup>d</sup> into some other  
 prison.

We find the following defence of Father Bosgrave and his  
 fellow sufferer and convict, Mr. Orton, who had been charged  
 by the authorities in a published declaration with giving  
 answers regarding the Pope’s supremacy contrary to the other  
 confessors and martyrs.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cliv. nn. 53, 53 I. 53 II.

No. 53 Is a short letter from Popham, the Attorney  
 General to Walsingham, endorsed by Walsingham: “6 July,  
 1582. From Mr. Attorney Gen<sup>l</sup> advisinge a pamphlett caste  
 abroad in disprooffe of y<sup>e</sup> witnesses, testyfyng Bosgrave and  
 Orton’s acknowledg<sup>t</sup> of their crime touchinge y<sup>e</sup> supremacie of  
 the Pope.”

No. 53 I. Dr. John Hammond to Popham, Attorney General.

My harte comandacons remembered, &c. I send you here inclosed a seditious pamphlett found this morninge in the Church porche of our parishe of St. Giles Without, Cripplegate, cast in thither over the utter [outer] dore of that porche. I purposed to to have sent it presentlie to Mr. Secretarie, but that I thought it might be you had some papers which could discover the hande, and therefore I thought it best first to make you acquainted therewith, and to referr the disposing therof to your order. Thus I comende you to the grace of God, this vj<sup>th</sup> of Julie, 1583.

Yrs. to my power,

JO. HAMMONDE.

To the Worshipful, my verie good friend Mr. Popham, Her M<sup>tie</sup>'s Atty Gen.

No. 53 II. "A censure upon the answeres of Mr. Bosgrave and Mr. Orton, sett forth in prynt."

Whereas in a late declaration, published by authority, of the answers to certeyn articles made by the m<sup>s</sup> [martyrs] of God lastly executed, it was given forth that Mr. Bosgrave and Mr. Orton had made their answers quite opposite unto the others, and therefore were deteyned from execution by the gratyouse favour of her Matie; I beinge a Catholike, and havinge redd the pamphlett over and over, began to muse with myselfe of the particuler answeres of Mr. Bosgrave and Mr. Orton, wherein perceyving they had uttered thinges farr otherwyse then any of the other prysoners had don in their answeres, I began to surmyse y<sup>t</sup> it was a thing improbable and very unlykely, that they who have suffered so much for the Cath<sup>c</sup> cause shoulde make so great a slyppe in the protestation thereof, and therefore thoughe the answers be sett downe in prynt and under the testimonie of greate men, yett I am to geve my censure, y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> partyes be wrongfully charged in those answeres, and that for these reasons followinge:—

Fyrst, because it is not an unwonted thinge that Catholicks should be belyed in prynt, as appeareth in every booke, and in the late proclamation sett forthe against them, and especially in John Nicholls his bookes, which were prynted by authoritye, and yett full of [? lies] only to discredit poore Catholickes, even by his own confession, as Mr. Kyrbye reported at his death. Munday, in his late worke of the Englishe Romaine lyfe, telleth of a priest, who havinge conference with him, brought forthe of his pockett a paper in which he saith were conteyned the names of certeyne of her Maties most honourable councill, and diverse kindes of punishments allotted to every one in particuler, which is so improbable a tale that every wyse man will accompt itt a very fygmente and a malytious imagination of his owne brayne, and yett the matter is tolerated in prynt by the advyse and judgment of worshippful and lerned men, as he himselfe sayeth (p. 16).

In the preface of the late booke of articles is declared that Mr. Campian and the rest were condemned upon their sundry wryghtings, letters, and confessions, and by other manifest profe, found guiltie of high treason, which notwithstanding these gay

words, was notoriously proved false in the arraignment, as also by their own practyse, afterwards offering pardon to whosoever of them wolde confess the treason, yea, and urging the same at the place of their martyrdom, where they taking y<sup>t</sup> upon their death that they were guiltlesse, neyther wrytinge nor [ ] could be brought forthe to disprove them, but onely the answers to certeyne articles which neyther conteyned matters of treason on their parts (as y<sup>t</sup> is falsely pretended in the said preface) nor anything of that w<sup>ch</sup> was layed to their chardge att their arraignment. This beinge so y<sup>t</sup> is no marvell to see them misreport the answers of two in that number.

Agayne y<sup>t</sup> emboldeneth them to defame these two, because they are in the Tower close prysoners, kept asunder in severall chambers from all company but their keepers onely, who are well schooled for reportinge whatsoever shall chaunce to their prysoners, and they well kept from intelligence of their slanders, and yf they knew them, yet can have no meanes to acquaynt them thereof, w<sup>ch</sup> kind of cruell pollycye is thought to be the cause why so many are kept in the Tower, though to the Princes chardges, that they may alwayes have some, whom they may freely informe [? infame] to color their bloudye practyses upon them and others.

Besydes this, these two partyes are men alreadye condemned, and as they have now no meanes or opportunitye to cleare themselves, so nether shall they hereafter have any; only audyience is to be had at Tyburne, and there also no declaration of faythe or demeanure (for these interruptinge and falsely urged wordes "Confess thy treason"), and therefore y<sup>t</sup> is an easy matter to misreport both these and others also in their case, when as they shall never heare of their slander, nor ever have opportunitye to declare their owne innocencye. Moreover, it is a common practyse amongst them to make report of Catholikes answers as they can wrest them by altering the wordes and misconstruing the meaning, as yf that a man should answer that he hath heard of such a rumour, that party shall be sayd to have consented to the thinge therein mentioned, and whoso sayeth that the Pope's holinesse cannot depose princes att his pleasure (for so they will of purpose propose the question) his answer shall be written down that he denyeth the Pope's authoritye in deposing, when just cause is given, and such lyke; that this is the practyse y<sup>t</sup> is very lyke, because their preachers have taught them in this sort, reportinge the opinions and sentences of Catholikes in matters of faith and religion.

But lett us yet consider more perticuler circumstances of this matter; and fyrst concerning Mr. Bosgrave, that those be not his answeres y<sup>t</sup> may well appear by the little favour w<sup>ch</sup> he hath found ever since he was examined of those articles, for, as it is sayd, he hath been ever since in irons in the same drearye dungeon where Peter Cowper died, eyther for the cold and darknesse or stenche of the place. Againe, when the ministers came to confer with the condemned men, Sir Owen wolde not permitt hym to be brought forth to them, as all the rest were, fearing perhaps lest he shoulde utter to them, wherby these answers might be known not to be his.

As concerninge Mr. Orton, after his answers geven to those articles, he was heard in the audience of 30 persons to detest all their heresies, and protest himselfe readye to die for the Catholicke faith; att what time the ministers came to warn him to

dye, which of likelyhood they wold not have done if those printed answers had been then devysed. Againe, a day or two after the execution of the last 4, cominge in the Court from Sir Owen Hopton, his eldest son spake unto Mr. Orton, signyfying that he was glad to hear him to be so forward (and this he spoke in the presence of V. or VI. strangers of the Cytie) att which wordes Mr. Orton seemed to be much moved and stoutly sayd : I knowe not what you mean, but know this, sir, that I was never farder off from your religion then I am at this present.

All these reasons considered and weighed together, gyveth me sufficient occasion to suspect that those answers were forged in the names of them two partyes to whom they are ascribed, and were never made by them att all, or att the least not in such wordes and such sense as they be reported in prynt.

At the foot, in Dr. Hammond's handwriting :

Found in the churche porche of St. Giles Without, Cripplegate, in London, the VIth of Julie, 1582, by the sexton of the churche, cominge thither to ring the bell in the morninge to the lecture at six of the clocke, by him shewed to Mr. Crowley, the minister, who delivered it to me immediately after the end of his lecture.

JO. HAMMOND.

FATHER THOMAS STANNEY was born in Wiltshire, in the year 1558. In his early years, anxious to place his salvation in safety, endangered as it was in the midst of heresy, he sought a secure asylum in Catholic countries. At the age of twenty-three he passed from the English College, Rheims, in August, 1581, to Rome; and entered the College there on October 18. He was accompanied to Rome by two others, of whom one was John Munden, Fellow of New College, Oxon, 1562, who was ordained priest in Rome, 1582, and returning to England was martyred at Tyburn on February 12, 1584, along with four priests, viz., George Haydock, James Fenn, Thomas Hemerford, and John Nutter.<sup>1</sup> The second companion of Father Stanney was William Wiggles (B.A. of St. John's College, Oxon, 1566), of whom a few interesting particulars will be found in Father Morris' *Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 236, 237.

Father Stanney, after studying philosophy for two years, began his theological course in the month of November, 1583, taking the college oath on the 6th of January following, he was ordained priest in 1585, and then sent into England.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Allen, in a letter to Father Agazzari, the Rector of the English College,<sup>3</sup> describes and recommends him, as, *Juvenis nobilis et*

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Challoner, *Missionary Priests*.

<sup>2</sup> Diary of the English College, Rome.

<sup>3</sup> Stonyhurst MSS.

*moribus modestissimus.* In the year 1597, he petitioned for and obtained admission to the Society of Jesus, and having made his two years' noviceship, returned to England. He was admitted to the profession of the three vows of a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor in the year 1601. The great efficacy of his apostolical labours in England is shown especially in the unshaken faith of his converts and penitents, and their constancy in enduring torments and martyrdom itself. Of these, three laymen were hung for their religion, viz., Swithin Wells, Esq., in Gray's Inn Fields on December 10, 1591; Ralph Miller, or Milner, at Winchester on the 7th of July, 1591; and Lawrence Humphrey, also at Winchester, in the same year. Father Strange, who had strengthened and exhorted them to piety and perseverance, wrote their lives in Latin. The manuscript, which was formerly preserved at St. Omer's College, S.J., was lent to Bishop Challoner, and furnished his materials for the short notices given by him of the three martyrs. Mr. Wells had a particular talent in bringing over heretics and schismatics to the Catholic faith, and was very zealous and courageous in the cause of religion. Hence during the latter part of his life, not only was his house daily open to priests, where two or three Masses were often celebrated in a day, but he would also frequently accompany them in their journeys and charitable expeditions for the assistance of the Catholics in those perilous times. Father Stanney gives an instance within his own experience, describing how he himself, soon after his coming over was conducted by Mr. Wells into the west of England, and placed there in the house of a certain gentleman, equally zealous and prudent in promoting the Catholic cause, where by catechetical instructions and sermons, he in three or four years brought over some hundreds to the Catholic faith. This method Mr. Wells pursued till he came to be so well known to the justices and pursuivants that it was not safe for any priest to ride in his company, as he had been more than once committed to prison upon these occasions. In the last stage of his life Mr. Wells had taken a house in Holborn near Gray's Inn Fields, where he received and entertained priests; and here, Topcliffe, breaking in while the Reverend Edmund Genings was saying Mass, seized upon the priest and several others, and committed them to Newgate. Mr. Wells, who was absent at the time, on going afterwards to expostulate was himself detained, and soon after tried and condemned to die as a

traitor, under the Statute of 27<sup>o</sup> Eliz., and was actually hung, with Mr. Genings, before his own door, on December 10, 1591.

Laurence Humphrey was a native of Hampshire. He was brought up a Protestant, and when eighteen, thought himself, from his study of the Sacred Scriptures and religious books, so perfect a master of controversy that he sought every opportunity of conferring with Catholics and disputing against the faith. He particularly desired to meet with some priest or Jesuit, to hear what they could say for their doctrine. A Catholic of his acquaintance addressed himself to Father Stanney and told him the young man's desire, adding that though he led a moral life, he was full of false zeal and obstinacy in his religion, but yet had declared "he would rather suffer the worst of deaths than break his promise of secrecy, or betray a priest into the hands of his enemies." Father Stanney agreed to meet and confer with him in a house where he was to preach on a particular day within the octave of Corpus Christi. He first delivered his sermon upon the subject of the Real Presence, which both Laurence and another Protestant heard; and then, after entering into private conversation with them, he in a short time brought them both over to the Catholic religion. Laurence's complete conversion gave great comfort and edification to Father Stanney, his spiritual Father. He thought he could never do too much to punish his past sins, he confessed them with great humility and with abundance of tears, and though his life before had been blameless in the eyes of the world, it was now visibly changed in every respect for the better. Father Stanney particularly extols his profound humility, exact obedience, virginal purity, and perfect charity. This queen of virtues had taken deep root in his heart, insomuch that he was never better pleased than when he was promoting the honour and glory of God, and the good of his neighbours, by instructing and catechizing the ignorant, visiting prisoners confined for their religion, and exercising, as occasion offered, all kinds of corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Among these Father Stanney especially notices a custom he had, when his companions were met together in the evenings, of reading some good book to them, such as the life of a saint, or some catechetical instruction, by which means he both confirmed the Catholics in their religion and disposed schismatics to their conversion.

After some time Laurence fell sick, and when utterly unconscious in the delirium of fever, he called Queen Elizabeth

a heretic in very bold terms. Some zealots present were for despatching him there and then, but were prevented. However, on account of words which at his trial he declared that he was utterly unconscious of having ever uttered, he was arrested before his recovery from sickness, committed to Winchester Gaol for trial at the ensuing assizes, and after passing the usual mock trial of the times, when Catholics were concerned, he was convicted, sentenced to death for high treason, and executed at Winchester in the year 1591, at the age of twenty-one.

Ralph Miller, or Milner, was an old man who had lived most of his life in a village near Winchester, and supported by his labour a wife and large family of children. He was a Protestant, but by comparing the lives and religious practices of Catholics and Protestants of his acquaintance, became convinced of the truth of the old religion of England, and was reconciled to the Catholic Church; and on the very day of his first Communion, after making his general confession, he was arrested and committed to Winchester Gaol for his religion. He was confined there for many years, but his conduct was so excellent that the gaoler allowed him to go about on parole, and even employed him in his own affairs, and trusted him with the keys of the prison. By these means he was enabled to render essential services, both spiritual and temporal, to the poor Catholic prisoners. His charity was also extended to the faithful dispersed about the country. As an instance of this, Father Stanney narrates that he used to come once a month to the house where he resided, to conduct him to different villages, for the sake of preaching and administering the sacraments to the poor Catholics. The Father also testifies that, ignorant as Miller was, he had, by the bright light of his virtues and by his fervent prayers, been under God the cause of the conversion of many to the Catholic faith. "Once," says Father Stanney, "he came to me, desiring that I would take a journey with him to preach and administer the sacraments, according to custom. I was obliged to answer him that I had not long since been in those parts, where I was very much fatigued with preaching, hearing confessions, and administering the sacraments; more especially as I had been obliged to watch whole nights, and to celebrate Mass twice in the day, so that I had not even yet recovered from such heavy work. 'Well, but master,' said he, for so he used to call me, 'we have still a great many hungry souls that want bread, and there is no one

to give it to them. We have many, also, that would be glad to shake off the yoke of bondage and embrace the Catholic faith, and I can find none to help them and receive them into the Church. What, then, must I say to them?' 'I tell you, Ralph, the very truth,' said I; 'I want not good will, but strength, wherefore I beg they will have a little patience, and in a short time, by the help of God, I purpose entirely to satisfy their good desires.' 'But what shall I do,' said Ralph, 'if your Reverence's health will not permit you to come amongst us?' I replied that I had been desirous for a long time to have another priest who might be able to serve those parts, and that if he could find a proper place for him I would endeavour to procure them a good priest. 'That I will do,' said Ralph, 'with all my heart, and I hope to be able in a short time to provide him all necessaries.'

"Our Superior [Father Henry Garnett], with another priest, happened to come to me soon after this, and I consulted him as to what I should do. He bid me ask Ralph if he would be willing to have for their priest Mr. Roger Diconson, with whom he was very well acquainted. He presently answered, 'With all my heart; for, above all others, I would be glad to live and die with that good man;' which afterwards happened."

The Reverend R. Diconson was accordingly sent to Winchester, where he laboured for some years with great fruit, chiefly among the poor and the Catholic prisoners. He was taken in a gentleman's house, and removed to Winchester under guard of six soldiers, but escaped from them when they were intoxicated. He was again arrested in the company of Ralph Miller, committed to Winchester Gaol, sent up to London, grievously tortured, remanded back to Winchester for trial, and there condemned and executed, with the good Ralph, on July 7, 1591.

Father Stanney is also mentioned in the life of Father John Gerard<sup>s</sup> as one of a number of Fathers and others who met Father Henry Garnett, the Superior, most probably in Warwickshire, in 1593, to renew their religious vows and hold conferences. They numbered nine or ten Jesuits, besides other priests, their friends, and some lay Catholics besides. A serious question arose as to the danger of so many assembling together without sufficient hiding-places for all, in case of an irruption by the pursuivants, a thing very likely to happen. Father Garnett, in a prophetic spirit, answered that it was not

<sup>3</sup> *Condition of Catholics*, p. xxxviii. seq.

right for all to meet together at once, now that their number was increasing ; but as they were then and there met for the greater glory of God, he would be answerable for all till the renovation was over, but after that he would not promise. Accordingly, on the very day of renovation, though he had been quite easy before, he earnestly warned every one to look to himself, adding that he did not guarantee their safety any longer. A number, on hearing this, after dinner rode off, five Jesuits and two secular priests staying behind. The next morning early, about five o'clock, when Father Robert Southwell was beginning Mass, four pursuivants attacked the house with drawn swords, but being delayed by the faithful porter at the door, time was allowed for Father Southwell to unvest and strip the altar, and, with the rest, to retire to a hiding-hole.<sup>4</sup> Father Garnett, Father Southwell, and Father Oldcorne (three future martyrs) were there besides Fathers Stanney and Gerard, two secular priests, and two or three lay gentlemen.<sup>5</sup> But Father Stanney, foreseeing that he could not long escape betrayal into the hands of the pursuivants, and would in that event be but of little service to others, resolved to redouble his efforts, and to use each day as the last lent him to gather in fruit ; and in the brief interval of liberty left him he reconciled many (Father More says some hundreds) to the Catholic Church. In the meanwhile he was beset by so many snares of the emissaries, that, compelled to take refuge in most incommodious hiding-places, his health was greatly injured by sufferings from cold and hunger.

At length his expected hour was come, and he was seized and thrust into a narrow cell in the Gatehouse Prison, Westminster. In 1603 he was living at Arundel House, in the Strand, as chaplain to the Countess of Arundel, as we find from a paper in the Public Record Office,<sup>6</sup> endorsed by Secretary Salisbury "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England. The names of the Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode. Mr. Stanney, with the Countess of Arundel." It is very probable that his arrest took place there about that time ; and as he was banished in 1606, we thus gain some clue to the time of his imprisonment. In this

<sup>4</sup> A fuller account of this event is given in the "Life of Father Robert Southwell," *Records*, vol. i. Series I. p. 321.

<sup>5</sup> Father Stanney was a constant companion of Father Henry Garnett, and was his confessor during the last sixteen years of his life ; he speaks of the great purity of conscience and sanctity of his penitent.

<sup>6</sup> *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1603.

prison in a short time he contracted a complication of diseases, from the wretchedness and incommodities of his cell, such as the stone, the gout, with contraction of the nerves, &c., to all of which sufferings he added a crown of the greatest patience. His imprisonment was commuted to banishment for life, and he was transported to Belgium, with forty-six other priests, of whom Bishop Challoner<sup>7</sup> gives a list taken from the Douay Diary. Among these were nine other Jesuits, viz., Fathers Sylvester Norris, Thomas Flint, Henry (wrongly called John) Floyd, Robert Bastard, Edward Dawson (or Davison), Thomas Garnett (martyr, 1608), James Blundell, Thomas Laithwaite, Robert Bradshaw, and Andrew White. Father Stanney is also named in a letter from one Randall.<sup>8</sup> This is dated July 14, 1606, and addressed to Father Robert Parsons as Signor O. Hamiano, Venegia: "The priests are now at the point to be banished. Among others, besides Norris, Floyd, &c., there is Thomas Stanney, who was a little while ago crazed in his wits, but is now perfectly recovered again. He desireth much to be recommended unto you. He is a very good and virtuous man, moreover, both in prison and out, he giveth edification."

Landing in Belgium he went to the English College of the Society in St. Omer, where, though invalided himself, he was appointed Prefect of Health, the duties of which, by no means idle, office, he fulfilled personally when able, serving the sick in the lowest ministrations, and always endeavouring to cheer and amuse the invalid scholars by relating pious histories and examples of virtue. He alleviated the pains of his gout by sprinkling his feet with holy water, and by fervour in devotion, using no other remedy unless when ordered to do so. But his end was now at hand, for on May 27, 1617, finding his health improved, he set himself to work, assisted by a lay-brother, to clean out the infirmary, when it was free from sick, and while busily engaged in that humble occupation he suddenly fell to the ground in a fit of apoplexy. He received the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, having been to confession and said Mass that morning, and died the following day, the 28th of May, 1617, aged 62; after twenty-eight years spent in religion. He was a man adorned with every religious virtue, and was taken to receive the recompense of his labours and sufferings.

<sup>7</sup> *Missionary Priests*, 1606.

<sup>8</sup> This was a by-name of Father Richard Blount. See extracts from his letters to Father Parsons, *Records*, Series I. vol. i. p. 63.

FATHER SYLVESTER NORRIS (who passed also by the names of Smith and Newton) died in this College or district on the 16th of March, 1630, aged fifty-eight. He was a native of Somersetshire, born in the year 1569-70; he entered as an alumnus of the English College, Rome, on the 9th of October, 1590, and took the usual College oath in the month of March following. In the beginning of May, 1592, he left Rome for England. After completing his theological studies and taking the degree of D.D., he was sent upon the mission, and at length, being arrested in the Gunpowder Plot frenzy, was committed prisoner to Bridewell Gaol, London. From thence he wrote to the Earl of Salisbury the following letter, dated December 1, 1605 :

*Dom. Jac. I.* vol. xvii. n. i. [Undated] December 1, 1605.  
Endorsed, "Xbris Norrys the Priest from Brydwell."

Right Hon.,—Doubting not but that you rather rejoyce in the innocencie then guiltines of any Christian, I heir protest unto yr honor y<sup>t</sup> not onlie myselfe was never acquainted with this conspiracie, but yf any of those with whom I have bin familiar, are or may be tuched in this action, yf any man, woman, or child to whom I have ever ministered the Sacrament, to whom I ever gave counsayle or advice, other than in matters of their soule, or other wayes be guiltie herein for ought that I can learne, let me receive no favor at yr L-p's hands. To Catesbie I was always a stranger, never saw him before the last Lent, never since, never hard him, I protest vnto you, speake word of treason, rebellion, or anything to be done eyther by him, or others, eyther against the state, or for the advancement of the Catholicke cause. The same I protest of Winter and Graunt, to whom I was such a stranger as I never had as much as any privat conference with either of them both, for when by a mere chaunce I came to their lodgings upon a drinking night, they were all the while playing at cardes, and I had no talke at all with them than comon compliments; for my Lord Weorden, my Lord Stourton, Sir Everich Dickby, Mr. Ruckwoode, Mr. Thos. Percy, and the rest, I never was at their houses; never saw them in my life, never was at my Lord Vaux his house, never spake unto him, never with his mother; never was at her house, never saw Mr. Thos. Tresham since my soveraigne King Jac. came to the crowne. Is it possible, my Lord, a Catholic priest should have less acquaintance with so manie Catholickes then I with these, or do you think yf I had not been whollie innocent, I would thus have confessed all of myself. At my first exam<sup>n</sup> before Sir Toby Chauncie, I said I was at one Newton's house, in Islipe, and that I had taken a chamber there, but I protest before Alm. God, as I shall be saved, I never to my knowledge was in his house, never to my knowledge knew him, or he me, never to my remembrance lay in Islipe in my life, but onlie named that town because I had ridden through it, and fell readiest on that name because I once

went by that name, not knowing then that any of that name lived there. Thus I write that no hurt may come to him by my mistaking.

Now touching our doctrine, your honour desired to have it vnder my hand that yf our Church should teach when the Pope declares he taketh armes to restore religion, we ought to obey him and not our Prince, I should renounce that doctrine, I cannot say upon that supposition I would renounce it, and I am sorrie as far forth as I offended God in saying I would then refuse it or dislike it. But I answer that then I would do as nere as I could what God would have me do. And in all the other demands and questions which were then propounded, because I seemed to scandalize some of the Lordes, I now answere for the quieting of my conscience and satisfying of them, that I believe whatever the Catholike Church teacheth I ought to believe, and I would do whatsoever a Catholike by the lawes of God ought to do. Yet that you may perceave the loyal hart I bear to my Prince, and the desire I have to serve my countrie, yf it please your honor to give me, and two or three more who are at libertie soone to repare to Rome, we will procure the Pope to give satisfaction to your honors, both in these matters, and whatsoever else you wil; we wil labour him to bind all prestes, all Catholickes, your L-p will give leave to remayne in the realme, not onlie by their allegiance to their Prince, but also by their duty towards God, to be just, true, and loyal subjects in all respects you shall require; nay, we will endeavor to obtayne, for the afferminge of those things, that hostages shall be sent from the Pope or other Christian Princes tied to forfeit whatsoever your honours will, yf ever hereafter any the least treason be attempted against the King's state or crown by any such person or personages for whom the former securitie shall be given. These things, or whatsoever else your honours shall demande—nay, may be done by the law of God, we will take upon us to effectuate. In the meantime I humbly beseech your honour to grant me some release of my extreame miseries, for I am greatlie discomfited with darknes, almost starved with cold, having nothing but my ouse and doublet; neither can I possible long continue this close and comfortless imprisonment, except your L-p take some pittie on me. Your L-p's poore prisoner to command,

SILVESTER NORRICE.

To the Rt. Hon. Lord my Lord of Salisburie. These.

His letter had the desired effect, and he was sent into banishment with forty-seven other priests in the following year. He arrived at Douay, July 24th, 1606, on his way to Rome, and in the course of that year was admitted to the Society of Jesus. He afterwards returned to England, and in 1618 made his solemn profession of the four religious vows in London. He served upon the mission with great zeal and ability, after he had been Professor of Sacred Scripture and Theology, and Prefect of Studies in our Colleges abroad, and he was held in great esteem as a preacher. He wrote many admirable works on controversy, which were received with great praise and were much studied.

Under the signature of S. N. he published *The Antidote, or Treatise of thirty controversies against Sectaries* (4to. St. Omer, 1618—1619, 2 parts); *An Appendix to the Antidote* (4to. London, 1621); *The Pseudo-Scripturist* (4to, 1623); and *A true account of his Controversy with Walker* (8vo. London, 1624). He is mentioned in Gee's list of Romish priests and Jesuits resident about London as, "Dr. Norrice, one that hath written divers books of late."

BROTHER ANDREW WILSON was a native of the county of Sussex, born in the year 1610, but we have no information as to his parentage or the exact place of his birth. We learn from Father Henry More<sup>10</sup> that in the year 1626, being then sixteen years of age, he was admitted into the Society of Jesus, having made his humanity studies at the English College, S.J., St. Omer. He made his philosophy and higher studies at the English College, S.J., Liege, which was founded in 1614, and of which Father Owen Shelly was at that time Rector, and after completing this course he was seized with consumption. In 1632 he was at the College of the Society at Brussels, where for very many years an English Father, with a Brother Socius, resided as Procurator for England, that is for St. Omer's College, &c. As a scholastic was seldom, if ever, appointed to such an office, it is very probable that Br. Andrew Wilson was likewise sent thither for the benefit of change of air. He afterwards returned to the College of St. Omer, but in too weak a state to undertake any regular professorship, he was employed in perfecting some of the scholars in Greek, and in helping to promote a study which the Father General had lately much recommended. Brother Andrew soon became totally unfit for any exertion, and was sent into the infirmary of the College, where he lingered for some time until his death.

The following interesting narrative is taken from the original in the Public Record Office, Brussels.<sup>11</sup> It is also given by Father Henry More<sup>12</sup> in a somewhat abbreviated form; and a short eulogy in the Summary of the deceased of the Society for the year 1624, is evidently gathered from the same source. From this history it will be seen how true an imitator

<sup>9</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix.

<sup>10</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl. S.J.*, lib. x. n. xix. seq. pp. 474—481.

<sup>11</sup> *Collectio Cardwelli Vitæ Martyr.* pars i. p. 193 (Stonyhurst, 1871).

<sup>12</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. x. n. xix. seq. (as above).

Brother Andrew Wilson was of Blessed Berchmans, how perfect a model of religious perfection, both to those in his own degree, and to the more advanced religious.

*A relation of the virtues and happy end of Brother Andrew Wilson.*

On 15th of January, 1634, our deare Brother Mr. Andrew Wilson, about a quarter past two in the afternoon, soon after he had received his Viaticum for the second time in this his sicknesse, yielded up very peaceably and tranquilly his innocente soule unto his Creatour.

He was one whom Almighty God favoured much in life, but most particularly at his death, and all the tyme of his sicknesse. Until ye very last moment of his life, he constantly continued giving us those rare examples of religious proceedings, that I heare not any either of ours, or externs, from the first to the last, whoe doth not freely say they never saw a more admirable end than that which this happy soule hath made.

You cannot imagine a greater patience, a more exact conformitie of his will to that of Almighty God, a more punctual obedience, a more solid humility, a straighter union with God, more perfect ejaculatory prayers, and those most fervent, a more cheerful countenance and alacritie in performing of whatsoever he hath applied himself unto, than that which wee were all, as many as we are, dayly eyewitnesses of. And no wonder he died so happily, when as that infinite Goodness hath been disposing him to his final passage, in a most particular manner for the space of these three last yeares, all which time he was a more exact observer of his rule, and more favoured with lights from heaven than ever; insoemuch as comparing these yeares with the former, he was never satisfied in praysing the goodness of Almighty God towards him. And he would many tymes invite the angels and all creatures to join with him for the praising Him in his behalfe; and he would, in confidence to him with whom he could freely open himselfe, say: "These flowers and particular benefits, I acknowledge to have received of late, grow not of themselves in my garden, but God hath planted them there Himselfe, and He could have taken away my life when I was tepid, but it hath beene His goodness to call me unto Him when I am at the best." And thus did he spiritually rejoyce in the mercies of Almighty God towards him.

Now that which wrought first this change in him some three yeares agoe, was that light which he received from heaven, convincing him in the verity of the sentence uttered by Thomas à Kempis: *Domine mihi justè debetur contemptus et confusio: tibi vero laus, honor et gloria*—"To me, O Lord, contempt and confusion are justly due: to Thee praise, honour, and glory," which he understood soe well, as that he saw plainly all those former apprehensions he had heertofore resented, of being the meanest schollar of his philosophy, having been equal to the best of his school-fellowes in his humanity, and superior to most, were but effects of pride or vanity, and that such contempt and confusion was only that which by right he could expect at the hands of God, Who, if He thought fit to increase His glory by that meanes, then was not he anything the worse in the sight of God, but a most happy creature, that he could so contribute to His honour. And for this reason, when he went to schools, or began any schoole exercise, he used this jaculatory prayer, *Domine, si me vis etiam stupidum, sis benedictus*—"Oh! Lord, if Thou wouldest that I be also stupid, be Thou blessed," and though he expected little better than confusion, yet would he propose his argument, and put his first syllogism with as much liveliness and fervour as if hee had beene to utter the greatest difficulty, which yet he could not in effect prosecute to any continuance. I mention this because, as I say, this good soul, glorified in this of bearing his confusion patiently, and was soe habituated in that sentence of Thomas à Kempis, that it served him at every foote in his sickness to unite his soule the more to God, and sometymes he would enlarge it with much tenderness in this manner: *Tibi Domine gloria, mihi vero jure debetur confusio; modo Tu glorificeris, contemnar ego, despiciar ego, sicut lutum platearum conculcer ego*—"To Thee, Oh Lord, glory; to me confusion is justly due; be Thou alone glorified: I despised; let me be despised and trodden under foot as the mud in the streets."

Having settled himself in that opinion that he was not to seek the esteem of creatures, but his own confusion, he tooke this as a special means to honour Almighty God and further the good of his soule; and it stode him notably insteede, now at his death, to wit the speaking of spiritual things, wherein he had as fine a gust, and was as little tedious as ever I knew any.

In his morning prayer, he was accustomed to pray Almighty God he might happen to light on those in recreation whoe

might inflame him in the love of God; and that this might succeed, he would not willingly put himself with many, and in full companies, but rather walke apart with one or two; for then, sayd he, if wee speake not spiritually, it is plainly our fault, and he contrived the matter soe that he assured one confidently after the three or four months he had been at Liege, since his last coming over, that until then he never spent any recreation tyme whereof he repented himselfe; and I believe he might now have said as much of those he spent since. Now that his recreation might not prove tedious, he had that variety of histories, apothegms, sentences, and the like, for each matter soe fitly accommodated, and by use on all occasions so ready, that it was a pleasure to hear him deliver himselfe; and amongst other things in him I wondered not a little at this, that to my remembrance I never heard him stammer once in any spiritual discourse he made, though other wise all know how subject he was to that imperfection.

The effects of his spiritual discourses did not only recreate his soule, but on occasions gave even strength and vigour to his body. This proof of it may be given to you from his own mouth, that coming one day from Brussels towards Ghent, one foote within the space of the first league (in which tyme the father whom he accompanied made his prayer) he felt himselfe soe faint in body, and soe soare in his feete, that it was needful to goe into some house, and lay him on a bed, bring him somewhat to eat, and let him rest himself awhile. Afterwards, rising up, and begging to speake of spiritual matters, his faintness and soreness passed away without beinge felt, and soe walked on as courageously as if noe such thing had been, and some other tymes he made journies with ten or twelve blisters on his feete, without any difficulty whilst he discoursed spiritually, and doubted not to venture upon any pilgrimage without being weary, provided he had one or two such companions as would helpe him to entertain the time in godly discourses.

Now, in his sickness it was noted that once or twice when almost spent, upon a spiritual discourse held with him and certain jaculatory devout prayers repeated, he recovered himself as perfectly as he was before, and sayd once that in that spiritual discourse which recovered him he had received more comfort than in all the foggy pleasures (these were his words) the world could afford him. And that his speeches were

of efficacy, not only to delight but even to inflame those he spoke withall in the love of God, this may serve for a testimony that some of ours, as also some of the schollars affirme they were never so moved at either exhortation or sermon, as they were to hear him speake of his love towards Almighty God.

A third thing which particularly disposed him to make soe happy an end was the care he had of little things, esteeming nothing little which was commanded in his rule, and helped to gain soe great a matter as is the kingdom of heaven. One asked him confidently on his death-bed what he thought really of certain little mortifications, and if they could be grateful to God. He answered they were most precious in His sight, *et majus est sacrificium*, sayed he, *ejicere è cubiculo omnia superflua, quam alia multa quæ apparent grandiora*—"It is a greater offering to cast forth from your chamber all superfluities than many other things which may appear of greater value." Was not this soul skilful in a right value of spiritual riches? That you may be convinced of this, I will add a practice he had to be sure to amend the least faults, and it was this—to beg of one who was spiritually dear unto him to show his love unto him in proving a faithful monitor, whom he called his fatherly friend, *paternum amicum*, with allusion to the name that slave tooke upon him for telling Philip, King of Macedon, of his faults in these words *Compone vestem, indecenter sedes*. And you would wonder how thankful he was for any little fault you told him of, and one may see the use he made of such admonitions by this, that he kept always by him a catalogue of such things he was warned of, even when he was a dying; but set down in Greek, and that by way of precepts, that it might not be perceived. And whilst he came to the Rectory, before this his last sickness, he had obtained of one to have always an eye on him to see how he behaved himselfe at his meat, and he would even now and then be looking towards him, by whom, if he perceaved anything went amiss, he would in a trice endeavor to amend it.

As he showed his love of little things in amending them in himselfe, soe did he doe it noe less in endeavouring to correct any the least imperfection in the other, whose monitor he alsoe was of charity. He never saw any stain on his clothes, indecency in his behaviour, imperfection in his speche, but he would be sure to tell him of it. There were some good companions he tendered dearly. One of these, speaking of some

notable sanctity his parents had excelled in, he rebuked him for it, as seeming to draw it to his own commendation. Another desiring to watch with him, difficulty was made not to endamage his health, the party replied he was strong enough, and that he had watched at other tymes, and had never been the worse for it. Mr. Andrew overheard him, and the next day in private tould him he had shewed too much affection to a corruptible creature, and that he was not to enforce his Superior to give an account of what he appointeth; "and is not this," sayd he, "plainly to forget those three things I have often remembered you not to faile in *Ego; cur; non ego*, an admirable lesson which had been taught him in his novitiate. And at another tyme, I goeing down to heare his confession, this party said he would alsoe go to confession in the infirmary. "I will tell you," replied Brother Andrew, "a devotion worthy your remembrance, taught me by one I reverence: never let your ghostly father come to you, but be sure always that you goe to him." Thus was he diligent to advertise of any the least defect, because (as I sayed) he had an esteeme of whatsoever it was, to avoyd them all, both in himself and others.

A fourth disposition may not be omitted whereunto he himselfe ascribed the right success of most things he dealt with his neighbour in, both in life and death, and it was a devotion he had learned heere, when he was a child, of one of his masters, towards his angell guardian, to wit, that whensoever he had any business to treate with another, whether it were to demand anything of him, or to require his helpe, or only to converse with him, he would pray to his owne guardian angell to deale with the angell guardian of the other, for the right disposing him, in order to the due performance of that wherein he needed his helpe. And he sayd he found as strange effects of this prayer, as he did ever of anything. Hee was once in England, in the next chamber to one who railed against him above measure for a displeasure he had conceived this good soul had done him, and nothing was able to appease his anger. What remedy? Hee presently betakes himselfe to this prayer: this ended—he went to the party's chamber, whilst hee was yet in the chafe. A strange thing! Hee noe sooner entered and began to deale with him, but he found him as quiet, and as little moved as ever in his life. Hee ascribed the willingness of others treating with him of spiritual matters unto this devotion, and now in his sickness, hee sayd he could finde noe

reason why every one was so ready to helpe him, and seemed joyful to watch and discourse him; but only he assured himselfe his good angell dealt with theirs to dispose them soe; and because hee esteemed soe much of this devotion, he would ever be now and then inculcating it to those he opened himself in confidence unto. And it is a practice some have used since he taught it them; and they affirme it to be certainly most efficacious for the good success of whatsoever they undertake with others.

These were the four chief dispositions, the practice whereof made these his last three years more worthy than the former, and his death even more admirable than his life; for the nigher he approached to his ende and centre, God and heaven, he was farr more active and earnest in ye exercise of devotion and of virtue. And now in conformitie of the aforesayd dispositions, it was a pleasure to see him here, when as hee yet kept abroade amongst the rest, how attentive hee would be to furnish the recreation with occasions and matters of spirituall discourses; how glad he was when anything proceeding from him deserved a disesteeme. How well all hee did was taken doubtless by that concurrence of the angell guardians, and finally how exact hee was to be advanced in the way of perfection by the admonition of others; to which purpose hee obtained from our Reverend Father Provinciall,<sup>6</sup> the subscribing to two notes he had drawn to be given Fathers Rector and Minister, wherein they were appointed to have a speciall eye upon Andrew Wilson, and not to spare the correcting of his faults, when they saw him err, and this even by penance.

One of the things hee was appointed to attend unto, even by way of office, as far as his health would permitt him, was to promote what lay in him the Greek tongue, which of late had been recommended by our most Very Reverend Father Generall, should be held up as might be in this Colledge, as being a science most proper unto this Seminary, and an ornament whereby it has been the more renowned above all others. But this could not be performed by him in the manner he desired, by reason of his consumption, which at last tooke him away from us, brought him soe low and weake, as not to be able to stirr about the house, he was enforced to bee sent into the Infirmary, from whence he was never more in life removed; yet because he had that esteem of endeavouring always to his uttermost to comply with the will of obedience,

which he said (now almost gasping) was the greatest comfort hee had, to wit—as being to tell Almighty God, *Feci quod imperasti*—“I have done what Thou hast commanded me;” and he added it was impossible Almighty God should resist an obedient person, expressing himself in these words, *Syngrapha obedientie Deus non potest resistere*—“A bond of obedience God cannot resist.” Whereby he desired leave that whilst hee had noe other disease but merely his weaknes, which his consumption wrought upon him, that by turns the maisters would send some one of their schollers, whom they most desired should be promoted in the Greek tongue, and with those he would endeavour to perfect them in the exercise of it, the best hee could, hee diligently examined them in their precepts, but hee chiefly practised them in speeking of Greek soe to enable them for a readines in the pulpit. And in this employment hee soe complied with the mind of obedience, that hee lost nothing of the presence he always carried of Almighty God, and of the devotion wherewith his soule did burn; for what was sayd there in Greek was always some pious example, or some devout jaculatory prayer which they might use, when they went to schoole, to the church, to the table, &c., soe that it may be truly said the children came no lesse to him for a lesson of piety than of Greek, and went away always rather inflamed in a love of God, than skilfull in their Greek, though in this the maisters affirme hee notably advanced their profit. Thus did he continue doing his office, as hee called it, until such tyme as perceaving himselfe to decay dayly more and more, by his catarr, and cough, joined together with a continual fever, which was often very vehement, and that in his opinion it seemed impossible to prolong his life any long tyme; he asked the doctor confidently one day, that hee would freely tell him whether there were any hope of life, or not; and the doctor plainly answering there was none, he thanked him as heartily as if hee had tould him the happiest newes hee had ever heard; and blessing Almighty God, with a *Benedictus Deus*, most cheerfully spoken, and reiterated, he asked leave to be freed from the aforesayd employment that he might attend now to employ himselfe wholly in virtue, and leave was granted. After that tyme, which was divers weeks before his death, hee never spoke to any, or any to him, of matters which concerned not precisely the disposing him to his last passage, which that he might be sure of, hee begged licence might be given him to advertise whomsoever came

into the infirmary, and treated of any other business, though in itself otherwise good, that he would remember hee was a dying man whose knowledge of such matters did little or nothing import, and therefore he would entreate him to forbear all such discourses.

About this tyme his pains increasing upon him both in regard of his cough and the humours his catarr filled him with, as alsoe for other pains he felt, and concealed to himselfe, hee began cheerfully to utter that sentence which he never afterwards ceased uttering almost hourly until the last day, *Auge, Domine, dolores, auge patientiam*—"Increase, O Lord, my pains, increase my patience." And not only was this sentence frequent in his mouth, but even about the Colledge, the children would repeat it frequently one to another; and one of the schollars lying tormented with the pains of an impostume, moved by his example, had shrewdly got this sentence for his ease, to utter to Christ our Saviour, *Auge dolores, auge patientiam*, and the like, which made Brother Andrew's song more grateful and sweete in the Divine ears than it was before. To this sentence, upon the increase of his pains, he added many more, noe less pious and devout than it, as for example, *Dominus salus mea, quem timebo?*—"The Lord is my health, whom shall I fear?" *Dominus protector vitæ meæ a quo trepidabo?*—"The Lord is the protector of my life of whom shall I be afraid?" He would raise his voyce, and with a stern and courageous countenance stoutly shake his head, provoking any enemy whatsoever to meet with him, whilst hee kept thus before his eyes our Lord Jesus as his salvation, our Lord Jesus as the protector of his life spiritual and corporall (soe would he paraphrase it), *Dominus protector vitæ meæ tam spiritualis tam corporalis, a quo trepidabo?*—"The Lord is the protector of my life both spiritual and corporal, of whom shall I be afraid?" To this he added that other, *Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit in loco pascuæ, ibi me collocavit*—"The Lord rules me, and nothing shall be wanting to me, in the place of His pasture, where He has set me." Understanding by that pasture, the Society of Jesus, where Jesus governed him, and wherein he could not want anything, as he sayd, his hart could desire, as long as hee remained in it; and because, sayd hee, I have been placed in this pasture, in this life, I shall be placed in those heavenly pastures in the next: *Dominus regit me, etc., in loco pascuæ ibi me collocavit*. There, that is in heaven, He will place me. Another sentence he never

uttered but with much courage and emphasis, and it was this, *In Deo meo transgrediar murum*—"In my God I shall pass over the wall," understanding by that wall Purgatory; with allusion to that story where Purgatory was in a revelation expressed to be the wall betwixt the soules therein suffering and Almighty God, the paines whereof did but only break the wall downe by pieces, whereas in this life, one act of sorrowe beats down the whole wall at once which divides a sinner from the grace of God. Besides these and many other such sentences his little book provided him of, a booke he esteemed soe much, as hee sayd, hee never found his soul desolate or melancholy, but looking a little into it, hee presently returned to his former calm and peace of mind. He was often heard to bless Almighty God, for the sending him so vehement paines which (as near as I can remember) were in these words, *Domine, si me vis adhuc in hæc epiphora, in hac febrî, in hoc catarrho, in hac imbecillitate manere ad sex dies, ad sex menses, ad sex annos, ad sexaginta annos, ad sexcentos milliones millionum annorum, sis benedictus, sis benedictus, sis benedictus*—"O Lord, should you wish me yet to remain in this consumption, in this fever, in this catarrh, and in this weakness, for six days, for six months, for six years, for sixty years, for six hundred millions of millions of years, be Thou blessed, be Thou blessed, be Thou blessed."

His body being so much exhausted, as he was now brought to nothing in a manner but skin, and the paines sometimes so excessive and suddaine, besides those he suffered continually, that none durst assure him of any one day he would live for certaine; and wee all believed he might probably be taken away at a tyme wee least thought of; wherefore, on St. Stephen's day, after the Mass which Father Rector sayd for him in the infirmary about noone, he received his viaticum, and the same night after eight, at the end of litanies, hee was anointed with the sacred oil of Extreme Unction. To prepare himself for the due receiving of these holy sacraments, hee made a generall confession of his whole life, and for his greater confusion and sorrow, hee repeated it twice, and hee did it both tymes with such feeling and pondering each circumstance that aggrieveth, as you would easily apprehend one would doe, who understood soe to the full, how displeasing any the least offence was to God Almighty, Whom now hee soe truly revered. Hee desired to hear out of the ritual all that was to be performed

by him at the receiving of these sacraments, to the end hee might not err in any the least thing; and finding mention made therein of those acts the parish priests should before giving the Viaticum instruct the patient in, hee with leave, after hee had recited himself the *Confiteor*, and Father Rector had also sayd, *Domine, non sum dignus*, etc., made aloud in briefe, but with particular feeling, those acts of faith, hope, and charity, and the rest which are there set downe, and after tould his fault much after the manner we use, but that he added some words to increase his confusion, and lastly, professed himself with many thanks to God, that hee died a child of the Society of Jesus, to which His Divine goodness had been pleased to call Him, and conserve Him in it, till that hour. Hee then caused his hands and his face to be washed, for to receive his viaticum, and now, before hee was anoynted, he entreated the washing of his feet alsoe, and that he might the better participate of the fruits of Extreme Unction, hee desired to have a discourse made him of the excellency and effects thereof, and besides that, sent for Cardinal Bellarmine's book *De arte bene moriendi*; and thence they read to him the chapter alsoe which concerns this sacrament, which after that hee had piously received, hee most gratefully and candidly gave thanks to all the Fathers and Brothers there, for having done him the charity to assist him at this occasion, but indeed there needed noe thanks, nor invitation for any one to come and be with him, each one most greedily desiring any occasion as would send him thither.

As he was desirous to be rightly informed of the manner how to enjoy the benefits of these holy sacraments mentioned, soe was hee as greedy to heare and learn anything which might helpe him to conclude well the period of this life; and because I have merely mentioned the aforesaid booke of Cardinall Bellarmine, it happened that one he was confident with, reading over the index unto him of the chapters, read that amongst others, *De tentationibus circa fidem*—"Of temptations regarding faith." "Well," says Brother Andrew, "read me that chapter over," and being demanded the reason, hee answered very ingenuously, "because for the space of these three yeares, I have never been vexed with scruples, or such like temptations, and therefore I must now arm myselfe against the enemy, whoe will be sure to assault me with them." This reason demonstrated clearly how much God favored that innocent soule, and it was a sufficient sign He would continue His favors, and consequently that the reading of that chapter

would not bee needfull, and soe it was omitted. When he was saying of his jaculatory prayers, hee was put in mynd of that which St. Richard, Bishop of Chichester, commanded his chaplain to repeat often unto him in his agony, *Maria Mater gratiæ, Mater misericordiæ, tu nos ab hoste protege, et hora mortis suscipe*—"Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, protect us from the enemy, and receive us in the hour of death." And there was no need but to mention it to this soule once so devoted to the Blessed Virgin, that he should never after let it remain long unrecited. It was in her, next to Christ our Saviour, he reposed his chief hopes of being assisted in this extremity, and therefore hee desired her picture together with that of our Saviour, might be placed upon a little table that stood by him, that soe hee might never have his thoughts from those hee confided wholly in.

Hee had a custom to ask every morning our Blessed Lady's benediction, and recite her prayer of the Sodality; wherein she is entreated not to abandon her's in the hower of their death. Hee was very desirous to heare all the examples he could, of those whoe had bene assisted by her at their death; and he tould one nothing contented him soe much in the schollars, who had obtained to watch with him, as that they seemed all to be very well convinced in this point, that never any one devoted to our Blessed Ladye happened to have an ill death. In the *Ave Maris Stella* he did much urge on you this versicle, *Vitam præsta puram, iter para tutum, ut videntes Jesum semper collætetur.* In a word, all his speeches breathed piety and confidence in this ever Immaculate Virgin.

Of all the things that were rehearsed unto him, those which mentioned his speedy departure were most grateful, for hee had noe thought more of his body, but all his care was for his soule. He was asked by chance whether he would be buried in the Sodality. "I care not," sayd hee, "cast me on the dunghill if you will," soe little heed did hee take of such propositions. But when one of the schollars tould him hee seemed to goe on apace towards heaven, "It is the best news," replied he, "you could tell mee: I will," sayd he, "presently sing out as loud as I can *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus*, and I will have no feare of being hoarse." Both our Fathers and Brothers and the schollars would often come unto him, and desire him to remember them when hee came to heaven; he most confidently, in that cheerfulness and candid simpli-

city hee used to speake withall, promised them he would not faile to doe it. Hee asked me notwithstanding some once or twice, whether he was not too bold and presumptuous, “and yet meethinks,” sayd he, “I have not anything I can call to my mynd, which makes me feare the making it true.”

Being hee was always upon this *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*—“I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ,” he was remembered of that saying of our blessed Father, St. Ignatius, desirous to live, suffer, and merit rather than to die and go straight to heaven; hee answered that indeed those two reasons of suffering, and increasing his merits would be the only comfort hee should have, if God were pleased to prolongate his life, “yet,” sayd hee, “there are two other things which plainly demonstrate and convince me that it is best for mee to dye, and soe that I am to begg it of Almighty God; the first is that by my death there will be one fewer in the world of those who offend His Divine Majesty; the second, that there will be, by it, one more in heaven who shall praise and glorify Him for an eternity.”

Now for the way by which he hoped to hasten to those heavenly joys, his ejaculatory prayers showed it sufficiently, *Bonum mihi adherere Domino, ponere in Deo spem meam*—“It is good for me to cling to our Lord, to place my hope in God.” And again: *Aspicio Deum meum crucifixum, et dico si me vis hoc catarrho, &c.* Such was his confidence in God, and such the greatness of his sufferings, which indeed were farr greater than any could imagine, especially seeing, the serenity and smiling countenance wherewith he bare them all. The pain which troubled him most was his cough, in which hee had sometymes such violent straines that you would have thought hee would have beene in his agony gasping; his mouth stood open, his face and body were in a sweate, his veins swollen, his roome almost stifled him, and yet, as I sayd before, a Jesus, Maria, a spirituall discourse, and once when his fitt was most vehement, in soe much as hee seemed somewhat to be distracted, an absolution did perfectly recover him. Besides this paine, his body was partly galled and partly blistered with continually lying in bed in almost twenty-five places, and hee never turned in bed without new wounds, or opening again of the old, which stuck into the sheets on the side he lay on, and of this hee made noe account, and could by noe sort be induced to let the surgeon see them. Much after the same manner did he account of a continuall stitch in

his side, which yet hee thought needless to speake of, and hee spake of it only by chance at the very last, and yet it was not lesse painfull because less spoken of. The only rehearsing these his sufferings, will have been a sufficient argument to infer how notable his patience was, and how glad he was to have occasion to be like our Saviour in bearing His Cross; yet what I shall now adjoyn will most plainly convince it. Speaking of life and death, and of the two crowns presented to St. Catharine of Sienna, hee sayd: "I am indifferent to the will of God, but yett if the crowne of thornes were offered me, I would snatch at it." Speaking of the vinegar he used to gurgerise with, "Had I alsoe," sayd hee, "a little gall it were fine." One to whome hee had confided the telling of his stitch in the side and his sores, sayd his sufferings would be more gratefull to God the more hidden they were from men. "If I should chance," sayd hee, "to bee accounted an hypocrite and thought to suffer nothing, *fiat voluntas Dei.*" It was tould him Almighty God was recreated by his sufferings, "He shall," sayd he, "if I can chuse, not want for His recreation whilst I doe live." There was a medicine he naturally loathed, and yet it being appointed, without any reply hee used it a good while; at last perceiving it did him noe good at all, and being also told hee might omit it if it pleased him, hee was very earnest notwithstanding to continue it for his mortification, that hee might suffer the more. Hee received nothing that kept him more alive, and gave more comfort than speaking of spiritual things, and it diverted all his paines. Hee therefore begged once that hee might for the space of an hour not speak to any, nor give ear to any that spake to him, that hee might in patience and silence suffer the bitterness of his paines, and by it conforme himself the more unto his Saviour. And amongst many such like mortifications which hee demanded and could not obtain to content him, he was at last permitted not to warne his infirmarian, if perchance he were slow in bringing his physic, and the like, though he suffered some little thing by it. Finally that hee might be sure to bear all things patiently, hee made it his particular study, and if hee either perceaved himself to have shewn never soe little a sign of impatience, he never omitted of his accord to say an *Ave Maria* for his penance.

These acts and prayers I have hitherto spoken of were not all pronounced and practised in one day, but according as occasion served, and hee would make known thereby to God's

glory, for the increase of his merit and our edification, the interior passages and feelings of his mind. Yet many of them especially the jaculatory prayers, as alsoe some of these acts of virtues, were his dayly and almost hourelly entertainment; but yet in the utterance and diversity of the acts many note this, and one to be reflected on, that having nothing more frequent in his mouth all the tyme of his sicknesse than *Auge dolores: auge patientiam*—"Increase my pains, increase my patience," the last of all, hee was seldom heard to utter that, but instead of it this other, *Fiat voluntas tua*. Whereof reflecting on what hee after sayd and did, I can give noe better reason than that his paines together with his life having gotten as farre as they could, this was now the only heroicall act hee needed to performe it with, so to conforme his will to that of God, that if it pleased Him, after all these pains suffered, yet to deny him the reward, he was content; and that hee was not indeed any of those whoe, as St. Gregory speaks in his morals, *uso remunerationis lintco sudores suos tergere solent*, but did it all purely for the love of God. This his saying will witness it, whereas he added to that versicle of the Psalmist, *Benigne fac Domine in bona voluntate tua Sion, ut ædificentur muri Hierusalem*—"Do good, O Lord, in Thy good will to Thy Sion, that the walls of Jerusalem may be built up," these words of a most entire conformitie: *Licet nunquam, inquit, perveniam ad cælum, modo Te Deus glorificem, fiat voluntas Tua*—"Though I should never attain to heaven, yet will I glorify Thee, O my God, may Thy will be done." And after this he repeated the sentence I mentioned in the beginning: *Tibi Domine gloria, mihi vero jure debetur confusio; modo Tu glorificeris, contemnar ego, despiciar ego, sicut lutum platearum conculcer ego*. And all this he said with that liveliness and freedom of heart that, I must ingenuously confess, I know not how to express it, and I perceaved methinks alsoe, labouring to finde means how to express it himself, that none may wonder I come short. And the words wherewith he endeavoured to express the entireness of his conformitie were sometymes these: *Pone me ubi vis, et age mecum in omnibus libere, fiat, fiat, fiat liberrime, integerrime, exactissime*—"Place me where Thou wilt, freely act with me in all things, may it be done freely, entirely, exactly."

Hee spent chiefly the last fower-and-twenty hours of his life in this manner, and whensoever hee had occasion to speak, his prayers were chiefly to this effect, but when he could not

speak for weaknes, hee got that prayer of Christ our Saviour, before His departure to His Eternal Father, to be read unto him, and he took special comfort in it, particularly in those words, *Pater quos dedisti mihi, volo ut ubi ego sum, et illi mecum sint, ut videant claritatem meam, quam dedisti mihi; quia dilexisti me ante constitutionem mundi*—"Father, those whom Thou hast given Me, I would that where I am, there they may be also, that they may see My glory which Thou hast given Me; because Thou hast loved me before the world was." "If this be not pat," sayd he, "I know not what is to my purpose." Now I cannot omitt to reflect, as I did before, how that as hee changed towards the end of His life the ejaculatory prayer of *Auge dolores, auge patientiam* into that of *fiat voluntas tua*, soe also did hee change the books that were read to him, hearing now nothing but the prayer mentioned; having before caused the schollars particularly who watched with him in the night, to read him over those particulars which described the happy end of Blessed Aloysius, and of Blessed Berchmans, soe the more hee hastened to Jesus, the more desirous was hee in all hee did to resemble Him. I will now make an end with relating what passed with him from twelve of the clock at night on Saturday. The good soul was much discomforted, for feare he should lose Holy Communion on the Sunday, which according to the Rule he was very careful never to omitt. For finding himselfe after twelve of the clocke much troubled with his cough, and not reflecting on the hour, hee had taken syrop, which done, he had lost all hopes of the angelicall food. Father Rector, whoe watched with him that night, thought best first to bring him to a resignation to the will of God; Who if He pleased to deprive Him of that comfort, then was hee to be most contented, and nothing was to be more welcome to him, than to imitate our Saviour's sufferings, Who, though He might have died otherwise, yet for his sake, He was pleased to give up His soule wholly discomforted, and in a manner abandoned by His Eternal Father. Here was it where he shewed what hee was, for there needed not many words to make him say, *Domine, si vis me non communicare, sis benedictus, non sum enim dignus; fiat voluntas Tua in omnibus*—"Oh, Lord, if Thou dost not wish me to communicate, be Thou blessed, for I am not worthy; may Thy holy will be done in all things." And exercising himself in acts of conformity and love to our Saviour's Passion, after the manner expressed in the office of Good Friday, in these

words, *Ego propter te flagellavi Ægyptum, cum primogenitis suis, et tu me flagellatum tradidisti; ego ante te aperui mare, et tu aperuisti lancea latus meum*, and so forth—"I for thy sake did scourge Egypt in her first born, and thou hast delivered Me up to be scourged; I caused the Red Sea to open a passage to you, and thou hast opened My side with a lance." He magnified the goodness of our Saviour towards him, without any deserts of his, and begged that in testimony of a true desire to imitate our Saviour's sufferings, he might with Father Rector's leave be disciplined by some others, not being able to doe it by himself. You see how little was needfull to be said to this our deare brother, to make him fall upon most heroicall acts, and to be not only contented, but even desirous to suffer. Wherefore when Father Rector perceaved this his resignation, he bade him be of good comfort, for that he should not want the comfort of receiving the Holy Communion, being the next day he intended to give him his Viaticum for the second tyme. You cannot believe me, how this soule exulted with this newes, and what signs hee made of joy. Whosoever came in to him he desired them to congratulate with him that hee was again to receive his Viaticum, and that he might do it with all purity of soul and body, he caused his hands and face to be washed, a clean shirt, and clean sheets to be brought, and that he might be layd in a little bed, on the ground. Which done, he stayed on it until such tyme as he had received most devoutly, after Father Rector's Mass, the Blessed Sacrament, all the community being present, and then, having recollected himself for some tyme, he wished them to put him again into his owne bed; where, after some half an hour, giving signs his death approached, he was put in mynd of those sacred names, Jesus and Mary, which hee uttered with much feeling, and almost together, *Fiat voluntas Dei: in manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum, Domine Jesu accipe spiritum meum*—"The will of God be done: into Thy hands I commend my soul, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit." Which were the last words he spoke in this world, though as yet he was able to hear what was said or read unto him, for being demanded whether he understood that prayer of our Saviour before mentioned, which was the last thing also that was read unto him, he twice or thrice lifted up his hands in sign he understood; and thus praying in spirit when he could not in speech, whilst the commendation was being read, he yielded most sweetly and almost imperceptibly his angelicall

soul to his Creator, about a quarter past two in the afternoon, as was sayd in the beginning.

The church bell having tolled, as is the custom, the children who were at studies could not be contained (such was their esteem of him) from flocking downe to see his body; and nothing was spoken of by them but the sanctity they had noted in him; and two of them having found means to get that hee might use their reliquaries and beads in this his sickness, every one was most greedy to kiss them; and his body being laid out in the Infirmary, to condescend to their importunity, each one came to doe their devotions, and as they sayd, rather to pray to him than for him, and truly, when they could conveniently, they made noe scruples to take his haire from his head, and to keep it for relics, and certainly never was any death here which brought soe good effects, and more clear, what an admirable thing it was to dye in a religious state, as that of this angelicall youth, "*Moriatur utinam anima mea morte illius*—" "May my death be like unto his!"

The *Florus Anglo-Bavaricus*, pp. 38—40, gives a few short extracts from the above narrative. Mentioning an interesting fact not noticed in it, the author says, "How wonderfully Almighty God dealt with Andrew when upon earth, was clearly seen by his appearing, after death, in, great glory to Father Edward Keynes, his professor of grammar who in life had been most dear to him, and had been the cause of his making so great progress in virtue, having severely punished him, when a scholar at St. Omer's, for some very trifling faults."

#### THE MISSION OF MARYLAND AND FATHER ANDREW WHITE.

As Father Andrew White, who was the Apostle of Maryland and the founder of its Mission, spent the few remaining years of his laborious life in the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury, we propose to give his biography in the present Series, and to avail ourselves of this opportunity of giving a somewhat lengthened account of a Mission which was commenced in 1633—4 by the English Province, and was supported and served by its members for a period of one hundred and fifty years, viz., to the year 1773.

We give, by way of introduction, a few facts marking the great progress of Catholicity in America; then, a brief sketch

by Cecil Lord Baltimore of the first colony settled in Maryland, followed by a life of its apostle, Father Andrew White, together with his own narrative and other missionary facts. A short notice of its first Archbishop, Father John Carroll, originally of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, will conclude our account.

Dr. Oliver, in his notice of the late Father Nicholas Sewall, a native of Maryland, but a very eminent member of the English Province, and once its Provincial, who died in the year 1834, aged 89, after speaking of him as a man of regular and retired habits, much given to prayer and mortification, yet always cheerful and obliging, adds: "The progress and prosperity of our holy religion was the object nearest and dearest to his heart, and indeed he had great cause to rejoice, especially when he witnessed the wonderful propagation of the Catholic faith in his native land. When the United States of America were subject to the English rule, the very exercise of the Catholic religion was degraded, proscribed, and persecuted;<sup>1</sup> but no sooner had these States established their independence of the mother country, than they proclaimed universal liberty of conscience, and afforded religion itself fair play.<sup>2</sup> Father Sewall survived to behold Baltimore erected into a Metropolitan See, with eleven suffragan bishoprics. I have heard him say that he remembered the time when the Catholics had not even a *private* room in Baltimore where they were suffered to assemble for prayer; and he lived to see it embellished with a noble Catholic cathedral and seven Catholic parish churches, with bells inviting the numerous faithful to the celebration of their religious rites."

The following extract, from a letter of the late Father Grivel, who resided at Stonyhurst College for some years, and at the date of his letter was living in Maryland, contains interesting information. It is dated St. Inigo's Manor, Maryland, March 10, 1835. ". . . A fortnight ago I accompanied Father Carbery to Mettapan-Sewall, sixteen miles north of St. Inigo's.

<sup>1</sup> The Congress at Boston, Sept. 9, 1773, declared "the late Act establishing the Catholic religion in Canada is dangerous in an extreme degree to the Protestant religion, and to the civil rights and liberties of America!"

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Father Joseph E. Keller, S. J., late Provincial of Maryland, in a letter to the Editor, says, "We have got at St. Inigo's, Maryland, the original round table at which the first Governor and his wise men sat in council, and on which were written the laws of the colony and the famous statute of liberty of conscience."

We have there a congregation of six hundred communicants (in 1817 there were only one hundred, and Father Carbery made five hundred more, the most part Protestants), with a chapel better than the old one at Stonyhurst. It is called *St. Nicholas' Church*. The Sewalls are great benefactors to it. Mettapani, an Indian name, is situated on a hill on the south side of the Patuxent river, about two miles above its mouth in the Bay of Chesapeake. Charles Calvert, Lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, grandson of George Calvert, and son of Cecil, had made Mettapani his favourite residence from 1662 to 1682, when he returned to England, where he died in 1714, as good a Catholic as his father and grandfather. But his son, Benedict Leonard Calvert, wishing for the proprietorship of Maryland, which had been taken from his father by William and Mary, to be restored to him, had turned Protestant and was a member of the English Parliament. His charter, as lord proprietor, was restored to him, instead of heaven, in 1715. In the meantime Mettapani had become the proprietary of the Jesuits, and they sold it to the Sewalls. The residence of Charles Calvert, which was a fort also, had so much decayed that the grand, or great-grandfather of Father Sewall, had built a fine brick house at a short distance, and in that manor-house Father Sewall was born. Indeed, I walked with delight in the place where our good friend had been playing, and saying his prayers as a child. I regretted he was gone, because he would have been pleased with my details about the place of his birth and baptism. . . . The manor now belongs to Henry Sewall, a grand-cousin of Father Nicholas. The branch of his nephews is living at a short distance, and are very wealthy too. . . . St. Inigo's Manor has a good solid brick house, with twelve rooms. It has about eighty negroes, that is, fifteen families, and three thousand acres of good land, quite flat, and plenty of cattle, poultry, fish, wheat, &c. At this very farm, half a mile from our house, landed on the 25th or 26th of March 1634, Lord Cecil Baltimore, with Father Andrew White and four other English Jesuits, and two hundred settlers, all Catholics. The first Mass celebrated in the English colonies of North America having been said on the 25th of March, on St. Clement's Island, now Heron Island, seven miles up from our house, the name of St. Mary was given to the river they sailed up to land and settle. Take a good map of Maryland. Ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Potomac, and up the Bay of Chesapeake, lies St. George's Island (it belongs to

our farm). Sail between it and its eastern shore, and a point east dividing the Bay from St. Mary's river. Sail up to the north five miles. There landed the colony, but for a day or two, on the eastern side of the river. A fort only was built there afterwards, with four cannons brought from England by Lord Baltimore. Later on it was abandoned, and the cannons, rusty and useless, are now in the yard of St. Inigo's Manor as a curiosity. Hearing of an Indian village three miles up St. Mary's River, Yaocomoco, on the eastern side, too, of the river, there the colony finally settled, having purchased from the Indians, who were extremely kind, the village and their land. The Indians retired, in pursuance of their agreement, to the north side of the Potomac. The name of Yaocomoco was changed into that of St. Mary's Town. It never had more than sixty houses, but the settlers, and now the Government, call *town* any place where as many houses are as are individuals required to make a riot, that is twenty, as fixed by the Riot Act. The seat of the Government of Maryland having removed to Annapolis about the year 1695, St. Mary's Town contained nothing but a Protestant church and a parson's house. St. Inigo's congregation has five hundred communicants and a good church, and the people in this corner are very much like, for faith and singleness, to Lancashire people, but not so in the whole of Maryland."<sup>3</sup>

A London paper states as follows, under the head, "Catholic Progress in America." "In the year 1808 the United States formed but one diocese, administered by one bishop and his coadjutor. It had but eighty churches and chapels, only sixty-eight priests, and five colleges and schools. Half a century later, in 1857, the number of dioceses had increased to forty-one, administered by the same number of archbishops or bishops. The churches were two thousand eight hundred and eighty-two,<sup>4</sup> the priests one thousand eight hundred and seventy-two, and the number of colleges and schools two hundred. Since that date the increase has continued at even a greater rate. This successful progress of the Church in the northern

<sup>3</sup> Father Keller, in the letter before referred to, says that the old rusty cannons still remain quite harmless at the same place, and that the venerable old house was burned down in 1872. The house at St. Thomas, with its church, was burned some eight years ago (1866), and we there lost several valuable old records and documents. The house at the White Marsh, which was the Novitiate for about twenty years, was burned fifteen or eighteen years ago. This was never rebuilt; the others are restored.

<sup>4</sup> This includes chapels and stations.

hemisphere of the New World, a progress unparalleled in the history of any other State, suggests some grave thoughts and interesting speculations about the future religious history of North America."

Sadlier's *Catholic Directory* for 1875, 1876, and 1877 gives the following summary :

*Catholic Ecclesiastical Summary of the United States for 1875 and 1876, and the present year 1877.*

	1875	1876	1877
Archbishops (including the 4 new ones)	11	11	11
Bishops ... ..	53	56	56
Archdioceses ... ..	11	"	"
Dioceses ... ..	53	"	"
Priests ... ..	4,873	5,074	5,297
Churches ... ..	4,731	5,046	5,292
Chapels and Stations ... ..	1,902	1,482	2,768
Theological Seminaries ... ..	18	33	34
Ecclesiastical students ... ..	1,375	1,273	1,217
Colleges ... ..	68	63	62
Academies and Select Schools ... ..	511	557	540
Parish Schools ... ..	1,444	1,645	1,587
Asylums ... ..	215	214	219
Hospitals ... ..	87	96	95
Catholic Population ... ..	5,761,242	5,620,900	5,450,959 <sup>5</sup>
Total Churches, Stations, and Chapels	6,633	6,528	8,060

In Baltimore alone we observe in 1877 230 priests, 125 churches, 35 chapels and stations, 5 colleges, 16 theological seminaries and select schools, 52 parish schools, 11 asylums, and 7 hospitals.

#### THE COLONY OF MARYLAND.

GEORGE CALVERT, the first designer of the colony, was descended from the ancient and noble house of Calvert in the earldom of Flanders. He was born at Kipling, in the chapelry of Bolton, Yorkshire, about the year 1578. Dodd<sup>6</sup> says he was son of Leonard Calvert and Alice, daughter of John Crossland, of Crossland. He was admitted as a gentleman commoner of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1593, aged 15, and was there educated and took his degrees. On his return from his travels he became secretary to Robert Cecil, chief Secretary of State under King James I., and was afterwards made one of the clerks of the Privy Council, and received the honour of knighthood in 1617. In 1619 he was himself appointed a principal Secretary of State, and in the year after the

<sup>5</sup> The large falling off in the Catholic population shown above requires explanation.

<sup>6</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 46.

King granted him an annual pension of £1,000. On February 16, 1624, he was raised to the peerage as Baron Baltimore, of Baltimore, county Longford, Ireland. In the same year, 1624, he embraced the Catholic faith, and personally announced his change to the King, at the same time tendering his resignation of his offices. The King accepted that of the secretaryship, but ordered him to retain his office of Privy Councillor, which he held till the end of the King's reign. He had applied himself to maritime affairs, was an able statesman, and an enemy to flattery, selfishness, and other vices too common among persons in that station of life. He died on April 15, 1632, and was buried in the chancel of old St. Dunstan's, Fleet Street, London.

While yet Secretary of State, he formed the design of establishing a colony in America. The locality to which his views were first turned was Newfoundland. He accordingly petitioned the Crown, and obtained a patent constituting him, with right of succession to his heirs, absolute lord and proprietor of a territory in Newfoundland, enjoying the royalties of a Count Palatine. This district he named the Province of Avalon, borrowing the title from that part of Somersetshire in which Glastonbury is situated, for he considered that the name of the locality in which the Christian faith was first planted in Britain, would be the most appropriate designation of that which he wished to make the first Christian settlement in Newfoundland. Upon the death of King James, on March 27, 1625, he repaired to his infant colony, where he laid out much money in building a suitable residence for himself, and in promoting the interests of his plantation. The undertaking was unsuccessful. French ships of war assailed the English fishermen, and although Baltimore obtained considerable advantages over the enemy, yet, finding himself exposed to repeated attacks, he was ultimately obliged to abandon the place. He was still, however, bent on establishing a colony, and his views were next directed to the continent of America. He found there a territory which appeared suited to his purpose. It lay to the north of Virginia, and between that and the New England colonies. It was unoccupied by European settlers, and still in possession of the native Indians. Lord Baltimore returned to England, and solicited of Charles I. a grant of the territory, in which he hoped to renew with more success his colonizing schemes. The petition was favourably received, but before the business could be concluded, Baltimore

died, as before mentioned, on April 15, 1632.<sup>7</sup> He was succeeded in his title by his son Cecil, who resolved to carry out his father's designs, and obtained for himself the grant that had been promised to his father, and the King gave to the intended colony the name of Maryland, in honour of his Queen, Henrietta Maria. The charter was dated June 20, 1632. By it the territory of Maryland was granted to Lord Baltimore, to be holden of the crown of England in common soccage, as of the manor of Windsor, paying yearly, on Easter Sunday, two Indian arrows of those parts at the Castle of Windsor, and the fifth part of the gold and silver ore found therein.

Cecil Lord Baltimore married the Hon. Ann Arundell, daughter of Thomas, first Lord Arundell of Wardour. She died on July 23, 1649, æt. 34.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> The Maryland Historical Society has lately published in a pamphlet, by permission of the then Reverend Provincial, Father Keller, the *Relatio Itineris* (or narrative of the journey) of Father White, and the *Declaratio Colonia Domini Baronis de Baltimore* (or an account of the colony of Lord Baltimore), with several extracts from the Annual Letters of the English Province S. J., the originals of which are preserved in the archives of the Society. These documents were copied in 1832 by the late Rev. Father William M'Sherry, S. J., a native of Virginia, and the first Provincial of Maryland when the old mission was raised to the degree of a distinct Province of the Society in 1833, by the late Very Rev. Father General Roothaan. This pamphlet was edited by the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, S. T. D., who in a note (p. 108) says that George Calvert was born in the year 1582. He had been second secretary of Robert Cecil, who afterwards became first Secretary to James I., while George himself had hitherto declared that he was not a Catholic. It is uncertain at what time he gave up his heresy, but it is evident that in the year 1621 he was the first Secretary of the kingdom, although avowedly a Catholic. And besides that, he was created Lord Baltimore in Ireland by James I. about the year 1623, and was chosen by the University of Oxford to represent them in Parliament in the year 1624. But before this, just as the Puritans had already emigrated to New England to escape the persecutions by which they were harassed, so he, urged by the same motive, and being presented by the King with very large estates in the Island of Newfoundland, had in the year 1621 sent thither some Catholic colonists, who were commanded by Edward Wynne. About the year 1625, putting too much faith in Edward's glowing account of the country, he determined to visit the colonists, and carried thither his wife and children. He called the settlement Avalon, probably, says a geographical writer, from his reverence for St. Joseph of Arimathea, who is said to have built the first church for the Britons whom he had converted in Avalon, a place which they now call Glastonbury, in Somersetshire. In the meantime King James died in the year 1625, and George, weary of this wild region, which did not prove as fertile as represented by Edward, and hearing that Virginia was a far richer country, determined to explore it in the year 1628.

<sup>8</sup> She was born probably after the second marriage of Lord Arundell. The gallant Sir Thomas Arundell of Wardour (says Burke) went at a very early age to Germany, and serving as a volunteer in the Imperial army in Hungary took the standard of the Turks with his own hands in an engagement at Gran; for which heroic achievement he was created by Rodolph II., Emperor of Germany, a count of the Sacred Roman Empire.

The Editor of the Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet adds the following note in page 125—"Leonard Calvert, the founder of the third successful colony to this country, was the second son of George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore. The eldest son and heir to the titles and estates was Cecil Calvert, to whom was given, in 1632, the charter of Maryland, which had been prepared for his father. Before Maryland had been fixed upon as the name of his new colony, *Crescentia* and *Mariana* had been thought of. It had been Lord Cecil Baltimore's intention at first to lead the expedition himself, but deeming it more judicious to look after the interests of the colony in England, he gave the command to his brother Leonard, whom he commissioned as Lieutenant-Governor. This was on the 22nd of November, 1633. George Calvert, the youngest of the three brothers, also accompanied the colonists, and Jerome Howley and Thomas Cornwallis were named in the commission as Leonard Calvert's Councillors. The first assembly of the State was held in 1635, and none subsequently till 1638. At this time Lord Baltimore issued a new commission to Leonard Calvert, conferring upon him the title of Lieutenant-Governor, Commander-in-Chief of the Militia, Chancellor and Chief Justice. Until 1639, when the Assembly substituted a representative system, the body had been purely democratic, every freeman sitting either in person or by proxy. In 1643 Governor Calvert went to England, having appointed Captain Giles Brent as Deputy Governor. Governor Calvert died at St. Mary's city, on the 9th of June, 1647. The particulars of his death are not known, beyond that he was most tenderly ministered to, in his last moments, by his kinswomen, Margaret and Mary Brent."

In Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iv. n. 107, is a printed copy of a portion of the original charter of Maryland, showing the boundaries, &c. We give the following extract—

*The Charter of Maryland.*

Charles, by the grace of God King of England, Sends greeting. Whereas our right trusty and well beloved subject, Cecilius Calvert, Baron of Baltimore, in our Kingdom of Ireland, son and heir of Sir George Calvert, Kt., late Baron of Baltimore, pursuing his father's intentions, being excited with a pious and laudable zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, and the enlargement of our

The patent of creation, dated at Prague, December 14, 1595, confers the honour upon Sir Thomas and his heirs male and female for ever. Upon Sir Thomas' return to his native country he was elected to the peerage May 4, 1605, as Baron Arundell of Wardour.

empire and dominion, hath humbly besought leave of us, by his industry and charge to transport an ample Colony of the English nation unto a certain country hereafter described in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, though in some parts thereof inhabited by certain barbarous people having no knowledge of Almighty God, and hath humbly besought our Royal Majesty to give, grant, and confirm all the said country, with certain privileges and jurisdictions requisite for the good government and state of his colony and country aforesaid, to him and his heirs for ever. *Know* ye therefore that we, favouring the pious and noble purpose of the said Baron of Baltimore, have given, granted, and confirmed unto the said Baron, his heirs and assigns, All that part of the Peninsula lying in the parts of America between the Ocean on the east, and the Bay of Chesapeake on the west, and divided from the other part thereof by a right line drawn from the Promontary or Cape of land called Watkin's Point (situate in the aforesaid Bay near the river Wigheo) on the west, unto the main ocean on the east; and between that bound on the south with that part of Delaware Bay on the north which lieth under the 40th degree of northerly latitude from the equinoctial, where New England ends; And all that tract of land between the bounds aforesaid (that is to say), passing from the foresaid bay, called Delaware Bay, in a right line by the degree aforesaid, unto the true meridian of the first fountain of the river of Pattowmeek; and from thence bending towards the south, unto the further bank of the aforesaid river, and following the west and south side thereof unto a certain place called Cinquack, situate near the mouth of the said river, where it falls into the Bay of Chesapeake, and from thence by a straight line unto the aforesaid Promontary and place called Watkin's Point. (So that all that tract of land divided by the line aforesaid drawn between the main Ocean and Watkin's Point, unto the Promontary called Cape Charles, and all its appurtenances, do remain entirely excepted to us, and our heirs and successors for ever). We do also grant and confirm unto the said Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, All Islands and Islets within the limits aforesaid; And all and singular the Isles and Islets which are, or shall be in the Ocean, within ten leagues from the eastern shore of the said country, towards the east, with all and singular ports, harbours, bays, rivers, and islets belonging to the country or islands aforesaid. And all the soil, lands, fields, woods, mountains, fens, lakes, rivers, bays, &c., situate within the bounds aforesaid; with the fishing of all sorts of fish, whales, sturgeons, and all other royal fishes in the sea, bays, rivers, &c., within the premises, and the fish therein taken; and moreover all veins, mines, quarries, &c., as well discovered as not discovered, of gold, silver, gems, and precious stones, and all other whatsoever, be it of stones, metals, or of any other thing or matter found or to be found within the country and limits aforesaid. And furthermore the patronage and advowsons of all churches which (as Christian religion shall increase within the country aforesaid) shall happen hereafter to be erected, together with licence and power to build and found churches, chapels, and oratories, in convenient and fit places within the premises, and to cause them to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws.

The following account of Maryland, said to have been compiled by Lord Baltimore himself from reports of travellers,

is taken from a translation of the original MS. in the archives of the Society, and published in the Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet. The Editor of the pamphlet says, in one of his useful notes—"The *Declaratio* seems to have been prepared for the General of the Society of Jesus, or for whosoever had the authority to select and send out missionaries, for the purpose of giving him full knowledge of the country in which Lord Baltimore was about to establish his colony. A perusal of it will show in how many particulars the author of it was in error, and how he had been misled by the accounts of fortune-seeking travellers in the New World. It is sad to contrast the glowing account of Maryland in the *Declaratio*, and the painful experience of the missionaries (the author himself perhaps among them), as set out in the extracts from their letters."

*"An Account of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore (Cecil, son of the 1st George), in Maryland, near Virginia: in which the character, quality, and state of the country, and its numerous advantages and sources of wealth are set forth.*

"This province is near the English colony in Virginia, and has been named, in accordance with the wish of his most august Majesty, the King of England, the land of Maria or Maryland, in honour of Maria his wife. The same august King, out of his own noble disposition, in the month of June, 1632, gave this province to the Lord Baron of Baltimore and his heirs for ever; and this gift he has confirmed and ratified by the public seal of his kingdom. Therefore the most illustrious Baron has already determined to lead a colony into those parts. *First* and especially, in order that he may carry thither and to the neighbouring places the light of the Gospel and the Catholic truth, where it has been ascertained that no knowledge of the true God has as yet penetrated; *then*, that all the associates of his travels and toils may be invited to a share in the gain and honour, and the empire of the King be more widely extended.

"For this purpose he is seeking, with all speed and diligence, for men to accompany him on this voyage, both such as intend to try their fortunes with him, and others also. Indeed, after attentively considering the whole matter, and taking the advice of men distinguished for their experience and wisdom, he has now weighed with great care all the advantages, as well as disadvantages, which have hitherto advanced or

hindered other colonies, and found nothing which does not tend strongly to confirm him in his design and promise him the most prosperous success. For the writings which his most noble father has left behind him as an eye-witness, reliable and worthy of all credit, agree with the constant reports of those men who come to us every day from that country, or places nor far from it; and also with the very faithful account written and published by Captain Smith, who first discovered the country (saying truly wonderful and almost incredible things of the fertility and excellence of its soil). Besides which there is the unanimous agreement and testimony of numbers of men living here (in London), who formerly came from those countries and intend to return thither; and who, with one voice, verify and confirm what Smith has written.

“Wherefore the most noble Baron intends, by the aid of God, to sail for those parts about the middle of next September, and to those whom he shall find willing to accompany and assist him in so glorious an undertaking, he offers many inducements in the most generous and liberal spirit.

“Of which this is the first and most important, in addition to the rewards of station and preferment, which are liberally given in honour of worth, valour, fortitude, and noble deeds, that whoever shall pay a hundred pounds for the expenses of five men, this being enough for arms, implements, clothing, and other necessaries, to all the men so sent, and to their heirs for ever, shall be allotted the right to two hundred acres of good land, whether they think best to join us themselves, or intrust the men and money to those who shall have charge of this matter, or to any one else, to take care of them and receive a share of the lands. Besides this, if in the first expedition they prove themselves faithful followers, and do good service, they shall receive no small share in the profits of trade (of which hereafter), and in other privileges: concerning which they will be more fully informed when they come to the aforesaid Baron. Moreover, as to what was said before concerning a hundred pounds, this shall also be understood in proportion of a smaller or larger sum of money, whether given by one man or contributed and furnished by several together.

“The first and most important design of the most illustrious Baron, which also ought to be the aim of the rest who go in the same ship is, not to think so much of planting fruits and trees in a land so plentiful, as of sowing the seeds of religion

and piety,—surely a design worthy of Christians, worthy of *angels*, worthy of *Englishmen*. The English nation, renowned for so many ancient victories, never undertook anything more noble or glorious than this. Behold the lands are white for the harvest, prepared for receiving the seed of the Gospel into their fruitful bosom. They themselves are everywhere sending out messengers to seek after fit men to instruct the inhabitants in saving doctrine, and to regenerate them in the holy font. There are also men here in the city at this very time who declare that they have seen Ambassadors who were sent by their Kings, for this same purpose, to Jamestown in Virginia, and infants brought to New England to be washed in the saving waters. Who then can doubt that, by one such glorious work as this, many thousands of souls will be brought to Christ? I call the work of aiding and saving souls glorious, for it was the work of Christ, the King of Glory. For the rest, since all men have not such enthusiastic souls and noble minds as to think of nothing but Divine and heavenly things, because most men love pleasures, honours, and riches more than the glory of Christ, it was ordained in the hidden purpose, or rather in the manifest and wonderful providence of God, that this one enterprise should offer to men every variety of inducement and reward.

“It is acknowledged that the situation of the country is excellent and very convenient, as it extends to the 38th or 40th degree of latitude, and is in location and climate not unlike Spain, Sicily, Jerusalem, and the best parts of Arabia Felix. The climate is serene and mild, not oppressively hot like that of Florida and old Virginia, nor bitterly cold like that of New England, but it preserves, so to speak, a middle temperature between the two, and so enjoys the advantages and escapes the evils of each. On the east it is washed by the ocean; on the west it borders upon an almost boundless continent, which extends into the Chinese Sea. There are two very large arms of the sea, with bays on either side abounding in fish; one of these arms, named the Chesapeake, is twelve hundred paces wide, and spread out between two districts runs northward a hundred and sixty miles. It is navigable for large ships, and is interspersed with various large islands suitable for grazing, and off which can be caught in the greatest abundance the fish called *shad*.

“The other they call the *Pilaware*,<sup>9</sup> in which cod-fish are

<sup>9</sup> Delaware.

caught all the year round; but the most convenient time to catch them is in the colder months, for the warm weather interferes with salting them. Now this great abundance of fish arises from the following cause: the wind, which uniformly blows from the Canaries to the north-east, drives the water of the ocean, and with it the fish, into the Gulf of Mexico, from which, since there is no escape for it either to the east or the south, it is driven with great force towards the north, and carries with it large numbers of fish along the shores of Florida, Virginia, Maryland, and New England. These, flying from the larger fish, take refuge in shallow places, where they are more easily caught by the fishermen.

“There are various notable rivers. The chief of these they call the Attomeck (Potomac), a navigable river running eastward a hundred and forty miles, where there is such a lucrative trade with the Indians that a certain merchant in the last year exported beaver skins to the value of forty thousand gold crowns, and the profit of the traffic is estimated at thirty fold.

“On the plains and in the open fields there is a great abundance of grass, but the country is for the most part thickly wooded. There are a great many hickory trees, and the oaks are so straight and tall that beams, sixty feet long and two and a half feet wide, can be made of them. The cypress trees also grow to a height of eighty feet before they have any branches, and three men with arms extended can barely reach round their trunks; and there are plenty of mulberry trees to feed silkworms. The Chinese grain, which the Portuguese call *L'ove de l'Hierva* (?) is also found there. There are alder, ash, and chestnut trees, as large as those which grow in Spain, Italy, and France, and cedars equalling those which Libanus boasts of.

“Why should I speak of the pine, laurel, fir, sassafras, and the other trees, with various kinds besides, which yield balsam and fragrant gums? trees useful in every way for building, ship-building, for making planks, for pitch, resin, or tar, turpentine, simagma, for making perfumes and plasters. The woods, moreover, are passable; not filled with thorns or undergrowth, but arranged by nature for the production of animals, and for affording pleasure to man. There are vines of wonderful fruitfulness, from which wine can be made, and a kind of berries, as large as cherries, the juice of which is thick and oily.<sup>10</sup> The inhabitants call the cherries, which equal the

<sup>10</sup> Fox grapes.

plums of Damascus (damsons), mesamin. There are gooseberries just like ours. There are three kinds of plums. Mulberries, chestnuts, and walnuts are so plentiful that they are used, in various ways, for food. Strawberries and raspberries are also to be found there.

“Of the fishes the following kinds are already known: sturgeons, trurcices (? herrings), porpoises (?), aristoci, shrimps, skates, trout, three kinds of milinaræ, erichini, phebelliones, white salmon, mussels, periwinkles, and numberless others of that sort, the names and species of which are unknown.

“For the rest, there are such numbers of swine and deer that they are rather an annoyance than an advantage. There are also vast herds of cows and wild oxen, fit for beasts of burden, and good to eat, besides five other kinds of large animals unknown to us, which the neighbouring people use for food. Sheep, as well as asses and mules, have to be procured either from Europe or from the Canaries.

“The nearest woods are full of horses and wild bulls and cows. Five or six thousand of the skins of these animals are carried every year to Seville, from that part of the country which lies westward, towards New Mexico. Any number of wild goats can be procured from the neighbouring people. Add to these, musk-rats, cinoros, beavers, martens, and weasels. Among the birds are found a very ravenous eagle, various kinds of birds of prey, which live for the most part on fishes, and partridges no larger than quails, but in almost endless numbers.

“There are also great quantities of wild turkeys, which are twice as large as our tame and domestic ones. There are blackbirds, too, and thrushes, and many and various kinds of small birds, some red and some blue, &c. In the winter there are plenty of swans, geese, cranes, herons, ducks, parrots, and a great many others unknown in our country. The best of citrons and quinces grow there. Peaches, also, are so abundant that a truthful and reliable man positively declared that he gave a hundred bushels to his pigs last year. What am I to say of the excellent lupines, beans, roots, and other things of that kind, when even the peas in those parts grow ten inches long in ten days? It is such a good grain country that, in the worst years, the seed yields two hundred fold; at other times, and generally for one grain, five or six hundred, and in the best years fifteen or sixteen hundred; and this, too, in one harvest, while the soil is so rich as to afford three harvests a year.

“ It is probable that the soil will prove to be adapted to all the fruits of Italy, figs, apples, oranges, olives, &c. ; but I will pass over the rest briefly. There is no lack of those things that can be made useful to fullers and apothecaries, and no small supply of tin, iron, hemp, and flax. There is also hope of finding gold, for the neighbouring people wear bracelets of gold, which indeed is as yet unwrought, and long strings of pearls. It is also to be expected that the provident industry and long experience of men will discover many other advantages and sources of wealth.”

FATHER ANDREW WHITE.

FATHER ANDREW WHITE was a native of London, born in the year 1579. He was educated at Douay, where he was ordained a secular priest about 1605, and then returning to England was arrested under the laws in force against missionary priests, cast into prison, and with forty-six other priests condemned to perpetual banishment in 1606.<sup>11</sup> Bishop Challoner in his *Missionary Priests* (1606) gives a list of the forty-six banished. One account says that Father Andrew made his higher studies of philosophy and theology at Seville in Spain. Soon after his banishment, and in the year 1607, he was admitted to the Society at Louvain, being then twenty-eight years of age. He was one of the six priest novices who were the first to enter the new novitiate at St. John's, Louvain, on its opening in 1607. He had as a fellow-novice Father Thomas Garnett, who suffered death for the faith upon the gallows of Tyburn on June 23, 1608, at the early age of thirty-four.<sup>12</sup> He passed through the usual probationary exercises of the noviceship with such satisfaction to his Superiors that, at the end of the two years, after taking the first or simple vows of religion, he was at once sent back to the labours and dangers of the English Mission. Nor did he disappoint the expectations formed of him, refusing his labours to none, whether in instructing Protestants in the tenets of the Catholic faith, confirming Catholics in virtue, and administering the sacraments, until he was called by obedience into Spain to labour in the Colleges of the English Province there. He was promoted to the degree of a Professed Father of the Society, on June 15, 1619. He was a man of transcendent talents, and filled the offices of Prefect of Studies, Professor of Sacred

<sup>11</sup> Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet, p. 118.

<sup>12</sup> See his biography, *Records*, Series IV. part i.

Scripture, dogmatic theology, and Hebrew, both at Valladolid and Seville (where the English Fathers S.J. had colleges) with great applause, and, as appears by the Catalogues of the English Province, he had also filled various other responsible offices of his Order, such as Superior, Minister, Consultor, and Confessor. The Editor of the Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet adds that he was afterwards Professor of Divinity first at Douay and then at Liege. The Summary of the deceased of the Province for the year 1656, says of the Father that in these employments he gave proof no less of his talents than of his virtues, excelling, we may truly say, in both.

Inflamed with ardent zeal for the salvation of souls he again petitioned for and obtained leave to be sent back to the English Mission, where by his anxious care in the duties of a missionary, he was preparing himself for a glorious death, so often the lot of the priest in those cruel days of exterminating persecution; when it pleased God to call him to a more fruitful application of his labours among the Gentiles, and to choose him as the first apostle to carry the Gospel to the New World. Charles I. having at that time sent out a numerous naval expedition to the regions of America, and reduced to his sway the territories bordering upon Virginia; (which he named, after his Queen Henrietta Maria, Maryland, and to which, as we read in the acts of Father John Bath, S.J.,<sup>13</sup> above thirty thousand Irish Catholics were barbarously transported for the cause of religion, after the murder of King Charles by his rebel Parliament), in the month of June, 1632, granted the province of Maryland to Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore; his lordship, as well as his son Cecil his successor, applied to Father Blount, the first Provincial of the newly created English Province, and also to Father Mutius Vitelleschi, the sixth General of the Society, for some of his English subjects to accompany the expedition, and attend to the Catholic planters, and instruct and convert the native Indians. The design was approved, and Father Andrew White was selected and ordered to prepare for that mission. "Like a giant he exulted to run his course." He was accompanied by Fathers John Altham (whose true name was John Gravenor),

<sup>13</sup> Father John Bath was an Irish Father. He was living in Drogheda when Oliver Cromwell's ruffian troops stormed that town. His house was plundered, and the Father and his brother, a secular priest, were dragged into the market-place, and there shot, out of hatred to the Catholic faith (See Father Tanner, *Martyrs S.J.*, pp. 138, 139).

John Knowles,<sup>14</sup> Timothy Hayes, and a lay-brother named Thomas Gervase (*alias* Gelway). The Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet says, "and perhaps other priests of the Society:" but this is not clear. "The *Relatio*," continues the Editor, "gives an account of the voyage and doings of the colonists, as well as the employments of the missionaries, to the end of the month of April, 1634. Father White and his companions at first confined their labours to the Piscataway and Pataxent Indians, not, however, neglecting those of the vicinity of the new settlements. During the first five or six years he was joined by several missionaries from Europe. The names of Fathers Brock [or Brook], Philip Fisher, and Roger Rigby are mentioned." To these we may add, Fathers John Roger, Thomas Wood, Ferdinand Poulton (shot by accident while he was crossing St. Mary's river), and Brother Walter Morley (or Morldy).

On the authority of a MS. document ascribed to Archbishop Carroll, S.J. (the first Catholic Archbishop in the United States), it has been stated that Father White returned in person to Europe and brought back several missionaries to aid him in his labours in Maryland. The names of Fathers Harkey and Perrot (Parrot) are recorded.<sup>15</sup>

"Father White acquired the language of the Indians, and prepared a native grammar and vocabulary, as well as a Catechism. The Catechism alone is extant, having been found by Father McSherry in the archives of the Society in Rome. The labours of the missionaries were also directed to the care and edification of the members of their own Church among the colonists, as well as to the conversion of the Protestants, who were very numerous, if not the majority of the settlers. Father White and his colleagues, Fathers Copley and Altham, were summoned to sit in the first colonial Assembly of the Province, which consisted of all the 'freemen,' who sat in person, or by proxy; but, earnestly desiring to be

<sup>14</sup> The Editor of the Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet, following Dr. Oliver, erroneously calls this Father a lay-brother. He was at that time a scholastic in priest's orders, and was a native of Staffordshire, and died in Maryland of yellow fever, September 24, 1637, æt. 30, in religion 13.

<sup>15</sup> We cannot trace any such Fathers in the Province. Archbishop Carroll also says (*Metrop.* p. 90) that the first Jesuits who came over with Father White were Copley, Harkey, and Perrot. If they really were Jesuits, these must have been their *aliases* or assumed names for Fathers Gravenor, Knowles, and Hayes.

excused from taking part in the secular concerns of the colony, their request was granted.<sup>16</sup>

“Father White went to Mettaponi, Father Altham to Kent Island, and Father Fisher remained at St. Mary’s. In the extracts from the Annual Letters of the English Province, given below, will be found interesting accounts of Father White’s labours and success among the Indians of Patuxent, Piscataway, and Popopaco. His self-denial, privations, and sufferings, and the touching patience and cheerfulness, with which they were all endured, move our profound respect and admiration. Father White deserves a high place of honour among the many heroic missionaries of the Society of Jesus.” So far the Editor of the Maryland Historical Society’s pamphlet.

As we shall see in the Annual Letters, Father White baptized, on July 5, 1634, the King of Piscataway, his wife, and son, with great solemnity. In Fathers Altham, Brock, Fisher, Rigby, and some others, he found efficient coadjutors.

After ten years of accumulated labours and services to the colony, Father White was disturbed in the midst of his career, being seized in 1644 by a band of soldiers of Claiborne, who had invaded Maryland from Virginia, and was carried off in chains to London, with two of his fellow-missionaries. During their confinement in prison, they endured very great hardships. Being arraigned at the bar for trial, and indicted upon the capital charge of high treason under the statute 27th Elizabeth, for having been ordained priests abroad and coming into and remaining in England as such, contrary to the statute, a crime punishable with death, they frankly admitted their sacerdotal character, but cleverly contended that they were not within the compass of the law, because their entry into the realm had been by force and against their own wills. Upon this crushing and unanswerable plea in defence, the Judges were compelled to direct an acquittal. But, as it was the common practice in those days to ignore all principles of justice and equity when the Catholic faith was in question, instead of being liberated upon their acquittal, they were actually detained in custody and condemned to perpetual banishment. Father White at first went to Belgium. Thirsting for the salvation of his beloved Marylandians, he sought every

<sup>16</sup> “Mr. Thomas Kennedy, a Presbyterian gentleman, and Member of the House of Assembly in Maryland, has published a speech in which he asserts that a Jesuit was the author of the first Bill for liberty of conscience in Maryland. Was not this Jesuit Father White?” (Dr. Oliver).

opportunity of returning secretly to that mission, earnestly begging the favour of his Superiors; but, as the good Father was then upwards of sixty-five years of age and his constitution broken down, they would not consent. He, however, returned to England and devoted the few remaining years of his life to the service of his native land. In the Catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, he is mentioned as then serving as a missionary priest in the College of St. Thomas.

Father White, even to his extreme old age, practised severe corporal austerities, and, although weak and infirm, he fasted twice a week on bread and water, which pious custom he maintained even in prison. One day the gaoler of Newgate, where the Father was confined awaiting his trial and probable capital conviction, happened to come upon him while taking this poor refectio, and being much astonished, he asked to what purpose it was that a man of his great age fasted so rigorously. "If," said he, "you treat your poor old body so badly, you will not be strong enough to be taken to be hanged at Tyburn." The Father replied: "It is this very fasting which gives me strength enough to bear all for the sake of Christ."

The Annual Letters of the Province for the year 1656, in recording the death of Father White, state him to have been a man of many and extraordinary virtues, and relate that in his last illness he was for a long time so excessively weak that his death was daily expected, but he kept often repeating: "My hour is not yet come, nor is St. John the Evangelist's day." This answer he would always give to those who advised him to fortify his departing soul with the Last Sacraments of the Church. At length, on the very day of the feast of "the beloved disciple," at his morning's meditation he heard these words interiorly spoken to him: "To-day thou shalt be with Me." He therefore bade those attending him to call a priest, adding that he must come quickly, for, should there be the least delay, he would be dead before he could receive the last rites. Death, which quickly followed, proved his words to be true, although when they were spoken there was no more sign of approaching death than there had been for a fortnight before. Father White spent the last years of his life in the family of a Catholic nobleman, and died on December 27, 1656, in his seventy-ninth year.

Father Southwell in his *Biblio. Script. S.J.* gives the following eulogium of Father White. "He was a man no less remarkable for sanctity than for learning; he would frequently

take only bread and water for his refection, and defer even that meagre fare until evening. So great was his humility that he voluntarily sought out occasions for self-abjection. So patient was he under bodily sufferings that although labouring under a long and most troublesome infirmity, yet was he never heard to utter a single complaint, but, as far as was permitted him, he would carry himself as one in good health, and in this point he was an admirable counterfeiter. Finally, in all matters of business whatever in which he was engaged there seemed to be a certain air of sanctity inspired, so that grave men were not wanting who declared that if they had ever seen a living saint, most assuredly Father Andrew White was the man."

Father White wrote the following works, viz.: (1) *A Grammar of the Indian Language*; (2) *A Dictionary of the same*; (3) *A Catechism of the same*, and (4) *A History of Maryland and of his Voyage*. This last is the *Relatio itineris in Marylandiam*, which we shall give below.

We proceed to give the narrative of Father White, and further particulars of the labours of himself and his confrères from the Annual Letters of the English Province.

*"Narrative of a voyage to Maryland, written towards the end of April, 1634, to the Very Reverend Father General Mutius Vitelleschi—from the colony at St. Mary's (the first settlement of the emigrants).*

"On the 22nd of the month of November, in the year 1633, being St. Cecilia's day, we set sail from Cowes in the Isle of Wight, with a gentle east wind blowing. And after committing the principal parts of the ship to the protection of God especially, and of His most Holy Mother, and St. Ignatius, and all the guardian angels of Maryland, we sailed on a little way between the two shores, and the wind failing us we stopped opposite Yarmouth Castle, which is near the southern end of the same island (Isle of Wight). Here we were received with a cheerful salute of artillery. Yet we were not without apprehension, for the sailors were murmuring among themselves, saying that they expected a messenger with letters from London, and from this we were afraid that they had formed a plot to delay us. But God brought their plans to confusion, for that very night a favourable but strong wind arose, and a French cutter, which had put into the same harbour with us

being forced to set sail, was near running into the pinnacle of our ship. The latter, therefore, to avoid being run down, having cut away and lost an anchor, set sail without delay; and since it was dangerous to drift about in that place, it made haste to get farther out to sea. And that we might not lose sight of our pinnacle we determined to follow. Thus the designs of the sailors, who were plotting against us, were frustrated. This happened on the 23rd of November, on which day St. Clement is commemorated, who, being tied to an anchor and thrown into the sea, obtained the crown of martyrdom. 'Et iter præbuit populo terræ, ut enarrent mirabilia Dei.'<sup>17</sup>

"Now on that day about ten o'clock in the morning, we were again greeted with a cheerful salute from Hurst Castle, and then sailed past a number of rocks near the end of the Isle of Wight, which from their shape are called the Needles. These also are a terror to sailors, on account of the double tide of the sea, which whirls away the ships, dashing them against the rocks on the one side, or the shore on the other, to say nothing meanwhile of the other risk we ran near Yarmouth Castle. While we were waiting there, before we had weighed anchor, the wind and tide pressed so hard on us that the ship was nearly driven on shore, and this would have happened had we not been suddenly turned round again with great force and driven out to sea, thus evading the danger by the mercy of God, who deigned to give us this additional pledge of His protection through the merits of St. Clement. That day, which was Saturday, and the following night, we had such favourable winds, that early the next morning, about nine o'clock, we left behind us the western promontory of England and the Scilly Isles, and sailing smoothly on directed our course more towards the west, passing across the British Channel. Yet we did not hasten as much as we could have done, fearing that if we left the pinnacle too far behind us, it would become the prey of the Turks and Pirates who generally infest that sea.

"Hence it came to pass that a fine merchant ship of six hundred tons named the *Dragon*, while on her way to Angola, having sailed from London overtook us about three o'clock in the afternoon. As we now had time to enjoy a little pleasure after getting out of danger, it was delightful to see these two ships, with fair weather and a favourable wind, trying for a whole hour to outstrip each other, encouraged by the sound of

<sup>17</sup> See Office of St. Clement's Day.

trumpets. Our ship would have beaten the other, though we did not use our topsail, if we had not been obliged to wait for the pinnace, which could not keep up with us; and so we yielded the palm to the merchant ship, and she sailed by us before evening and passed out of sight.

“Now on Sunday the 24th, and Monday the 25th of November, we had fair sailing all the time until evening. But, presently, the wind getting round to the north, such a terrible storm arose, that the merchant ship I spoke of from London, being driven back on her course, returned to England, and reached a harbour much resorted to, among the Paumonians. Those on board our pinnace also began to lose confidence in her strength, as she was a vessel of only forty tons burden, and sailing near warned us, that if they apprehended shipwreck, they would signal by hanging out lights from the mast-head. We meanwhile sailed on in our strong ship of four hundred tons—a better could not be built of wood and iron. We had a very skilful captain, and so he was given the choice, of either returning to England, or keeping on struggling with the winds: if he yielded to these, the Irish shore close by awaited us, which is noted for its hidden rocks and frequent shipwrecks. Nevertheless his bold spirit, and his desire to test the strength of the new ship which he then managed for the first time, prevailed with the captain. He resolved to try the sea, although he confessed that it was the more dangerous, on account of being so narrow.

“The danger in truth was near at hand, for the winds increasing and the sea growing more boisterous, we could see the pinnace in the distance showing two lights at her mast-head. Then, indeed, we thought it was all over with her, and that she had been swallowed up in the deep whirlpools; for in a moment she had passed out of sight, and no news of her reached us for six months afterwards. Accordingly we were all of us certain the pinnace had been lost; yet God had better things in store for us, for the fact was, that finding herself no match for the violence of the waves, she had avoided the Virginian ocean, with which we were already contending, by returning to England, to the Scilly Isles, and making a fresh start from thence, in company with the *Dragon*, she overtook us, as we shall relate, at a large harbour in the Antilles. And thus God, who oversees the smallest things, guided, protected, and took care of the little vessel.

“We, however, being ignorant of the event, were distressed

with grief and anxiety, which the gloomy night, filled with manifold terrors, increased. When the day dawned, although the wind was against us, being from the south-west, yet, as it did not blow very hard, we sailed on gradually by making frequent tacks. So Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday passed with variable winds, and we made small progress. On Friday, a south-east wind prevailing and driving before it thick and dark clouds, so fierce a tempest broke forth towards evening, that it seemed every minute as if we must be swallowed up by the waves. Nor was the weather more promising on the next day, which was the festival of St. Andrew the Apostle. The clouds, accumulating in a frightful manner, were fearful to behold, before they separated, and excited the belief that all the malicious spirits of the storm, and all the evil genii of Maryland had come forth to battle against us. Towards evening, the captain saw a sunfish swimming, with great efforts, against the course of the sun, which is a very sure sign of a terrible storm ; nor did the omen prove a false one. For about ten o'clock at night a dark cloud poured forth a violent shower. Then such a furious hurricane followed close upon it, that it was necessary with all speed to take in sail ; and this could not be done quickly enough to prevent the mainsail, the only one we were carrying, from being torn in the middle from top to bottom. A part of it was blown over into the sea, and was recovered with difficulty.

“ At this juncture, the minds of the bravest among us, both of the passengers and sailors, were struck with terror. They narrated how they had seen other ships wrecked in a less severe storm, and now this hurricane called forth the prayers and vows of the Catholics in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Immaculate Conception, of St. Ignatius, the Patron Saint of Maryland, St. Michael, and all the guardian angels of the same country. Each one hastened to purge his soul by the Sacrament of Penance, for all control over the rudder having been lost, the ship was drifting about like a dish in the water, at the mercy of the winds and the waves, until God showed us a way of safety. At first, I confess, I had been engrossed with the apprehension of the ship's being lost and of losing my own life. But after I had spent some time in praying more fervently than was my usual custom, and had represented to Christ our Lord, to the Blessed Virgin, St. Ignatius, and the angels of Maryland, that the purpose of this

journey was to glorify the Blood of our Redeemer in the salvation of barbarians, and to raise up a kingdom for the Saviour (if He would condescend to prosper our poor efforts,) also to consecrate another gift to the Immaculate Virgin, His Mother, and many things to the same effect, great comfort shone in upon my soul, and at the same time so firm a conviction that we should be delivered, not only from this storm, but from every other during that voyage, that with me there could be no room left for doubt. I had betaken myself to prayer when the sea was raging at its worst, and, to the great glory of God, I had scarcely finished, when they observed that the storm was abating. That indeed brought me to a new frame of mind, and filled me at the same time with great joy and admiration, since I understood much more clearly the greatness of God's love towards the people of Maryland, to whom your Reverence has sent us. Eternal praises to the most sweet bounty of the Redeemer!

“After the sea had thus suddenly calmed down we had delightful weather for three months, so that the captain and his men declared they had never seen it smoother or pleasanter; for we suffered no inconvenience, not even for a single hour. However, when I speak of three months, I do not mean to say we were that length of time at sea, but I include the whole voyage and also the time we stopped at the Antilles. For the actual voyage occupied only seven weeks and two days, which is considered a quick passage.

“From that time forward, while we were sailing along the shore of Spain, the winds were neither against us, nor very favourable to us. We feared that we might meet the Turks, yet we fell in with none of them; they had gone home, perhaps to celebrate a solemn fast which they call Ramadan, for it took place at that season of the year. But when we had sailed past the Strait of Gibraltar and the Madeiras with favourable winds, which were no longer variable but blew steadily towards the south and the south-west, the direction in which we were sailing, three ships came in sight, one of which was larger than ours. They appeared to be about three leagues off, towards the west, and to be trying to come up with us; now and then they would send messages to and fro, and communicate with each other. As we suspected that they were Turkish pirates, we made all the necessary preparations for fighting. And there were some among our men, who inconsiderately urged the captain to approach and attack them

without provocation. But since he had a master, to whom he had to render an account, he doubted whether he could give a plausible reason for fighting, and indeed I think the contest would have been an arduous one, though, perhaps they feared us as much as we did them; and they were, as I conjecture, merchants who were on their way to the Fortunate Islands, not far distant, and either could not overtake us or did not wish to do so.

“Sailing hence to the Fortunate Isles, we entered a large bay, where there is nothing to be feared excepting the calms, which last for fifteen days and sometimes three weeks, causing the supplies of the navigators to fail. But this rarely happens, scarcely once or twice in a century. Nevertheless very frequent delays are unavoidable, on this account; but when the wind does blow, it is always one and the same, being favourable to our voyage. When we arrived at this bay, we had sailed three thousand Italian miles under full sail, passing over a milk-white sea; without being delayed at all by calms, except occasionally for a single hour, about mid-day.

“I cannot easily discover the cause of such a constant wind, unless one should say it arises from the sun’s being so near, as it passes between the tropics, and from the fact that it draws from the sea, by the power of its heat, two kinds of vapour, the one dry from the saltness of the sea, the other moist by reason of the water. The wind proceeds from the former, and from the latter are produced the rains; and so the sun drawing both towards itself is the cause of their always keeping the same oblique course with the sun, and constantly following it. And this, too, may have been the reason why we met with great heat and an abundance of rain, between the tropics at the same time, and that regularly, at morning, noon, and evening; at any rate the winds were stronger then. From this also can be drawn the reason why the bay was at this time free from calms. For the sun in the tropic of Capricorn going beyond the equinoctial line, and passing down to the extreme southern point of the same line, (as happened to us between the 13th and 17th degrees of longitude, the heat there being as great in our winter months as it is in the summer months in Europe,) draws the wind and rain obliquely towards the equinoctial line; and for this reason, the winds are more certain during those months, especially in this bay, and blow towards the tropic of Cancer. But the calms are more frequent in the summer time, when the sun crosses the equator towards

us, and draws up the salt and watery vapours, not obliquely, but almost perpendicularly.

“And here also I cannot pass on without praising the Divine Goodness, which brings it to pass that all things work together for good to them that love God. For if, meeting with no delay, we had been allowed to sail at the time we had appointed, namely on the twentieth of the month of August, the sun being on this side of the equator, and striking down vertically, the intense heat would not only have ruined our provisions, but would have brought disease and death upon almost all of us. We were saved by the delay, for by embarking in the winter time, we escaped misfortunes of this kind; and if you except the usual sea-sickness, no one was attacked by any disease until the festival of the Nativity of our Lord. In order that the day might be better kept, wine was given out, and those who drank of it too freely were seized the next day with a fever; of these, not long afterwards, about twelve died, among whom were two Catholics. The loss of Nicholas Fairfax and James Barefoot was deeply felt among us.

“While continuing our voyage (after having seen the sun-fish, which swims with difficulty against the course of the sun and gives sign of a storm, and indeed in our case of more than one), we met with many curious objects, especially flying-fish, which sometimes swim in the sea, and sometimes fly up in the air. They are about the size of flounders or the larger gilthead, and very much resemble these in their delicious flavour. A hundred of them rise into the air at once, when flying from the dolphins which pursue them. Some of them fell into our ship, their wings failing them; for in one flight they do not fly over a greater space than two or three acres, then, because their fins become dry, they plunge into the water again, and venture a second time into the air. When we were twenty-one degrees and some minutes from the equator, where the tropic begins, we could see the birds which are called, from the place where they are found, the tropical birds, hovering in the air. These are as large as falcons, and are remarkable for having two very long white feathers in their tails; it is uncertain whether they always remain poised in the air, or sometimes rest on the water. The rest I omit, having been already communicated in the letters of others.

“When we had sailed beyond the Fortunate Islands, Mr. Leonard Calvert, the commander of the enterprise, began to consider where he could get any merchandise to load the ship

with on its return, in order to defray the expenses of his brother, the Baron of Baltimore, who, having originated the whole expedition, had to bear all the outlay. No profit was expected from our countrymen in Virginia, for they are hostile to this new settlement; accordingly we were directing our course to the Island of St. Christopher, when, after holding a council, apprehending that at that late season of the year others had been before us, we turned our prows to the south to make for Bonavista. This island, situated near Angola, on the African coast, fourteen degrees from the equator, is a station of the Hollanders, where they collect salt, which they afterwards carry home, or take to cure fish with in Greenland. The abundance of salt, and also the number of goats which are found on the island, were inducements for us to go there; for it has no other inhabitants. Only a few Portuguese, transported for crime, drag out their lives the best way they can. We had gone barely two hundred miles, when changing our plans a second time at the suggestion of some among us, lest provisions should fail us, in going so far out of our way, we steered for Barbadoes.

“This is the last of the Caribbee Islands, or Antilles, thirteen degrees distant from the equator, and serves as a granary for all the rest, which extend in a long line in the shape of a bow, to the Gulf of Mexico. When we reached this island, on the 3rd of January, we had hope of securing many articles of trade among the English inhabitants, and from the Governor, who was our fellow-countryman; but forming a combination, they determined not to sell us any wheat (which was selling in the island at half a Belgic florin a bushel), for less than five times that price, that is, two florins and a half. They offered turkeys for twenty-five florins, and the smaller poultry of that kind at three florins. They had no beef or mutton at any price. They live withal on corn-bread and potatoes; and this kind of root grows in such abundance, that you can carry off whole wagon loads of it for nothing.

“The watchful care of Divine Providence consoled us for the bitter harshness of men, for we understood that a Spanish fleet was stationed off the island of Bonavista, to keep all foreigners from engaging in the salt trade. Had we, then, keeping to our appointed route, gone on thither, we should have fallen into the net and become the prey of our enemies. In the meantime we were delivered from a greater danger at Barbadoes. The slaves throughout the whole island had

conspired to kill their masters, when, having gained their liberty, it was their intention to possess themselves of the first ship which should touch there, and venture to sea. The conspiracy was disclosed by one whom the atrocious cruelty of the enterprise alarmed; and the punishment of a ring-leader was sufficient for the security of the island and for our own safety. Our ship, as being the first to touch there, had been marked for their prey; and on the very day we landed, we found eight hundred men in arms to oppose this wicked design which had just transpired.

“The island of Barbadoes is thirty miles in length and sixteen in breadth, and the climate is so warm that the inhabitants in the winter months wear linen clothes and bathe frequently. It was harvest time when we arrived. It would be impossible to live there, were it not for the frequent winds that moderate the heat. The coarse cloth, which serves them for a bed, is skilfully woven out of cotton; when it is bed-time, they hang this from two posts, one at each end, and sleep in it; during the daytime they remove it at pleasure. The chief articles of trade are grain and cotton. It is delightful to see the plentiful supply of cotton hanging from the trees. The tree on which it grows is no larger than the thorn (which is commonly called the Barberry white thorn), although it is more like a tree than a thornbush; this bears a pod as large as a walnut, but more pointed in its shape, which, separating into four parts, gives forth the cotton, which is whiter than snow and softer than down, rolled up in the shape of a nut. There are six small seeds, like vetches, in the cotton; they gather it in due season, and after clearing it of the seed with a kind of wheel, store it in bags and preserve it.

“There is a wonderful kind of cabbage,<sup>18</sup> which has a stalk that grows a hundred and eighty feet high, and is eaten either raw or boiled. The stalk itself, for a cubit’s length below the fruit, is considered a delicacy. When eaten raw with pepper, it excels the Spanish thistle (artichoke). And, indeed, it is much like a walnut-tree that has been stripped of its boughs, the great stalk equalling in size the trunk of a very large tree; and yet it is not a tree, but of the nature of a leguminous plant; it bears only one cabbage.

“There is also to be seen there a tall tree, which they call the soap-tree. The grains (or seeds) of soap are no larger than hazel nuts, and they have a thick membrane; it

<sup>18</sup> Cabbage-tree or cabbage-palm, family of the palms.

purifies and cleanses like soap, although, as they say, it is injurious to fine linen. I carried many of these seeds with me to Maryland and planted them, hoping for trees in the future.

“They also reckon among the trees the *Palm of Christ*, though it has a porous trunk, like a leguminous plant. It bears a great cluster of seeds of an ashy colour, covered with thorns and sprinkled with dark spots. From these an excellent oil is extracted. Oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and also the nuts which the Spanish call cocoa-nuts, and all other fruits of warm regions are produced in abundance.

“There is also a fruit, which is called the Guava, of a golden colour, shaped like a lime, yet in its taste it resembles the quince. It is of the colour of the Pupa (?), and not unlike it in shape; but as it is very sweet it is only used for preserving.

“But the pine-apple excels all the other fruits that I have tasted anywhere else in the world. It is of a golden colour, and is excellent when mixed with wine, and as large as three or four of the European nuts of the same name; it is not unlike them in shape, but more open, not separated into so many cells and little divisions which give out their kernel when held to the fire, but wrapped in a soft and delicate membrane, that has a delightful taste; it has no rough stones, but is equally pleasing to the palate throughout. Nor is it without the crown which it deserves, for undoubtedly it may be called the queen of fruits. It has the taste of spices, which, as nearly as I can guess, is like that of strawberries mixed with wine and sugar. It is of great service in preserving health, agreeing so admirably with the human constitution, that, although it corrodes iron, it acts upon man as an unrivalled tonic; nor do you find it on a high tree, but as a single fruit coming out on each root, like the artichoke. I wish I could send your Paternity a specimen with this letter. For nothing but the thing itself can give you an idea of its excellence.

“On the 24th of January we weighed anchor in the night, and passing the Island of St. Lucia on our left, about noon of the following day, we reached Matalina towards evening. At this place two canoes full of naked men appeared, who, keeping at a distance through apprehension of our huge ship, held up pumpkins (gourds), the fruit of the plane-tree, and parrots, offering to exchange them. They were a savage race, fat, shining with red paint, who knew no God, and devoured the flesh of human beings; and they had before made away with

several English interpreters. They inhabit a country which is especially fertile, but is entirely covered with woods, having no open plains. Hanging out a white flag as a sign of peace we invited those who were keeping at a distance to trade with us, but objecting to this sign they made their usual signals.

“After we had repeated our invitations and they understood better who we were, they took courage and came up nearer ; but not trusting themselves to so powerful a ship, they took only a few little bells and knives, and went to the pinnacle, promising that if we should decide to stay until the next day they would bring better wares. Some one, I hope, will hereafter have compassion on this forsaken people. A rumour spread among the sailors (started by certain Frenchmen who had been shipwrecked) that an *animal* is found on this island, in whose forehead is a stone of extraordinary lustre, like a live coal or burning candle. They named this animal *Carbunca*. I leave the author of this story to answer for its truth.

“When the next day dawned, we came to another of the Caribbee Islands, which has received the Spanish name of Guadalupe from the appearance of its rough mountains, and it is, I trust, under the guardianship of the same Most Holy Virgin Mother. Thence we came to Montserrat about noon, where we learned from a French cutter that we were not yet safe from the Spanish fleet. The inhabitants of Montserrat are Irishmen, who were banished by the English of Virginia, on account of their professing the Catholic faith. Then we came to Mævius, noted for its pestilential air and fevers. After spending one day, we sailed for St. Christopher’s Island, where we stayed ten days, having received a friendly invitation from the English governor, and two captains, who were Catholics ; the president of the French colony in the same island received me with especial courtesy.

“All the rare things that are to be seen at Barbadoes I found at this place too, and besides these a sulphurous mountain not far from the governor’s house, and what you would admire more, the virgin plant, so called because at the least touch of the finger it immediately shrinks and falls in, though if you give it time it revives and rises up again. I was especially pleased with the locust tree, which is supposed to have afforded sustenance to St. John the Baptist. It equals the elm in size and is such a favourite with the bees, that they freely build their cells in it. The honey, if you forget that it is called wild, does not differ in colour or flavour from the purest honey I have

tasted. The fruit also, keeping the name of locust, consists of six beans in a pretty hard shell, like a pod, and contains a pith which is soft but glutinous, tasting like flour mixed with honey; it bears four or five tolerably large seeds, of a chestnut colour. I carried some of these with me to plant.

“At length, sailing from this place, we reached the cape, which they call Point Comfort, in Virginia, on the 27th of February, full of apprehension lest the English inhabitants, who were much displeas'd at our settling, should have plotted something against us. Nevertheless the letters we carried from the King, and from the High Treasurer of England, served to allay their anger, and to procure those things which would afterwards be useful to us. For the governor of Virginia hoped that, by this kindness toward us, he would more easily recover from the Royal Treasury a large sum of money which was due to him. They only told us that a rumour prevailed that six ships were coming to reduce everything under the power of the Spaniards, and that for this reason all the natives were in arms. This we afterwards found to be true, yet I fear the rumour had its origin with the English.

“After being kindly treated for eight or nine days, we set sail on the 3rd of March, and entering the Chesapeake Bay, we turned our course to the north to reach the Potomac River. The Chesapeake Bay, ten leagues (thirty Italian miles) wide, flows gently between its shores; it is four, five, and six fathoms deep, and abounds in fish when the season is favourable; you will scarcely find a more beautiful sheet of water. Yet it yields the palm to the Potomac River, which we named after St. Gregory.

“Having now arrived at the wished-for country, we allotted names according to circumstances. And indeed the Promontory, which is toward the south, we consecrated with the name of St. Gregory (now Smith Point), naming the northern one (now Point Lookout) St. Michael's, in honour of all the angels. Never have I beheld a larger or more beautiful river. The Thames seems a mere rivulet in comparison with it, it is not disfigured with any swamps, but has firm land on each side. Fine groves of trees appear, not choked with briers or bushes and undergrowth, but growing at intervals as if planted by the hand of man, so that you can drive a four-horse carriage, wherever you choose, through the midst of the trees. Just at the mouth of the river we observed the natives in arms. That night fires blazed through the whole country, and since they

had never seen such a large ship, messengers were sent in all directions, who reported that a canoe like an island had come with as many men as there were trees in the wood. We went on, however, to Herons' Islands, so called from the numbers of these birds that abound there. The first island we came to we called St. Clement's Island, and as it has a sloping shore there is no way of getting to it except by wading. Here the women, who had left the ship to do the washing, upset the boat and were near being drowned, losing also a large part of my linen clothes, no small loss in these parts.

"This island is covered with cedar and sassafras trees, and flowers and herbs for making all kinds of salads, and it also produces a wild nut tree, which bears a very hard walnut with a thick shell and a small but very delicious kernel. Since, however, the island contains only four hundred acres, we saw that it would not afford room enough for the new settlement. Yet we looked for a suitable place to build only a fort (perhaps on the island itself) to keep off strangers, and to protect the trade of the river and our boundaries, for this was the narrowest crossing-place on the river.

"On the day of the Annunciation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary, in the year 1634, we celebrated on this island the first Mass which had been ever offered up in this part of the world. After we had completed the Sacrifice, we took upon our shoulders a great cross which we had shaped out of a tree, and advancing in order to the appointed place, with the assistance of the Governor and his associates and the other Catholics, we erected a trophy to Christ the Saviour, humbly reciting, on our bended knees, the Litanies of the Holy Cross with great emotion.

"Now when the Governor had understood that many princes were subject to the Emperor of Pascatawaye, he determined to visit him, in order that, after explaining the reason of our voyage, and gaining his good will, he might secure an easier access to the others. Accordingly, taking along with our pinnace (the *Dove*) another, which he had procured in Virginia, and leaving the ship (the *Ark*) at anchor, he sailed round and landed on the southern side of the river. And when he had learned that the savages had fled inland, he went on to a city which takes its name from the river, being also called Potomac. Here the young king's uncle, named Archihu, was his guardian and acted as regent in the kingdom; a sober and discreet man. He willingly listened

to Father Altham, who had been selected to accompany the Governor, for I was still kept with the ship's cargo. And when the Father explained, as far as he could, through the interpreter, Henry Fleet, the errors of the heathen, he would ever and anon acknowledge his own; and when he was informed that we had come thither, not to make war, but out of good will towards them, in order to extend civilization and instruction to his ignorant race, and show them the way to heaven, and at the same time with the intention of communicating to them the advantages of commerce with distant countries, he gave us to understand that he was pleased at our coming. The interpreter was one of the Protestants of Virginia, and so, as the Father could not stop for further discourse at the time, he promised that he would return before very long. 'That is just what I wish,' said Archihu, 'we will eat at the same table; my followers too shall go to hunt for you, and we will have all things in common.'

"They went on from this place to Piscatawaye, where all the inhabitants flew to arms. About five hundred, equipped with bows, had stationed themselves on the shore with their chief. But, after signals of peace were made, the chief, laying aside all apprehension, came on board the pinnace, and when he heard of our friendly disposition towards those nations, he gave us permission to dwell wherever we pleased in his dominions.

"In the meantime, while the Governor was with the chief on this voyage, the savages at St. Clements, growing bolder, began to mingle more freely with our sentinels. For we kept watch day and night, to guard from sudden attack the men who were cutting wood, as well as the vessel which we were engaged in building, having brought with us the separate planks and ribs. It was amusing to hear them admiring everything, especially wondering where in the world a tree had grown large enough to be carved into a ship of such huge size; for they supposed it had been cut out from a single trunk of a tree, like an Indian canoe. Our cannon filled them all with astonishment, for they were certainly a little louder than their own twanging bows, and sounded to them like thunder.

"The Governor had taken with him, as a companion on his voyage to the Chief, Henry Fleet, a captain from the Virginia colony, a man especially acceptable to the savages,

being well versed in their language, and acquainted with the country. This man was at first very friendly with us, but afterwards, being misled by the evil counsels of one Clayborne, he became just as hostile, and tried all he could to excite the natives against us. In the meantime, while he was still on friendly terms with us, he pointed out to the Governor a spot so charming in situation that Europe itself can scarcely show one to surpass it.

“Going about nine leagues, or twenty-seven miles, from St. Clement, we sailed into the mouth of a river on the north side of the Potomac,<sup>19</sup> which we named after St. George. This river (or rather arm of the sea like the Thames) runs from south to north about twenty miles before you come to fresh water. At its mouth are two harbours, capable of containing three hundred ships of the largest size. We consecrated one of these to St. George, the other, which is more inland, to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

“The left side of the river<sup>20</sup> was the abode of King Yaocomico. We landed<sup>21</sup> on the right-hand side,<sup>22</sup> and going inland about a mile from the shore, laid out the plan of a city, naming it St. Mary. And, in order to avoid every appearance of injustice, and afford no opportunity for hostility, we bought from the King thirty miles of that land, delivering in exchange axes, hatchets, rakes, and several yards of cloth. This district is already named Augusta Carolina.<sup>23</sup> The Susquehannoes, a tribe inured to war, and bitter enemies of King Yaocomico, after making repeated inroads, and ravaging his whole territory, have driven the inhabitants, through apprehension of danger, to seek homes elsewhere. This is the reason why we so easily secured a part of his kingdom, God by this means opening a way for His own everlasting grace and truth. They move away every day, first one party and then another, and leave us their houses, lands, and cultivated fields. Surely it is like a miracle, that barbarous men, a

<sup>19</sup> That is, the mouth of the St. George, situated on the north side of the Potomac river (Note by Editor of the Maryland Historical Society's pamphlet).

<sup>20</sup> The eastern bank of St. Mary's river, which flows from the north (*Ibid.*)

<sup>21</sup> On the right-hand side of the Bay of St. Ignatius, leaving the ship there until they went, either on foot or in the pinnace, to find a place for a permanent settlement, and this indeed they found about a mile from the left bank of St. Mary's river (*Ibid.*).

<sup>22</sup> Perhaps near the promontory called Chancellor Point (*Ibid.*).

<sup>23</sup> It is now called St. Mary's County (*Ibid.*).

few days before arrayed in arms against us, should so willingly surrender themselves like lambs, and deliver up to us themselves and their property. The finger of God is in this, and He purposes some great benefit to this nation. A few, however, are allowed to dwell among us until next year, when the land is to be left entirely to us.”<sup>24</sup>

[We break off Father White’s narrative for awhile in order to introduce from an ancient pamphlet (Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iv.), containing some account of the expedition on its arrival at Maryland, a few extracts within brackets, which throw additional light upon the country and natives.

They went up the Potomac river about four leagues, and anchored at the town of Yoacomaco, from whence the Indians of that part of the country are called the Yoacomacoes.

At their coming to this place, the Governor went on shore and treated friendly with the Werowance there, and acquainted him with the intent of his coming thither, to which he made little answer (as their manner is to any new or sudden question) but entertained him and his company that night in his house, and gave him his bed to lie on (which is a mat laid on boards), and the next day went to show him the country, and that day being spent in viewing the places about that town, and the fresh waters, which here are very plentiful and excellent good (but the main rivers are salt); the Governor determined to make the first colony there, and so gave order for the ship and pinnaces to come thither.

This place he found to be a very commodious situation for a town, in regard the land is good, the air wholesome and pleasant, the river affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bold shore. Fresh water and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficulty it may be defended from any enemy.

The next day they began to prepare for their houses, and first of all a court of guard and a store-house. In the meantime they lay aboard the ship. They had not been there many days before Sir John Hervey, the Governor of Virginia, came thither to visit them, some Indian Werowances also and many other Indians from several parts came to see them, and amongst others the Werowance of Patuxent, who being brought into the great cabin of the ship was placed between the Governors of Virginia and Maryland, when a Patuxent Indian that came with him, on entering the cabin, and finding the Werowance thus between seated the two Governors, started back fearing that he had been surprised, and was ready

<sup>24</sup> The Governor took possession of this place on March 27, 1534.

to have leapt overboard, nor could he be persuaded to come into the cabin until the Werowance came himself unto him, for he remembered how the said Werowance had formerly been taken prisoner by the English of Virginia.

After they had finished the store-house and unloaded the ship, the Governor thought fit to bring the colours on shore, which were attended by all the gentlemen and the rest of the servants in arms, who received the colours with a volley of shot, which was answered by the ordnance of the ship. At this ceremony were present the Werowances of Patuxent, and Yoacomaco, with many other Indians; and the Werowance of Patuxent hereupon took occasion to advise the Indians of Yoacomaco to be careful to keep the league that they had made with the English. He stayed with them divers days and used many Indian compliments, and at his departure he said to the Governor: "I love the English so well, that if they should go about to kill me, if I had but so much breath as to speak, I would command the people not to avenge my death; for I know that they would not do such a thing except it were through mine own defaults."

They brought thither with them some store of Indian corn, from the Barbadoes, which at their first arrival they began to use (thinking fit to preserve their English provision of meal and oatmeal), and the Indian women seeing their servants to be unacquainted with the manner of dressing it, would make bread thereof for them, and teach them how to do the like. They found also the country well stored with corn (which they bought with truck, such as there is desired, the natives having no knowledge of the use of money), whereof they sold them such plenty as that they sent a thousand bushels of it to New England, to provide them some salt-fish and other commodities which they wanted.

During the time that the Indians stayed by the English at Yoacomaco, they went daily to hunt with them for deer and turkeys, whereof some they gave them for presents, and the meaner sort would sell them to them for knives, beads, and the like. Also of fish the natives brought them great store, and in all things dealt very friendly with them; their women and children came very frequently amongst them, which was a certain sign of their confidence of them, it being found by experience that they never attempt any ill where the women are or may be in danger.

Their coming thus to seat upon an Indian town where they found ground cleared to their hands, gave them opportunity (although they came late in the year) to plant some corn and to make them gardens, which they sowed with English seeds of all sorts, and they prospered exceeding well. They also made what haste they could to finish their houses; but before they could accomplish all these things, one Captain Claybourne (who had a desire to appropriate the trade of those parts unto himself) began to cast out words amongst the Indians, saying that those of Yoaco-

maco were Spaniards and his enemies; and by this means endeavoured to alienate the minds of the natives from them, so that they did not receive them so friendly as formerly they had done. This caused them to lay aside all other works and to finish their fort, which they did within the space of one month; where they mounted some ordnance and finished it with some *murtherers* and such other means of defence as they thought fit for their safeties; which being done they proceeded with their houses and finished them, with convenient accommodations belonging thereto, and although they had thus put themselves in safety, yet they ceased not to procure to put these jealousies out of the natives' minds by treating and using them in the most courteous manner they could, and at last prevailed therein and settled a very firm peace and friendship with them. They procured from Virginia hogs, poultry, and some cows, and some male cattle which hath given them a foundation for breed and increase; and whoso desire it may furnish himself with a store of cattle from thence; but the hogs and poultry are already increased in Maryland to a great stock, sufficient to serve the colony very plentifully. They have also set up a water-mill for the grinding of corn adjoining the town.

Thus, within the space of five months, was laid the foundation of the colony in Maryland, and whoso now intends to go thither shall find the way so trodden, that he may proceed with much more ease and confidence than these first adventurers could, who were ignorant both of place, people, and all things else, and could expect to find nothing but what nature produced; besides, they could not in any reason but think the natives would oppose them; whereas, now the country is discovered, and friendship with the natives is assured, houses built, and many other accommodations, as cattle, hogs, poultry, fruits, and the like brought thither from England, Virginia, and other places, which are useful both for profit and pleasure; and without boasting, it may be said that this colony hath arrived to more in six months than Virginia did in many years. If any man shall say they are beholden to Virginia for so speedy a supply of many of those things which they of Virginia were forced to fetch from England and other remote places, they will confess it, and acknowledge themselves glad that Virginia is so near a neighbour, and that it is so well stored of all necessaries for to make those parts happy and the people to live as plentifully as in any other part of the world; only they wish that they would be content their neighbours might live in peace by them, and then no doubt they should find a great comfort each in the other.]

“The natives are very tall and well proportioned, their skin is naturally rather dark, and they make it uglier by staining it generally with red paint mixed with oil, to keep off the mosquitoes, thinking more of their own comfort than of appearances. They disfigure their countenances with other

colours too, painting them in various and truly hideous and frightful ways, either a dark blue above the nose and red below, or the reverse. And as they live almost to extreme old age without having beards, they counterfeit them with paint, drawing lines of various colours from the extremity of the lips to the ears. They generally have black hair, which they carry round in a knot to the left ear, and then fasten with a band, adding some ornament which is in estimation among them. Some of them wear on their foreheads the figure of a fish, made of copper. They adorn their necks with glass beads strung on a thread like necklaces, though these beads are getting to be less valued among them and less useful for trade.

“They are clothed for the most part in deer skins, or some similar kind of covering, which hangs down behind like a cloak. They wear aprons round the middle, and leave the rest of the body naked. The soles of their feet are as hard as horn, and they tread on thorns and briars without being hurt. Their arms are bows and arrows three feet long, tipped with stag’s horn, or a white flint sharpened at the end. They shoot these with such skill that they can mark off and hit a sparrow in the middle, and in order to become expert by practice they throw a spear in the air, and then send an arrow from the bow string, and drive it into the spear before it falls. But since they do not string the bow very tight, they cannot hit a mark at a great distance. They live by means of these weapons, and go out every day through the fields and woods to hunt squirrels, partridges, turkeys, and wild animals. For there is an abundance of all these, though we ourselves do not yet venture to procure food by hunting, for fear of ambushes.

“They live in houses built in an oblong oval shape. Light is admitted into these through the roof, by a window a foot and a half long. This also serves to carry off the smoke, for they kindle the fire in the middle of the floor, and sleep round it. Their kings, however, and chief men have private apartments, as it were, of their own, and beds made by driving four posts into the ground and arranging poles above them horizontally. One of these cabins has fallen to me and my associates, in which we are accommodated well enough for the time, until larger dwellings are provided. You may call this the first chapel of Maryland, though it is fitted up much more decently than when the Indians lived in it. At the next

voyage, if God favours our undertaking, our house shall not be destitute of those things which are found useful in others.

The race are of a frank and cheerful disposition, and understand any matter correctly when it is stated to them, they have a keen sense of taste and smell, and in sight too they surpass the Europeans. They live for the most part on a kind of paste, which they call *pone* and *omini*, both of which are made of Indian corn, and sometimes they add fish, or what they have procured by hunting and fowling. They are especially careful to refrain from wine and warm drinks, and are not persuaded to taste them, except some whom the English have corrupted with their own vices. With respect to chastity, I confess that I have not yet observed in man or woman any act which even savoured of levity, yet they have daily intercourse with us, and take pleasure in our society. They run to us of their own accord with a cheerful expression on their faces, and offer us what they have taken in hunting or fishing, sometimes also they bring us food and oysters boiled or roasted,<sup>25</sup> . . . and this they do when invited in a few words of their own language, which we have hitherto contrived to learn by means of signs. They marry several wives, yet they keep inviolate their conjugal faith. The women present a sober and modest appearance.

“They cherish generous feelings towards all, and make a return for whatever kindness you may have shown them. They resolve upon nothing rashly or while influenced by a sudden impulse of the mind, but act with deliberation, so that, when anything of importance is proposed at any time, they think it over for a while in silence, and then speak briefly for or against it. They are very tenacious of their purpose. Surely these men, if they are once imbued with Christian precepts (and there seems to be nothing to oppose this except our ignorance of the language spoken in these parts), will become eminent observers of virtue and humanity. They are possessed with a wonderful longing for civilized intercourse with us, and for European garments; and they would long ago have worn clothing, if they had not been prevented by the avarice of the merchants, who do not exchange their cloth for anything but beavers. But every one cannot get a beaver by hunting. God forbid that we should imitate the avarice of these men!”

<sup>25</sup> There is an omission here of some such expression as, “They often come to our table,” and this they do, &c. (Note, Maryland Historical Society’s pamphlet).

[We insert from the same pamphlet the following account of the natives of Maryland.

Some accounts say that the people are warlike, and have done much harm to the English, and thereby are made very terrible. Others say that they are a base and cowardly people, and to be despised ; and it is thought by some, who would be esteemed statesmen, that the only point of policy that the English can use is to destroy the Indians, or to drive them out of the country, without which it is not to be hoped that they can be secure. The truth is, if they be injured they may well be feared, they being a people that have able bodies, and generally taller and bigger limbed than the English, and want not courage ; but the odds we have of them in our weapons keeps them in awe, otherwise they would not fly from the English, as they have done in the time of wars with those of Virginia ; and out of that respect, a small number of our men, being armed, will adventure upon a great troop of theirs, and for no other reason, for they are resolute and subtile enough ; but from hence to conclude that there can be no safety to live with them, is a very great error. Experience hath taught us that by kind and fair usage, the natives are not only become peaceable, but also friendly, and have upon all occasions performed as many friendly offices to the English in Maryland and New England as any neighbour or friend uses to do in the most civil parts of Christendom: Therefore any wise man will hold it a far more just and reasonable way to treat the people of the country well, thereby to induce them to civility, and to teach them the use of husbandry and mechanical trades, whereof they are capable, which may in time be very useful to the English ; and the planters to keep themselves strong and united in towns, at least for a competent number, and then no man can reasonably doubt either surprise or any other ill-dealing from them.

But to proceed. He that sees them may know how men lived whilst the world was under the law of nature ; and as by nature, so among them, all men are free, but yet subject to command for the public defence. Their government is monarchical ; he that governs in chief is called the Werowance, and is assisted by some that consult with him of the common affairs, who are called Wisoes. They have no laws but the law of nature and discretion, by which all things are ruled ; only custom hath introduced a law for the succession of the government, which is this : When a Werowance dieth, his eldest son succeeds, and after him the second, and so the rest, each for their lives ; and when all the sons are dead, then the sons of the Werowance's eldest daughter shall succeed, and so if he have more daughters, for they hold that the issue of the daughters hath more of his blood in them than the issue of his sons. The Wisoes are chosen at the pleasure of the Werowance, yet commonly they are chosen of the same family, if they be of

years capable. The young men generally bear a very great respect to the elder.

They have also Cockorooses, that are their captains in time of war, to whom they are very obedient. But the Werowance himself plants corn, makes his own bow and arrows, his canoe, his mantle, shoes, and whatever else belongs unto him, as any other common Indian; and commonly the commanders are the best and most ingenious and active in all those things which are in esteem amongst them. The women serve their husbands, make their bread, dress their meat, such as they kill in hunting or get by fishing; and if they have more wives than one, as some of them have (but that is not general), then the best beloved wife performs all the offices of the house, and they take great content therein. The women also (besides the household business) use to make mats, which serve to cover their houses and for beds; also they make baskets, some of rushes, others of silk-grass, which are very handsome.

The children live with their parents; the boys until they come to the full growth of men (for they reckon not by years as we do), then they are put into the number of bowmen, and are called Blackboys, and so continue until they take them wives. When they are to be made Blackboys, the ancient men that govern the younger tell them that if they will be valiant, and obedient to the Werowance, Wisoes, and Cockorooses, then their God will love them, all men will esteem them, and they shall kill deer and turkeys, catch fish, and all things shall go well with them; but if otherwise, then they shall all go contrary, which persuasion moves in them an incredible obedience to their commands. If they bid them take fire in their hands or mouths, they will do it or any other desperate thing, although with the apparent danger of their lives.

The women remain with their parents until they have husbands, and if the parents be dead, then with some other of their friends. If the husband die, he leaves all that he hath to his wife, except his bow and arrows and some beads (which they usually bury with them), and she is to keep the children until the sons come to be men, and then they live where they please, for all men's houses are free unto them; and the daughters she keeps until they have husbands.

The manner of their marriage is thus: he that would have a wife treats with the father, or, if he be dead, with the friend that takes care of her whom he desires to have to wife, and agrees with him.]

“On account of our ignorance of their language, it does not yet appear what ideas they have besides about religion. We do not put much confidence in the Protestant interpreters, we have (only) hastily learned these few things. They acknowledge one God of Heaven, yet they pay Him no outward

worship. But they strive in every way to appease a certain imaginary spirit which they call *Ochre*, that he may not hurt them. They worship corn and fire, as I hear, as gods that are very bountiful to the human race. Some of our party report that they saw the following ceremony in the temple at *Barchuxem*. On an appointed day, all the men and woman of every age, from several districts, gathered together round a fire; the younger ones stood nearest the fire, behind these stood those who were older. They threw deer's fat on the fire, and lifting their hands to heaven and raising their voices they cried out 'Yaho! Yaho!' Then making room, some one brings forward a very large bag. In the bag is a pipe and a powder, which they call *potu*. The pipe is such a one as is used among us for smoking tobacco, but much larger; then the bag is carried round the fire, and the boys and girls follow it, singing alternately with tolerably pleasant voices, 'Yaho, Yaho.' Having completed the circuit, the pipe is taken out of the bag, and the powder called *potu* is distributed to each one as they stand near; this is lighted in the pipe, and each one, drawing smoke from the pipe, blows it over the several members of his body and consecrates them. They were not allowed to learn anything more, except that they seemed to have had some knowledge of the Flood, by which the world was destroyed on account of the wickedness of mankind.

"We have been here only one month, and so the remaining particulars must be kept for the next voyage, but this I do say, that the soil seems remarkably fertile. In passing through the very thick woods, at every step we tread on strawberries, vines, sassafras, acorns, and walnuts. The soil is dark and not hard, to the depth of a foot, and overlays a rich, red clay. There are lofty trees everywhere, except where the land has been cultivated by a few persons. Numerous springs furnish a supply of water. No animals are seen, except deer, beavers, and squirrels which are as large as the hares of Europe. There is an infinite number of birds of various colours, such as eagles, cranes, swans, geese, partridges, and ducks. From these facts it is inferred that the country is not without such things as contribute to the prosperity or pleasure of those who inhabit it."

Lord Baltimore's expedition consisted, no doubt, in a great proportion of Catholics, or recusants as they were styled at home, who being persecuted, proscribed, and hunted to death

for their faith in their native land, would most gladly embark in it. This naturally aroused the bigotry of the Puritans and other Protestant sects who had already taken possession of the neighbouring colony of Virginia. In the MSS., *Anglia*, is a string of objections urged against the proposed enterprise, with answers to them; then although interesting as showing the spirit of bigotry then prevalent, are here omitted on account of their length. The answers, however, fortunately gained the day, and the enterprise proceeded.

In volume iv., Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, n. 108 B, is a paper headed "Cases," containing a list of twenty propositions of canon law for the advice of Propaganda, which were probably written by Father White, and sent through the Provincial, Father Blount.

These propositions arose out of the oppressive conduct of the Secretary of Lord Baltimore, in whose charge he had left the infant colony during his temporary absence. They are referred to in the letter of the Reverend Father Provincial to Rome, which commences thus:

"In a country like this, newly planted, and depending wholly upon England for its subsistence, where there is not (nor can be until England is reunited to the Church) any ecclesiastical discipline established by laws of the province, or granted by the Prince, nor provincial synod held, nor spiritual courts created, nor the canon laws accepted, nor ordinary or other ecclesiastical persons admitted (as such), nor the Catholic religion publicly allowed. And whereas three parts of the people, or four at least, are heretics, I desire to be resolved." . . .

Then follow various questions to be solved. In the same volume of MSS., n. 108 H, is the form of a special agreement to be entered into between the Father Provincial of the English Province and the Lord Cecil Baltimore, his heirs and successors. This first recites that "the King of England had granted the province of Maryland, with royal jurisdiction therein to the said Lord Baltimore, by force whereof no English subject, even a colonist of Maryland was capable of accepting, buying, &c., any land, unless by licence of the said Baron or his heirs; and since the said Baron had incurred and was still incurring great expenses, and daily underwent many troubles and dangers, both of person and property, chiefly on account of propagating Christianity in those parts, without having as yet received any fruit or temporal gain, who, however had he failed in his protection of

the colony, it never could (humanly speaking) have lasted so long," &c., it then proceeds in several clauses to make stipulations as to the purchase, &c., of land in the colony: "And since it is sufficiently clear that Maryland depends upon England, that it could not support itself unless they frequently sent over supplies of necessaries; and since it is not the less evident that, as affairs now are, those privileges, &c., usually granted to ecclesiastics of the Roman Catholic Church, by Catholic Princes in their own countries, could not possibly be granted here without grave offence to the King and State of England (which offence may be called a hazard both to the Baron and especially to the whole colony). Therefore," &c. The agreement goes on to bind the members of the Society in Maryland not to demand or require any such privileges and exemptions, excepting only those relating to corporal punishments, unless by chance the offence should be a capital one, in which degradation would attach; and then provides as to the licence of the Governor for sending out members of the Society to Maryland, and for their removal, &c.

The labours of the Jesuit missionaries having been greatly blessed in the conversion both of Protestants and native Indians, as we shall see from the Annual Letters of the Province, the enemies of the Catholic faith were aroused, and in the year 1642 a serious assault was made upon the privileges and immunities of the Catholic Church in the colony, by which means they sought to tie the hands of the missionaries. The Fathers resisted the attack as being fatal to the mission, and reported at once to the Vice-Provincial at home (then Father Henry More), who immediately appealed to Propaganda, and wrote the following memorial to the Cardinal Prefect. A copy of it is preserved in MSS., *Anglia*, vol. iv. n. 108 κ :

"The Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England humbly represents to your Eminence, that in the month of June, 1632, the King of England granted to the noble Lord Baron Baltimore, a Catholic, in propriety, a certain province on the sea coast of North America, inhabited by infidels, which at this day is called the Land of Mary, or Maryland, after the reigning Queen of England. The said Baron immediately treated with Father Richard Blount, at that time Provincial, at the same time writing to Father General, earnestly begging that he would select certain Fathers, as well for confirming the Catholics in the faith and converting the heretics who

were destined to colonize that country, as also for propagating the faith amongst the infidels and savages. The affair was surrounded with heavy and many difficulties, for in leading the colony to Maryland by far the greater part were heretics, the country itself, *a meridie Virginiae ab Aquilone*, is esteemed likewise to be a new England, that is two provinces full of English Calvinists and Puritans ; so that not less, nay, perhaps greater dangers threaten our Fathers in a foreign, than in their native land of England. Nor is the Baron himself able to find support for the Fathers, nor can they expect sustenance from heretics hostile to the faith, nor from the Catholics for the most part poor, nor from the savages who live after the manner of wild beasts.

“The zeal of the said Father Provincial conquered these and other difficulties, and at first two Fathers were sent out, as it were, to explore and ascertain if there might be any hope of the gain of souls, when the country should appear ‘white to the harvest.’ Some years ago a geographical description of this country was presented to his Eminence Cardinal Barberini, Protector, with a humble petition that he would deign to receive the Fathers sent out there under the patronage of his kind protection, equally with the rest in England, so that the matter might be transacted in such a way as to avoid giving offence to the State of England.

“After this the Fathers indeed increased both in numbers and in courage, in sufferings of hunger and want, in frequent diseases which were fatal to some, and lastly through various dangers applied themselves with constancy to the salvation of souls, learnt the savage language which is formed of various dialects, composed a dictionary, a grammar, and a catechism for the use of the infidels; and the Divine Goodness was pleased so to favour these attempts that, besides others, a certain chief, having many tributary kings under him, with his wife and family and some of his ministers was brought to the faith, and, unless hindered by professing Catholics, a great door was laid open to the Gospel.

“Impediments indeed, and these severe ones, did arise, and from those from whom they were least due. For, since the said Baron was unable to govern Maryland in person, he appointed as his substitute a certain Mr. Leugar, his Secretary, who was formerly a minister and preacher, and being converted to the faith retained much of the leaven of Protestantism: for he still maintained those dogmas so justly

offensive to Catholic ears—that no external jurisdiction was given by God to the Supreme Pontiff, but merely an internal one *in foro conscientie*; that no immunity for goods or person was due to him or any other ecclesiastics, except such as lay-princes and seculars chose to confer upon him or them; that it would be a great offence, and one to be mulct by punishment, to exercise any jurisdiction whatever, even of absolving from sins, without special licence from the Baron, from whom all lawful jurisdiction was derivable; that a woman making a vow of virginity, and not marrying after the twenty-fifth year of her age, could not hold lands by heirship coming from her parents, but that they must be sold, and if the parties refused to do so, then by compulsory sale. That the General Assembly or Parliament possessed so great an authority over the property of all, that it could dispossess every one it chose of their all, even to the undergarment, for the use of the Republic; and other such like propositions of the said Mr. Leugar are comprehended in twenty<sup>26</sup> questions, which are laid before this second Congregation by the hands of the Secretary.

“Therefore the Secretary (Leugar) having summoned the Assembly in Maryland, composed with few exceptions of heretics and presided over by himself, in the name of the Lord Baltimore, attempted to pass the following laws repugnant to the Catholic faith and ecclesiastical immunities: That no virgin can inherit, unless she marries before twenty-nine years of age; that no ecclesiastic shall be summoned in any cause civil or criminal before any other than a secular judge; that no ecclesiastic shall enjoy any privilege, except such as he is able to show *ex scriptura*, nor to gain anything for the Church except by the gift of the prince, nor to accept any site for a church or cemetery, nor any foundation from a convert Indian king; nor shall any one depart from the province, even to preach the Gospel to the infidels by authority of the See Apostolic, without a licence from the lay magistrate; nor shall any one exercise jurisdiction within the province, which is not derived from the said Baron, and such like.

“The Fathers of the Society warmly resisted this foul attempt, professing themselves ready to shed their blood in defence of the faith and the liberty of the Church. Which firmness greatly enraged the Secretary, who immediately reported to Baron Baltimore that his jurisdiction was interrupted by the Fathers, whose doctrine was inconsistent with

<sup>26</sup> These are the “cases” referred to above.

the government of the province. Hence the said Baron, being offended, became alienated in his mind from the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and at first *ipso facto* seized all their lands and let them to others, as though he was the lord and proprietor of them, although King Patuen had given them the same lands, when he was a catechumen, upon the express condition for supporting priests, who had brought his subjects to the true knowledge, faith, and worship of God. The said Baron, with others favourable to his opinions, began to turn his attention to the expulsion of the Fathers, and the introducing others in their stead who would be more pliable to his Secretary. Therefore he procured last year to petition the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith, in the name of the Catholics of Maryland, to grant to a Prefect and secular priests faculties for the same mission, making no mention in the meanwhile of the labours of the Fathers undertaken in that harvest, nor expressing the motives which induced him to substitute new missionary priests. And, in order that he might have some new grounds to urge for calling away the Fathers of the Society from thence, he proposed certain points similar to those laid before the Sacred Congregation, to be presented to the Provincial by the hands of the Secretary, that he might subscribe them in the name of himself and of the Fathers in Maryland. But the Sacred Congregation, being entirely ignorant of these matters, granted the petition; and in the month of August, 1641, faculties were expedited from the Sacred Congregation and were transmitted to Dom. Rossett, now Archbishop of Tarsus.

“But since perhaps the other Prefect is not as yet appointed, or the faculties delivered, but are as yet, it is hoped, in the hands of Father Phillips, the confessor of the Queen of England, the said Provincial humbly begs of your Eminence, to deign to direct that the said faculties may be superseded, if the matter is yet entire, or if by chance the faculties are delivered, that the departure of new priests may be retarded for a sufficient space of time to allow the Holy See to decide upon what is best to be done for the good of souls. The Fathers do not refuse to make way for other labourers, but they humbly submit for consideration, whether it is expedient to remove those who first entered into that vineyard at their own expense, who for seven years have endured want and sufferings, who have lost four of their *confrères*, labouring faithfully unto death, who have defended sound doctrine

and the liberty of the Church with odium and temporal loss to themselves, who are learned in the language of the savages, of which the priests to be substituted by the Baron Baltimore are entirely ignorant, and which priests either allow or defend that doctrine, from which it must needs be that contentions and scandals should arise, and the spark of faith be extinguished which begins to be kindled in the breasts of the infidels. Nevertheless, the Fathers profess themselves ready, with all submission, either to return to England from Maryland, or to remain there and to labour even to death for the faith and the dignity of the Holy See, as may seem fit to the prudence, the goodness, and charity of your Eminence. Which may God, &c.”

The appeal was successful; Lord Baltimore, on inquiry, was disabused, and matters righted again.

We proceed now to give some extracts from the Annual Letters of the English Province regarding the Mission of Maryland:

“1635. On account of the very many difficulties that present themselves in this mission, which has been lately started, but little fruit has thus far been gathered from it, especially among the savages, whose language is slowly acquired by our countrymen, and hardly admits of being written. There are employed in it five members of the Society, three priests, and two assistants, who in hope of future results endure their present toils with great cheerfulness.

“1636. Four priests and one lay-brother are employed in this mission, but we are left in ignorance of what they have accomplished, because no letters have been brought thence during this year.

“1637-8. Four Fathers gave their attention to the mission, and along with them one lay-brother, who after enduring severe toils for the space of five years with the greatest patience, humility, and ardent love, was seized by the disease prevalent at the time, and happily exchanged this wretched life for that which is eternal.

“He was shortly followed by one of the Fathers, who, though young, possessed remarkable qualities of mind which gave great promise for the future. He had scarcely spent two months in this mission, when, to the great grief of all of us, he was carried off by the sickness so general in the colony, from which

none of the three remaining priests have entirely escaped, yet we have not ceased to labour to the best of our ability among the neighbouring people.<sup>27</sup>

“Though the authorities of this colony have not yet allowed us to dwell among the savages, on account both of the prevailing sickness and of the hostile disposition shown by the barbarians towards the English, to the extent of murdering a man from this colony who had gone amongst them for the sake of trade, and also of entering into a conspiracy against our whole nation ; still we hope that one of us will shortly secure a station among the barbarians. Meanwhile, we devote ourselves more zealously to the English ; and since there are Protestants as well as Catholics in the colony, we have laboured for both, and God has blessed our labours.

“For among the Protestants nearly all who came out from England in this year 1638, and many others, have been converted to the faith, together with four servants whom we purchased in Virginia (another of our colonies) for necessary services, and five mechanics whom we hired for a month and have in the meantime won to God. Not long afterwards one of these departed this life, after being duly prepared for death and receiving the sacraments. Hardly anything else worth mentioning has occurred with respect to them, but the following circumstances are more worthy of note.

“A certain person, a zealous Protestant, entirely unknown to us, was staying with a friend who was still more fervent in his religion, and having been bitten by one of the snakes which abound in these parts, he was in great danger of death. One of our Fathers, on learning this, took a surgeon with him and hurried to the sick man, with the hope of being of some benefit to his soul, though it was reported that he had already lost his senses. His friend, however, divining this intention, tried to thwart its success. The priest, unable to think of any other plan, determined to stay all night with the sick man. But his friend prevented this also, and, lest the Father should gain any access at night, he appointed a guard to sleep on a bed laid across the door of the chamber occupied by his friend. The priest, nevertheless, watched anxiously for every opportunity of approach ; and going at midnight, when he supposed the guard would probably be overcome by sleep, he contrived, without disturbing him, to enter the sick man’s room ; and, at his own

<sup>27</sup> Brother Thomas Gervase died in 1637 ; the day and month not named. Father John Knowles died September 24, 1637.

desire received him into the Church. Although, under the circumstances, it was impossible that the sick man could be taught much, or be very firmly established in his belief, yet when, contrary to all expectation, he was cured by our surgeon, the grace of God gave him strength to choose to be put out of his friend's house rather than retract what he had done; nay, he even came to us of his own accord, and happily completed the work which he had begun.

“Another man, whom one of us tried to bring to the orthodox faith, repulsed him with the answer, “that he had vowed he never would embrace Catholicity.” A short time afterwards, this wretched man was attacked by disease and brought to the last extremity before the Father was informed of his sickness. He, however, hastened to the house with all speed, and found him quite insensible, though still breathing. Accordingly, he instructed the attendants to put some nourishment into the mouth of the sick man, every now and then, and summon him if there was at any time a return of consciousness. A message arriving early the next morning, the Father ran to him, and, after a time, perceived that he could in some measure understand what was said, and could sometimes give an answer to a short question, though not to a long discourse at once. The Father, therefore, determined to make use of the present opportunity, inasmuch as he could not hope for another. And when by various communications he felt sure that he had obtained the consent of the sick man to become a Catholic, as well as an expression of sorrow for his sins and a desire to be absolved from them, he gave him absolution together with the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. After this had been done, the sick man, in a day or two, was perfectly restored to his senses. And when asked what he had done, or what he was conscious of having been done with respect to him, he answered with such great joy and heart-felt emotion that he had been admitted to the Catholic Church and intended to remain in it even to his last breath, that all who were present were affected with no small admiration. Afterwards, when the Father came again, he expressed the same joy to him, and to his great satisfaction performed everything necessary for his further confirmation in grace. From that time he gradually recovered, but having had scarcely any of the proper remedies, and being obliged to lie for a long time on his back, dreadful ulcers broke out over his whole body. We procured such necessaries for him as we could at our own

expense, and sent him a surgeon, by whose skilful attention and the watchful care of others he was cured, and is now a strong man, sound, as we trust, both in mind and body.

“Another person, who was of noble birth, had been reduced to such poverty by his own unrestrained licentiousness that he sold himself into this colony. Here, when he had been recalled by one of us to the right faith and the fruits of a holy life, he still had anxious doubts as to whether he had entered upon the safe road. On one occasion, when he had intrusted himself to the sea in a small skiff, a frightful storm arose, such as he had never seen, although he had been often out in storms before; inevitable shipwreck seeming close at hand, he earnestly prayed to God that He would ward off the impending danger, as a confirmation of the faith he had lately embraced, provided it was really true. God heard his prayer, and, turning the storm in another direction, confirmed his wavering mind and brought him to a state of tranquil peace. Not long afterwards, this man was brought to the last extremity by a severe complaint, and having received all the sacraments about an hour before his death, he asked his Catholic attendant to pray for him. It is probable that his guardian angel presented himself to his sight, for when almost at the point of death, he called the same attendant, saying with a cheerful voice: ‘Don’t you see my good angel? Behold him standing near to carry me away; I must depart,’ and thus happily (as we are permitted to hope) he breathed his last. Since his burial, even Protestants have often seen a very bright light playing at night around his tomb.

“Besides these cases, a Father going beyond the colony found two Frenchmen, of whom one had been without the sacraments of the Church for three entire years; the other was already near death, after spending fifteen whole years among heretics and living just as they did. The Father aided the former with the sacraments and confirmed him in the Catholic faith as far as he could. The latter he restored to the Catholic Church, and, administering all the sacraments, prepared him for a happy death.

“As for the Catholics, the attendance on the sacraments here is so large, that it is not greater among the faithful in Europe, in proportion to their respective numbers. The most ignorant have been catechized, and catechetical lectures have been delivered to the more advanced every Sunday; on feast days they have been very rarely left without a sermon. The

sick and the dying, who were numerous this year and dwelt far apart, have been assisted in every way, so that not a single person has died without the sacraments. We have buried very many, but have baptized a great number. And, although there are not wanting frequent occasions of dissension, yet none of any importance has arisen here in the last nine months which we have not immediately allayed. By the blessing of God we have this consolation, that no vices spring up among the new Catholics, although settlements of this kind are not usually supplied from the best class of men.

“We bought off in Virginia two Catholics who had sold themselves into bondage, nor was the money ill-spent, for both showed themselves good Christians; one, indeed, surpasses the ordinary standard. Some others have performed the same duty of charity in buying thence Catholic servants, of whom there are a great number in that country. For every year very many sell themselves thither into bondage, and, as they live among men of the worst example and are destitute of all spiritual aid, they generally make shipwreck of their souls.

“Several of the chief men have, through the use of the Spiritual Exercises, been formed by us to piety; a fruit by no means to be despised. In one especial case we adore the wonderful providence and mercy of God, which brought a man encompassed in the world with many difficulties, and obliged to live in Virginia constantly deprived of all spiritual aid, to promise, not long before his death, that he would undertake these Exercises. This intention was prevented by a severe sickness which he bore with the greatest patience, fixing his mind firmly on God; and at length, having duly received all the sacraments, in a state of most unusual peace he gave back his soul to God, which had been so full of troubles and disquietudes.

“A noble matron has lately died, who, after accompanying the first settlers into the colony, bore all her difficulties and inconveniences with more than a woman’s courage. She was much given to prayer and most anxious for the salvation of her neighbours, setting them a perfect example both in her own person and in her domestic concerns. She was fond of our Society when living, and a benefactor to it when dying, and was held in blessed memory by all for the edification which she gave in her charity to the sick, as well as in other virtues.

“1639. There are in this mission four priests and one coadjutor. All are working in places far distant, with the hope, no doubt, of thus obtaining earlier acquaintance with the native language and propagating more widely the holy faith of the Gospel. Father John Brock, the Superior, with a coadjutor brother, remains in the plantation. Metapawnien, which was given us by Maquacomen, the King of Patuxent, is a kind of storehouse for this mission, whence most of our bodily supplies are obtained. Father Philip Fisher lives in the principal town of the colony, to which the name of St. Mary’s has been given. Father John Gravener lives in Kent Island, sixty miles distant. Father Andrew White is at the still further distance of one hundred and twenty miles, at Kittamaquindi, the metropolis of Pascatoe, having lived since the month of June, 1639, in the palace with the King himself, whom they call Tayac.

“The cause of the Father’s going thither was as follows. He had bestowed much time and labour in the work of the conversion of the King of Patuxent, an event anticipated by us all, both from our recollection of kindnesses received—for he had given to the Society a farm, as has been said—and because he was considered very powerful among the barbarians, on account of his reputation for wisdom and influence. Some of his people had become Catholics, and he himself appeared abundantly instructed in the first principles of the faith, when lo!—in the inscrutable judgments of God—the unhappy man at first procrastinated, then by degrees grew indifferent, and at length openly broke off altogether from the work he had commenced. Nor this only; but he also gave indications of an hostility against the whole colony not to be misunderstood. Whereupon the Governor, after prudent enquiries, determined, by the advice of his council, that the Father should be recalled from his position with the King, lest the barbarian might give sudden proof of his perfidy and cruelty against him; and also, lest this hostage, as it were, being left in the King’s power, the Governor himself might find it difficult to revenge injuries, should the Patuxent at any time declare himself an open enemy.

“When rulers and kings are here spoken of, let no one form any grand idea of them, as if they were like princes in Europe. For these Indian kings, though they have the most absolute power, of life and death over their people, and in certain prerogatives of honour and wealth rank a little higher

than others, yet in personal appearance they are scarcely anything removed from the multitude. The only peculiarity by which you can distinguish a chief from the common people consists in some badge, a collar made of a rude jewel, or a belt, or a cloak oftentimes ornamented with shells in circular rows. The kingdoms of these are generally circumscribed by the narrow confines of a single village and the adjacent country, though Tayac has a much more extensive dominion, stretching about one hundred and thirty miles ; and to his empire other inferior chieftains are subject.

“The conversion of Maquacomen being despaired of, Father Andrew betook himself to the Tayac of Piscatoway, who treated him very kindly at the first interview, and became so attached to him that he afterwards always held him in the greatest love and veneration, and was unwilling that the Father should use any other hospitality than that of his palace. Nor was the Queen inferior to her husband in benevolence to their guest, for with her own hands she was accustomed to prepare meat for him and bake bread, and waited upon him with equal care and attention.

“The cause of this remarkable affection for the Father on the part of the Tayac is to be referred to two dreams, which perhaps you may think deserve a higher name. One of these dreams he heard from Uwanno, his brother who had reigned before him, and whom he had slain. In his sleep Uwanno appeared to see Father White and Father Gravener before him, and to hear a voice thus admonishing him : ‘These are the men who from their soul love you and your tribe, and have brought with them those blessings by which you can be happy if you desire it.’ Hence so lively an impression of these strangers remained in the mind of Tayac, that even at the first sight he recognized them when coming to him, and afterwards embraced them with remarkable affection. He was accustomed also to call Father White his parent, to whose instruction he wished to give up, for seven years, his sons, who were very dear to him ; the whole tribe being very fond of children, and seldom letting them go from their sight. The other dream, which the Tayac is accustomed to relate in conversation, occurred to himself : his father, deceased some time before, appeared to be present before his eyes, accompanied by a god of a black colour whom he worshipped, beseeching him that he would not desert him. At a short distance he saw a most hideous demon accompanied by a certain man Snow, a

Protestant minister from England, who had gained access to the Tayac but had been ill-received by him. In another part the Governor of the colony and Father White appeared, accompanied also by a god much more beautiful than the other and surpassing the snow in whiteness, which seemed gently to beckon the King to him. From that time he treated both the Governor and the Father with the greatest affection.

“Soon after the arrival of Father White the Tayac was in danger of death from a serious disease, and, when forty conjurers had in vain tried every remedy, the Father, by permission of the sick man, administered as medicine a certain powder of known efficacy mixed with holy water, taking care to have him bled the day after by a youth whom the Father always had with him. After this the sick man began daily to grow better, and soon after altogether recovered. Upon this he resolved to be initiated as soon as possible into the Christian faith, and both his wife and his two daughters along with him, for as yet he has no male offspring. Father White is now diligently engaged in their instruction; and they are not slow in receiving the Catholic doctrine, for, through the light of heaven vouchsafed to them, they have long since found out the errors of their former life. The King has exchanged the skins, with which he was before clothed, for a garment after the European fashion, and he makes some little endeavour to learn our language.

“Having put away his concubines he lives content with one wife, that, as he says, he may the more freely have leisure to pray to God. He abstains from meat on the days on which it is forbidden by the Catholic rule, and thinks that the heretics, who do otherwise, ought to be called bad Christians. He is greatly delighted with spiritual conversation, and seems to esteem earthly wealth as nothing in comparison with heavenly; as he told the Governor, to whom he was on a visit with Father White while he was under instruction, and who was explaining to him what great advantages could be enjoyed from the English by a mutual exchange of wares. ‘Verily,’ he said, ‘I consider all these things trifling when compared with this one advantage—that through these missionaries I have arrived at the knowledge of the only true God, than which there is nothing greater to me, nothing which ought to be greater.’ Not long since, when he held a convention of other rulers, in a crowded assembly of the chiefs and a circle of the common

people, Father White and some of the English being present, he publicly declared it to be his advice, together with that of his wife and children, that, abjuring the superstition of the country, they should all embrace the profession and practice of Christianity, for that the only true Deity is He Whom the Christians worshipped, nor can the immortal soul of man be otherwise saved from eternal death; stones and herbs, to which through blindness of mind he and they had hitherto given Divine honours, being the humblest things created by the Almighty God for the use and relief of human life. Having said this, he cast from him a stone which he held in his hand, and spurned it with his foot. A murmur of applause from the people sufficiently indicated that they did not hear these things with unfavourable ears. Thus there is the strongest hope that, when the family of the King is purified by Baptism, the conversion of the whole country will speedily follow. In the meantime we heartily thank God for the present happy prospect, and are especially encouraged when we daily behold those idols to be the contempt of the natives which were lately reckoned in the number of their deities.

“Another event, worthy of mention, has greatly increased the anxiety of the King for baptism. A certain Indian, who had slain an Englishman because of some injury done him, was found guilty of the homicide and was sentenced to death, remarkably enough, at the very time when Tayac, with his companion Father White, was on his way to the colony. We explained to the miserable man, who was condemned to die, that by receiving the Christian sacraments he would provide for the salvation of his immortal soul. As he appeared by no means of an obdurate disposition, we endeavoured, as far as possible by the words we could use, to reach his heart which was evidently in some measure inclined to listen. The pious King perceived that we laboured under difficulty from our insufficient knowledge of the Indian language, and so of his own accord he came to assist us in finishing the work. He not only filled the office of a faithful interpreter, repeating to the man whatever he was told by Father White, but also added of himself some truths so apposite and efficacious that they won the admiration of all present, and at length gained over the Indian himself to the Catholic faith, who, imbued with the necessary knowledge and washed in the sacred font for which he asked, prepared himself for death, complying in every way with what was prescribed to him; and indeed

he appeared to be possessed with so vehement a desire of seeing God as to seem to wish the execution to be hastened. A remarkable eagerness appeared in his countenance, he fortified himself by frequently using the salutary sign of the Cross, and whatever he did or said did not seem feigned for show only, but to come from the inmost recesses of his soul. When he reached the place of execution, he inquired with cheerful countenance whether it would be proper that he should sing before he was executed, according to the custom of his country, and when told that by piously repeating the holy names of Jesus and Mary he would propitiate them in his last conflict, he cheerfully obeyed those who advised him and died with those blessed names upon his lips. After death he was buried in our cemetery with the most solemn rites, in order to make the barbarians understand that, while execrating the crimes of malefactors and avenging them by merited punishment, Christians nevertheless hold their souls dear and are easily reconciled to them if they repent. And this example of clemency and charity to the deceased struck them so much the more forcibly, because of its wide difference from their own customs—for they are wont to serve up their slaughtered enemies in the most cruel manner to be feasted on by their friends.

“No one, however, was more vehemently moved at the sight of the dying neophyte than Tayac, who afterwards earnestly insisted that he should receive the gift of baptism. The matter being discussed in council, it was decided that it would be for the greater glory of God if this baptism were deferred until it could be performed with splendid rites and the greatest solemnity, and in the sight of his own countrymen; when his wife also and his children might be brought to a participation of his joy and gladness. The King at length, yielding to the kindness of the Catholics and greatly delighted with their prolonged hospitality, took leave of the Governor and returned home, Father White being again his attendant; as soon as he had arrived he gave command to his people to prepare a church by next Pentecost, the time appointed for the baptism. On that day, at Kittamquindi, the Governor and other distinguished men of the colony, having been specially invited by the Tayac, contemplate honouring by their presence and by whatever other means they can the Christian sacraments and the second better birth of Tayac. May a merciful God cause this event to turn out to

the good of all—to His glory, to our reward, and to the salvation of the whole tribe.

“If we look round the whole world we may, perhaps, nowhere find men more abject in appearance than these Indians, yet they have souls for which a ransom has been paid by Christ, and which are no less precious than those of the most cultivated Europeans. They are inclined to some vices, though not so many considering the darkness of their ignorance, their barbarism, and their unrestrained and wandering mode of life; nevertheless, in their disposition they are docile, nor will you perceive in them a very exaggerated indulgence of their passions. They are most patient of troubles, and easily endure contumely and injuries, if these do not involve danger of life. They have sometimes a few, sometimes many idols, to whose worship they are greatly addicted; but there are no priests to whom the administration of sacrifices appertains by appointment. There are not wanting among them those who interpret superstitions and sell them to the people; but these are, generally speaking, not at all numerous. They acknowledge one Superior Being, notwithstanding they are ignorant in what way He is to be worshipped and honoured, hence they lend a willing ear to all who undertake to teach them this knowledge. They rarely think of the immortality of the soul or the things that are to be after death. If at any time they find a teacher clearly explaining these things, they show themselves very attentive as well as docile, and are soon seriously drawn to think of their souls, and to believe those things which are represented as conducing to their salvation. They are readily swayed by reason, nor do they obstinately withhold their assent from the truth when it is placed distinctly before them. This natural disposition of the tribe, aided by the seasonable assistance of Divine grace, gives us hope of the most desirable harvest hereafter, and animates us to continue our labours in this vineyard with the greatest diligence.

“To the hope of the Indian harvest are to be added also no mean fruits reaped from the colony and its inhabitants, to whom, on the principal festival days of the year, sermons are preached, and catechetical instructions are given on Sundays. Our labours are rewarded, for not only Catholics come in crowds, but also very many heretics, and this year, twelve in all, renouncing their former errors, have been reconciled to God and the Church. Our Fathers are daily occupied in

their Divine work, and dispense the sacraments to those who come, as often as circumstances demand. In fine, to those in health, to the sick, to the afflicted and the dying, we strive to be in readiness to afford counsel, relief, and assistance of every kind.

“1640. In the mission this year were four priests and one coadjutor. We stated in our last letters what hope we had conceived of converting the Tayac, or the King of Pascatoe. In the meantime, such is the goodness of God, the result has not disappointed our expectation, for he has become a Catholic, some others also being brought over with him; and on July 5, 1640, when he was sufficiently instructed in the mysteries of the faith, he was solemnly baptized in a little chapel, which, after the manner of the Indians, he had erected out of bark for that purpose and for Divine worship. At the same time the Queen, who had an infant at the breast, and others of the principal men whom he especially admitted to his councils, together with his little son, were regenerated in the baptismal font. To the king, who was called Chitomacheu before, was given the name of Charles; to his wife, that of Mary. The others, in receiving the Christian faith, had Christian names allotted to them. The Governor, together with his Secretary and many others, was present at the ceremony, nor was any thing omitted which could help the display and which our means could supply.

“In the afternoon the King and Queen were united in matrimony after the Christian rite; then the great Cross was erected, in carrying which to its destined place the King, the Governor, Secretary, and others, lent their shoulders and hands; two of us in the meantime—Fathers White and Gravener—chanted before them the Litany of Loreto in honour of the Blessed Virgin. And not long after, the same two Fathers, White and Gravener, had to bear by no means light crosses of their own; for Father White, in performing the ceremonies of baptism, which were somewhat long, had contracted a fever from which he only partially recovered, then suffered a relapse, and was ill during the whole winter. Father Gravener so completely lost the use of his feet as to be unable to stand; after a little he too got better, though an abscess was afterwards formed, which carried him off in the space of a few days, upon November 5, 1640.

“A famine about this time prevailed among the Indians, owing to the great drought of the past summer; and, that we

might not appear to neglect the bodies of those for the care of whose souls we had made so long a voyage, though corn was sold at a great price, we considered it necessary to relieve them to the utmost of our power. Amidst these cares, and busied also in settling the affairs of the mission, we passed the greater part of the winter.

“On February 15 we came to Pascatoe, joyfully greeted by the inhabitants, who indeed seemed well inclined to receive the Christian faith. So that not long after the King brought his daughter, seven years old, whom he loves with great affection, to be educated among the English at St. Mary’s, and to be washed in the sacred font of Baptism; she is beginning to understand the Christian mysteries. One of his counsellors also, of whom we have spoken before, desiring that the mercies of God which he had experienced in his own case should be brought to his people, earnestly prays that his wife and children may be led to seek the waters of salvation, which most pious desire, after suitable instruction, will, we hope, by the favour of God be gratified.

“Another King, chief of the Anacostans, whose territory is not far distant, is anxious to come and live as one of us; and from this it is evident that a rich harvest awaits us, on which we may advantageously bestow our labour, though it is to be feared that there will not be labourers sufficient for gathering in the abundant fruits. There are other villages lying near which, I doubt not, would run promptly and joyfully to the light of gospel truth, if there was any one to impart to them the word of eternal life. It is not, however, right for us here to be too anxious about others, lest we may seem to abandon prematurely our present tender flock; nor need those who are sent out to assist us fear lest the means of life be wanting, for He, Who clothes the lilies and feeds the fowls of the air, will not leave those who are labouring to extend His kingdom destitute of necessary sustenance.

“To Father Philip Fisher, now residing at St. Mary’s, the capital of the colony, nothing would have been more agreeable than to labour in the Indian harvest, if he had been permitted by his Superiors, who could not, however, dispense with his services. Yet his goodwill is not left without its reward, for while those among the Indians, of whom we have spoken, are being cleansed in the waters of Baptism, as many are, at the same time, brought back from heretical depravity into the bosom of the Church by his active industry. The

Catholics, who live in the colony, are not inferior in piety to those who live in other countries ; but in urbanity of manners, according to the judgment of those who have visited the other colonies, they are considered far superior to them. Everywhere the hope of an abundant harvest has dawned, and while each one of us is anxious to help even unto death as many as we can, various events are happening that deserve record. Two of the most prominent are narrated here, one manifesting the Divine mercy, and the other the Divine justice.

“On the day on which a certain man was about to abjure heresy and expiate the sins of his past life by confession, his house caught fire, and the flames rapidly burst out at the top. He was at a little distance when this occurred and lost no time in calling his neighbours, of whom two only would come to his help ; and although all this time the fire was burning in a house that was built only of dry logs, yet it was put out before any great injury had been done. Some feared lest this unexpected calamity might deter him from conversion. It happened, however, quite the contrary, for the wonderful preservation of his house from much injury led him to the conclusion that God was propitious to him, and approved his design by a manifest token. Wherefore, uniting complete reformation of morals with profession of the true faith, he now sheds abroad the sweet savour of a good example upon all who are acquainted with him.

“Another man felt some internal drawings of the grace of God, and desired to have a rosary or prayer-beads for himself, but afterwards, changing his mind, he had the beads ground to powder which he mixed with tobacco in his pipe when he smoked, and often boasted that he had swallowed his ‘Ave Marias,’ for so he called the rosary beads. The Divine vengeance, however, did not let this irreverence go long unpunished, for scarcely a year had passed, and it was drawing near the vigil of the day on which he had abandoned his purpose of embracing the Catholic faith, when a spirit of more sacrilegious ribaldry than usual possessed him, as was noticed by his companions. On his going to the river in the afternoon, according to custom, for the purpose of bathing, he had scarcely touched the water when a huge fish suddenly seized the wretched man, and before he could reach the bank it tore away at one bite a large portion of flesh from his thigh, inflicting a terrible but well-merited laceration from which recovery was impossible. The Divine justice thus ordained

that he, who a little while before had boasted of eating up his 'Ave Maria beads,' saw his own flesh devoured while he was still alive.

"1642. In the mission of Maryland for the year just elapsed, we have had only three priests, and of these one was confined by sickness for three months. This was Father Roger Rigby—the other two being Father Philip Fisher, Superior of the mission, and Father Andrew White; all three were sent to different parts for the purpose of collecting more spiritual fruit. The Superior, Father Fisher, remained principally at St. Mary's, the chief town of the colony, in order that he might take care of the English, of whom the greater number are settled there, and also of such Indians as do not live far distant, or are engaged in passing backwards and forwards. Father White betook himself to his former station at Pascataway, but Father Roger went to a new settlement called in the vulgar idiom Patuxen, for a better opportunity of learning the Indian language, also that he might better instruct some neophytes, and scatter the seed of faith along the bank of that great river. This was almost the only fruit of his labours.

"Father Andrew suffered no little inconvenience from a hard-hearted and troublesome captain of New England, whom he had engaged to convey him and his effects and at whose hands he was, a little while after, in great danger of being either cast into the sea, or carried with all his goods to New England, a place full of Puritan Calvinists, the most bigoted of the sect. Silently committing the affair to God he at length safely reached Potomac (commonly pronounced Pate-meak). Having cast anchor in this harbour, the ship became so fast bound by a great quantity of ice that it could not be moved for the space of seventeen days. Walking on the ice, as though it were land, the Father departed for the town, and when the ice was broken up, the ship, driven and jammed by the force of its moving fragments, was sunk, but the cargo was in a great measure recovered.

"By this misfortune Father White was detained in his visits as long as seven weeks, for he found it necessary to procure another ship from St. Mary's. But the spiritual gain of souls readily compensated for his delay, since the ruler of the little village with the principal men amongst its inhabitants was during that time added to the Church, and received the faith of Christ through Baptism. Besides these persons one was

converted along with many of his friends ; a third brought his wife, his son, and a friend ; and a fourth, in like manner, came, together with another of no ignoble standing among his people. Strengthened by their example the people are prepared to receive the faith, whenever we shall have leisure to instruct them.

“Not long after a young empress (as they call her at Pascataway) was baptized in the town of St. Mary’s, and is now being educated there, having already become a proficient in the English language. Almost at the same time the town named Portobacco, to a great extent, received the faith along with Baptism. This town, from its situation on the river Pamac (the inhabitants call it Pamake) almost in the centre of the Indians, and the convenience of making excursions from it in all directions, we have determined to make our residence ; the more so because we fear that we may be compelled to abandon Pascataway on account of its proximity to the Susquehannoes, which nation is the most savage and warlike of these regions, and the most hostile to the Christians.

“An attack having been recently made on a settlement of ours, they slew the men whom we had there, and carried away our goods, to our great loss. And unless they are brought to subjection by force of arms, which we little expect from the counsels of the English who disagree among themselves, we shall not be safe there.

“Wherefore we have to content ourselves with missionary excursions, of which we have made many this year by ascending the river which they call Patuxen, where some fruit has been gained in the conversion of the young Queen of the town, that takes its name from the river there, and her mother ; also the young Queen of Portobacco ; the wife and two sons of Tayac the Great, as they call him, who died last year ; and of one hundred and thirty others besides. The following is our manner of making these excursions. The Father himself, his interpreter, and a servant, set off in a pinnace or galley—two are obliged to propel the boat with oars when the wind fails or is adverse, the third steers. We take with us a supply of bread, butter, cheese, corn cut and dried before it is ripe, beans and a little flour ; in another chest we carry bottles, one of which contains wine for the altar, in six others is blessed water for the purpose of Baptism ; a box holds the sacred utensils, and we have a table as an altar for saying Mass. A third chest is full of trifles, which we give to the Indians to gain their

goodwill—such as little bells, combs, fishing-hooks, needles, thread and other things similar. We have a little tent also for camping in the open air, as we frequently do; and we use a larger one when the weather is stormy and wet. The servants carry other things which are necessary for hunting, and for cooking purposes.

“In our excursions we endeavour, as much as we can, to reach by evening some English house or Indian village, failing this we land, the Father moors the boat fast to the shore, then collects wood and makes a fire, while the two others meantime go off hunting. If, unfortunately, no game can be found we refresh ourselves with the provisions we have brought, and lie down by the fire to take our rest. When rain threatens we erect our hut and spread a larger mat over it; nor, praise be to God, do we enjoy this humble fare and hard couch with less content than if we had the more luxurious provisions of Europe. To comfort us God gives us a foretaste of what He will one day grant to those who labour faithfully in this life, and mitigates all our hardships by imparting a spirit of cheerfulness, for His Divine Majesty appears to be present with us in an extraordinary manner. The difficulty of the language is so great that none of us can yet converse with the Indians without an interpreter. Father Rigby has made some little progress, so that he hopes he will be able in a short time to converse with them upon things of chief importance, as far as may be necessary in order to instruct them for Baptism, having with the aid of an interpreter composed a short catechism. Under such circumstances it appears miraculous that we have been able to effect anything with them, especially seeing that we have no proper interpreter, but only a young man, who is himself so imperfectly acquainted with their language that he sometimes excites their laughter; though almost at times tempted to despair, yet by patience we make progress with them and are gradually bringing them over to what we desire.

“It has also pleased the Divine Goodness, through the power of His holy Cross, to effect results beyond mere human power. Take the following as an instance. A certain Indian, an Anacostan as to country, and by faith now a Christian, whilst making his way with some others through a wood fell a little behind his companions, when some savages of the tribe of Susquehannoes attacked him suddenly from an ambuscade, and with a strong and light spear made of locust wood having an oblong point of iron, pierced him through from

the right to the left side, a hand's breadth below the armpit near the heart itself, making a wound two fingers broad at each end. When the man had fallen his enemies fled with the utmost precipitation, but his friends who had gone on before, recalled by the sudden noise and shout, went back and carried him to the boat not far distant, and thence to his home at Pascataway, where they left him speechless and insensible. The event being reported to Father White who chanced to be but a short distance off, he hastened to him the following morning, and found him lying on a mat before the fire with a circle of his tribe round him, not altogether speechless, as the day before, but expecting death almost every moment, and with a mournful voice joining in the song that his friends kept up as they stood around, according to their custom when one of their distinguished men is dying. But, as some of his friends were Christians, their song, with plaintive and musical inflexion of tone, was, 'May he live, O God! if it so please Thee;' and this they repeated again and again, until the Father attempted to address the dying man, who immediately recognizing him showed him his wounds. The Father pitied him exceedingly, but as he saw the danger to be most imminent, omitting every other point, he briefly ran over the principal articles of faith, and after exciting in him repentance of his sins received his confession; then, bidding him raise his heart with hope and confidence to God, he recited the Gospel appointed for the sick and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin, and told him to commend himself to her holy intercession, and call unceasingly upon the most sacred name of Jesus. Finally the Father, applying to the wound on each side the relic of the most holy Cross which he carried in a casket round his neck, departed next day for the purpose of administering Baptism to an aged Indian who was dying, having directed the bystanders, when the man should breathe his last, to carry him to the chapel for the purpose of burial. "It was noon when the Father departed, and the following day, at the same hour, as by chance he was passing along in his boat he saw two Indians rowing towards him, and when they had come along side, one of them stepped into the boat in which the Father was sitting. While he fixed his eyes on the man, half recognizing him by his features, yet with full recollection of the state in which he had left him the day before, the other, suddenly throwing open his cloak and disclosing the scars of the wound, or rather the red spots on each side as the only trace remaining, at once removed all his doubt. More

over, with great exultation he exclaimed that he was entirely cured, and from the hour at which the Father had left yesterday had not ceased to invoke the most holy name of Jesus, to Whom he attributed his recovered health. All who were in the boat with the Father, after testing the truth of the cure both by sight and description, broke forth into praise and thanksgiving to God, and were greatly rejoiced and confirmed in their faith by this miracle. The Father having admonished him that, mindful of so great and manifest a blessing, he should return thanks to God and continue to treat the Holy Name and most holy Cross with love and reverence, dismissed the man, who returning to his own boat rowed quickly away, which he could not have done unless he had been fully restored to sound health and strength.

“Such is the chief fruit of our labours for this year. One thing, however, remains to be mentioned with a passing notice, viz., that an occasion of suffering has not been wanting to us from those from whom we rather expected aid and protection; who, in anxiety for their own interests, have not hesitated to violate the immunities of the Church by endeavouring to enforce here the unjust laws passed in England, that it shall not be lawful for any person or community, even ecclesiastical, in any manner, even by gift, to acquire or possess any land, unless the permission of the civil magistrate be first obtained. And when our Fathers declared this to be repugnant to the laws of the Church, two priests were sent from England to teach the contrary doctrine. But it ended quite the reverse of what was expected, for our reasons being adduced and heard, and the matter itself more clearly examined and understood, sentence was given in our favour, and received the full concurrence of the laity generally. To our great comfort, two new Fathers have recently come to us from England; they had a bad voyage of fourteen weeks, though it usually does not take more than six or eight. But of these, of their labours and fruit, we shall, please God, speak another time. We hope indeed that it will be abundant, and thus far we may predict much from their present zeal and unity of soul with us.”

The following is a copy of a very interesting letter from Father Brock,<sup>28</sup> one of our devoted missionaries, to the

<sup>28</sup> Father John Brock or Brooke was a native of Bucks, born 1599; he entered the Society of Jesus 1622, and was a Professed Father. The Summary of the deceased of the English Province 1641 says that he was then Superior of the mission, and was accidentally killed whilst labouring to establish a new settlement, June 5, 1641, æt. 42. According to Dr. Oliver, his real name was Morgan and he was a kinsman of Father Thomas Fitzherbert, S.J.

Superior in England, written a few weeks only before his death.<sup>29</sup>

Now, in the last year I wrote to you that Almighty God had been pleased to open the way of conversion to many, as I hope, to thousands of souls, viz., by calling to His orthodox faith the Emperor or great King of Pascatoway, so I call him because he has many tributary kings under him, who was washed at the sacred baptismal font, July 5, 1640, his former name of Chilomacor being changed into Charles, whilst at the same time his Queen, whose name was changed into Mary, was baptized with him; at the same time also his infant at the breast, to whom was given the name of Anne. The President of his Council also came, called before baptism *Mesorcoques* but now John; also his little infant at the breast, to whom was given the name of Robert. The ceremonies were performed by Father White in the presence of the Secretary of the Governor, Father Altam, and many others of the English colonists, in a chapel built of the bark of trees after the Indian fashion, for this sole end, the service of God in the Catholic faith. Nor is there any doubt but that very many following the footsteps of their chief would as quickly as possible have been washed at the same font of Baptism, had not Fathers White and Altam, who were engaged in that mission, been seized with sickness, and to regain their health had to retire to the town of St. Mary's in the English colony, where Father Altam died on the 5th of November following, and Father White, having had a relapse, was many days after his sickness unable to return to his mission on account of his weakness. But in February last, having partially recovered his strength, he returned and joined me at Pascatoway, in order to restore and as far as may be solidly establish that mission, and to propagate the Christian faith, the seeds of which it had pleased God so happily to sow. However, shortly after our arrival, Father White again fell sick and has not as yet recovered his strength; and indeed I fear that from his age, and increasing infirmities, nature will shortly succumb to such great labours. I will use my utmost endeavours to preserve his life, that this great work of God, the conversion of so many infidels, may prosperously and happily progress, as well because he possesses the greatest influence over their minds, as that he, best of any of the rest, understands and speaks their language. Many of the inhabitants are instructed for Baptism, and many of the higher ranks show themselves inclined towards the Christian faith, amongst whom the chief is the King of the Anacostians, uncle of King Patorieck. A few months ago King Pascatoway sent his daughter, who is to succeed him in his dominions, to the town of St. Mary, that she may be there educated amongst the English and instructed for Baptism. Indeed, I hope, by the favour of God, unless our helpers fail, that in a short time there will be a great accession to the Christian faith in these barbarous nations. And this, although, on account of the dearness of corn and the increased expenses and deficiency of means of living, we are pressed by great difficulties; nor are there here in this colony any who are either able or willing to furnish us with alms, and Divine Providence shows that neither by our own exertions, nor of those for whose salvation we labour, be they Christians or Pagans,

<sup>29</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 109.

can we hope for support. However we have no fear but that He will provide us with necessaries, Who feeds the birds of the air that neither sow nor reap, and Who supplied the Apostles, whom He sent forth without staff or scrip to preach the Gospel, with everything needful; for the same reason He also of His Divine Providence will see fit to supply His unworthy servants with means of sustentation. The very thought in the Prefect of recalling us, or of not sending others to help us in this glorious work of the conversion of souls, in a certain manner takes away faith in the Providence of God and His care of His servants, as though He would now less provide for the nourishment of His labourers than formerly. On which account our courage is not diminished, but rather increased and strengthened; since now God will take us into His protection, and will certainly provide for us Himself, especially since it has pleased the Divine Goodness already to receive some fruit however small of our labours. In whatever manner it may seem good to His Divine Majesty to dispose of us, may His holy will be done! But, as much as in me lies, I would rather, labouring in the conversion of the Indians, expire on the bare ground, deprived of all human succour and perishing with hunger, than once think of abandoning this holy work of God from the fear of want. May God grant me grace to render Him some service, and all the rest I leave to His Divine Providence. King Pascatoway lately died most piously. But God will for his sake, as we hope, quickly raise up seed for us in his neighbouring King Anacostin, who has invited us to come to him, and has decided himself to become a Christian. Many likewise in other localities desire the same. Hopes of a rich harvest shine forth, unless frustrated by the want of labourers who can speak the language and are in sound health.

“1645. This year the colony was attacked by a party of ‘rowdies’ or marauders, and the missionaries were carried off to Virginia, among others, Father Fisher and a companion. In a letter to the Father General, dated March 1, 1648, he says that he reached Virginia with his companion in the month of January. He left his companion there and took an opportunity of proceeding to Maryland, where he arrived in the course of February. By the singular providence of God he found his flock collected together, after they had been scattered for three long years, and they were really in more flourishing circumstances than their oppressors and plunderers. It would be impossible to describe their mutual joy upon meeting. ‘They received me,’ he writes, ‘as an angel of God. I have now been with them for a fortnight, and am preparing for a painful separation, for my Indians, who have been ill-treated by the enemy since I was torn from them, have called me to their aid. I scarcely know what to do, but cannot attend to all. God grant that I may do His holy will, for the greater glory of His name. Truly blossoms appear in our land, may

they mature to fruit. A road has just been opened through the forest to Virginia ; this will make it but a two days' journey, and both countries can now be united in one mission. After Easter I shall wait upon the Governor of Virginia upon important affairs. May it terminate to the greater glory of God ! My companion still lies concealed, but I hope will soon recommence his labours under favourable auspices. . . . Next year I trust to receive two or three more colleagues, with your Paternity's permission.' . . . Dated from Maryland."

"1654. This year Father Francis Fitzherbert, destined for Maryland, at the first intimation of our Superior, entered without a single companion, but with great magnanimity and alacrity, upon an arduous expedition, and a long and laborious journey among strangers differing wholly in morals and religion. Nor, during his entire expedition, did he lack an abundant harvest of merit, through his confidence in God and his extraordinary patience. Four ships sailed together from England but were overtaken by a fearful storm as they were passing the Western Isles, and the ship which carried the Father was so shattered that, springing a leak in battling with the continued violence of the sea, the pump became almost useless. Four men at a time, taken not only from the ship's crew but from among the passengers also, were kept constantly working at the great pump, each one in turn day and night.

"Having changed their course their intention was to make sail towards Barbadoes, but no art or labour could accomplish this, and so they decided on abandoning the ship and committing themselves with their wares to the long boat. As, however, the swelling sea and huge waves prevented this also, many a form of death presented itself to their minds, and the habit of terror, now grown a familiar thought, had almost excluded the particular fear of death. The tempest lasted in all two months, whence the opinion arose that it did not come from the storm of sea or sky, but was occasioned by the malevolence of demons. Forthwith they seized a little old woman suspected of sorcery, and after examining her with the strictest severity, they killed her, whether guilty or not guilty, as the suspected cause of all the evil. The corpse, and whatever belonged to her, they cast into the sea. However, the winds did not in consequence abate their violence, nor did the raging sea smooth its threatening billows. To the troubles of the storm sickness was added next, which attacked almost every person and carried off not a few. The Father himself escaped untouched

by the disease, but in working at the pump somewhat too laboriously he contracted a slight fever of a few days' continuance. Having passed through multiplied dangers, at length, by the favour of God, the ship reached the port of Maryland."

"1656. In Maryland, during the last year, our Fathers have passed safely through grievous dangers, and have had to contend with great difficulties and trials, as well from enemies as from our own people. The English who inhabit Virginia had made an attack on the colonists of Maryland, although their own countrymen, and having guaranteed their lives on certain conditions they carried off the governor of Maryland with many other prisoners. Their promise was, however, treacherously violated and four of the captives, of whom three were Catholics, were shot dead. Rushing into our houses they cried out death to the imposters, as they called us, determined on a merciless slaughter of all who should be caught. But the Fathers, under the protection of God, passed in a boat before their very faces, unrecognized by them. After which their books, furniture, and whatever else was in the house, fell a prey to the robbers. With almost the entire loss of their property, private and domestic, and with great peril of their lives, they were secretly carried into Virginia, where they now are suffering from the greatest want of necessaries, and can find no means of support. They live in a mean hut, low and confined, not much unlike a cistern, or even that tomb in which the great defender of the faith, St. Athanasius, lay concealed for many years. To their other miseries this inconvenience is added, that whatever comfort or aid under the name of stipend was this year destined for them from pious persons in England has been lost, the ship in which it was carried being intercepted. But nothing distresses them more than that there is not a sufficient supply of wine to enable them to offer up the Holy Sacrifice. They have no servant either for domestic use, or for directing their way through unknown and suspected places, or even to row and steer the boat when needed. Often, over spacious and vast rivers, one of them, alone and unaccompanied, passes and repasses long distances, with no other pilot directing his course than Divine Providence. By and by the enemy may be gone, and they may return to Maryland; but the treatment which they have already met with from their people there, and the troubles which still threaten in the future are not much less hard to bear."

“ 1669. Two Fathers have charge of the Maryland Mission ; a third, Father Peter Manners, was suddenly taken from amongst us in the beginning of his fruitful labours, no less to the regret than to the loss of the inhabitants. To repair our deficiency, two priests and a temporal coadjutor were sent over this autumn, so that the mission now comprises four priests and three temporal coadjutors.”

Father Peter Manners, whose real name, it is believed, was George Pole, one of the most zealous of the missionary Fathers, was unhappily drowned in crossing a river. The Provincial, Father Joseph Simeon,<sup>30</sup> has left us the following description of him :

“ Father Peter Manners was a native of Norfolk, thirty-eight years of age. He spent twelve years in the Society, most of them in the Maryland Mission, with great zeal and fruit. He ended his days on Wednesday in the Easter week of this year (April 24, 1669), by a sudden but not an unprovided death. Obedience directed him to it, and charity consummated his course, even amidst the waters, which could not indeed extinguish his charity, though they did extinguish his life. For having been summoned to a distant call of duty, whilst crossing a rapid mill stream, which had become unusually swollen by the rains, he, together with his horse, was carried away by the torrent and drowned. He was deeply lamented throughout the whole colony, in fact his loss was almost incalculable. He had been all things to every one ; and none came to him for relief to whom he did not afford it. As an indefatigable missionary, filled with the apostolical spirit, he endeavoured great things. He laid more than the foundation of some hundred conversions, to which, after a little interval, the finishing stroke was given by others. The very highest opinion of his virtue and integrity was entertained by all without exception, and caused him to be venerated by them, so that he exercised a wonderful influence ; he comforted the faithful, and made them courageous as well as good, he inspired fear in the heretics, and made them afraid to answer him.”

Three other facts are added by the Superior of the Maryland Mission, all which highly extol the merits of this Father. The first is that the priest, who had been his confessor from the time he landed until his death, declared he never found anything in him that was not angelical, on which account it

<sup>30</sup> For a short notice of Father Simeon, whose real name was Emmanuel Lobb, see *Records*, vol. i. pp. 272, 273, note.

was frequently necessary to refer to some fault of his past life to secure matter for absolution. The second, that on being appointed to the Maryland Mission, he bound himself by a special vow to consecrate all his life and labours to it, if approved of by his Superiors. The third fact is that to this vow he added another, far more excellent and of a more perfect charity, that he would love no creature except in God, and for God; and thus all other love appeared sordid to him, which did not proceed from the purest fountain of charity. The Superior concludes his eulogy by saying, "and, as far as it was right for me to allow it to be followed out, he fulfilled this last vow perfectly. No further point can be added to such virtue."

1670. The annual report states: "From Maryland we receive an account of an event which, though of past date, may be well recounted here. We must first mention that it was an old custom of the Catholics of Maryland, during the night of the vigil of St. Ignatius, to fire cannon in honour of their patron and protector's feast. In the year 1646, after the feast was over, they continued to fire guns throughout the evening. It happened that at the time some soldiers were in the neighbourhood; though English, they were brigands as well as heretics, who had come by sea the year before, and had invaded, plundered, and fired the colony, then carried off the priests and took the Governor prisoner. Remaining after this, they established themselves in a fort about five miles distant from the town; and now, hearing the report of the guns, they came in arms the next day to the house of the Catholics, seized whatever guns or powder they could find and ransacked every place. As they were about to depart, one of the common soldiers, a scurrilous fellow and blasphemer, began to revile St. Ignatius with blasphemous curses and foul language, descending to still more insulting actions amidst the laughter of his comrades. His buffoonery cost him dear, for scarcely had he gone two hundred yards when he was seized with extraordinary pains in his bowels, such as he had never experienced before; with much ado, he was taken on board ship and conveyed to the fort, where he lay rolling in agony, crying out: 'I burn, I burn, my bowels are all on fire.' His comrades in commiseration conveyed him to one Dr. Thomas Hebden, who in vain applied to him the remedies of his art, while he still cried: 'I burn, I burn.' The next day, the 2nd of August, his bowels began to come forth piecemeal, on the following

day in still larger quantities, and on the fourth day his whole intestines. He lingered till the fifth day, and died a terrible example to impious men. After he was dead numbers who are living to attest it saw the bowels of this unhappy modern Judas burnt as it were to cinders."

"1671. In the mission of Maryland this year are two priests and two temporal coadjutors. The mission bears no little fruit, as we learn from the last letters, and its fruit would be still greater were the labourers more in number. Few are living of those sent in former years. Two died this year, Father William Pelham and Thomas Sherborne, a lay-brother. There were fifty converts, many of high note, and fifty-four were baptized.

"1672. Two priests and two lay-brothers have laboured diligently in the conversion of heretics and in strengthening and instructing Catholics, and no little fruit has been gained by them this year.

"Since the last account, seventy-four converts have been made and one hundred persons baptized.

"1673. This year there were two priests, and a lay-brother who attended to the temporal affairs of the mission, whilst the Fathers devoted their labours chiefly to confirming the Catholics in their faith and instilling into them the principles and practices of piety. They treated also occasionally with the Protestants, of whom they have reconciled twenty-eight to the Church. They baptized seventy infants.

"Two Franciscan Fathers were sent last year from England as coadjutors in the labours of the mission, between whom and ourselves fraternal charity and offices of mutual friendship are exercised, to the common good of the Catholic cause.

"1674. There were three priests this year and one lay-brother. Thirty-four converts were received and seventy-five baptisms administered.

"1675. The mission was at the end of the autumn in this year increased by the addition of four members: two priests and two lay-brothers, who late in October sailed with the royal fleet from London and arrived safe at their destination, as we hear by letters of Father Francis Pennington.

"1677. The mission was increased at the end of the year by two members: one a priest and the other a lay-brother. Father Francis Knatchbull died here June 6th, 1677, he was admitted at Watten November 20th, 1671, and while yet in his noviceship, being full of zeal, he asked with great earnestness

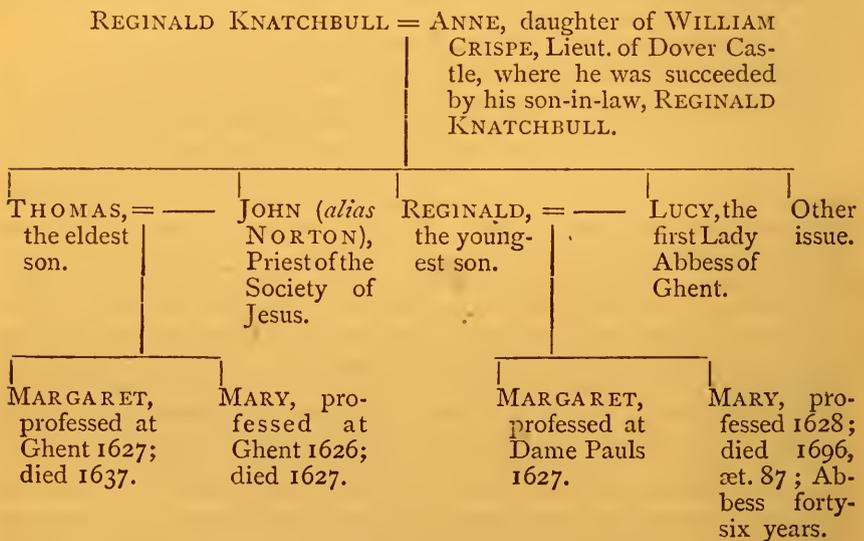
for the mission of Maryland, and obtained his request at the end of the year 1674, he lived in it only two years.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Several members of the Knatchbull family of Kent became religious : (1) Father John Knatchbull, *alias* Norton, who, by means of information kindly furnished by Dame Mary of St. Scholastica's Convent, Teignmouth, has been lately identified as one lying buried under the *alias* or by-name of Norton. We possess, owing as usual to loss of documents, but very slight information about him, being unable to trace the date of his birth or of his entrance into the Society. Sanders, in his *Flandria Illustrata* (vol. i. p. 131), states that "Father John Norton of Kent was the third Rector of the English House at Ghent." This was the Tertianship of the English Province S.J., and was established in 1620. He was probably Rector there about 1630. He lived for some years at Madrid, where he acted as Procurator, and seems likewise to have been attached to the Court of Spain. He had previously lived at Brussels, and was acting there as Procurator in 1621. He is believed to have died in 1640. His *alias* or by-name of Norton was a family name of the Knatchbulls of Mersham Hatch, Kent, the present head of which is Sir Wyndham Knatchbull, Bart., M.P. for East Kent, and a barrister. Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage* informs us that this family lived at Leinne in Kent for centuries. They were there in the time of Henry II., and remained there until, in the reign of Henry VII., they purchased the estate of Mersham Hatch, in the same county, which has been in their possession ever since. The following extract from a letter of Dame Mary, gives interesting particulars of the family, derived from the chronicles of her Order: "Lady Abbess Neville (Mary, daughter of Henry Lord Abergavenny by his first wife, Lady Mary Sackville, a convert, who died whilst her husband was still Sir Henry only. Most of the peerages are wrong about this family, at this point, but I have good proof for my account) in her valuable little chronicle, p. 39, says, 'Very Rnd Father Jhon Norton, of the Society of Jesus, *alias* Knatchbull, and brother to Dame Lucy Knatchbull, y<sup>n</sup> [then] a profest religious at Brussels, and afterwards y<sup>e</sup> first Abbess at Gant; y<sup>s</sup> [this] worthy Father of y<sup>e</sup> Society being y<sup>n</sup> actually at Brussels, and in some particular manner director at y<sup>e</sup> monastery. . . . It fell out very happily for y<sup>e</sup> advauntage of y<sup>s</sup> concern [a new foundation at Ghent] y<sup>t</sup> Rnd Father Norton had y<sup>e</sup> Spanish tongue and many powerfull friends both in Spayn and Flaunders that were very capable to promote y<sup>s</sup> affayre, and so accordingly it most prosperously and effectually succeeded.' Dame Lucy's tomb bears this inscription — 'The venerable Abbess, the Lady Lucy, in the world called Mrs. Elizabeth Knatchbull, died at Ghent on the 5th August, 1629, the forty-fifth year of her age, the nineteenth of her profession, the sixth of her superiority.' P. 127: 'The grandfather of this Lady N. Knatchbull was in great esteem with Queen Mary, and her successor also, Queen Elizabeth, being then Governor of Dover Castle; and would he have forfeited his faith, and gone to church, should have continued that charge and been soon raised to many higher dignities; but he humbly besought her royal Majesty to permit him to lay down his employments and retire into Ireland with his family and relations, there to serve God more freely, the Penal Laws not being yet there in force. This family flourisheth both for riches and antiquity still in Kent. Their chief house bears the name of Mersam Hatch (the hatch of mercy), from an "auntient" custom which they had in Catholic times (the house standing between Canterbury and Dover) to relieve devout pilgrims and poor passengers with beer, bread, and cheese, which stood always ready there upon a hatch at the lower gate, at all hours, both day and night. This family have not only been ancient good Catholics, but many of them also have been religious, to the great edification and advantage of those religious families where they have been professed. So we may say of them as of that of St. Basil — A family of saints.' Sir Toby Matthew, in narrating the arrival of four nuns at Ghent, says: 'They arrived at

“1681. Four years ago, a school for humanities was opened by our Society in the centre of the country, directed by two of the Fathers; and the native youth, applying themselves assiduously to study, made good progress. Maryland and the recently established school sent two boys to St. Omer who yielded in abilities to few Europeans, when competing for the honour of being first in their class. So that not gold, nor silver, nor the other products of the earth alone, but men also are gathered from thence to bring those regions, which foreigners have unjustly called ferocious, to a higher state of virtue and cultivation. Two of the Society were sent out to Maryland this year to assist the labourers in that most ample vineyard of our Lord.

“1685—1690. Our missions in the West Indies of Maryland and indeed of New York underwent the same fate with those of England. In the latter (New York) there were only two priests, and these were forced in this storm to change their residence, as was also the Catholic Governor himself. One

Ghent on the 17th January, 1624, and the day after, which was Sunday the 18th, that most worthy man (who went by the name of Father Norton), who was the Abbess' own brother, said Mass in their poor little church (or rather chapel.)' The first two who joined them were Mary Knatchbull, niece to Lady Abbess, and Elizabeth Wigmore. Another arrival in the same year brought two more nieces. The first Mary had also a sister Margaret, who was professed later on. So there were four nieces, and the pedigree is as follows—



This last-named (Mary Knatchbull, daughter of Reginald, jun.) was the Abbess of Ghent who founded our house at Dunkirk. She was visited in 1694 by the good old Earl of Perth, who says, in a letter dated September 17th following, that 'my Lady Abbess is one of the wonderfulllest old women I ever saw; she is eighty-five years of age, and neither by her face,

of them travelled on foot to Maryland, the other, after many perils on the sea, having been captured and plundered by Dutch pirates, at length arrived safe in France. In Maryland great difficulties are suffered. Our Fathers yet remain to render what consolation they can to the distressed Catholics.

“1701. There were five Fathers; Father William Hunter being the Superior, with four lay-brothers.

“1704. There were eight Fathers, with the same Superior, and three lay-brothers.

“1723. In the Residence of St. Ignatius, of Maryland, are sixteen members of the Society twelve Fathers and four temporal co-adjutors. The Fathers scattered throughout this immense tract of country strenuously labour in protecting and propagating the Catholic faith. The temporal coadjutors attend the care of domestic affairs, and the cultivation of the land, the product of which is sufficient to support all the missionaries. Besides the land, there is no other source of support belonging to this mission.

her walking, her discourse, nor her writing, could any one judge her to be above fifty-five. She was most obliging.’ Besides all these, there was another Abbess of Ghent, called also Mary Knatchbull, whom they name ‘Lady Mary Knatchbull 2nd,’ who died 1727, but of her I know only that she was of the same family.” Of Lady Abbess Mary, the above-named daughter of Reginald, we read in the records of the Benedictine nuns of Ghent (as extracted by Dodd in his *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 496), “Mary Knatchbull, niece to Lady Lucy Knatchbull, the first Abbess of the Benedictine nuns in Ghent, and chosen the fourth Abbess of the said community. When she had governed the house for forty-six years with great success, she died March 6, 1696. It was by her industry and interest that the three monasteries of Benedictine nuns were erected at Dunkirk, Pontoise, and Ipres, the community at Ghent being the mother-house. She was very serviceable to King Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York, while they were in banishment, not only in the way of hospitality to them and their followers, but even in matters of the highest concern relating to their restoration, which passed through her hands and were managed with singular prudence. Her fidelity in serving her King and country was gratefully acknowledged by King Charles after the Restoration, as also by his brother, as their original letters still kept in the monastery, where,” adds Mr. Dodd, whose history dates in 1737, “I had the favour to peruse them, are a lasting testimony.” (2) Francis Knatchbull, mentioned in the text, was born in the year 1641, and entered the novitiate of the Society at the age of thirty, on the day above mentioned. He is called a Father in the Annual Letters, and may have been already a priest when he was admitted to the Society. (3) Robert Knatchbull. A Father of this name was born in Maryland on September 1, 1716. Having made his humanity course of studies at the College of St. Omer, he entered the novitiate of the English Province at Watten on September 7, 1735. In 1753 he was raised to the degree of a Professed Father. Five years previously, viz., in August, 1748, he was appointed missionary and chaplain to the Lawson family at Brough Hall. From August, 1765, until the year 1773 he filled the office of Rector of the House of the Tertian Fathers at Ghent. He died at Walton Hall, Yorkshire, the seat of the Waterton family, on September 16, 1782, esteemed and regretted by all.

“ 1728. There were eleven Fathers, with Father Peter Atwood as Superior, and three lay-brothers.

“ 1737. There were thirteen Jesuits, of whom ten were priests and three temporal coadjutors.

“ 1741. There were twelve Fathers and two lay-brothers.

“ *In Pennsylvania.*

“ We had opened a mission here about this year (1741) called *Missio S. Fran. Borgiae, Pensilvaniae*, with four Fathers, having Father Joseph Grayton as Superior.

“ In 1746, in Maryland were twelve Fathers, with Father Thomas Pulton, Superior of the mission, and one lay-brother.

“ *Pensylvania.*

“ There were four Fathers, with Father Grayton, Superior.

“ *Maryland.*

“ 1747. There were twelve Fathers, with Father Richard Molyneux, Superior, and one brother.

“ *Pensylvania.*

“ With the same Father Superior, there were five Fathers here.

“ 1750. The two missions are mixed together. The Catalogue gives thirteen Fathers and one brother: one in Sequanoch, three in Neapoli, one in Deer Creek, one in Porto Baccho, one in Fano St. Ign., one in Pensylvania, and five others.

“ In 1754, in the two missions there were sixteen Fathers and one lay-brother.

“ In 1758 there were fourteen Fathers, with Father George Hunter, Superior, and one lay-brother. Father Bernard Cross was stationed in the mission of Montserrat.

“ In 1764 there were eighteen Fathers.

“ In 1768 there were twenty-three Fathers.

“ In 1769 there were twenty-six Fathers.

“ In 1771 there were twenty-three Fathers. Four of these were stationed in the mission of Pensylvania.

“ In 1773 the number of Fathers was twenty.”

We close this history with the following brief sketch of a very distinguished man, whose name will ever be held in veneration by the Catholic Church of the United States in general, and of Maryland in particular, for Father John Carroll

was first their Bishop and afterwards their Archbishop, and is justly esteemed one of the first Fathers of the American Mission.

#### FATHER JOHN CARROLL.

FATHER JOHN CARROLL was born in Maryland 8th January, 1736. His family (says Dr. Oliver, in the *Collectanea S.J.*) had emigrated from Ireland to America in the reign of James II. One of his ancestors was secretary to Lord Powis, a leading member in the Cabinet of that unfortunate Sovereign. Remarking to his lordship one day that he was happy to find public affairs and his Majesty's service were proceeding so prosperously, the secretary received for answer: "You are quite in the wrong; affairs are going on very badly; the King is very ill advised." After pausing a few minutes, his lordship again addressed Mr. Carroll: "Young man, I have a regard for you, and would be glad to do you a service. Take my advice. Great changes are at hand. Go out to Maryland. I will speak to Lord Baltimore in your favour." He went out, obtained some Government situations and a considerable grant of land, and left his family among the largest proprietors of the Union. This anecdote, says Dr. Oliver, came from the late very venerable representative of the family, Charles Carroll, of Carolstown, the last surviving asserter of American Independence, who died November 15th, 1832, at the advanced age of ninety-six. As a mark of respect to his memory the offices of the United States Government at Washington were closed the next day, by order of the President, Andrew Jackson.

While still young Father John Carroll was sent for education to St. Omer's College, belonging to the English Province of the Society of Jesus. After distinguishing himself amongst his companions for docility, piety, and solid abilities, and completing rhetoric, he entered the novitiate at Watten in 1753. He was soon appointed to teach philosophy and afterwards theology, and was professed of the four solemn vows on the 2nd of February, 1771. At the eventful period of the Society's history in 1773, Father Carroll was stationed at the "Great College," Bruges (whither the College of St. Omer had removed on its seizure in 1762 by the Parliament of Paris), and was present at its iniquitous suppression and plunder by the Belgic-Austrian Government at Brussels, in the month of October, 1773. Shortly after this period he returned to his

native country. As early as the 9th of June, 1784, he received from Propaganda, among other ample faculties, the power of administering the Sacrament of Confirmation throughout the United States. By the Bull of Pius VI. dated the 6th of November, 1789, Baltimore was created an episcopal see, and Father John Carroll, who had been previously recommended for that office by twenty-four out of twenty-six priests then living in America, was consecrated its first Bishop. We subjoin a short account from the Province archives of the establishment of the see of Baltimore, and of the consecration of Bishop Carroll.

The Roman Catholic religion was introduced into Maryland, together with the first settlers, in the reign of Charles I. who granted that province to the Lord Baltimore, a Catholic nobleman, as a refuge for persons of his religion from the severity of the penal laws, which that unfortunate monarch wanted either the power or the fortitude to restrain. A number of Catholic gentlemen and others emigrated from England and Ireland, with the hope of enjoying the repose in the new settlement which was denied them in their native country. The unrelenting spirit of persecution pursued them over the Atlantic. It deprived them of the just fruits of their labours, it debarred them from every post of trust and profit in the colony which they had founded, it compelled them to maintain Protestant ministers, and finally, it enforced against them many of the British penal laws from the cruelty of which they had fled. R. F. Andrew White, an English Jesuit of eminent piety and zeal, accompanied the first colonists in 1632; and from that date till the late declaration of Independence, the American Catholics in Maryland and Virginia were constantly served by Jesuit missionaries successively sent from England. About the year 1720, the R. F. Grayton and others introduced Catholicity into Pennsylvania, and it has since received a remarkable increase in that province. Since the Peace of 1783, and the settlement of the American Constitution penal laws are no longer known, and Catholics enjoy an equal participation of the rights of human nature with their neighbours of every other religious denomination. The very term of *toleration* is exploded, because it imports a power in one predominant sect to indulge that religious liberty to others which all claim as an inherent right. Catholic clergymen of various orders and nations have resorted to America, and they everywhere find an ample vineyard to cultivate. In this state of religious freedom, the clergymen judged it expedient to give stability and dignity to the Catholic religion by the establishment of a regular hierarchy; and they therefore petitioned from the Pope the creation of an episcopal see and the appointment of a diocesan Bishop. The Pope, applauding their zeal, graciously admitted their request, and allowed them to elect their first Bishop. The Rev. Dr. John Carroll, who had been for some years the Superior of the mission, was the object of their choice, and this gentleman was accordingly appointed first Bishop of Baltimore. Upon the receipt of his Bulls from Rome he immediately repaired to England, where his person and merits were well known, and presented himself for consecration to the Right Rev. Dr. Charles

Walmesley, Bishop of Rama, senior Vicar-Apostolic of the Catholic religion in this kingdom. By invitation of Thomas Weld, Esq., the consecration of the new Bishop was performed during a solemn High Mass in the elegant chapel at Lulworth Castle, on Sunday, the 15th day of August, 1790, being the feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and the munificence of that gentleman omitted no circumstance which could possibly add dignity to so venerable a ceremony. The two prelates were attended by their respective assistant priests and acolytes, according to the rubric of the Roman Pontifical. The richness of their vestments, the music of the choir, the multitude of wax lights, and the ornaments of the altar, concurred to increase the splendour of the solemnity, which made a lasting impression upon every beholder. When the whole company was seated a short address was delivered to the congregation by one of the assistant priests.<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Carroll embarked at Gravesend on the 8th of October, 1790, and arrived in America on the 7th of the following December. His first concern was to establish an Episcopal Seminary, to which Mr. Nagot of St. Sulpice at Paris lent important assistance. Under the amicable and enlightened government of the Bishop, such was the wonderful increase of Catholicity, that Pope Pius VII. issued a Bull on the 8th of April, 1808, raising Baltimore into an Archbishopric, and erecting as its suffragan sees New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Bardstown. Bishop Carroll died at Baltimore on the 3rd of December, 1815, æt. 80.

The following is the copy of a letter addressed by his old friend, Father Charles Plowden, S.J., to the Editor of a public journal :

*Death of Dr. John Carroll, Archbishop of Baltimore.*

Mr. Editor,—Amidst the sour invectives against the Catholic religion and the teachers of it, which so frequently disgrace the public prints and pulpits of this country, it is consoling to find that America knows how to appreciate Catholic merit. Letters from that country are almost profuse in detailing the marks of universal respect paid to the late Catholic Archbishop of Baltimore, Dr. John Carroll, founder of the American hierarchy. This reverend prelate died at Baltimore, the 3rd of December, 1815, of a decay attributed merely to the weakness of advanced age. When his recovery was despaired of his illness became the general concern of Baltimore. He had long enjoyed the esteem and respect of persons of every religious persuasion; and his known piety, learning, sweet temper, and amiable manners, seemed to have subdued the usual sourness of discordant sectaries.

Dr. Carroll was an universal favourite. During the last week of

<sup>1</sup> This was Father Charles Plowden, S.J., the old and affectionate friend of Bishop Carroll. The sermon is still extant in print. A memoir of this distinguished member of the English Province will be given in the Series of Records including the North and South Wales districts, under the head of "Plowdens of Plowden Hall."

his life, the constant succession of visitors and inquirers was so inconvenient, that his immediate attendants were constrained to bar the door of the house and to hang out bulletins for the information of the public. It was reckoned that not less than twenty thousand persons followed his remains to the grave. His behaviour during the last stage of his life was uniformly pious, placid, and resigned. He retained the full use of his senses to the end; and his last request was to be lifted out of bed that he might die upon the floor. His attendants intimated that this was improper, he submitted without reply, and presently afterwards expired.

Dr. Carroll was a native of the Province of Maryland, in which his family held a conspicuous rank. He was educated in the English College of St. Omer, and afterwards became a member of the Society of Jesus in the English Province. He completed his higher studies in the College of Liege, where he was advanced to Holy Orders, and appointed Professor of Philosophy and Theology. After some years spent in this employment, he visited Italy: and he was once more engaged in the business of teaching in the English College at Bruges, when that house was violently overturned by the Austrian Government of Brussels in execution of the Pope's Brief of Suppression, and all the members of it were stript of their property and banished from the Netherlands. Dr. Carroll then returned to his native country in which he was several years a zealous missionary, and at length was elected first Bishop of the new see of Baltimore. In 1790 he came to England and received episcopal consecration from the hands of the late Dr. Charles Walmesley, in the elegant chapel of Lulworth Castle. His present Holiness advanced him to the dignity of Archbishop and honoured him with the pallium in 1810.

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As is generally the case throughout these historical records, the annual reports from the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury are very scanty, owing to the anti-Catholic and persecuting spirit of the times, of which the following document affords an instance:

“At the Beaminster Quarter Sessions, 1625, one John Barton, for using manie contemptuous wordes against the King's proclamation concerning Jesuits and recusants (and selling ale without a license), in saying he wished halfe of them hanged which procured the said proclamation, is committed to the House of Correction until he hath received his punishment by whipping, and then to be delivered to the keepers to remain three days, and for such further time till he shall pay the penalties according to the statute.”

“1635. In this year there were twenty-eight conversions of Protestants to the Catholic religion, and in the following year fifty-two. In the year after that a Protestant woman was miraculously converted through a vision which our Blessed

Lady, bearing her Divine Son in her arms, was pleased to vouchsafe to her ; being dangerously ill at the time she sent for one of the Fathers, and after her recovery ever remained a fervent Catholic, persisting in the truth of her statements with respect to the vision which she had seen.

“Many Catholics were, in these trying times, preserved from great danger of losing their religion by the zealous exertions of the Fathers of the district. A case is recounted of a noble Catholic lady who had consented to marry a Protestant, under a solemn engagement that she should be allowed to practice her religion without any molestation. The ceremony was performed in a Protestant church into which she was unexpectedly led, having been deceived by false pretences. She afterwards bitterly reproached herself for this apparent conformity, and took the earliest opportunity of going to some place where the neighbouring Catholics were assembled for worship, and there publicly acknowledged her fault with great sorrow and humility, willingly performing the acts of penance which it was thought right to impose upon her. She continued firm in the profession of her faith, though suffering much persecution from her husband and his friends. During the summer, some of the Catholics of Winchester were subjected to severe persecution, and the Fathers also, that they might preserve the liberty of performing their necessary duties, were obliged to retire for a few weeks to a place of greater safety.

“1638—1640. During this period, one hundred persons were converted to the Catholic Church, amongst whom was an aged man of seventy. During the whole of 1639 and 1640 the Catholics were sorely tried by the seizure of their property, along with heavy fines and other grievous vexations, in which the Protestant ministers took a leading part. Yet, through the goodness of God, they were constant in the practice of their religion.

“1640. Father Robert Tempest, who was reckoned amongst the Fathers of this district, died on the 18th of July. He had been a secular priest, and as such was sent upon the English Mission. In 1612 he was apprehended and committed to close confinement in gaol, in which he underwent great sufferings. At the end of two years, through the urgent petition of his friends and on the payment of a considerable sum of money he was permitted to reside with his brother-in-law, who gave personal bail that he should not go more than three miles from the house. He availed himself of this relaxa-

tion to execute the design of entering the Society of Jesus which he had formed before he came to the mission. Having been admitted, he applied himself with increased fervour to the practice of religious virtue and to the exact observance of all the rules and injunctions of the Institute of the Society. He was profoundly humble, considering himself the worst and most useless of priests and desiring no higher employment than to spend the rest of his life in the probationary exercises of the novitiate. He was equally attached to the practice of religious poverty in dress, so far as he was allowed, and in performing all domestic offices for himself in extreme old age. To these personal virtues was united an ardent zeal in rendering to his neighbour all the spiritual services which his very diminished sphere of action permitted. In this state of restraint he lived for twenty-six years, and, having partaken of the spiritual favours granted to the Society in this year of its first centenary, he died in great peace, at the age of eighty years, and was buried in a churchyard which had never yet been profaned by heretics.”<sup>1</sup>

The Summary of the deceased members of the Society informs us that Father Tempest was a native of Durham, who entered the order in the year 1624,<sup>2</sup> was professed of the four solemn vows in 1636, and died in the Residence of St. Thomas (probably at Tichbourne) on July 13th (not 18th), 1640, æt. 78; in religion 16 years, after profession 4 years. Before entering he had been a D.D., and joined the Society after a long imprisonment in England endured with great patience, a step which he had meditated taking before his return to this country. Dodd,<sup>3</sup> citing the Douay Diary, says that Father Robert Tempest, who was Professor of Theology while the College was at Rheims, was a gentleman of good family, nephew to Dr. Robert Tempest, of Somerton, Oxfordshire, Doctor of Laws, and a zealous Catholic, who, being obliged to leave England in the first year of Queen Elizabeth for opposing the Reformation, and retiring into Flanders, lived there in great esteem.

Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office<sup>4</sup> is a

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, supposes this to have been St. James', near Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> In the list of Jesuits, seized with other papers at Clerkenwell in 1628 (see *Records*, Series I. p. 132), we find among the novices, “P. Robertus Tempestus.”

<sup>3</sup> *Church History*, vol. ii. p. III, and vol. iii. p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccix. n. 57.

letter from a Government spy (1588), in which Robert Tempest is named as treasurer and paymaster (Procurator) at the English College, Rheims. Upon the return of the College to Douay he took the opportunity to visit Rome, and arrived again at Douay on June 12, 1600, and soon after went over to England, having first paid a visit to his uncle, Dr. Tempest. "Robert Tempest (adds Dodd) was alive in 1626, but died soon after. He was uncle to the worthy Mr. William Clifford, whom he constituted his executor, and amongst other pious benefactions left a perpetual pension for the maintenance of a student at Douay College." Dodd may here allude to Dr. Tempest, for we find Father Robert in 1632 in Mr. Clarke's list of Secular and Regular Clergy in Hampshire as a secular priest, as we have already seen in p. 266. The fact of his having become a Jesuit appears to have been but little known, for Dodd likewise inserts him among the secular clergy, as does also Gee in his list of Popish Priests and Jesuits in and about London, which dates about 1624, calling him "Dr. Tempest." He is frequently named in the State Papers in the P.R.O. In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxviii. n. 68, is an intercepted letter of news upon Scotch affairs, dated Brussels September  $\frac{5}{13}$ , 1598, and stating that "an Englishman, thought to be Constable, is going from the Pope into Scotland with Tempest, a priest." In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxi. n. 92, is another intercepted letter, dated Liege, July  $\frac{17}{27}$ , 1599, from J. B. (John Petit) to P. Halins, London. It relates that "In Antwerp, Father Hays, a Scotch Jesuit, Robert Tempest, and two or three priests, follow the King of Scots' matters with might and main. Some objected his not being a Catholic, but Tempest said he could soon show them the King's own hand, to confirm his being one. . . . God save her Majesty's life; for when He calls her, there will be more than one pate broken." Again, in *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxiv. n. 94, is a letter from William Smith of Cheapside to the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst (inclosing a letter he had received from J. H. [Ithell the priest]), stating that the King of Scots' Ambassador at Rome had, by proclamation, offered free liberty of conscience throughout his country, and had invited the Jesuits, and offered them a College in his country), and asking his lordship to let Mr. Secretary have it, adding, "Ithell says he sent me a letter from Tempest, at Naples, promising to advertise such news as concerns the business [Scotch], and doubts not but to discover the whole plot."

We find both the Doctors Tempest, uncle and nephew, named in the report of a spy, sent by Richard Bishop of London to Secretary Cecil, dated April 22, 1602. The nephew is included in a list of priests that the spy knew, and that were in England, or presently to be there. (A full copy of this State Paper will be found in *Records*, Series II. pp. 139, seq.) There are also three intercepted letters addressed to Robert Tempest, then of Mignon College, Paris; one from Sir Francis Englefield, dated Madrid, June 24, 1589 (*Dom. Eliz.* Addenda, vol. xxxi. n. 101); another from Thomas Stillington, junior (same vol. n. 109), dated January 22, 1590; and the third from William Copley, who calls Robert Tempest his cousin (in the same vol. n. 162). In *Dom. James I.* vol. i. n. 180, 1603, may be seen a short memorandum of agreement or concord, signed by the archpriest, George Blackwell, and Robert Tempest.

“1641—1644. This period was a very trying one and but few conversions to the faith are recorded, though to the honour of the Catholics it is mentioned, that, notwithstanding the searching of their houses and wholesale plunder of their goods, added to imprisonment and every other species of vexation to which they were subjected, no one of any consideration abandoned his religion during these trials. The Fathers in the district gained very much in the esteem of the Catholics by the fortitude with which they encountered the great fatigue and imminent danger they were exposed to in the performance of their spiritual functions.

1645—9. Only thirty conversions to the Catholic Church are recorded, “A considerable gain in such difficult times.” One of the fathers had, for the field of his labours, a tract of country embracing a circuit of nearly two hundred miles, and this space he traversed on foot monthly, helping the Catholics and availing himself of every opportunity of reclaiming Protestants. Some of the less fervent Catholics had been induced by the terrors of the times to adopt an outward conformity to Protestant worship, though, in all other respects, as to belief and private practice they continued to be orthodox, and expressed their determination to profess their faith before their death. But there were not wanting awful proofs of the Divine anger towards these prevaricators. The Father above-mentioned was thrice in one year called to some of them upon their death bed, but was summoned too late. One such

person, though seriously ill, had been especially guilty of repeatedly deferring his conversion, till there could be no hope of his recovery.

The following is a copy of an original letter of Father Thomas Curtis (*alias* Thomas de la Courte), then Superior of the District. It is dated January 25, 1649, and is taken from the *Collectio Cardwelli, S.J., Brussels*, vol. i. p. 354 (Stonyhurst). It gives a report of St. Thomas of Canterbury's district for 1648, and answers the purpose of an Annual Letter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Father Thomas Curtis was one of four brothers who entered the English Province of the Society of Jesus. He was a native of Hampshire, born in 1576, and entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus at the age of twenty, on October 25, 1596. After receiving minor orders in January and March, 1597, he was sent into Spain on account of ill-health. Returning again to Rome, he completed his studies, and then left finally for England in 1602, and entered the Society in 1605. His native county appears to have been the chief seat of his missionary labours, and in a Catalogue of the Province for 1655, he is stated to be then serving in the district of St. Thomas of Canterbury, to have been upon the mission for fifty-one years, and for some period of that time Superior. The Summary of the deceased of the English Province thus notices him: "Father Thomas Courtes, brother of the fore-named" [Henry Courtes, lay-brother, who is mentioned on the same page], "who brought his three brothers, John, Edmund, and Henry to the faith and to the Society, spent nearly the whole of his life on the mission, except that he went over to Belgium once for his health, and a second time to spend his old age in peace. Having completed his studies at Rome he returned to England, and after two years sought admission into the Society and was received. After spending his noviceship in England he had the care of Hampshire and the district round, for more than fifty years. He was often Rector, and was much loved for the affability and moderation of his character. He lived till about eighty, always cheerful and happy, and died at Liege, January 22, 1657, having taken his vows as a Formed Spiritual Coadjutor in 1618."

Father John Curtis was born in 1575. We give his short autobiography taken from the interrogatories of the students in the archives of the English College, Rome. We learn from the College Diary that at the age of thirty-four, on November 10, 1609, he was admitted as an alumnus, that he left the College on April 21, 1611, for Douay, where he spent two years learning casuistry and theology, and at the same place he afterwards studied philosophy, when, returning to the English College, Rome, he repeated theology for nearly two years. "His life [there] was a great edification to all. He entered the Society in 1612, was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in 1623, and died in Yorkshire, in the month of June, 1651." He states, "My true name is John Curtis; I am thirty-six years of age. Born in a parish in the county of Southampton, where I was brought up by a Catholic grandmother, and after that, at Andover in the same county, by my father and mother, schismatics. The rest of my time I mostly spent in London, being a *scriptor literæ Curialis* in that city [a writer of Court letters, or rather of Court hand, as distinguished from the ordinary scrivener of the period], until I went to the English College, Douay, where I have spent the last five years as a student. My father is alive, and of the middle class, and being now fallen into reverses is much poorer than when my mother was living. I have a Catholic brother, who is a member of the Society of Jesus, a sister and a paternal aunt, Catholics. The rest of my relatives are mostly schismatic, besides a brother who is a

“Most hon<sup>d</sup>. Sir,—Having now, through the powerful assistance of our gracious Lord passed over the last yeare of 1648, and without manie high and blastinge stormes, I humbly

Protestant minister, but not a bitter one, I believe, nor very strongly attached to his religion. For many years I lived after the Protestant fashion in England, until by the exertions of my said Catholic brother I was converted and received into the bosom of the Church seven years ago [1602].” The Summary of the deceased briefly mentions him: “Father John Curtis died in June, 1651, aged seventy-six, having spent thirty-nine years in the Society, and having been a Professed Father for twenty-eight. He worked in the vineyard of England as an active labourer to extreme old age. He was led to the faith by his younger brother, by whose influence he abandoned the heresy of his youth. After his own admission into the Society, he had the great consolation of seeing his three brothers also enrolled in it, and left them all to survive him.”

Edmund Curtis was born in the year 1581, entered the Society as a lay-brother in 1612, and died July 18, 1660.

Henry Curtis, the youngest brother, was born in 1590, joined the Society as a lay-brother in 1616, and died at Watten, July 2, 1657. The Summary of the deceased states that he spent the forty years he lived in the Society in the diligent exercise of the various offices of his degree, ever prompt and active in all, notwithstanding he laboured for several years under a most troublesome cough, and suffered from various other infirmities.

Peter Curtis, another brother whom Father Thomas had the happiness of bringing from heresy into the bosom of the Catholic Church, became a Student at the English College, Rome, in 1621, was ordained priest in 1625, and on September 16, in the same year was sent into England. In his replies to the usual questions put to the students, he says, “I was born at Andover in the county of Hants, in the year 1595, as far as I have heard from my parents, in which town I lived with them until I was fifteen or sixteen years of age. My father’s name is Thomas Curtis, a Catholic of respectability, of the family of that name which is found in a village called Enborne, near Newbury, Berks, who on account of his poor circumstances for many years was occupied in the trade of a fuller. My mother was Jane Burton, of Long parish in the county of Hants, and she is, I think, dead, and died a Catholic, although she had not publicly lived as such. I have eight brothers, five are Catholics, of whom four are religious, two being Fathers of the Society of Jesus. My two other brothers are laymen. I have two sisters. Both are Catholics, one is a religious of the Order of St. Francis, called Poor Clares. I have made my chief studies for four years at St. Omer’s. From the school of syntax I went to Seville, where I heard nearly the whole of dialectics. At length I returned to Belgium, and spent a year in philosophy under the Fathers of the Society. I was once a Protestant, but having been converted by the pious zeal of my brother, Thomas Curtis, S.J., I was sent by him to St. Omer’s College, where I made my general confession to Father Lee, in the year 1614. From the time of my conversion I have always had a determination to embrace the ecclesiastical state.” The Diary of the English College adds that he was ordained priest in 1625, and on September 16 in the same year was sent into England.

Gee’s list of priests and Jesuits in and about London, 1624 (*Records*, vol. i. Appendix), names two Fathers Curtis, thus—“F. Curtice, a Jesuite; his brother a pewterer, a Papist, in London, dwelling in Tower Street. F. Curtice, another of that name, a Jesuite, brother to the former.” In *Records*, vol. i. pp. 514, seq., under the heading of Government Spies and Pursuivants, will be found lists of priests, both secular and religious, that had been seized by the pursuivants. Amongst others is “Peter Curtis, a secular priest.” No doubt the same we have above mentioned.

present these few gleanings which have been gathered by our workmen in this small harvest.

“Wee are in this district 12 in number, wholly employed in theis harde works, and altho’ the harvest bee great and workmen few, yet, thro’ the divine benignitie which hourly giveth encrease unto our labours, our gaine hath not bene altogether unfruitfull.

“I°. No small pains hath been taken to the helpinge and improveing those which are under our charge. In this, much time and travaile hath bene spent, some making two hundred miles circuit on foote every month, others lesse, with much profitt and edification.

“II°. The zeale and industrie of Ours have prooved very comfortable and prospirous in the conversion, and reducement of strayed and deceived soules. Thirty-two have been happily gayned to embrace the holie Catholic fayth. Amongst those that have been most remarkable, I will briefly relate: the the first is a brother of some of Ours, who, having six other brothers yet livinge Catholics, hee aloone for worldlie spoiles professed hymselfe a Protestant. Neither could anie motives prevaile to his conversion, til it pleased God, through the miseries of these tymes and infirmities of body, to humble hym to a happie repentance. For beinge plundered of his best meanes and strucken with a dead palse in his right syde, hee became verie penitent, acknowledged his greate neglect of his dutie and service to God, and in the last houre of the daye, being more than 60<sup>ty</sup> yeares of age, breaking through all difficulties which before seemed insuperable, with manie teares desired reconciliation from one of his owne brothers, which was performed to the unspeakable comfort of both, and now alone in a much frequented and populotus towne constantly professeth what before hee so carelessly neglected.<sup>6</sup>

“Another of less esteeme and knowledge, being a smyth by trade, perplexed in mynde with the manie changes in religion in this irreligious tyme, sought unto the Parson of his parishe to direct hym for the safetie of his soule; but this Parson replying, ‘Why doest thou trouble mee with saving thy soul? I know not,’ sayeth hee, ‘how to save my owne.’ He instantly sought for better lyte, and being of 60<sup>ty</sup> yeares of age, having bene never taught the Lord’s Prayere, was by

<sup>6</sup> This would have been Mr. Shelley, and the brother would have been Father Thomas Shelley, then a missioner in this residence.

one of Ours instructed and brought to the fold of Xt. with greater hopes of his finall perseverance.

“A wooman of good name and forme, beinge much troubled in mynde, so that it made her almost franticke, continued so manie yeares, yet at length was reconciled. But the malignant enemie of mankinde envyeing her eternall good, both before and sometymes after her reconciliation, did soe affright her with strange and hydeous spectres in the night, and other tymes also, both asleepe and awake, sometimes by knockinges and horryd noyses, sometymes by apparitions of severall shapes and lightes, that it extremely amazed her soule and her whole familie, which made her very infirme and creakie and weake. But from that time one of Ours comfited her with the holy Hoast in her owne house, and performed the rytes and prayers usually for the sicke, these spiritues forsooke her, and left both her house and familie free from all such frightments and illusions.

“I will add this last storie to tell the error of manie who persuade themselves they doe verie well in marrienge Protestants and other sectaries, nay, some are so impudent as to maintaine it to bee better. For these I present this late and doleful example. There is a certaine Commander amongst the nite penitentes accounted a sealer [sailor]. This man sought soe long, as hymselfe confessed, till hee had passed over nyne severall sectes of pretended religions, that at present hee protesteth that hee is of none at all. For beeing asked how in the name of God hee expected to bee saved, the desperate fellow gave this careless answer, ‘When all are called by the Lord, I shall creepe in amongst the rest.’ This giddie-headed souldier made love to a Catolicke mayde. Shee entertaines his affection; her parentes also give way to it, and entertayned hym kindly. The craftie Commander pretendes a good likeing to theyre religion, commending them for theyre constancie and cheerefull hospitalitie; theye lykewise commende hym for his civilitie, in hope of his assistance to bee releevd from theyre new Landlordes the committee. In the interim the twoo mates are entangled in each otheres affections. Hee demandes marriage after what manner they plese, not demaunding any portion at all, leaving that as trivial matter to theyre civill curtesie, being sicke, as it were, and impatient of love. The mayde modestly (though she hartily wished it) demurres the notion. At last, when the fox saw he could not bring his prey about, nor

rounde his endes to what effect hee wanted, his love grew wan and pale, hers more and more enkindled; hee draws back; shee becomes franticke. Now her parentes proffer both portion and marriage. Hee receives both. Hee sees her and upbraides her parentes and other friendes that her character is not clear of stain, so that if hee should marrie her, itt would make hym madd. Thus did this foule-mouthed soldier delude the poore mayde, in so much as beinge now halfe beside herselfe, shee went for one of Ours (having used another before). The poore soule was so extremelie altered from what shee had byn, that hee saw her in deepe affliction. Her outward comportment declared her inward grieffe, for the colloure of her face and handes became yellowe, lyke to old beife suiet in the summer tyme, or a saffron bag; her mynde infinitelye perplexed, but after a dayes conference, and having been confessed and communicated, shee was much comforted. Her harte beinge restored to some peace and content, her naturall complexion became fresh again, and shee returned, as it were, from death to life.

“These bee the chiefest and most remarkeable in this lande. The fruite of general confession hath beene also verie greate, whereof we have taken 26.

“The poore and distressed by our meanes have also beene relieved to the summe of 16<sup>l</sup>. 12<sup>s</sup>. 00.

“Our sufferings have beene manie, beeing often upon chainge of quarter forced to constante travayle with ill accomodation at some harbour, not without feare and dangeres from unruly soldiers, &c. Our friends also have had theyre full measure, most beeing sequestered, whereby they are disabled to relieve themselves and others. Yet through the greate goodnesse of God theye carrie theyre bitter crosses, not onely patiently but cheerefullie.

“The Societie here gaineth much esteeme, and altho’ it be impugned by manie, yet houldeth up as much credite as anie.

“This being all in summe which hath yet come to my knowledge for this year, I presente unto your view, humble begginge your holie prayers unto God the Giver of all good giftes, that through his benignitie, he will give daylie increase to these our workes, to His greater honour and glorie and our mutual comfort.

“Your ever dutifull Servant,

“THOMAS DE COURTE.

“*Jany.* 25<sup>*th*</sup>, 1649.

In the old annual reports of the English Province are scattered here and there separate narratives, which present interesting historical sketches of the times to which they refer. One of them forms a portion of the Annual Letters for 1647, and was written by a Father Thomas Bennett, *alias* Blackfan, about whose identity there is the following difficulty.

The Catalogue of the Province for the year 1642 (of which a portion only is extant in the archives), amongst the twelve Fathers named in it as belonging to the Residence of St. Thomas, mentions a Father Thomas Blackfan, then aged forty-one years, a native of Sussex, who had been on the mission since 1634, and eighteen years in the Society, and was professed of the four vows August 10th, 1640. The Catalogue for 1655 again mentions Father Thomas Blackfan, in St. Thomas' District, as having been at some period since 1642 Superior of the Residence, of which Father John Drury then had charge. In consequence of the difficulties of those trying times a constant change of names, &c. became vitally necessary, hence there is a serious difficulty in tracing and identifying the members. The Catalogues for 1642 and 1655 make no mention at all of a Father Thomas Bennett, and yet they represent the very period of his labours in the Residence, as appears both from his own narrative of his sufferings and adventures in the district, and from the legal document which we subjoin. These, in truth, are the only sources of any information with respect to Father Thomas Bennett under that name.

Deed of gift to the Residence of St. Thomas by Miss Carew on her leaving the world to enter Religion, which is still preserved in the archives of the Province :

“ Know all men by these presents, that I, Margaret Carew, daughter of Anthony Carew, of Garnes, in the County of Essex, Esquire, deceased, doe by these presents give and graunt vnto Anthony Bruning, of Woodcott in the county of Hants, Esquire, and to his sonne Charles Bruning, after his decease, the full sum of one hundred pounds, parcell of six hundred pounds due to me from Edmund Plowden, of Shiplake in the county of Oxford, Esquire. To this intent and purpose, yt he ye said Anthony Bruning, during his life and his sonne Charles after him. shall pay thence ye yearly benefitt of ye aforesaid hundred pounds by equal portions at the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin

Mary, and the feast of St. Michael the Archangel, vnto my worthy friend *Mr. Thomas Bennett*, of Katrington in the county of Hants,<sup>7</sup> Gentleman, during his naturall life, and to his sole vse and behoofe : and after the said Thomas Bennett's decease, ye said yearly benefitt is to be paid in the manner aforesayd to ye respective successors, Superiors of the same district of Hants, Dorset, Sussex, and Wilts, whereof he is the present Superior. To be employed by the said successive Superiors for ever towards the maintenance of one of the same Society in the same district. Provided, first, that if it shall so fall out yt ye said Mr. Bennett shall not any time enjoy ye said benefitt during his life, yt then the said Anthony Bruning, or his son after him, to have full power by these presents to dispose ye said benefitt (for so long) vnto some other of the same Society in the same district," &c. "In witness that it is my real and true intent, I doe hereunto set my hand and seal, this 13th day of October, 1658."

All the circumstances make it very probable that the above-mentioned Father Thomas Blackfan is the real Thomas Bennett, the former being only his assumed name. Dr. Oliver, in his brief notice of Father Bennett, in referring to the narrative for the insults and indignities he received from the troopers and his success in extricating himself from them, well observes, that had they known him to be a Priest, and not thought him to be the poor simple peasant he personated so cleverly, he would probably have been despatched at once.

*The relation of the captivity of Father Thomas Bennett, 1647.*

Extracted from the narrative of the same Father, a famous missionary, who, after living in England for many years, and there reaping an abundant harvest of souls, was compelled, on account of the breaking out of a most cruel war and a terrible persecution, Proteus-like, to assume a variety of characters and disguises. Indeed, whilst writing this very narrative, he was living as a poor clown in a hut, in lieu of a hired house, for which he paid a yearly rent of one mark. From thence he made frequent excursions to visit the Catholics living in the adjacent parts, who being left like sheep without a shepherd were in a state of the greatest trepidation.

This narrative, which is in Father Bennett's own hand-

<sup>7</sup> Katrington, or Catherington, a parish near Petersfield, Hants, then the residence of the Englefield family.

writing, is given in the third person, which we may either attribute to the good Father's modesty, or else to the necessity of caution in those perilous times.

“A short time ago your ‘clown’ made a longish journey; he was but weakly in body, dressed in a smock-frock, and mounted on a pack-horse.

“When he had got a few miles on his way, four dragoons of the Somersetshire cavalry [Parliamentarians] came up to him, and commenced striking his horse, and its rider too, to make it trot, by way of trying its mettle. The beast pleased them, the clown is ordered to dismount, and is narrowly searched until at length they found upon him and examined some letters he was taking to a certain gentleman, who had been lately plundered of all his property and besides thrown into prison. The clown had also other letters addressed to the Governor of Poole, and these of his own accord he produced to them, hoping thereby to divert suspicion. But not so, for seeing clearly that he was a Catholic they ordered him to confess the truth at the same time striking and slightly grazing him with their swords and loading him with a thousand curses. Being confused by the blows, and feeling quite certain that his last hour was come, after first turning himself to God he thus answered—‘I am indeed a miserable man and a sinner, and from the bottom of my heart am grieved that I have ever offended God. For the rest, the religion I profess is my treasure, which, by God’s grace, I trust that no violence can ever strip me of. Hear, moreover, I am a Roman Catholic.’ Thus spake the clown, giving thanks to God for the benefit, and looking for nothing else than the soldiers would rush upon him with their swords. But it turned out far otherwise, for their officer, who was an ‘Independent,’ immediately ran up to him, and embracing him said—‘How I esteem you, and would do more for you alone than for a thousand Protestants, because you have not denied your religion. I would rather die myself than that my men should do you any hurt.’ He was as good as his word, for the others, after the clown’s confession of his religion, were more than ever enraged against him, frequently rushing at him with their drawn swords, and the officer as often parrying off the thrusts; a few, however, slightly touched him.

“The three rougher soldiers, suspecting that there were yet other letters unproduced, were proceeding to strip the

clown even to his shirt, and to pull off his boots also, and this in the open country. The man expostulated, but to no purpose until he began to reason with them thus, 'My masters, when questioned by you concerning my religion, and were I or not a Papist, did I refuse to offer my life to your swords and wrath rather than consent to dissemble my creed? I therefore appeal to this candour on my part, for the truth of my assurance to you that I have no other letters about me.' This earnest appeal checked their violence. The Independent, addressing the clown, says, 'What are you able to allege in defence of your religion?' The clown replied, 'One thing I must tell you, though it may be to my own praise, that although, as you see, I'm a poor man, I always had this thing greatly at heart, to be able to give a reason for my religion. I've therefore, to this end, applied myself very diligently to procure the requisite instruction.' 'I commend this diligence,' said the officer, the others nodding assent, 'let's therefore proceed to business.' They said, 'What believest thou?' The clown replies, 'I believe in one God and three Divine Persons, that the Second Person was made Man, and died upon the Cross for me and for the whole world, and through his merits and Passion, joined to a good life, I hope to obtain eternal life.' 'Believest thou this?' quoth the Independent. 'I do,' says he. 'Thou art therefore no Papist?' 'Wherefore,' says the clown. 'Because,' rejoined the Independent, 'they believe that they will be saved by their own merits, and thou oughtest to believe the same if thou art a real Papist.' The clown replied, 'I know that my own works are miserable, and utterly valueless without the grace of God, but if they are wrought in His grace, they are so ennobled by its influence as to be meritorious of eternal reward. This is, indeed, acquired by me in the first instance by the merits of Christ, flowing from His Passion and death, as from a fountain, whence, indeed, they are applied to me through the Sacraments of the Church. This belief, therefore, does not derogate from the virtue of Christ, but all good is hoped for through His merits.' This doctrine pleased the Independent, who, until then, had not the least idea that such was the belief of Papists. 'True it is,' added the clown, 'nothing is more common amongst you than to impute to us things we never dreamt of.' But his comrades thought otherwise. Calling him a villain, scoundrel, and venomous viper, and loading him with curses, they could with difficulty abstain from wounding him with their arms. In

truth, no other result was looked for, seeing that, as often as they got entangled with difficulties, they sought to extricate themselves by these means alone. Indeed, an agreement was made, lest he should so often stir up the bile of these passionate men, that as often as he did so, they should not interrupt the thread of his argument with their curses, and of this he afterwards found the benefit, as often as he challenged them to the proof, especially in the controversy about the holy Sacraments of the Church, the invocation of Saints, image worship, the sign of the Cross, mortification or chastisement of the body, &c.

“Whilst all this was going on, the bridle of the clown’s horse having been struck from his hand, the animal had strayed away to a distance through the open plain. The three soldiers ran off to catch it, whilst the officer, with the clown, sat down on a mound to watch the fun. Being now alone together, the Independent seriously wished to know what was the clown’s opinion regarding his religion. ‘Do you ask my *opinion*?’ says he. ‘I hold no *opinion*, but for a most *certain faith* that no one can be saved out of the Roman Catholic Church.’ ‘And I,’ replied the Independent, ‘vow its destruction. But why? There is vicissitude in all things; nor do I, as I truly confess, so obstinately insist upon my religion as that I would be willing to swear never to embrace yours, for yet, some things you say are not absurd.’ Then rejoined the clown, ‘I truly think that the occurrence of this day is not without the providence of God, nor that it should have fallen out by mere chance that an innocent man, for I neither wish ill to any mortal man, nor to you and your affairs otherwise than all prosperity, should be holden to your protection. And who knows but that God designs from this day’s meeting some great good to you?’ ‘What is this good,’ replied the soldier, ‘you call great?’ ‘Most certainly,’ said the clown, ‘there is no greater good in this life than to be a Roman Catholic. In this faith there is certain salvation, out of it, shipwreck.’

“The soldier desired him to be of good courage, and promised him his help. The clown was greatly afraid that they might take him as a prisoner, either to Bridgwater or Poole, where the plague at that time was raging, feeling assured that he would die of it in prison. He therefore persuaded the Independent that they should make inquiries about him in the village to which the letters were addressed, as to his life, condition, and character, because, if they found

him to be a harmless person, what good or pleasure could there be in sporting with his misfortune, or in gratuitous ruelty?

“But lo, his comrades now returned with the horse, and ordered the clown to mount. They did not spare their sticks, and it now appeared certain that they were making direct for the infected prison, where he felt convinced that he would die of hunger and filth. The Independent strongly opposed it, and wished to make for the village, only a few miles off, and where he thought to obtain the clown’s release. On the way they met two countrymen from the neighbourhood—they are ordered to stand. The Independent demanded their destination, business, religion, &c. The men, astonished at the novelty of the event, were at first confused, then taking breath, replied, ‘We are Protestants.’ ‘Protestants!’ said the soldier. ‘This is as much as to say that you are of no religion, but, good sirs, what is a Protestant? What have you to say for your religion?’ They replied, ‘We believe in God and in His word.’ And on their persisting in fencing themselves with the same cautious answer, and making no other reply, ‘Begone, you block-heads, be off,’ said the soldier; ‘be off to destruction with your Protestants. D’ye see this old man in his smock-frock, mounted on his pack-horse?’ so he styled the clown. ‘Ye are mushrooms. I find in this one man more pluck than in thousands of your Protestants, and yet he’s a Papist, and a stout one too, and able to defend his religion.’ The clown laughed to himself, and digressing to other matters, explained several things concerning the Sign of the Cross, and the mysteries contained in the making of it, the Angelical Salutation, the worship of sacred images, and how consonant it was to reason that God, Who had created man to His own Image, should be venerated by him in His images and pictures, which, having heard and sufficiently clearly proved, on the rest breaking forth into curses, the Independent alone defends the disputant, and says, ‘It is free for you, indeed to revile this man with your curses and gibes, but yet, as far as I can see, no one has a word to say in opposition.’ Upon this, in great anger and rage, they discharged upon the Independent an uncontrolled volley of oaths, calling him a Papist and a turncoat, and swearing that he had no doubt become intoxicated with this poison from the mouth of that Papistical viper, when sitting alone with him on the mound, whilst they were gone after the strayed horse.

The Independent rebuked their excessive petulancy, and says in a quiet jocose manner, 'That he was not sure but that, before his death, he might pass over to this religion.' 'Be off,' they replied, 'Papistical dogs, like to like.' 'You indeed,' addressing the clown, 'the wickedest of all old men, beware of your neck, lest it may get broken before the morning.' Nor was it an empty fear lest some violence should be attempted, had not the Independent always interposed himself to the outbursts of their unbridled rage. In the meantime they proceeded on their journey, and the most ill-tempered man amongst the soldiers attacked the clown with a new question: it was this, 'What did he think, or what was his opinion regarding themselves and their army, whose orders were to eradicate Popery throughout the entire of England, and not to allow a vestige of his sect to remain?' 'If you wish to be honest with me, says the clown, 'and really desire that I should answer your question sincerely and without offence, I will indeed do so frankly; therefore, attend to me. I think of you charitably, and persuade myself that many of you are acting your parts with great zeal, believing you are doing right. I remember too, that the same thing was done by St. Paul when he persecuted the Church of God, for he believed that he was offering a sacrifice to God, and panted after the destruction of His enemies as he thought, when yet, in fact, he was persecuting the friends and children of God. Your cause and zeal is very similar.' The soldier's anger was roused at this reply, and he felt himself stung by it. They therefore resumed their accustomed argument of oaths and curses, calling him a dog and a viper, and a murderer of his own conscience. 'For dost thou see,' said they, 'that the very contrary is manifest? Is not God present with us by His protection in every place we invade, and everywhere advances our arms with wonderful success against the Royalists? Where does our army not set foot, and immediately occupy the whole? And, when engaging the enemy, do not the very winds come from heaven at the sound of the trumpet? And wherefore this, but to show that both heaven and earth attest the justness of the war we wage?'

"The clown replies, 'My masters, all this thunder does not shake me: I hold the same opinion I did at first. For what is more usual with God than in this world to correct His servants and dearest friends, though a stranger's hand should wield the scourge? Not to go further, what do we see

in regard to the people of Israel? Were they not worshippers of the true religion? Were they not the elect people of God? Nevertheless, were they not led by the Babylonians into captivity? And these Babylonians, who and what were they? Were they not pagans, infidels, and impious people? Well, then, if I should have made answer to these same Babylonians, as I do now to you, what more easy for them than to bring against us the same arguments you use? Could they not also say, 'Behold these wicked Israelites! Behold the glorious victories and triumphs of our armies everywhere over them! Do not they serve under our yoke, and are they not loaded with our chains? Is not their nation conquered by our arms, and this with the approbation of Heaven, the very powers above applauding and concurring, by the gods bearing witness that our cause of war is just, and that the success of our arms, which you behold in their captivity and slavery, is due with truth to their sins?' I seem to hear them arguing thus, and doubtless the Babylonians would have adduced the same, yet were they enemies of God, oppressors of the innocent, profane, and heathen.' The rage of the soldiers could not brook this. 'What,' they said, 'dost thou, with impunity, compare us to the Babylonians?' 'I had no thought,' says the clown, 'to say anything to give you offence. I believed it to be a favour granted that I should be indulged with liberty of speech, accommodated to my harmless freedom and my simplicity.' This reply pleased the Independent who applauded the candour of the clown, and when as often as the rest rushed upon him with their naked swords, he so often interposed himself and warded off the blows. These interludes were mingled with their journey to the village, which was now near. At their first entrance, they exhibited their booty to the people, shouting out 'a cunning old Papist.' They stopped before the door of the inn, when behold! a young girl entered, to whom the soldiers say, 'Holloa you, d'ye wish to see a man just come from the lower regions?' pointing at the same time to the clown. The girl, who was exceedingly ugly and dirty, approached. The clown smiled, 'Oh, you beauty,' says he; 'when I returned from the lower regions, the last whom I saw was very much like you, nor more of a colour with the pots and dirt.' She blushed. The rest, breaking out into laughter, applauded, and ordered the clown to enter the house, sit down, and keep his hat on. But this kindness was too great to last long, for behold a soldier

came up to him holding in one hand a glass of beer and in the other a carbine, and looked fiercely at him. 'Drink,' said he 'to the health of our General Fairfax, and his success in the confusion and ruin of all the Papists in England, or you die instantly,' adding an imprecation to his armed fury. 'Come on,' he says, 'wilt thou drink the toast, or die?' 'My master,' says the clown, 'I'm an old man' (for so he appeared in his dress). 'It is difficult to precipitate oneself and not strike the ground; wait a little, and I'll satisfy you. Tell me, I pray you, what is it you chiefly intend in this toast or health drinking? Is it the prosperity and glory of my Lord Fairfax? Give me your glass; I'll drink this in solemn form, and perhaps, better than thine. Hear it, then, and cheer it—"Live my Lord Fairfax. May God grant him in this world a good and long life, in the next an eternity of glory!"' This toast pleased, and so he eludes the first assault of this troublesome man. But he is not suffered to remain long in peace. He again comes up armed in the same manner, only vomiting out more oaths, and wishes him to drink this toast—'*Down with the Roman Pontiff!*' The clown is forced, first by coaxings to mitigate the madness of the man, then to turn him by reason. 'Who,' says he, 'is the Christian, or who possesses a spark of Christianity in his breast, and wishes to propose this toast, viz., that unless any one consents to drink to the dishonour of God and injury of the Supreme Majesty he ought to die? What ears, hearing only this wickedness, would not tingle? But I have it in command from God to love my enemies, and to speak evil of no one. With what conscience, therefore, is it permitted me to drink to his confusion who never harmed me in all his life?' They were unable to avoid this logic, and the soldier is ashamed to proceed further in an argument so wicked, but made no end of loading him with insults.

"Many spectators came together attracted by the novelty of the thing, some of whom were moved to compassion, some even to tears, especially when they saw a man endure so many taunts, insults, and curses, who did not render evil for evil, but always smiled and said 'God bless you and repay your curses with His blessing.'

"Whilst all this was going on, the landlord prepared a table with bread and butter and cheese in an inner room, when the Independent, calling the clown to him, desired him to be seated and to take his place by his side. Nor was this enough—he also ordered him to say grace before them all, after his

own manner, which he accurately performed, for with elevated and extended hands he made the Sign of the Cross over the repast, and this in so solemn a manner that he believed it would have created a great sensation among the by-standers, but all were quiet and held their peace, without even the slightest murmur. Perhaps, he had satisfied the soldiers when he had disputed with them on the journey, and had extorted from them an admission that, at least, in that formula of words was contained a short and very pious prayer. To these more cheerful scenes one of the soldiers wished to add something of the tragical. He rises, therefore, from his place, comes to the clown, sits by him, presses his side with a table knife in his hand, and pointing it to the body of the harmless man, orders him there and then to curse the Pope unless he preferred to have the knife plunged into his breast. 'My friend,' says the clown, 'my reply upon this point, lately given, is not unknown to you. I must not offend God, nor transgress His commands, Who forbids to curse any one; it were better for me to fall into the hands of man than to displease Almighty God.' 'Then thou wilt not?' replies the soldier. 'I cannot,' answers the other. The young girl (who is named before) placed herself between the soldier, who had drawn back his hand to strike with the greater force, and the clown, and so foiled the furious man that he wounded himself with his own knife.

"The following scene savours more of the comical. Another soldier goes into the middle of the room and marks out with his military cane the form of a cross upon the pavement, and turning to the clown with mingled curses and threats—'Come on,' says he, 'thou wicked one, crawl here, crawl, I say, and prostrating kiss the cross, according to your custom in your Masses and ceremonies.' 'In our Masses!' replies the clown, 'but I know of no such custom.' 'Thou liest,' rejoined the other; 'I know this is done by you.' Then the clown—'Let others judge who should be more versed in this school. But be it as it is, as to the crawling I care not; it will be mere play-work for me to do this for the love of God. Nay, I am ready to go much further where it concerns the glory of God, or your salvation; but if you turn solemn things into jest and the reproach of religion, thou canst shed my blood, but canst not make me consent to do anything that may offend God, and be contrary to decency and decorum.' When the soldier saw that the case was a desperate one, he

strikes the clown repeated blows across the shoulders with his cane, and leaves him.

“In the meantime darkness came on, and a discussion arose, what should be done with the clown, in which it was at length concluded—a thing he greatly desired—to take him to the house of a Catholic, which was not far off. There they left him, loaded with insults, robbed of his horse, and mulct in ten shillings (which he had begged of a family, the master of which was in chains) all by way of a ransom.”

The rest I omit [adds the writer of the annual reports] that the narrative may not extend to an inconvenient length.

Father Bennett was instrumental to the conversion of the two Fathers whose short biographies are now given.

FATHER ANTHONY BONVILLE, or BOVILLE (*alias*, TERRILL), was born in the year 1621, and entered the English College as an alumnus on December 4, 1640. Having received minor orders in July 1642, and being unwilling to subscribe the usual College oath, he became a convictor and paid his own pension. After he was ordained priest at St. John Lateran's on March 16, 1647, he entered the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew's Novitiate, Rome, on June 20, 1647. When he first joined the English College he gave the following account of himself and family: “I am son of Humphrey and Maria Bonville, born at Canford in the county of Dorset, where I was brought up till my fifteenth year, when I passed over into Flanders, to St. Omer, and for nearly three years applied myself to the study of humanities, as far as poetry, in the College of the Society; I lived also in the same city (St. Omer) with an English Canon, through whose intercession I readily obtained leave to come here.

“My parents are of very high and illustrious families, although they are not at the present time rich or opulent. My mother is a Catholic, my father was much estranged from the Catholic faith, but, as I have lately heard by a letter from the Rev. Father Bennett, he now greatly desires to embrace the faith and law of Christ.

“I have five brothers and one sister, all of whom, except my sister, were brought up in heresy; but I myself, thanks be to God, with three of my brothers, was brought out of the darkness of heresy into the true and ever clear light of Christ and the Catholic faith, by the assistance of the Rev. Fathers Bennett and Webb.”

For some years Father Bonville filled the office of Peni-

tentiary at Loreto, whence he was called to Florence to profess philosophy; he afterwards went to Parma, where, besides again lecturing on philosophy, he taught scholastic divinity for four years. He was then sent to Liege College, where he directed the studies of the theologians, and professed theology and mathematics. The *Florus Anglo Bavaricus*, p. 50, says that he was consulted far and wide as an oracle of learning. From 1671 until July, 1674, he was Rector of the College of Liege. The Annual Letters thus briefly describe him: "Three have died in the College, one of whom, Father Anthony Terrill, a man of extraordinary piety, talent, learning, and prudence, had just returned from the Triennial Meeting of Procurators at Rome, and died here on the 11th of October. He himself acknowledged it as a remarkable fact that, having been for many years continually troubled with anxious scruples, they entirely left him in his sickness, during which he enjoyed the most perfect tranquillity and peace of mind.

He published (1) *Conclusiones Philosophicæ*, 12mo. 1657. (2) *Problema Mathematica—Philosophiam tripartitam*, 12mo. 1660. (3) *Fundamentum totius Theologiæ Moralis, seu Tractatus de Conscientia Probabili*, "a most useful work," says Dr. Oliver, "and dedicated to Lord Castlemain."

FATHER THOMAS WEBB (*alias* KELLEY), a member of the ancient family of that name, was born in 1638, and entered the English College as a convictor among the alumni on October 11, 1658; he left the College again on May 2, 1662. Father Grene adds a note in the Diary of the English College, that he joined the Society of Jesus at Watten, and it is presumed in the same year.

On entering the English College he thus described himself:

"My father is John Webb, my mother Mary Caryll. I was born at Harting in the county of Sussex, where I was baptized in the year 1638, by Father Thomas Bennett, of the Society of Jesus, and I am now, I think, in my twentieth year. I was brought up by my parents until my twelfth year, when I was sent to St. Omer's College, and there I studied my humanity course and received confirmation.

"I am born of respectable parents, who are reduced to some distress on account of their profession of the Catholic faith. I have three brothers and five sisters, and was always a Catholic, and can affirm the same of my parents."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A short notice of the old Catholic family of Caryll will be given under the head of West Grinstead and Ladyholt. See also pedigree. Father Thomas Webb was a son of Sir John Webb, Baronet.

1650-1. The report of the College for this year mentions, with thirteen Fathers, twenty-six conversions to the true faith. An Act passed by the Parliament, by which the penal laws against Catholics were understood to be repealed, raised hopes in them which were eventually disappointed, for some of the Catholics in the district were persecuted with increased activity, and this enhanced the merit of their constancy. At that time a noble Catholic lady was visited by a Protestant Magistrate who, with profession of friendship, said that he had come, like one of the messengers of Job, to tell her that an order had been issued for the confiscation of her property. She answered quietly that, in that case, she hoped God would give her a share of the patience and constancy of Job. Soon after the order was really made, but, through the kind providence of God, the Lady very unexpectedly escaped without any serious loss. As all holidays had been abolished by the Parliament, a wealthy man ordered two of his horses to be harnessed to a cart to do some work on Christmas Day. This was no sooner done than both of the horses dropped down dead, which so alarmed their master that he resolved never again to violate the sanctity of that Feast. From the year 1650-1 until the Revolution of 1688, the reports from the various missions of the Province are extremely scanty.

1674. In the Annual Letters for this year, during which there were eleven Fathers in the district, an account is given of a very excellent lady, who died at that time. Mrs. Barbara Skilling was the penitent of one of the Fathers, and truly deserved the title of the "Valiant Woman." She was of the ancient faith, of high birth, and worthy to be held in perpetual remembrance by the members of the Society in the district. From infancy she had been greatly addicted to solitude and prayer, and she seldom read anything in the Lives of the Saints that she did not propose to herself for imitation. She had married young, rather to please her parents than from her own inclination, and lived thirty years in this state. In the civil war raging throughout England, and directed so severely against Catholics, she suffered much on account of religion; but, far from ever making the least complaint on that account, she ardently desired to suffer more. She never refused to harbour a priest in her house during those dangerous and trying times, and always paid the most assiduous attention, to our Missionary Fathers, being delighted to have them with her, especially if they were labouring under

sickness or old age, and these she attended upon with maternal affection; hence it frequently occurred that she had two or three at a time in her house, waiting upon them herself, supplying their every necessity, and greatly pleased when she could perform the meanest offices, particularly for the sick or dying. On one occasion, in order to conquer an involuntary loathing when tending a very repulsive wound, she swallowed a small portion of the offensive issue, and by this heroic act, in which she followed the example of many other holy persons, as recorded in their Lives, she cured herself of all further repugnance on that account. So affectionate and tender were her feelings of devotion that, in frequenting the Sacraments of Confession and the Holy Eucharist, she was accustomed to shed abundant tears. She attended numerous Protestants in their last moments, and gained over many of them to the Church of God. She lived to the age of seventy-two, frequently discoursed of death, and made daily preparation for it. Having contracted a fever she endured a sickness of six weeks without betraying the least sign of impatience, and died after receiving most devoutly all the rites of the Church. For an entire day and night she lay in one position of body, silent and motionless, except that at intervals she pronounced the sweet Name of Jesus, and invoking this just before her last breath, she rendered up her holy soul into the hands of her Creator, richly laden, no doubt, with the treasures of merit. Shortly before her death she declared to the bystanders that she had no desire to petition for a longer life, unless it were that she might end it by dying upon the gallows in the cause of religion.

In 1675 a striking miracle was obtained through the intercession of St. Francis Xavier. A certain noble lady of that district, from severe and long-standing sickness had contracted a general weakness of the whole body, especially of her hands, which she was unable to raise to her mouth. Having in vain exhausted all the remedies prescribed by her medical attendants, and being pronounced in great danger of losing the use of her hands altogether, she turned herself to God invoking the merits and intercession of St. Francis Xavier, and made a vow that, if she recovered the use of her hands and should be restored to her former strength, she would cause a silver hand to be made and hung up before the Saint's altar at Mecklenburg, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*. No sooner had she taken the vow than, beyond her most sanguine hopes, she was

instantly cured, and very soon afterwards fulfilled her promise. This miracle is recorded by the Superior of the College, who was himself the lady's chaplain and confessor.

The following year's report mentions also the efficacy of water blessed with a relic or medal of St. Ignatius along with the invocation of the Saint, in two cases of curing persons sick both in body and soul. One was that of a lady in the county of Hants, a convert to the Catholic faith, and is well worthy of notice. She was the wife of a gentleman of fortune, and had drunk in heresy from her mother's breast, and from the malignant instructions of the teachers and so-called bishops of the false church; and, to prevent her from ever abandoning Protestantism, her husband kept her away from all intercourse and connection with Catholics. At length, her soul being penetrated with a Divine light, she examined her position in search of the truth, and having found this she at once embraced it. Guided by the inventiveness of desire and being weak in health, she pretended to place all her hopes of recovery in the use of a certain spa in the county of Kent [Tunbridge Wells], then held in great repute for its sanitary qualities, and she asked and obtained leave from her husband to make a journey thither. As she gained her end, a free opportunity of treating with Catholics now offered itself. After a short time she met one of the Fathers, who having duly instructed her and done everything needful, as well as the circumstances of time and place admitted, she was received into the Church upon the vigil of the feast of the Nativity of the ever Blessed Virgin Mother of God. Happening to be invited the same day by a Protestant family to a large dinner-party she abstained from eating flesh meat, as was then the custom observed by Catholics in England on the vigil of that great festival, and thus openly professed herself a Catholic.

As soon as her husband heard of this he hastened off and brought his wife back with him, and both by blandishments and threats, and especially by getting her into controversial discussions with the Protestant ministers and pseudo-bishops, he did all he could to change her opinions. But, like the blessed Martyr St. Catherine, she warded off all these attempts with admirable firmness and prudence of soul. The Father, who received her into the Church, relates that when he asked her by what reasons she had been induced to embrace a creed so opposed to her early education, and so foreign to her whole past life, she answered that when she

often heard her bishops and teachers say things regarding the tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, which were not only incredible upon the face of them but even puerile, she began to persuade herself that there must be some mistatement in these charges. This led her to the secret purchase of several Catholic books, which she kept privately in a garret of the house, that her husband might not discover them. Having read these she was easily convinced that the said charges were full of lies and calumnies, and she thereupon set about placing the affair of her salvation in greater safety. When the same Father represented to her how much she would have to suffer from her husband and others, out of hatred to the Catholic faith, she replied that she perfectly understood it and drew comfort from the saying of our Lord, that whosoever left father, mother, and husband likewise, and whatever else is most dear in this world, for His sake, would be enabled with great constancy to endure all things for Christ. She added that she found great pleasure of mind when, on looking back to her past life, she remembered that her mother soundly beat her with a rod, though she was only seven years of age, for having said that she wished for a Popish husband. This she now regarded as a clear indication of the Divine goodness to one of such tender years, and the good Father could only say in reply that God is wonderful in his saints.

We now proceed to notice a few places in this college, which were either served by Fathers of the Society of Jesus or otherwise connected with its members.

#### CHIDEOCK, DORSET, AND FATHERS CONNECTED WITH IT.

CHIDEOCK, though never, we believe, a fixed mission of this College, must be noticed in our *Records* by way of introduction to the life of the martyr Father Cornelius, who for some years resided at the Castle as chaplain to Lady Arundell, widow of Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne, Cornwall, who had himself been the former protector of Father Cornelius.

Hutching's *History of Dorset*, 1796 (vol. i. p. 546), describes it as a tything, manor, or hamlet, three miles west from Bridport, and inhabited by fishermen and sailors. Leland gives the following description of the place, and its ancient lords:—  
“From Charmouth to Chidwick three miles by neatly good

ground. This is a fisher town distant a mile from the shore. Arundel of Lanheron in Cornwall is lord of the town, and has a manor-place and park there. In the farther end of this town I passed over a brooke that thence resorteth to the sea. From Chidwick to Bridport by corn, pasture, and wood, two miles. Chidiock dwelled by Bridport at Chidiock, and there is a castelle or a faire house, and from Chidiocke cam to Great Arundelle in partition. And the Chidiockes dwelt sometym at Cawndel. This manor-place is now Lord Stourton's by partition of lands bytwixt Arundell and him of Chidiocke's heirs."

At the end of the village, a little to the north, stood this ancient seat of the Chideocks and Arundells, erected by the former family. It was a stately pile, built like a castle on a square piece of ground deeply moated on all sides, it covered about an acre and a half, and appears to have had a tower at each angle, but the whole has been pulled down for many years. The manor came into the family of the Arundells of Wardour through Sir John Arundell of Lanherne, Cornwall, descended from a noble and ancient race of knights, who since the Conquest were known in their own county by the name of the "great Arundells." Sir John married Katherine, widow of William Stafford (father of Humphrey, Earl of Devon), and the youngest of the two daughters of Sir John Chideock, the last of the family.

The following sketch is taken from the *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* for August, 1838, supplied, we believe, by the late Dr. Oliver.

"Of Chideock Castle, once the sanctuary of loyalty and religion, a vestige is now scarcely discernible, though the site bears the name of 'The ruins.' The gateway was taken down in 1741; a tower was partially standing in 1756. The fabric seems to have been erected at the commencement of the fifteenth century by the knightly family of Chideock. The situation chosen for the castle was equally beautiful and commanding. During the civil wars it was regarded by both parties as a post of considerable importance. King Charles I., in September, 1644, is known to have stationed a hundred men in Chideock Castle. In the December following, as we learn from John Viccars' *Parliamentarie Chronicle*, 'Major General Holborn drove the Royalists out of that pernicious nest, and took some of them prisoners.' The Royalists, however, returned soon after, for in March, 1645, a party of dragoons from Lyme, in the service of the Parliament, took the castle, 'strongly fortified with a

fair moat about it,' and carried off two pieces of ordnance and fifty prisoners. 'A garrison of two hundred men was now appointed,' says Viccars, 'which compelled contributions from at least eleven adjacent parishes, which had hitherto paid the King's army.' It fell again into the hands of the Royalists. But about July 29, 1645, a detachment from Lyme retook it, 'with one hundred prisoners, thirty horses, three barrels of powder, and good store of provision and ammunition.' According to tradition the enemy had battered it from Haddon Hill. Hutchins<sup>1</sup> does justice to the incorruptible devotion of its Catholic owner and the defenders of the royal cause. 'Seven,' he says, 'of the neighbours had their estates sequestered in 1645; they were no doubt concerned in defending Chideock House, and were thus punished for their loyalty.'<sup>2</sup> In the adjoining churchyard of St. Giles', under an altar tomb, lies one of the sufferers, Thomas Daniel, who died January 6, 1670, æt. 66. His wife Margaret survived him until January 30, 1689, æt. 66. What interesting details this old couple could have furnished of the seizure and dismantling of the castle!

"In An inventory of all and singular the goods, cattle, and chattles of John Arundell, late of Lanherne in the county of Cornwall, Esquire, deceased, taken and appraised by William Collmer and Richard Orchard on August 7, 1633, at his house at Chideock in the county of Dorset, the sum total (including the library, valued only at £3 6s. 8d., and the plate at £110) amounted to £872 16s. But it is so far curious as recording the number of apartments in the said house or castle before its demolition, viz.—

Mr. Arundell's lodging chamber.

Mr. Edward Jernegan's ditto.

The little chamber on the back of young Mrs. Arundell's.

The little dining-room and the next room.

The chamber next old Mr. Arundell's closet.

The great dining-room.

In the " turretless tower " a chamber, and " the chapell chamber."

<sup>1</sup> *History of Dorset*, vol. i. p. 326.

<sup>2</sup> This Catholic owner was Sir John Arundell, who generally resided at Lanherne. In a letter (written by a Parliamentarian), dated October 21, 1642, now in the State Paper Office, this Mr. Arundell is said to have "the greatest forces here, and is able to raise more than half the gentlemen in Cornwall, and he alone was the first that began the *rebellion* there. There hath been lately landed at some creek in that county ten or more Seminary priests, newly come out of Flanders, and harboured in Mr. Arundell's house. They are *merciless creatures*; and there is great way laid for the apprehension of them" (Oliver).

In the north tower three chambers.

Mrs. Dorothy Arundell's chamber.

The chamber below ye garret.

Mary's chamber.

Young Mr. Arundell's lodging chamber, and the little chamber within.

Old Mr. Arundell's closet.

My lady's chamber, with the next ditto.

The chamber in the midst of the forecourt.

"In other rooms" were five ordinary bedsteads.

"Mention is also made of the buttery, kitchen, pastry-room, dairy, cheese-room, wash-house, brewhouse, bakehouse, and stables.

"Mr. Hutchins<sup>3</sup> informs his readers that several Popish priests were executed at Dorchester; he might have said that all probably were chaplains at Chideock Castle. The first was the Reverend Thomas Pilchard, a native of Battle in Sussex, but of whom the topographer furnishes no details. Even Dr. Challoner could glean but scanty information of this worthy clergyman for his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*. A manuscript of his (Mr. Pilchard's) contemporary and intimate friend, Father William Warford, S.J., supplies some particulars. 'Mr. Pilchard was a Fellow of Baliol College, Oxon, and M.A.; but, abandoning every worldly prospect of fame and interest, he repaired to Rheims, where he gave great edification by his singular modesty, candour, habitual recollection, and unaffected piety. In 1583 he received Holy Orders, and was sent to the English vineyard, where he laboured so commendably that I know no priest in all the west of England that equalled his virtues; and truly his memory is still in benediction there. By his unwearied zeal he gained many souls to God, he was constantly employed in preaching the Divine Word and administering the sacraments, yet his zeal was tempered with the most engaging sweetness and affability, and he was justly regarded as the oracle of that province. Some business calling him to London with his bosom friend Mr. Jessop, a worthy Catholic gentleman, he was discovered in Fleet Street by a person who knew him formerly at Oxford, was consigned over to the officers of justice, and conveyed back on horseback in company with his friend, with their hands tied behind them, and lodged in the county prison of Dorchester. Severe to himself, Mr. Pilchard followed his custom of sleeping on the floor, even in his chains, giving up

<sup>3</sup> *History of Dorset*, vol. i. p. 72.

his bed to his poor fellow-prisoners. Many of these unfortunate captives were reconciled by his zealous ministry to the Catholic Church. When he received sentence of death, a cook or butcher was prevailed upon by the offer of a large premium to carry the sentence, as in cases of treason, into execution. The martyr was scarcely hung up when the rope broke, and the holy man stood erect on his feet under the gallows. The hired executioner was now urged on by the sheriff's men to do his duty, and at length ran like a madman against his victim, plunging his knife deep into his belly, amidst the groans and murmurs of the bystanders. Mr. Pilchard, who was perfectly collected, turning his head towards the sheriff, meekly said, "Sir, is this your justice?" Then the executioner, summoning courage, seized the priest, dashed him upon the ground, opened his body and with savage brutality tore out his bowels.' Father Warford adds that all who were accessory to this legal murder fell into some remarkable calamity, or came to an untimely end; that Mr. Pilchard converted the malefactor who died with him on March 21, 1587; that the above-mentioned Mr. Jessop, who had not attained his fortieth year, died shortly after in Dorchester gaol, and was at his own express desire privately buried in the night time, *proxime ad corpus D. Pilchardi in agris in loco supplicii*; that William Pike, a carpenter (who had formerly on his return from Dorchester met Mr. Pilchard on the road and had been converted by him), on being offered his life if he would recant, boldly replied, 'It is unbecoming of a son of Mr. Pilchard's to abjure his religion;' and so this spiritual child followed his Father to martyrdom, being butchered alive in 1591. Father Warford describes his reverend friend as above the middle size, that he had a cast in his eyes, but not at all disagreeably so, that he had a little beard about the mouth and chin, that his manners were most sweet and sanctified, that he was frugal in his diet, but, what he used most to admire in him, he was always the same. At the time of his martyrdom he was between thirty and forty years of age.

"In another manuscript," continues Dr. Oliver, "I read that about the year 1588, 'at Dorchester, died in prison an old priest and John Jessop, gentleman, above-mentioned; Mrs. Tremaine, and divers others.' I learn also from this manuscript that a pious Catholic artisan of the name of Morecock was taken on a Sunday in Dorsetshire, committed to gaol, and died before the year 1591.

“ For the tragical execution of Father John Cornelius, S.J., on July 4, 1594, who was apprehended at Chideock Castle on the second Sunday after Easter that year, together with Thomas Bosgrave, a gentleman of good family, and two devout servants, Terence or John Carey and Patrick Salmon ; as also for the worse than cannibal ferocity exhibited towards the Reverend Hugh Green (*alias* Ferdinand Brookes) on August 19, 1642, æt. 57, who for nearly thirty years had been priest at Chideock, and probably had occupied ‘ the chapil chamber,’ see Bishop Challoner’s *Missionary Priests*.” So far Dr. Oliver.

Frequent mention is made in the State Papers (Public Record Office) of Chideock and the county of Dorset generally, which appears to have abounded in recusants, and to have been favoured with a more than ordinary share in the troubles and persecutions of the time. A valuable collection of these papers has been formed by Charles Weld, Esquire, of Chideock House, from which he has kindly allowed the following extracts to be made.

*Dom. Eliz.*, October, 1586.

*Sir John Horsey and Sir George Trenchard to Secretary Walsingham.*

There hath been lately brought before us two suspicious persons, who are named Thomas Woodcock of Chideock, who confesses that he was hired to go to London with Charles Towch (or Souch), a recusant, and carried up letters and messages from Thomas Turberville and his wife, of Beer Regis, to Sir John Arundell and others in London, and at his return brought letters to several people.

At his coming from Sir John’s lodgings in Fleet Street, one of his servants, named Francis Anderston, delivered to him a frieze jerkin, close wrapped up, directed with a superscription upon a card to John Henvosse, servant to Mr. George Arundell at Beere, in which was inclosed a letter, without a superscription or any man’s hand to it, containing these words : “ Brother, after my hearty commendations the 20th day of this month of September, at the upper end of Holborne there was the bloodiest execution of the goodliest and godliest gentlemen that ever suffered in England,” and with all the names of those that suffered therein comprised, with other things which now this examinant remembereth not.

This Henvosse, being examined, confessed that he received the said jerkin and letter from his said brother Francis Anderston, and that he knew it came from him. Further, this Thomas Woodcock asking him what was therein contained, this Henvosse answered him, “ News of the late execution ;” which being made known to others at length it came to those that misliked of it. The said Woodcock then, seeing he was like to be had in question, threw it into the fire, whereby we could be no further informed in the matter, but only by the relation of the minister of the parish and their own confession, which is as much as is here set down. What

your honour's direction shall be, both for the apprehension of the said Francis Anderston as for the further punishment of these lewd persons, spreaders of such news, we leave to your honourable and wise consideration ; and so humbly taking our leave, &c.

Dorchester, October 10, 1586.

P.S.—We are further to let your honour understand that our gaols do now grow to be over-glutted with recusants, and that the county begins to be shrewdly infected in sundry places by their obstinacies, if some godly course be not taken by your honour for the removing of them to the prisons above, or some sharper punishment. For now, by means that the common gaols are rented by persons of no credit that live only upon the gain thereof, all justice is subverted, and Papists live at ease and have their conventicles in despite of us, do what we can.<sup>4</sup>

*Dom. Eliz.*, undated, 1586.

*Thomas Brown's directions.*

Inquire at Chidwick in Dorsetshire for one John Streckley (commonly to be found at Holcome's house in that town). If he be absent, this Holcome, after conference, will send for Mr. Charles Souch and his wife, who remain secretly at a house of Sir John Arundell at Chidwick. Holcome is their scout watch and serveth their turn, carrying himself commonly under colour of going to church, for which he has a dispensation. Many recusants often meet at that house of Sir John Arundell.

When I was at Chidwick, John Streckley was newly sent into Cornwall to fetch a priest to marry Sir John Sidnam's son to Mr. Troblefeld's daughter, of Beare, Dorset.<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Troblefeld is a notable Papist, a Bosgrave by name ; has three brothers of the same sort, two beyond seas ; the third and worst worketh about London, frequenting sometimes the Marshalsea or the Fleet [prisons], bearing and bringing news, and draweth many to a seditious mind.<sup>6</sup>

At East Brent in Somerset dwells John Brackenbury, sometime servant to Dr. Watson of Rheims, now teaches school at Brent, and serves as an instrument of the Papists ; this fellow is accounted singular in magic, and of late practised the same with an Irish priest that dwells within a mile of Brent. [T. B. had much talk with these, and relates John Brackenbury's directions.]

<sup>4</sup> In the diary of W. Whiteway, Esq., Dorchester (British Museum), is the following entry—"May 29, 1624. This somer the common gaol in Dorchester in the East Street was finished."

<sup>5</sup> In *Records*, vol. i. p. 135, is a letter from Father Sanders (in the western parts) to Father Edward Parre, in which the following mention is made of a Lady Sydnam—"Newes there is none, but the exorbitant marriage of the Lady Sydnam, who is married to the Lord Gray, a Scottish Viscount, she being of the age of fower score and hee of fower and twentie." In Gee's list of "young women within these 2 or 3 yeares last past transported to the nunneries beyond the seas," we find "Mrs. Sydnam."

<sup>6</sup> This was most probably the family of Bosgrave, of whom one was Father James Bosgrave, S.J., and another the fellow-martyr of Father Cornelius. The "worst" about London, engaged in his charitable and perillous labours in London, may have been the brother alluded to in the Life of Father James Bosgrave, who met him in London (See Life of Father Bosgrave, p. 281).

Advised me to take a boat at Uphill to pass to South Wales and carry a letter to Sir Edward Stradling (whose wife is sister to Gage of Forley, Sussex), who would gladly entertain me and bring me to the good Earl of Worcester, to whom I should be very welcome.

Sent me to one Mocham in Brent Marsh, steward to the late Lord Thomas Paulett; he was then, however, absent in London, so I promised Brackenbury to return that way; he promised to meet at Sir Edward Stradling's.

He wished me to confer with Mr. William Falconer, dwelling within a mile of Salisbury; a rare man of special account among the Catholics, both at home and abroad.<sup>7</sup>

We now give some extracts from examinations of persons in this neighbourhood preserved among the State Papers in Mr. Weld's collection. These are historical curiosities well illustrating the state of society, the strictness of the spy system, and the constant correspondence, even upon apparently the most trivial matters, that was kept up with the Privy Council from all parts of the country; a state of things which was heightened by the fear of Spain.

"1587, February 13. George Gale, Justice of the Peace, Devon, to Bromley, Chancellor, and Walsingham, Secretary.

". . . Being very lately informed that one John Easton, gentleman, a man to me unknown, now at London, and retaining towards Sir John Arundell, knight, at his last being here in the country . . . who is often in Morcharde Epi. parish, Devon, where he was born, and hath a certain mansion house and farm, did not only neglect and refuse to repair unto his parish church, or any other on the Sabbothe days to hear divine service there, but also had delivered certain dangerous speeches, tending to withdraw her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance." [He then sent for the several parties who had been the informers, living at Morcharde Epi., about five miles from his mansion, and examined them] "in as secret a manner as I could," [even writing out the depositions himself, which] "in discharge of mine own conscience and for the better performance of my dutiful service," [he sends to their honours.]

*I. The Examination of Roger Beare, clerk, parson of Morchard Epi (11 Feby. 29 Eliz, 1587).*

"One John Easton, late of Morchard Epi, gentleman, servant and sometime ward of Sir John Arundell, and brought up in his house from his youth, and now being a very tall gentleman, and of

<sup>7</sup> Probably the father, or a relative, of Father John Falconer, whose life is given below.

great courage, having a mansion house within the said parish, doth oftentimes repair thither," . . . sometimes for the greater part of a year. . . . "Although he hath been eftsoons admonished and exhorted by this examinant, to repair and come unto the said parish church, on the Sabbothe days to hear God's Divine service there, yet did he never come . . . by the space of these three years now last past, but used every Sabbothe day to ride forth to some place or other, at or before the time of divine service . . . and being at divers times reprov'd by examinant he hath often times requested examinant to bear with him for a certain time for certain special causes, which he could not utter." . . . He hath always since neglected the same, and examinant upon secret conference touching matters of faith and religion hath found him very obstinate, and altogether addicted to superstitions and erroneous doctrine." . . . Examinant hath heard of some seditious speeches—reported unto him of the said John Easton, which he referreth to the examination of Thomas Hosegood, the reporter thereof.

*II. Examination of Thomas Hosegood, of Morchard Ep̄i, husbandman.*

At Michaelmas last examinant was going to watch the beacon at Sandford, three miles from Morchard, and met John Easton near his own house. . . . He asked where he was going, and having told him (among other things) he, Easton, said "This is a troublesome world," to which examinant replied "Yea, I pray God amend it."

After some conversation about examinant continuing on a farm he rented of Easton, "examinant answered that whether he did stay there or not, he would be at his commandment;" upon which Easton, slapping him on the shoulder, said, "I would I had ten hundred more would say the same." Examinant "was sorry to hear him deliver such words, and went on to the beacon watch; and soon fell in with one Cherryton, a servant of John Rudge, at whose house the said Easton did most commonly be when in those parts. On examinant asking Cherryton of what religion Easton was, he told him that he had drunk unto King Philip, and that he had heard him say that, if there were any wars, that he could find it in his heart to be the foremost horseman.

*III. The Examination of William Cherryton, Morchard, labourer.*

States certain speeches with the said Easton touching wars; and amongst other talk, Easton said that it was a brave life to be in the wars, and that he could find in his heart to be the foremost horseman; to which examinant answered, that he prayed God he might never come into it. . . . Whereupon Easton taking a cup of drink in his hand, said "I do drink now unto King Philip." Examinant then told the said Easton, in reply to his inquiry, "that he would take the same part that the Queen holdeth, as long as he lived, for in this law he was born, and so he would die in it." To which Easton said, "and so will I." And being asked to what church John Easton used to repair, saith that he did never use to come to any church that he could learn of, but his common order was to ride forth every Saturday or Sunday sometimes to one place, sometimes to another, but he knoweth not whither he rode.

Of members of the Society connected with Chideock were JOHN TREMAIN, S.J., a son of Sampson and Helen Tremain,<sup>8</sup> who was received into the Society on his death-bed. He had been a student at the English College, Rome, and made part of his rudimental studies at Chideock, as we learn from the following extracts from the scholars' interrogatories.

"1614. My true name is John Tremain. I am aged twenty-two years, and am a native of Dorset. My parents were Sampson and Helen Tremain, who suffered much in prison for the integrity of the Catholic faith; my father, indeed, was thirty years a prisoner in chains. Both parents are dead. I have a step-mother still living, and four brothers and four sisters, all, with the exception of one brother, are Catholics; also four uncles. I made my rudimental studies first at Dorchester, then at Chideock, and finally at St. Omer.

"Signed, John Cottam."

The College Diary states that he entered October 4, 1614. He took the usual College oath on May 10, 1615, and died the death of a saint in the College on August 8, having been immediately before admitted to the Society. A status of the English College<sup>9</sup> describes him as a very pious, devout, and quiet youth, and of a very ancient and high Cornish family.

Another student of the English College, Rome, was JOHN BULLY, *alias* MICHAEL RUSSELL, who says in his examination: "I was born at Chideock, Dorsetshire, and am twenty-two years of age; son of Robert Bully and Elizabeth Russell. I lived at home until my sixteenth year, when, after my father's death, on the breaking out of civil war I joined the royal army, in which I served for some years, until seizing an opportunity I went to the College of St. Omer, where I have made one year's syntax. My relations are of the middle class. I have two brothers and two sisters. All are Catholics, except an uncle and aunt. It is my desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state."

The English College Diary says that he entered the College as an alumnus, in the name of Michael Russell, on November 14, 1649; was ordained priest at St. John Lateran's on April 4, 1654, and sent into England on May 1, 1655.

<sup>8</sup> Frequent mention of this old Catholic family occurs in *Troubles*, First Series.

<sup>9</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 4.





FATHER JOHN CORNELIUS, S.J.,

Martyred July 4, 1594.

*(Sketched by Charles Weld, Esq., from the original portrait  
at the Gesù, Rome.)*

THE LIFE OF FATHER JOHN CORNELIUS,  
*alias* CORNELLIS, *or* CORNYLLIS, MOHUN, *or* MOONE.<sup>1</sup>

CHAPTER I.

BIRTHPLACE AND EARLY LIFE OF FATHER CORNELIUS.

JOHN CORNELIUS, after a life of wonderful sanctity, added lustre to the year 1594 by his heroic constancy in his martyrdom. Both English and Irish writers claim him as belonging to their own country. He was born of Irish parents, at Bodmin, in Cornwall, and was their only son. His parents, though living in the humblest station, are said to have sprung from the illustrious family of the O'Mahons, or O'Magans. He was (observes Father More) a proof in his own person of the truth of the Scripture saying, that "God looketh on the low and knoweth the high afar off." "I, for my part," remarks the historian, "having observed his own hand-writing in the Register of the English College at Rome, in 1580, in which he calls himself a 'Cornish man,' pronounce him an Englishman." With respect to his mother, accounts are not agreed whether she was English, or of an Irish family of good descent; it is most probable that she was an Irishwoman. His father died during his absence on the Continent making his studies, and left his aged mother in great distress, but suffering, as we shall presently see, infinitely more from spiritual poverty in the loss of her faith; her son had the good fortune to place her with his patroness the Lady Arundell, where she would find succour both for this life and the next through that lady's liberality. As for himself, so great was his attachment to study, that for the sake of it he often quitted his school-fellows in their recreation. On one occasion Sir John Arundell, of Lanherne (who owing to his vast estates and manorial display in the Western counties had obtained the name of the "Great Arundell"), found him with a volume under a hedge and asked why he did not divert himself amongst his fellow-students in the neighbouring field; to which the boy replied, "My delight is much greater in reading this book." Sir John, highly pleased with his answer, gave him a piece of gold, admonishing him to persevere in the same

<sup>1</sup> "Cornellis or Cornellys is more likely to be the true form of the name, than the Latinized Cornelius" (*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 128).

path and assuring him that he would reap the reward. He then took him to his house, where, removed from all danger of imbibing through imprudence the poison of unsound doctrine during his childhood, the treasure of his faith was preserved. He there continued to improve his talents and indulge his great appetite for learning with such success that, after attaining no mean proficiency in his studies, Sir John supported him at Oxford for several years. Through dislike of any contact with the new religion he left Oxford, and his kind patron sent him to Rheims (the English College having lately been transferred thither from Douay), where he was kindly received by Dr. Allen, the founder and first President of that Seminary of martyrs. After some stay at Rheims, he was sent on February 9, 1580, by Dr. Gregory Martin and the other Superiors of the House, with five companions, viz., James Lomax, Christopher Southwork, John Tippet, Simon Swinborne, and Robert Charnock, to the English College, Rome, which Pope Gregory XIII. had lately founded by applying the buildings and revenue of a hospice of the English nation to this purpose, and had committed the administration of it to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, where, on arriving, he entered himself as a Cornish man. The following is an extract from the Diary of the English College :

“1579. John Cornelius, an Englishman, of the diocese of Cornwall, aged twenty-three, for the purpose of studying scholastic theology, was admitted among the alumni of His Holiness Pope Gregory XIII. by Father Alphonsus Agazzari, S.J., the Rector of the College, by the express order of his Eminence Cardinal Moroni, the Protector, on April 1, 1580. He took the usual College oath on October 23 following. Having been ordained priest, he left Rome for England in the month of September, 1583. He was crowned with martyrdom in 1594. On the feast of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, 1581, he made an oration before the Sovereign Pontiff in the Pope's Chapel.”

The same Superiors of the College of Rheims testify to Father Agazzari, then Rector of the English College, “that according to their judgment, those sent to him were all chosen and approved subjects, and, as far as they could see, up to his mark as to age, ability, morals, and learning.”

During his second year in theology, the young student had the honour of making a Latin oration in the presence of His Holiness on Christmas Day, according to the custom

of the College. He was exemplary in every kind of virtue, and so great was his modesty, that after frequenting the Roman College for lectures during three years, at only a short distance from the English College, he was unable to point out the road to it from the Seminary. When he had completed his theology and received holy orders he went back to England in the month of September, 1583.

## CHAPTER II.

## HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

FATHER CORNELIUS immediately returned to his worthy patron, Sir John Arundell, whom he did not fail to exhort to constancy in the faith, and often remind of the counsel that he had received from him to walk in the same path, and never to suffer himself to abandon, for any storms or persecutions which might arise, the religion which he had embraced from his infancy.<sup>2</sup>

His generous patron, on his death-bed earnestly recommended the care of his reverend friend to his widow, Anne, daughter of Edward, Earl of Derby, and relict of Charles, the seventh Lord Stourton. Her daughter, Dorothy Arundell, had him for ten years as her spiritual director, and afterwards becoming a nun at Brussels, she wrote the acts of Father Cornelius, which form the main groundwork of the various histories of this martyr.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Arundell was summoned to London early in 1581, and committed to close custody for a time, by Queen Elizabeth. He died at Isleworth, as we learn by the Parish Register, January 17, 1591, but was buried at St. Columb. His servant Glyn died when a prisoner for religion (Note by Dr. Oliver in *Collectanea S.J.* p. 74). In *Records*, vol. i. p. 295, in a letter of Father John Yates, the translation of Sir John's body to Cornwall with great pomp is alluded to. Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 74, giving a short notice of Father Cornelius, says: "Sir John being an occasional conformist, his conversation with Mr. Cornelius had given him (Cornelius) early impressions in favour of the Catholic religion, which still grew stronger in the University where he met with many of the same dispositions. At last being weary of a conformity against his conscience, he left Oxford."

<sup>3</sup> Miss Dorothy Arundell entered the convent of the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels, and was professed November 21, 1600. She died in the year 1613. Dame Mary, of St. Scholastica's Abbey, has kindly furnished the following information from the Chronicles of her Order: "Dorothy Arundell was professed with Lady Mary Percy (daughter of the martyred Earl of Northumberland), her own youngest sister Gertrude Arundell, and five others (in all eight), thus re-establishing the English Benedictine Nuns, whose community had been dispersed by Henry VIII. Dorothy was a very holy religious." Dame Mary then alludes to the history of Dorothy and Gertrude Arundell—changing their original intention of entering the Order of St. Bridget—and adds, "But it appears that there is a tradition preserved in the Weld family, probably received from

His first care, on returning to England from the Continent, was to bring back his widowed mother into the haven of the Church; and having sought her out and found her, he brought her with him to the house of Lady Arundell, and instructed her in the doctrines of the true faith. Long after this, and within a few months of his being taken prisoner, fearing that he had not instructed his mother sufficiently how to make an entire and accurate confession of her sins, he for a long time devoted two hours daily to the translation of an English book on this subject into the Irish language. At last he had the satisfaction of hearing the confession of his mother, after a full and diligent preparation, and to the great joy of both of them absolved her from her sins.

His charity, however, was not confined to his own relations, but was extended to all indiscriminately; and when he had once ascertained that anybody, afflicted by disease or by any other misfortune, gave hope of being brought to amendment of life through the consolations of his ministry (and in all such cases he was especially zealous and sanguine), he never suffered himself to be deterred through distinctions of blood, nationality, condition of life, or creed, nor by evil report or fear of persecution, from applying his healing remedies and urging them upon his patient, both in season and out of season. He was for a long time consumed by a burning desire to visit the northern districts of England or Ireland, from the belief that they were in greater want of assistance, and would afford him greater scope for work. His fervour in speaking and power in persuading were marvellous, as well as his

the Arundells in by-gone times, that it was *Father Cornelius* who appeared to her in great glory whilst she was praying before the altar of the Miraculous Host in St. Gudule's, at Brussels, and told her that it was the Divine will she should join the Monastery of Benedictines about to be erected in that city. The old Chronicle does not specify this, but only says that she received some extraordinary special favour from God, whilst praying before the Miraculous Host, which decided her to become a Benedictine, and that she always kept the anniversary of that favour with special devotion, but did not reveal any of its particulars. It occurred on the 9th of November, the dedication of St. Saviour's at Rome, 1597. Though the Community did not know what took place during that Divine favour, probably her Abbess and confessor did, and they may have revealed it after her death. The house was bought, and community life begun under the guidance of Dame Joanna Berkeley, a professed nun of St. Peter's Abbey, Rheims (where among others was Mary Seton, the faithful follower and friend of Mary Queen of Scots, and one of the Maries who were brought up with that Princess). Dame Joanna was the first Abbess of Brussels, and had some of the professed nuns from St. Peter's (among others two Noels, aunt and niece), to assist her in training her eight novices, the convent dating its commencement from July 11, 1598."

severity and constancy in administering reproof, until his efforts were either crowned with success or failed beyond hope, in which case he used to affirm that he hated the malice so obstinately manifested, as he did the devil himself, and by this exaggeration frequently succeeded in drawing people out of their settled obduracy, to their great spiritual benefit. For some time he resided with the Arundell family in London.

Father Cornelius is mentioned in the following reports of Government spies.

P.R.O. *Dom Eliz.* vol. clxxvii. n. 48, endorsed March, 1585—"The names of certain priests, with such places as they resort unto."

. . . To Sir John Arundell resorteth one Thompson, and *Cornelius*, priests. *Cornelius* is commonly lodged there. . . . Edmonds the Jesuit, Holland, *Cornelius*, and Transome, are the chiefest preachers.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxviii. n. 39, London, May 2, 1585.

May it please your honour to be advertised that it is concluded and agreed among the Papists that such priests as are determined to remain in England, or hereafter shall come into England, shall be relieved at the hands of Mr. Henry Vaux, son to the Lord Vaux, or by his assigns. This Henry Vaux, in company of Edmonds the Jesuit, Floyd, Jatter, *Cornellys*, Stampe, *alias* Dyghton, and Holland, priests, did lately assemble themselves at the house of Mr. Wylford in Hoggesdon [Hoxton], where it was ordered the Lord Vaux should pay, to the relief of priests that would tarry, one hundred marks.

In the same vol. n. 37, in another letter to Walsingham, we read :

*John Cornelius*, most accompanying with Mr. Gower, servant to the Lord Montague, and often lodged with the said Gower, within his lord's house, at St. Mary, Overies. . . . The principal receivers of the priests about London are Ruste the elder, . . . John Southcote, Richard Rainold, lodged at Whytffeld's in Holborn; John Mannop, lodged at the Three Kings, without Temple Bar; Henry Dunne, Mr. John Darrell, of Sussex. The lodgings of the said priests are for the most part in the common inns in Holborn, especially the Red Lion; for their ordinary meals they are commonly at Whytffeld's, in Holborn, and the Plough, without Temple Bar. . . . April 23, 1586.

In the same vol. n. 72.

May it please your honour to be advertised . . . that I have thought good to certify your honour the names of such Jesuits and priests as are now remaining in London, viz. :

Edmonds the Jesuit,	Lawyer,	Sherwood,
<i>Cornellys</i> ,	Blackburne,	Twyfford,
Dryland [S.J.]	Fortescue,	Ithell, priests.
Barlow,	Bosse,	

These are now lodged in common inns about London, and they do receive their relief of Edmonds the Jesuit, who receives the same of Mr. Henry [Vaux], that daily collecteth money for the same purpose. . . . London, May 26, 1586.

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxcix. n. 15, dated March 3, 1587—  
“The names of such seminary priests as have been since Easter last, 1586, at Sir Thomas Tresham’s.”

Edmonds the Jesuit.

Christopher Thules, *alias* Ashton, now prisoner in the Gate-house.

Stampe, *alias* Dighton, now prisoner in Wood Street.

Edward Dakins.

Ballard, *alias* Thompson, that was executed.

*John Cornelius*, with others that I do not now remember.

“The names of such as have been at Mitcham with Mr. Talbott since the same time.”

Edmonds, Jesuit.

Wingfield.

Parry, *alias* Morgan, now prisoner in the Clink.

*John Cornelius*.

Dr. Stafferton.

John Mushe, with others that I do not now remember.

Father Weston in his narrative,<sup>4</sup> speaking of this same period, says: “I also received letters encouraging me to martyrdom from Father Robert Southwell and Father John Cornelius, both of them now themselves martyrs of the Society.”

The unfortunate Anthony Tyrrell, in his third confession, mentions Father Cornelius when writing to Lord Burghley.<sup>5</sup> “. . . Francis Browne and his brother were altogether governed by Edmonds and Cornelius. They have been by their means conveyed to sundry noblemen. Their practice and dealings have been most secret, as likely to be most perilous. I have heard Edmonds tell me that he hath said Mass before the Lord Compton and others of the Court, preached, and was well rewarded for his pains. Cornelius was thought the fittest man for to preach before ladies and gentlemen, both for his sweet and plausible tongue and for that he could best counterfeit simplicity. It was laboured that one lady should inform another, and get him made famous to some of her Majesty’s Privy Chamber, that so soon as any of them could be caught to affect our religion, that then some of us that could court it should be brought familiar among them, and by corrupting

<sup>4</sup> *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 408.

such as should be near her Majesty, we might have better means to practise any further treachery.”

In addition to the above we refer to page 271, the biography of Father Richard Green, for an extract from the *Harleian MSS.* 360, fol. 10 (before October and after April, 1586). “The names of all such Jesuits and Seminary priests as are in prison in London to my knowledge.” In which occurs Father Cornwallis, for Cornelius.

In the confession of J. H. [Hamblye] *alias* T. [Tregwothan] of the parish of St. Mabyn, Cornwall, taken 18 August, 1586, he mentions having one Mass in a chamber in Gray’s Inn, procured and said by Mr. Cornellys, a priest, present nine or ten persons, all gentlemen of Gray’s Inn, or otherwise, one of whose names was Good . . . he gives a particular description of the ceremony and the place, and says that Cornellys, the priest, was a countryman of his. Afterwards, he says, “he came out of London, last May twelve month, and was directed by Nicholas Blewett, a Cornish man, to Andrew Munday, at a farm of Mr. Watkins, in Bearminster, Dorset, where he has made his most common abode, and has said eight or nine Masses, served by William Barrett of Coltley, in Mayperton parish, Dorset, weaver. At one of these Masses there were present Munday, Barrett, and two gentlemen whose names he knows not . . . [describes them]. At the rest of the Masses, no others present but Munday and Barrett. They were all said in Munday’s own chamber. Also between Christmas and Candlemas last, he said our Mass at Mr. Whitell’s house in Coscombe, within a mile of Mundays, present only Whitell and Barrett.” He then describes going to Bridgewater and Chard, and being apprehended at Crewkerne, and committed to Ilchester gaol, with a man and woman he was going to marry . . . “Since Easter there was present at Mass at Munday’s house, a brother of Munday’s called Harry. At his first coming over Mr. Cornellys gave him 20<sup>l</sup> towards his maintenance.” He informs of several other priests and matter. “He was at the last Taunton Assizes condemned for being a Seminary priest, and had his judgment thereon, and yet, upon his submission and promise of reconciliation to her Majesty’s law, he was relieved; and for that he lay there upon the hard boards and had but the allowance of a penny a day, and could not have the allowance of 2d. a day more, and a bed, as it was allowed and appointed unto him, he escaped and came to Knoyle [near Sarum], to the Widow Browne’s house there, by the former advertisement given by the said Dallison of one Barnes, who was son-in-law to the said Widow Browne; which Barnes is also a Catholic, as this examinant termeth him, at whose (Browne’s) house upon search made on Sunday night last, he was apprehended.”<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Dom. Elizabeth*, vol. xcii. n. 46 (1). The original examination, of which the above is an analysis, was sent to the Lords of the Privy Council, accompanied by a letter from John Piers, Bishop of Salisbury, and Giles Estcourt, dated Sarum, August 20, 1586. They state that they had searched the houses of suspected persons and recusants, and announce the arrest of John Hamblye, *alias* Tregwethan, a Seminary priest, and that he had been convicted at the last Somerset assizes, but had “broken gaol” and escaped.

## CHAPTER III.

INSTANCES OF HIS CHARITY TOWARDS BOTH THE LIVING AND  
THE DEAD.

WHEN a certain person, who was one of his particular friends, but led a licentious life, would listen only with callous indifference to the wholesome advice which he gave him, the Father showed his great forbearance, and would not yield to the friends present, who, indignant at such hardened stubbornness, implored the Father to withdraw and leave the impenitent man to the sentence of an avenging God. He strengthened his refusal by quoting the extreme meekness and patience of Jesus Christ, Who appearing to Carpus, a bishop, when he called on Him to punish two great sinners, said to him, as St. Dionysius the Areopagite relates,<sup>7</sup> "Strike Me, Carpus, with your uplifted arm; for I am ready to undergo My Passion a second time in order to save men." Father Cornelius, speaking thus with tears in his eyes, betook himself, full of grief, to pray for that abandoned soul, to deliver him, as he said, from at least one kind of sin.

A poor old man, a Protestant, was lying in a hovel abandoned by all, afflicted with a filthy cutaneous disease beyond hope of recovery, and beset by fleas and all kind of vermin, by which the poor creature was devoured in every part of his body, for the loathsome sight and stench had prevented any one from approaching him, or bringing him assistance. But Father Cornelius, hearing of the miserable destitution of this man, at once hastened to his aid; he searched for him, and, when he had found him, remained with him the whole night, consoling him and rousing him to the hope of a better life. He convinced him of his errors, and finally, confirming by the Sacrament of Extreme Unction the absolution of his sins in Confession, he promised to bring him the Holy Viaticum on the following day, which however he was prevented from doing, as death released the poor sufferer in the meanwhile. The Father was so covered with vermin and filth from one night's attendance on the sick man, that he was obliged to lay aside his clothes, which it was impossible for him to wear afterwards, though, considering the service he was able to render to the deceased, he had no cause to regret their loss.

A certain town was affected by a contagious disease which also attacked the people in the surrounding country. Father

<sup>7</sup> *Epistle*, viii.

Cornelius, always most indefatigable in the cause of souls, by sending a person to make inquiries where there was any hope of doing good and himself hastening at once to the spot, was enabled to rescue many dying men from that perdition into which they had been drawn by heresy.

During the whole of his life no man could be less attentive to his own ease and interest, his mind was always fixed on God, and he observed most vigilantly every thing which could draw down the Divine favour upon himself and his neighbour. He had scarcely been three years in the country when more than thirty families had through his influence withdrawn themselves from the communion of the Protestants, had ceased to attend their churches, and had embraced the religion of their forefathers. The Protestant ministers, as their custom is, soon began to complain vehemently far and wide of this loss. Father Cornelius took no notice of them, but frequently changing his abode, continued to assemble the Catholics in various places and to console and exhort them to constancy; he instructed and invigorated them by sermons, and strengthened them by the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. They exerted themselves to the utmost to assemble together in great numbers, even at the dead of the night and in all seasons, that they might obtain from him counsel in their doubts, help in their difficulties, consolation under affliction, and confirmation and encouragement when things looked bad. If it was unsafe for them to meet in private houses he sought protection in the thickest woods, far removed from public roads; and never did a preacher have more attentive hearers, for he displayed great power and animation in his discourses, great strength in persuasion, and no less vehemency and firmness in admonition. Drawn by the zeal of his charity, whoever had even once made his acquaintance became ever afterwards warmly attached to him.

A priest who lived in the same house with Father Cornelius during a severe illness suddenly became unconscious; anxious to assist his friend, the Father ordered him to come to himself for the space of a quarter of an hour, that he might hear his confession. This was granted. They spoke for some time together, and after the Father had accomplished what he desired, the priest relapsed into his former state.

Father Cornelius had great charity for the suffering souls in Purgatory. In order to help them he was exceedingly zealous in begging alms for the poor, in burning lights in honour of

the Saints, in severe personal corporal afflictions—as fasting, disciplines, hair-cloths, and the like, and in offering up the adorable Sacrifice of the Altar for them nearly four times each week. Whilst engaged in washing his hands he used to say a *De profundis* for them, considering that these ablutions should be offered for their refreshment in their cleansing flames, rather than for himself. His old master, Mr. Harris, who had died shortly before, appeared to him in his sleep, and entreated him to relieve him in his present suffering by saying some Masses for his soul, which we may well suppose he most readily did.

The name of Father Cornelius was, as we shall see below, connected with the striking death of one of the Lords Stourton. This nobleman, who was a Catholic, had through fear in those terrible times conformed to the State religion, having greater regard for his temporal than for his spiritual and eternal interests. Lest, however, death should surprise him in this sad neglect of his duty he entertained two priests in his house, and had taken all imaginable precautions that both should never be absent at the same time, being fully resolved to die within the pale of the true Church. But God's inscrutable providence and just judgment did not allow this, for when he met with the accident which carried him off, both priests were absent at the same time, nor could the most anxious search discover where they were. Still, God in His great mercy infused into the Baron's heart so lively a sense of the horror of his sin and so deep a contrition, that, not satisfied with begging pardon of God and promising within his own mind amendment and satisfaction, he called together his wife and steward and all the family, and with floods of tears acknowledged before them his crime and the scandal he had given, declaring that he was willing to make amends were it even by shedding his blood. He expressed his grief at being deprived of the rites of the Catholic Church when he most wished to receive them, and protested that he died a Catholic, out of which religion there was no salvation, then imploring God's mercy he expired. He not only besought them all to bear witness of this his act before both men and the dreadful tribunal of God; but even, it is said, made a confession of his sins to a servant man in sign of his sincere repentance, desiring thereby to testify his full determination to have confessed to a priest, had time and opportunity permitted.

Father Cornelius, when asked his opinion if in this case it was lawful to pray for the deceased Lord, replied that it was

both lawful and obligatory. The following incident is related by Dame Dorothy Arundell, the half sister of the deceased Lord, in her MS. Acts of the blessed martyr Cornelius. "One day my mother, Lady Arundell, begged Father Cornelius to offer up Mass for the soul of her son John, Lord Stourton, which he consented to do. When at the altar, he remained a considerable time in prayer between the consecration and the memento for the dead. After Mass was finished he made an exhortation on the words, *Beati mortui qui in Domino moriuntur*—"Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord," and then told us that he had just seen a vision. Before him was presented a forest of immense size in which all was fire and flame, and in the midst he perceived the soul of the deceased Lord, who with tears and lamentable cries accused himself of the evil life he had led for several years especially whilst at the Court, and his dissimulation in frequenting the Protestant Church, though still a Catholic, to the scandal and grievous hurt of the souls of his relations. But above all, in the most bitter terms, he accused himself of having been one of the forty-seven chosen by Queen Elizabeth to condemn the innocent Mary Queen of Scots, a crime for which he had experienced so deep a contrition that it had hastened his death. After these avowals of the deceased Lord to Father Cornelius, he exclaimed in the words of Holy Scripture, *Miseremini mei, miseremini mei, saltem vos, amici mei, quia manus Domini tetigit me*—"Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you my friends, for the hand of the Lord hath touched me." Having implored the Father to assist him with prayers, the appearance, by which he had been recognized, vanished. Father Cornelius wept much in relating his vision to us, and all the household, who to the number of about eighty persons were listening to him, united their tears with his. The server of the Mass, John Carey, afterwards a sufferer for the faith with Father Cornelius, saw and heard all that passed in the vision; but as for myself and the rest of those present, we only perceived, while it was manifested, a glimmering reflection like that of live coals on the wall against which the altar stood."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Father William Weston, in his narrative (*Troubles*, Second Series, pp. 128, 129), gives a short account of this vision, but speaks from the reports he had received of it.

## CHAPTER IV.

## HIS POWER OVER THE DEVILS, AND GREAT MORTIFICATIONS.

WITH great zeal and sanctity Father Cornelius laboured for ten years in maintaining and preaching the true religion, and this he did equally by his admirable discourses and by the power given him over evil spirits. It is reported that before he attained his thirtieth year, his prayer, fasting, and the austerities he underwent in their expulsion, made his hair grey in a few months. So great was his power in driving them out of the bodies of the possessed, that his fame was spread abroad amongst all the Catholics of England. The expelled spirits often went forth uttering terrible curses, and vociferating that they could by no means withstand the charity of the Father, whose very approach sometimes put them to flight. Having once endeavoured for a long time to expel an evil spirit he petitioned, at the end of the Mass, that he might rather himself be blotted out of the book of life, than that God's glory, and the power of the Church or of the Catholic religion should suffer in the opinion of the bystanders; by this prayer the spirit was so completely vanquished that, leaving the person possessed, he cried out that the charity of the Father was irresistible. Father John Gerard, in his narrative, speaking of the sufferings of the priests, thus briefly refers to Father Cornelius and to this case of exorcism, "What shall I say of a Cornelius, so famous in preaching that all Catholics followed him, as children do their nurse when they long for milk; a man so full of the Apostolic charity that with one fervent speech, imitating the readiness of St. Paul to be "anathema pro fratribus," he expelled a devil out of a person whom he was exorcising. I know the time and place in which this was done, and how another wicked spirit confessed, in a possessed person, that his fellow was cast out by Cornelius his charity. This good Father was the third of the Society [in England] which suffered death by public justice for the profession of the Catholic Roman faith."<sup>9</sup>

Another evil spirit, upon being cast out, offered Father Cornelius two-pence to buy a halter by which he might be hung within the year. "Nor is he always a liar who is always wicked"—*Neque semper est mendax qui nequam*

<sup>9</sup> See "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 17, 18.

*semper est*, for, as we shall see, through the treachery of a servant he was taken and hung. He had often desired such a death, and being once asked to write some pious sentences in a book, he put down the following wish: "Would that I might be despoiled of this my flesh, whether by the rope, the cross, or the torture." After this he wrote in Latin: "To despise the world, to despise no man, to despise oneself, this is the life of a good ecclesiastic." On one occasion when he had exposed the Divine Host in the ciborium after Mass, in order to confirm the weak faith of some persons who were present, and to restore others that had fallen, he compelled the devil to utter a striking confession of the Real Presence in these words: "I acknowledge Thy Omnipotence, O God, in this Sacrament." Such an utterance, whilst it wonderfully impressed and astonished the Protestants, equally confirmed and established the orthodox in the faith.

The devil is said to have sometimes appeared to him in many horrid shapes, then presently changed them, and so vanished from sight. The Rev. Mr. Manger, in a MS. narrative written by him, relates on the testimony of a worthy gentleman who was familiarly acquainted with Father Cornelius, that out of one possessed woman he in his presence forced the devil to bring forth a piece of a rusty knife about an inch and a half in length, which he took from her mouth, and a bag of sand in the form of a pincushion and size of a little penny purse. Father Cornelius' great fame as an exorcist, the incredible good effected by his labours, and even the reports of the exorcisms made public by the devils themselves, were spread amongst the Protestants far and wide, and were felt to turn to their own discredit. This urged on the magistrates to send out at one and the same time no less than three hundred emissaries with orders to follow in the track of the reports, and to seize and bring Father Cornelius bound before them, whenever they could catch him. Like Caiaphas and his companions they exclaimed: *Quid facimus, quia hic homo multa signa facit?*—"What do we, because this man doth many wonders?" We read in an intercepted letter signed Robert, probably from Father Robert Southwell to Father Agazzari: "Father Cornelius, called by the Protestants a conjurer and enchanter, is in safety and doth much good by his singular gift in preaching."<sup>10</sup>

The pursuivants seized and put into chains several persons

<sup>10</sup> P.R.O., *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccxv. n. 112. A copy of this letter is given in the *Life of Father Robert Southwell, Records*, vol. i. p. 331.

in mistake for the real object of their search, who, whilst this storm was raging, consented to withdraw for a short time, though during the interval of his retirement he allowed very little relaxation in his charitable work of exorcism. It was probably during this hot pursuit after him that an event occurred, which shows the care God is pleased to take of His servants until the hour has come in which they are to receive their crown. Whilst Father Cornelius was at a nobleman's house at Mile-end, three miles from London, a body of thirty of the Queen's pursuivants surrounded it, and breaking in made straight for the apartment where the Father, ignorant of his danger, was busy writing with his coat and cloak off, and wondered at the unusual noise made in opening the door. He rose hastily and, observing the men, stood still, they looked at each other as though disappointed of their prey, when he, understanding how it was, and recognizing in it the finger of God, quietly passed through the midst of them neither giving nor receiving any salutation, and holding his pen still between his lips. As he hurried through the fields he was accosted by two Catholic friends, who were surprized at this strangeness of dress in so grave a man, and asked him what business he was going upon; on hearing what had happened, they adored the providence of God and testified their great veneration for the Father's sanctity.

We have already slightly touched upon several beautiful examples of great virtue in Father Cornelius. His piety towards God was very marked, as well as his holy hatred against himself. Each habit of his private life was regulated with remarkable modesty. He had fixed hours for every separate action, and never infringed the rule except on some urgent occasion. He was accustomed to celebrate the Holy Mysteries at five o'clock in the morning, unless prevented by necessity, in this function he used to say that his mind was inebriated with heavenly delights, and during the oblation he appeared to be in Paradise. He often shed tears at the altar, especially in Holy Week, when he read the history of the Passion.

He was frequently rapt in Divine contemplation, and a gentleman who came to consult him, once found him on his knees with his arms crossed, his eyes raised towards heaven, and every sense closed, so that no sound could avail to bring him to himself. When at length aroused he expressed an earnest desire that this person would acquaint no one with what he had

seen. His corporal inflictions in the use of the discipline were most severe, while on his body he wore a rough knotted hair-cloth reaching to the knees. For many years he fasted four times a week, till forbidden by Father Henry Garnett under whose direction he had placed himself in the practice of his austerities, from the time he first resolved to unite himself by vows to the Society of Jesus. His director restrained to a more just measure these practices, as well as other severe labours and fatigues which were tending rather to destroy than to mortify his body. Negligent of himself, he was lavish to the poor, and gave them all that came to his hands, committing the care of himself to God's good providence, which he exhorted others to do also, assuring them that necessaries would never fail them whilst they lent to the Lord. Those, who had not wherewith to bestow, he advised to relieve their neighbour's wants by reciting the Lord's Prayer. When he was in prison and no one could approach to succour him, he would look out of the window of his cell, and if he saw any poor of whatever condition he would throw out to them money, or whatever else he might have, the fruit of this charity being to increase his own sufferings by depriving himself of his necessary support. He carefully preserved his purity of soul and delicacy of conscience, and could never be induced to say grace at table with Protestants, whether men of rank or others who were courteous to him, as the Cavalier Trenchard was, so greatly did he abhor any participation with heretics in matters of worship, or even the least appearance of it.

To the instances of custody of eyes already given, we may add that, though he lodged for three years in a room the window of which looked upon the parish church, he never observed the fact, nor did he know whether the house in which he lived had a thatched or tiled roof. He lived ten full years in the two houses of Sir John Arundell, one being in London, and the other Chideock Castle, yet in all that time he knew nothing of the affairs of the neighbours outside, had never remarked what was opposite his own window, nor the entrance into the house in which he was a guest.

He preached regularly twice a week with an energy that was almost beyond his strength, and gave catechetical instructions for about an hour every afternoon. At night he would meet those who aspired after perfection and had determined to devote themselves to Christ and to good works, and for the space of about half an hour would inflame their souls with

suitable pious reading and strengthen their courage in their fixed good resolutions; all spare time he devoted to study. When he was seized by the enemies of the faith, and obliged to go forth to do battle with them and sustain the glory of the faith, he multiplied in so extraordinary a degree his usual penitential acts, that, had they been continued a little longer, it was believed they would have caused his death. He wisely seconded the inspirations of the Holy Ghost, which taught him that he should beg of God, with the greatest fervour, the special aids that were so clearly necessary to prepare him for the last grand act of dying for the glory of the Catholic faith, if he was to be worthy to follow the example of so many martyrs before him, and to be himself an example to those who should come after him.

When Lady Arundell and her establishment left London for Chideock Castle, Father Cornelius accompanied them, and the fruit of his zeal soon appeared in the conversion of many families. But we cannot be surprised at this, if we call to mind his seraphic charity, his uninterrupted union with God, and his mortified life.

Father Cornelius had for many years cherished a vehement desire of belonging to the Society of Jesus, and had applied to Father General Aquaviva for admission. In a letter written to his Paternity about the year 1592, Father Henry Garnett says, "John Cornelius, a man of remarkable piety, declares himself ready to go into Flanders (the novitiate of the English Province) if ordered. He is a man truly humble, devout, and holy, terrible to the devils, whom he has lately expelled in numbers by wonderful exorcisms. . . . In the opinion of our Fathers he is worthy to be carried on our shoulders: he has made a vow of entering the Society. He consulted your Paternity on this matter, at the same time also with Mr. Loo, lately a martyr.<sup>11</sup> He is a man of that character that there is no danger in delaying his noviceship and admitting him on the spot, besides which he almost always lives with one of our Fathers." In the same letter Father Garnett tells the Father

<sup>11</sup> "The Rev. John Lowe [or Loo] was born at London, and was for some time a Protestant minister, but being converted he went abroad, and was first an alumnus of Douay College, and afterwards sent from Douay to Rome in 1576, where he was made priest, and from thence returned upon the English Mission. Here he was apprehended and cast into prison, and at length tried, condemned, and executed, as in cases of high treason, merely for his priestly character and functions. He suffered at Tyburn, October 8, 1586" (Challoner's *Missionary Priests*).

General that he is worthy of being allowed to make his novice-ship upon the mission, considering his great services to the Catholics in preaching, consoling the afflicted, and other sacerdotal functions.

## CHAPTER V.

## HIS APPREHENSION, HIS EXAMINATION, AND REMOVAL TO LONDON.

AFTER Sir John Arundell's death, in 1591, his widow was persuaded to remove her household from London to her husband's castle of Chideock, and there spend her widowhood in fitting retirement along with her daughter. The study of piety, the best kind of learning, under the direction and teaching of Father Cornelius, was the one aim of all. Nearly three years had been spent thus at Chideock, when the time for gathering the fruit appointed by the Divine husbandman arrived. From motives of pure benevolence, Lady Arundell had been induced to employ a miserable pauper in menial offices about the castle. After some time, this man, forgetful of his situation, caused great annoyance to one of the domestics, a very respectable person, and Lady Arundell's confidential servant. Complaint was made to Father Cornelius, the chaplain, who seriously remonstrated with the man on the impropriety of his conduct. Fired by the spirit of revenge, and hoping to succeed in his designs if he could get rid of the Father by betraying him to the Privy Council, the wretched man concerted measures with the High Sheriff of Dorset, Sir George Morton, and two justices of the peace, George Trenchard and Ralph Horsey, Esqrs. The traitor gave them notice of all that passed in the house, from time to time. Easter Sunday, March 31, 1594, was fixed upon for the attempt, and for five miles round the castle the paths and roads were beset with guards. Suspicious of danger the martyr said Mass that morning as early as one o'clock, and having administered Holy Communion to the family, resisting all entreaties to stay, he hurried away and lay prostrate on the ground within a thick underwood at some distance off. Easter Sunday had been named by the magistrates because the spy had informed them that, on so great a festival and in so numerous a Catholic family, there would certainly be Mass, and consequently a priest there. In thus retreating for a time, the martyr did not so much regard his own personal safety as the saving that good and numerous family the serious trouble it would incur were he found in it. The traitor having informed the justices of the

Father's departure, they deferred the attempt upon the house for that day; but one account makes it probable that they searched the neighbourhood, if not the castle itself, and after two days of fruitless labour returned much dissatisfied and provoked with their informer.

As Father Cornelius during his temporary retreat was gaining many souls to Christ, and was unwilling to expose the family to a repetition of the danger and again jeopardize their lives, liberty, and property, he considerably proposed to leave Chideock, at least for some time. But Lady Arundell would not consent, and sent to him declaring that she was willing to risk all; so that the Father, yielding to the pressing solicitations of his patroness, returned and resumed his former ministry. This also was duly notified to the justices by the arch-enemy, and, on April 14, the second Sunday after Easter, Father Cornelius having said Mass at five o'clock was making his thanksgiving after it, when Mr. Trenchard, with his body of satellites, secretly scaled the castle walls, burst open the doors, and entered with drawn swords and loud shouts, dispersing themselves over the house in every direction, breaking into the apartments, and destroying the doors and every barrier in their way. Father Cornelius had, however, secured himself in the hiding-place, by which means he eluded their search for five or six hours. The magistrate, having made the strictest search and done all that he could or that his office required of him, when about to remount his horse and depart, first ordered his men to load a cart and carry off a great quantity of books, the greater part being sacred and therefore confiscated, as also were four sets of vestments and altar furniture. In an evil moment, one of the servants of the house, grinning and mocking at the departing Justice, cried out: "What a riot, what an army, what a demolishing of walls and of doors, what a confusion of the whole castle, as though carried by the enemy after an assault of six hours; and yet, after all, behold the booty you are carrying away—a cartload of books! Grand gain for men of such account! Go and divide your plunder, give each man a book, since if you cannot become rich thereby, you may at least become learned!" Stung with all this rallying, and not without reason, Mr. Trenchard, taking up the man's word, proceeded to further acts. "And I," he said "will show thee now, for thy grief, with how much less exertion and time I shall be able to carry off other booty than books;" then, without more ado, he called the traitor by name,

who but for this new provocation would have escaped the detection of his infamous treachery. "Lead me," cried he, "to his hiding-place." The traitor, having once observed it left open by the indiscretion of some one of the house, immediately led the Justice to it, and on forcing the entrance, Father Cornelius was seen on his knees, absorbed in meditation.<sup>12</sup>

At the appearance of the martyr, the whole posse set up a loud shout of triumph. Hearing which, the Lady Dorothy, guessing the sad cause, hastened thither, and saw Father Cornelius paler in face than usual, as it seemed to her, but refulgent with an extraordinary light, by which she was so overcome as to be unable to speak either to him or to any one else. Being brought out by Trenchard, he showed no kind of fear. "I am glad," said the Justice of the Peace, "that we have caught you at last." To whom the Father instantly replied: "And I am doubly glad that you have got me." Then they demanded his name: he gave it them. Was he a priest? He said Yes. A Jesuit? He said he was one of those that loved them. They also asked him why he had fled from them, since to do so was not according to the Apostle. The martyr replied: "Nay; St. Paul himself was let down from a window in a basket, and so escaped their hands." This answer silenced them. Leading him down into the hall

<sup>12</sup> Father John Gerard says in his Narrative that the breathing or coughing of the priest was the means of his discovery; but unquestionably attention to the spot had been directed by the traitor. Father Gerard says, in describing the manner of searches and the violence attending them, "When the searchers find not any priest for all this cruel diligence they have used, they will not yet give over, but supposing there is or may be some so secretly hidden that yet he is there for all that they have done, then they appoint a watch about the house and every part thereof of fifty or sixty men, and sometimes more, and these with guns and bills, &c. And this they keep for many days together (intending to starve him out), sometimes for six, yea, ten and twelve days continuance. Sometimes also they place men in the chambers of the house within, both to keep watch that no Catholic shall stir to relieve the priest (though commonly they make them sure for that by locking them up all in one part of the house together, which they mean least to search as being least suspected); and besides that they may hearken if any little stirring be behind a wall, yea, but the breathing or coughing of a priest (which was the means indeed by which Father Cornelius before mentioned was found out and apprehended), for which end also they do sometimes speak aloud one to another, that they will be gone away because they can find nothing, and seem to make a noise as though they did depart; then will they go softly into the chambers a little after and seem to be of the house, and knock softly at every wall, willing the good man to come forth, for now the searchers are gone, thanks be to God. . . . It is truly wonderful sometimes the protection of God in these cases, that men do escape their hands, when by human means one would think it were wholly impossible, of which I have known many examples" (*Condition of Catholics*, p. 38).

beneath, the magistrates converted it into a sort of court of justice (because to have a priest in the house was a crime of high treason, and involved all the family, both masters and servants); and here they subjected him to an examination as to his profession and acts. He begged them previously to understand that he owed it to justice and charity to maintain an impenetrable silence as to points and matters that might prejudice other persons, but as to his profession and religion, he was prepared to defend it with zeal and modesty. The members of the family were then introduced one by one, and, being questioned as to their knowledge of the prisoner, all with one accord denied that they knew him. Justice Trenchard and the rest preferring to act as examiners and judges, rather than as blood-thirsty enemies and persecutors, like those in the other counties of the kingdom, dismissed them as innocent. At length, Lady Arundell, the mistress of the castle, was asked, and although they knew from the information given by the traitor within her own family that this was the eleventh year of the Father's residence in her house, yet on her expressing astonishment at being asked and declaring that his appearance was quite strange to her, they readily passed her by. While these insults were offered to the Father, Mr. Thomas Bosgrave, a nephew of Lady Arundell, a gentleman of great virtue and courage, was standing by, and was next called up and asked if he knew the Father. He answered them by acts, for seeing Father Cornelius standing there uncovered like a criminal, and having a keen sense of the dignity of his person and the indignity with which it was treated, he boldly with reverent obeisance put his own hat upon the Father's head. The magistrates reprehended him, saying, "Do you thus honour traitors?" "The Catholic priests," said he, "are faithful to God and man; nor can the epithet of traitor be applied to them." For which generous defence of the truth it pleased God to grant him the rich merit of a martyr's death, and the magistrates at once committed him to custody, telling him that he should bear the Father company. John, or, as some say, Terence Carey, and Patrick Salmon, both natives of Dublin, and servants in the family, were also taken prisoners on the charge of aiding and assisting a priest.

Dorothy Arundell was summoned last of all and questioned whether she knew the Father; and, as they had failed to convict him by the evidence of the others, they feigned anger, and accosting her sharply demanded how she could dare to

receive, maintain, or conceal in the house a public traitor, and an enemy of her Majesty the Queen? Thus no room was left for denying him, or making any other excuse, than simply plead ignorance of the law which made the act punishable with death. It is probable that they acted thus with the especial design of forcing one, who from her age and condition would suffer little or nothing, to take upon herself the blame of an act which must have been done by some one of the family, so that confessing herself the guilty party, she might exonerate the rest. Aided by God and her own heroic courage she promptly and boldly answered, “*I* gather together traitors and enemies of the Queen! *I* sustain them! *I* conceal them! If you would have men of that kind I know them not: I well know that. I know none such. As regards Father John, I promise you that, if his finding had depended upon my discovering him, sooner should you have torn my heart from my breast than the Father from his hiding-place.” They demanded, “By whose hands then or knowledge was he received into the castle and concealed?” “As though,” she continued, “I could not do so much, and therefore required the help of any one besides myself. I invited him, and I alone concealed him. And so entirely was it my own act that I did not even name it to my mother; and hence the blame or the merit, whichever of these it is, belongs to me alone. And in doing this I have intended no offence to the Queen, nor to yourselves, nor to any one else, but have obeyed the laws of piety and of nature rather than those of men. Father John has in our house a mother, a poor Irish woman, decrepid, aged, and bed-ridden. You can satisfy your own eyes of this if you please. Now, if it is a crime to afford a mother of such age, and under such circumstances, the extreme consolation of seeing her own child; if there is any generation of savages that would refuse it, then I give up, and will acknowledge that I have done wrong in inviting him, to satisfy this duty of piety and to pay this debt of nature. Not because you reprehend me for it as for a crime, will that make it to be one; on the contrary, I esteem it as a meritorious act.” Thus spoke this noble-hearted and high-spirited young lady. The magistrates, unable to condemn her, yet unwilling to acquit her, dismissed her without further words, admiring within their hearts the great generosity and prudence of her answers.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The *Edinburgh Catholic Magazine* for 1838, pp. 649, 650, contains an article called “Merrye Englaunde, or the Golden Tymes of good Queen

These events occurred on April 24, but the full account of what took place at these examinations has not been handed down. The following is a copy, from the State Papers in the

Besse," which puts the following speech into the mouth of Miss Arundell, purporting to be taken from some MS. for the authenticity of which we do not vouch. The speech, however, is so exactly what one would have expected from that high spirited and courageous lady, that we add it as a note. After mentioning the second attack upon Chideock Castle and the arrest of Father Cornelius and Mr. Bosgrave, together with the conversion of the hall by the magistrate into a regular tribunal for the examination of witnesses, the narrative continues, "With abundant audacity he summoned the Lady Arundell to appear before him. She, keeping her chamber through infirmity, would not appear, but the traitor witnessing that Mistress Dorothy, the daughter, knew of the Father's being a priest, she was most unseemly compelled into the hall. But here this noble and virtuous lady showed herself worthy of her high descent. Her courage noways failing her, but with undaunted resolution denying with indignation that whereof they accused her and her mother, that they did harbour traitors to the Queen, or that her mother knew of Father Cornelius abiding in the Castle, for by reason of infirmity she kept her chamber for many months, during which time she herself caused the Father to take up his lodging in the castle privately: but that traitor he was none; and with much dignity she defied them to prove the guilt of treason upon him. 'Tis not he,' said she, with much impassioned speech, 'tis not he that is a traitor—'tis yourselves. Enforcing to the utmost this rigorous code of statutes, you betray the Queen by acts of cruelty in her name towards loyal subjects, whom neither persecution nor death have power to impel to one disloyal wish against her authority, or against her own most gracious self. Traitors ye are, making as it were a cloak of her Majesty's authority to sanction your own despotic acts. Thus do ye betray her into seeming what she is not—a tyrant oppressor of the weak and innocent, and a persecutor of her fellow-Christians. Right well assured am I, that had her gracious Majesty not been deceived by those who, like yourselves, find cruelty a pastime, and fill their coffers with the spoils of victims, never would she have countenanced the enactments of these barbarous statutes, nor have given the unlimited enforcement of them to such as ye. And what are the fruits of your unhallowed toils? Your dungeons are crowded with confessors of every age and condition; your towers and strong places echo the groans of those you torture, because they nowise will renounce their faith; your scaffolds reek with the blood of martyrs, whilst murder and suspicion stalk abroad, and high descent and noble blood cannot protect the gentry of this land from the base accusations of treason, though it be preferred by some hireling knave who sells his oath for gold. All ties of fellowship are broken, and neighbours, friends, and kinsmen turn spies and informers against each other. Is this a state meet for a land of freeborn men? for England, the dread and envy of surrounding nations? Nor hope by these un-Christian acts to root out and despoil our holy faith; far dearer it becomes when persecution vainly strives to deprive us of it. With the most loving loyalty to our country's laws, we still must feel that to our God alone are we to answer for our religious faith; and in the full assurance of the blessed reward awaiting those who suffer for their conscience, we laugh at tortures, prisons, forfeitures, and death, and thus will flourish the one true Church which Christ and His Saints have planted. A time will come when Britons yet unborn shall be astonished and confused to hear that these fair realms have witnessed cruelties so disgraceful, and they shall hasten to bury in oblivion that man could ever oppress his fellow-man for that he with constancy adhered to his forefather's faith.' Mr. Trenchard and the rest strove to interrupt or silence the noble spirited lady, not with disputation, for in no ways could they controvert truths so plainly set forth,

Public Record Office,<sup>14</sup> of a short examination of Father Cornelius, taken probably at the same time. After this we insert a fuller examination of William Holmes, a servant of the family, made before Sir George Trenchard.

The examination of John Cornelius *als* Moone, late of Bodmyn in the countie of Cornewall, taken the xv<sup>th</sup> of April, 1594.

Who saith that he is of age xl. yeares, and was made priest of the order of the Semynarie at Roome xiii. or xiiij. yeares past, and came over into England about xj. yeares past, where he hath contynued travelling within the realme to and fro, to do good and instruct in the Romish religion, according to his function. But being demanded in what places he made his aboade, he refuseth utterlie to answeare directlie, for feare of bringing others into the danger of the lawes. He denyeth that he ever saide Masse since he came to Chideocke House, and confesseth that he hath a mother nowe living in the same house of Chideocke.

HENRY TRENCHARD.  
JOHN WILLYAMS.

The exām. of W<sup>m</sup> Holmes, late servant unto the Lady Stourton, taken before Sir Geo. Trenchard, the 21 day of April, 1594.<sup>15</sup>

Who saith that he hath bene servant unto Sr. Jno. Arundell, deceased, and the now La. his widow by the space of 13 or 14 yeares. And that he hath known John Cornelius to be dwelling with the said Sir John Arundell and his lady by the space (as he now remembreth) of nyne yeares or thereabouts. And also he did know one John Sherwood, a priest, now deceased, to have dwelled likewise with the said Sr. John Arundell and his lady for the space of viii. yeares and upwardes last before his death, and others. And saith that the said Cornelius came vnto the said Sir John Arundell when he laie at Clerkenwell, and remayned there with him by the space of twoe yeares. In which tyme he the said Cornelius procured the said John Sherwood to serve the said Sir John Arundell also. And that after the said Sir John Arundell removed his house from Clerkenwell to Mowshill, where he remayned the space of three yeares, the said Cornelius and Sherwood continuing with him.

And after that the said Sr. John Arundell removed unto Thiselworth,<sup>16</sup> where he remayned by the space of vi. or vii. weekes,

but with many and rude exclamations; nevertheless she would be heard out, and a speech so pithy and unanswerable moved the by-standers to admiration of her ready wit and penetration, beyond her years, of the courage with which she had expressed her mind, as well as to compassion for her grief, and the doleful state of this poor country." The same account says that the great court of the castle was filled with poor peasantry to whom Father Cornelius had ever been, in very truth, a father, ministering to their souls' good and their bodily necessity, being the steward as it were of the good lady's bounty. Deep therefore and universal was the lamentation set up by these poor souls when the Father appeared ready to depart. The sheriff in vain endeavoured to silence them, and hastened off his prisoners.

<sup>14</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* 1594, vol. ccxlviii. n. 75.

<sup>15</sup> Same volume and number. William Holmes was the betrayer of Father Cornelius.

<sup>16</sup> Isleworth, near London.

and there died. To which place also there came to him another P—t, whose name was W<sup>m</sup> Patinson. And further saith that the said Cornelius and Sherwood did dailye say Masse both at Clerkenwell, and Mowshill, and at Thisselworth, but this exānt. was not admitted to hear Masse until he came to Thisselworth, where he heard the said three priestes say several Masses.

After the death of the said Sir John Arundell, his lady removed unto Chidioc in Dorset, about a fortnight before Xmas, the said priests not coming in her company, but they came to Chedioc some ij. or iij. days after, where this examt. remayned until twelvetide. In all w<sup>ch</sup> tyme he was present at many Masses said by the said priests.

And after twelfetide he went unto London from Chedioc, and remayned there untill a fortnight before Easter, at which tyme he returned to Chideock again, where he was kept from the secrets of the house until Easter; and then fynding the said three priests there, was admitted again to heare Masse, and was appointed to attend the said priests in their chamber, where the said preists continued together, well neer 12 months, and then W<sup>m</sup> Patynson went unto London, and soon after his returne there, as this examt. hath heard, was executed.<sup>17</sup>

And after the departure of the said Patynson, there came another priest unto the said lady, named John Currie, who remayned there until the death of Sherwood, who died in Lent last was xii. months, and (as he doth vnderstand) was buried in the chapel of Chideock House. After whose death, the said Cornelius and Currie remayned together in the same house untill Michas. last, and then the said Currie went awaie (as this examt. heard) unto London; after whose departure one Green, *als* Lustie Greene, another priest, supplied the place of the said Currie, and remayned in companie with the said Cornelius vtill Eester daie last; at which time, about one of the clock in the morninge before daie, having said Masse vnto the house, upon intelligence of some search that should be made there, they went their waies; and he hath heard Greene went into Cornwall; and the said Cornelius, having his mother in Chideocke House, returned againe the next daie, and there continued until his apprehension.

The names of the persons at Chideocke House who did dailie frequent to heare Masse are theis, viz.—

The Lord Stourton.	Ann Tremayne.
Mr. Chas. Stourton.	Margt Tremayne.
Mr. Jno. Easton and Margt his wife.	Jane Tremayne.
Mrs. Dorothy Arundell.	Dorothy Prideaux.
Mrs. Gertrude Arundell.	Jane Woodcocks.
Mr. Thomas Bosgrave.	Julyan Morgan, wid <sup>w</sup>
Thomas Stone.	Christian Storche.
Henry Barbye.	Mother Mawde, motr to Cornelius.
John Cooke.	Fayth Victor, attend <sup>t</sup> upon her.
Jeffy Cardew.	Eliz. Diggenson, an old wom <sup>n</sup>
— Holcombe.	

The boyes and hynds w<sup>ch</sup> were in the house were not admitted to come to the Masse, neyther was this examt. at any Masse sithence

<sup>17</sup> The Rev. William Patenson was hung at Tyburn, January 22, 1591-2, being cut down alive. He was butchered in his full senses! (See Bishop Challoner's memoirs.)

the feast of St. Michael last was 12 months. He further saith that Cornelius and Sherwood would privilie goe out of the house to be absent a whole daie. But to w<sup>t</sup> places they went he knoweth not.

Also he saith that Carys and Patrick, now prisoners in Dorchester, did attend upon the said priests in their chamber, both before and after this examt. was discharged from the said office.

Alsoe he saith that both Mr. Easton and Bosgrave did many tymes help the said priests to Masse.

He further saith that both the said Cornelius, and Sherwood in his lifetime, did sundrie tymes repaire vnto the house of John Wareham, dwelling in Rayle nere Chideocke, where they would continew a whole daie together.

That one Richard Tremayne of Saltasshe did oftentimes come vnto Chideocke House about busynesse unto the Lady Arundell, and being there did many tymes frequent the hearing of Masse.

Also that by the reporte of Symon Holcombe, his mother the widow Holcomb of Chideoke, did many tymes give entertainment unto Cornelius in her house, whither he often resorted.

And further saith that one Burgan, a lawier (as this examt. thinketh) came unto Chideoke House on Easter Even last, and uppon intelligence given that there should be a search, he departed away on Easter Daie, in the morning before daie.

And that one W<sup>m</sup> Braye, gentleman, came also unto Chideoke House, about seven nights before Easter Daie, and departed awaie on Easter Daie, in the morninge before daie.

*Sir George Trenchard and Sir Jno. Williams to the Lord  
Keeper Puckering.*

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.—According to your directions, the examinations which you wrote for are sent here inclosed, and for the other parties here to be tried at the next assizes, we have made all things ready for the forthcoming of that service. And have lately sent your honour a book (which we hope is come to your hon<sup>rs</sup> hands) which will dispose [? disclose] the disposition of Cornelius to her Majesty and State, notwithstanding he is, of many of his favourites, accounted a harmless man. The repair of which Cornelius, and some others which we cannot yet come by, to that lady's house, hath nursed up many old imps, and given comfort not to a few ill-subjects, whereby we are daily incumbered, and our country more and more drawn back from the right service of God. In regard whereof we desire that the said lady may be removed to some other house and friends, or placed with the sheriff of the county for the time being; for that if she should continue in the place where she is now resident, we doubt would breed further mischief. For, under colour of great hospitality and her bounty to the poor, many are drawn to her faction, and repair thither, as to their only supporter. All which leaving to your most honourable consideration, do, with remembrance of our duties, humbly take our leave.

From Wolverton, this 16 of June, 1594.

Your hon<sup>rs</sup> at command,

GEORGE TRENCHARD,  
JOHN WILLYAMS.

To Lord Keeper Puckering.

It is recorded that when the magistrates saw the venerable appearance of the martyr, and his modesty, patience, and con-

stancy in maintaining the Catholic faith, they all admired him. Father Cornelius requested permission to take his last farewell of his aged mother, and leave being given he went to her room with a great company after him, and on entering hastened to her couch, consoled her, and begged her not to mar his joy by her grief. He bade her an affectionate farewell, animating her to confidence in the fatherly care of Providence. Then he mounted a horse in his long gown and cloak, which he usually wore at home, and took his place by the side of Mr. Trenchard rather as a companion and friend than a prisoner. When they issued forth from the venerable castle gates, they found a crowd of about five hundred persons, who had been collected together by the unusual spectacle. Father Cornelius saluted them courteously, and making the sign of the Cross, blessed them. The people assembled highly applauded the gravity and modesty of the man, whom they looked upon as now the source whence had flowed all the piety and the virtues which had so long characterized the family of the Arundells, and of whose presence they had hitherto been ignorant. "Now," said they, "we see the cause of it in the person of this priest;" and they saluted him with the greatest reverence.

At the second mile they stopped to dine, and Father Cornelius retired from the table of Mr. Trenchard to a separate one, lest he might appear in saying grace to hold any communion of worship with unbelievers; wherefore also he refused, when asked, to bless the meal or to perform any other act of devotion in common. Proceeding after that to Mr. Trenchard's house, Father Cornelius and his three fellow-prisoners were detained there fourteen days. During this time the martyr was a daily guest at his table, and had access to his library whenever he pleased. Mr. Trenchard was of a humane disposition, and allowed Father Cornelius all the accommodation he could, consistently with his prisoner's safe custody. Mrs. Trenchard too, who was captivated by his meekness of disposition and decorous behaviour, also consulted his comfort in every respect. She and a brother of hers, after hearing the strong arguments of the Father in support of the Catholic faith, with respect to the soul, and the eternity of heaven and hell, expressed how nearly they were convinced; and report says that they were ultimately gained to God and the Catholic Church. Mr. Trenchard himself declared that if Father Cornelius stayed much longer in the house, he

would pervert them all; in fact one of his own servants gave warning to leave, in order to go to some other situation where he would not be hindered in professing the true faith. The force of his holy life and of his constant discourses upon subjects concerning the welfare of the soul, combined with the great sweetness of his manner made his conversation no less delightful than useful to his hearers. And they went so far as to assure him that both in and out of the house, there were many persons of distinction who desired to hear him preach in their pulpits, and were prevented only through fear that the report of it might reach the Privy Council, for had it done so, great would have been the excited wrath and indignation against the magistrate. But another means of hearing him without danger now offered itself, the result of which would be no less profitable to the hearers and still more advantageous for the Catholic faith. The ministers in the neighbourhood, both Protestant and Puritans, learning that a priest, and very possibly a Jesuit, had been seized in Lady Arundell's house, and was lodged at Mr. Trenchard's mansion, ran hither loudly boasting, as is their wont, that they would show their prowess by at least challenging him to dispute, if in no other way.

Of these one was the veritable Dr. Charck, who the year before had proved, to his cost, what it was to enter the lists with Father Parsons, when he undertook to write his book in refutation of Father Campian. Now these met together, as though in single combat, surrounded by a goodly circle including Mr. Trenchard, Mr. Horsey, the Cavalier Sir Walter Raleigh, and other gentlemen of distinction. Dr. Charck, who was held to be the most learned man in the county, offering as it were a choice of arms to his opponent, Father Cornelius, said—"What language will you choose in which to contend, Latin, Greek, or Hebrew?" The poor conceited man wished the company to believe that he was acquainted with these three languages. Father Cornelius, who in his younger days had studied at Oxford, replied: "In whichever I shall hear you speak, I shall reply." Whatever language was used, Mr. Trenchard's brother-in-law confesses that on coming to the proof in their disputation, Dr. Charck was, in comparison with Father Cornelius, a bad grammarian opposed to a good theologian. Dr. Sucey and one Hancock (nicknamed *Ironside*) showed themselves less ostentatious in appearance, but more fierce in action. Both were Calvinists, and disputed about the Divine Sacrament of the Altar, Purgatory, Invocation of saints

and other points of controversy; and, as Mr. Bosgrave perpetually used to say, each discussion ended in a double victory for Father Cornelius—one of learning, the other of modesty. One of the disputants, indeed, despairing of being able to conquer, and ashamed of acknowledging himself vanquished, went on debating like one out of his senses, till rising suddenly up he would have gone and left his proposition broken off in the midst, had not Mrs. Trenchard herself ordered a manservant to hold him down by main force upon his seat, and compelled him to hear and to reply, if he could, or else confess himself vanquished, and so do justice to his opponent.

It was no difficult task to Father Cornelius to vanquish these wretched Calvinist theologians, but more solid work was in store for him, as Sir Walter Raleigh himself, a man then in high favour with the Queen, and one of the most learned men in England, a famous mathematician and of a subtle spirit, passed the whole night with him alone, that he might have certain doubts cleared up; nor would such a man rest contented with mere questions and doubts, but would go into matters more deeply. He was so pleased with the Father's conviction and reasoning and with his modest and courteous manner, that he offered to do all he could in London for his liberation, and this although the Father had gently reproved him for his mode of life and conversation. Mrs. Trenchard also promised her aid for the Father's liberation, wishing to have some hand and share in the merit of saving the life of so famous a man. But neither the one nor the other could succeed in mitigating the terrible spirit of hatred which the Privy Council entertained against priests, determining upon their death more resolutely, in proportion as others pronounced them worthy to live.

Father Cornelius had now silenced all the disputants, when lo and behold! one day two of the wives of ministers, also challenged him to dispute upon points of religion. The female theologians, however, spent the labour of their preparation in vain, for the martyr remanded them to their spindles and needles, and especially recommended to them modesty and silence, for the more strictly they observed these so much the wiser would they show themselves to be.

Father Cornelius remained a full fortnight in Mr. Trenchard's house. On April 14, 1694, orders came from the Privy Council that every means should be employed to induce him to renounce his religion, adding large offers of preferment;

but that if he remained obstinate, he should be transmitted to London. This order came soon after the Father's arrest. Mr. Trenchard, not wishing to expend his labours on useless solicitations, declined to execute the first part of the said mandate, but determined to obey the second at once. Before leaving Trenchard's house the martyr wrote a letter to Lady Arundell, commencing in the words of the Apostle, *Et nunc ecce alligatus ego Spiritu vado in Jerusalem quæ in ea mihi ventura sunt ignorans*—"And now behold, being bound in spirit, I go to Jerusalem, ignorant of the things which shall befall me there." He then exhorted her to equanimity of soul, and told her how, to his extreme grief, he is removed from the country to London to receive his sentence, adding that, if he might have his own choice in this, he would prefer being hung in the country rather than in London, because in the former he would be more free to gain souls by being permitted to address the people in public. On April 30 the final order for his removal to London was received, and on his arrival there he was committed to the Marshalsea Prison and most inhumanly tortured, but without shaking his constancy. Of these tortures he made no mention in the letter which he wrote to Father Garnett from his prison. He was taken before the Privy Council, at which sat the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer Cecil, and the Lord High Admiral. They, forgetting their own dignity, assailed him with torrents of abuse and of the most violent language. The Father in the meekest and calmest manner declared that he had acted in no way unbecoming his calling or the duty of a good subject, nor otherwise than the circumstances of the case required, and the example of St. Augustine himself would warrant. They asked him in what places he had lived, and with whom, which questions he declined to answer as being unfair and tending to prejudice others. "But what thou refusest to tell us," they said, "shall be drawn from thee by the torture." Yet nothing could be forced from him, either by their threats or by the torturing which he actually underwent. They came at last to that common snare laid for all Catholics, viz., the question, What he would do in case of a Spanish invasion? To this he replied, that he wished all safety to the Queen, and was ready to undergo any personal danger to protect her Majesty from harm. Being remanded again to prison, he prepared himself for death in the cause of Christ, by fastings, prayer, watchings, disciplines, and almsgiving. Here, by the permission

of Father Henry Garnett, the Superior, he made his religious profession in the Society, before three witnesses, of whom one was a religious commissioned by Father Garnett, and the other two were secular gentlemen, and he did this with so great joy of heart, that he remarked he never had perceived such divine comfort or shed such delicious tears as that blessed prison had been the occasion of. In fact, he regarded his prison as Paradise, since it had secured for him the long-desired opportunity of entering the Society of Jesus.

Father Cornelius wrote the following letter to Father Garnett from his prison :

“Jesus. Mary.

“I have received your Reverence’s letter, freighted with the gold of charity and full of consolation. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks. I grieve because I am not one of you in reckoning and merit, but as regards my will and desire then indeed I rejoice, and I hope that Father Ignatius, when bursting the bonds of this life I pass hence, will number me amongst his children, which hope especially consoles me. In the meantime I await the will of God in hope and profound silence, making here with my dearly beloved brother Low, the year of probation, to the end of which I most humbly beg that our Lord will bring me by the rope. *Sed Domine non sum dignus*, and if I am yet necessary to Thy people, I refuse not to labour.” And again a little after : “Lest I should be suddenly fettered, I hastily break off the thread of my discourse, humbly begging a frequent and mutual interchange of prayers, commending myself to all my most beloved Catholics, whose expectations I hope by God’s grace I shall satisfy. We are all nothing, but all things are possible to Him that strengthens me. It imports me now to know nought else save only Jesus Christ and Him crucified. I will glory in nothing but in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ. And from the Apostle that he would obtain by his prayers from Christ, that with Him we may say, ‘I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me.’ Farewell, your Reverence, a thousand times, and plead my cause with the Fathers, that in this prison, if it be possible, I may quickly become a Jesuit and strive for heaven.

“Your Reverence’s most obedient servant,

“JOHN, in bonds.”

## CHAPTER VI.

HIS REMOVAL TO DORCHESTER FOR TRIAL. HIS CONDEMNATION  
AND MARTYRDOM.

FATHER CORNELIUS having now spent nearly two months in the Marshalsea Prison, Sir George Morton, the High Sheriff, wishing to display his zeal in her Majesty's service and the public good, demanded from the Privy Council the person of the martyr, pretending that the populace were growing turbulent, and that nothing else would suffice to quiet them but the return of the priest whom he had sent up be put to death, upon which the Council resolved to send him back to Dorchester. The Father had been engaged for the space of an hour in silent prayer, and on being brought out from prison his face appeared to a priest who saw him radiant with beams of joy. He travelled on horseback between two constables, with his arms pinioned, as is usually done with thieves. By the indulgence of his guards he was permitted to spend three hours daily in retirement in their hired lodgings on the journey, one in the morning for prayer and corporal mortification, the others at midday and evening. Upon the vigil of the Apostles (June 28), being invited by the guards to 'fare sumptuously' with them, he kept his fast, an act which they duly ridiculed. It was no small matter of consolation to him that he had provided himself with a sufficient number of consecrated Hosts to serve him for daily Communion until the time of his execution. Arriving at Dorchester, he was kept under the Sheriff's custody, and was treated by him with extraordinary gentleness, being imprisoned in his mansion, and having his servant for keeper. All who wished to visit him were allowed free admission, and great was the concourse of those who availed themselves of the privilege. He passed the three days he had to wait for his companions in mortification, almost without food, in praying, watching, and such excessive austerities, that the Sheriff was apprehensive his pious severities would occasion his death before he had been tried and condemned. He likewise spent a good portion of this time in hearing confessions, in confirming the Catholics by pious exhortations, and in controversial disputations. So greatly was he beloved by the Catholics, and so great were the marks of their attachment to him in these last visits, that the martyr expressed his fears lest so great consolation might lessen the Divine favours towards him. Efforts were made

by petitions and intercessions at Court to save his life, or even to ransom him by money; and early in the morning of the very day of his execution, some ray of hope for his pardon, or at least for his life, dawned, a wealthy and pious Catholic merchant having offered on his own account, by way of ransom, the sum of two thousand scudi (£500). When the good merchant called upon him, the Father heartily thanked him for his great kindness, but told him that the hope was vain, and that it would be a very great affliction to himself, for that, having said the Office of the feast of the Holy Apostles, he hoped soon to be in the enjoyment of their company in heaven. Another account says that the martyr was in the act of saying his Office, and that turning his eyes from the book for a moment, he prayed God to repay his friend for such an act of bountiful charity in his regard, adding with great sweetness, "If you wish to do me a more useful and kinder act, do not, I pray you, distract me in saying my Office," and again turned his eyes upon his breviary. The good merchant was greatly moved, and left the cell weeping. The evening before his martyrdom the venerable Father begged the Sheriff to grant him the singular favour of allowing him to go, under guard, to visit the spot where they were to execute him, in order that he might thus make a meditation by way of prelude to that great act. The Sheriff not only gave the permission but himself accompanied him, and there beheld him before the very gallows, after a momentary recollection, totally rapt in God with his eyes and face raised to heaven, no doubt earnestly offering himself to God and imploring the special aid so needful to him in this last action of his life.<sup>18</sup>

He was drawn through the streets of Dorchester to the Assize Hall, along with Mr. Bosgrave and the two men-servants, Patrick and John; all bound as criminals. He was indicted for the crime of high treason and rebellion against the Queen, for having performed the functions of a priest, in saying Mass, hearing confessions, and reconciling heretics to the Catholic Church; for having lived at the English College, Rome, and been ordained priest abroad; and also for having been found in possession of a certain pamphlet purporting to be a denunciation

<sup>18</sup> This extraordinary act of devotion is probably unique in the annals of the martyrs. The Apostle St. Andrew, and thousands of other martyrs, embraced their crosses, and welcomed them on being brought to suffer upon them; but we have not heard of any other instance of anticipating them in this way.

of the royal edict published against the Catholics and priests. The others were charged with the crime of assisting and concealing a priest. Being asked, according to the custom of the realm, how and by whom he would be tried, he answered, by men chosen by the Catholic clergy, or, if that was not allowed, by members of the University of Oxford, he himself having studied there. But when told he must be contented with the usual method of proceeding, the Father modestly and briefly addressed the court, admitting the facts charged, but protesting that they were no acts of rebellion, nor was the appellation of traitor applicable to him. The counsel for the crown then spoke for two hours, declaiming against the Father, the priests, and the Catholic religion. Amongst other things for the purpose of prejudicing the jury, they mentioned an infamous scandal that had been raised against the Father, but it was so vague and pointless that the Judge himself, who only allowed it to be brought out for the sake of denial, rejected it. The others maintained that neither the exercise of their sacred functions by Catholic priests, nor the fact of having aided one therein or concealed one, could be called rebellion or high treason, unless under cover of an infamous Act of Parliament. The jury had, according to custom, been impanelled, and were all Protestants. Four of the number submitted to the odious duty with manifest reluctance; one of them even so strongly resisted it that, at the request of the Father himself, another was substituted in his stead, fearing lest he might be compelled to give a verdict against his conscience. The jury, having retired for a short time, soon returned with a verdict of guilty against the Father and his three companions. Upon which Mr. Bosgrave and the two servants, reverencing Christ in His priest, fell down upon their knees to receive his blessing, saying—"Sir, by the confession you have just made we see clearly that you are a priest, therefore behold us at your feet. With our faces bent towards the ground we reverence you, as is your due; of your pity give us your blessing." The whole of the large assembly, and the judges themselves, were struck with admiration at this holy act so creditable to the Catholic religion, applauding it by their tears and exclamations. A robber also, who had been condemned to be hung, was equally moved, and could not refrain from sobs. The martyr, benignly addressing this man, promised him a better life than the one he was about to lose, and he had the consolation of converting him to God and His Church before his execution.

About five o'clock in the evening, being remanded to prison, and walking in the garden with a Catholic gentleman, he happened to see the executioner and gently accosted him: "Art thou the man that is to execute me?" The other nodding assent, pointed out to him the mode of his death and butchery. The Father replied, "With much pleasure I see thee." On his way to the prison he was continually annoyed by two troublesome ministers or preachers, who pressed about him, and either singly or together urged him by arguments and entreaties to renounce his faith. His civility, patience, and affability in answering them was a subject of general remark, notwithstanding the serious annoyance they caused him. His manner indeed had such an effect upon one of them that, touched in his heart by grace, he very soon after renounced the profession of a preacher and became a Catholic. There was in that prison a goodly company of confessors of Christ, all of whom received the Father with every possible reverence and joy. The whole night was spent in prayer, in mutual exhortations, and in hearing the confessions of twenty-two of their number. At the hour of eight in the evening, after dismissing many of his visitors, while his face beamed with joy and wore an expression of indescribable dignity and sanctity, he thus addressed Lady Arundell's daughter, whom he had asked to see for the last time. "Thou hast often found me exercised with the desire of Divine glory, but, behold! this body to-morrow shall be cut to pieces. I am weary of this present life. I aspire to the eternal. Grant me, O sweet Jesus! that it alone may be the object of my words and actions. Grant me this, the special desire of my heart, that God would make me a worthy member of the Society of Jesus, and that all else in my regard may yield to this. And be thou careful to comply as quickly as may be with the vow of entering religion by which I know that thou art bound, and in this matter take counsel of the Fathers who will I know, for my sake, gladly advise you. Pray for me that I may neither speak, think, nor aspire after aught else but Christ, His Cross, and Paradise. On my part I will pray our Lord Jesus will make you a religious full of years, and merits, and heavenly favours, so that we may again with joy meet in heaven."

At the early hour of five o'clock in the morning he was again summoned to the court to receive sentence of death. Here he was not allowed to say anything in his own defence.

The sentence was passed upon the martyrs by Judge Walmesley, who in doing so could not restrain his tears or his praises of their piety, and delayed the execution as long as he could, promising them their lives if they would but conform and go to the Protestant Church.<sup>19</sup> It is said also that the judge was in favour of ransoming the Father for the above mentioned sum of two thousand scudi; and a certain friend of the Judge, a schismatic magistrate, is reported to have observed that he would willingly have saved the Judge, by giving two thousand scudi himself, from the infamous duty of murdering the innocent. Returning to the prison Father Cornelius distributed twenty pounds he had received from Dorothy Arundell, partly amongst the poor Catholic prisoners, and partly on his way to execution, and, observing the great eagerness of the people to catch a sight of him, he willingly afforded them the opportunity by opening the casement of his cell and blessing them from it. The rest of the time before noon he spent in prayer to God, as only a few hours intervened between the passing of the fatal sentence and its execution. In the meantime he wrote twice to his penitent Dorothy Arundell, urging her not to delay putting into execution her promise made to God of consecrating herself to His service in the Benedictine Convent at Brussels; asking her to send him a writing in her own hand renewing her promise and vow, and he would present it to St. Bridget in Paradise, where, by the mercy of God, he hoped to be in a few hours, and both to see and converse with her. He also recommended to her charitable alms the poor Catholic prisoners confined for conscience' sake, and in answer to this she sent the above twenty pounds for them. Half an hour before he was carried out to execution, he seized a pen and wrote the following note to Miss Arundell:—  
“‘He that loveth his life in this world shall lose it, and he that hateth his life keepeth it unto life eternal.’ If I keep it by the grace and infinite mercy of God, though in myself unworthy

<sup>19</sup> Foss's Judges, vol. vi. Judge Walmesley was of the family of Walmesley of Sholley, Lancashire, the eldest of ten children of Thomas Walmesley, Esq., by his wife, Margaret Livesay, born about 1537, made Judge of the Common Pleas, May 10, 1589, and died November 26, 1612, æt. 75. He became possessed of the estates of Dunkenhalth, in the parish of Whalley, on which he built a fine mansion. By his wife Anne, the rich heiress of Robert Shuttleworth, Esq., of Hackinge, he left an only son, whose male descendants failed at the beginning of the last century, and the large property passed into the families of Lord Petre and Lord Stourton, who were the first and second husbands of the last possessor's sister and heiress (*Shuttleworth Accounts*, Chetham Soc. 1856, part 2, App. 265).

and miserable, with exceeding great satisfaction and never-ending pleasure I shall remember you. In the meantime, whilst the soul remains in this body, pray you for me; for I have a great confidence that we shall see one another in Heaven, if you keep inviolable the word you have given first to God and then to St. Bridget. I heartily recommend to you my poor mother and the promise of your vow, concerning which I have written to you three or four times, and wonder that you have taken no notice of it. The devil is always upon the watch. Be you also watchful. Signify your will to me, that I may carry with me your resolution to St. Bridget. I do not forget those whom I do not name. God have you in His keeping.

“Yours,

“JOHN,

one about to die for a moment, that he may live for ever.”

Two o'clock in the afternoon was appointed by the Sheriff for the execution. Father Cornelius again sending for Miss Arundell gave her his cloak, hose, and the cord by which he had been bound. The three other martyrs also placed all their clothes at her disposal.

Father Cornelius going out of prison exclaimed: “From the Cross to Christ is a glorious passage.” The hurdle was ready at hand, upon which he placed himself with a composed mind and countenance, and whilst being drawn to the place of execution, encouraged to constancy and perseverance his companions, as they walked by his side. The Father's conduct had such an effect upon a gentleman of the county that going up to him he begged his blessing, and promised never more to frequent the Protestant church, but to become a Catholic. He distributed three or four pounds of the money given to him by Miss Arundell amongst various poor Catholics on his way, and so composed was he, and strong in argument, that he effectually exhorted the condemned convict to faith, repentance, and communion with the Church, speaking to him, as he was an Irishman, in his own tongue. The poor man declared aloud “that he looked upon himself as a happy man to die in such company;” and he was in truth the first to suffer. After him came John Carey, one of the servants, a man of great courage, who kissed the rope on its being adjusted, saying, “Oh, blessed collar!” then making a profession of his faith, for which he said he willingly gave his life and blood, he was turned off the ladder.

Next followed Patrick Salmon, a man much admired and beloved for his virtues; before dying, he admonished the people that the only way to secure their eternal welfare was to embrace that faith for which he and his companions laid down their lives. These were succeeded by Mr. Bosgrave, a man distinguished for his birth, learning, and eloquence, who at some length praised and magnified the Catholic faith, being listened to with great attention, the ministers standing by and not uttering a word in vindication of their religion. The last to enter the lists was Father Cornelius, who after a short prayer kissed the ground at the foot of the gallows, then embracing the feet of his companions who were still hanging, and kissing the gallows, he exclaimed, in the words of St. Andrew, *O bona crux diu desiderata, &c.* (Oh, blessed Cross, long desired, &c.). Mounting the ladder, and casting his eyes upon the people, he uttered these words of the Psalmist: *Posuerunt morticina servorum tuorum escas volatilibus cæli*—"They have given the dead bodies of Thy servants to be meat for the fowls of the air." He spoke with an exuberant feeling of soul, but was prevented from proceeding further by the interference of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was present, and did not wish to incur the risk of the martyr's exposing the cruel slaughter they made of Catholics. Thrice he attempted to address the people, and was as often interrupted. He added, however, what had hitherto been kept a secret, that he had a little before been admitted to the Society of Jesus in London by the Superior of the English Jesuits, as he had long heartily desired, and was to have gone over with some others to make his noviceship in Flanders, but having been prevented doing so by his apprehension he should here consummate it in a more glorious manner. Then, having poured forth a prayer for his persecutors, for the Queen, and for the salvation of all, kissing the rope presented to him by the executioner he placed it round his neck, and was instantly turned off the ladder while in the act of commending his soul to God. The blessed martyr had not yet breathed his last, when the hangman, cutting the rope, let him fall to the ground, and then proceeded to cut open his breast while still warm that he might tear out his heart and bowels; the Father raised his hand to his forehead, as though intending to make the sign of the Cross, and with the fall of his arm his happy soul departed. The body was divided into four quarters and affixed upon as many stakes,

and remained at the place of execution till late in the evening, when it was buried with the bodies of the three others. The head, placed at the top of the gallows, crowned the triumph with which Father Cornelius, quitting the burthen of the flesh, flew joyfully to his heavenly reward. Father Bartoli says that the head of Father Cornelius was ordered to be affixed upon the pinnacle of St. Peter's Church, Dorchester, and his four quarters on each gate of the town, but in neither respect was the order executed. There is a report that the martyr's head, was seen surrounded with rays of light, whence this precious relic came into the hands of the Catholics, having been taken down by order of the magistrates fifteen days after, at the desire of the people who had suffered much in their crops from heavy storms, and remembered they had already experienced this visitation on similar occasions. Bishop Challoner, in his *Memoirs*, says: "We are told that in the following year a dreadful plague ensued among them, which carried off so many, that the living were not sufficient to bury the dead."

The bodies of the four martyrs were subsequently clandestinely recovered by the widow, Lady Arundell, and honourably interred. One narrative of the martyrdom says that in the evening a Catholic servant of the same family, after the bodies were taken down from "the cross," gathered together the dissected members of the priest, and folding them up in a cloth buried them. The same account asks what, in the interim, happened to the rest of this family, who had not then left the town? The saying of the Prophet was certainly verified: *Qui juxta me erant de longe steterunt, et vim faciebant qui querebant animam meam*; since remaining concealed in the house, they raised their hands in prayer to God for their Father and pastor. At length this afflicted lady herself, with nearly all her household, was cast into prison notwithstanding the dignity of her state, and was severely rebuked by the judges and mulct in a heavy fine, and being released she returned home alone with a few others. Thus the shepherd being smitten, the flock was scattered.

Miss Arundell a few days afterwards redeemed the martyr's clothes for four pounds, and before leaving the town secretly, wished to pay another and last visit to the gallows crowned by the head of her Spiritual Father. On approaching she was astonished to observe it encircled with rays of light, and thinking that her eyes must have deceived her, she drew nearer for the purpose of a closer examination, when the light shone still more brightly. She remained gazing at it for the space of

a quarter of an hour, and then returned revolving in her mind the words of Holy Scripture that "God is wonderful in His saints;" nor was she far wrong in appropriating this inspired text to Father Cornelius, considering all that we have now recorded of his holy life and death, and how truly he was a man singularly honoured by God with extraordinary favours. He suffered on the 4th of July, 1594.

The following is copied from an original MS. in the handwriting of the celebrated Richard Verstigan.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Richard Verstigan, as many of our readers may be aware, was a celebrated character in the time of Elizabeth. Dodd, in his *Church History* (upon the authority of the Douay College Diary; Gul. Barclay, lib. vi. *De Regno et Regali potestate*, cap. vii. n. 438; W. Watson, in his *Quodlibet*, p. 254; Henry Fowle's *History of Roman Treasons*, lib. vii. cap. ii.; Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, &c.), gives the following brief notice of him: "His grandfather was Richard Roland Verstigan, of an ancient worthy family of the duchy of Guelderland, who, being driven out of his own country by the misfortunes of war, came over to England in the latter end of Henry VII.'s reign, where he married, and dying soon after left behind him a son but nine months old, who, being put apprentice to a cooper, was father to Richard Verstigan, born in St. Catherine's parish, near the Tower of London. Being well grounded in his rudiments, he was sent to Oxford, and commonly known by the name of Roland, and singularly taken notice of for his application to the Saxon and Gothic antiquities, a study few others besides himself had any taste for. Being afterwards pressed with certain oaths which were not agreeable to him on account of his religion, he quitted the University, went abroad, and settling at Antwerp applied himself, as usual, to the Saxon antiquities, at the same time diverting himself with drawing and printing. About 1592 he published a work with engravings, called *Theatrum crudelitatum hæreticorum nostri temporis*, which being a curious piece of art was generally admired, though the subject created him many enemies among those of the contrary party. His fears upon this account, together with the common calamities occasioned by the civil wars, obliged him to leave Antwerp and retire to Paris, where he was complained of by the English Ambassador for scandalously exposing Queen Elizabeth in his book of pictures. Upon this complaint, Mr. Verstigan was thrown into prison by the French King's orders. Meantime he found friends among the Leaguers who bitterly complained against those orders, especially since his confinement was upon no other account but for showing his zeal for the Catholic religion. At last he obtained his liberty, and returning to Antwerp applied himself to his studies as formerly. He was alive, and in great esteem among the antiquarians in the beginning of King Charles I.'s reign. Sir Robert Cotton, and others who took a delight in antiquities, often corresponded with him." He was a faithful and attached friend to the Society of Jesus, and was at Antwerp a very active medium of communicating Catholic intelligence from England to the Fathers in Flanders and Rome, especially Father Robert Parsons. In the Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. i. are several of his communications, and one very long and important historical document regarding the persecutions, penal laws, &c., which was probably sent to him from England for the above purpose, if not actually his own composition. His works are—(1) *Theatrum*, &c.; (2) *A restitution of decayed intelligences concerning the most noble and renowned English nation*, with cuts, Antwerp, 4to, 1605; London, 8vo, 1653, 1674. "Which is handled so plausibly, and so well illustrated with handsome cuts, that the book has taken and sold very well," says W. Nicholson, Bishop of Carlisle (*English History*, lib. i. p. 49).

*“Certain verses which Father Cornelius, a priest of the Society of Jesus, did write unto his friends.*

“Alter ego nisi sis, non es mihi verus amicus ;  
 Ni mihi sis ut ego, non eris alter ego.  
 Spernere mundum ; spernere nullum ; spernere sese ;  
 Spernere se sperni : quatuor ista beant.  
 Christe, tuos, tua, te gratis accepimus a te,  
 Ergo meos, mea, me merito nunc exigis a me.<sup>21</sup>

“He was afterwards executed in the west country; they could not get a cauldron for any money to boil his quarters in, nor no man to quarter him; so he hanged till he was dead, and was buried, being cut in quarters first. This I thought not good to omit of this martyr, not willing to leave out anything concerning such holy martyrs, as may come to my knowledge, and is worthy the memory.”

Mention is made of Father Cornelius in the following works and documents: His acts in MS., written by Dorothy, the daughter of Lady Arundell, preserved in the Archives at Rome; MS. letter, dated London, September 6, 1594, in the English College, Rome; the Annual Letters Provincie Romanæ; Peter Ribadeneira, S.J., in *Centuria Martyrum S.J.*; *Catalogus eorundem Martyrum, Cracoviae editus*; *Tabula eorundem, Romæ incisa*; *Menologium MS. S.J.*; *Andreas Eudæmon Joannes in Apologia pro Garneto, c. vi.*; *Josephus Cresswell in Martyrio P. Henry Walpole, Hispanicæ*; *Petrus Oultremon in Tabulis Vivorum Illustrium S.J., Gallicè*; *Rasilius Benzonius de Jubileo, lib. i. c. 9*; *Arnoldus Rassius in Hierogazophylaceo, Belg. p. 170*; *Didacus Ypres in Historia Persecutionis Anglicanæ, Hispan., lib. v. c. 4*; *Henry Fitzsimon in Catal. Sanct. Hibern. adjunto vindiciis Hiberniæ contra Dempstidum, et sæpius etiam seorsim edito*; *Philippus O’Sullivanus Berrus in Compendio Hist. Cath. Hibern. tom. ii. lib. ii. c. 4*; *Album Alumnorum Coll. Angl. Rom.*; *Joannes Eusebius Nieremberg de Viris Illus. S.J., tom. ii. Hispan.*; *Jacobus Damianus in Synopsi, lib. v. c. xxvi.*; *Hilarion de Cosse, Hist. Cathol. lib. iii. in Edmundo Campiano, Gallicè*; *Tanner, Vita et Mors, etc., S.J.*; *Bartoli Inghilterra*; *Morus Hist. Prov. Angliæ*; *Bishop Challoner’s Memoirs.*

<sup>21</sup> Dr. Oliver says in a note (*Collections in Devonshire, p. 37*), “This learned Catholic writer [Verstigan] thinks that Father Cornelius was the author of these lines, addressed to a friend from prison; but the last four were composed long before his time. I found them in a MS. of the reign of our King Henry IV.”

## LULWORTH AND PURBECK ISLAND.

WE have no records relative to the ancient mission of Lulworth, for the period of our present history, but shall have occasion to notice it in a subsequent series. In the meantime we give the following extracts from Whiteway's Diary, British Museum MS., n. 784.

*Lullworth.*

5 April, 1624. Two were found landed at Lullworth, a Spaniard and an Englishman, with many letters to divers priests. They were apprehended, and by Sir George Trenchard and Sir Edward Lawrence sent to London.

November 25, 1634. About the end of this term, the King sent out his writ for the providing of twenty great ships to be made ready by several cities and port-towns against the first of March next, to meet at Portsmouth to guard and secure the narrow seas, and to vindicate the Lordship thereof unto the King. London was to furnish seven, the charge whereof was £30,000. Dorset, viz.: Poole, Weymouth, Lynne, Wareham, Bridport, Barton, Purbeck, and Portland with the maritime places between them, were to furnish a ship of four hundred tunnes, with two hundred and sixty men ordained and victualled for six months. . . . The islanders of Purbeck, when Sir Thomas Trenchard came thither of purpose, told him they could not pay their share.

## SCOTNEY CASTLE, AND THE DARELL FAMILY.

SCOTNEY CASTLE, the seat of the ancient Catholic family of Darell, or Dorrell, was one of the earliest missions of the College of St. Thomas of Canterbury. It stands in the parish of Lamberherst, about a mile and a half beyond the village, on the road leading to Rye, and is reputed to be partly in Kent and partly in Sussex. It was moated round and had a strong stone gateway with towers, which, when Hasted wrote his history of Kent in 1782, Mr. Darell, then lately dead, had pulled down. We read in Burke's *Landed Gentry*, that the family of Dayrell or Darell was established in England by one of the companions in arms of the Conqueror, and the name of its founder appears on the roll of Battle Abbey. Numerous divergent branches were planted in various counties, and for centuries flourished in all. The principal were those of Calehill and Scotney in Kent, Sesay in Yorkshire, Littlecote in Wilts, Pageam or Pageham in Sussex, and Trewornan in Cornwall.

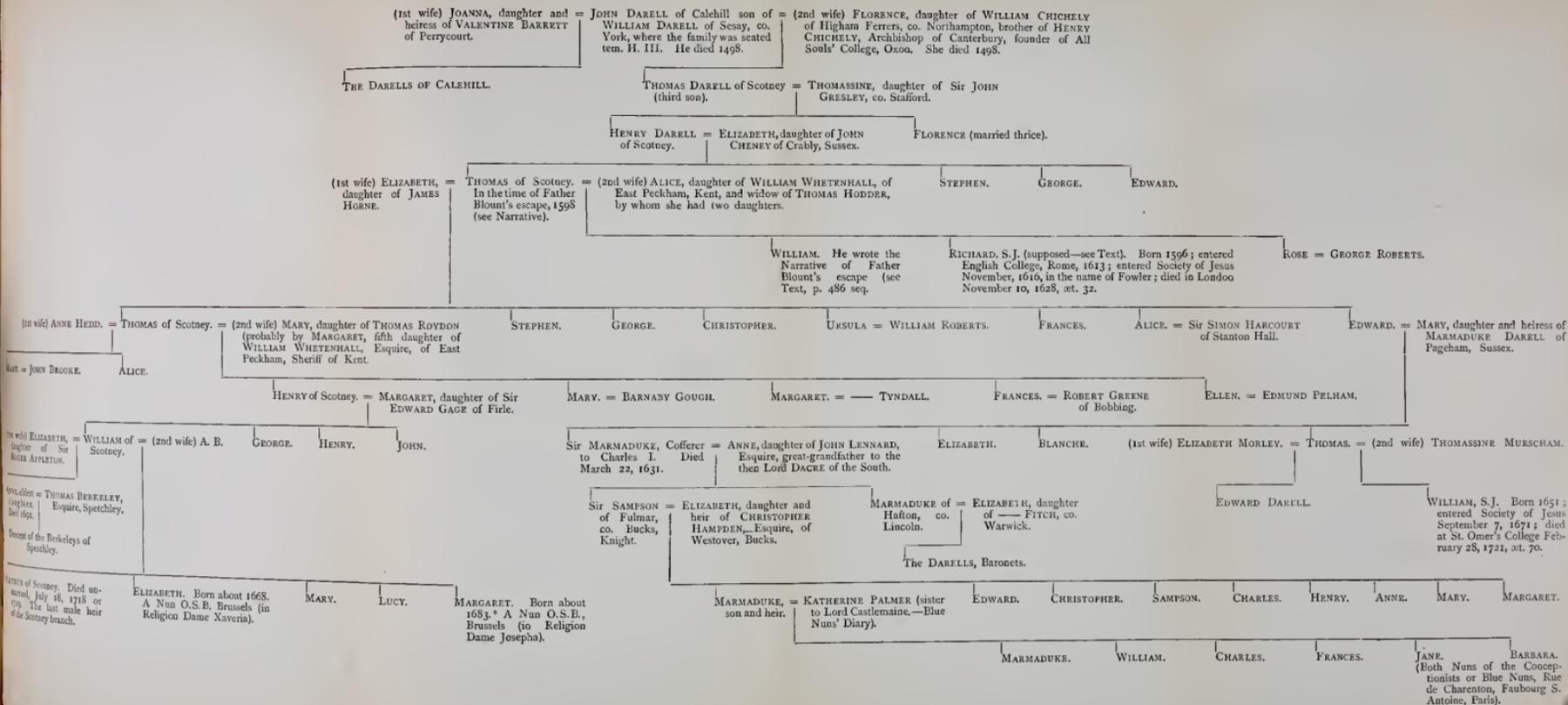
We shall not attempt to go into the long pedigrees of this old family. Much information may be gained from Burke's *Landed Gentry*; and Father Morris' *Troubles*, First Series (notice of Father Blount), gives a short account of the family. We confine ourselves principally to those of its members who entered the Society, and give the annexed pedigrees in order to distinguish them more clearly.

FATHER RICHARD DARELL (*alias* RICHARD FOWLER). From the Diary of the English College, Rome, and his replies to the usual interrogatories put to students entering that College, we learn that he was a native of Sussex, born at Scotney in the year 1596.<sup>1</sup> He is placed in the Scotney pedigree next to William (son of Thomas), who wrote, according to the letter of Father John Darell, given in p. 482, the narrative of Father Richard Blount's escapes at Scotney Castle. The same letter, as also the narrative, mentions other children, and most probably Richard was one of them. He entered the English College, Rome, as an alumnus, on October 12, 1613, at the age of seventeen, and took the usual college oath on May 4 following. After receiving minor orders and completing three years of philosophy, which he publicly defended, he left Rome for Belgium on November 12, 1616, and at once entered the Society at Louvain, having (adds the same Diary) "rendered himself dear to all on account of his sweetness of disposition."

"1613. My name is Richard Darell (*alias* Fowler). I am seventeen years of age, and was born at a house in Sussex called Echotny (Scotney). When a year old I was removed to London, where I lived for seven years with my parents; I then lived among Protestants for about three years, then returning for a little time to my parents, I was sent to St. Omer's College. My parents are Catholics and of a respectable condition; I have likewise brothers and sisters. My relations on my father's side are Protestants, excepting only his sisters; but on my mother's side most are Catholics. My early rudiments I made in England under Protestant masters, and

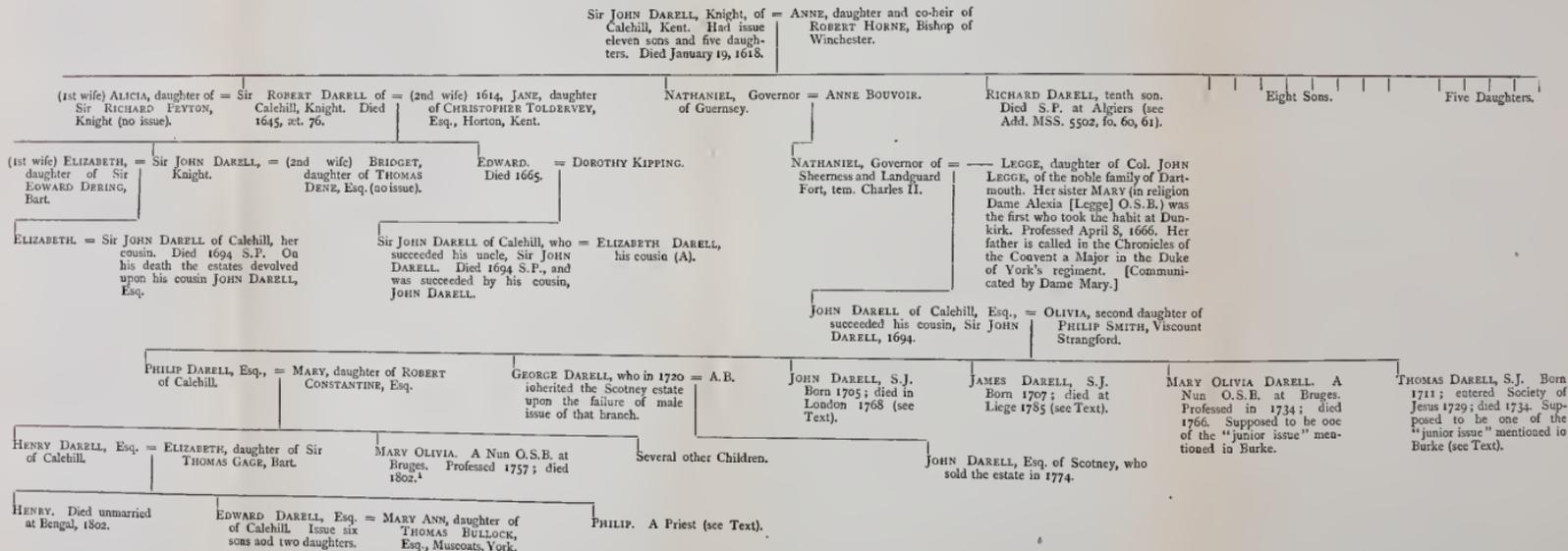
<sup>1</sup> In Addenda MSS. 5,502, British Museum, fol. 60, 61, appears Richard Darell, the tenth son of John Darell de Calehill (which John died January 19, 1618) by Anne, daughter and sole heiress of Robert Horne, Bishop of Winchester. This Richard is there said (in a different handwriting) to have died *sine prole* at Algiers. A note attached mentions that Michael Fowler married Jane Darell in Tharington Church, 1572. This may have been a sister of the said John Darell, and aunt to Father Richard, and would account for his selecting the name of Fowler for his *alias*.

THE DARELLS OF SCOTNEY CASTLE, SUSSEX.



THE DARELL FAMILY OF CALEHILL.

N.B.—The manor of Scotney passed from father to son in unbroken descent for seven generations till ARTHUR DARELL, the last male heir of that line, died unmarried in 1720. It then passed to the elder branch of the family. Its new possessor was GEORGE DARELL mentioned below.



<sup>1</sup> Thus placed, as most probable; but want of records prevents absolute certainty.

the complete course of humanities at St. Omer's. I never professed any other than the true Roman faith, and was sent to St. Omer's College through the means of the Reverend Father Richard Blount, and through the same now seek to enter the English College, Rome."

He had been already designated by the Father General for promotion to the degree of a Professed Father, but before the usual time of profession arrived, he died of consumption in London, on November 10, 1628, at the early age of thirty-two. After completing his studies and third year's probation he had been sent upon the English Mission, where he was always employed in missionary labours for the good of his neighbour, and by his virtues had rendered himself most grateful to all. He brought some persons of the higher classes to embrace the Catholic faith.

FATHER WILLIAM DARELL we believe to have been the second son (only son of the second wife Thomazine Murschamp) of Thomas, only son to Edward, second son of Thomas Darell of Scotney (1598, &c.), by Elizabeth Horne his first wife. He was born in the year 1651, and entered the Society on September 7, 1671. For several years he filled the office of Prefect of Studies, and was Rector of the College of Liege from November 17, 1708, to January 29, 1712. He was for some years employed likewise upon the English Mission, and died at Omer's College on February 28, 1721, æt. 70. He was a Professed Father, having taken his solemn vows on March 25, 1689, and was the author of several works, a list of which may be seen in the *Bibliothèque Ecriv. S.J.*

FATHER JOHN DARELL, the third son of John Darell, Esq., of Calehill, by Olivia his wife, the second daughter of Philip Smith Viscount Strangford.<sup>2</sup> Born May 10, 1705, and entered the Society 1722. He was raised to the degree of Professed Father on February 2, 1740, and was Rector of the College of St. Omer from 1752 to 1759, and was afterwards Procurator. Dr. Oliver (*Collectanea S.J.*) says that he was justly admired by Lord Chesterfield and all visitors of that famous Seminary for his polished urbanity of manners and considerate hospi-

<sup>2</sup> Father Morris calls him the third son. Burke makes James the third son "in Holy Orders." Burke only mentions three sons, viz., Philip, George, and James: the rest of the family he includes under "other junior issue."

tality. With his able and active pen he laboured zealously to avert and prevent the infamous seizure of the English College of St. Omer, by the tyrannical Parliament of Paris in 1762; and when he found it impossible to resist violence, his foresight and decision of purpose were no less manifest in removing and settling the establishment at Bruges. Returning to England after that event he served the mission of Wealside, in the District of the Holy Apostles (Suffolk District), and died in London, March 9, 1768, æt. 63.

FATHER JAMES DARELL (above alluded to), the fourth son, according to Father Morris, and the third according to Burke "in Holy Orders," was born December 27, 1707; entered the Society in 1723, was raised to the degree of a Professed Father in 1741, and after serving the English Mission in London and other places for many years, he died at Liege College, May 18, 1785, æt. 78.

BROTHER THOMAS DARELL was born September 8, 1711, and entered the Society in 1729, at the age of nineteen. He died a scholastic at the early age of twenty-three, November 22, 1734.

There is uncertainty as to the proper position of Thomas Darell. A friend suggests that he may have been the third son of Henry Darell of Scotney (by Margaret, daughter of Sir Edward Gage, of Firle, Sussex,) the eldest son of Thomas, who was the eldest son of Thomas of Scotney, by his first wife Elizabeth Horne; but the dates appear to render this almost impossible—for, if treated as of the Scotney branch, then his own niece, Anne, wife of Thomas Berkeley, died as early as 1692, and his second cousin, Father William Darell (Scotney branch), was born sixty years before, viz., in 1651. Thomas was more probably a brother of Fathers John and James Darell of Calehill, and one of the "junior issue" of John Darell, Esq., of Calehill, mentioned by Burke in his *Landed Gentry*.

THE REVEREND PHILIP DARELL was the third son of Henry Darell, Esq., of Calehill, by Elizabeth, the second daughter of Sir Thomas Gage, Bart. He was not actually a Jesuit, but may be called a son of the Society, having been (as was the case with several other clergymen, all now passed away, the last being the late Reverend Henry Campbell, who died at Grafton, February 25, 1874, æt. 90), educated by it and

attached to it, from first to last. The late Dr. Oliver, his intimate friend, includes him in his *Collectanea of the Members of the English Province*, and says: "This talented and amiable youth commenced his humanity studies at Liege, and on finishing Rhetoric at Stonyhurst College in 1797, entered the juniorate, or probation of candidates for the Ecclesiastical State. Having had the happiness and honour of being his individual companion during the whole of that period, I can bear testimony to his love of prayer, his spirit of industry, his docility of heart, cheerful piety, and obliging disposition. Appointed in due time to teach a course of humanities, he infused into his pupils his own spirit of classic taste and elegance. Afterwards promoted to holy orders, he gave abundant promise of attaining the highest reputation for pulpit oratory. Preston was assigned him as the theatre of his generous zeal and splendid talents; but alas, within six weeks after his arrival, he fell a victim of charity, in attending the sick, January 28, 1813, æt. 32. His family erected a tablet to his memory in St. Wilfred's Chapel, where his eloquence must have moved and electrified the hearts and minds of his hearers."

Regarding the Darell family, the Editor is indebted to Dame Mary (O.S.B.) for the following particulars derived from the Chronicles of her Order. "We had one Darell, but I can tell nothing of her, save that she was a choir novice, named Mary Gertrude (in religion), and that she died during her novitiate, November 22; but we have not even the year. There were, however, two Darell's at Brussels (O.S.B), Elizabeth and Margaret—the former professed as Dame Xaveria, February 14, 1697, at the age of 29; the latter as Dame Mary Josepha, November 23, 1710, aged 27. They were both daughters of William Darell, Esq., of Scotney Castle. This gentleman had two wives, the first of whom was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Appleton.<sup>3</sup> One daughter of the first marriage, was certainly Anne Darell, who married Thomas Berkeley of Spetchley, Esq., and had the blessing of converting him, or

<sup>3</sup> One of the Appleton family became a Jesuit, Thomas Appleton, *alias* Neville. We learn from the Diary of the English College, Rome, that he was a native of the diocese of Canterbury, Essex, born in the year 1596, and on February 24, 1618, in his twenty-second year, entered the College as a convictor, among the alumni of the Holy Father. After having first received the minor orders, he left Rome for England on October 7, 1620, and returning to the College again on December 23, 1621, he took the usual college oath on January 22, 1622, and was ordained priest on the following day, being Septuagesima Sunday, on the feast of St. Ilde-

seeing him converted at least, for on his recognizing the truth, he went over to Brussels and was there received into the Church. There were two sons and two daughters of this marriage, and the elder son named Robert, being probably under the care of his grandfather Berkeley (who felt more aggrieved at his son's conversion than at all the troubles caused him by the civil war, when his house at Spetchley was burnt down by the rebels) was brought up a Protestant; but the other son, Thomas, and the two daughters, being probably born abroad, were all brought up Catholics, and from this Thomas the present Berkeleys of Spetchley descend. Their monuments are in Spetchley Church, and have the following inscriptions (as far as can be made out): 'Thomas Berkeley, Esq., the only son of Sir Robert Berkeley, and of Elizabeth, a co-heiress of the second family of Conyers of Sockburn. . . . He died December the . . . 1693, aged 63.' His wife's is thus: 'And to the pious and sacred memory of Anne Berkeley, wife of the first named Thomas Berkeley, eldest daughter of William Darell of Scotney in Kent, Esq., and of Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Roger Appleton of Southampsteed in Essex, Bart. She died 18 September, in the year 1692.' Dame Mary Josepha Darell died July 12, 1761. She was commissioned in 1719 to convey to Rev. Charles Dodd the information concerning the history of the Brussel's Community which he wished to insert in his forthcoming *Church History*. Her letter is dated July 5, 1719, and concludes as follows: 'I beg the charity of your Reverence to remember my brother Darell on the 18th of this instant, his anniversary.' In the short pedigree I have of Darell of Scotney, only one brother is named, Arthur Darell, last male heir of Scotney, who succeeded in 1750; but the above extract shows there must have been another brother, who died before 1719. Dame Xaveria herself died October 23, but in what year is doubtful."

Several members of this family became nuns. In the records of Blue Nuns (or Conceptionists of Paris) we trace the following :

phonus, in the church of that Saint in the Corso. He entered the Society of Jesus on February 23, the vigil of St. Matthias the Apostle, in the same year (1622), and left Rome for Liege, the noviceship of the Society, on account of bad health, on May 2, 1624. After professing philosophy and theology with distinction, he was admitted to his solemn profession of the four vows on August 2, 1635. Compelled to leave Liege on account of bad health, he returned to his native country, and died in London on May 17, 1662, at the age of sixty-four. The Catalogue of the English Province states that he was born in 1598.

“On December 9, 1675, Jane Darell took the holy habit and the name of Henrietta Clementia. And on January 10, 1676, Barbara Darell took the habit and the name of Christina Barbara. They were daughters of Marmaduke Darell, Esq., of Buckinghamshire, and his wife Catherine Palmer, sister to the Earl of Castlemain.

“At the Augustinians at Bruges there was a ‘Sister Mary Olivia Darell professed in 1734, died 1766,’ and a ‘Sister Mary Olivia Darell, professed 1757, died 1802.’”

FATHER RICHARD BLOUNT was chaplain or missionary at Scotney Castle for many years, and was nearly caught, in the year 1598, by the pursuivants who were hunting him to the death.

For the biography of this eminent Father and founder of the English Province, S.J., and some account of the ancient family of which he was a member, we refer our readers to Father Morris' *Troubles*, First Series. The following document from the State Paper Office,<sup>4</sup> refers to this Father.

To the King's most excellent Maty and most gracious and mercifull Souaryne.

The most humble Peticion of Richard Blount, yr loyall subiect. Sheweth,—

That whereas yr Maty's subiect, beinge by his own profession in poynt of religeon knowne to be a Romaine Catholike recusant, ought by Act of Parliament to be confined to som certen knownen place, otherwise to be subiect to the penalty in the said Act expressed, yo<sup>r</sup> sayd subiect never haveinge had any howse of his owne, nor any setled aboade amongst his frends and kindred, who wil be fearefull to receive him w<sup>th</sup>out yr Maty expresse comand. And beinge now in the 74<sup>th</sup> yeare of his age, weakned with the stone and other infirmities, as phesicons do testefy, do the most humbly beseech yr Matie to be compassionately pleased to confine his person to Sir Thomas Pope Blount, his brother's howse at Tittenhanger, in the county of Hartford, there to be in readynes upon warninge given to appeare whensoever hee shall be called. For w<sup>ch</sup> yr Maty most gracious comiseracon yo<sup>r</sup> sayd supplyant according to his bounden duety will dureinge his lief pray dayly for bothe yr Maty and all yr royall yshew [issue] both temporal and eternall happines.

From this petition, which we may reasonably suppose would have been granted, it is not improbable that the venerable Father may have died at his brother's house at Tittenhanger, although the fact of his interment in the Queen's private chapel in Somerset House is in favour of his

<sup>4</sup> *Dom. Charles I.* vol. cccviii. n. 68, 1635; endorsed, “Mr. Blunt.”

having died in London, as stated by Dr. Oliver. It may seem to some a strange proceeding that Father Blount, after having been so hotly pursued for so many years, should at last offer himself in voluntary surrender to the enemy. But it was a practice not altogether uncommon in those times, as a means to secure a safe and quiet asylum.<sup>5</sup>

The following are two very interesting papers relating to the marvellous escape of Father Blount, taken from the old Records of the Province; a copy of the first is now among the Stonyhurst Collection, *Anglia*, vol. vii., and was sent, with the letter accompanying it, by Father John Darell, then Rector of St. Omer's, in October, 1757, to his brother, George Darell, Esq., of Scotney. The originals of it, and of the second and shorter one, now exist, along with many other papers and valuable records of the English Province, in the Public Record Office, Brussels.

As these two documents essentially belong to the records of our Province, and bear reference to its ancient mission of Scotney, they are here reproduced.

“St. Omer, October 20, 1757.

“Dear Brother,<sup>6</sup>—In turning over some old papers I found one, which, as it contains some particulars and curious circumstances relating to your family and seat at Scotney, I thought would be acceptable to you, if you have not seen or heard of such a thing before. And, as it describes the zeal and intention of the family to protect priests in the severe times of persecution, and, in particular, the first Provincial, viz., Father Blount, it shows what a good understanding there was betwixt the family of Darells and the family of Ignatius, of above one hundred and eighty years date, continued almost uninterrupted down to our days, there being now actually at the same seat of Scotney a son of Ignatius, a priest of the Society of Jesus, at the same house where the first Provincial was secured and saved. The relation is taken from a written one of Mr. William Darell, who seems to have been one of the children in the house at that time, and who died about the year 1639, one year after Father Blount.”

“Father Blount's first residence for seven or eight years was

<sup>5</sup> Father Robert Tempest, who was consigned to the charge of his brother, is a case in point. See p. 401.

<sup>6</sup> The letter is without signature, but is endorsed, “Father John Darell, Rector of St. Omer's from 1752 to 1757.”

at Mr. Darell's house in Sussex, about forty-six miles from London, which, in 1597 or 1598, was twice searched, he being in the house both times. The first search was by two justices of the peace, with pursuivants and such as they brought with them to watch and beset the house. At their first coming they sent Mr. Darell prisoner to London, his wife to one of the justices' houses, and most of the servants to the county gaol, suffering only one maid to stay in the house with the children, and the searchers who kept in possession of the house. This during [lasting] the space of a week, Father Blount was in a secret place under a stair, having one man with him, with a very small provision, and when it seeming that they could not submit any longer, Father Blount sent his man out, who offered himself to the searchers feigning that he came out of another hole, which he showed them. They carried him away for the priest, and the Father escaped for that bout.

“About a year after, a household servant, or one employed in husbandry, a Protestant, plotted to betray the house. Three justices of the peace, with a pursuivant, and their retinue, came and beset the house in the dead of the night about Christmas, and got into the house, which being perceived, Father Blount was awoke with the noise, and putting on only his breeches, with the same man as before, got into another secret hole, dug in a thick stone wall, carrying with him some church stuff and books (some of which things were afterwards a hindrance to his saving himself by swimming). At that time Mr. Darell was from home, and Mrs. Darell was shut up in one room over the gate with her children, and the searchers had possession and liberty of the whole house for ten days, Father Blount and the man having no other subsistence than a little bottle of wine and a little loaf of bread, and no other clothes but their breeches and a priest's cassock. During this time they searched, and found nothing. At last Mrs. Darell found means to go sometimes out of her chamber, and get to the door of the hiding-place, where, perceiving the end of a girdle used at Mass, shut out, hanging on the outside of the door of the hiding-place (strange Providence) she cut it off, yet not so close, but that a piece remained, which she thought might betray them, whereupon she called to them within to pull in the string, which they immediately did. Those that watched her (as it seems some did) came soon to her, and asked her whom she spoke to, and of what string. She answered that

the door by which she meant to pass being shut, she heard somebody in the next room, and called to them to open the door, which was done by pulling the string of the latch. This answer not satisfying them, they began to make a strict search all thereabouts, which was a little court with stone buildings in it, beating with a mattock upon the stones, and many times upon the door of the place, which was a stone in appearance like the rest. After some repeated good blows the hinges of the door began to give way, on which the Father and his man set their backs to the door, to support it against the blows; but the stone was so much moved that they saw the candlelight of the searchers, and could hear all they said. It grew late in the evening, and rained extremely fast, and the gutters poured down upon the searchers. Whereupon a very forward director of the rest of this company, who dwelt in the next town, came to the searchers and persuaded them to desist, saying, if there were anything, they could better find it the next morning by daylight. They presently left off, and made a good fire in the hall, and there sat drying themselves and drinking. Soon after, the justices went to bed, and most of the rest sat by the fire drinking.

“Father Blount (who without this act of God’s providence, which seemed accidental, in all likelihood had died in the place, as resolving so, rather than put himself in the hands of the searchers, to the overthrow of the house and family) taking the opportunity of the stormy night and darkness, first sent out the man, and then soon followed himself barefoot. They got over two walls about ten foot high, and so on to a broken tower, about sixteen feet above the water of the moat, which was in that place eighty feet broad, and so deep that it could not be waded. From thence the Father leaped into the moat, by his courage overleaping certain piles which stood near the tower, and were covered with water, and not known to him. He intended that his man should have leaped down after him, and so he would have carried him over, but finding himself weak, swam over, and being on the bank on the other side, said to his man on the tower (Father Blount told a friend afterwards that the moat was covered with thin ice), ‘I am so weak that if I should come back to fetch you we should both be drowned,’ and so directed him to another place where he might wade over, and meet him at a certain house where a Catholic servant of Mr. Darell dwelt, about half a mile from the house.

“The tower was in the corner of a garden, and on the side of that garden was the hall, in which many of those who followed the searchers sat at the fire drinking. The door from the garden to the hall had on the inside an iron latch, which had no way of opening on the garden side. The man thrusting at the door with his hand, it opened, God knows how, and having no other clothes but his breeches, and the priest’s cassock trussed short about him, he went boldly into the midst of them, and said: ‘My master has heard a noise in the stable, and says he thinks somebody is stealing his horses, and you all sit drinking here, and nobody looks to his horses;’ and with this, some of them, reflecting on the man so strangely attired, they ran towards the stables, and he amongst them, and slipt out at a little door left in one of the stables to take water from the moat.

“Having waded through the moat in extreme darkness, he stumbled over Father Blount, who had lost his way, and was come back to the house, and they together went to the house appointed, and there got on some of the husbandman’s clothes, and each of them a pair of his hard shoes, Father Blount’s feet being full of thorns in getting over many thorny hedges, and wounded with getting over the walls. Thus they went fourteen miles that night in dirty ways up to their knees. (It is said, as from himself, that in the morning, meeting a woman with a pail of milk, he begged a draught, and she answered that he should first wash his dirty face.) By reason of the darkness they kept the high road, and not late in the morning they got to the house of a Catholic gentleman, where Father Blount lay sick for three weeks, having the best care the place could afford him. But his legs and feet being inflamed, and growing very ill, he was removed to London, where Dr. Forster being his surgeon, he hardly escaped death, and ever after he had aches in his thighs from cold taken in the stone wall hiding-place.

“Soon after the escape, the company, who were sitting in the hall when the Father’s man gave the alarm of thieves in the stable, reflected on the man and remembered the noise of leaping into the moat, and the next morning presently found the place which the Father had shut after him, they went and got a bloodhound, which (as one of the Culpeppers is said to have affirmed) could by no means be brought to follow the scent. It is said that the man who caused them to desist wished that he had been hanged before he gave that counsel.

In that place it is still notorious that all they who were chief actors in these searches, divers of them being rich men and of good estates, have since so decayed that now they have nothing, or hardly anything of their posterity remaining, and the man who betrayed, being a young man, soon after died amongst them, his limbs rotting and falling from him."

*"Certaine notes concerning the dangerous Escape of Mr. Blount at Scotney.*

"The partie mentioned was betrayed by one Henberry, a fallen Catholic, formerly a servant at Scotney, whose strainge death was generally holden of all (and yet fresh in memorie at Lamberhurst, within which parish Scotney stands) a iust punishment for his perfidious villanie. The justices of peace, with the pursueants, one night besett the house, and seased a maide servant the next morning before day going out upon some special business. They commanded her to carry them to her maister's chamber, and to light them a candle; but she discreetly tould them she could not light a candle, framing some excuse; and insteade of carrying them to her maister's chamber, stode at the bottome of the stairs, calling aloude: Mistresse, here is Sir Geo. Rivers and such a Justice, and such a Justice (naming all the justices), come to speake with you,' whereupon they knewe the house was both besett and taken; so that with all convenient speede they gave him notice, who, incontinently with his man Bray, with all possible speede they could, made hast to the place of refuge; but the fright being so suddiene, and the feare to be prevent so greate, they were forced to goe with litle or noe clothes but what they had on. What they wanted I cannot iustly affirme, only as near as I can remember, Mr. Blount wanted his doublet and stockings. The gent<sup>n</sup> of the house was carried to London, and committed close prisoner at Newgate. Being possessed of the house, they goe to searching generally over all the house, but most punctually they performed that taske in the night time with candles, hauinge for that purpose both bricklayers and carpenters allways at hand. The last night search was eyther on the fowert [fourth] or fift night, when they came to the bottom of a little turret. The bricklayer marked the stones exactly, and fastening his eyes on a broad stone, perceived it not placed as others, according to the mason's art and presently says: 'This stone was never put in when this wall

was built,' which sayed, he sounded it with his hammer and, perceiving it hollowe, sayes : ' Heere is the place,' whereupon they all shouted, and one Mr. Collines of Lamberhurst, a grate enemy to that house, swore a grate oath they would have the priest to-morrowe, whereupon they left the place, and w<sup>ch</sup> to be wondered at, not so much as leave a guard to guard it.

"When the coast was cleare therabouts (for they were all gone to drinking, and for joy drunke deepe), Mr. B. tould his man they must nowe change their resolutions, that is, they must nowe venter to escape, if it be possible : ' for if we staye here till to-morrowe we shall infallibly be taken, and then the gentleman will be undone.' So a little after midnight they ventured forth carrying the chiefest thinges out w<sup>th</sup> them, and threwe them in the weedes, shooting the doore after them, w<sup>ch</sup> could not be opened on the outside. Coming to the court, they perceived two men walking and talking, and taking opportunitie when they turned, passed along by the house-side, and so to the moote wall, wher Bray stouped, and did tell his Mr. to treade upon his backe, that soe he might reach the top of the wall, w<sup>ch</sup> done, he helpt his man also up. Then the man lett his Mr. downe into the moote, and so committing himselfe to the water w<sup>th</sup> much difficultie, obtained the land. But when he was over, he tould his man he durst not venter to goe backe to bringe him over, according to his promise by reason of faintnes and weaknes of body caused both by fasting, having had only one litle white loafe betwixt them both all that tyme, and also too much watching as never daring to sleepe, and soe tould him he must shifte for himselfe, and w<sup>th</sup> all said if he could gett into the outcourt in such a place he should find a windowe open, and ther he might wade over under the trees. Which said, he went presently to an ould man's house hard by, an ould retainer to Scotney, who refreshed him with meate, and provided him w<sup>th</sup> some clothes, and that night directed him towards Bently, wher he stayed till he recovered some strength, and then for London.

"His man's escape, they say, was after this manner. He not having the art of swimming, durst not venter by water, but bouldly came into the hall, wher he founde a grate company lying asleepe, and loudly cryes : ' Theaves ! theaves in the stable ! Drunken rogues, doe you lye heere, and suffer my Mr. Sir George River's horses be stolen ?' At which they

roused up all of them, crying, 'Thieves! thieves in the stable!' and running and crying, the two men in the court open the gate, and lett them out, and Bray w<sup>th</sup> them. They rone to the stable, and he to the windowe. When they found no alterations about the stable, they asked one another what was he that called them up, and wher he was. One answ<sup>d</sup> he sawe one man in a straing habite goe to such a place, and hard him plunge into the moote, upon which answeare they all concluded it was the priest, and undoubtedly he was drowned in the moote, wherupon they begin to drag the moote to find the drowned priest, and soe longe they continued in this conceite, that Bray had tyme to visite his Mr., and providing himself of clothes, that night took his journey for London.

"I thought it not amisse to mention an accident that happened at that tyme to a Protestant plowe boy belonging to that house, which accident by Gode's providence was in cause the gentleman saved his land. This boy being frighted that morning they entered the house runne into the barne, and ther hidd himselfe in the strawe, and ther remained without meate or drinke all that fower or five dayes; but being extreame hungry, came creping out to see if he could gitt any meate. Just at that tyme they were dragging the moate for the priest, and being espied, they cryed, 'The priest! the priest!' and pursued him to the barne againe, wher he lay close till they pricked him out with pronges. This storie the gentleman had notice of, and when he was called before the Council table, and laide to his charge howe he harboured a priest w<sup>ch</sup> escaped, he made his case so good by telling their lordships the priest escaped was no other than a poor frighted plowe boy, and so tould them the storie (the pursueants not denying it) of the boy, they presently, w<sup>th</sup>out any more adoe quitte him."

The following note is written across the first page.

"God visited this Henberry w<sup>th</sup> a strange loathsome disease, and so loathsome it was that they made meanes he might be removed to London to hospitall, but they of the hospitall, being not able to endure the loathsomeness, sent him backe to Lamberhurst, wher he laid a while, but so that no man was able to come nere him, and in the end dyed, whose death was by the estimation of all a iust iudgment of God."

BROTHER HUGH ANDERTON.—We extract from the scholars' interrogatories and the Diary of the English College, Rome, the following account of a convert of Father Richard Blount :

"My name is Hugh Anderton. I am second son of James Anderton, Esq., of Lancashire, and was born at my father's house called Clayton, and educated in neighbouring grammar schools until my fourteenth year. I am now twenty-two or twenty three years of age. My parents are of the higher class. I have three brothers and two sisters ; all these, and most of my relatives, are schismatics, but a few are Catholics.

"I studied at Oxford for about seventeen months, when by the advice of physicians, on account of ill-health, I returned home, where I recovered after the space of a year. I was then sent to Gray's Inn, London, to study the law, but after staying there for six entire years, I made little or no progress.

"I was always a schismatic until the feast of St. George of the present year of jubilee, when, by the grace of God, and assistance of Father Blount, I became a Catholic.

"By his advice and that of Father Gilbert Gerard,<sup>7</sup> and of my own will, I left England, and came to Rome for the sake of religion and study about four months ago, and it is my great desire to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life."

The Diary of the English College states that he was admitted among its alumni in the name of Henry Courtnay, on December 14, 1600, Father Robert Parsons being Rector, took the usual College oath on August 5, 1601, received minor orders on the feast of St. Andrew, and died most

<sup>7</sup> The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that Gilbert Gerard, of the diocese of Chester [which included Lancashire], aged eighteen years, was received among the alumni on the 17th of November, 1587, and took the College oath on the 31st of July, 1588. Having received the minor orders he was ordained subdeacon on the 19th, deacon on the 29th of September, 1592, and priest on the 10th of August, 1593. And on the 8th of November in the same year, having been sent into Flanders for the restoration of his health, immediately proceeded to England. Dr. Oliver, in his *Collectanea S.J.*, calls him a native of Lancashire, and observes that all he can collect is that he was brother to Alexander and Thomas Gerard, both prisoners for the Catholic faith in Wisbeach Castle—that Alexander was living there April 29, 1598, and that Thomas had died there before that date in the 28th year of his age. We trace him again in a State Paper very frequently quoted in our *Records, Dom. Jac. I.* vol. vii. n. 50: "The names of the Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode." . . . "Gilbert Gerard with Edward Fortescue's widow and young Mr. Hurstone." In 1604 we find him attending a meeting of Jesuits for the purpose of a spiritual retreat and renovation of vows, at White Webbs, on Enfield Chase, the residence of Father Henry Garnett, the Superior (see *Records*, vol. i. p. 75). We do not trace either the date of his entering the Society or of his death.

holily on September 29, 1603, having been previously admitted to the Society. Dr. Oliver names him as Henry Courtney, and gives a wrong date for his death.

Concerning Mr. James Anderton of Clayton, the father of Hugh, we append the following note.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> James Anderton of Clayton, near Chorley, was the son of Hugh Anderton, a branch of the original family of Anderton. He and his kinsman James of Lostock were, in 1590, farmers of the goods of outlaws and receivers of the Duchy for sundry ports [Communicated by the Rev. T. E. Gibson, who gives a full account of the Andertons of Lostock, with a pedigree of that family, in his late antiquarian work, *Lydiat Hall and its Associations*]. In Gee's list of priests and Jesuits, with booksellers and books dispersed in and near London (*Records*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 673), we read—"The Reformed Protestant, by Brerely. There was a printing-house suppressed about some three years since in Lancashire, where all Brerely his works, with many other Popish pamphlets, were printed." Dodd (*Church History*, vol. ii. p. 386) says, "John Brerely is reported by some to have been a clergyman. But it is either a fictitious name, or at least assumed by James Anderton of Lostock in Lancashire, a person of singular parts and erudition, as well as master of a plentiful estate; who, having published several controversial writings, assumed the name of Brerely in order to conceal his person and secure himself against the penalties he might incur on that account." Father John Clarke, then the Rector of the English College, Liege, in a letter addressed to the Father General in March, 1656, announcing the death of Father Henry Holland, observes, "He alone, among a great company of the gravest Fathers, was selected to hear the first confession of that very celebrated man, justly ranked among the most learned men of his day—Mr. James Anderton of Lostock, the author of the very erudite work entitled *The Apology of Protestants*." It is very probable that the author of the above work, and owner likewise of the printing press in question, was James Anderton of Clayton, the father of Hugh. Instances exist in those days of Catholic gentlemen keeping private printing presses for the diffusion of Catholic truth. The Rev. T. E. Gibson (a good authority in this matter) observes in a letter to the Editor—"I never thought it likely that he [James of Lostock] was the author of the work stated, nor the possessor of the Catholic printing press, from the character he had as a keen lawyer, and from his apparent indifference in matters of religion. I have read some letters and remarks of his (in the Ince Blundell collection) which bear out this view. I think at the same time that he was the man received into the Church by Holland, after the death of his father, who was a temporizer, but his mother was a good Catholic." Among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, *Dom. James I.* vol. lxxv. n. 20, is a letter from Sir Julius Cæsar, Knight, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to Sir Thomas Lake, Knight, one of the Clerks of his Majesty's Signet attending the King at Court, dated London, November 20, 1613. "These, haste, haste, haste." The writer states that, according to the King's pleasure, he has had conference with the Bishop of Chester concerning the safe custody of the goods and books of one Anderton, a recusant, in Lancashire, deceased. For the books the Bishop would take special care to send his Majesty, with all convenient speed, an inventory thereof and attend his gracious pleasure for their disposal. In the same vol. n. 36, and 361. is a letter from same to same, inclosing the following inventory of Mr. Anderton's books received from the Bishop of Chester, which he begs Sir Thomas Lake to present to his Majesty: "Manuals; Latin and English primmers; Firm Foundations; Abridgements; Policy and Religion [Father Fitzherbert, S.J.]; Rules of St. Clare; Pseudo-Scripturist [Sylvester Norris, S.J., D.D.]; Introductions [to a Devout Life, by Father J. Yorke, S.J.]; Following of

Sir THOMAS  
Knight-ban  
1617, æt. 6  
ton. Had  
daughters.

Sir THOMAS HAWKINS of Nash, Knight. "Translated Cousins' *Holy Court* and other books." = ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN SMITH of Ashby Folville, Leicestershire, Esquire.

JOHN HAWKINS.  
Died S.P.

THOMAS HAWKINS.  
Died S.P.

THOMAS. Born 1649; died December, 1678. = CATHERINE, daughter of WALTER GIFFORD Esq. of Chilling Stafford.

THOMAS HAWKINS of Nash. Rebuilt the mansion. Died June 21, 1766, æt. 92. = MARY, daughter Esq. of Lea 1713, æt. 38. GARET GOW

MARY MAGDELEN = CHARLES EYSTON, Esq. of East Hendred, co. Berks.

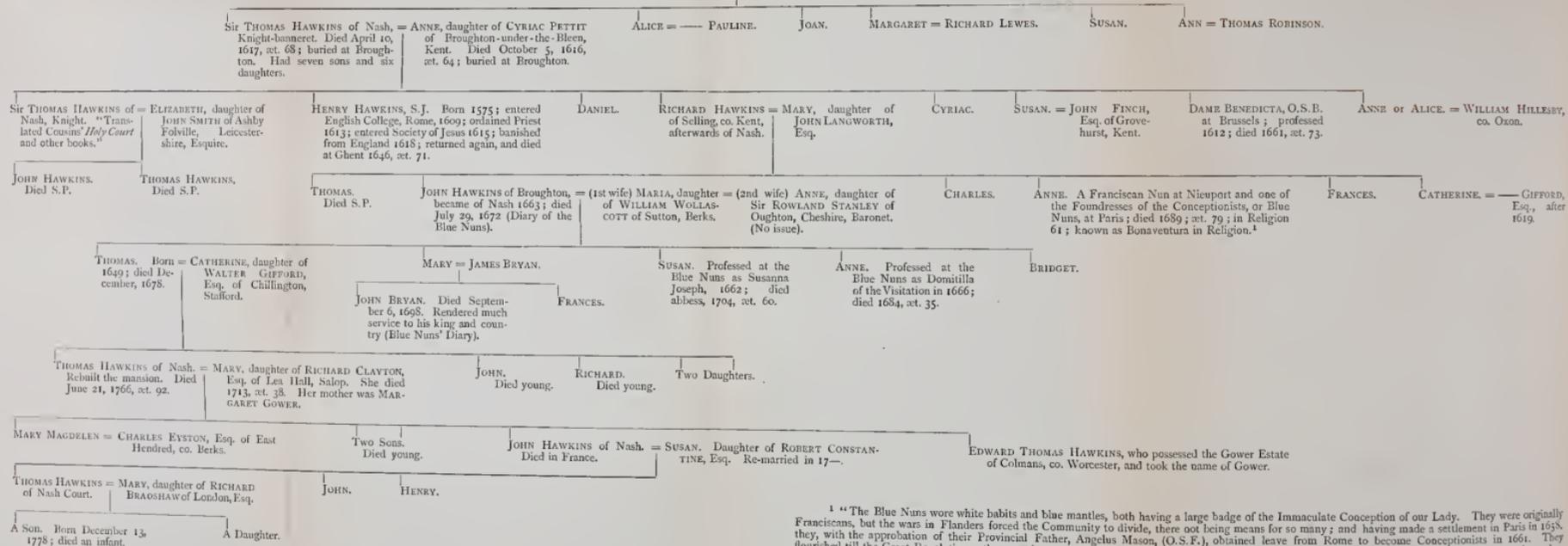
THOMAS HAWKINS of Nash Court. = MARY, daughter of RICHARD BRADSHAW of London, Esq.

A Son. Born December 13, 1778; died an infant.

A Daughter.

PEDIGREE OF THE HAWKINS OF NASH, KENT.

THOMAS HAWKINS. Died = ELEANORA, daughter of ROBERT ATTSEE of Heron, Kent. Died August 20, 1553. March 15, 1587; *æt.* 101.



<sup>1</sup> "The Blue Nuns wore white habits and blue mantles, both having a large badge of the Immaculate Conception of our Lady. They were originally Franciscans, but the wars in Flanders forced the Community to divide, there not being means for so many; and having made a settlement in Paris in 1658, they, with the approbation of their Provincial Father, Angelus Mason, (O.S.F.), obtained leave from Rome to become Conceptionists in 1661. They flourished till the Great Revolution,—then coming over they had been long imprisoned by the Reds, and some were dead, reduced thus in numbers, they settled at Norwich and died out" (Comm. by DAME MARY, O.S.B.).

## THE HAWKINS FAMILY OF NASH, KENT.

THE marriage of Mary Constantine with Philip Darell<sup>1</sup> leads us to a brief notice of this family, for the sake of introducing a distinguished member of the English Province, Father Henry Hawkins *alias* Brookes.

“The Constantines were a Catholic family. Susan, another daughter of Robert Constantine, married John Hawkins, Esq., of Nash Court, Kent.<sup>2</sup> The Hawkins family, upon the death of the infant son in 1778, probably became extinct. It had given nuns to many convents, one being Dame Benedicta Hawkins, O.S.B., of Brussels, sister to Father Henry Hawkins, of the Society of Jesus, who is mentioned by Dodd as relinquishing a plentiful estate, &c. This Henry was a second son, but, since his mother was heiress of Cyriac Pettit, Esq., of Boughton in Kent, it is likely that estate was settled on the second son. Sir Thomas, the eldest son, who inherited Nash Court (brother of Father Henry), was the translator of the *Holy Court* and other works.”<sup>3</sup>

Father Henry Hawkins was born in the year 1575 in London; he entered the English College, Rome, in the assumed name of Brooke, on the 19th of March, 1609, at the age of thirty-four, wishing to make his higher studies. He received minor orders in 1613, was ordained priest about the same time, and, after spending two years in scholastic theology, left for Belgium and entered the Society about 1615.

A MS. status of the English College Rome for 1613 says that he was the “son of a cavalier, lord of a castle, a man of

Christ; Key of Paradise; Bellarmine's Catechisms; Vaux's Catechisms [Laurence Vaux of Blackroad, Wigan; of Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Dean of the collegiate church, Manchester, in Queen Mary's reign; deprived by Elizabeth, and died a martyr for the faith in the Gatehouse Prison in 1585]; Images of both Churches [by M. Pateson. “A bitter and seditious book” (Gee's list)].” This letter, dated 1613 and written after Anderton's death, cannot refer to James Anderton of Lostock, who did not die until 1617 or 1618, in which latter year his p.m. inquisition was held. Moreover, the books as described in the inventory are such as might be expected to belong to a pious layman, but would hardly commend themselves to the legal and worldly mind of James Anderton of Lostock. They have the general appearance of having been in bundles, and confirm the idea that the printing press was here, and that the said books had issued from it.

<sup>1</sup> See the Calehill Pedigree.

<sup>2</sup> See the Hawkins' Pedigree annexed.

<sup>3</sup> Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B., St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

mature age, intelligent in affairs of government, very learned in the English laws, and that he had left a wife, office, and many other commodities and expectations to become a priest in the Seminaries"<sup>4</sup>—a brief extract, which contains no doubt a touching narrative beneath these headings of chapters, though the chapters themselves are unfortunately wanting. His history reminds us of the case of Sir John Warner, Bart., of Parham, and Lady Warner, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart., who in 1666 separated by mutual consent; Sir John entering the Society of Jesus, and Lady Warner becoming a nun among the Poor Clares of Gravelines, and their two daughters joining as religious the convent of English Benedictine Dames at Dunkirk.<sup>5</sup>

In 1618 Father Henry Hawkins, who had been captured and imprisoned soon after his arrival in England, was sent into perpetual exile together with eleven other Fathers of the Society of Jesus, along with most of whom he returned to England, risking life rather than abandon his missionary labours. He is named among the *veterani missionarii* in the list of Jesuits found among the papers seized in 1628 at the Clerkenwell Residence of the Society.<sup>6</sup> After labouring upon the English Mission for twenty-five years, he was sent to the House of the English Tertian Fathers at Ghent, and died there on the 18th of August, 1646, æt. 76.<sup>7</sup>

Two other Fathers of the name of Hawkins entered the Society of Jesus, viz., Francis was born in London, 1622; entered religion 1649, and died at Liege in 1681. And Thomas Hawkins, born in Lancashire, December 24, 1722, was a student at the English College, Rome, and entered the Society October 21, 1747. He was made a Professed Father in 1758, and died at Oxburgh, July 19, 1785. We do not trace them as of the Nash Court family.

The Hawkins family was one of great antiquity. In the *Harleian MSS.* n. 1548, fol. 158*b* (re-copied and enlarged in additional MSS. n. 5526, fol. 80*b*) is a full pedigree carrying it back to Andrew Hawkins, "who had a fair estate in the liberty of Holderness as early as the time of Edward III." His grandson, John Hawkins, of Nash, Kent, "had lands in gift of William Makenode, in marriage with Margery his wife,

<sup>4</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iv. n. 41.

<sup>5</sup> See *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV. part i.

<sup>6</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Series I. pp. 132, 133.

<sup>7</sup> For a list of the works of this learned Father, see *Biblio. Ecrivains S.J.* par P. de Backer, S.J.

2nd and 4th Henry IV. and Henry V." Passing thence through three generations, represented by William, Thomas, and Matthew Hawkins, of Nash, respectively, we come to Thomas Hawkins, of Nash, who died 15th of March, 1587, æt. 101. He married Eleanora, daughter of Robert Attsee, of Heron, Kent, who died 20th of August, 1553.

SHERBURNE, DORSET ; FATHERS M. and C. GRENE.

SHERBURNE appears to have once possessed a very eminent member of the English Province of the Society as its missionary in the person of Father Martin Grene. He dates three letters from that place addressed to his brother Father Christopher Grene, then in Rome, regarding Father Bartoli's *Ecclesiastical History of England*; of these, as being historically interesting, we subjoin copies.

Father Martin Grene rendered great service in collecting materials for a history of the English Province. Father Southwell,<sup>1</sup> says that he was born of English parents, in Ireland, but the English Province Catalogues for the year 1642 and 1655 state that he was a native of Kent, born in 1616.<sup>2</sup> After making his humanity studies at St. Omer's College, he became a member of the Society in 1637, and in 1642 he was a professor at the College of Liege. In 1655 we find him a missionary in the adjoining district of Oxfordshire (the Residence of St. Mary's), having been then for two years upon the English Mission. He had previously served the various offices of Prefect of Morals, Minister, Consultor, Socius, and Master of Novices, in the Colleges of the English Province on the Continent, and was solemnly professed of the four vows in 1654. For twelve years he laboured on the Mission, endearing himself to his spiritual children and acquaintance by his discreet zeal, unaffected piety, and varied talents and erudition. He was recalled from the English Mission to Watten, having been appointed to the important post of Master of Novices, and shone like a pillar of light before them by his experience in the spiritual life and his practical knowledge of the institute of the Society, by his extraordinary sweetness and affability of temper, and his superior literary attainments. He died at Watten, October 2, 1667,

<sup>1</sup> *Biblio. Script. S.J.* p. 586.

<sup>2</sup> Father Southwell is probably correct, as his brother, Father Christopher Grene, was born in Ireland.

æet 51, leaving behind him the reputation of an eminent classic, historian, philosopher, and divine.

He wrote the following works, (1) *An Account of the Jesuits' Life and Doctrine*, small 8vo., London, 1661. (This admirable book was a great favourite with James II. when Duke of York. In a letter of Father James Forbes, Superior of the Society in Scotland, addressed, on April 10, 1680, to the Father General Paul Oliva, he says, "When I presented to his Serene Highness, the Duke of York, a book for his casual reading, which many years ago had been written by a certain Father Grene, in English, and which treats admirably of our institute, life, and doctrine, the prince and his wife were so taken with reading it, that they wished me, as I had only that copy, to have another published, asserting that he would take care that so excellent and important a book, especially for these times, should be reprinted.) (2) *An Answer to the Provincial Letters*. A translation from the French, with considerable improvements of his own, and having a brief history of Jansenism prefixed. (3) *Vox Veritatis, seu via regia ducens ad veram pacem*. (4) A volume of his *Church History of England* was found ready for the press when death arrested the progress of his labours. To his well-stored mind Father Bartoli was indebted for much information on English Catholic affairs.<sup>3</sup>

The three subsequent letters of Father Martin Grene are taken from originals in Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol v. n. 67.

September 18, 1664.

"Most dear brother,—

"On the tenth of this I received yours, which, as it answered my last without date, so it was also dateless. But all the contents were exceedingly grateful. And to answer first that which you say Father Bartoli requires. I have the

<sup>3</sup> Oliver's *Collectanea*, p. 106. "Father Clark, or, as he signs himself, Joannes le Clerque, the Provincial, wrote an attestation of a relic of the holy Crown of Thorns that was sent to Watten when Father Martin Grene was Rector: "Ut ibi cum majore reverentia tutiusque servaretur, donec mihi vel successoribus meis placuerit eandem repetere." This is dated January 17, 1666, and is countersigned by the Bishop's Secretary, J. de la Ramonery, February 5, 1666, St. Omer. After the Suppression, 1773, the Bishop of Ghent, Van Eervel, endorsed this authentication March 23, 1774, countersigned by Maximilian Macherius de Meulenaere, his secretary, into whose possession the relic had come, and who, then Dean of St. Bavon and Vicar-General of Ghent, gave it on April 24, 1808, to the Confraternity of the Holy Cross in St. Michael's Church, Ghent, where it now is in a little reliquary of gold and green enamel, with the exception of the pearls, exactly like that of the Thorn belonged to Mary Queen of Scots, and is now preserved at Stonyhurst College" (Note by Father Morris, S.J.)

booke *de non adeundis hæreticorum Ecclesiis*. It is certainly Father Parson's worke, and so it is esteemed by all heer. It was printed ann. 1607. And tho' it have not Father Parson's name in the front, yet in the page 35, after having delivered his opinion that it is not lawful, he subscribes thus: *Ita Sentio R. P.*, and then in the following page gives the opinion of Baronius, Bellarmin, and eight other principal divines then at Rome, signed by every one. As for the judgment of the Fathers in the Council of Trent, Father Parsons hath it not in that booke, but he mentioneth it as a thing certaine among all English Catholics. His words are these: 'Prætermisi de industria Doctorum illorum auctoritatem qui, a Conc. Trid. Patribus ad Quæstionem hanc discutiendam deputati, sententiam pro parte negativa protulerunt; quia, licet est apud Catholicos Anglos testatissima, et typis etiam (ut audio) divulgata, ego tamen apud me Scriptum illud dum hæc scriberem non habui, &c.' As for the thing itself, I have it in another book, made as far as I can guess by a secular priest. Yet it hath neither name nor date of year or place. The title of the booke is *A Treatise of Christian Renunciation*. But at the end of the booke is this question handled, whether it be lawful for Catholics to goe to hereticall churches, with a protestation that they come not for liking of the religion. At the end of this question he printeth, both in Latin and English, the declaration of the Fathers in the Council of Trent. I conceive it was printed in Queen Elizabeth's time against some few who were called *Protesters*, because they thought they might go to church with a protestation, and these afterwards growing to a greater number, Father Parsons was again forced to write of the same argument. And thus much for that; as for further information concerning anything more than Father More hath in his history, I can only tell you that I have not read Father More's history. I hope I shall have it ere long, though I believe with difficulty, for I thinke there be not five copies in England, yet I have been promised one. In the meantime whatsoever I should say would be at random. For the authors that may help, I know never an one that hath writ in Latin besides Camden. In English there be divers books that should be seen, as Fuller's *Ecclesiastical History*, Heylin's *Collection of Synods or Convocations*, Herbert's *Henry VIII.*, and the likes, which, though they have little of our matters, and lesse of truth when they treat of our Society, yet it is good to see how our Protestants relate matters; for

something they grant of truth, in something they contradict themselves, and lay open their own errors, the Puritan endeavouring to whip the Protestant, and he to return the blows as fast. But what I conceive most necessary, for one who will write our ecclesiastical history, are the Acts of Parliament which make the Protestant Creed. These must be exactly looked into by one who will know the state of our Church affairs;<sup>4</sup> for the later Parliaments do change the former. The main point of the Act of 1st Elizabeth, by which Queen Elizabeth had power given her to punish all that she should think fit by any freeborn subject to whom she should delegate her power, upon which clause the High Commission Court and the oath of ex officio were founded; this main clause I say was repealed in the beginning of last . . . by Charles I., and the repeal confirmed lately by Charles II.; as also the form of creating bishops was lately changed by this King, and some other things in their Liturgy have been changed. So that without seeing the last Acts of Parliament no man can tell what the religion of England is. But what it was they may safely say. And since your departing hence the supremacy hath been strangely handled in the Lord's house, and power denied the King to dispense in Ecclesiastical Penal Laws, which notwithstanding all his predecessors since Henry VIII. practised. All this I say that if Father Bartoli anywhere touch upon our laws, he will do well to take notice of the time, for perhaps the law may now be altered. Though for the penal laws against Catholics, I know not that any of them are allowed to be recalled. Yet the Act of Charles I., which I mentioned, speaks much for the abrogating of all penal laws for matter of conscience, and all coercive power in any ecclesiastical judge. It was made in the seventeenth year of his reign, and explained by 13 Charles II., but so that now in practice the penal laws are supposed in force, though not executed through the clemency of his Majesty. But perhaps this is but a needless caution of mine, yet you will give me leave to add another thing which occurs to me, though perhaps more needless than the former. It is that, whereas one thing which will occur in Father Bartoli's history will be the often exclamations against the Catholics as traitors, perhaps Father Bartoli may do well to make an excursion to show the fidelity

<sup>4</sup> See in Oliver, p. 107, "Grene Martin," an important note from the pen of a learned theologian, upon weighing and collating Acts of Parliament, grounded upon Father Grene's advice.

of all Catholics, and especially of ours and our friends in this last war, where he will have many things to say, part of which I have touched in the preface to my account, and part in the book; but more may be added which, being matter of fact, will evidently convince that we have no treasonable principles, as we are falsely slandered to have. One thing more occurs, that I think the person who procured the Decree of the Council of Trent (which if you have not I will send you) was Mr. Darbyshire, Dean of Paul's, afterwards admitted to the Society. He died at Mussipont, and Father Abraham wrote an eulogy of him, as he told me himself. But the French called him d'Albique. I am tired, and I believe I have tired you. Adieu. Remember me to Mr. Hill. Once again, adieu.

[In the margin.] "Pray (if you can) get Father Bartoli to continue his design of writing the English Ecclesiastical History, and for my part I will concur with him in all that possibly I can. It is a story that requires a good pen, which I want, and much leisure and convenience of books, which I have not. Yet I will do what I can to collect together the matter, which I shall be glad to send Father Bartoli, and serve in what I can in so pious a design. If you ever writ to me concerning this design, I received not your letter, otherwise I should willingly have concurred."

"M. G."

*Same to same.*

"Sherbourne, 1664, October 9."

"Dear Brother,—

"About a month since I answered your last, and then I promised you to get a book concerning Father Drury, out of which I send you the inclosed, which contains all the material part of the preface. If there be anything else wherein I can concur with you or Father Bartoli, I shall very willingly do it. There be many very fine things that might be said in that history, but I fear that it will be hard to get them together, for it hath been formerly so dangerous in England to keep any writings of that kind that the greatest part is lost, and no memory remains of many gallant actions, save only in the verbal relations which some of our old men can make.<sup>5</sup> But, for the most part, when I have asked some of them concerning those things that they have known, I have found them to fail in the particular relations of times, places, persons, and

<sup>5</sup> This observation is equally true and applicable, perhaps much more so, in the matter of a full and complete history of the English Province S. J.

such like circumstances which ought to be related. I suppose ere long I shall get Father More's history, and then I will do what I can if I hear that you do still desire it. And in this, and whatsoever else you shall desire of me, you shall ever be sure that, according to my poor abilities, I shall show myself

“Your very loving brother,

“MARTIN GRENE.”

“January 1, 1665 $\frac{5}{8}$ .”

“Dear brother,—

“I promised you in my last, which was from London, that I would, when I came home to my books, answer your questions as well as I could. Now then, coming hither about eight days since, I have gathered together what occurred to me concerning the matter of going to church, and, to save you a labour, have written it in Latin, that if you think it worth seeing, you may show it to Father Bartoli.

“For the relation concerning Father Garnett's trial, I have it, but it being long I cannot send it in a letter, and yet know not how otherwise to send it, so that I am thinking to compare it with what is in Mr. More's book (which now I have), and to write only that which the manuscript doth add, if it add anything considerable. I had once occasion to inform myself of that history, and I found none better than the two books of Eudæmon Joannes, the one *ad actionem Edouardi Coqui: Apologia pro P. Hen. Garneto*, the other *Parallelus Torti et Tortoris*. Though the things be there spread and scattered, yet they are (if collected) very pertinent to clear Father Garnett and ours; for example, among other things, this one, that the traitors had among themselves made an oath that they would never speak of their design to any priest, because they knew they would not allow of it. Also that they were especially offended with the Jesuits for their preaching patience and submission. There are divers other circumstances which manifestly excuse ours. I had a relation made me by one of ours, who had it in Seville, which clearly shows that the whole plot was of Cecil's making, but it being only told me by an old man who forgot both times and persons, I believe I shall never make use of it. Yet I have heard strange things which, if ever I can make out, will be very pertinent; for certain, the late Bishop of Armagh, Usher, was divers times heard to say that if Papists knew what he knew, the blame of the Gunpowder Treason would not lie on them. And other things I have

heard, which if I can find grounded, I hope to make good use of. It may be that if you write to Seville to my brother Frank, he will, or somebody else there, give you some light in this business. But now I must add (concerning what I last writ to you of our Princess Henrietta) two things. The one is, that I named her eldest sister Mary, wherein I erred, if I named her so, for her name was Elizabeth. The other is, that I am informed that the nurse and her husband are both living with the Princess in France, and therefore I could wish a letter were writ to our Mr. Thimbleby in Paris, and that you may have the story from themselves. Adieu.

“Yours ever,

“M. G.”

FATHER CHRISTOPHER GRENE, the great admirer of the English martyrs, and who has done more than any other man to save intact the records of their sufferings, and transmit to us materials for a history of the times of persecution in England,<sup>6</sup> was born in the diocese of Kilkenny in the year 1629, and after making his humanity studies at St. Omer's College, passed on to the English College, Rome, in 1649, for his higher course. On entering the College he made the following autobiographical statement :

“My name is Christopher Grene. I am aged eighteen years, son of George Grene and Jane Tempest, of the diocese of Kilkenny. My parents are of the middle class, but Catholic. I was brought up in Ireland until my thirteenth year. I then lived five years with the Fathers of the Society at Liege.

“All my brothers, sisters, and friends are Catholics. I left Ireland in the month of September, 1642, with the desire and intention of embracing the ecclesiastical state.”

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus on the 20th of October, 1647, and took the usual College and Propaganda oaths on the 17th of May, 1648, was ordained priest on the 7th of September, 1653, and sent into England on the 8th of April, 1654. He entered the Society on the 7th of September, 1658, and died a most holy death in the English College on the 11th of November, 1697, being then the Spiritual Director of the College. Father Christopher made his Profession according to Dr. Oliver, on the 2nd of February, 1669. Father Morris states that he was English Penitentiary first at the Holy House of Loreto,

<sup>6</sup> *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 3.

and then at St. Peter's at Rome. During the latter portion of his life, which was prolonged for five years after ceasing to be Penitentiary at St. Peter's, he lived at the College, where he died in 1697. He was Penitentiary at Loreto for twelve years, viz., from 1674 until he returned to Rome on the 1st of November, 1686, from which time until July, 1692, he was Penitentiary at St. Peter's, and then became Confessor at the English College, as mentioned above.

The reader is referred to *Troubles*, for an account of Father Christopher's extreme care and usefulness in collecting the very large number of manuscripts and documents that passed through his hands, not one of which does not bear "an endorsement of some sort in his bold, clear, unmistakeable writing." The late Dr. Oliver, in his brief notice of Father Christopher, states that in the years 1650 and 1666 he made diligent inquiries amongst the ancient Oratorian Fathers at Chiesa Nuova and St. Girolamo, in Rome, concerning certain traditions, to the effect that St. Philip Neri always expressed great pleasure at seeing the scholars of the English College at Rome; that he often stopped to salute them and give them proof of his affection; that it was observed how the scholars, whom he embraced with particular joy in his countenance, were afterwards martyrs or illustrious confessors of the faith; that it was customary before the scholars left for the English Mission to have the Saint's blessing; and that one, who was known to have refused going, out of some contempt for the aged Saint, had not been long in England before he shamefully apostatized. Father Christopher found these traditions to be very satisfactorily authenticated. They are alluded to in a poem written in 1617 by Hieronymus Caliarus, of the Congregation of St. Philip.

Designat digito quos laurea debet in Angliâ  
Nerius insignes reddere martyrii.  
Eventus docuit quid signa hæc tanta notarent. &c.

Another member of the same family was likewise a scholar at St. Omer's and at the English College, Rome, on entering which College, under the assumed name of Norton, he made the following autobiographical statement, from which we learn one reason why many of English descent were born in Ireland.

"1641. My name is JOHN GREEN, *alias* JOHN NORTON. I was born in Ireland. My parents are Christopher and Lucy Green, English. I was brought up in Ireland until my

thirteenth year, when I was sent over to England. My father and mother are of a respectable race, and fled from England in the time of Queen Elizabeth, on account of religion. We are three sons, John, Christopher, and Thomas [who perhaps took the name Martin in Confirmation], and two daughters, Mary and Catherine; nearly all my friends are Catholics. I made my humanities at St. Omer's College."

The Diary of the English College states that he entered as an alumnus at the age of twenty, on the 5th of November, 1641, and left again for England on the 21st of March, 1645.

#### WARBLINGTON, AND FATHERS CONNECTED WITH IT.

WARBLINGTON, near Havant, Hants, was the residence of Mr. Richard Cotton. Near the church are the ruins called Warblington Castle, a quadrangular mansion of the Montacutes consisting of a gateway and tower, the whole being surrounded by a deep fosse. This was a very ancient mission or chaplaincy of the district. Father William Baldwin, *vere* Bawden, a distinguished member of the Society and glorious confessor for the faith, retired to it for a time, after his release from Bridewell Prison, London, about the year 1598-9; as we shall see in his life, he is said to have done good service to the Catholic cause there.

FATHER THOMAS LISTER, a notice of whom will be given in a subsequent volume of *Records*, "St. George's Residence" (Hinlip Castle), appears to have been the missionary here about 1603. The State Paper lately referred to, "A list of the names of Jesuits in England, with the chief places of their abode," endorsed by Cecil "Note of the Jesuits that lurk in England," mentions "Mr. Lister with Mr. Cotton, of Warblington, Hampshire."<sup>1</sup>

FATHER WILLIAM BALDWIN, whom Father More,<sup>2</sup> Father Tanner,<sup>3</sup> and Father Bartoli<sup>4</sup> have each noticed. Father More prefaces his account of him with the following remark, which includes several others who had also been falsely charged as abettors in the Gunpowder Conspiracy: "As comets are considered to be forerunners of great and impending

<sup>1</sup> State Papers, *Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* lib. viii. nn. 18, seq. pp. 374, seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Soc. Jesu Apost. Imitatrix.*

<sup>4</sup> *Inghilterra.*

calamities from heaven against princes or entire nations, so did that fatal conspiracy of wandering stars, involving by malicious calumnies the most innocent of men, Garnett, Gerard, Oldcorne, and Tesimond, breathe forth most iniquitous suspicions against upright men of the Society in every part—William Baldwin, John Percy, Nicholas Hart, Thomas Strange, and others; a calamity not of any lasting duration, but tending to the enduring amplification of the immortal glory of their names and merits.”

William Baldwin, whose real name was Bawden, was a native of Cornwall, born in the year 1563. He was a fellow-student of the martyr Father John Cornelius in his rudimentary education, and afterwards a student at Oxford for five years. He went thence to the English Colleges of Rheims and of Rome successively, where he made his higher studies and theology, and entered an alumnus in the latter College on the 1st of October, 1583, æt. 20. On the 31st of May, 1584, after taking the usual College oath, he received minor orders at the hands of the Catholic Bishop of St. Asaph, and on the 16th of April, 1588, was ordained priest, and served as Penitentiary at St. Peter's in Rome for one year (1589). Suffering from the climate of Rome, he was sent into Belgium where he was admitted to the Novitiate of the Society in 1590. He was Professor of Moral Theology at Louvain for some time. Being then summoned to Spain,<sup>5</sup> for his better security on account of the English cruisers that infested those parts, he doffed his habit and prepared for his voyage, dressed up as a Neapolitan merchant, with the assumed name of Octavius Fuscinelli. His disguise, however, was not so complete but that the spies, who were scattered about by the heretical magistrate of the place, suspected him to be a Jesuit preparing for a journey; so they tracked him from Brussels all the way to St. Omer, from which Seminary youths were accustomed to pass by sea into Spain for their higher studies, and here their suspicions were confirmed that he was Baldwin the Jesuit, and was about to pass to Spain along with the scholars, under an assumed garb. The English fleet was then besieging Dunkirk, and their vessel was intercepted by the cruisers, but being unable to discover

<sup>5</sup> This would have been about the latter end of the year 1594 or early in 1595, for, as appears by the following extract, he was released from prison about March, 1595: “Fr. Br. 12862014 [Baldwin], bearing himself as one born in 22 [Italy], was by means of 237 [money] gotten out of their hands, and is with 195 [Father Garnett]. This point for some respects is to be concealed.”

anything certain regarding this Italian merchant, they used various schemes for finding out if the veritable Baldwin was not hidden beneath this ruse.<sup>6</sup> They would therefore sometimes when he was asleep, suddenly awaken him by calling out "Baldwin;" at another time, as though warning him against some sudden danger, they would exclaim, "Baldwin, take care," trying if by chance he would answer to the call. Another while they would get some of the young sailors to offer, for a bribe, to take him secretly ashore by night. But the Father was all the more wary, and turning a deaf ear to all they said to him in English, he would either make them no reply, or else would ask them in Italian what their designs were upon him? They then brought him prisoner to England; and the Earl of Nottingham, at that time Lord High Admiral, sending the youths to Canterbury, most liberally entertained Father Baldwin at his own house, until he received instructions from the Privy Council what should be done with him. During his sojourn there he was most courteously shown over the Earl's mansion, and a very beautiful picture to the life, of Christ crucified, was pointed out to him. Whilst some of the company were contemplating the fine painting, one of the attendants asked what it was. A bystander replied that it represented Christ dying upon the Cross for our redemption. "Of Christ dying," exclaimed the man. "Why I always believed that Christ died by hanging by the neck, after our fashion at Tyburn." Father Baldwin, though pitying the gross ignorance of the mysteries of the faith shown by this poor man, as a fruit of the errors of Calvinism, kept silence and dissembled his astonishment for fear of betraying himself, while he could with difficulty suppress his laughter. At length an order arrived from the Privy Council that the Italian merchant was to be sent to Bridewell prison, London. In the same cell were confined with him two captives of different religions; one being a Protestant minister, the other a Catholic of some position, who while undergoing great cruelties in the torture of the rack,

<sup>6</sup> In the autobiographical account of John Copley, a student at the English College, Rome, 1599 (*Records*, vol. i., Series I., "College of St. Ignatius," p. 187), we learn that he was one of Father Baldwin's fellow-captives. We repeat the few lines. "I was then sent [from St. Omer's College] with Father Baldwin and five other students to Spain by way of Cadiz, viz., William Worthington, John Iverson, Thomas Garnett, James Thompson, and Henry Montpesson. The journey was unfortunate, all of us being captured at sea by the English fleet, and taken to England. I alone being separated from the rest, was first sent to the Bishop of London, where after six days, at the intercession of some of my friends, I was released upon bail."

had in his agony, so far yielded as to make disclosures that led to the apprehension and martyrdom of a priest. This weakness and its fatal result caused him such severe pangs of conscience, that day and night he deplored his wretchedness and his want of a confessor with the bitterest lamentations, and this all the more intensely, as he had received notice of another racking, and felt a strong presentiment that he would die under its torture. Father Baldwin, on hearing his lamentations, in order not to seem to understand English spoke in Latin, when he asked the minister the cause of them; and, as the Catholic also understood something of Latin, he consoled him as far as he was able, exhorting him to sincere acts of contrition, since he could not procure a priest, and to place full confidence in the mercy of God. But the nearer the time approached for his examination the more did the poor man's grief increase, and he was inconsolable for want of the aid of a priest. What could Father Baldwin do? If he were, even under secrecy, to discover himself to the minister to be either an Englishman or a priest, what security could he promise himself that he would not in his turn be as certainly betrayed by this Catholic under pressure of the torture, as that other priest had been; perhaps, too, he had been placed in the same cell with these companions for the very purpose of detection. On the other hand, the tears and grief of the penitent afforded the strongest evidence of sincerity, and besides who could tell but that God had regarded them, and had designed that he should thus have been captured by the enemy for the salvation of this particular soul? Therefore feeling assured that such was the case he resolved to expose his life in the cause, and asked the Catholic what pledge of faith and secrecy he could assure him of, if he procured him a priest? The poor man's flagging spirit was aroused by the very mention of a priest, he exhibited the most intense joy, and made every promise of fidelity that it was possible to conceive. Father Baldwin thereupon admonished him to prepare himself for confession, because his efforts would certainly obtain a priest for him. The Father, amidst distracting thoughts of fear and hope, being yet more anxious for the soul of this man than for his own life, crept in the dead of the night to the Catholic's couch. Finding him awake and anxious, he whispered to him that he was himself a priest, and as the man knew but little of Latin he addressed him in English. We may readily believe the

intense joy of the poor penitent, as one rescued from hell itself. Still he could not bring himself to make his confession that same night, feeling naturally considerable doubt about the Father. The following night, however, his confidence was fully assured, and having made a good confession and been duly absolved, he went most cheerfully to the torture-chamber, but proved the truth of his presentiment, for being torn asunder by the excessive racking, he rendered up his soul to God on the very instrument itself.

As to Father Baldwin, the Privy Council, unable to discover anything about him, released him in exchange for another English prisoner named Hawkins, who was detained in Spain. It was thus made manifest to him that God had been pleased to permit his capture for the sake of assisting this one afflicted soul. Being now at liberty he remained for half a year in England, living with Mr. Richard Cotton at Warblington, Hants, where he rendered great assistance to Catholics and the Catholic cause. Being thence called to Rome he was appointed for some time Minister at the English College, under Father Mutius Vitelleschi, then Rector, who was afterwards chosen Father General of the Order. He next went to Brussels (about 1599 or 1600), where he succeeded Father Holt as Vice-Prefect of the English Mission, that Father being called into Spain; this post he held for ten years, fulfilling its duties with the greatest care, and promoting the good of Catholicity by the numerous missionaries whom he dispersed throughout the whole of England. His zeal gave such offence to the Privy Council that, although he had never left Belgium for England, they proclaimed him a traitor, and an accessory in the Gunpowder Plot with Fathers Garnett and John Gerard, and further accused him of having formerly treated with Frederick Spinola about the Spanish invasion. Whereupon the English Ambassador at Brussels, Sir Thomas Edmonds, never ceased importuning the Archduke Albert, in the name of King James, to whom the Father was become most odious, to deliver him up into his hands, or demand his removal from every post in Belgium. This Prince, although he had no suspicions as to the Father's probity, yet wishing to rid himself of the source of so much uneasiness, was weak enough to yield to the extreme pressure, and requested him to leave Brussels. Father Baldwin did so, and lay concealed for some time at Louvain. But it pleased God to compensate for this base act of injustice to His innocent

servant, by bestowing upon him singular sentiments of tender affection, with the gift of tears in prayer and the contemplation of heavenly things, to which he was so wonderfully devoted that he could seldom celebrate Mass without weeping abundantly.

It happened that in the year 1610 he was necessitated to take a journey on business to Rome, during which, when passing the confines of Alsace and the Palatinate, he was apprehended by the soldiers of the Elector Palatine, Frederick VI., not far from the city of Spires. Although travelling in disguise and under an assumed name he was recognized from some letters which he had about him, and which he was conveying for friends to persons at Milan, and he was seized, and was cast heavily chained into prison at Heidelberg. And because the Elector well knew that he would be conferring a most grateful favour upon King James, he kept him under close custody in various public prisons, and then sent him to England by way of Juliers (a place lately taken from the Dutch) escorted by a guard of twelve soldiers, travelling sometimes on horseback and sometimes in a cart, bound with a heavy chain from the neck to the breast, where it was turned and wound round his entire body, being twice as long as would have been required to secure an African lion. As if that did not suffice, they hung another chain behind him, eighteen feet long, to carry which it was necessary to have an assistant, whom in jest they called his train bearer. To loosen or tighten these chains four men with as many keys preceded him. They only allowed him to have one hand at liberty for the purpose of conducting food to his mouth, never both hands at once; nor was he permitted the use of a knife and fork, lest he might be driven by the infamy of the plot and the anticipation of the gallows to commit suicide. At Juliers he was handed over to English soldiers in charge of the Hon. Edward Cecil (brother of Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury), who was Governor of that place; he humanely set him free from his chains, and treated him with every mark of kindness and respect, frequently inviting him to his own table, and thus setting a noble example to his brother who treated Jesuits in the most brutal manner. During this time Father Baldwin's gravity of manner, his prudence in conversation, and sweet composure, springing from the confidence of a blameless conscience, engendered such a feeling of veneration in the breasts of all, that Governor Cecil, as also Sir John Burleigh, into whose custody he handed him for

passage to England, extolled his praises in the highest manner to King James. Nevertheless, on landing in the Thames, he was delivered to the keeping of Sir William Wade, the Lieutenant of the Tower, a most cruel enemy to the priests. Wade, on meeting him, promised that he would see to his being treated well, although charged with so heinous a crime. Father Baldwin, thanking him, said: "If you do so, it is more than I look for; I come prepared for whatever happens."

We must now relate a very wonderful providence or rather judgment exercised by God in defence of the innocence of his servant. At the same time, and by the same messengers that announced to James the landing of Father Baldwin, he received the report also of the death of the Elector Palatine himself, who had sent over the Father in chains to England. *Ita, quæ sub cælo sunt, raro sunt integra gaudia.*

As soon as the Archduke Albert had heard of Father Baldwin's detention in the Tower, he wrote a letter to King James demanding him back, as he had been intercepted through fraud. To this James only replied he would take care that nothing fraudulent or unjust should be done against him on the part of the judges and authorities, and that, if he could duly and clearly establish his innocence in the Powder conspiracy, his friends had no reason to fear, for he would be sent back again free to Belgium. The King's insincerity, however, was proved by the Father's unjust incarceration of eight years' duration, in the course of which nothing was established to affect his innocence, although he was frequently examined in many matters both by pseudo-bishops and statesmen, amongst whom was Gilbert, Earl of Shrewsbury, who affirmed publicly at table, before a large party, that, as far as he was able to gather from his examinations, he considered Baldwin altogether free from any connection with the conspirators. The King himself, who was present as a listener at the examinations before the Privy Council, applauded the prudence of his answers and declared his innocence, in which the members of the Council concurred. Nor was his Majesty offended at his doctrine regarding the power of the Sovereign Pontiff over princes, the Earl of Northampton having, by the King's order, asked the Father's opinion, which he thus expressed—"That in certain events the Pope had the power of excommunicating and deposing princes, but to kill, or order them to be put to death he had no power; that being, as His Holiness was, the Universal Father of Princes, it was not foreign to his paternal

authority over his children to correct and punish if they proved inobservant and disobedient, but it was in the power of no parent to deprive of life." He briefly replied to Cecil, who was insolently plying him with impertinent questions utterly foreign to the charge against him, "I am astonished that, having been brought through such windings of sea and land to this place, in order to answer to a most grave charge of high treason upon the most shallow and unfounded suspicions, and having been acquitted of that charge, I should now be examined concerning matters wholly irrelevant to the case."

Father Edward Coffin, in a letter dated the 28th of May, 1611,<sup>7</sup> giving an account of the martyrdoms of the secular priests, Roberts, Wilson, and Napper, names Father William Baldwin, who, he says, "was taken from the ship before the Privy Council, where, in the Council Chamber, the King, Queen, and Royal Princes were secretly present, behind a curtain, to get a sight of him. His accuser Ratcliff, the apostate, was present. On his knees before the Council, as the custom is, he was questioned upon two points. First, if once in the house of Lord [Sir William?] Stanley he had not danced with others? The Father smiled, but gave no other reply to such insulting and trivial questions; and indeed all who knew him, and his grave religious manner, so opposed to all levity, considered that to find him dancing and moving Mount Etna, would be two just as likely things. The Lords of the Council were ashamed to hear so distinguished a man as the Father charged with such a pitiful calumny by an infamous and lying apostate, and passed on, from the silly charge of dancing, to the Powder Plot, and asked him if he was cognizant of that horrible crime. The Father courageously denied it, whereupon Ratcliff, confronting him, said—'I myself heard him utter this oath, in the house of Sir William Stanley, long before the discovery of the plot in England: I see already a black cloud in England distilling drops or rather an abundant rain of blood. The Father knew the very month, day, and hour, and had declared to some the number and quality of the victims.' Thus the man was found contradicting both himself and the truth, and discovered openly, as was manifest to all, even to his adversaries, that the Father had uttered no such words, nor anything whatever of the sort. And so, not without hisses, the calumny of the accuser was rejected, and the Father returned to the Tower with a greater opinion than before of

<sup>7</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. iii. n. 103.

his entire innocence, where some affirm that he is laid up with sickness. God grant that it may not be from poison, for the King is highly hostile towards him, otherwise the Privy Council would willingly have set him free. Time will disclose all their efforts against us. May God break the horns of the wicked and confound their councils."

But although declared innocent they would scarcely have released him, had not the Spanish Ambassador, James Surmiento, Count de Gondomar, to whom the Catholics of England owed so much, when returning to Spain on business, petitioned leave to take with him all the Catholic priests detained in the London prisons, and especially Father Baldwin. It was impossible to retain one who had been for so many years pronounced by all to be of approved innocence; besides which Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, being now dead there was no one at court of so perverse a temper as to wish, or of sufficient authority to order the rejection of the demand of Count Gondomar, that Father Baldwin and the other captive priests should be released. Therefore, on the 15th of June, 1618, Sir Alan Apsley, the Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded by royal warrant to release Father Baldwin, in order to be taken to Spain. On leaving the Tower the Earl of Northampton congratulated him upon his honourable discharge, by which the dark clouds of malice and infamy were dispersed, and both himself and his Order were adorned with the clearest light of innocence. He was conducted to the Ambassador's residence in his Excellency's own coach, and remained there for twelve days before commencing the journey, during which interval crowds of visitors waited on him—some to confer with him, some to congratulate him upon his release, others to venerate him, or even to see a living Jesuit in his real habit, and lastly, some to see and admire a priest who had safely passed through an ordeal of so many years' duration. Calling at Canterbury on their way, where the King then was, he was presented to his Majesty, and gave this answer to one in attendance, who remarked how greatly he was indebted to the King for his liberty—"As far indeed as I am concerned, if your Majesty or any one else is able to bring anything against me I am ready to return to the Tower to answer the charge." Thus was he always the same, ever true to himself, nor would he yield a jot to those who he knew were most perverse against Catholics, and so by his ready firmness he closed every approach of calumny.

Besides Father Baldwin, eleven of the English Fathers of the Society passed, under charge of the good Count Gondomar, into exile, viz., Fathers Ralph Bickley, Richard Bartlet, John Bamfield (*vere* John Rogers), Alexander Fairclough, John Falconer, Henry Hawkins, John Sweetman, Francis Wallis, Laurence Worthington, Francis Young, and William York. Most of these returned into England to resume their arduous labours, braving alike the danger of recapture and of certain death if caught. Father Bickley soon after died at St. Omer at a good old age. Father Baldwin was received at Brussels with every demonstration of joy. He did not stay there, but hastened on to Rome to inform the Very Reverend Father Vitelleschi, elected General three years before, of the state of the English Mission. The Father General sent him back into Belgium, which had been made a Vice-Province, by a circuitous route through Spain, where as Visitor he instituted many useful regulations for the benefit of the English seminaries in that country. A eulogy of the Father in the *Archives de l'Etat, Brussels, varia S.J.*, states that he was appointed Rector of the English College of Louvain, prior to his becoming Superior of St. Omer's, of which College he became Rector in 1622, being the first Englishman who had filled this office. On this account the good people of the town, fearing lest serious difficulties might arise from his being a foreigner, acquainted Isabella the Infanta, the Archduke Albert being dead; she assured them there was no cause whatever to fear, for she was herself of opinion that a man of such fidelity might be well intrusted with the government of all Belgium. The Princess, moreover, gave him full power to appoint any one of his own nation to succeed him as Rector. Father Baldwin governed the College for ten years, during which time he sent very many labourers to the English Mission, having by his incessant care and exertions increased the number of scholars at the College to two hundred. This was especially due to the tenderness of soul evinced in his communion with God, and to the charity, combined with gentle gravity, which he showed towards those under his charge, whereby he succeeded in conciliating every one.

When in the sixty-ninth year of his age, the forty-second of his religious life,<sup>8</sup> and the thirtieth from his solemn

<sup>8</sup> Father More, p. 378, by an obvious mistake, in which Tanner copies him, says the sixty-second year of his age, and the thirty-sixth of his religious life.

profession, Father Baldwin died, worn out by labours and sufferings. An attack of slight fever coming on one who had already contracted an inveterate sickness of stomach, and was affected with sciatica from his long and severe sufferings in prison, reduced him in a few days to extremity. On September 28, 1632, being fortified by the rites of Holy Church in the full enjoyment of his senses, and affording a last and illustrious proof of his humility by asking pardon even of the lowest, for any offence he might have given during his government, he yielded up his happy soul to God.

Dr. Oliver says he was actually racked when in the Tower. Although Fathers More and Tanner do not distinctly mention this, yet considering the cruel method of examination usually employed, it was most probably the case. The Doctor also quotes, from a MS. account of the first establishment of the English Benedictine Convent at Brussels, the following passage: "We owe unto the good Father Baldwin the true foundation of spirit and holy religion. Almighty God be blessed, Who granted our Monastery his religious help for ten years." The Catalogue of deceased members gives the following short eulogy of the Father, in which, however, the dates are not correct.

"Baldwin, William, of Cornwall, æt. 70. Professed of the four vows; in the Society, forty-three years. He died piously on September 28, 1632, at St. Omer's College, which he had governed for nearly twelve years. He was a man of all others most deserving of the esteem of this Province; he was well known to many, and held in great general repute. Under some pretext or other, the enemy accused him of participation in the Gunpowder Plot, at least they wished to make him out to have been accessory to it, that they might fix public disgrace on him. As he was passing into Germany to Frankendal in the Palatinate, he was seized, heavily chained, and carried off to England, and there detained for twelve years in the Tower of London; but during the whole of that time, though examined before the Privy Council, they could not prove any, even the least thing against him.

Father John Gerard, in his narrative of the Gunpowder Plot, thus alludes to Father Baldwin:<sup>9</sup> "Father Garnett was delivered over to their pleasure, and it pleased them to examine him very often. In all which they found no advantage at all; yet, after three or four examinations, they were so bold

<sup>9</sup> *Condition of Catholics*, pp. 164, 165.

as to give it out that he had confessed all. But this was for another end. For hereupon presently the Attorney spake in the Parliament House to have eight Jesuits condemned for this treason by the High Court of Parliament—viz., Garnett, Hall, Greenway, Gerard, Hamon, Westmoreland (there being no such of the Society), Cresswell, and Baldwin. But the Parliament refused to condemn those men without better proof of their being guilty, and therefore willed the Attorney (seeing he had Garnett's examinations) to lay down the next day the proofs before them, which he promised to do in so clear a manner as their lordships should rest satisfied of their guiltiness, and that by Garnett's own confession. At the time appointed he brought his proofs, which all proved no confession of Father Garnett (as he had promised), and indeed nothing else but mere conjectures, imaginations, and inferences of his own, and that with so little colour of likely truth as no man applauded the motion, although there were very many that were no friends to the parties accused (to speak the least), and so Mr. Attorney his motion died, and was never after revived. Yea, a nobleman coming from the Parliament at that time said to his friend that these lawyers were so accustomed to lie, that they could say truth in no place. But indeed Mr. Attorney must be excused for this time, the cause and case being very particular, and a thing much sought for and long desired; and if it could have been thus huddled up without further examination, that so many of the Society might have stood convicted by Act of Parliament, it would have been (as they well hoped) a stain of record to the whole Society."

The following are extracts from two letters of Father Baldwin to Father Robert Parsons, at Rome; comprised amongst the Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.*, vol. vi.

"Brussels, May 20, 1606. Since my last, five days ago, arrived at 5 (St. Omer) 469 (Father Gerard),<sup>10</sup> where also is one (Richard Fulwood) whom 456 (Henry Garnett) was wont to use in all his chief business of passage, receiving and re-

<sup>10</sup> The practice of writing in cipher was very common in the days of persecution, and Government made extraordinary efforts to decipher the letters. A person named Thomas Phelepps was one of their great decipherers. The State Paper volumes, in the time especially of Elizabeth and James, abound with these intercepted letters. We find Father Henry Garnett, in a letter to his friend the Hon. Ann Vaux, dated from the Tower, April 21, 1606 (*State Papers, Dom. James I.* vol. xx. n. 39), deploring the fact of his *key* having fallen into the searcher's hands. In *Records*, vol. ii. Series IV. pp. 394, seq., note, will be found a copy of a cipher alphabet.

taining of all things. I take it be 229 (Jesuit) also. They are yet 627 (secret), and so it is requisite for a time, especially in that the 194 225 (Marquis Ambassador) brought them, and by his dexterous and courteous manner had great care of them. The Marquis of St. Germain came hither two days ago, and both he and de Blasco de Arragon came, as well informed of our English matters as I could wish. They have made relation accordingly to the Nuncio, and this morning to me, who have been with them a long while. They praise the courage and constancy of Catholics marvellously and have an apprehension of the daily increase of them, as also that the better sort in England are inclined Catholically, and such in profession. They speak much of the zeal of the Lady of Shrewsbury, and of the indignation of the King, who, hearing of the manner of Father Oldcorne's death, and that on his requesting all Catholics to pray for him and say the *De profundis*, there were found so many to say that aloud, as they were esteemed a great part of the number, and so many by signs and voices to have given show of Catholic profession, as all were amazed. Thus they report, and also that Father Garnett was to be executed the day on which they came away in Paul's Churchyard, although another, writing from St. Omer, says that it was deferred to the day following, for that the day first appointed was May Day, and Father Garnett being advertised of his death, should answer, 'What, then, will you make a May game of me?' Howsoever, it is held for certain that he is dead, and that the Marquis told the Nuncio that therefore he departed the sooner, as unwilling to be present at such a tragedy. . . I think Father Gerard may live in these countries, after that Mr. Owen is delivered (of whom the Archduke mindeth to have great care); yet he who is said to have had correspondence with him, one Philipps, the decipherer, is now committed to the Tower. And it were very necessary one of ours remains in Paris, for which place Father Keynes might serve for a time at least, in that he is not a man noted, and hath the French tongue, as having lived there. Father Schondonch is of my opinion, and Father Gerard will do well in his place after some month or two, if things alter not much, for he can hardly be in any other place in regard of his indisposition, if it be as I have heard. I shall soon know more thereof. Father Lee were good in my opinion in England for the consolation of many of ours, and Father Gerard's friends, all which I remit to your consideration."

*The same to same*, July 3, 1606. "I have not as yet received from England from any of our Fathers; only John Powell, the interpreter of the Spanish Ambassador, relateth what passed at the execution of Father Garnett, upon the 13th of May (N.S.) and the 3rd (O.S.). He hath given exceeding satisfaction to all sorts, and much confounded our enemies of the one sort and other. He was drawn according to the usual manner to Paul's Churchyard upon a hurdle and straw; his arms were not bound, neither when he was executed. Such concourse of people as hath not been seen. . . . The Spanish Ambassador would not remain in London that day; he hath got his shirt, and some of his blood is sent to Spain, which I have seen here; also his apparel is gotten, as I hear. Here now is Richard Fulwood, who telleth me that Father Gerard is very sick at St. Omer, and said you would have him come to Rome. I fear me that journey will kill him."

In *Dom. James I.* vol. xviii. n. 97, 1606, is an intercepted letter from Father Giles Schondonch, the Rector of St. Omer's, to Father Baldwin at Brussels, dated February 27, 1606. The first portion is of little or no interest. In the second part he had just heard of the seizure of Fathers Garnett, the Provincial, and Vincent (Oldcorne) in Mr. Abington's house, Hinlip Castle, and that they had been conducted to London with a great escort. He deeply grieves that a few rash men, under the pretext of the Catholic religion, should have afforded so great an occasion to the enemies of the true faith—that not only Catholic laymen are drawn into odium among the people, but that Fathers also of our Society are accused of so great a crime, as he gathers from the proclamation. He rejoices to hear that no confession has been extorted by which any one of the Society has been implicated, either before the tribunals or at the place of punishment.

In Stonyhurst MSS. *Angl.* vol. vi. are advices, written in Italian, from England to Rome. The following extracts relate to Father Baldwin:

"February, 1611. Del Padre Baldwino. Since the last examination of Baldwin in January, they have made no other. Cecil and the rest of the Council say that he conducts himself very well, and to the satisfaction of all of them. There is a general rumour that they will send him back again to the Palatinate."

"March 23, 1611. All the examinations of Baldwin are

now finished, and are clear as to his innocence. He is much indisposed, and wasting away. It is suspected that they will take him off with some *morsel*, not to discredit themselves in the remanding of him to the Palatinate conformable to their promise."

Father William Baldwin is also named in an ancient MS. regarding the foundation of the English Benedictine nuns at Brussels, now represented by the convent at Bergholt. The original is preserved in the archives of the convent, and a copy is in the collection of Charles Weld, Esq., of Chideock :

" . . . The Very Reverend Father William Baldwin, who succeeded Father Holt, greatly assisted the holy work of erecting this monastery, procuring the consent of the Archduke and the Infanta, together with that of the magistrates ; he procured also solemn writings to be drawn up in full force, declaring the monastery to be free from tolls and excises, and other burthens, and to enjoy all privileges granted to any other monasteries, such as the Poor Clares. This worthy Father also exceedingly advanced the spiritual good of the monastery by most holy instructions, sermons, and excellent writings, and all possible care and best assistance ; so as truly we owe to good Father Baldwin the true foundation of spirit and holy religion. Almighty God be blessed Who granted our monastery his religious help for ten years, when His Divine Majesty called him to suffer and do great things for the Catholic faith, enduring imprisonments, racks, and tortures in the Tower of England (London), and afterwards banished. He advanced God's service in great employments, concluding his most holy life with a most saint-like death, being then Rector of the English College in St. Omer."

Father Baldwin was evidently a marked man from an early period, for we find him mentioned in many letters and secret advertisements of spies, among the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

In *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccli. n. 90 (1595), is a statement by a spy, Thomas Wilson. He says that two years since there was a consultation at Rome between the Duke of Sissons, Ambassador for Spain, Cardinal Aldobrandini (Protector of England), Aquaviva (General S.J.), Parsons (Prefect of English Mission, S.J.), and other English, about placing the Bishops in the north of England—viz., Blackwell (Archpriest), for York, with a pension of 4,000 crowns yearly from Spain ; Haddock, for

Durham, and a third for Carlisle, with pensions of 2,000 crowns. The drift of the device was to stop the entrance of the King of Scots into England, to make a strong party for the Infanta; but this being dashed by some objections against it by an English priest, they fell to the following. The young Earl of Arundel being thought the fittest tool for the said drift, they deliberated how, by Parsons' workings from Rome, and Baldwin's practices in the Low Countries, he might be got into Flanders. Whereupon one Baylie was sent into England, with a good ship to convey him over, &c. This Baylie's abode is mostly in Flanders. He is the *Jesuits' messenger* to England, comes over habited as a Dutchman, and the letters he brings are usually in Dutch, to English merchants, but are in fact to be delivered by him to such Jesuits and other persons he is privately directed to by Baldwin, &c.

In vol. cclxxxiii A. n. 17, 1602, is a list of fifty-five recusant fugitives, including eight priests and one Jesuit, viz., "Master Baudwyn, Jesuit."

In vol. cclxviii. n. 111, November 11, 1598, is a letter (intercepted) from the said Bayly (the Jesuits' messenger) to Col. Sir Wm. Stanley. He says that "the two letters inclosed, Father Wm. Baldwin left with me, at his going to St. Omer's, to convey to you; and the other I and Mr. Owen received from Father Holt." These two inclosed letters are not now with the State Papers. The date of them would have been probably the time of Father Baldwin's first arrest by the English cruisers, on his way to Spain from Louvain.

Addenda, *Eliz.* vol. xxxiv. n. 40, 1601. A spy says: "The English Jesuits are intelligencers in all chief cities. Baldwin at Brussels is the head of all the English in Flanders." In the same vol. n. 42, 1601, is a very long and curious report of a spy to Secretary Cecil. He says that the Jesuits, priests and traitors of England, by Parsons' appointment, have distributed themselves in the chief towns of Christendom to plot mischief and correspond better. Baldwin at Brussels, who gives them daily intelligence from England, sifts all that come over, and tries whether they be sure to the King of Spain, and the Jesuits, &c. He also incloses a very long note of English priests, and a list of Jesuits in Flanders, Germany, and England, and makes the following complimentary observation upon Father Baldwin: "Fa. Baldwyne at Bruxelles, and one Brother John, a younge man; the superintendent of all Englishmen, plying himself rather to be a mache villain than

a good devine, and nothing may be done or permitted without his authoritye."<sup>12</sup>

In *Dom. James I.* vol. xxxi. n. 62, March 2, 1608, is "a discovery" (by Francis Tillotson, the priest to Lord Danvers), of a conspiracy by Parsons at Rome, Cresswell at Madrid, Henry Floyd at Lisbon, and Baldwin in the Low Countries, to revenge the death of Garnett on the King and Prince by sending five disguised Jesuits to England to kill them! &c.<sup>13</sup> This most absurd specimen of a spy's "advertisement" was too much for even Salisbury himself to swallow, or rather to affect to swallow. That implacable and cruel persecutor with his own hand endorses upon it—"This is the most unlikely and absurd discovery; and yet all the persons named are arch-traitors. But I know this priest a knave."

In *Dom. James I.* vol. lxi. n. 13, 1611, *circa*, a spy named Adams made a report [to the Secretary of State] "Of such Jesuits, seminaries, and friars I knewe in Rome and about Rome att my first abode in Rome from Ann. Dom. 1589 untill 1595."

*Item.*—At Cullinn [Cologne], on the Ryne, I went to Father Baldwyn, now in the Tower, who then laye in the Jesuits' Colledge, and had hearde before of my coming to him by others. I often went there, both to converse, and especiallye to read in their librarie, whither resorted often to him one Winter (as I have heard one of them that was executed for the Powder treason). I heard that this Baldwin was Leger [Resident] for Germany, and had intelligence with Parsons, Cresswell, Walpole, and Owen in the Low Countries, and that at his being in the Low Countries he heard the Infanta her confession, &c. I could here relate many more particulars, but that I have beene sicklye with long imprisonment, and my memorie is much weakened.

This spy mentions "three sondraie courses they use in conveying seminaries to England. The one is by way of Rotterdam, by means of one Mr. Skult, a merchant and a great Papist, beinge employed for the King of Spain, &c., who by the confession of Father Gardiner to me hath conveyed into England above sixty priests, seminaries, and Jesuits, and he doth it by means of his shipping, for he attyres them as

<sup>12</sup> See several specimens of the spy system, and some remarks upon it in the "Life of Father Thomas Darbyshire." The reports were most frequently but a tissue of misstatements or exaggerations, if not in many cases altogether a concoction of falsehoods invented only to deceive and please their employers, and inflame the people against the Catholics.

<sup>13</sup> See Irish Correspondence, February 23, 1608.

mariners, with thrum caps, and fishermen. The other is by way of St. Valeris in France, upon the river Some, where divers Frenchmen are that continuallye go to Newcastle for coals. The other is by way of Hamburg, ” &c.

*Dom. James I.* vol. lvii. n. 46, Cologne, September 8, 1610 [Sir R. Winwood to Earl Salisbury].

I have advised them to deliver [Baldwin] into the hands of Sir William Waade, Lieutenant of the Tower. When I received Baldwin at Dusseldorf I had not much speech with him. I asked him whether he did acknowledge himself a subject of his Majesty of Great Brittain, which he did freely, without any pawse. Then I saide it was his Matie's pleasure (whose subject he is) that he should be conducted into England, and for that purpose I, his Matie's Ambassador, did deliver him into the hands of those two gentlemen, Sir — Burlas and Captain Dewhurst, whose charge was safely to convey him thither, and withal to treat him civilly and courteously, and that the better they might do so, I asked him whether he would promise to be their true prisoner, neyther directly nor indirectly to seeke meanes to make any escape, which promise he made, and so I left him. If his Majesty shall be pleased to take notice of his arrival into England by his letters to the Elector of Palatine and the Prince of Hainault, by whose favour he was brought from Sychem, in the Count of Nassau's country, to Dusseldorf.

In the same vol. n. 64, is a letter from a Captain William Turner to Salisbury, reporting overtures made to him by the Pope's Nuncio, to decoy some Englishman of note—young Lord Ross or Lord Cranborne—into the Pope's dominions, where he might be seized and detained, in hope of procuring the release of Father Baldwin the Jesuit in exchange.

In the Warrant Book, vol. ii. p. 176 (Public Record Office), October 8, 1610, Hampton Court, is a warrant to pay Sir John Borlase and Captain Dewhurst £120 for conveying Father Baldwin to London.

In *Dom. James I.* vol. lviii. n. 2, November 3, 1610, is a letter from Lady Mary Lovell to Lord Salisbury, in behalf of Father Baldwin.<sup>14</sup>



Right noble and my much honored lord,—Since the time that your honorable favour don unto me and my children have given me experience of your noble and worthy disposition, it hath emboldened me with due respects to proceede confidently with your lordship in all occasions concerning myself; so now in some things that seeme to concern your lordship I have presumed to use the privilege which your favour before permitted in me. We under-

<sup>14</sup> This was Mary Roper, daughter of John, first Lord Teynham, and the widow of Sir Robert Lovell, sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux.

stand in these parts that Father Baldwin is arrived in England, against whom I am not ignorant that our King, your lordship, and the rest of the Council hath been incensed, houlding him guiltie of treason, and according to that apprehension it is expected the State will proceed with him in justice. For myne own part it should not become me to gainsaie what is intended therein; yett I think it my dutie to inform your lordship plainly and sincerely what opinion is here helde, both by the Princes themselves and the whole State and countrie, of that Father his innocence in that poynt, and his great and known virtue to them; and so generally he is spoken of in that kind, and lamented in his present state, in respect of that innocence they believe to be in him, as (pardon me, noble lord) I verly think upon my conscience, what proofs soever may be brought against him, it will not be of force to disimpress them of their settled good opinion, but rather it will be held an unjust accusation of some malicious person, that for some private interest or respect of their own hath possessed our King, your lordship, and the rest, of his guiltiness; and this much I will protest in the presence of God, as I am a Catholic, that I have myself heard that good Father swear by his priesthood that he never knew of the Powder treason either in or out of confession; and farther, he that hath received the general confession of himself hath vowed the like unto me of his innocence. Now this being soe, I humblye beseeche your lordship to enter into some farther deliberation of this matter, soe much importing the honour of our Kinge and State. For the death of the Father, I am assured it is that which he desireth, expecting thereby a crowne of glory, supposing his innocence, and his friends would rejoyce with him; but that he should die by any indirect proceedinge and foul information against him, it would not be well thought of, and I protest it would only grieve me in the behalf of my Prince and countrie; and particularlie for your lordship, in whom I know so noble and virtuous a nature as for the world you would not shed the blood of an innocent person, knowing the same. Yet his death, I fear, will bring some imputation upon your lordship in particular, in that they have here a great apprehension of your power and authoritie in England; and finding many of the noblest here to have received latelie a very honorable opinion of your lordship, as your great worthiness doth justly merit, it would infinitely grieve me that any occasion should fall out to alter their conceits; for I hope your lordship doth believe for certain that myself doth so especially respect and honour you as your many favors have obliged me to doe, that nothing doth happen wherein your lordship may be thought to have a part, but I am extremely sensible thereof, which respect only hath moved me to take the boldness to write thus much, which I humbly beseech your lordship to pardon, and to make a right construction of my sincere meaning, which shall ever be to serve you faithfully in all honorable respects. Commending myself most humbly to your noble thoughts and good favours, with due respects I take my leave, and rest ever to do your lordship all honor.

MARY LOVELL.

In *Dom. James I.* vol. lxx. n. 73, September 23, 1612, will be found a list of names of prisoners in the Tower, and in it—  
“William Baldwin, Jesuite.”

In vol. lxxi. n. 24, London, October 22, 1612, is a letter from Mr. Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton. Among other current news he says: "The match with Savoy cools and will fail, unless fanned by Sir Henry Wootton, who is contriving an exchange between Baldwin the Jesuit, and Mole, Lord Ross' tutor, so long prisoner in the Inquisition at Rome."

Father Baldwin wrote several works in manuscript, but they were never printed. Father Southwell<sup>15</sup> thus names them—

*Meditationum de obligationibus animæ religiosæ erga Deum*, tom. xi. in folio.

*De Passione et Resurrectione Domini*, tom. ii. in folio.

*De Incarnatione Domini*, tom. i. in quarto.

*De peccatis, de amore et timore Dei; de humilitate*, tom. i.

*De gratia, de vita spirituali, de Passione Domini, de Cruce, de religione, de beneficiis, de sponsalitiis animæ, de amore, de Sacra Communione, tomos plures, omnes Anglice; quos, quamvis nesciam sintne visuri lucem, judicavi recensendos ad viri memoriam.*

#### WARDOUR CASTLE, AND THE FATHERS CONNECTED WITH IT.

THIS is a very old mission of the English Province in the District of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Wardour Castle, the seat of the ancient and staunch Catholic family of the Lords Arundell of Wardour, was the focus of Catholicity in Wiltshire. In the castle—until dismantled by its noble owner to prevent its being made a fortress for the Parliamentarians in 1643, 4—religion had taken up her resting-place, and under its ruins, commonly called Old Wardour, the pious zeal of the family provided an oratory, and a priest to minister to the wants of the faithful.<sup>1</sup> We find the following note<sup>2</sup> regarding Wardour as early as 1625:

"Wardour, November 19, 1625. The King having commended strict course to be taken with Papists, and their houses to be searched for armour, Lord Arundell of Wardour had three loads carried away from him. Lord Vaux resisted those that came to disarm him, and Sir Thomas Garrer [? Gerard]

<sup>15</sup> *Bib. Script. S.J.* pp. 312, 313.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Oliver's *Collections for Devonshire*, p. 72. We have already mentioned in p. 336, the elevation of the gallant Sir Thomas Arundell of Wardour to the Peerage of the United Kingdom, May 4, 1605, on his return from serving in the Imperial army in Germany against the Turks, having been created by the Emperor Rodolph II., a Count of the Sacred Roman Empire for his heroic conduct at the battle of Gran.

<sup>2</sup> Whiteway's Diary, British Museum MSS. 784.

at the same time was laid up in the town for some letters intercepted between Spinola and him.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The Bishop of Salisbury was employed by the Privy Council as head pursuivant in this seizure of arms. Frequent instances occur of these pseudo-prelates being thus employed. We find the following papers connected with the affair among the State Papers in the P.R.O.

In *Dom. Charles I.* vol. ii. September 8, 1625, is the examination of W. Caule of Shaston, Dorset. He had been hired by John Prestlye to cleanse and fit up armour at Wardour Castle. They wrought for a fortnight, and cleansed sixty-four horsemen's armour.

*Dom. Charles I.* vol. ii. nn. 26 and 261, Sarum, December 6, 1625. John Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, to the Council. Endorsed, “Dec. 6, 1625. From the Bishop of Sarum about the arms of the Earl of Castlehaven and the Lord Arundell.” “Right Hon. my very good Lords,— Upon Thursday, the 1st of December, I received two letters from your lordships, with two inclosed: the one to the Lo. Arundell of Warder; the other to the Earl of Castlehaven. According to the tenour of the sayd letters, I presently made choyce of Sir Walter Vahan, Sir Thomas Hadley, Mr. Blacker, and Mr. Weekes, for my assistants in the business. On Friday morning, the 2. of December, wee went to the Lord Arundell of Warder, who courteously receaving and entertaining us; uppon the reading of your lordships' letter, presently carried us upp into his armoury, telling us that there was all ye armes and furniture thereto belonging wch hee had. A note of ye particulars was presently taken in writing; and his lordship assured us that hee would willingly deliver them, so soon as wee should provide carts for ye removing thereof, wch hee accordingly performed, and all ye sayd arms are now heer in my custody, wher they shall be looked unto in such manner as your lordships gave mee in charge. Our business thus despatched with my Lord Arundell, ye same Friday in the afternoon we went unto ye Earl of Castlehaven's house; wher wee nether found him nor his family. But Sir Rerdmands Audley, his lordship's brother, was there: who lett us have a view and take a particular note of all such armes and furniture thereto belonging, as hee knew of. And when wee signified unto him that we had your lordships' letter unto the Earl upon wch we should have received from him, and removed ye sayd armes and furniture, hee undertook to conveigh the letter unto ye Earl his brother, wth all convenient speed, and when hee should have order from him, to deliver up the forenamed armes, and more yf ther were any more in the house unto him as yet unknown. I suppose uppon recat of ye letter directed to the Earl, hee will either come over to his house and deliver the armes unto mee according to yr lordships' appointment, or (yf hee bee otherwise hindered) that he will give to his brother or some whom he puts in trust to deliver them. In ye meantime craving a favourable acceptance of my best indeavour to satisfy yr comands, I commit yr lordships to ye gracious protection of ye Almighty and rest always. Your lordships' servant to be commanded,—JO. SARUM. To the Rt. Honble Lords of his Maties Privy Council, these bee delivered with speed.”

N. 261. “A p'ticular of ye armes removed from Warder Castle, beinge now in the custody of the Bishop of Sarum, viz.: Sixty-four corsletts compleat, two musketts, seven lances, fortie-foure staves for pikes, one staffe ended, seven petternells, whereof two of them without lockes, three bucklers.” Then follows the Earl's inventory.

*Dom. Charles I.* vol. cclxvi. n. 52, August 29, 1637. A letter from John Nicholas, Esq., to his son Edward Nicholas (Clerk of the Council), at Thorpe. “P.S. I dined yesterday with the Bishop of Salisbury, who by order of the Lords in King James' [Charles] time, received into his custody the arms of Lord Arundell of Wardour. He says they will spoil for want of an armourer to look unto them; he has sent to Lord Arundell and offered to give entertainment to such as he will send to keep them clean; but he answered the Bishop he had given them to the King. You

Father John Falkner was resident chaplain and missionary there at the time of the siege of Wardour Castle, 1643. Dr. Oliver<sup>4</sup> also mentions a Father Smith as serving there in the reign of Charles I., probably some years prior to the siege; but which of the three Fathers of that name he is not sure.<sup>5</sup>

FATHER JOHN FALKNER (*alias* DINGLEY), was a native of Dorsetshire, born, according to the Diary of the English College, Rome, in the year 1577, but according to the

will do the Bishop a great courtesy to move the Lords to dispose of them. There are 60 of the armours or thereabouts, and all for horsemen; better to be sent to the Tower for his Majesty's service. Lord Cottington is Lord Arundell's great friend."

*Dom. Charles I.* vol. cclxxxix. n. 77. Salisbury, May 4, 1638. Bishop Davenant of Salisbury to Nicholas. "It is above ten years since by order of the Council I received into my custody certain arms belonging to Lord Arundell of Wardour. It was ordered that they should be scoured and looked to, at the charges of the said lord. Nothing has been done to them as yet, and when I last spoke with Lord Arundell his answer was, He took no further care of them, having given them to his Majesty." He then begs him to acquaint the Lords, that he might deliver them up before they be spoiled. [Seal with arms.]

<sup>4</sup> *Collectanea S.J.*

<sup>5</sup> In the Doctor's *Collections for Devonshire*, p. 68, he considers that Father William Smith was the missionary at Wardour. He introduces him in the following notice of the ancient Catholic Somersetshire family of Touchett (the Lords Audley and Earls of Castlehaven), "the head of which," he says, "was William, summoned to Parliament as the first Baron Audley from 1299 to 1306. Mervyn, the ninth Lord Audley and second Earl of Castlehaven succeeded his father George in 1617. By marrying Lucy, daughter of Sir James Mervyn, he got the Fonthill estate in Wilts. His second wife, Ann Noel, was a generous benefactress to St. Bonaventure's Convent at Douay, 1618. Mervyn was presented to the House of Commons, April 27, 1624, as a Papist recusant (*Jour. of Com.* vol. i. p. 776); but shortly after he proved a disgrace to the religion of his forefathers by his open apostacy at the Salisbury assizes, and by his atrocious crimes, for which he was deservedly attainted and executed on Tower Hill, May 14, 1631." Dodd, in his *Church History*, vol. iii. page 167, gives the following account of this unfortunate peer from the pen of Mr. Smith, probably Father William Smith, S.J., chaplain at Wardour, who died September 13, 1658, æt. 64. The MS. quoted by Dodd was then in St. Gregory's Seminary in Paris, with the inscription, "Mr. Smith did dictate." "My Lord Castlehaven first fell from his faith to be married to this woman that accused him. That morning he first went to church, one of his coach horses killed the coachman before they set out. The first night of his marriage, he was taken with a lameness in one side. The first time he brought his lady to Fonthill House, part of the house was set on fire; and Mr. Smith was sent to, for an Agnus Dei to quench it. At Salisbury, where my lord at the assizes openly abjured his religion, the bill was first found against him that cut off his head." Father William Smith was a native of Staffordshire, born 1594, entered the Society in 1625, was sent upon the English Mission about 1629, and raised to the degree of a Professed Father on June 22, 1640; he for many years served upon the Worcestershire mission in the Residence of St. George, and died most probably in the same Residence.

Catalogue of the English Province, four years earlier. At the age of twenty-three, and on May 27, 1600, he entered as an alumnus of the same College, under the assumed name of Dingley, and took the usual College oath on the 4th of February following. After receiving minor orders in 1601, he was ordained on the 20th of December of that year, and entered the Society on November 18, 1604, and three years later was sent upon the English Mission. The following account of himself and his family is extracted from the usual interrogatories, preserved in the archives of the English College.

“ May 19, 1600. I am twenty-four years of age on the 25th of March next, and was born at Lytton, Dorsetshire, and was brought up partly under my uncle John Brook, a merchant, and a relative named Edward Peto, a gentleman, who were executors of my father's will. My father and mother were Catholics, and both died when I was an infant. I remained with my uncle until I was eleven years of age, when I was sent to a public grammar school at Sherborne, Dorsetshire, for five years. I then spent nearly a year in Wiltshire among friends, when my brother sent me to Oxford; here I studied for nearly a year in St. Mary's Hall, and another year at Gloucester Hall, and I regret to say that I rather lost my time than improved it in learning. After spending the next two years with my brother, I joined the expedition of the Earl of Essex to Spain, and after being tossed about by many storms I returned to London, and determined upon a total change of life, and spent two years and a half in the service of Lord Henry Windsor in London, and afterwards left for the English College, Rome.

“ My father's name was Henry, and my mother was Martha Pike, of a respectable Cheshire family. My father was of a respectable and ancient family, and in good circumstances. My mother was a widow, and rich, through her former husband. My brother is a Protestant, and resides in Wiltshire with his wife's brother, a man of good family and rich, and through his wife connected with many distinguished families in Wilts and Hants. Her mother was sister to Sir Richard Morton. I have three married sisters, two in Dorsetshire and one in Wilts, and a fourth died unmarried. Their husbands are of respectable families, one of them very rich; the other two equally poor, especially one, who lost the greater part of his property on account of his professing the Catholic religion. They are all either Catholic or schismatic.

“ I was converted from heresy within the last two years, through the means of Lord Windsor’s secretary, Mr. John Brooke, a good Catholic, and of Richard Falkner, a relation of my own, who was a Catholic, and Master of the Horse to Lord Windsor. Witnessing their excellent conduct and probity, I was led to think favourably of Catholics. They also argued with me. and lent me Catholic books to read. Mr. Brooke was also a sharer in my chamber, whence I had constant opportunity to observe him ; and both of them would also pray together for two hours daily, and their piety and good example had its effects upon me. The Catholic death of my parents also admonished me. I resisted these motions of grace for a long time, while my friend continued all the more assiduous for my conversion ; to whom at last I said, rather in joke than in earnest, ‘ Take me to a priest, that I may have some conversation with him.’ They were overjoyed at this answer, and when I went the next time to London with Lord Windsor, as I was going out of doors one day, Mr. Brooke ran to me and asked me to wait at home until dinner-time, as a priest would then call upon me. I willingly assented, and at the appointed time Father James Standish came, with whom I had a long conversation upon matters of faith, stating my doubts and the Father clearing them up—and God was pleased so to prevail by his means that I was there and then converted ; and I said to my friend, after the priest had gone (taking him again and again by the hand), ‘ Oh, my very dear friend, I am unable to express my gratitude to you ; you have made me to-day, from the most miserable, the happiest of men, by means of this good priest ! Oh, would that we had more such in our England ! What is there to prevent my becoming a priest ? ’ The priest saw me again the next day, but postponed my reconciliation for a short time, to allow of due preparation for a matter of such moment. In the meantime I attended at the prison, although not yet a Catholic, to get the blessing of Father Lister, who was confined there [1598]. Lastly, impatient of delay, because Father Standish had absented himself for three days, without waiting for his coming I went to Father Lecke, another priest, and was duly reconciled. And always on my visits to London I had him in my chamber with me, and when I left England he accompanied me to the ship. My conversion was known not only in London but in Dorset, and in many other places. I have been a weekly communicant as far as I could ; have spent nearly two years

among Catholics ; have laboured what I could for the conversion of my friends, and have been exposed to many dangers, but escaped without loss."

Father Falkner, in a Catalogue of the Province for the year 1655, is mentioned as then eighty-two years of age, and a missionary in the adjoining Residence of St. Mary, or the Oxford District ; he had filled many offices in the Order abroad, such as Penitentiary at St. Peter's, Rome, Socius to Master of Novices, Spiritual Director, &c., and was made a Professed Father on July 22, 1619. He appears to have been arrested about that time, and his name is given in a list of twelve Jesuits banished in 1618.<sup>6</sup>

Father Falkner, as we have before observed, was Chaplain at Wardour Castle during its siege in 1643, and as he took an active part in that stirring event, and was employed in treating with the enemy for terms of honourable capitulation, we insert an extract from the account of the siege given in the *Catholic Magazine* for 1838, which we consider will not be thought out of place in our *Records*.<sup>7</sup>

The siege was conducted by Sir Edward Hungerford, with a large and overwhelming force of the Parliamentary army in those parts, and its brave defence by the truly heroic and chivalrous Lady Blanch Arundell—who was sixth daughter of Edward Somerset, the fifth Earl, and second Marquis of Worcester—and her domestics, in the absence of her lord, who lay on his death-bed at Oxford, of wounds received in battle in the service of his royal master, King Charles I.

We find Father Falkner's name in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London (1624). He died July 7, 1656. Under the signature of "B. D." he published—(1) *The refutation of the errors of John Thrusk*, 4to., St. Omer's, 1618. (2) *Life of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, 12mo., St. Omer's, 1632.

<sup>6</sup> Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 393.

<sup>7</sup> We have heard a tradition that the spirited narrative of the siege of Wardour Castle was written by the late Lady Mary Arundell, and sent by her ladyship to the *Catholic Magazine*, under the appearance of being an old document, though it was really her own, and that she laughed heartily, when boasting at having taken in the antiquarian Dr. Oliver. A good account of the first siege may also be seen in *Mercurius Rusticus*, a leading journal of the day, with a small frontispiece representing the castle in the act of being stormed ; that account, though not so full, confirms the *Catholic Magazine* narrative. Of the second siege, when the Castle was retaken by Lord Arundell, see Edmund Ludlow's *Memoirs*, vol. i. pp. 59, seq. —"Ludlow was appointed by Sir Edmund Hungerford to be Governor of Wardour Castle, and discovered in one of its walls, plate and jewelry to the value of £1,200. On his subsequent surrender of the castle (which had been sadly shaken and dismantled), in March, 1644, Ludlow gave up the plate to Lord Arundell, for his civility" (*Memoirs*, p. 75).

Under the initials of "J. F." he published the following English translations—(3) *The looking-glass of conscience*, 18mo., St. Omer's, 1632. (4) *Fasciculus Myrrhæ de Passione Domini*, 12mo., St. Omer's, 1632. (5) *The Life of St. Winefrid*, 8vo., St. Omer's, 1635. (6) *The Life of St. Catharine of Sweden*, 12mo., St. Omer's. Father Falkner left in manuscript, *The Life of St. Anne*.<sup>8</sup>

#### THE SIEGE OF WARDOUR CASTLE.

" . . . The lady of the castle knelt before the altar in her private oratory, fervently praying for the safety of those whose lives were dearer to her than her own. Husband and son, some weeks before had joined the standard of King Charles I. At the battle of Lansdowne the former had been wounded,<sup>9</sup> and thence taken to Oxford, where the Royal army then lay, and was in a precarious state. News reached the castle this day that the Parliament forces that had long been gathering strength in the north of Wiltshire, and were commanded by Sir Edward Hungerford, threatened an attack on Wardour Castle, as the chief focus of the Royal cause in the southern part of that county, and the harbour for the King's adherents; and it was said to be marching in its direction. These tidings caused the heart of this descendant of the Somersets to beat high, and that she might prove herself a worthy scion of that noble stock, and worthy to be the wife of the loyal and brave Lord Arundell, were now the ardent prayers of the noble Lady Blanch."

The account of the messenger sent by Sir Edward Hungerford, on the 2nd of May, 1643, to demand a surrender of the castle, and Lady Arundell's conduct on that occasion is thus narrated:

<sup>8</sup> Two nephews, both of them converts of Father John Falkner, were scholars of the English College, Rome—(1) Robert Pitts, *alias* Falkner, who says, in reply to the usual scholar's interrogatories, "I am son of Robert Pitts, who died five years ago, and Anna Pitts. I was born in Dorsetshire, and have lived in Kent and at St. Omer's College. My grandfathers and my parents were of the upper class, and rich, but have now lost much wealth on account of religion. I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's, and with good success. By the efforts of my uncle, Father John Falkner, the whole of our family has been converted to the Roman Catholic faith. I am most desirous to enter the ecclesiastical state." The Diary of the College states that he entered on December 4, 1640, and left it for England, having been dispensed from his vow, on account of infirmity and unfitness for the priesthood. (2) John Falkner, who states in his replies "I am eighteen years of age, born at Salisbury, Wilts, and spent the greater part of my time at home, until sent to St. Omer's, where I made my humanity studies, and thence proceeded to Rome. My parents were respectable, and recently converted to the faith. I have no brother; two sisters: the eldest a Catholic and a nun, the youngest is a Protestant. Nearly all my numerous relations are heretics. Until my thirteenth year I was a Protestant, and was converted to the Catholic faith by my paternal uncle, who is a Jesuit Father. I desire to enter the ecclesiastical state." The Diary of the English College states that he was ordained priest and sent into England.

<sup>9</sup> Dr. Oliver, in his *Collections for Devonshire*, p. 80, says that if the date given in the inscription at Wardour of his death at Oxford, May 19, 1643, is correct, it must be an error to say that he received his wounds at Lansdowne, for that fight did not occur till July 5, 1643. He suspects that his wounds were received at Reading in April, 1643.

“Hearing the voice of the Lady Arundell in the hall, Lady Cecily, wife to Lord Arundell’s eldest son, hastened to join her, and found her giving orders to the porter to ask the reason of the request for admission, before he should raise the portcullis. The aged attendant returned to say that a knight serving under Sir Edward Hungerford craved a moment’s speech with the Lady Arundell de Wardour. Her answer was, with a stern look of defiance: ‘I know no Parliament army; troops of rebels are there in the field, enemies alike to their royal master and to his loyal subjects. I will treat with none of these. Such is my answer.’ Presently the porter returned. The knight besought but a moment’s audience. He would not offend the ladies’ ears with words or appellations displeasing to them; but, charged with a special message in which their safety and that of the castle was concerned, he supplicated admittance. The real cause of his anxiety to enter was guessed at by Lady Arundell. As the exterior denoted strength and means of defence, it was evidently wished to ascertain the interior state of the garrison before attempting an attack. She therefore gave hasty directions to the principal attendants, and after a short delay the portcullis was raised, and the knight entered the arched portal alone. The richly groined passage through which he proceeded to the court, was so thickly thronged with armed men, that he could hardly press forward; the court was also crowded, nor did the guards seem able to arrange themselves in order, for the vast barrels of gunpowder and balls that were piled along the walls; the numerous stands of matchlocks, arquebusses, and ordnance; while high sacks of corn and piles of wood seemed the provision for the victualling of a numerous garrison. ‘All preparations made, and goodly ones too,’ he muttered, as he glanced round the court, and ascended the steps leading to the great hall. Had he known the secret of the crowds that obstructed his way, and what was the extent of the store of ammunition and provisions, his report of the castle’s interior strength would not have made it seem so formidable. Lady Arundell well knew that twenty-five men alone composed her whole force, but, by her instructions, as the knight passed, the soldiers ran through a vaulted room from the passage into the court, where they appeared again as another body of men, and the female servants, eager to aid the deception, hastily snatching the helmets that hung in the hall, and wrapping cloaks around them, with poles in their hands, passed for armed soldiers. The barrels were for the most part empty, but some bullets and cannon balls were placed on the top, and at the mouth of sacks filled with stone, corn was strewed and loaves placed; while the arquebusses and matchlocks, but few in number, by being piled against logs of wood appeared sufficient for a numerous body of soldiers. At the western end of the hall was the dais, at the upper end of which was seated Lady Arundell in a chair of state covered with velvet. Lady Cecily sat on a stool at her right hand, and on the left stool two lovely boys, the sons of Lady Cecily. To the knight’s lowly obeisance, Lady Arundell answered by a bend of the head, and a request to hear his message. It was a warning from Sir Edward Hungerford, who, on the ensuing day, proposed to summon the castle by sound of trumpet to surrender, that the ladies might be prepared for the course they meant to take. ‘There can be but one course to be taken by the wife of Lord Arundell, and the wife of his son,’ said Lady Arundell, with stern composure. ‘The castle has been

left in my charge by my lord; to him, and to him alone, will I surrender it, except by force. But why is it summoned? and by what right does Sir Edward Hungerford attempt to possess himself of my lord's property?' 'I am unwilling,' answered the knight, 'to utter offensive words, else I should say that to harbour friends to the house of Stuart, is to the Parliament so obnoxious that——' 'The Parliament is not a term in this castle allowed or understood,' interrupted Lady Arundell, 'it may be obnoxious to a rebel troop, that any loyal subject should continue true to the royal cause, and shelter its adherents from a rebel's fury—but you have my answer.' She waved her hand. 'The porter will attend you to your horse.' He left the castle, the crowded array of men again thronged his way, and his first advice to his Commander Hungerford was to strengthen his force, ere he attacked a strong castle apparently well prepared for resistance."

Then follows Lady Arundell's harangue to her gallant and devoted little garrison, and their heroic response. A trusty messenger on a fleet horse was despatched to the Royal army, to give notice to Lord Arundell.

"And as they unsheathed their swords and shouldered their matchlocks, whilst the hall rang with their voices and the clang of arms, the elder boy, seizing the unwieldy blade of an attendant, exclaimed, 'I will defend myself and die too, if I am called to do so, in the defence of my grandsire's castle.' 'Now let us,' said Lady Arundell, 'implore the aid of heaven on our good cause, and put our hopes in the hands of Him Who never deserts His servants.' She led the way, followed by Lady Cecily, her children, and her whole household, down the wide stairs into the court, and crossing it entered an arch-door way opposite, which opened to the chapel of the castle. Here, on bended knees, while Father Falkner offered up the Holy Sacrifice, each valiant soldier offered up his life for the cause of royalty, and of his master, and for the safety of the castle. The Mass was scarcely concluded when a troop of horse arrived at the castle gate, and thrice the trumpet sounded, and a summons in a loud voice called on Lady Arundell to surrender."

Lady Arundell's spirited reply then follows, being a repetition of the one made by her the night before. The besieging force was now increased to thirteen hundred horse and foot, and a well-appointed train of artillery. An account is given of the active preparations for defence, in which Lady Arundell and her daughter-in-law spent the night, rest being impossible.

"The bell of the castle tolled two o'clock. Lady Arundell rose, and embracing her daughter said: 'Now the last tranquil night is ended which we shall ever, perhaps, be allowed to spend beneath this much-loved roof; and here too must end reflection and consultation; our energies must now be given to action. At this hour I have desired the household to assemble, and the Reverend Father awaits us in the chapel, to invoke the protection of God upon our endeavours.'

"They entered the chapel, and when the Holy Sacrifice was finished, Father Falkner pronounced a solemn benediction over the kneeling soldiers, and with an animating exhortation dismissed

them to their posts, which they had no sooner occupied than Lady Arundell followed, carefully ascertaining that all was in order, and to all addressing words of encouragement, affecting a cheerfulness she was far from sharing. Lady Cecily followed with her boy, who carried the shield and sword."

The siege began next morning. The death of the faithful old soldier, Walter, who was killed in a desperate sally against the enemy, is recounted; and his funeral is thus described:

"After nightfall the mournful procession commenced, and the veteran was covered over with his military cloak, his sword and matchlock crossed upon it. The rest of the little troop followed, bearing torches, preceding Lady Arundell and Lady Cecily, who would not be prevented from paying the last tribute of respect to their old faithful servant. The train headed by Father Falkner wound slowly down the subterraneous vault, reciting, in a low tone, the Office for the Dead. On the morrow the attack was renewed; but, till the evening of this day, the cannons retained their usual post on the opposite hill, and did no serious injury; several of them were then moved to a near position, and a severe concussion shook the fabric. Lady Arundell, at her tower window, saw that a ball had lodged within a niche which surmounted the portal, in which was placed a figure of our Saviour, above the motto which consigned the castle and family to the Divine protection; but the figure had remained untouched. She hastily mounted to the battlements, and profited by this happy occurrence to rally the courage of her soldiers, exhorting them to persevere; that four days had now elapsed, during which but little injury had been sustained, and only one life lost; that the figure of the Saviour had been suffered to remain uninjured to show to them that Divine power still continued to protect them. 'To that protection were we consigned by the first of our line who became master of the castle, and who placed the inscription to perpetuate the invocation he made, for obtaining the Almighty patronage for himself and his descendants; let it excite our confidence in Him, Who has so wonderfully preserved us; and let the constant aspiration of our hearts, and the watchword on our lips be ever *Sub nomine tuo stet genus et domus.*' And this incident, and these words from Lady Arundell revived the harassed spirits and sinking courage of the soldiers."<sup>10</sup>

"The next day was Sunday. Oh! how different from all that had preceded it. Piety, repose, and tranquillity were exchanged for strife, bloodshed, and distress. At the dawn, however, Lady Arundell summoned the household to the chapel, where the Holy Sacrifice had scarcely commenced, when a cannon ball was propelled through the window and lodged in the wall above the altar. Perceiving that the trembling priest faltered and was silent, Lady Arundell, advancing, said, 'Holy Father, proceed; we must, if possible, sanctify this day by offering up the Holy Sacrifice: more than ever do we need the protection of the God of armies. Proceed then in the sacred rites, and when they are concluded, we will for every shot return a volley.' And the Mass ended amid the

<sup>10</sup> "The bust of our Saviour mentioned is still in the position described, and there is an apparent perforation of cannon shot immediately behind it, which is not accounted for except in the manner suggested" [Communicated by Lord Arundell of Wardour].

repeated crash of cannon, which seemed now to be immediately under the walls of the castle. From the battlements the besieged defended themselves with incredible valour; matchlocks protruded from every loophole, and the skilful marksmen succeeded in spreading a momentary terror amid the assailants, which checked their fury and the impetuosity of the attack; but for the two preceding days, the scantiness of provisions had reduced considerably the rations of the soldiers. Fatigue aided famine, and further resistance seemed impossible, when Lady Cecily, accompanied by her servants stationed themselves behind the arquebusses, and supplied the ammunition; others amongst the female attendants loaded the matchlocks; their courage inspired the soldiers, and toil and hunger were for a time disregarded."

During this dreadful scene of terror and confusion, Lady Cecily, who had always been obliged to keep a sharp watch over her eldest boy, now missed him from her side. She at length found him applying a match to a culverine, the soldier who attended it having fallen. The besiegers from below shouted out, "The young malignant is worthy of his race; see how he fires amongst true Commonwealth men. Down with the young Cavalier!" A party presented their matchlocks at him, and he would doubtless have fallen, had not a poor idiot, who for charity had always been allowed to live in the castle, and whose fondness for the young heir had induced him constantly to follow him, seized the boy, and pushing him violently from the gun-carriage on which he stood, mounted in his place. The assailants fired and the idiot fell, and crying out, "Young master's safe, they have slain Christy [such was his name] in his stead," he expired. At this time Lady Arundell was upon her bed, suffering from fatigue and anxiety, when with the sound of trumpet, a deputation of the Parliamentarians presented themselves at the gate, desiring to tender conditions of surrender to the ladies, professing themselves unwilling to do further injury to the castle, or to Lady Arundell and her household.

"Rejoiced as they felt at the prospect of a termination to this dreadful contest, of the success of which they both now despaired, the ladies, however, agreed not to allow the bearer a personal interview till they were aware of the extent of his demands. Father Falkner was therefore deputed to hold a conference at the gate, and returned with a countenance so melancholy, that the ladies at once perceived that the conditions were such as could not be accepted. Quarter was offered to themselves, their children and female servants, but not to the men. These terms were indignantly refused.

"Her answer increased the anger of the enemy; the evening was now too far advanced to renew the attack. Too well they knew that they must dread the morrow, but they mutually agreed that they must still endeavour to continue a resistance which could not cease without dishonour, or, if all means of defence became impossible, to seek a surrender only on terms which they might accept. Dreadful was the ensuing day, the castle was nearly surrounded, the ammunition almost exhausted;

the lead was torn from the roof to furnish bullets, and the besiegers now brought petards and applied them to the garden-door, which, if once forced, opened a free admission to the castle. Happily its enormous strength enabled it to resist. Heavy piles of furniture were placed against it from within, whilst Lady Cecily aided the women-servants in pouring boiling lead on the assailants; and the gunpowder failing, what still remained of the lead was heated and poured down molten. Everywhere this undaunted lady was to be seen encouraging, aiding, directing, or swiftly descending or ascending for Lady Arundell's orders, whose increasing weakness prevented her leaving her chamber, and whose utmost vigilance was necessary to retain young Thomas, whose eagerness knew no bounds, and his parent's severest commands could hardly prevent his engaging in the affray, which every hour became more desperate."

At this moment a mine was sprung with a terrible explosion, destroying much of the castle, but without enabling the enemy to enter. Wildfire was then thrown in at the windows, and just missing the Lady Cecily who was inspecting the extent of the damage, killed her attendant soldier, who fell dead at her feet. She caused the windows to be blocked up to prevent the entrance of this deadly missile. The next morning the Parliamentarians prepared to renew the bombardment, when—

"Lady Arundell considering that any further defence was useless determined to sound a parley, and endeavour to obtain conditions to which she might subscribe. She ordered the warder to sound a parley. It fell like a knell on her heart, and on those of the brave veterans, who saw at once the end of all their hopes. A trumpet of the enemy sounded in return, and presently a small body of men, with a flag of truce, presented themselves at the gate, and declared that from the ladies only would they hear the proposals."

Her ladyship could hardly be brought to submit to the humiliation, but seeing herself in such desperate circumstances, surrounded by famished and wounded men, and considering that a courteous reception might sooth the enemy to accept her terms, she received the deputation in such state as the ruined castle and its furniture would admit of.

"The conditions proposed by Lady Arundell were—First, that the ladies and all others in the castle should have quarter; secondly, that the ladies and servants should carry away all their wearing apparel, and that six of the serving men, whom the ladies should appoint, should attend upon their persons wheresoever the rebels should dispose of them; thirdly, that all the furniture and goods in the house should be safe from plunder, and for this purpose, one of the six nominated to attend the ladies was to stay in the castle and take an inventory of all in the house, of which the commanders were to have one copy and the ladies another. Lady Arundell in a few words, excusing herself on the score of illness from a verbal conference, tendered the proposals in writing and withdrew. The chief of the troop appearing to be touched with compassion at the sight of females and veterans worn down with toil and

famine, respectfully assured them that the conditions should be laid before his commanders, and the answer returned without loss of time."

The conditions happily were accepted.<sup>11</sup> Lady Arundell, with Lady Cecily and her children, left the ruined castle, accompanied by Father Falkner, in a carriage for Shaftesbury, where the ladies were to be conducted and detained as prisoners of war. A long account is given of the barbarous plunder and wanton destruction of costly furniture, pictures, and works of art, also of the park, gardens, &c., in total breach of the conditions of surrender. The damage was valued to Lord Arundell at £100,000.

It appears that the messenger sent by Lady Arundell to Oxford for aid had never reached it, having been intercepted by the enemy. Lord Arundell died of his wounds at Oxford, May 19, 1643, æt. 56. His son, who had not heard of the demolition of Wardour Castle, till near his father's death, after attending him to the last, instantly left Oxford with the small force that remained of that raised by Lord Arundell for the service of the King, and expelled the Parliamentarians, though at the expense of the demolition of the whole southern and western fronts, it having been necessary to dig a mine, which in exploding had reduced full half of the fabric to a mass of ruins. He then went to Dorchester, whither his children had been forcibly taken from his lady and kept prisoners, and restored them and his wife and mother to liberty. This was Henry, the third Lord Arundell of Wardour,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The articles of surrender signed by Hungerford and Colonel Strode are still preserved in the muniment room of the castle.

<sup>12</sup> The author of the *Liturgical Discourse*, Dr. Richard Mason (Father Angelus a S. Francisco, who died December 30, 1678, æt. 78), informs us that the third Baron Henry was appointed by Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., Master of the Horse. Treading in the footsteps of his noble parents, he vigorously opposed the Parliamentary forces. In March, 1644, he re-took his Castle of Wardour, which he reduced to a ruin, as we have mentioned above. The declining cause of the King involved him in accumulated embarrassments. The author of the *Liturgical Discourse*, addressing his lordship, commends his inflexible fidelity and devotion to his King and country, "which evidently appeared by your actions in the war and sufferings, after having not only lost your blood in several battles, but yourself demolished that ancient and noble seat, Wardour Castle, the only habitation which the malice of the Kings enemies had left you. And the war being ended, having for several years lain under a total sequestration of the profits, you were forced to re-purchase, with no less than five-and-thirty thousand pounds, your own estate, which, by the iniquities of those times, was adjudged forfeited, for your loyalty to the crown." Father John Weldon, in his work *The Divine Pedagogue*, dedicated to the same Henry, Lord Arundell, compares his lordship's afflictions to those of Job, adding, "The rebels seized your children and virtuous lady—your plentiful stock of cattle was driven off by the rabble—your mansion-house taken and plundered by the enemy—your estates exposed to sale before your face—and yourself obliged to travel to foreign countries for a subsistence." But in all these disasters he was never heard to repine at the dispositions of Providence (Dr. Olive's *Collections*, as above). The Doctor likewise gives a copy of a very interesting paper, *A particular of the Estate late of Henry Lord Arundell of Wardour, sold at Drury House*. The whole was

the only son of Thomas, the second lord. The heroic Lady Arundell died at Winchester, October 28, 1649. In the continuation of the history of the College of St. Thomas during the times of the Oates' Plot and the Revolution of 1688, we shall have to return to Wardour and the brave Lord Henry Arundell, who was one of the special victims marked out for death in that infamous conspiracy, and was long a prisoner in the Tower of London.

EDWARD JOHNSON, *alias* PERCY, a scholar of the English College, Rome, and subsequently a priest, O.S.B., was a *protégé* of Lord Arundell of Wardour. In his examination on entering the College, he states: "I am an Englishman, born of parents of rank. My father was Henry Johnson, Esq., a Protestant, son of Sir Robert Johnson, Kt., and Ann Percy, the Catholic daughter of Robert Percy of Malton, near Ryton, Durham. I was born in the Tower of London, and was mostly brought up a Catholic. I have an only brother, Robert Johnson. At first I studied at Chichester, in Sussex, and then, chiefly by the persuasion of the noble Lord Thomas Arundell of Wardour, Wiltshire, I made my humanity studies at St. Omer's College. When I arrived at rhetoric, I spent about four years and a half at the same place from whence I had passed over to Belgium; then, on my way for France, lived for some months at Rotterdam with the Hon. Henry Arundell, son of the said lord. Lastly, having twice attempted the means of entering religion, first under the rule of the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and lately in France, and having been rejected by both on account of the difficulty of the times, I have sought Rome, that what I could not obtain by other means, I might gain by the entreaties and assistance of friends. But if I cannot accomplish my desire of the religious life, at least my intention is that I may be admitted as an alumnus of the College."

The English College Diary states that he was admitted as an alumnus, on June 8, 1645, and eventually ordained priest

purchased by Humphrey Weld, gentleman, as a friend and on behalf of the noble lord, except a very small lot which was bought by a Nicholas Green, Esq. The days of sale of the various portions were April 1, 27, June 2, 8, 15, 22, July 29, and September 2. The total amount of purchase money recorded is £28,595 7s. 10d. Ten manors and other estates are named as "returned, but not proceeded upon." At the restoration of the monarchy, the noble lord (continues Dr. Oliver) recovered his property at the expense of £35,000. Now in possession of the means, he devoted himself to works of charity and benevolence. Father Weldon (*ut supra*) says that his lordship preserved thousands of the poor from starving, and that hundreds of the Irish nation were indebted to him for their lives.

on April 19, 1650, and was sent into England April 23, 1652, and, adds Father Christopher Grene, he afterwards became a Benedictine monk.

THE CARYLL FAMILY OF WEST GRINSTEAD,  
HARTING, LADYHOLT, &c.

THESE places were old missions or chaplaincies of this College.<sup>1</sup> We had originally intended to enter at greater length into the history of this ancient and interesting Catholic family with which the English Province of the Society of Jesus was for so long a time closely connected, but we abstain from doing so, learning that the zealous priest of West Grinstead, the Abbé Denis, is about to publish a volume on this subject and on the immediate locality, devoting the fruits of his labour to the funds for the newly-erected church at West Grinstead.<sup>2</sup> The present notice is therefore confined to the annexed pedigree together with a few notes, the chief object being to show how rich the family was in vocations to the priesthood and to religious orders, and how genuinely loyal it was to its legitimate sovereigns.

We quote the following historical extracts from the prospectus of the Abbé's volume :—

The Catholic faith, which during ages of persecution had been preserved and sustained at West Grinstead, through the zeal and devotion of the ancient and historic family of Caryll, received a severe blow when the head of that noble house was forced to dismantle the church attached to his mansion. Unable thenceforth openly to provide for the celebration of the Holy Mass, he caused a house to be built from the stones of his ruined sanctuary, within which was constructed a secret chapel. To this—in those sad days—stole the little band of fervent Catholics, at peril of life and property, to assist at the Holy Sacrifice whenever opportunity offered. A hidden retreat for the priest was also provided.

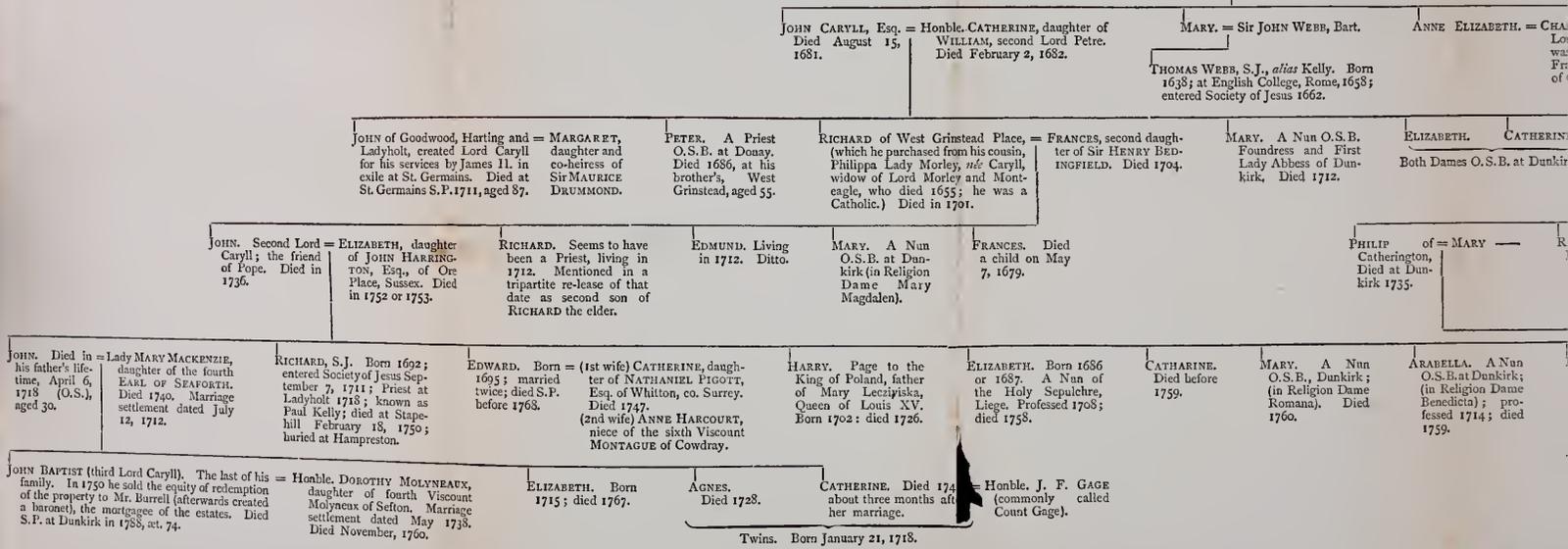
A member of this family, John Caryll, who was born during Queen Elizabeth's reign, and who died in the odour of sanctity, made a small provision towards maintaining a priest for ever "to serve the poor Catholiques of West Grinstead." His son, John, held

<sup>1</sup> The Caryll family were benefactors to the Society in this district. In a list of donations, dated 1675, we find—"The Lady Caryll, £50 : 00 : 00 : " And further on—"Old Mr. Caryll, to help in Sussex, Hants, and Dorset, £600 : 00 : 00 : "

<sup>2</sup> Sir Charles Dilke, Bart., M.P., has lately presented to the British Museum a large collection of Caryll manuscripts and historical records. It is contained in *Additional MSS.* nn. 28,224, Letters, &c.; 22,228, Family correspondence; 28,240, Accounts and Diary; 28,245, the Accounts and Diary of John Caryll, sen.; 28,250, Wills, law papers, &c. (1569—1760).

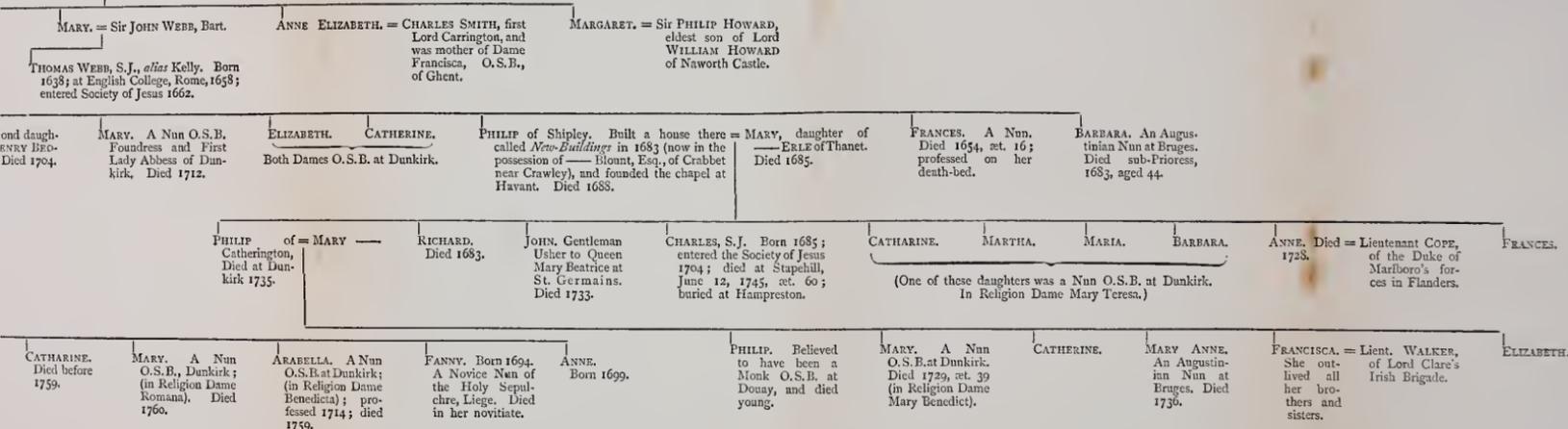
CARYLL PEDIGREE.

Sir JOHN CARYLL, Kt. = Honble. Lady MARY, daughter of ROBERT, first Lord D



CARVLL PEDIGREE.

JOHN CARVLL, Kt. = Honble. Lady MARY, daughter of ROBERT, first Lord Doumer.



high appointments at the Court of James II., and was intrusted by the King with a commission to Rome, to endeavour to effect the reconciliation of England with the Holy See. On the occasion of the Titus Oates Plot, this gentleman suffered imprisonment in the Tower for six years. After his release he became secretary to Queen Mary Beatrice; and on the exile of the royal family he followed them to France, where he died. Despoiled of his estates through fine and confiscation, his last act, before their final alienation, was to leave an endowment towards the support of the mission of West Grinstead, and thus to the foresight and bounty of that most Catholic family is due, by the blessing of God, the precious inheritance of truth which has been transmitted untarnished at West Grinstead from the time of St. Wilfrid to the present day. Despite of difficulties scarcely now to be realized, the seeds of faith sown in sacrifice in bygone times, promise a rich harvest to future generations, amid those scenes where the good deeds of the Carylls are still held in remembrance, and many romantic traditions and legends are linked with their name.

The last member of the Caryll family, once so important and allied by marriage with many noble houses, including those of Howard, Stanley, Petre, Molineux, Morley, Monteagle, and Mostyn, died in poverty at Dunkerque.

Here, prior to the so-called Reformation, the praises of God were sung day and night in two monasteries—one of Benedictine's and the other of Knights of St. John. They were dissolved by Henry VIII., but these angels of God have returned, and are once again singing Hosannahs as if they had never been disturbed, for in the immediate vicinity of the little sanctuary stands the Convent of the Dominican nuns of the third order, whose objects are to teach at the school, to visit the sick and poor, and to bring up and educate poor destitute children. These good sisters are here fulfilling the mission of the Knights of St. John, but against a very different enemy. About a mile and a half distant from this place, standing on an eminence, is the Carthusian Monastery of St. Hugh, an offshoot of "La Grande Chartreuse," whose good Fathers, after an exile of 300 years, have once again returned amongst us. It was said when the Fathers of Sheen were compelled to leave their native land that a saint told them when peace should be restored to the Church they would return again, and that then their countrymen would be about returning to the true fold; let us hope this prophecy may be soon fulfilled.

Here, almost on the very spot called God's Hill, do these good Fathers spend their time in prayer, night and day, as did the Benedictines of old; they pray not only for friends and neighbours, but also for the whole country. Hymns and praises are sung, and prayers are unceasingly addressed to Almighty God within their hallowed walls.

This locality is no less interesting to the tourist and visitor of an antiquarian turn of mind than to Catholics. Every stone, every brook, every tree in this neighbourhood appears to have its story. Within a short distance from this Church stands a magnificent tree known as Pope's Oak, under the shades of which Pope composed so many of his beautiful works. Besides the ruins of the Benedictine Monastery at Pryor's Byne and of the Knights of St. John at Shipley, it includes the ruins of the ancient Knepp, a Saxon stronghold, with the reminiscence of its ancient township and two castles, West Grinstead and Knepp.

“Harting, standing in its own goodly park, was anciently the family seat ; it had been settled there from the year 1597. The most noted personage of this ancient family in later times was a great lawyer, known as ‘the father of the law,’ and once the intimate friend of King Henry VIII. before the moral fall of that monarch. Two branches were then formed ; that at Harting always remained Catholic, with the exception of a brief lapse, under the following circumstances. John Caryll, the second in the pedigree, was taken arms in hand in Arundel Castle by the Parliamentarians, who threatened him with utter ruin unless he would ‘conform.’ The endurance of the unhappy man failed, doubtless under the thought of his wife and nine children, and he yielded so far as to go to their service for a time, and thus saved his estates. He, was, however, so filled with remorse that, after making his peace with God, (having stayed probably to make a retreat, in London), he founded three chaplaincies as an atonement. One of these was at Grinstead, one in Sussex, and another in Hants, where his properties lay. Tradition says that he used continually to spend much time in prayer, and had a special devotion to the *Gloria Patri*; and that at the moment of his death a bright ray of glory was seen over the room where he lay. He and his eldest son were our great benefactors, and we have a dirge and Mass for them and others of the family, besides a daily *Ave Maria*, which he specially asked for.”<sup>3</sup>

John Caryll, his son, was educated by the Society, and became eventually private secretary to Mary Beatrice when Duchess of York, and, as we have seen, suffered a long imprisonment in the Tower in the Oates Plot persecution. In 1679 (probably during his imprisonment) he let Ladyholt, then described as “a newly-impaled park, with a new mansion in it.” He was a fervent Catholic, and a staunch adherent to his lawful sovereign, King James II., who, as is above mentioned, sent him to Rome upon an important mission to the Holy See. After his return from Rome he was appointed Secretary and Master of Requests to the Queen, on November 27, 1685. He followed his beloved sovereign, upon his forced abdication, to St. Germain, and in 1695 was made Secretary of State to James.<sup>4</sup> He ever after served that monarch and

<sup>3</sup> Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B., St. Scholastica’s Abbey.

<sup>4</sup> This loyal family, like the Plowdens, Bedingfields, and many others of the old English stock, clung faithfully to their fallen sovereign, regardless of their own interests. This subject will be more fully noticed, with some interesting facts, in the volume of *Records* embracing the districts of North and South Wales, “The Plowdens and Plowden Hall.”

his Queen so faithfully that at his death in 1711 her Majesty, sending her condolence to the family, added that none could be more sensible of his loss than she was, that she had never had a person about her in whom she could confide without any reserve as she had done in him, that he was the only man whom she ever regarded in the light not only of a friend but of a father, and that she would never forget in her feelings towards his family the obligations she owed to him. James II. created him Earl Caryll about 1697, a title which had been offered to him some time before he accepted it, and which, as he says in one of his letters, he would never have accepted, had it not been for the sake of his family. He was outlawed in 1694, and his property sequestered by William of Orange, and bestowed upon a certain Lord Cutts, who it is believed had been a butcher, but quitting the shambles for the army, had joined the Orange party against his lawful sovereign. The property being entailed he only got the life interest, which was afterwards redeemed by the Earl's third brother, Richard, for £6,000. He ended his eventful and checkered life at St. Germain on September 4, 1711, æt 87, and was buried in the Scotch College, Paris, to which he was a considerable benefactor, as he was likewise to several religious orders and to different objects of charity.

The last<sup>5</sup> of the family, John Baptist, the third Lord Caryll, sold the equity of redemption in the property to his mortgagee and lawyer, a Mr. Burrell, who was subsequently created a baronet. Lord Caryll then joined Prince Charles Edward, the son of James II. in Italy, with whom he lived for many years, and finally retired to Dunkirk, where he died in poverty and distress. We learn from the Caryll Diary that John, the second Lord Caryll, the friend of Pope, and occupying a large share in the poet's correspondence, was imprisoned on two occasions in 1696, viz., in Chichester gaol for fourteen days, the 28th of March, and in Horsham prison for nine weeks, the 4th of May, 1696. The occasion would probably have been either for recusancy, or loyalty to his unfortunate sovereign.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> We are informed that the family is not yet extinct, but that a lineal descendant of the same name, in good circumstances, still survives in America.

<sup>6</sup> The Editor has been favoured by the Abbé Denis with a very interesting account of the hiding-places for priests existing in the old house at West Grinstead and other houses of the Caryll family. This is accompanied by a ground-plan of West Grinstead drawn by the Abbé. As these hiding refuges were the salvation of (we may say truly) thousands of

Father Charles Caryll, born in the year 1685, entered the Society at Watten in 1704, and died at Stapehill on June 12, 1745, æt 60; having had charge of the mission from about 1738. He was buried in the nave of Hampreston Church, where a tablet was erected to his memory. He had previously served the mission of Gerard Bromley, and his address there was "To Mr. Charles Caryll, at Gerard Bromley, to be left at Blackbrook, by Stone bagg, Stafforde."

Father Richard Caryll, *alias* Paul Kelly, was son of John, the second Lord Caryll, and first cousin of Father Charles. He was born on March 27, 1692, and entered the Society at Watten, September 7, 1711, after completing his early course of humanities at St. Omer's College. In the Caryll collection of MSS., before referred to, is a volume<sup>7</sup> entitled *Household Accounts*, 1615-1736. Father Richard Caryll, who was then resident at Ladyholt under the assumed name of Paul Kelly,

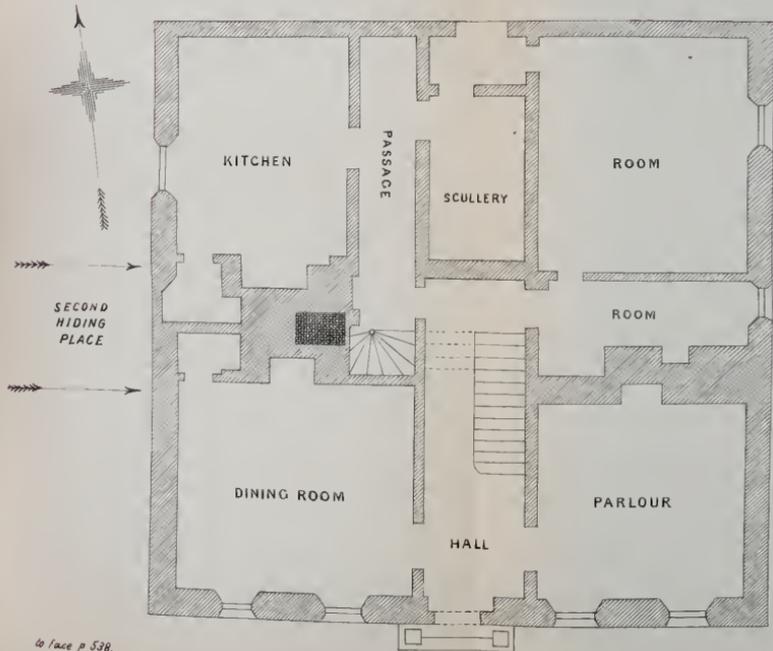
Catholic priests in the cruel days of persecution, and in this sense were powerful aids in the preservation of the ancient faith, we think it will be interesting to annex a lithograph sketch of it. "As regards the hiding-places, these exist in three different houses: 1. In Benton, the original seat of the Carylls in Sussex, there is one on the ground floor between two kitchen chimnies, which is entered by an opening in a room at the back. 2. At New Building—a house more recently erected by the Carylls, and now belonging to William Blount, Esq., of Crabbets—there are also two hiding-places: (1) One on the second floor, formed in the thickness of the wall between two chimnies, but entered by a hidden door in one of the two rooms contiguous to it; (2) the other is in the opposite gable, likewise within the thickness of the wall on the second floor, but it is entered from the room on the ground-floor underneath it, through the top of a cupboard which stands in the wall close to the chimney; on opening this cupboard nothing is apparent, but by removing a stone at the top, which is so contrived as to be moved at will, and by stepping on the shelves any one can easily get into the hiding-place above. These hiding-places were built some time before 1686. 3. Now to come to my house. This is much more ancient than New Building, and we cannot tell the date of its erection, but it is said certainly to be more than two hundred years old. The two hiding-places in the house are also in the very thick wall between two chimnies: (1) One of them is between the mantel-piece and ceiling of the dining-room, but the way to get at it is to go up the flue of the chimney as high as the ceiling of the room on the second floor, and then by an aperture in the side of the chimney or flue to drop down into the hiding-hole. Another opening also exists in the chimney of the room above, so that it can be got at from the chimney. (2) The other hiding-place is close to this chimney, but quite underneath the roof of the house, and it had likewise two ways of access, the one from an attic, and the other from a closet or small room underneath, and perhaps through the chimney flues; this is not so certain, although appearances favour it. The ground-plan shows the size of the house, and the thick wall in which are the hiding-places is between the kitchen and dining-room. The black spot is the first hiding-place; the little empty space on the opposite of the black spot, between the two arrows, shows the size and position of the hiding-place in the attic, underneath the roof."

<sup>7</sup> *Additional MSS.* n. 28,240.

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# GROUND PLAN.



took up the duty of keeping the Diary upon the death of his eldest brother John Caryll, in 1718. Beyond giving a clue to names and dates, the Diary contains but little matter of interest. Father Richard's entries are remarkably clean, and form a striking contrast to his predecessor's. One who had carefully examined the Diary remarks, "Mr. Richard appears to have been the kindest of brothers-in-law and uncles; he was constantly paying little bills out of his own allowance, and watching over the children in the absence of their grandfather and their mother." Father Richard is named in the Diary by his father, for divers payments "to my son Dick." Each year is headed "A cobby of Paul Kelly's book," and contains regular balances.<sup>8</sup>

On leaving Ladyholt, about 1724, he for a time served the missions of Bonham and Lulworth Castle, whence, in 1727, he went to Cheeseburn Grange, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and finally succeeded his cousin, Father Charles Caryll, at Stapehill in 1745. Here he died February 18, 1750, æt. 58, and was likewise buried in Hampreston Church.

When Father Richard Caryll was resident at Stapehill, we find the following entry in the account book of the College of which he was then the agent. "1639-40, June 2. Gave one shilling and about three dozen of strong beer to a great number of people that came from Wimborne and the neighbourhood for assistance when the heath was set on fire, which fire came close round this house, so that the hedges adjoining to it and cherry trees were burnt, and the whole house wonderfully preserved only through God's special protection, and by virtue of an Agnus Dei; the fire stopping exactly where it was thrown, to the admiration of all; and the thatch not

<sup>8</sup> The accounts show careful entries of deer killed at Harting and West Grinstead, and the fishing in Harting large pool and in Nepp Pond. The product of these fishings was profitable, as the following extracts testify--

*Fishe.*

Harting Pond was <i>sewd</i> 20 April, 1724.	
Sould to Southwell 2,000 carps from 12 inches	£
upwards, att £5 5s. per cent ... ..	105 : 00 : 00
The money paid thus--	
By a note from Southwell on demand ... ..	55 : 00 : 00
By a bank bill ... ..	25 : 00 : 00
By ready money ... ..	25 : 00 : 00
	£105 : 00 : 00
100 more preserved for my own spending value	£5 : 00 : 00

5th May. Paul putt about 22 carps into the Little Pond at Harting being some left at the fishing: and about 80 more given away, makes the whole number taken out of the Great Pond 2,800, whereas the stock putt in by Jones in May, 1720, was as appears 2,900. Stocked againe.

taking fire, though extremely dry, and so near that the men could not stay on it to lay over it a wet blanket."

FATHER THOMAS WEBB *alias* KELLY, grandson of Sir John Caryll, and son of Mary Caryll who married Sir John Webb, Baronet. A brief notice has been already given of this Father in page 421.<sup>9</sup>

Regarding Mary Caryll, O.S.B., the Diary of the Benedictine Nuns in Dunkirk states that she was born in Sussex of a worthy family, seated at East Grinstead and Ladyholt in Sussex. She became a Benedictine Nun in the English monastery at Ghent, whence, after being for several years an example of humility and obedience, she was sent in the year 1662 by Lady Abbess Mary Knatchbull to lay the foundation of a monastery of their Order at Dunkirk. She took along with her as assistants in the work, Ignatia Fortescue, Anne Nevil, Flavia Carey, Constantia Savage, Scholastica Heneage, Agatha Webb, Valeria Stanley, Christina Munson, Anastasia Morris, Xaveria Pordage and Viviana Eyre, all ladies of birth and singular virtue. The Community being formed, Mrs. Caryll was constituted the first Abbess and looked upon as a kind of foundress of the house. Five of these Religious returned again to Ghent, while two of them were sent to the new foundation at Ipres. Lady Caryll governed the monastery with great success, was forty nine years in that position, and left, at her death in 1712, forty-nine Religious whom she had professed; the almost equal number of forty-four having died before her. She was eighty-six years of age, and ruled by her example as well as by the sweetness of her disposition. Her brother Peter had great talent for architecture, and gave much assistance in building the church of the monastery at Dunkirk. She was very devout to St. Francis Xavier, and, although declared by two physicians to have an incurable cancer, she was healed miraculously after a novena in honour of the Saint, a fact mentioned in the dedication of "Devotions to St. Francis Xavier," printed at the end of the seventeenth century, and dedicated to her. This cure took place in 1669.

<sup>9</sup> His father, Sir John Webb, was in 1641 ordered by the Parliamentarians to be arrested, but he contrived to escape, and rendered many valuable services to King Charles I., who in reward of them created him a baronet in 1644. Odstock House near Salisbury, and Canford near Poole, belonged to him. He was a benefactor to the Society in these parts, as also to the Benedictine Convent, O.S.B., at Dunkirk.

No fewer than eight members of the Caryll family joined the English Benedictine Convent. The pedigree also comprises, besides these eight Benedictine Dames, two Augustinianesses, two nuns of the Holy Sepulchre (now New Hall), two members of the Order of St. Benedict, and three of the Society of Jesus.

Dr. Oliver in his historical *Collections for Devonshire*,<sup>10</sup> when quoting from the Chapter-books of the English Franciscan Province, states that Edward Caryll, Esq., founded a mission for those Religious at a cost of £1,300, on July 15, 1758—fixing the following obligations for anniversaries, viz., for his father, John Caryll, April 24; for his mother, Elizabeth Caryll, November 2; for Catherine, his wife, January 7; Nathaniel Pigott, February 15; John Caryll, Junior, April 17; Henry Caryll, February 11; Richard Caryll, February 10, and Ralph Pigott, January 9.”<sup>11</sup>

As regards resident missionaries, the loss of records prevents our tracing any others than two, viz., Fathers Levinius Brown and Richard Caryll.

FATHER LAVINIUS BROWN was a native of Norfolk, born September 9, 1671, son of Richard and Mary Brown. After making his early studies at the English College, St. Omer, he entered that of Rome for his higher course, October 18, 1691, and took the usual College oath May 1 following; having received the previous orders he was ordained priest June 16, 1696, and on April 21, 1698, left Rome for England, “remarkable for talent and virtue,” says the College Diary. When he

<sup>10</sup> P. 260.

<sup>11</sup> To this family belonged Father Adam Pigott, S.J., born in the year 1673. He entered the Society of Jesus at Watten on December 31, 1694, and was made a Professed Father in 1712, being at the time chaplain at Calehill, Kent. He died at Crandon Park on April 30, 1751, æt. 78. Dr. Oliver states that at his instance the poet Pope translated and put into verse St. Francis Xavier’s beautiful hymn, *O Deus amo te—*

O God, I love Thee; not to gain  
The joys of Thy eternal reign.

A different authority, however, states that “The hymn of St. Francis Xavier, *O Deus, &c.*, was translated by Pope when on a visit to Ladyholt, at the request of Father Levinius Brown. The Pigott family then lived in the neighbourhood of Harting, and were Catholics. They are still seated in the same place. One of them, Nathaniel Pigott, was the last Catholic who practised at the Bar, before the Act of William III. excluded all such. He was of great repute as a lawyer.”—[Communicated by J. Vincent Harting, Esq.] Two of the Pigott family became nuns, O.S.B., at Brussels, viz., Rebecca, in religion Dame Ursula, and her sister Catherine, in religion Dame Xaveria, who died 1769. The former became twelfth Abbess, and died 1796. They were daughters of Ralph Pigott and the Honourable Alethea Fairfax. A widow, Mrs. Pigott, of this family, who died in 1721, was likewise a Benedictine Dame.—[Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.]

had made a short stay in England he obtained a dispensation from his oath and entered the novitiate of the English Province at Watten, July 4, 1698, and was made a Professed Father, March 31, 1709. He left St. Omer's for England soon after completing his two years' term of probation, September, 1700, and appears to have been at once appointed to the mission of Ladyholt. He is named in two catalogues of the English Province as a member of the College of St. Thomas, viz., 1701 and 1704. He was Rector of the English College, Rome, from 1723 to 1731, when he became Master of Novices; and was chosen Provincial, October 1, 1733, continuing in that office until July 20, 1737, and then passing to the Rectorship of Liege College. He spent the last years of his long and active life in the College of St. Omer, and saw the forcible expulsion of the English Jesuits from their old College by the Parliament of Paris, October 19, 1762. Being too old and infirm to be removed, he was allowed to remain in the house until his death, November 7, 1764, in the ninety-fourth year of his age and the sixty-seventh of his Religious life. In the *London Chronicle* of December 1, 1764, is the following interesting article upon the subject.

“By letters from abroad we are informed that the Reverend Father Levinius Brown, the last of the English Jesuits remaining in the College built by them at St. Omer,<sup>12</sup> died lately there in his ninety-fifth year. He had in life acquitted himself commendably of most of the chief employs of his Order. When two years ago his brethren were, unheard and unaccused, expelled their magnificent College, and stripped of their effects and revenues by the *arrêt* of the Parliament of Paris, his then infirmities respited him from sharing the hard usage of his brethren, till it should be declared by the physicians that he might be safely removed elsewhere. During this time he enjoyed little from the College besides his room, no allowance being made to him out of its revenues; and had not his banished and plundered brethren taken care to have him supplied with victuals and other necessaries, he must have passed his last days in much want and distress. His body was conveyed from the College to the parish Church of St. Denis, where a solemn service was performed; and as he was a person much respected for his virtues and innocence of life, though a strict follower of an Institute declared to be impious and anachristian by the *arrêts* of the Parliament of

<sup>12</sup> See note upon St. Omer's College, in *Records*, vol. i. Series I. p. 435.

Paris, most of the ladies, gentry and people of fashion honoured his obsequies with their presence. The Prebendaries of the Cathedral, who took upon themselves to supply the place of his banished *confrères*, reconveyed the corpse to the Church of the College, where it was deposited among the remains of his deceased brethren. Hence it may be said that the English Jesuits, who had formerly been of no small credit to the town of St. Omer, were requited with a final and honourable return from the said town in the burial of the last of their brethren there."

Father Brown was a friend of Pope, and it was probably during the time of his being the resident priest at Ladyholt that he procured from the renowned poet the version of St. Francis Xavier's hymn.

Father Brown's translation of *Bossuet's Variations* in two vols. 8vo.: London, 1742, is noticed in Mr. Charles Butler's book of the Roman Catholic Church, p. 164.<sup>13</sup>

At West Grinstead—Father John Hodges (*alias* or *vere* Massey), born November 21, 1698, entered the Society in 1717, became a Professed Father in 1735, and was stationed at West Grinstead from about 1740 until about 1759. He died January 10, 1760, æt. 62, at Hereford.

Father Henry Houghton (*alias* or *vere* Moore), born 1719; entered the Society when in deacon's orders, June 28, 1733, was made a Professed Father 1744, and was at West Grinstead from about 1741 until his death there, on the July 20, 1750, æt. 31.

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THE REVEREND HENRY CHADERDON *or* CHATTERTON,—with whose personal narrative we close this series, suffered greatly for his faith; he was a native of Hampshire, and his father, a gentleman of high family, lived at his own castle of Southsea. The original of the narrative subsequently given is preserved in the archives of the English College, Rome, and consists of his replies to the customary interrogatories put to students on their applying for admission to that College. Although Henry Chaderdon was not actually a member of the Society, yet he was ever affectionately attached to it, and may be regarded as the spiritual child of Thomas Pounce, S.J., of Belmont, Winchester, who was not only the means of his conversion, but was afterwards his constant guide and director.

<sup>13</sup> Dr. Oliver's *Collectane S.J.*

He made his studies both at Douay and at the English College, Rome, under the care of the Fathers of the Society, and it was his earnest desire to have become a Jesuit, were it only in the humble degree of a lay-brother, for he never aspired to the priesthood. Eventually, however, he consented to be ordained as a secular priest, no doubt by the desire and advice of Father Robert Parsons, the Rector of the English College, then his Superior; his advanced age and infirm state of health standing in the way of his reception into the Order. The subjoined narrative which he gave contains much historical matter regarding the state and sufferings of the Catholics of the higher class, during the relentless persecutions under Queen Elizabeth. One very prominent fact which it brings out is that perhaps the bitterest draught of the cup of affliction was furnished at the hands of the intruded Protestant bishops, with their Calvinistic and Puritanical ministers of the new religion. These men, the prelates especially, were in those times frequently of a low class and stamp, and in some instances of cruel and ferocious character. In evidence of this, we give the following letter of Thomas, Bishop of Winchester, copied from the State Papers.<sup>1</sup> His complaint against the humane conduct of the gaoler, which he deems a fit case for censure, if not punishment, speaks for itself :

*Bishop of Winchester to Secretary Cecil.*

Rt. Honorable—The immoderate favour the gaoler—here in Hampshire sheweth to Edward Kenyon, priest, lately committed to his keeping, by order from yourself and others of the Lords of the Privy Council ; as well in freeing the said priest of irons and feasting him at his own house, as in suffering all sorts of recusants to repair to him, was such, that by no means I might dissemble or conceal from your honour, with promise that I would, against the time of our assizes here, put your honour in remembrance to require the judges of this circuit to have care that such extreme contempt of law and duty might not escape unpunished. Albeit, therefore, I seek no man's undoing against his desert, nor take upon me to determine in judgment whether it were a wilful or negligent escape, yet I have to put you in mind thereof, and to pray you that such examples of extreme neglect pass not uncontrolled, but be examined and rewarded according to the demerit of the man and the cause. Which having done, I cease to trouble your honour any further for this present, and commit the same to the mercies of Almighty God.

From my house at Waltham, this 7 day of February, 1599.

Your honour's in all affection,

THO. WINTON.

<sup>1</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxiv. n. 34.

*The Rev. Henry Chaderdon's Narrative.*

"I.H.S.

"1st December, 1599.—I am in my forty-sixth or seventh year. I was born in a certain castle built entirely by my father (but at the expense of King Henry VIII.), in the county of Southampton, near Portsmouth. My father in his latter years was a general. The castle is called at Court at the present time Chaderdon Castle, but generally Southsea Castle. He was also commander of the town of Portsmouth (as appears by the inscription upon his tombstone), of which town, after his time, no one was governor, unless he was either a knight, as was Sir Adrian Poynings, or a lord, as was Lord Chideock Paulett, and the present governor, Lord Mountjoye; or earl, as was Sir Henry Ratcliffe, Earl of Sussex. My father is sprung from the ancient house called Chatterton Hall, in the county of Lancaster. My mother was a daughter of the house of Tichborne, a family of great antiquity in Hants. He (my father) received into his house in his lifetime two kings, viz., Henry VII. and Henry VIII., with his son, Prince Edward, and very many of the chief councillors. My father having died when I was but three years old (and, as I hope, passed to heaven, having departed this life in the time of Queen Mary), my rearing until my seventh or eighth year was but vagrant, at one time with one friend, then with another, but principally with my grandmother, a lady of family in the town of Southampton. . . . But my brothers, who were three, two older and one younger than myself, together with an only sister, remained with my mother. Hence, when I was recalled to my mother's house, I found her married again to a young man, and they lived together for seven or eight years, and during nearly four of them he laboured under consumption. On this account they went to London with four or five servants for the sake of medical advice, and daily consulted three or four doctors for the space of a half or a whole year; and ran through the greater part of the paternal inheritance—in fact, scarcely a tithe of it was left. Little care, in the meantime, was taken of us; for if we had a tutor at home for one year, we would be left for two entire years without any. And thus we lost both our boyhood and youth, the flower of our age, in trifles and vanity. However, the whole of the property was not exhausted, but a sufficiency was left, not indeed to live in style as before (I speak according to the

vanity of the world), yet to keep a respectable and hospitable household of the better sort.

“On the death of my mother’s second husband, when I was about thirteen years old, as I think, she migrated from Hampshire to Sussex, where, after some time, she sent me with two of my younger brothers (my elder brother at the same time was studying the common law in the Inns of Court) to schools, in which I learnt rudiments and the Latin grammar. But, after the lapse of about two years, my eldest brother, who shortly before had married a widow, sent for me for the purpose and intention of placing me in the service of the Earl of Southampton, who stood my godfather at baptism. But the Earl himself, because his mother at that time survived, and occupied the greater part of the mansion, and he was engaged in building and repairing another, put me off for the time for want of room for his household. Shortly afterwards I was placed with a certain knight, who held an office at Court, and with whom I lived as retainer for nearly one year. Then returning to my mother’s house, I passed my whole youth, and until my twenty-third year in hunting, hawking, and learning to play with dice and cards, and in all delights in which it was possible to revel, imbued with human, heretical, or rather schismatical learning, and ignorant of the worship of the true God.

“My eldest brother died before I was twenty-one, and his property at length came to my second brother, after heavy and expensive law suits for two or three years with my brother’s widow (who, contrary to all law and right, claimed the inheritance); and besides this grave injury, she obtained from my brother, her husband, so much that she sold a great portion of the property, not only in the southern, but in the northern parts, for enriching her sons by her first husband.

“I now come to the year of my salvation, to the year, I say, in which I first began to know, to fear, and rightly to worship our good God in the Catholic Church. When I was about twenty-two years of age, not by chance it happened, but of set purpose, and out of his own zeal, that a certain priest (moved by charity and the vicinity of our native places, and because my father was his baptismal godfather, and he was christened after him), of a respectable family named John Pounce, came to our paternal house, and questioned both my mother, myself, and my sister (for my brothers were absent) on the subject of religion, when he found that our

replies were neither Protestant nor schismatical, but altogether Catholic, but not as yet prepared to the true worship of Almighty God. In fine, he said he had an excellent book, but it was very expensive. 'As to the price,' I replied, 'I do not regard that,' and we immediately settled it. The book was a work of Dr. Bristow, which, after I had read and re-read, I became convinced of the truth of the Catholic faith, and was ready to argue upon it with any Protestant, but not to embrace it. Then, after a twelvemonths' dallying, it happened, perhaps by chance, whilst making a journey in company with my youngest brother on business, we visited on our way the house of the mother of the same Reverend John Pounce. He, however, was not at home, but we found his brother Thomas there, who is now confined in the Tower of London, and who received us in the most friendly manner; and while we were at supper he urged his mother, by many good and pious words, to embrace the Catholic religion, but made no impression upon her; on the contrary, she left the supper-table in bad humour, to escape from his pious conversation, and so remained until the last hour (alas! the more to be regretted, and unworthy of such a son). On her departure, he addressed his words to us, and by the Divine operation they were acceptable, not to my brother, but to me; for I gave him this reply, that I knew very well that the Catholic was the right and true faith, and without doubt there was no redemption out of it. 'Indeed,' he said (to use his own words), 'do you say and believe so, and not wish to accept and embrace that faith in which alone God is rightly worshipped?' To these words I was silent, and could make no answer. 'Oh, I well know,' he said, 'your thoughts as though I saw into your heart. You are young, and have all things at your desire, and therefore wish to spend your youth in pleasure and in the delights and vanities of this world agreeably, and in your old age to serve God. But what if on your way a tree or a tile from a house should fall upon you, or your foes or robbers should attack and slay you, or any other kind of sudden death should overtake you, no matter what (for none can tell for certain that he will live, or promise himself life for the morrow); what would become of you then? You would in an instant descend to hell.' With these and similar words he conquered me, and with a heart touched and broken, I replied, 'I desire nothing so much as to become a member of the Catholic Church.' Having said this, 'You

know,' he replied, speaking with all pleasantness and hilarity, 'the old saying, *Bono animo et consilium a lecto accipe*—"Take counsel of your pillow." If you are in your present mind to-morrow, and it is the will of God and yours, your desire shall be accomplished.' By the grace and favour of God I remained firm. He then gave me a prayer-book to read while he was preparing a letter, which, when it was ready, he sent by me to the house of a certain noble Catholic lady, widow of Sir Thomas Gillorde, Knight, where I found Mr. Stevens, or Stevenson, who was formerly secretary of Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury, who instructed me and reconciled me to God. I inquired of him what I should do in future, because my friends were chiefly heretics or schismatics but otherwise of high rank, as to their custom of eating flesh on fast days, and such like, when I visited them, as I was accustomed to do. He advised me to enter the service of some Catholic nobleman, a stranger, where I could freely live according to the Catholic faith which I had now embraced. I willingly agreed, and in the meantime, whilst he left me in the room, in order the more satisfactorily to settle the thing he conferred with the noble widow about my case, who the moment I left the room offered me the choice of the following situations: (1) of her own brother, William Shelley; (2) of her own son, then twelve years old, to be his *quasi* tutor; (3) her own service; (4) of the noble Viscount Montague, which she did not doubt she could obtain for me.

"Grateful for her kindness towards me, I first desired to ask the advice of my friends, especially of Mr. Thomas Pounce; but that if I served any one, I should rather serve her ladyship beyond all others, on account of her great kindness towards me. And so I returned to my father, to the director of my whole life, Thomas Pounce, and laid the whole matter before him. I call him father, because his words recurred to my mind, for it happened one month before Christmas Day, and he ordered me to return to him about the feast of St. Thomas the Apostle, that we might go together to celebrate the entire feast of Christmas among Catholics. I obeyed his command, and, as soon as we had mounted our horses: 'Let us go,' he said, 'among my friends, who do not know you; and when they shall ask who you are, I will reply that you are my son.' Oh, good father, but wicked son; good director, but stupid follower! But after the feast of the Epiphany, as we were returning, the Bishop of Winchester on the way deprived me

of him, and committed him to Winchester gaol.<sup>2</sup> But I could not abstain from soon going to visit him; and in the interim I had an excellent dream about him (I dare not say a vision as my inclination prompts me to do, unless God should afterwards, on account of his merits, condescend to show me how great and good a director I have had). I was especially admonished to hold him in similar esteem that St. Monica had entertained towards St. Ambrose, for I had received from his lips whatever related to the direction of my entire life, proceeding as I thought from an angel or a saint. After I had gained access to him (and this I obtained with wonderful difficulty), in order to manifest to him my mind and dream, I asked what he wished me to do. He instantly, upon the spot, advised me with all speed to repair to London, with what ready money I had about me, where I should find out a certain priest named Mr. Allen, a relation of Cardinal Allen, who was about to go to Rome in the course of five days. I received this as a voice from heaven, and resolved to accomplish it with all my heart, and, taking leave of him, I went to the inn, and could scarcely sleep that night for the thought of my journey. I arose about the third hour after midnight, but before the fourth hour I received a letter from him, by which I perceived that he had changed his mind, because I had so short a time in which to prepare for the journey and to bid adieu to my mother and other friends. Wherefore I resolved to return to the above-named noble widow, and to serve her not as a hired servant, but as a free retainer; as he (Mr. Pounce) felt sure that before the feast of Easter as good an opportunity would turn up of sending me to Rome. But I could never find this good opportunity before the present time; and now, for my shame, so late, and I fear too late.

“I therefore lived with this widow for two whole years, and

<sup>2</sup> This person was Horne Bishop of Winchester. *Vide* “Life of Thomas Pounce, where may be read the severe handling which Horne received from Pounce in public disputation in the court. Pounce suffered severely for his bold rebuke of Horne, for the gravelled and disgraced Bishop, after keeping him for two months in Winchester gaol, caused him to be remanded to the Marshalsea Prison, London, on March 11, 1576, where he appears to have lain in bonds until December 7, 1585, when he was liberated upon his own and his mother’s recognizances. Connected with this event are the following State Papers, P.R.O., London. (1) *Dom. Eliz.* 1580, vol. cxi. n. 40: “Prisoners in the Marshalsea. Thomas Pounce, gentleman, sent in by a warrant from the Bishop of Winchester for Papistry, March 11, anno 1576.” (2) *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cc. n. 59: “December 7, 1585. Thomas Pounce and Ellen his mother, bound in a hundred marks that the said Thomas Pounce shall remain at his mother’s house in Kenyton, in the county of Surrey.”

served her freely. She always supported at home an aged priest, and in the course of one year after my arrival she married a husband, who always kept two priests, and he retained forty or fifty domestics, among whom twelve or fourteen were of respectable families, in his house, or rather I should say palace, because all the appointments were of the most noble kind. But now, when I had performed this service with all diligence and had experienced proof of their regard for me, it happened that about the end of the third and last year a certain Chancellor of the Bishop of Chichester (who let out the office of his chancellor by simony), began to issue his thunderbolts against the Catholics of Sussex, for the sake of recovering the money, with usury, which he had given for the office, and for this end he sent out his bailiffs in circuits. Wherefore one of those priests, and he the head one, informed me of the matter, and of the mind of my master, viz., that the state of the house was come to this pass, that if I would go to the Protestant church, then I could still remain as I was; but, on the contrary, if I refused to do so and wished to remain in the Catholic faith, I might still continue there most willingly, but must take care of myself in case of danger, because my master would have enough to do to look after himself, his wife, and children, without heeding others; or, if I wished, he would readily give me leave to depart at once to avoid instant danger. I replied that I would rather undergo the most horrid of deaths than enter their churches; and, moreover, that if there were no means of my remaining here without great risk and danger, another situation would satisfy me, if not in England, yet elsewhere in a foreign land, and therefore I would willingly depart if he would allow me.

“My answer was reported to the master, who gave me leave to go, with the money which the noble lady had liberally given me while she was a widow, viz., about £100 of English money. After the space of five days, taking leave of all my friends in the house, I departed and returned to my brothers, one of whom was my senior, the other my junior, and both living together unmarried; because my mother had died a year before, and had left all her property to these two jointly; for, three years before, I had declined taking any, having no desire either for the world or worldly things. This, however, was the most joyful thing to me, that by the favour and help of God, my mother had been reconciled

to her Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, ten or eleven months before her death. All honour and glory be given to God, because it seems wonderful to me to relate this fact—that I was born [spiritually] before my own mother. I then clearly discerned the value of the advice of my director, Thomas Pounce, inspired by God, in postponing my journey to Rome on the former occasion. After resting a few days with my brothers, I proceeded towards London without delay, with my money, where I found Mr. Thomas Pounce confined in the Marshalsea Prison, and I took with me my sister, who with many tears and entreaties implored me to help her to change her former course of life. ‘I am unwilling,’ she said, ‘to remain in this state of heresy, even to gain the whole world, according to the words of our Lord, “What will it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?”’ Arriving in London, we hired a lodging in the house of a very pious Catholic woman, who was very often visited by one of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and by the grace of God he received my sister into the Church. In the same house also dwelt Mr. Payne, a priest, afterwards a martyr.<sup>3</sup> This business of my sister’s conversion being now accomplished according to her wish, I took the next opportunity of crossing the sea towards Douay, and this by the advice of my friend and director, Thomas Pounce (whose advice I always, as far as possible, followed on all occasions), leaving my sister with the same pious matron. Arrived at Douay, I gave myself up to the care of the Reverend Fathers of the Society of Jesus. But whence did I get this great respect and desire for the Jesuits, before even I had seen or

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. John Payne was a student of the English College, Douay, in 1575, and ordained priest 1576, and sent at the same time to England with the Rev. Cuthbert Maine. He lived mostly in Essex with Lady Petre, widow of Sir William Petre. Seized in 1581, he was most cruelly racked in the Tower of London. On March 20, 1582, Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, called him out of bed and, half dressed, sent him off to Chelmsford gaol. He begged leave to prepare and dress himself first, and get his purse, but was refused, and Lady Hopton in the meantime secured the purse for her own use. On the next Friday he was indicted at the Chelmsford assizes for high treason and, as usual, found guilty. The only witness against him was one Elliot, a former servant of the Lady Petre, an apostate and man of infamous character, the betrayer of Father Edmund Campian, and many others, who was himself accused of many enormous crimes, and had robbed his own mistress of a sum of money. Mr. Payne suffered for the faith at Chelmsford, on April 2, 1582. He was greatly beloved in the town, as also by his keepers and most of the magistrates of the shire. He had been long in prison, had been cruelly handled and racked, and was constantly urged by the ministers in vain to go to their church.

conversed with any of them? It was hence. One of the two before-mentioned priests, who was a Marian priest once, and afterwards became a minister, at length resigned his charge, and a very large ecclesiastical benefice, and crossed over to these parts to restore his ancient and spiritual vow and priestly function, and during his residence here he became acquainted with the Fathers, and he used often to speak to me, and to others, about them and their manners, conversation, and sanctity, in such terms that I was greatly affected, and shed abundant tears.

“Now, I say, having arrived at Douay and placed myself under the direction of the Fathers, and laid open my mind and desire, I received this answer from them : that I could not possibly enter their Society unless in the quality of a lay-brother, because I had not studied. I answered that I would gladly accept the lay habit and be the least among them, nay, a servant of their servants, rather than be deprived of their Society. They then advised me to apply to study, because I had sufficient means. This advice I gladly accepted, and began rudiments with the boys. This astonished not only the students, but likewise the townspeople, who saw me, a man of twenty-six years of age, with a beard, going in and out of the schools with the numerous scholars, all of them lads between seven and twelve years of age. I will give one or two instances. A certain doctor of civil law, an Englishman named White, who had married a Flemish wife, invited me once to dinner, and when at table a certain Fleming, the brother or a relation of his wife, among others addressed me in these words in Latin : ‘There is great hope of the conversion of your country, because bearded men enter the schools with boys of seven or eight.’ He did not know me to be the person, for I was then in the higher classes. Also Dr. Bristow, in surprise, sent for me, and had much conversation with me, from which he learnt that I sought nothing else but the service and honour of God ; but that on account of the impossibility I conceived of ever learning Latin, my master being a Frenchman, and I not knowing French, he gave me the best advice, saying, ‘You have a good and courageous heart, it will be very difficult for you for three years ; but, when you afterwards come to understand the Latin language, without doubt it will be more easy. I know myself,’ he said, ‘a man going forty years of age, who, before he even knew how to read his letters, and commencing at that advanced age, made in fourteen years’ time so great

a progress that he turned out a most learned doctor. But in the meantime,' said he, 'take care lest you destroy your health by over application.' He gave me this good advice, but I wish that he himself had followed it.

"Lastly, I will relate another case which was calculated to produce both tedium and discouragement in my progress, viz.: One of our scholars, who was exceedingly poor, and at that time in the class of rhetoric or of logic, on seeing me entering the schools in such a manner, and among such little boys—'I wish,' he said, 'with all my heart, that he would return home to England and there hold the plough all his life, which I would do.' (This was by no means necessary for me, because my God had always provided me with more than a sufficiency.) When a student, who was very familiar with me, and was in the same class of rhetoric, reported these words to me, I threw myself upon my knees in my room before Almighty God my Saviour, and recalling to mind that saying of our Lord: *Nisi eritis quasi unus ex istis, non potestis regnum cælorum intrare*, I returned hearty thanks to God for my being thus despised, and instead of disgust I received the greatest joy, so much so, that I could not abstain from shedding tears of devotion and consolation; and I likewise received the greatest comfort from the associating with these innocents, and from both their morning and evening prayers, as God knows.

"I remained at Douay three years and a half, and all I know, I learnt there. I went through the first four classes of rudiments, and for half a year studied rhetoric. But that enemy of the human race, and of all good works and virtue, envied my progress in studies; for it happened that about this time my eldest brother died of the plague in England, and I received a letter informing me at the same time that my younger brothers had fled away for fear of the pestilence, but none of their servants or friends knew of it; on which account, for seven or eight days, the Fathers consulted whether I should not cross over to England (because many never returned again, in spite of their promises and wishes to do so). But in the meanwhile another letter was received at Douay from Paris, saying that both of my brothers were dead, which obliged me of necessity to return to receive the inheritance of my eldest, and also the property of my two younger brothers. This settled the matter, and I left for England with the intention of returning again to Douay as

soon as possible. Shortly after my arrival, I received possession of the paternal estates, but I touched nothing of the personal property of my eldest brother, since I found my youngest brother living, and I determined to relinquish to him not only the goods but also the estate itself. I only received the annual revenue from my property for half a year, when I made an agreement with my brother to transfer it at once to him.

“With this agreement all my troubles began, from which, when I left England I had been but partially delivered. For a certain nobleman holding office under the Queen, who was my tenant and rented a large house of me, because he could not get from me a farm in the country that lay very convenient to him, wrote a letter to the Privy Council, declaring that a certain youth of high family had lately arrived in England from the Continent, who had sold his patrimony and inheritance, and transferred it to his younger brother, with the intention of returning abroad again. An officer was in consequence immediately despatched (called a pursuivant) with a magistrate’s warrant to arrest me wherever I could be found, who, with a Justice of the Peace and ten constables, entered my brother’s house at daybreak in his absence and seized me. On entering he showed me the warrant which was signed and hung upon his breast, and addressed me in these words: ‘The Queen greeteth you.’ I was at first seized with great fear. But in a moment, reflecting that my conscience was clear, and myself free from all suspicions of evil either against the Queen herself or my country, and that my God Himself and for His honour decreed that these things should happen to me, to my fear succeeded great consolation. However, this pursuivant, exceeding his commission, made a strict search in my brother’s house for books and other things, which he supposed I should have brought over with me from the Continent. But he found nothing except some bonds securing to me the sum of £300, English money, and which the magistrate took and kept from me until the Privy Council discharged me. Whilst I was preparing to leave they kept so strict an eye upon me that I was constantly guarded by two or three. When I was ready they took me with a great posse and triumph to the neighbouring city of Chichester, where I was very well known; this caused me no disturbance, but rather joy. For I recollect, as we were on the way, in a large and open plain turning my

horse's head back, and seeing myself surrounded by a posse of thirty horsemen, composed not of men of station but of nobles, I recalled to mind with joy that company which, after the kiss of Judas, led off my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ to Pilate. From thence I was taken to London in charge of the same pursuivant, and was kept in custody for fifty days, paying 6s. 7d. per day. In the meantime we almost daily visited the Royal Court and the Council Chamber (unless otherwise prohibited by order of the Privy Council). At length the keeper of the Marshalsea was summoned to take and shut me up in his prison; and I should have remained incarcerated unless my own cousin, who was in the service of the Lord Treasurer at Court, had been present with me at the time. He asked a member of the Council, who was intrusted with the charge of seeing me locked up, to leave me in the custody of the officer for a certain time, which he readily conceded. I at last obtained my liberty for a payment of £5; and a joint bond of myself and brother in £50: Not to leave England without the special licence of the proper magistrate; to be on parole in my brother's house; and to appear in twenty days on being summoned by the Privy Council. And so I was discharged.

“On returning to my brother's house I applied myself to study, and the exercise of good works as far as I could. For I was accustomed (unless otherwise hindered, as I very frequently was) to spend one hour in the morning in prayer and meditation, and two others in reading the Holy Scriptures or some other good book, but principally St. Austin: and after dinner I spent three hours in reading or writing, and one in prayer, and also after supper half an hour. On Sundays I spent four hours in the morning in prayer and meditation, or in such things as appertained thereto, such as reading the Epistle and Gospel of the day, also the lectures out of the Breviary, and the life of the Saint, and a sermon of St. Austin, if he happened to have one for the day. But every day I recited the Office of the Blessed Virgin, nor have I omitted this three times in a year, unless hindered by some pressing circumstances of business, or place, or time. These hindrances, as I have said, occurred very often: the chief one was a great frequentation and gathering at my brother's house of the principal neighbours, whom we call yeomen, not only on Sundays and feasts of the saints, but also on other days, whenever they wished, playing at this or that game, not for

money, but for recreation, or for a very small stake, thus to pass their time (as they call it), but I should rather say to consume and lose it. The second hindrance was the familiarity and friendship of two men of family who lived not far off, one of whom, a near neighbour, was a Justice of the Peace, but a Puritan, the other was a Protestant; in fact, so close was this intimacy that scarcely a day passed but either they visited us or we them for some exercise or other. I will say nothing of the familiarity, friendship, and hospitality of many other men of rank, office, and substance who visited my brother's house. The third and last hindrance was the vast quantity of dogs, which my brother kept for his field sports, and also a grand falcon, which I took care of, and carried on my fist, for of all the sports and amusements of this world, this was the one I specially loved; for this good falcon would accompany me in all the parties of our great men, knights, and nobles. These, I say, and many other similar ones, were my hindrances.

“I now come to another trouble I sustained for God and the Church. Before I had passed an entire year with my brother, the parson of the parish, who was my only enemy, for I knew no other besides hated me, because sometimes a discussion arose between us upon the Catholic faith, and especially about the doctrine of purgatory, concerning which we had a correspondence. Our controversy upon purgatory commenced in the presence of many of our neighbours (whom my brother had invited, according to the custom of our country, to keep the feast of All Saints,) at supper, after that I had said the Vespers of the Dead. He caused me to be presented to the Bishop, who issued an excommunication against me. On this account I left my brother's house for a time, and went to my old friend Thomas Pounce, for the sake of asking his advice as to what I should do in regard to the impending excommunication. I found him living in London with his mother.<sup>4</sup> I would (I said to him) freely serve the Countess of Arundel, rather than expose myself to the danger of this excommunication. ‘I do not wish you to do so,’ he replied, ‘for although she is an excellent Catholic and most noble lady, yet among many good she has also evil servants; wherefore (said he) stop here with me, your company will be most delightful to me.’ I accepted his liberality, and so remained with him. His affection for me was so great, nay, it was rather

<sup>4</sup> He was then a prisoner at large, upon his own and his mother's recognizances. The Bishop was Horne of Winchester (See note, p. 549).

that of a father for his son, for so he ever was to me, that he would have me not only share the same table, but even the same couch with him. I came to him about the beginning of December, and remained with him till the end of May [probably in 1585]. Wishing then to visit my brother, I went into the country.

“Whilst I was with Mr. Pounce, I showed him a little book which I had composed concerning purgatory, gathered from the Holy Scriptures and the writings of St. Austin, against Thomas Godley,<sup>5</sup> and I wrote out a copy of it and left it with him; but, because after proving the doctrine of purgatory by many invincible passages and documents, I had also collected and added at the end of the book some account of the bad manner and wicked lives of certain ministers, who were well known to the parson himself, therefore Mr. Pounce ordered me to re-write the first part, and to omit the latter, before I gave it to him, because otherwise, he said, ‘It must needs be that you will incur the greatest trouble and persecution, so deeply have you touched their ministers.’ But when I arrived at my brother’s, who should salute me in the most cordial manner but the very parson himself, welcoming my return to my brother’s house, but with treacherous dissimulation and adulation, since before three weeks had passed he secretly procured the excommunication to issue against me, contrary, I believe, to the public law, which provides, if I am not mistaken, that no one shall be either presented or excommunicated before a full month’s residence in one place. And he publicly read it in his church and exulted over me with great triumph and haughtiness, saying that, if I happened to die when he was minister, he would not permit me to be buried either in his church or burial ground, and using many other such pestiferous words against me. My brother, on returning from the church, told me what the parson had done and said there. I replied that there was no need that he should thus act, because I have determined never to enter it as long as he is the minister. But soon after, when we were at dinner, one of my brother’s servants, who waited on him at table, with open mouth said to me, ‘Mr. Henry, you are anathematized and cursed by our minister, and out of the Church.’ ‘Not so, my friend,’ I replied. ‘Although I am out of your Church, I am not out of the Catholic Church. I hope also that his curse will be to

<sup>5</sup> The parson above mentioned.

me a blessing of God, since the cause is not mine, but God's. But,' I said, 'I fear that the curse may fall upon his own house and head. And I will give you sixpence if you will carry this my answer to your minister.' He, however, refused my money. But what happened immediately afterwards? I record the matter, wonderful but true, for the greater glory of God.

"On the very next Sunday it came to pass that the parson himself, in the same church and spot, hour and time, in which he had pronounced the excommunication against and had so triumphed over me, viz., at the place where he turned towards the people to read the Gospel, he began to grow sick, and having read the Gospel, immediately called his woman-servant to him, and ordered her without delay to prepare his bed for him; and one of the neighbours sitting near him and hearing him thus speak to the servant, observed it. From which bed he never arose alive. But the upshot of the thing is to be likewise noted and pondered, because at the time he excommunicated me, I was engaged in re-writing my little work on purgatory against him, but I had not as yet finished it; for, a day or two after being excommunicated, I took horse and visited some of my friends to whom I announced the fact of my excommunication. This caused me to be absent on that Sunday on which he fell sick. But the next day about sunset, before I had got half-a-mile from home, hearing the big bell toll, I asked a woman I met on the road, who was ill? 'I know not,' she said, 'except Mr. Godley, who was yesterday taken ill in the church, and we had no evening service in consequence.' On hearing this I immediately began to pray God for him (for I knew him to be a man whose life was stained with many enormous sins, besides his heresy) as for my own soul, with tears, as God knows; that He would deign, in this last moment of life, to grant him a contrite and penitent heart, and that, being convinced of the truth of the Catholic Church and of purgatory, he might, should it be pleasing to His Divine Majesty, find a place therein, and that thus his soul might thence ascend to heaven. This I resolved to accomplish, if possible, not only by prayers, but by personal exhortations. As soon, therefore, as I dismounted and entered my brother's house, I immediately asked him to go with me to his parson, for that I earnestly wished to try if I could do any good with him. My brother, by various arguments, but chiefly by two, dissuaded me from going to him. (1) Because his illness was an infec-

tious one very prevalent at the time ; (2) because the minister was unwilling to admit any neighbour to see him. For he was once a merchant, and had sustained so great a loss, that with all he possessed he could not pay his debts, and he fancied that his neighbours if admitted to see him would urge him to make a will, which, in consequence of his difficulties, would be inflicting an injury upon his wife, or any friend he might appoint his executors. Receiving this warning from my brother, I determined to defer the visit until the morrow. But he died that very night, before the dawn of day, and, according to the register of the place, was buried on the 1st of June. And so this unhappy minister, who had before denied me burial, was buried himself within ten days of his triumph over me. His wife also began to sicken on the 5th of June, and was the same length of time ill as her husband, and was buried on the 7th of the same month !

“A judgment of a similar kind happened to another minister not far off, who, having excommunicated a very old woman, a Catholic, pronouncing against her many wicked denunciations unworthy of a Christian man, a little time after was himself excommunicated from his own temple, and ‘cursed’ out of the Protestant church, and the sealed document affixed to the church door.

“I now come to my third tribulation suffered for God and the Church. After I was excommunicated, the common law began immediately to be put in force against me ; and because I did not attend at the sessions after fifteen months (according to the custom), I was publicly adjudicated upon and proclaimed an outlaw ; from which time, for each month that I absented myself from the Protestant church, I was obliged to pay £20 to the Queen’s Treasury. On which account since I came to England, for this offence (if offence it be) I now owe to our Queen £3,840 at the least, for it is thirteen or fourteen years since the law was put in force against me. My outlawry was proclaimed four times a year at the sessions.

“A fourth trouble was at the time when the great preparation of the Spanish fleet against England first became known and published. For at that time, viz., Ash Wednesday, nearly all the gentlemen and principal Catholics were summoned before commissioners and placed under the charge of ministers. Among these I was sent some eighteen or twenty miles distant, to a certain old and learned parson who had formerly been a priest, and was now married, a bachelor of theology

of thirty years' standing. I was detained in his custody for eleven months (and there experienced a vast difference between the house of the devil and his ministers, and that of Christ and His servants; for I never before witnessed such enormous wickedness in one small house, nor do I think that worse could be found among Turks) and at the same time under the power of other more severe commissioners, strangers to me, of whom the chief, a most brutal knight, was at that time made Provincial Knight Marshal, and so great were the powers conferred upon him by the higher authorities, that he could hang, or put to any other kind of death, any he choose of ours, without judge or jury. Before these men I, together with another person of rank, named William Brittain, who married the sister of Thomas Pounce, and was in the custody of another minister five miles from us, were very frequently summoned. But neither could their power or threats terrify us; and to the utmost of my ability I always defended the Catholic faith against them, and this in questions most difficult, and to me most dangerous, such as the Papal Authority and Supremacy; and I proved this so plainly, by such convincing and clear arguments and passages of Holy Scripture, that neither could the commissioners nor the learned minister, my keeper, to whom they always had recourse, either answer or gainsay me. Not me, I say, but the Lord my God, Who by me, and in me, spoke to them, according to His promise, 'As often as you shall be brought before kings and rulers for My holy Name, take no thought beforehand what ye shall speak, for not ye, but I will speak within you.'

"But when the vast Spanish fleet began to make its appearance they again summoned me before them, and ordered me to be confined to my room, which was a very small one, and which I was on no account, however urgent, to leave, nor was any one to be admitted to me (except only my keeper's servant to bring me my food), and so to remain until they summoned me again. They placed me under the strictest obligations to comply with these orders. And so, daily expecting death, with great joy and spiritual consolation, I never for the space of eight weeks put my foot outside the room door, except once when they sent for me. During this time they threatened me in every way, both with death and torture; and this my keeper dreaded much more than I did myself. The form of summons sent for me ran thus: viz., that my keeper

should carry me before the marshal, the knights, and other commissioners who waited for me, with all haste (the words used in the summons being 'with all haste, haste, post haste that might be'), as he himself, at his own peril, would have to answer to the Privy Council. I was then taken to the place appointed, viz., to a wide and open plain, where we found the marshal himself with many knights and justices of the peace and a large army of soldiers drawn up in battle array, and waiting near the sea-shore for the Spanish fleet. But as soon as my arrival was announced, they left the army and called my keeper before them, and conferred about me for a long time. But at length, either because my companion, William Brittain, was absent (for he, either with or without leave of his keeper, had gone home), or because my keeper had spoken more favourably of me and of my good conduct than I deserved, or because, probably of all others, on account of my great sins I was unworthy to arrive at so good and glorious an end for the honour of God, and my Saviour Jesus Christ, and the defence of His Church; at length, I say, they remanded me back again to my close imprisonment. But after the Spanish fleet was dispersed, I still remained in the same custody, though allowed greater liberty, until the feast of the Purification of our Lady, and at length they discharged me from this keeper, and placed me on parole with my brother.

"A fifth trouble. By the authority of the last Parliament but one I, with very many leading Catholics throughout England, was confined under recognisance, to a limit of five miles from my brother's house, unless by special licence under the seals of the bishop of the diocese and two local justices of the peace, under the severest penalties.

"My sixth and last trouble. I was very frequently summoned (among other Catholics generally) before the Bishop and a milder class of commissioners of our own neighbourhood, and who were known and familiar to me, to answer certain interrogatories. And here sometimes I put the Bishop himself in disputation to the blush, before the other commissioners and all the company. And I forced him openly to concede and confess the truth of things that were quite contrary to his own statements, to his religion, and to the Protestant Church. For the question between us was of the Holy Catholic and true Church of God, which St. Austin (in his book on the Unity of the Church) most clearly proved by the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms, the Acts of the

Apostles, the Evangelists, and by the mouth of our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, to have been begun when the Holy Ghost on the Day of Pentecost first descended on the Apostles, and from that day remains and grows even to the consummation of the world. The Bishop, though with a blush, conceded to me that this was most certain and true; for he was unable to deny it, since he appeared at some time to have read this book. But if I should have put to him this one single question, viz.: Whence the Protestant Church a hundred or two hundred years from hence sprung up? When or where indeed a single Protestant in the whole earth could be found? I wonder what the poor old silly Superintendent would have answered.<sup>6</sup> I fear that he certainly would have been excited against me, proceeding from blushes to heat, and from heat to anger, and perhaps rancour. I should however have thus interrogated him, had I not been otherwise forewarned by a friend and most pious Catholic, who had suffered much for his faith and the love of God. His name was John Tulke, who spent many years in the Marshalsea Prison, on which account God has been pleased to honour his and his wife's deaths by two or three miracles. He had been the last before me called before the Bishop and the Commissioners (for we were summoned fifty times or more into the hall of his palace, but he would only admit one at a time into the interior). Returning to me he thus addressed me: 'I was used in the most friendly manner by them, and they gave me the mildest words, and so, it seems, they treated the others before me; and they are willing to treat you in the same way, if you will be civil to them and not contend with them in disputations.' As he was speaking a messenger came for me, and I bid him good-bye. I reflected upon his advice whilst the above-mentioned questions were hanging upon my lips, and considering besides that many pious and learned Catholics, nay, some of them doctors themselves had preceded me, and had been well and amicably treated by them, I bridled my tongue and held in, consequently they treated me kindly and dismissed me. These are the few things, that I have suffered for the sake of God, His love, and the Catholic faith. But the enemy of the human race, who goeth about seeking whom he may devour, knew very well another method much more dangerous of drawing me into his clutches, than even persecution or death itself, if the Lord my God Himself had not of His infinite mercy had compassion upon me; such

<sup>6</sup> Protestant bishops were frequently called *Superintendents*.

as, for instance, the vanities and riches of this deceitful world, and the desires and delights of the proud flesh. By these temptations our old enemy draws many more after him than by means of persecution, which that excellent example in the book of Resolutions proves well<sup>7</sup> where it is said of the wind and sun acting upon the pilgrim, that the more furiously the wind by means of storms and tempests raged against the pilgrim, so much the tighter did he grasp his cloak; but the sun by his pleasant rays obliged him to open it. But when I lately read the history of Josephat and Bartram, concerning his temptations, I perceived my own portrayed. There was, however, this sole difference between me and Josephat; he overcame all in his youth, but I yielding to many of them have arrived to my shame at old age.

“But now, as to my brothers, sisters, and relations. As to my brothers, I have none living, for my fourth brother died some years ago, and leaving no will, his widow took all his property, but lived only sixteen months to enjoy it. I have only one sister living, who, persecuted for the faith in England, left her country for these parts fifteen years ago, and took the religious habit, and wore it for half a year, when, on account of her defective sight, from which she had suffered from a child, she was rejected, and is now married. Both she and her husband, on account of poverty, are compelled to live in the service of the noble Lady Hungerford at Louvain. I have cousins also, and their families, Protestants. Likewise other relatives, the daughters of the brother of my grandmother, and these are chiefly Catholic, the Tichbornes, the younger brother of whom is now at St. Omer’s College.

“Now, as to my intention and desire of embracing the religious state, and what I have always felt about it, and still feel. For many years I have most earnestly resolved and desired to make the religious vows. And I now equally desire whilst living here, and for all the rest of my life, to give up myself and all I have to Almighty God, my Creator, my Redeemer, and Sanctifier, the most holy and undivided Trinity, and to devote myself to Him in the religious state. And on this account (as also to gain the blessing of this holy year of Jubilee), have I left my country, my friends, and my estates. And I have preferred and chosen the state and vow of the Order of the Society of Jesus before all others, however holy, as I have before said. And in this determination I constantly

<sup>7</sup> Father Parsons’ *Christian Directory*.

remain, and in the same, because I have received the vocation, as I hope, by the inspiration of God Himself, I will ever persevere, unless and until I shall be refused by you on account of my little or rather no learning, talents, prudence, judgment, weakness, and age. But, otherwise, unless in the religious state, it never once indeed entered my mind to become a priest, because I always considered myself, on account of the excellency and dignity of the office, quite unworthy, for it is more easy to be ruled and governed than to rule and govern; nor do I dare to aspire to the sacerdotal vow unless by the advice of superiors and the obedience I owe to them. Wherefore, desiring to renounce the world, to deny myself and my own will, and to embrace and accomplish the will of God my Saviour, from the bottom of my heart, I commit and commend myself and the whole course of my life to the obedience of the Reverend Father Rector of this College,<sup>8</sup> in the place of God, to be ruled by his counsel to the honour and greater service of God."

The following extract from the Annual Letters of the English College, Rome, shows that this excellent man became a priest, though not a Jesuit, after a very short course at the College, and returned at once to his native land.

"1600, 1601. A certain person [whose name does not appear], aged forty-six, and of high birth, having sold his patrimony, was ordained priest. While he lived in England he suffered much for the orthodox religion. The following fact is truly worthy of commemoration, viz., that he was once on a Sunday publicly cursed and excluded from the assemblage of Christians, or, as we say, publicly excommunicated (for the heretics still retain some imitation of ecclesiastical censure), by a Calvinist minister of the parish, before a large congregation." [The facts of the minister's and his wife's deaths are then briefly recorded.] "England now possesses this priest, a truly valuable labourer in her harvest."

We do not trace the date of the Rev. Henry Chaderdon's death. He may have died in exile, for he was seized and committed to prison before 1606, and his name is recorded in a list given in the Douay Diary of forty-seven priests, secular and religious, who were sent into perpetual banishment from various prisons in that year. This list is also copied by Bishop Challoner in his *Memoir of Missionary Priests*.

<sup>8</sup> Father Robert Parsons.

*Eighth Series.*



I.

THOMAS POUNDE OF BELMONT.

II.

GEORGE GILBERT OF SUFFOLK.

III.

FATHER THOMAS DARBYSHIRE.



## THOMAS POUNDE OF BELMONT.

THOMAS POUNDE was one of the most glorious confessors of the faith in England, pregnant as his time was with noble champions of the Church. His biography illustrates the merciless and systematic ferocity with which the persecution was carried out by the professors of the reformed religion, whatever their social position, against those who held the Catholic faith of our forefathers, and the terrible afflictions of every kind, in person and property, which were borne by them with such marvellous patience and long-suffering.

The following biography will embrace two points :

1. The personal history of the confessor, gathered from such sources as Father Bartoli's *Istoria S.J. d'Inghilterra*; Father Tanner's *Apostolorum Imitatrix*, and Father Henry More's *Historia Provinciæ Anglicanæ S.J.*, &c., &c.

2. An account of his connection with Father Edmund Campian and Father Robert Parsons, to whom, and to the Catholic cause generally, he rendered such great assistance; a copy of his famous *Six Reasons*; and also some interesting letters and papers written by him, which have been procured from the State Papers in the Public Record Office, having found their way into that collection from the Sheriff of Wilts, the county in which they were seized.

The history of Thomas Pounce, undoubted as are the facts contained in it, reads more like a tale of fiction than a description of real life. When we consider his wonderful conversion, his long and painful imprisonment of thirty years, his removal from dungeon to dungeon no fewer than ten or eleven different times, the extreme severity exercised towards him, together with the severest self-imposed corporal austerities, his undaunted courage in facing every adversary, his petitioning for admission and his reception into the Society of Jesus when in prison, in 1579, his whole religious life there, until 1602-3, when, being released upon the accession of James I., he was, by order of his Superiors, sent to his paternal mansion at

Belmont, and, last of all, his death, in the very same room in which, seventy-six years before, he had first seen the light of day; these events seem rather the product of clever invention than the sober and truthful record of simple facts. With regard to Mr. Pounce's position in the Society of Jesus, as he had received a liberal education, partly at Winchester College and partly in London, where he studied civil law to prepare himself for the Bar, and was besides naturally a man of considerable talent, good wit, and ready speech, it may be presumed that, under ordinary circumstances, his Superiors would have designed him for the degree of the priesthood. But a long and unbroken imprisonment rendered this quite impossible, and so either the temporal coadjutors must claim the honour of possessing this faithful confessor, or he must be regarded as a scholastic awaiting an opportunity of being advanced to the priesthood. We can imagine his making his vows of religion to Father Weston, *alias* Edmonds, when confined in Wisbeach Castle with him. He may also have found occasional opportunities of making the accustomed renovation of vows to our Fathers of the Society, or to other priests he met with in some of the various prisons, and he may even have taken his solemn vows in this manner, though there is no record of the fact. One thing he certainly secured—a good noviceship.

Mr. Richard Simpson concludes a valuable "Biographical Sketch of Thomas Pounce," in the *Rambler*, vol. ii. 1857, with the following remark: "Though our biography of Thomas Pounce has extended to a considerable length, it is a mere nothing in comparison of what might still, we believe, be collected concerning him. Bartoli has seen a book in fifty chapters compiled from Pounce's journals of daily occurrences during the thirty years of his imprisonment. His graphic and lively letters were scattered about among all his friends; and if they could be collected they would form one of the most ample treasures of the English Catholics from 1575 to 1615 that could be even hoped for. We imagine that many must be still extant in the archives of the Jesuits in Italy, and in the public libraries of France and Belgium, or wherever documents formerly belonging to the English Colleges are now stored up."

## PART I.

Among the companions who followed Father Parsons into the Society was Giles Gallop, who died soon after his admission, being allowed to take his simple vows when dying. Bombinus has made a mistake in counting Brother Giles Gallop among those who were distinguished either by death for the faith, or by great labours undertaken for Christ in England. This honour, on the contrary, is due to Thomas Pounce, who is sometimes found concealing himself under the assumed name of Gallop, Wallop, Duke, and Harrington.<sup>1</sup>

Whilst Father Campian at Prague, and Father Parsons at Rome, are engaged, the one in the study of piety and divine wisdom, the other in the office of teaching, it will be opportune to revisit England for a little, and to behold, in the person of this good soldier of Christ, as well the obstinate fury of the heretics against the Catholics as the unshaken constancy of their victims; for nothing can be more striking than the pertinacity of the former in inflicting, and the patient perseverance of the latter in enduring all manner of vexations. It was a true loftiness of mind which led others, nothing alarmed by all this virulence, to come forward with magnanimous hearts and meet similar sufferings; nay, even after the pertinacious hunting down of one man for thirty years, neither heretical fury was abated, nor Catholic constancy weakened.<sup>2</sup>

God, by a most special privilege, would prepare for the Society in England the especial home wherein she should be born; and this was no other than the public prisons, and, singularly enough, those of the Tower of London and Castle of Wisbeach, the most renowned of all of them. And those who, by being confined in these prisons for the Catholic faith, were to take possession of them in our name, were men of holy life, who, though they had as yet never seen our habit, and had learnt solely by report of our Institute, our life, and our works, yet demanded and obtained in the very prisons admission to our Order. Thus we find the Society in England as a sure prognostic of what was to follow, born in prison,

<sup>1</sup> More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* vol. ii. n. 14, p. 44. In the terrible times of the open persecution of Catholics, priests were compelled constantly to change not only their places of abode and dress, but their names also. Father Henry Garnett had at least six or eight *aliases*.

<sup>2</sup> More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* vol. ii. n. 16, pp. 44, 45.

growing up amidst chains, exercised in various torments, and within a brief space meet to appear publicly on the malefactor's hurdle beneath the gallows, where, before and after death, her sons preached with loud voice and attested by their blood, in the midst of large multitudes of hearers and spectators, the truth of the Catholic faith. And, to speak truly, there is no College of ours, however numerous, however highly esteemed in learning and in religious observance, or in any other regard, that has not just reason to feel somewhat envious that our seven English Jesuits, with Campian at their head, were all formed in the cells of the Tower of London, till they had attained the best dispositions for the happy lot of most of them, in dying for the Catholic faith.<sup>3</sup>

Thomas Pounce was born at Belmont, twelve miles from Winchester, on the 29th of May, 1539. His parents were William Pounce, Esq., a wealthy country gentleman, and Anne Wriothesley, sister of Thomas, Earl of Southampton, who appears to have been godfather to his little nephew.

His early years, until his twenty-third, were spent in the usual study of humanities at the College of Our Lady of Winchester. From thence, going to London, he prepared himself for forensic fame and distinction by the study of the law. It is hard to say in which of her gratuitous gifts nature was most bountiful to him—the mental or the corporal. He appeared, indeed, more graced in each advancing period of his life and growth, as was observed in his height, and in the strength and development of his limbs, which made him vigorous and active. He delighted and excelled in all gymnastic and corporal exercises, and even in more advanced life, when quite grey haired, he was a man of commanding and venerable aspect; qualities which helped to make him no little favourite with men of high rank. He was richly furnished, also, with all the other gifts of mind that become an accomplished cavalier, being brave, self-possessed, most courteous, of exceedingly polished manners, generous in spending money, an eloquent speaker, and of ready wit. Upon the occasion of a solemn reception of Queen Elizabeth at Winchester College, he addressed her Majesty, with great applause, in a compli-

<sup>3</sup> Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, t. i. l. i. cap. xiv. p. 106. Edit. 1825. These seven members of the Society were, Father Thomas Cottam, martyr; Father Thomas Mettam, who died at Wisbeach; Thomas Pounce; Father Edmund Campian, martyr; Alexander Briant, martyr; together with James Bosgrave and John Hart, who were condemned to death with Father Campian, but were reprieved and banished.

mentary ode which he had himself composed. In the art of Latin verse, too, he had attained a considerable degree of excellence.

Shortly after becoming, on the death of his father, the master of his own acts and expenditure, eagerly desiring to succeed at Court, he fell into unpardonable excesses, squandering his paternal estates on vain pleasures and projects, which he saw pleased the Queen, and showed he was not to be outdone by others. No one can be surprised at this in Elizabeth's reign, considering the luxury in which she herself indulged, and into which she delighted to draw others, encouraging in her Court those gay and attractive amusements, in which Pounce himself was so calculated to shine.

He was so careless about his soul that, although a Catholic at heart, he outwardly professed the Queen's religion, in order to gain a better footing at Court. The means employed by God, the Father of all, for suddenly bringing back to the right way so wretched a wanderer, was an admirable proof of His compassion, for, that He might win him to the path of eternal salvation and of those great merits which he afterwards attained, He turned to Divine account those very follies by which this silly youth was doing his best to bring himself to perdition.

From Christmas Day until Epiphany, in the year 1569,<sup>4</sup> the Court held its usual high festivities. Magnificent plays, comedies, concerts, dances, and other games, under the direction of Pounce himself, were the order of the day. There were assembled here the flower of the nobility and of the youth of London, and no small space within the palace was occupied both by the spectators and performers; the one thought and desire being to spend as much money as each one could afford, since he who excelled in this was most honoured by the Queen. Pounce was the lucky one of the number in

<sup>4</sup> Bartoli gives this date, and in support of it cites the letter of Pounce, written on June 3, 1609, and inserted by us further on. Father More makes it 1564, which is, perhaps, a misprint, as Father More himself represents Pounce to be thirty years of age on his retiring from the Court to Belmont, 1569. Mr. Simpson, in his biographical sketch of Pounce, also adopts the date 1564. He adds that "Pounce himself had composed the masque, in which he was the chief actor; and that his discomfiture seems to have disarmed the jealousy which Leicester had conceived probably from the adventure of the cap, for he extended his patronage to the young courtier, whom we find at Kenilworth Castle during the Queen's visit there in 1565, the year after, acting the part of Mercurius in an interlude, and offering his own poetical effusions as a present to her Majesty." As Pounce did not leave the Court in disgust till 1569, the allusion to the disarming of Leicester's jealousy cannot apply to the period of the Queen's visit to Kenilworth.

the year 1569, being doubly acceptable to the Queen, both on account of his lavish expenditure and his gracefulness in dancing; so much, indeed, did he surpass others in youth, good looks, and skill, that few were willing to compete with him in the dance. He concluded one of his most wonderful performances by balancing himself in the air at full height on tiptoe; he then spun round like a top, as often and as rapidly as his strength could last without growing giddy or losing his balance. This exploit he performed with such nimbleness and agility, that the whole theatre resounded with shouts of applause. Out of courtesy the Queen herself with uncovered hand seized that of Pounce, and snatching the costly cap of the Earl of Leicester, put it upon Mr. Pounce's head lest he should catch cold, heated and fatigued as he was by his violent exertions. The reward of his triumph was now to crown him, for the Queen, after he had rested himself, invited him to repeat the same dance. In compliance he spun round on tiptoe more nimbly than ever, when he was seized with sudden giddiness, and fell prostrate on the ground. Applause was at once changed into shouts of laughter and derision; but far more wounding to his feelings was the conduct of the Queen, who, instead of offering her hand to raise him up, in seeming anger for this cloud cast on the festivity, pushed him with her foot, uttering the sarcastic words, "Rise, Sir Ox,"<sup>5</sup> and then turning round, joined the rest in their laughter, to his very great confusion. Stung by her words he indeed rose, but as he lifted himself up on one knee, with face bent toward the ground he repeated to himself, in tones which others could hear, the words, *Sic transit gloria mundi*—"So passeth away the glory of the world." Hurrying then from the royal presence, he very shortly afterwards left London, deserting for ever the Court and its fallacious hopes, from which he had reaped only the fitting reward of its vanities, in a wasted patrimony and outraged religion. He retired to his paternal mansion at Belmont, and buried himself in solitude. Pondering over the bitter fruits of obsequious slavery to the world he blamed himself as the most foolish of men, and felt how much more wisely he would have acted had he consecrated to God, and to the affairs of eternity and of the salvation of his own

<sup>5</sup> This expression referred undoubtedly to the ceremony of creating a knight, in which the sovereign, placing a sword on the shoulder of the kneeling subject, exclaims, "Rise, Sir so and so." The Queen's object was to humiliate Mr. Pounce by showing her annoyance at his failure, and implying his awkwardness.

soul, the talents which, in contempt of God and to the injury of religion and of his own soul, he had abused to court the favour of the Queen. From hence he conceived great self-confusion and horror, and made so true and firm a resolution of amendment, that during the forty-four years that followed the age of thirty which he had then reached, he was altogether a different man. Before all things, therefore, he procured to be reconciled to God and the Church, making restitution by the most fervent penance for his shameful denial of both before the eyes of the Court, by simulating the heresy of the Queen. He exchanged his paternal mansion for the private house of a Catholic citizen, in which for rather more than two years he practised the solitude of a hermit, giving himself to prayer, self-examination, and austerity of life, heedless what others either thought or said of him, and of his adopted manner of life, yet suffering much from his friends, and in himself too, ere he had fully habituated himself to solitude, charity, neglect of the necessaries of life, and to many other acts of severity and mortification. He bound himself by vow to practise perpetual chastity, and to offer himself for the priesthood, after striving to become more worthy of it by a seven years' probation in the exercise of all pious works.

It was at this time that he sought entrance into the Society of Jesus, being especially attracted to it by its refusal of ecclesiastical dignities, its vow of obedience, and its devotion to the Holy See. He had also read letters from our Fathers in the Indies, giving an account of their labours and sufferings, and the numerous conversions of those barbarous idolaters to the faith, whom God in His mercy had drawn to Himself. The reading of these letters greatly increased his desire of entering the Society, and of devoting himself wholly to it, as a servant and son.

It is to this date that we must refer the events related of him by Father Thomas Stephens (of whom more hereafter) in his petition to Father General Mercurianus in 1578, for Pounce's admission into the Society. Sometimes, for several hours in the day, his fervent spirit led him to visit his neighbour abroad, reserving the night for his prayers, and remitting nothing of his accustomed austerities. In helping Protestants he would make it a point to endeavour to withdraw them from their personal antipathy to himself, and their accustomed injustice towards Catholics, joining at the same time, with the grace of God, his own particular talent

of speaking and power of persuasion ; he thus raised many that were fallen and vacillating, and re-established them in the ancient faith.

Whilst Pounce was thus burning with zeal for saving souls, Father Henry Alvarez, on his return into England from Rome, related to him many things regarding the Institute of the Society, and had not his aged mother, who yet survived, been an obstacle, he would have given away his property to the poor, which otherwise would have been confiscated to the Treasury on his departure, and would instantly have embarked for Rome, to join the Novitiate of the Society.

Meanwhile God sent him one who from being a companion soon became a very close and dear friend, a youth named Thomas Stephens, born in the diocese of Salisbury. I do not know, says Father More from whom we are quoting, whether he also, like Pounce, was inflamed with a desire to enter the Society through reading the accounts of our Indian missions, but we find him a little later sailing to the East, where for forty years he was engaged in apostolic and most meritorious labours in the neighbourhood of Goa, bringing those blind idolaters to acknowledge the truths of the Gospel, and forming amongst them one of the largest and most pious Christian congregations that flourished in those parts of India. He was a member of a respectable family well known to Pounce, who gave him an asylum in his house, and treated him as his equal ; but for the greater safety of both they agreed that Mr. Pounce should appear abroad as the master, and Stephens in the habit and employ of his servant. This they did as a blind to the Protestants, who watched with a thousand eyes the footsteps of well dressed Catholics, that they might arrest such as seemed to be in good circumstances, and enrich themselves out of their substance.

Pounce and his companion lived together for nearly two years, when, impatient of further delay in accomplishing their desires they resolved to leave their affairs to chance, and break through all the hindrances that were keeping them back. Collecting together what ready money they could raise by the sale of such things as they had at hand, they held themselves in readiness to seize the first good opportunity of secretly leaving England, with a select band of youths whom Pounce had gained to God and the Society. Nay, further, he had determined, if he got over to the neighbouring port of Calais, that he would more than double that number, to which end

he spent two or three months in France and Flanders searching out the flower of the English youth that were there; and that, after collecting those whom Providence should give him, he would conduct them to Rome at his own expense, and there offer himself and them to the General of the Society as his children and subjects.

Departing for London in order to arrange affairs and remove all hindrances to their embarkation, compassion toward his host, who was a friend of his, delayed him some time there that he might convert him from heresy, and give some time to discussion with him; but his friend's obstinacy led to serious results. Pounce at length determined to embark from the Thames at daybreak the next morning on his proposed voyage. But while man proposes, God disposes; and in this instance it was not to be as our confessor had planned, for it pleased God to ordain that the very man in whose house they were should be the means of committing him to his dreadful imprisonment of thirty years!

On that same evening Pounce was summoned by an officer of the Bishop of London, Sandys, to render an account of the manner in which he was observing the Queen's laws,<sup>6</sup> though no crime was charged against him, no accusation was made, nor proof given of any violation of them. Pounce followed his conductor to prison, with a countenance as calm and a courage as great as though he were still leaving for Italy.

When referring to this wonderful equanimity of our glorious confessor, Father Bartoli draws attention to the fact of his being thus completely cut off, within one night of its accomplishment, from that hope of offering himself as a member to the Society, which he had been cherishing for four years. How fervent that desire was, Pounce himself manifested, on a subsequent occasion, when after already pining for two years in prison, and after being tortured with such extraordinary cruelty that his body was reduced to a wretched condition, he declared to our Father General that all his sufferings were as nothing in comparison with his interior grief at seeing himself still deprived of the grace of being one of his sons, though sighing after it now for six years.

Pounce, nevertheless, foresaw that he would incur death if they seized upon his writings against the heretics and the Queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, which he carried with him in his bag. The real cause of his imprisonment

<sup>6</sup> Sandys committed him to prison on this occasion.

seems to have been the directions which he gave to Catholics that they should resolutely refuse heretical communion, especially in the episcopal city of Winchester, whither he frequently made excursions, encouraging with great zeal the recusants in their refusal—to this chief cause may be added a suspicion that he intended to leave England for Catholic countries, a matter which the episcopal treasury was greatly interested in discovering, as it would lead to the confiscation of Pounce's estate, and to the enriching of the said treasury.

The friend before-mentioned was so moved by the incredible constancy of his former guest that, after the failure of all Mr. Pounce's previous arguments, now one special appeal alone, strengthened by the noble example of Catholic generosity presented by his friend, persuaded him with his wife and whole family to be reconciled to the Church. We may imagine how great consolation this caused in him to whom he owed this grace.

In addition to the slight suspicions at first entertained against Mr. Pounce, new accusations and strong proofs were now produced. In prison he was for a long time assailed by the bland and courteous speeches of the Bishop, who offered to release him if he would, for the satisfaction of the public, really show himself once at church and be present at a Protestant sermon. With great prudence he returned him calm and civil answers, candidly saying, "If I cannot recover my liberty otherwise than by offending God, I am firmly resolved that my soul shall rather be torn from my body, than that my body shall go forth from prison on such terms."<sup>7</sup>

As the result of this noble reply, he was detained in prison for six months. He was then liberated on bail through the intervention of his relative, the Earl of Southampton, who became his surety that he would not leave the country, nor interfere with affairs of religion, but would confine himself to his house at Belmont, ever ready to appear at once when cited within twenty days. The condition of this recognizance was faithfully kept, except in one point above all others distasteful to the adversary, for he never ceased to enlighten with the truths of faith those blinded by the errors of heresy, and to confirm any Catholics whom he found wavering. He associated to himself as companions in his

<sup>7</sup> This imprisonment must have been in 1574, and was Pounce's first incarceration.

labours and merits, George Cotton, Henry Udall,<sup>8</sup> and some other gentlemen residing near Belmont. Father More also mentions at this period a case of exorcism of a certain merchant who lived in the hamlet of St. Mark, named Whitlock, who was possessed by an evil spirit, and had desired privately to be freed by the prayers of the Church, to whom Pounce hastened, fortified with relics of the saints, and with whom he piously discoursed upon the power of the Church against evil spirits, and of the necessity of firmly retaining the right faith. This fact having got wind, and being reported to London, hastened on Pounce's final apprehension.<sup>9</sup>

After he had been for sixteen months at liberty engaged in pious works, Horne, the Protestant Bishop of Winchester, under whose jurisdiction our confessor was, ordered him to be seized and sent to prison, together with the other Catholic gentlemen, his companions, who, to a considerable number, were men of known respectability and probity of life. He summoned these to appear before him, after first sending to them the treacherous warning that too great freedom of speech during their examination would only injure the cause of the Roman religion in general, and themselves also in particular. Deceived by this stratagem they remained silent during his civilly-worded address of admonitions, instructions, insults, blasphemies, self-laudations, and whatever else came to his tongue. Being at length tired of speaking, he remanded them to prison, bragging to all that he had, by force of his authority and the strength of his reasoning, rendered them mute and ashamed of themselves, so that they had not the courage to utter a word before him. The assembled court insolently and contumaciously called them "dumb Catholic dogs," attributing

<sup>8</sup> In *Records*, vol. i. pp. 84, 85, a Mrs. Udall is mentioned as having been killed at the terrible calamity at the Blackfriars. Gee's list of "Popish booksellers," London, in the Appendix to the same volume of *Records*, gives a bookseller of that name. The family of Udalls—or, as they are now called, Uvedales—were of Wickham, Hants, and much connected with the Pounces, Cottons, and other Catholic families. Dame Mary, O.S.B., of St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, says that some of the Udalls retired to Antwerp, and in 1686 the daughter of James Udall of that city was professed at the Benedictine Convent, Brussels as Dame Mary Anne. She was born in 1651.

<sup>9</sup> The case is alluded to in a letter or narrative of Thomas Pounce detailing his sufferings and grievances, given at the end of the first part of this biography. The narrative was addressed by him to King James, and he remarks that he was imprisoned for this act, by Sandys the Bishop, in the Marshalsea during several months, calling it his second imprisonment, and that he was released upon bond and sent to his mother's house in Hampshire.

their silence to the weakness of their cause and their own ignorance. But the prisoners, now informed by the Catholics of the bishop's treachery, were eager to recover on the first opportunity the ground which had been thus lost. Being again brought up, the bishop had scarcely begun to speak when Pounce, taking the word from his mouth, refuted by arguments taken from Vincent of Lerins, the false and malicious statements made by Horne to the prejudice of the Roman Catholic faith, upholding at the same time Vincent as the champion of the Catholic cause, and the great adversary of the heretics. A multitude of spectators of all degrees, both Catholic and Protestant were present, as many indeed as the large court could hold, having been drawn thither by the report of these proceedings, and curious to see so many personages of rank standing there as criminals, and held up to ridicule by a man below the ordinary stamp, such as were most of the Protestant bishops at that period.

Now, when Horne found himself in a dilemma between the necessity of replying to points on which he was ignorant, or remaining silent and disgraced before so numerous a court, he turned aside from the question; and, pretending to be led off by zeal and the duty of sustaining the dignity of his position, he broke out into insults, and turned upon Pounce such a torrent of abuse as a thoroughly enraged man alone could utter. The prisoner was, on the contrary, as composed in countenance as he was in soul, and, seeming not to know that the storm was meant for him, mildly begged of the bishop an answer to his argument, urging his request in the name of the rest who drew courage from his example. The Catholics were loud in their applause, while the heretics even, by more than whispers, expressed their astonishment at the bishop's malice. Horne became like one demented, and without knowing himself what he said, uttered his words incoherently and indistinctly, as if choking; so that it appeared as though a number of spirits had taken possession of him, and were all sending forth their discordant sounds out of one and the same mouth. The prisoners never again appeared before him, either at that or any subsequent time, as the bishop, taught wisdom at his own cost, after sending them for a couple of months to suffer in different prisons, that he might avoid any further contest with Mr. Pounce, handed him and the rest over to the secular arm, and the judges being doubtful as to the Queen's wishes regarding the Catholic laymen in general,

remanded them to a prison in London. This prison was the Marshalsea, as appears by a list of prisoners there given in the State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cxl. n. 40. "Prisoners in the Marshalsea, Thomas Pounce, Gent., sent in by a warrant from the Bishhop of Winchester for Papistry, the xith of Marche, ano. 1576."<sup>10</sup>

Of what happened to Mr. Pounce in the various prisons in which he accomplished his continued martyrdom of thirty years, he is stated by Father Bartoli to have left behind him some precious recollections in a daily journal of fifty chapters, which has probably been lost.<sup>11</sup> We proceed to notice how God was pleased to strengthen His servant in preparation for his long martyrdom, giving him fresh courage and consoling him by the bestowal of the greatest favour he could desire upon earth, namely his admission into the Society of Jesus and the religious life of our Novitiates and Colleges, as far as could be practised in his various prisons, and ultimately in his own house at Belmont. In 1575, he sent his friend Stephens to Rome, there to lay before the Father General his long cherished desire, and his humble petition to be admitted amongst his sons. He prayed his Paternity "not to refuse this favour because he was far away and unknown, seeing that when called by God to the Society, though known to the General only by report, he had at the time given him reasons for choosing it; he begged that the Society would not refuse him, though unknown to it otherwise than by the account Stephens had given; and, should it ever happen that he became his subject, and could get his foot out of prison and out of England, his Paternity would see him kneeling at his feet. As to the rest, the last of all in the love of a son, he was, in the obedience of a subject, indeed amongst the first; and, should it please God to honour him so far as to permit him to die for the confession of the faith, which could not be far off, it were but just that he should be in death, as he was in life, wholly his." With this good embassage Stephens arrived in Rome, his loyalty to his dear friend, and his fidelity to him as his servant, leave us no room to doubt that he duly laid the case before the Father General,

<sup>10</sup> Thomas Pounce, in his said narrative, calls this his "fifth removing" or imprisonment, and that he was "up by myself to the Marshalsea," and there kept for five years. We should rather call it the fourth actual imprisonment. Pounce, in his narrative, calls his few hours' detention at Ludlow his "first imprisonment and the shortest of all other, but for one forenoon's space." Thomas Pounce remained a close prisoner in the Marshalsea for four years and a half, until September 17, 1580.

<sup>11</sup> See Introduction, p. 568.

although, for whatever cause, without success as regards Pounce's petition. Stephens was more fortunate in conducting his own cause, which was similar to that of his patron, and he pleaded it so efficaciously as to obtain permission to be enrolled among the novices at St. Andrea, on October 20 of the same year, 1575.

Three years later, upon fresh and more cogent entreaties on the part of Pounce, Stephens presented in writing to the same Reverend Father General so admirable and well attested an account of the life, the virtues, and the other remarkable qualities of Pounce which especially fitted him for admission into the Society, that within a few days his petition was granted, and in his peculiar case he was dispensed from the ordinary requisitions of the Society. The following is the translation of this second petition, the original of which is in the Public Record Office, Brussels, a copy of it being contained in the *Collectio Cardwelli*, vol. i. p. 16, Stonyhurst College. This interesting document deserves to be given in full, although some apology must be made for a few occasional repetitions of facts, which have been recorded by the historians from whom this life has been partly compiled, and which cannot well be erased without interfering with the sequence of the narrative.

I.H.S. *sit nobis* I.H.S.

*The Petition of Mr. Thomas Pounce to the Very Reverend Father General of the Society of Jesus, with a testimonial of his life and conversation.*

Rev. Father in Christ,—Your Paternity knows by name Mr. Thomas Pounce, an Englishman, distinguished by his relationship to the Earl of Southampton; who, when twelve years ago, being summoned by the Queen to Court, enjoyed great influence and favour with her Majesty, and was detained there in promoting Court plays, games, and dances, and other such like worldly vanities.

After a few years the Divine mercy efficaciously operated in him, and, led by a singular spirit of penitence, he withdrew from the Court and all its concerns, to the house of a certain relation of his far away, where remaining in concealment during two years, he atoned for his past life in pious reading, in watchings, and prayers. But shortly after, without remitting anything of his penitential practices, though mixing somewhat more freely in society, he gave such example and proof of the effects of the truth that he gained many souls, devoting himself to that mode of life, by which he could the better and more effectually employ himself in the service of God and the good of his neighbour.

In consequence of reading letters of ours from the Indies, and hearing the good fame of the Society, he resolved, after consulting with Father Henry Alvarez, an English priest of the Society, and a former pupil of Rev. Father Toletto [afterwards

Cardinal] who had then just arrived from Rome, to proceed thither and enter the Society. He therefore converted into cash, for pious uses, all the property at his disposal, in the lifetime of his mother, intending to follow with regard to his inheritance whatever course the Superiors of the Society should ordain. When he was on the point of accomplishing this design, he was recognized by the heretics, as we shall narrate in its proper place, and being apprehended and cast into prison, was thus deprived of all hope of liberty and prevented from going to Rome.

He begs of your paternity that as he has for so many years had it in his heart and desire to enter the Society, although he cannot now get out of prison, you will be satisfied with such his desire and endeavour, and although absent and unknown, having regard to the longing after and zeal for souls that is in him, you will be pleased to admit him to the Society.

I also, Thomas Stephens, your paternity's unworthy son, humbly beg this favour for my said master, conjointly with whom for two years, more or less, in the world, I entertained this same intention, of both of us going to Rome and giving ourselves up to the Society. Being well acquainted with his life and conversation, I have noted the following facts—When I first turned my thoughts to the Society of Jesus, Divine Providence so ordained it that I should become acquainted with the said Mr. Pounce; and although when out of doors I assumed the character of his servant, a position better suited to my means, and chiefly useful as a blind to the inquisitive Protestants, yet indoors I lived on terms of equality as his guest; except so far as concerns the austerities which his more fervent desire of living to God led him to exercise upon himself.

*In primis*—as to what relates to his person and estate. He is the only son and heir of his father, a Catholic, but his mother being still alive as yet enjoys the paternal mansion and estates which fell to him at his father's death. He is thirty-eight years of age, of a tall and handsome figure, a flowing beard, and a pleasing countenance. In the prison he dresses most handsomely, thinking thus to inspire Catholics with greater courage, and also to conciliate the authorities. He has not yet made his philosophy, but is well up in his humanities, and wonderfully devoted to the study of the holy Fathers. He is eloquent in his native tongue, and equally fluent in speaking and writing, and much practised in the art of exhortation and persuasion. While we lived together, he often requested me to promote this his affair to the best of my power whenever the occasion should offer; afterwards repeating the same in the letters which I hear he sent to my brothers and to others. For the greater part of the time I lived with him, I mention only what I have myself witnessed, he used to impose severe austerities upon himself; the ground being his miserable bed; he spent one hour at midnight in prayer, with great spiritual gust, and followed this by spiritual reading at daybreak. He would then resume his meditation for two, three, or four hours, and spend the rest of the day in reading the holy Fathers, giving two or three hours to prayer again in the evening. The heretics reported him as a superstitious fool or a madman; his domestics, and even some of his friends thought the same of him, saying that he was imprudently severe against himself. But all this he courageously disregarded, and persevered in his manner of life, till they were forced to change their reproaches into admiration.

As often as the opportunity allowed, he went to confession and received Holy Communion on all Sundays and festivals, also frequently during the week, and he was the cause of others doing the same, for it was his habit to complain to his friends that Catholics, while incurring so small a risk to their temporal interests, yet as it seemed to him, standing in such great peril of their souls, so seldom frequented those Divine mysteries.

The episcopal city of Winchester lay not far distant from his house. Happening to hear that many poor Catholic recusants, as the heretics call all who refused fellowship with them, lay concealed there, and that a certain aged priest also dwelt in that city, but seldom said Mass, and still more seldom gave Communion to others, he quickly betook himself to them, examined into their state and mode of life, provided dinner for them after Mass and Holy Communion, and giving alms to the priest exhorted him to celebrate more regularly for the purpose of communicating the Catholics. A little after the returning fairs, he would at no small expense buy a large stock of cheese, and distribute two or three of these to each of the poor people, stipulating that if they did not choose to respond with greater fervour to the Divine privilege, and the grace bestowed upon them, they might regard this as done out of friendship.

It afforded him wonderful joy and consolation of soul when at times he beheld twelve or sixteen young men of rank, whom he had collected together, hearing the Mass which he had secretly procured to be said in his private oratory, and going to Holy Communion along with him.

He was so assiduous in almsgiving, that besides the daily occasions of charity, which he sought out with wonderful zeal, he would esteem it a favour if any one gave him information of a Catholic labouring under distress; having always on his lips those words of St. Paul, *Maxime erga domesticos fidei*—‘Especially towards the household of faith.’ Hence, reckoning as nothing what he was himself able to do, he would most earnestly beg from any of his more wealthy friends alms for the suffering or incarcerated Catholics, with whom the prisons in London were crowded. I remember his once composing an entire treatise addressed as a thank-offering to a Catholic friend, in which he expressed his opinion that almsgiving often benefits heretics themselves, since by softening their hearts, their ears are more readily opened to the truth. This treatise he sent for perusal to his most Catholic relation, the Earl of Southampton, who without comparison was then the most illustrious and leading Catholic in England, and a great supporter of the faithful.

I must not omit an arrangement made by him, which, although it could not be carried out, was a strong proof of his love of, and great drawing to the Society. Immediately after his apprehension, when he was still ignorant of what the judges would decide regarding him, he was so composed in mind as to set about making his will, in which, besides the rest of his property, which he desired to be distributed amongst the poor imprisoned Catholics, he gave £300 to that House or College of the Society in which I might then be, so strong was his hope that, if it were possible, he should some day be received into it.

He daily strove to reconcile enemies; to convert heretics to the true faith, and schismatics to a sincere profession of Catholic faith and practice; and in this he had such success that within a

few months, even while prisoners, nearly twenty persons of both sexes and of various ages and conditions in life, were converted by his labours from schismatical tepidity to Catholic piety, and to the bosom of the holy Roman Church.

At this period, being now relieved from prison, in the renewed hope of being able in a short time to make his intended journey, he resolved to unite the rest of his companions in spending with him some days in prayer and fasting, that he might more auspiciously and with greater fervour enter upon so important a work. I heard him say that he had intended to pass two or three months in Flanders and France, and if he could there pick up young men of good promise, and of his own kind, he would take them with him to Rome at his own expense, and offer them, along with himself, to the Society. He entertained strong hopes of being able to convert a certain heretic in London, deeming it a thing very grateful to God, and likely to bring more blessing on his undertaking if, pending the necessary arrangements for his journey, he could by the way effect this good work. He spent the night, as he thought with all secrecy, in the house of the Protestant, busy in exhorting and instructing him; but all his labours and pains were thrown away, and with this idea he prepared to leave the house the following day, when, lo! he was unexpectedly apprehended by the pursuivants, taken before the pseudo-Bishop of London, and by him committed to prison.

His courage of soul on this occasion was remarkable, for when he was cut off from so great a hope of his journey, and exposed to such manifest danger of life, for many writings and pamphlets were found upon him by which the heretics would be able to convict him of high treason, yet was he nothing alarmed, nothing changed, but wished all to be referred *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, and to the honour of the Catholic Church, testifying that he, and all that belonged to him, depended upon the Divine Will and Providence. This tended to confirm him in the esteem and good opinion of many, who in the former times never remembered to have observed in him any sign of trouble or dejection of heart, and now found that these kinds of imperfections were equally remote from his breast.

The Protestant, in whose house he was seized, observing these points, and struck with admiration at his constancy and piety, reflecting at the same time that all this had happened to him on his account, on his return home was converted, and embraced the Catholic faith, and after a few months, though under great difficulties, his wife, and not long after his daughters followed his example.

It was no obscure mark of a sincere conscience in one seeking only the glory of God, that on the pseudo-bishop offering to liberate him if he would promise in his presence just to go once to the church, or to hear a sermon, he replied that, if he could not gain his liberty but by the offence of God and scandal to his neighbour, he would prefer that his soul should be torn from his body rather than that his body should be released on such terms.

After six months, at the intervention of the said Earl of Southampton, he was liberated from prison, with leave to go to any part within the kingdom, bail being given for his appearance within twenty days whenever called upon, and not to meddle with matters of religion, or to quit the realm. He, however, seeming to feel

secure as before from all dangers, went about with greater courage and fervour than ever, strengthening the weak and confirming the strong. Wherefore, after sixteen months, he was summoned to Winchester by the bishop of that city, together with his highly respectable neighbours, George Cotton, Mr. Henry Udall, Mr. Henry Sheldon, and not a few others of his county, men of high family. This, however, I did not see myself, but heard from others who were present, and were very fervent in their commendation of him. And when before the bishop and a great assembly of spectators, he rendered so brilliant an account of his faith in the presence of them all, and so severely rebuked the bishop himself, that the latter was unable for very rage and confusion to say a word in reply. The rest of them, no doubt animated by his powerful eloquence and address, behaved most firmly, so that many who had flocked thither, amazed at the unusual spectacle of so many respectable men placed in such circumstances, left the court favourably inclined to Catholicism.

After this, they were all given into separate custody, and Mr. Pounce was thrust into the prison of the common thieves. But when the Bishop saw that many were impressed by his example, and especially by his fastings and prayers, being things deemed simple impossibilities amongst them, he removed him from his diocese, as if he were a pest, and remanded him to London, where to this day he perseveres in prison to the great consolation and edification of many.

One thing alone remains to be mentioned, as it affords a specimen of his great and abundant zeal, that from the time of his apprehension, and the consequent loss of all hope of going to Rome, he laboured all the more; and for the greater glory of God and the salvation of his neighbour, he would have entered the priesthood, had not the dearth of Bishops in England rendered this impracticable. How great affliction this caused him is known only to those who were intimate with him, and it was increased by his seeing that his not being in Holy Orders hindered his doing much that he could otherwise have undertaken.

But to return to our point; the only relief for this his twofold grief and affliction of soul, is that your Paternity will be pleased to give him your fatherly consent to this his petition, to regard his sighs, his prayers and desires, now for these four years daily poured out before God, and would persuade yourself of what is most true, that Thomas Pounce has been so disposed towards the Society for the past seven years, that he would esteem all labours light to him were he but admitted into it.

Indeed, I do not hesitate to affirm that he eagerly desires this favour of your Paternity for no other cause than that, fortified by our spiritual helps, and relying on the name and opinion of the Society, he may be able to effect greater good for his neighbours' salvation, which he daily yearns after with the whole affection of his heart.

In the Roman College, 4th November, 1578.

Praise be to Almighty God, and to His Blessed Virgin Mother.

Your Reverence's unworthy son in Christ,

THOMAS STEPHENS.

Father General accordingly received him on December 1, 1578, and sent him the anxiously expected announce-

ment by the following letter, when he was now in the Tower :

Thomas Stephens, our very dear brother in Christ, relates many things to us of your constant piety and faith, which are most grateful to us, but especially that you have now for many years aspired with great desire after joining our Society. Therefore, although our Institute rules that we admit no one amongst our members unless he hath been well proved by many trials, yet nevertheless, moved by the very clear testimony, both of Stephens and others, and accepting as a long probation your labours and sufferings of so many years, we are induced to yield to your pious desires.

Wherefore, by virtue of that authority which God our Lord hath deigned to bestow upon us, though unworthy, we now already embrace you as a son and brother, we receive and admit you to our Society, and as a true member engrafted into the whole body, and we do also at the same time make you a sharer and participant in all our works, our labours, and our merits. But we hope the mercy and infinite goodness of God will at some future time be so propitious to you, that as we greatly desire, delivered from these troubles, we may be permitted to enjoy your company and presence : but should the providence of God for any cause deprive us of this opportunity, we nevertheless wish that this thought should console you, that, after a few days of this brief life, we shall be so united together in that never ending eternity (which we should all look forward to, and keep before our eyes), that nothing may be able then to separate us.

As for the rest, although I know that your virtue, which I hear is truly worthy of a Christian man, requires no confirmation, yet as a most dear son, I will briefly admonish you in the words of the Apostle, that you may be mindful to be a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men ; to God indeed as the bestower of eternal rewards for the smallest labours ; to angels as strengthened by their presence ; to men also that you may greatly inflame them, as hitherto you have done by your example, to true piety, and to encourage such as need it to undergo dangers with alacrity for Christ. Which thing, however, we wish may be so prudently and cautiously conducted by you, that you neither run into open danger without cause and fruit—a course which is held to be, not courage, but rashness—nor that you destroy your health and strength by immoderate abstinence and fastings, to which we hear you are abundantly addicted ; but rather, as the Prophet saith, that you take care to preserve your strength for God—*fortitudinem suam ad Deum custodire*.

May our Lord, however, to Whom it always belongs to protect and defend innocence and integrity, especially when brought into any danger in His own cause, be so propitious to you, that He may either totally drive away from you all these troubles, or, should He deem it to be more expedient for you otherwise, may He increase in you fortitude, constancy, and salutary patience to endure them. At least we never cease, both ourselves, as also all of ours, to pray and beseech our Lord in this behalf. This one thing, however, I greatly desire of you, that you publish to no one this your determination regarding our Society, neither by habit or dress, nor by discourse, but that you keep your secret to yourself

until better times shine forth, when this your desire, by the grace of God, may be openly followed out.

In the meantime may the grace of Christ and the communion of the Holy Spirit be always with you.

Rome, December 1, 1578.

Father Bartoli mentions another letter of Father General written to Pounce, dated April 15, 1580, exhorting him to renew his fervour, and reminding him that, being now a member of the Society of Jesus, he must never cease from the following of Jesus with the Cross on his shoulders, however steep and difficult the way, even to the summit of Calvary, there to die with Him upon the Cross. His Paternity again cautions him whilst in England, and especially in the prisons, not to appear in the habit of the Society, as the times and place were unsuitable, but by sanctity of life, and contempt of the world, to show that he no longer belonged to earth. The well-known bold and almost reckless daring of Pounce's character rendered this caution under obedience necessary. The following has been taken from a copy in the State Archives, Brussels.<sup>12</sup> It does not, however, appear to contain any mention of the habit of the Society.

To Thomas Pounce, in prison in England,—I could not omit so good an opportunity as now presents itself, of giving some answer to your letter, to salute you in our Lord, and for our mutual consolation, by this means of correspondence, seeing that no other is open to us. I hope you will receive no little joy in our Lord from the visit of this our common friend, who is the bearer of this letter to you, who will moreover give you a proof of my affection towards you, and with how great love we embrace you in the bowels of Christ.

Now, although I know that you are abundantly stout-hearted, yet would I desire to exhort you in Christ, not only patiently, but with alacrity, to endure those troubles wherewith, for so long a time, by the permission of the Divine Goodness, you have been visited, so long as it shall seem good to the same Lord, that they continue. And that you will apply this saying of the Apostle St. James to yourself—"Let us esteem it as all joy when we fall into divers temptations, that our faith may become more precious than gold tried by the fire." Of which truth so many illustrious examples are left us both by the holy martyrs, as by the Head of Martyrs Himself, Jesus, of Whom we, since by His infinite kindness we are called to His companionship, ought to esteem it a great, truly the greatest of all favours, should He be pleased to admit us to the fellowship, as of other virtues, so also of that of His Cross; for whosoever will be a companion of His Cross, will likewise be of the glory of His rewards and immortality.

<sup>12</sup> *Collectio Cardwelli*, MSS. (S.J.), ex Arch. Belgico Bruxell, vol. i. p. 35 (Stonyhurst, 1872).

I thought with this to salute you, at the same time also commending myself to your prayers. May our Lord Jesus be always with you, and vouchsafe to bless and prosper you in all things. Amen.

Rome, April 15, 1580.

Indescribable was the consolation of spirit in this holy servant of Christ on receiving so great a favour, for which he had for so many years sighed. But at the same time his close friend Stephens had obtained another for himself in Rome; such an one that, to speak truly, says Father Bartoli, one knows not which of these two fortunate Englishmen most to envy in the lots fallen upon them from heaven: Pounce his thirty years of imprisonment for the confession of the faith; or Stephens his forty years' labour for the propagation of the faith. Father Thomas Stephens was the first of our English members to beg with many entreaties of Father General Mercurianus, and to seek from God with many tears and much penance, the favour of being sent out to the East Indies. Having completed his course of philosophy, he was sent thither, and arrived at Goa in September, 1580, after a voyage of six months. There he commenced cultivating and increasing the small Christian community of Salsette, a peninsula near Goa. He was very near fertilizing it with his blood, instead of his sweat, and sharing the fate of Father Ralph Aquaviva and four others of the Society, who, two years later, were martyred by the barbarous idolaters in divers ways, at the same place, out of mere hatred of the faith. But it pleased God, for His own ends, to appoint Stephens in place of a violent death by the sword, a long and toilsome apostolical life during the forty years that he spent in that onerous mission. So beloved was he by the inhabitants, and so content to bestow all his labour to the good of their souls, that he never asked for any better condition, or for any change of place, nor did his Superiors venture, even for ever so short a time, to deprive Salsette of so profitable a labourer. He attained such perfection in the knowledge of the language of the country, that he composed and published a grammar of it. He afterwards compiled one of Hindustani which is a more refined language, and in use amongst the higher classes; this was a more difficult undertaking. In each language he composed and printed such useful books upon faith and Christian piety, that on festivals, after Mass, they were always read to the Catholics. He died full of years and merits at

Goa, in 1619, in the seventieth year of his age, mourned and wept over by his dear Canarians out of the love they bore him as a Father, and in gratitude for his indefatigable care of their souls as an apostle.

Let us now return to the object of this notice whose wonderful life may be said to have been a continual martyrdom of thirty years, rendered all the more bitter to him, inasmuch as he more ardently desired to end it at Tyburn, to which passage, indeed, he was a hundred times near arriving; but he was not destined to reach the goal by that last and noble course. As they used to say of him, if martyrdom was wanting to him, he was certainly not wanting to martyrdom. After their remand from Winchester to London, Pounce and his companions were sent to different prisons. He wrote several times to them; and amongst them was the following:

I am very often questioned by Mr. Young, and have twice been examined before five or six commissioners. Once I was brought out before a great assembly of persons, loaded with fetters; and because I was thought to stand up for the truth too freely before those who did not wish to hear it, I was then remanded to Newgate. The gaoler, as though I was already a condemned criminal, tore off both my hat and cloak; but what was equally a source of regret to him, as it was to myself, he left my head safe upon my shoulders.<sup>13</sup> As I went along with uncovered head, and heavily ironed, the mob cried out *Crucifige*—"Crucify him." They liberally bestowed upon me the alms of the "widow of Newgate" (a certain kind of instrument of torture called the "widow's mite").<sup>14</sup> I awaited the sentence of the judges till four o'clock in the afternoon, when I was suddenly summoned. My manacles and chains were taken off, and my hat and cloak restored. I was conducted to Lincoln's [Inn] hall (where I formerly lived when studying the law there); five commissioners here waited for me, and amongst them was Topcliffe, the torture master.

They had it in command from the Queen to recall me from my course of life, either by threats or by blandishments; but all was in vain. They urged upon me that, if I would prove myself faithful to the Queen and her loving subject, it was necessary that I should disclose the names of those with whom I was accustomed to consort, and the places of resort. I replied that I was ready to make oath both of my own, and of the loyalty of all of them. As to the rest, it was not the part of a good man and a Catholic, and one of my rank and education, and having regard also to conscience, to bring innocent and friendly men into danger by disclosing their

<sup>13</sup> Pounce never seems to have lost his natural playfulness of humour, in spite of his great sufferings. We shall meet with several instances of this in the course of our narrative.

<sup>14</sup> In *Records*, vol. ii. Series II. p. 43, note 16, Father Arrowsmith, the martyr, is mentioned as having been sent to Lancaster Castle close prisoner, with the "Widow's Mite, as they call it, a great pair of bolts on his legs."

names. Finding that they could gain nothing from me by their coaxing words, they remanded me back to my prison. After two days, Topcliffe (that most unrelenting persecutor of Catholics) came to me in a friendly way with the governor of the prison. They endeavoured to shake my constancy by every kind of means; but they accomplished nothing; they deplore my condition; this specially grieves them—but in which I greatly glory—the faith, and my imprisonment for the faith's sake.

After they were departed came Young again, who asked me what Topcliffe had been doing with me? The man (truly urbane and affable!) feared lest Topcliffe, severe and rough as he was, should have done anything rude towards me.

With the most winning manner of voice he endeavoured to coax me to betray my friends, and to disclose any secret which might, perhaps, serve his wicked ends. Finding that he could gain nothing from me, he urged me to write a letter to the Lord Keeper, asking for favour. I did so, indeed, but in such a manner that they could get no handle against me, and with such effect that from thenceforth they cared less about me, deeming me an obstinate fellow, and of all Catholics the most dangerous to the public safety of the realm—that is, the most hostile to heresy. Therefore here I am, secluded from the company of all the rest, without hope of a freer custody, unless by chance I am summoned again to the next sessions of Newgate, to be condemned for my duty to God and defence of the Catholic faith. This I have to warn you of, O my companions in chains! that you believe not any sinister reports about me; and I would exhort you, with all my heart, to that perseverance in the faith and constancy which I hope to show. Farewell!

Mr. Simpson, in his biographical sketch, says that Thomas Pounce was not kept close all these years. We cannot tell how long his solitary confinement lasted; but before the end of the term not only had his friends access to him, but he was even allowed to make short excursions into the city and neighbourhood of London. It was here that his old friend Thomas Stephens visited him, when he was sent by Pounce to Rome respecting their admittance to the Society, and here he received the letter of Father General, dated December 1, 1578, admitting him to the Order.

In the meantime he whiled away the tedious hours of his confinement with prayer, reading, and writing. His literary productions were by no means contemptible. Stephens mentions with great praise his *Four proofs of the necessity of Penance* and his *Ten comforts for Death*. But his great work was the *Six Reasons*. We give the *Six Reasons*, and the occasion of their being written, in the second part of our biography. His free speeches before the commissioners concerning the Queen's supremacy over the Church made him both expect and hope to be tried for his life.

The evils of the prisons did not consist so much in their wretched condition, as in the brutal and coarse manners of the gaolers, who were either Protestants or Puritans. However, the Queen's Ministers utterly failed to weaken his courage by the insufferable punishments inflicted upon him, nor could they subdue him by the force of torments and pain; nay, he rather rejoiced in these, gaining thereby additional strength of heart. Frequently the example of his invincible courage produced good effect even amongst Protestants, who felt that, to the shame of their own sect, they would have had far to search ere they could meet with instances of such great virtue, whilst others could not, after the testimony of their own eyes, refuse to admire the virtue of Catholics, which must have led some to their own salutary repentance. Nor could their theologians, whether Protestant or Puritan, adduce against him any efficacious argument for his conviction and subversion. Indeed, he rather gave them so much to do, one while with his answers, another with his questions, that, after the first attack, they would return no more to engage with him. As a student he had only gone as far as poetry and rhetoric and the study of civil law; but from the excellency of his wit, his long and continuous study of the Holy Scriptures, of the Fathers of the Church, and of the principal articles of controversy between Catholics and Protestants, to which may be added his converse with priests and learned Catholics in the various prisons in which he was confined, especially in those of Wisbeach and London, he had become not only impregnable in self-defence, but terrible in assaults upon his foes.

To their cost, two Protestant doctors of divinity, Tripp and Crowley, experienced such an attack. This was in September, 1580, when Pounce was in the Marshalsea Prison, London. These two doctors entered the prison to dispute with Pounce upon points of religion; they commenced with a storm of insult and abuse, most unbecoming towards such a distinguished man as Mr. Pounce. In his calm of soul he was no more moved than if he had heard the ravings of two madmen; but took hold of some passage of Holy Scripture that one of them had quoted, and had misinterpreted to suit his own purpose. Upon this passage he raised a fundamental question as a basis for maintaining the truth; for otherwise, unless there be agreement as to some one principle, an attempt to argue upon it would only commence with words and end in smoke; so it is necessary for opponents to agree as to the principles from

which the conclusions are to be drawn. The point was—"Is Holy Scripture to be understood according to the private opinion of any one who desires to be its expounder, or according to the universal and received understanding and mind of the Fathers of the Church?" No more unpleasant question could have been asked of the adversaries, because where they cannot make the Word of God speak according to their own will, there is an end of it; one man's claim to do this is as good as another's, and thus every man may make a rule of faith for himself; yet this rule of faith should be as much one as the truth is one, and as infallible as the Word of God itself, and consequently it cannot disagree with itself by interpreting the same passage contrary ways. That this happens to those who make themselves their rule of faith, is proved by adducing their interpretation of the word *Est*, as used in the consecration in the Divine Sacrifice, for this is understood in a particular and private sense by them in no less than five different ways, each forming a distinct heresy. Wherefore Luther was obliged to say that he had contended with thirty heresiarchs generated by the same liberty of making their private judgments the exponent of the mind of God; the which liberty he had adopted for himself, to his grief, since others had appropriated it to themselves. This drove him at last in despair to the other extreme, when he said that the *Bucolic* of Virgil could not be understood by any one who had not been for five years a shepherd: the *Epistles* of Cicero, by any one who had not for twenty years governed a republic; the Holy Scriptures by any one who had not governed the entire Church, attended by Elias, Eliseus, John the Baptist, and the Apostles of the Redeemer, he then finished with a quotation from the poet Stasius—

Hanc tu divinam ne Æneida tenta,  
—sed vestigia pronus adora.<sup>15</sup>

The two assailants of Pounce fared so badly, that in the end, the more they had spoken, the less did they understand what they had said, so that they were very glad indeed to take themselves off with a short statement in writing of six reasons which Pounce had given them in support of the argument sustained by him; he begged them for an answer to these, and for leave to reply should anything else occur to his mind.

<sup>15</sup> Bartoli, *Inghil.* l. i. p. 127, vol. i.

Mr. Simpson in his biography states that "in August or September, 1580, the Privy Council had given permission to two hypocritical knaves named Tripp and Crowley to visit all the imprisoned recusants, and to try the effect of cant and cajolery upon their consciences." "With these two ministers," says Strype,<sup>16</sup> "he talked notably; and observing them to insist much upon Scripture, he warily required them to lay down some sure principle for both parties to proceed upon. He also then proposed to them (though he were a layman, and not deeply versed in divinity) six firm reasons, as he thought, of his opinion, and required those ministers to answer them, that afterwards he might have liberty to confute their answers either by speech or writing."

But these brave masters of Israel having read what was in the paper, and seeing that their reputation was placed in great jeopardy by having to answer in writing, instead of orally, betook themselves with the document and made a great noise before John Elmer, or Aylmer, the pseudo-bishop. They strove in his presence to make Pounce appear all the more pugnacious, because he not only refused to be persuaded by their exhortations to become a Calvinist, but was the more eager to publish in his own defence against them treatises and writings of pestilential doctrine, as appeared in that paper which had just then issued from his pen, and which they then and there presented to the Bishop. This was quite enough to put his lordship in a rage; for from his passionate nature he was a very firebrand with every one, and his false zeal rendered him terrible as thunder to the Catholics. He remanded Pounce off hand from the Marshalsea, London, to be immured in a distant prison. This was Stortford, or Bishops-Stortford Castle, Herts, thirty miles from London, on the confines of Essex, a lonely place well chosen for his purpose. Pounce was thrust into a cell, a few feet under ground, in which was perpetual night, no ray of the sun nor any gleam of light ever entering there, whereby to distinguish between day and night. No one was allowed to visit him, for, wherever this had been permitted, he had gained many to the Catholic faith. The bare and dirty ground was his bed, a pair of heavy fetters was put on his legs, and handcuffs on his wrists, with chains attached, besides many other sufferings added by his brutal gaoler.<sup>17</sup> As

<sup>16</sup> *Life of Aylmer*, Bishop of London from 1576 to 1588, cap. ii.

<sup>17</sup> Bishops-Stortford was then an ancient half ruined castle of the Bishops of London, and was still used as a prison by them. Father

the blacksmith was about to rivet the shackles upon his legs, Thomas endeavoured to kiss them, whereupon the smith inhumanly struck him with them upon the head, and drew blood; when with undisturbed countenance he exclaimed, "Would that blood might here flow from the inmost veins of my heart for the cause for which I suffer." The blacksmith was astonished at his fervour and patience under so great and so unprovoked an injury. And it pleased God, in reward for the merit of his patience, to give Mr. Pounce that soul, moving the smith to demand of him whence he possessed so great confidence that he was of the true religion, seeing that in England "Papist" and "reprobate" were synonymous terms. The prisoner gave the man such strong reasons and convincing proofs that he was vanquished and afterwards became a Catholic, in punishment for which act he was cast into prison, where he died piously in chains—*tanti est constantiam in asperis tueri.*

Whilst thus buried beneath the ground, unseen and unheard of among the living, his two adversaries, Tripp and Crowley, went about boasting in public how they had vanquished him, and published a book in answer to his six reasons—if indeed that can be called an answer which avoids all mention whatever of the main point in dispute, and only charges him with an abominable calumny, to the effect that Thomas Pounce the Papist defended by word and writing the doctrine that the opinions of men were to be held in greater account than the Word of God, expressed in the Holy Scriptures. They thus gave a totally different colour to the sound words which he had used, viz., that the Holy Scriptures were to be understood, not by man's own private judgment, as the Puritans boast to have been privileged by the Holy Spirit to do, but according to the received consensus of the Fathers. After a year's confinement in the dungeons of Bishops-Stortford Castle, Bishop Aylmer removed him to Wisbeach Castle, whence, soon after, by an order of the Privy Council, the Bishop remanded him to the Tower, for the purpose of being examined together with

Tanner, Father More, and Father Bartoli, copying from each other, are mistaken in treating this conference as taking place *after* Thomas had been half a year at Bishops-Stortford. Father Tanner says: "After half a year's confinement in the dark cells of Stortford Castle, the authorities hoping thereby to have weakened the light of faith in him, remanded him back to London, to endeavour totally to extinguish it." The letters and papers procured from the State Papers in the Public Record Office, to be found in the second part of this biography, clearly show that the disputation was *before*, and in fact the cause of his being remanded to Bishops-Stortford. The above Fathers had, probably, no certain data to guide them.

Father Campian, as we shall see in the second part of this narrative. The Lords wrote to Aylmer with this order in the month of August, 1581.

Mention is made of Thomas Pounce in Father Morris' "Life of Father Weston"<sup>18</sup>—"At that time (1583-4) there was not a single Jesuit at liberty in England or Scotland. Father James Bosgrave and Father Thomas Cottam were tried with Father Campian. Father Cottam was martyred at Tyburn on May 30, 1582, in his thirty-third year.<sup>19</sup> Father Bosgrave was shut up in the Tower, and there remained until he was exiled in January, 1585. As early as December, 1578, Father General had received Thomas Pounce into the Society, a most zealous and generous confessor, who spent the greater part of his life in prison for the faith. Among other fruits of his zeal, Father Cottam owed his conversion to him. Pounce was then in the Tower of London, with Stephen Brinckley and William Carter, the printers and disseminators of Catholic books.<sup>20</sup> Later on he was to be for ten years and more the companion in imprisonment of Father Weston.

Father Henry More recounts various prisons in which Pounce was confined, but without giving dates, which probably he was unable to do. He says: "After one year" (probably in Newgate), "Pounce was removed to the Marshalsea Prison; thence he was thrust into the Tower of London; then transferred to the Compter on the other side of the Thames; thence to Wisbeach, a fortress at the head of the Isle of Ely, where for ten years he dwelt with many priests and laymen, and most familiarly with Father William Weston. In the year 159 $\frac{7}{8}$ , he was again sent to the Tower; then to the Compter within the City; after that to the White Lion; then to the Gatehouse, Westminster; afterwards to the Fleet prison; and lastly, to Framlingham Castle, from whence he was liberated on bail by James I." Father Thomas Stephens, who received it from Pounce, thus sums them up: "He was seven years in the Tower of London; four in the Marshalsea; half a year in Storford Castle; ten years in Wisbeach Castle; three years in Framlingham Castle; and the rest, to the number of thirty years altogether, in the various other places named."

The date of Thomas Pounce's committal to Bishops-

<sup>18</sup> *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 13.

<sup>19</sup> See the Life of Father Bosgrave in our present volume, p. 279 seq. above, with further remarks in addenda, and that of Father Cottam in *Records*, vol. ii. Series II.

<sup>20</sup> P.R.O. *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clix. n. 36, March, 1583.

Stortford Castle is fixed, as we have seen, by a letter he wrote to Sir Christopher Hatton, dated September 18, 1580, upon entering the prison. Pounce's personal narrative of his sufferings, addressed to King James in 1609, copied in the second portion of the history, clears up much of this confusion. He there states that he was a year at Bishops-Stortford Castle, and was then sent to the Tower of London (which he calls his seventh removal), and remained there for four years, 1584 $\frac{1}{2}$ . It is possible that he may have been sent from Bishops-Stortford first to Wisbeach Castle, but remaining there (as above) for only a short time before he was removed to the Tower, he may have forgotten to name it, or may have thought it scarcely worth doing so. His release from the Tower, on bail, is confirmed by the following paper in the Public Record Office, London—

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cc. n. 59. "December 7, 1585. Thomas Pounce and Ellen his mother bounde in a 100 markes, that the said Thomas Pounce shall remain at his mother's house in Kenyton, in the countie of Surry."<sup>21</sup>

This release on bail Pounce calls, in his said narrative, his eighth removal. His ninth was in 1586, when after having been out on bail for half a year at his mother's house in Hants, and the rest of the time at Newington, Surrey, he was again apprehended upon the occasion of the tragic end of Mary Queen of Scots, and committed to the White Lion Prison, Southwark.

Connected with this event are the following documents in the Public Record Office, London.

*Dom. Eliz.* September 1, 1586 (a letter from four Justices of the Peace for Surrey to Secretary Walsingham).

Upon the late bruit of arriving of foreign forces, watches being provided, and order taken for stay of seditious bruits and for searches of suspected places, upon search, one Mr. Pounce, of the Co. Southt, was found, that heretofore hath had (as he saith) twelve years' imprisonment for religion (as he pretendeth, but he is either impaired in mind or otherwise), giveth very rash and unadvised speeches, affirming that the cause of foreign forces was by reason of robberies and piracies, and not by the Catholic means; and that he meant to have made bonfires; and being demanded why he would so have done, he affirmed that it was to declare his innocency; and when these speeches were misliked, and it was said to him he was to go with the officer for his forthcoming, he said that then he was sure he should remain during the Queen's life. The same speeches being also suspected as proceeding either of guilty conscience, or else of some hope of her Majesty's peril, we have

<sup>21</sup> Father Henry More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.*, calls Mrs. Pounce *Anne Ellen* may either be a misnomer, or a second name. The document clearly relates to the subject of our history.

also sent your honour a letter found with him, and, as it seemeth, written to him. And in consideration hereof, as for that also he confesseth himself to be the man named in certain papers of notes of such as were suspected, we have committed him to prison; he allegeth that by the Lords of the Privy Council he was committed to the keeping of his mother. We will proceed further with him as we shall be directed by your honour, or otherwise leave him to your honourable wisdom.

Southwark, 1st Sept.

EDWARD FENNER,  
EDWARD BELLINGHAM,  
EDWARD SAWYER,  
WILLIAM GARDYNER.

The following is the letter referred to by the Justices as having been found upon and written to Thomas Pounce.

*Sub cruce laboro.*

Good Sir,—As I was verie glade to heare that youe were plunged oute of the ponds and pitts of infinite perills when youe were freed from the tragicall Towers, whence rather was expected your marterdome then youre enlargement; so hearing y<sup>t</sup> youe were *relegatus in insula* and confined to a place of perpetuall imprisonment never to be sene or harde of of youre lovinge frends dwringe the tymes of persecutyon: I asswre youe even *Gladius doloris pertransivit animam meam quod talem amicum amiserim, cujus amicitia tam jucundissima olim perfrui solebam*. Howbeit nowe latly, havinge receyved youre goulden cordiall counforte, and made partaker w<sup>th</sup> my afflicted frende of youre country's prouysye [prowess], *et tibi gratulor et mihi gaudeo, et habetur et referetur a me (cum potero) tibi gratia, semper*. And forasmuch as, being acquainted w<sup>th</sup> your zealous, godly constancy, I have known your disposition to be delighted rather w<sup>th</sup> authentical antiquities than w<sup>th</sup> new-fangled novelties, I send for your New Year's gift an oulde booke of Contemplative Centiloquies, in w<sup>ch</sup> ar comprysed a swete delectable himme made of the Cros, w<sup>th</sup> a doleful songe of the nitingall touchinge Christ's Passion, w<sup>ch</sup> you will putt pen to paper to give it a new English liverye. *Utere, fruerere, lege, relege, perlege, contemplando meditare, et meditando contemplare et (quam graphice poteris) in Nostram Ideomam [sic] traducite, sic semper honos nomenque tuum sine fine manebunt*. Thus beinge merye with my sorrowes, when I wryte unto youe, beseechinge oure Lorde to bles youe w<sup>th</sup> all benedictyons temperall and eternall, I ende. *Vive, vale; superes longos Nestoris annos. Tuus pro arbitrato tuo.*

STEPHANUS CAPTIVUS.

This Stephanus Captivus is probably Stephen Rousham, the martyr of Gloucester, who had been long Pounce's fellow-captive in the Tower, having been brought there May 19, 1582; kept in the place called "Little Ease" for eighteen months and thirteen days, and then removed, February 12, 1584, to the Marshalsea. He was banished the following year, and suffered at Gloucester in July, 1587.<sup>22</sup> The "Golden Cordial Comfort"

was, it is likely, a poem describing the sufferings of Catholics, which Pounce had sent him.<sup>23</sup>

Father Tanner says that when confined at Wisbeach his life was preserved by a singular interposition of Divine Providence. He was sitting with the others at a table, when a piece of the old ornamental ceiling, above which was a hollow place where some sacred objects were secreted, fell by its own weight, and must have crushed Thomas, had not its progress been suspended. This was looked upon as not the result of mere chance, for exactly so much of the falling ceiling adhered to the wall as was necessary, and remained hanging in the air over him like an umbrella, so that he was saved from all injury.

Father William Weston in his autobiography,<sup>24</sup> mentions a fact as "the only event of those times which deserves to be recorded, and that was very remarkable;" it was most probably the same occurrence, though differently described. "It happened during that period when all the prisoners were kept shut up until the time for dinner and supper. One day at the very hour of dinner, whilst Mr. Pounce and his companion were present with the others, the roof of the chamber allotted to those two fell in, the beams being quite decayed. If this had occurred at any other time but that brief space set apart for dinner, it must have imperilled their lives, or at least have resulted in the breaking of their limbs. It was remarked that the part of the room where stood the table that served them instead of an altar, where Mass was said every day, and was decorated for that purpose with a number of pictures, was in such a manner preserved from the accident that neither the altar nor the pictures were so much as soiled with the dust and rubbish of the falling rafters."

Father Bartoli describes Wisbeach, in which he says Pounce was left to rot alive for ten years, as a castle notorious for its horrid dungeons whither so many priests and most noble confessors of the faith, were sent to be the victims of the foul atmosphere in that poisonous and marshy spot. For Wisbeach is a castle on the Isle of Ely surrounded by the refuse water of the rivers that wash the extremity of the county of Cambridge from the north, between Lincoln and Norfolk.

<sup>22</sup> See a short account of the martyr in Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests*.

<sup>23</sup> See *Rambler*, vol. ii. 1857. "Biographical sketch of Thomas Pounce," by Mr. Simpson. The poem is no doubt the one of which an extract is given in p. 625.

<sup>24</sup> *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 243.

The ground there lies so low that it cannot completely let off the many streams running into it; and so, having no outlet, a large extent of water becomes stagnant and brackish. The sea also, which forms a little bay there, frequently oozes through and increases the evil. The prisons are rather ruinous heaps of stones than buildings; the palace itself is a very antique place, and was for a long time abandoned and forgotten, only that it occurred to the minds of the Ministers of Queen Elizabeth that, in their humanity, they would like to prepare it as a fitting place to cause by its pestilential air the deaths of the more saintly Catholics, to slay whom by the rope and the sword would be too manifest an exposure of their infamous injustice.<sup>25</sup> Wisbeach Castle, which had been selected in 1572, on account of its solitary position, as a place where the chief recusants should be imprisoned, and forced "to live at their own charges," was now made the prison for such of "the capital doctors and priests" as were found "busier in matters of State than was meet for the quiet of the realm." Sir Nicholas Bacon was appointed keeper, and Michael and Carleton, the latter a sour Puritan, were to be the resident superintendents. Similar places were appointed in the other parts of England for the reception of recusants. The instructions to the keeper of Wisbeach Castle, which served for all the rest, required that, besides the usual rules of close confinement, a minister was to be placed over them, who should get "his charge of diet and other necessaries by the contributions of the recusants;" and the keeper was to see "that due exercise of common prayer be observed every day, and preaching twice in the week at least." At this the prisoners were to be present, or if they refused, they were to be fined at the pleasure of the Bishop of Ely. Each prisoner, moreover, was to be "twice conferrèd with in the week at least, as well by the minister as by other learned men sent by the Bishop, or that voluntarily of themselves should come for so charitable a work." But the prisoners were to have no conference with each other except at meal time, and then there was to be "no speech of any matters in controversy." Those who conferred with the minister were to have more liberty than those who did not. But none were to be allowed to have any other book than a Bible, the works of the Fathers, and books licensed by the minister.

<sup>25</sup> Bartoli, *Inghil.* l. i. cap. xv. p. 123.

A letter from a priest in London to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, gives these facts: "No access to the prisoners is allowed, and we are obliged to use tricks to communicate with them. When any one wants to give them an alms, he walks in the neighbouring fields the day before, and cries out as if he were looking for game.

"At this sign, some person looks out from the window, and learns by signal that there is something for the prisoners. The next night when every body is asleep, the sportsman cautiously creeps up to the wall, and one of the prisoners lets down a basket from the window whence the sign was given, and draws up what is put into it. The same plan is generally adopted for the other prisoners; but the variety of methods, and the zeal, charity, and bravery of the Catholics are greatly conspicuous in designing and accomplishing these dangerous services."<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> See Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 165, 166.

Thomas Pounce's name occurs in several of the State Papers in the Public Record Office.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. clix. n. 36, March, 1583. "Tower prisoners, &c., wch are to pay their owne dyet, &c. Thomas Pound, Rouscarick, Stephen Brinckley, William Carter." [W. Carter was martyred January 11, 1584, at Tyburn.]

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxviii. n. 74. "What course is meet to bee heald in the causes of certaine prisoners remayning in the Tower. Thomas Pound, Nicholas Roscarock, for religion only committed and for intelligence wth Jesuites and priests—two dangerous men and apt for anie practise; fitt they should bee banished."

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 44. 1586. "Names of prisoners at Wisbeach—Recusants, Mr. Scrope, Mr. Parpoint, Mr. Pounce." There were then eighteen priests, including Fathers Weston, Mettam, Strange, and Bickley (not then S.J.). There appears to be some misdate in this, or in the letter of Younge mentioned below; Mr. Younge dates 1587, and says that Pounce was then in the White Lion Prison: the confusion may arise in the style.

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxcv. n. 34, 1586. "Whyte Lyon. Thomas Pounce, gentleman, Elizabeth Sherwood. Committed by the Highe Commissioners, the 1st of September."

Same vol. n. 32, 1586. "The Lords' resolution upon the prisoners, 30th November, 1586. Thomas Pounce, a very obstinate recusant, and a maintainer of that sort. Elizabeth Sherwoode, committed by Dr. Stanhoppe for her recusancie. The Bishop of . . . to be written unto to certify how they are chargeable."

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cciii. n. 20, 1587. Letter from Mr. Richard Younge to Walsingham. He says (*inter alia*), "Whereas your honor thinketh it convenient that some should be sente to Wisbeach, it is most assured that lying in London at libertie in the prisons, they doe much harm to such as resorte unto them; especially William Wigges, George Hide, and George Collison, priests, prisoners in Newgate; Morris Williams, an old priest, prisoner in the Clink, and Thomas Pounce, prisoner in the White Lion, taken as a layman, but (as Tirrell assureth me) he is a professed Jesuite, and was admitted by one substituted by Parsons while the said Pounce was prisoner in the Tower. These are most busy and dangerous persons, and

Nor was Pounce at any time alone in these persecutions and troubles, the Catholics generally undergoing equal vexation. For although his zeal in the profession of his faith made him appear more prominent in expressing his opinions and in defending the Catholic cause than others, yet the interests of all classes of men were banded together for the ruin of the Catholics; so that each one, where his own influence lay, helped on with his utmost diligence and exertions the extirpation, if possible, of the orthodox faith.

Father Parsons, in a letter dated November 17, 1580, to the Rector of the English College, Rome, thus alludes to these miserable times<sup>27</sup>—"The heat of the persecution is most violent, and such as hath not been since the very constitution of England. The noble, ignoble, men, women, and even children, are dragged off to prisons; bound in iron fetters, deprived of the light of day, plundered of their property, and as well by public edicts as by speeches and sermons, defamed before the common people as traitors and rebels! In these past months many men of rank, respectability, and wealth, and whoever possesses influence in his own neighbourhood, have been confined in the prisons; and to such an extent that not only are the old prisons of England, but even many new ones that have been built, insufficient to receive the Catholics; and yet pursuivants are despatched in quest of others, indeed the number of them, *per Dei gratiam*, so daily increases, that the persecutors themselves are well nigh tired out; and indeed all this is pretended to the common people as done for the good of the commonweath, but in reality religion is attacked."

Nor did Mr. Pounce experience at the hands of the judges more justice than he had received from the veritable and

such as in no wise are worthie of libertie, neither are they within the compass of the last statute; so that if your honor thinke so good, Wisbeach were a convenient place for them. There are so many others which will appeare to be of the same sorte, but for so much as *these* are principal malefactors, and that perhaps they be a number sufficient to be carried thither at one tyme, I will forbear to speak of the others until I shall deliver all their examinations."

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxcv. n. 115; vol. cci. n. 53. "The names of divers persons certified to be receivers of Jesuites and seminaries." The name of Thomas Pounce is added at the end, apparently in another handwriting, although he was at that time in prison.

*Dom. James I.* vol. vii. n. 50, 1602-3. List endorsed by Cecil—"A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England. In Framingham [amongst others] Mr. Pounce, a lay-Jesuit."

<sup>27</sup> *Mere, Hist.* vol. ii. n. 21, p. 52.

clerical masters of truth among the Protestants. Norton,<sup>28</sup> one of the assessors or advisers of Hopton, the superintendent of the Tower, tried to persuade him, as a means of getting rid of Pounce, and thus saving the honour of their sect which by his activity and speeches he overturned, to declare him mad, and, as a madman, to consign him to the infamy and cruelty of Bedlam, the London asylum for the violent and insane. It is not recorded that this wicked advice was acted on; but it is related of the wife of this brutal assessor, that, a little while after, she herself became mad, and was confined in this same Bedlam, receiving as a just punishment from God the very same treatment that her husband had, in the face of all justice, designed for Pounce!<sup>29</sup>

The following letter Mr. Simpson is of opinion was written by Thomas Pounce.<sup>30</sup> The style confirms this opinion. It is addressed to Francis Tregian, who died a martyr in prison.<sup>31</sup>

#### JESUS.

To that worshipful, my loving brother Mr. Francis health and wealth in our Saviour.—My dearest, the desire which I have to visit you oftener, is, I doubt not, well known unto you, and that it proceedeth of the hardness of our happy estate, and the unhappiness of this hard time; and therefore it were superstitious to spend idle words in excusing myself to him, whom I am sure, will be hardly induced to accuse me of any discourtesy. My purpose is to encourage you to proceed honourably to win the palm and crown due for patience, which you have begun so blessedly; and to that end, I have here sent you the translation of a certain letter containing the glorious martyrdom of a courageous Spaniard, which will be better welcome unto you, if you have never heard of it, and withal certain verses written as it seemeth in way of challenge to Fox the *Martyr-maker*, and a comfort to those blessed confessors which are in the way to be made most glorious martyrs upon the occasion of this foresaid Spaniard's exceeding triumph.<sup>32</sup> In which, if I be not deceived, you shall find yourself touched, which made me the more willing to send it unto you, being more than half

<sup>28</sup> The rack-master of the Tower.

<sup>29</sup> Mr. Simpson, *Rambler* (as above), p. 99, states that "it was at Bishops-Stortford that Pounce was visited by Norton, afterwards so notorious for his savage cruelty in racking Campion and Briant, who went back and tried to persuade Walsingham that he was mad, and that Bedlam would be the fittest place for him. Catholic writers have not failed to notice that Norton's own wife really went mad some time after, and as appears by a document in the State Paper Office, of March 27, 1582, continued so in spite of all the exorcisms of 'good Mr. Reynolds' and Fox the Martyrologist. Norton plainly implies that he considers hers a case of possession; and talks of his 'poor innocent wife' as though she were a victim of the diabolical machinations of the Papists."

<sup>30</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* n. 58, 1582.

<sup>31</sup> See *Troubles*, First Series, "The Imprisonment of Francis Tregian."

<sup>32</sup> We briefly notice these poems further on. The MS. translation of the martyrdom in the *P.R.O.* is, we believe, in Pounce's handwriting.

persuaded that it was written by one of your dearest friends. Take it, therefore, instead of a better token ; impart it as you shall think good ; suppress it if you will, put it in the press if you please, for I dare presume the author will not be offended at it, because he taketh small comfort to be commended for it. So desirous he seemeth to be esteemed a citizen of *Utopia*, and a dweller in the Commonwealth of Plato. Thus, in haste, I am to bid you farewell, requesting you to be of good comfort, and be more glad to eat the pure azyme bread of penance with Christ's Apostles, than the delicately dipped morsel with Judas the Apostate. Let him and his mates carry the purse covetously. Let us and our Company bear the burthen of all persecution courageously. If we consider how Saul in poor estate was most virtuous, in prosperity was most vicious ; how David demeaned himself towards him in his misery, and how to Urias in his jollity ; how friendly Pharaoh's butler was to Joseph in prison, how unmindful in his liberty—here is small cause why we should wish our case otherwise than it is.

Commend me to your blessed bed-fellow, and all others my friends. Once more farewell.

Father Bartoli mentions the following case, which occurred in the last year of Pounce's imprisonment.

Two innocent Catholics in the county of Lancaster had been condemned to death by the judges, and had been executed accordingly. Without going into the particulars of their case, which would be both long and irrelevant to our present narrative, we may mention, though it is hardly credible, that one of these was cut down before he was half dead, and quartered alive ; the other was hung upon the gallows.

In the judicial processes, the practice of taking the guilt of the accused as presumed, when not proved, was so flagrantly contrary to all law, both natural and statute, that the lives of Catholics seemed to have arrived at the lowest estimate, even as that of brute animals, which their owners slaughter at their will, how and when they please.

James of Scotland had a few months before arrived in England, having succeeded to the crown, to which he was heir, on the death of Elizabeth, which happened March 24, 160 $\frac{2}{3}$ , and if we judge of him according to all appearances up to that time, no one could have imagined that he would be so evilly disposed towards Catholics, but that such a wilful slaughter as this would have displeased him, and that he would have made the punishment of the iniquity of these judges an example to deter others, and thus diminish a persecution which was caused in great part by the hatred of the Protestant ministers. Acting upon so pious, just, and fair an expectation, Pounce drew up, on his own authority, a solemn charge against the iniquitous judgment passed upon the two Catholics, and

sent it for presentation to the King. Whether it ever came to hand or not, Pounce was summoned for trial in the court called the Star Chamber, the highest Court of Westminster, in which criminals of great note, slanderers, cheats, and similar grave offences are tried. He was convicted and condemned as a calumniator of the Judges of Lancaster before the King; this Court supporting the sentence of the Judges, and thus proving that, in the desire to ruin the Catholics, there was no real difference between one tribunal and another.

The trial lasted for eight hours, and took place on November 29, 160 $\frac{3}{4}$ ; more than one entire hour was consumed by the Attorney General in a severe invective against slanders and slanderers, and finally against Thomas Pounce himself. In his case, above all the other Catholics, he made a digression from the subject, in order to call to the remembrance of the Court how it was their fault that Pius V. had fulminated his Bull against Elizabeth to strip her of her crown, and other similar reminiscences likely to render Catholics still more odious. He confronted Pounce, now transformed from an accuser into a criminal, and required him to reveal whence he came to know the nature of the Lancaster judgment, so far distant as it was from Southampton and from London?

Perhaps he had, throughout, accomplices and confederates by whose means he obtained his information, these he must reveal, or they would compel him to do so by torture. As regarded the condemnation of the Catholics at Lancaster, the skilful Attorney General affirmed that they were guilty, and that the sentence of the judges was most just; nor to prove it did he allege more than his own simple assertion, which was as readily accepted as the truth itself could have been. Three judges sat in that court for passing sentence, viz., the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chief Justice; to which trio, as the highest in that dignity, was given the surname or style of "Great." Besides these there were Earls, Viscounts, Barons, and other minor officials, the full number of those who formed this the highest tribunal. Each one of these spoke in condemnation of Pounce. Whatever he said in his own defence was listened to with scorn; and in fine the Lord Chancellor, taking the sentence out of the mouth of the Lord Chief Justice, pronounced Thomas Pounce condemned in a fine of four thousand scudi. Besides this, as being a slanderer, his ears were to be cut off, the fact that he was a Catholic sufficiently preventing his rank as a Cavalier

from affording any protection against his receiving the punishment of the vilest of rogues. But because, continued the Lord Chancellor, a man of the age of sixty-five would not, perhaps, be able to survive the pain, let him, instead of this, be nailed by one of his ears to the public pillar of justice at Westminster; after a certain number of hours let him be unfastened, and taken to Lancaster, and there let him be nailed by the other ear to the public pillar of justice. This punishment corresponds (says Father Bartoli) with the pillory in Italy, except that there a collar of iron is used to fasten the criminals to that public place of shame, but in England it is done by a nail that pierces the ear, and by that means fastens the man to the pillar. There was added to the sentence that in both places a fool's cap should be placed on his head, upon which his offence was to be written, since he could never be induced to confess it himself.<sup>33</sup>

Thus sentenced he was remanded to prison, where, added the Lord Chancellor, if the fear of the imminent and certain evil about to befall him shall bring him to a better mind, he is to be declared discharged from the infamy of nailing by the ears; but if not, let him be kept in prison until he either dies, or reveals his accomplices in defending the cause of justice to Catholics. So far my Lord Chancellor!

The following document confirms the foregoing account of Father Bartoli.<sup>34</sup>

*From England.*

In the month of November of last year [1604] an old man distinguished no less for his noble blood than for his venerable age, after suffering imprisonment for thirty years or more and paying two thirds of all his property to the royal exchequer, being harassed by debt and the importunity of his relatives, who were wholly dependent upon him, and driven by necessity, presented a humble petition to the King, earnestly beseeching his Majesty to free him from the burden, or rather the cruel exaction of the thirds he had to pay; and because two Catholic laymen in the county of Lancaster had been put to death, or rather had suffered a glorious martyrdom, he joined to his own private grievance the

<sup>33</sup> The punishments awarded by the criminal code, in former times (and these not so far off from our own days), were truly both excessive and barbarous, and ill-proportioned to the offences, forming a strange contrast with modern times. What would be thought now-a-days of the following—*Dom. James I.* vol. clix. n. 70, February 22, 1624. Letter of Mr. Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton. “*Moore, an attorney, for speaking ill of Queen Elizabeth and Henry VIII. was sentenced to lose both his ears, and to imprisonment during pleasure. He laughed whilst the sentence was performing in Cheapside.*”

<sup>34</sup> From the secret Vatican Archivium, “Nunciature of England,” miscellaneous note.

public wrong inflicted upon them, and fired with zeal for the faith impeaches the Judge of injustice, begs of the King to spare the innocent lest God, Who is to judge justices, avenge the blood of His own, and reprove in equity for the meek of the earth.

On receipt of the petition, the King informs the Judge of the charge, who, kindling with rage and trusting to the favour and approval of the King and the injustice of the laws, makes an urgent demand that the matter should be carried to the House of Lords, which is the highest tribunal of the Kingdom—a demand which was easily obtained. Soon after he brings an action for libel, and the King gives orders to the House to make a diligent inquiry into the matter, and to proceed judicially against the old man according to the laws of the Kingdom.

Accordingly a large number of the nobility, all peers of the realm, meet together in what they call the Star Chamber. The old man is summoned, and on his appearance the Attorney General, after many false charges against the Catholic faith, calumnies against the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and the seminarist priests, and finally bitter gibes against the old man, broke out into a violent speech against libellers.

Meanwhile, the good old man demanded that two things should be allowed him: the one was permission to speak himself first; the other, that they should send some persons into the county of Lancaster to inquire more carefully into the truth of the point at issue. But these two requests, although most just, were refused him. And even when the Attorney General had brought his speech, or rather invective, to a close, and the confessor of Christ had begun in a quiet manner to clear up the charges brought against him—to impeach the Judge and to prove his point—the Lord Chancellor interrupted his speech, as did the others also frequently (for they could not abide the freedom of language used by the old man), whenever they saw that they had the truth brought home to them, or that they were too clearly convicted of a violation of justice. But in giving their votes (for in that Court the final decision depends upon the plurality of the voices), each Peer stated with great accuracy of language, as is their custom, what in his opinion should be done. This one adjudged him (the old man) to have his ears cut off; another, to be shut up in prison for life; others, to pay a fine of five thousand pounds into the Royal Exchequer. At length, the more common and so the final sentence was that, in addition to perpetual imprisonment and the fine already mentioned, he should be exposed in three places to public view and scorn in the market-place, with his head in the pillory (an infamous kind of punishment which the English have, and one reserved for malefactors, and then only for those of the very lowest of the people). And such was the result of this most unjust trial, from which the old man being conducted and cast into the Tower of London, looking to the justice of his cause and the reward of another life, awaits there with joy the reproach of Christ, valued above the treasures of Egypt.

Much was said and done in the course of this trial in hatred of the English Catholics, and also to insult the faith itself, but especially against priests and the Fathers of the Society of Jesus. For the Attorney General declared the man, who should go against the laws passed in England against the Roman Pontiff, to be guilty of high treason; for whoever (says he) sets up the universal jurisdiction of the Roman See, both makes our King a king by

uncertain tenure only, and himself a sworn enemy and traitor to King and country. Priests (says he) are not Apostles but Apostates; adding that a Gracchus should not complain of sedition nor Papists of severity: for our laws (said he) are written in milk, but theirs not in milk but blood.

The pseudo-Bishop of Canterbury brought forward many statements from the writings of the malcontents in England, and strove to prove from a letter of St. Jerome to Marcella (which, however, is neither a genuine letter of St. Jerome, nor contains anything against the Roman See), that the Roman Church is both of a particular See and abounding with numberless errors, nay, even the seat of Antichrist.

But Cecil (who is the real master, or at least the leading mind in England), after saying many shameful things against Clement VIII. and Father Parsons, at length added amongst other things: when (said he) at the time of the Queen's death the question was raised in the House of Lords of dealing in a milder fashion with the Papists, I remember that my opinion was, and (to tell the truth) still is, that if we yield an inch they will soon take an ell, and foolishly comfort themselves (as they now do) with the hope of a toleration, which neither then nor now has it been determined to allow them in any way. Such were his words. And nearly all the others spoke in a similar strain either against the Catholics or the faith.

[On the back of the paper]—"Close of the letters from England. December 22, 1604."

Mr. Pounce's friends and relations, being advised of this shameful condemnation, hoped to save him from it through the interest of the Spanish Ambassador, at whose entreaties the Queen asked the favour of the King; but both the one and the other received an angry reply, and were in addition forbidden ever again to interfere in a case in which religion was concerned, or presume to intercede for any guilty Papist. Had not the Ambassadors of the King of France and the Doge of Venice, who were more successful in their exertions to soften the heart of King James towards the Catholics, by their united endeavours prevented the execution of the sentence, it would in all probability have been carried out, at least in part; it is, however, certain that the sentence of imprisonment for life was respited.

Connected with these proceedings we extract the following passages from a State Paper, endorsed "Proceedings at the Assizes at York and Lancaster,"<sup>35</sup> from which we are led to the conclusion that, although the savage portion of the sentence was remitted, yet Pounce was actually made to appear at both York and Lancaster Assizes.

"In Yorkshire.—First, Mr. Pounce by order of the Starre

<sup>35</sup> *Dom. James I.* vol. xiii. n. 52 B, 1604.

Chamber, being there to make acknowledgment of his faulte, refuseth the same, otherwise than that if he had offended, then was he sorry for it." . . .

"The proceedings at Lancaster.—First, Mr. Pounce being there resolved both by the Attorney of the Wardes and Mr. Fildesley, to whom he appealed in the Starre Chamber for testimonie, and by all other Justices of the Peace at the former and these Assizes p'sent, of the untruth of his informacon to his Ma<sup>tye</sup>, he thereupon confessed his faulte and with humilitie submitted himself."

A person who met with Pounce, in the same Star Chamber, who was present at that conviction and wrote a full report of it, wisely cautions all, whoever they may be, to whom reports are perhaps sent out of England, not only against attaching any credit to the annals and histories of Stow, Hollingshead, Goodwin, and Camden, which, as being Protestant, however much merit they may possess from the great labour shown in them, always represent the Catholics of England as guilty simply because condemned, but against crediting the very acts of the criminal courts themselves, whether of London, the head Court of the Kingdom, or elsewhere; because, as appears by the proceedings themselves, at the sole will and ruling of the Judges the Catholics are found guilty by the juries, while their adversaries are acquitted. The writer goes on to observe that, if here under the very eyes of the King himself, his own special tribunal so flagrantly abuses its official power, and outrages the name of justice by wickedly distorting both facts and their proofs, and thus giving the semblance of truth to lies, and of falsehood to truth, while they acquit the guilty and condemn the innocent; what are we to expect from other tribunals in the kingdom when causes of religion are in question, since they are so much less ready to listen to the complaints of the oppressed, in proportion as they are further removed from the ears of the King? Nay there are cases in which, on the Catholics answering "Not guilty" to the usual question demanded by the clerk of arraigns the official has actually noted down "guilty" as the answer; so that these stood convicted as pleading "guilty," not indeed by their own act, but by the will of the Attorney General.

But to resume the last acts of Pounce. If the generosity of his spirit, which never seemed to relax or to lose its first fervour under the continued accumulation of his

sufferings and the public ignominy of his thirty years' incarceration, is worthy of our admiration, much more is his great addition of voluntary self-inflicted austerities, loading his own beast of burthen, as he used to call and actually treat his body, with so heavy a weight that it was necessary for the Father General to send him a loving reprehension, and counsel him to reduce them to a more reasonable and supportable degree. His principle was this, that as he lived from day to day with the possibility of the next being his last, he had no notion at all of reserving himself for the time to come, but his only care was to multiply merits for the present hour. He had truly good cause for this daily expectation of death, since the fear of it never restrained him from openly professing, both in public, in his own examinations before the Judges, and in his private discourses and writings upon the point, that Queen Elizabeth was not only not the head and ruler of the Church in England, but that she had not the shadow even of spiritual jurisdiction, above any other woman. Now to utter this even in a whisper was a mortal offence, and had been to many Catholics the sole cause of condemnation to a shameful death, had he not then good reason continually to expect it, and to live each day as though the following one would bring such a death?

Many things, too, at this time were freely broached by the Judges, particularly on the subject of the Queen's supremacy in matters ecclesiastical, which led him to form not a conjecture only, but a hope that, at the ensuing sessions at Newgate, he might be called upon to plead capitally. Therefore, as we have seen, figuring death to be at the gate, he omitted no kind of pious practice that would help him to prepare for so happy an end, or enkindle its desire by prayer, reading, and writing. He occupied himself in writing several treatises, which were diligently committed to memory by Father Thomas Stephens.<sup>36</sup>

In these his principal object was to prove the necessity of penitence, in four ways—(1) from the great multitude of

<sup>36</sup> "Among the flood of publications, to which Father Campian's capture and execution gave rise, was one by Anthony Munday, London, 1582. This called forth the following little book, edited, I think, by Pounce, for printing which Vallenger was condemned in the Star Chamber to lose his ears in the pillory. 'A true report of the death and martyrdom of Mr. Campion, Jesuite and priest, and Mr. Sherwin and Mr. Bryant, priests, at Tiburne, the 1st December, 1581: observed and written by a Catholic priest, which was present thereat. Whereunto is annexed certain verses made by sundry persons.' 16mo, 26 leaves. The poets I take to be Henry Walpole, Pounce, and Vallenger himself" (Mr. Simpson's *Life of Campion*, App. iv. nn. 6, 7, p. 350).

sinner; (2) the immense number of false prophets; (3) from the cruelty of the Turks and heretics; (4) from recent prodigies or omens in the skies and on earth. He subjoins different remedies for different mortal sins, and supplies ten motives for consolation as so many inducements to undergo death with a ready courage. By dying he would be able to expiate for his own sins; and in the cause of God, and for justice' sake, after the example of Christ he would give up his life before he had seen either the times of Antichrist or the overthrow of England, an event then generally foreboded. He would thus, in some little degree be watering the seed of the faith with his own blood, and rendering aid to the constancy of Catholics, the confusion of heretics, and the defence of religion. But in place of that short passage of death, after which he so ardently sighed, was to be substituted a long-continued imprisonment.

It is recorded of him that he took frequent disciplines to blood, that he slept little and with great inconvenience, having no other bed for a long time than the bare and damp ground of the prisons. He ate but once a day, and this practice passed into a custom which he never broke through for forty years, until at length old age obliged him to take a little collation in the evening. "Pardon me, your Reverence," he wrote from Belmont in an account of conscience to his Superior in England, "if I relate in confession my experience of so many years of my solitary life. Flying from the Court, I lived as a hermit for nearly seven years before I was imprisoned; these added to thirty years in prison, and the last three years, since which I have not yet stirred abroad, reckon forty years, during which course of time I have proved that, after humility and poverty of spirit, the fervent love of God, and contempt of the world, there is no more terrible scourge to the devil than fasting, prayer, and watching."<sup>37</sup> As regards fasting he called it "a strong fish-hook, wherewith to enable the fisher of souls in this kingdom to take a good haul."

His dress was neither slovenly nor shabby: on the contrary, it was rather a gay one, not for vanity's sake (God forbid), but by way of protest, that to a captive for the profession of the faith of Christ, and in constant expectation of being called out to die for it, every day was a solemn feast; and he would not that the adversaries, much less the Catholics,

<sup>37</sup> Letter of June 3, 1609, quoted by Father Bartoli, *Inghilterra*, l. i. cap. xvii. p. 131.

should imagine it to be a state of infelicity and ignominy, but rather one of happiness and glory. Prayer, the study of the holy Fathers, writing controversial treatises against current heresies and in defence of the Roman faith and its proofs, treating of the affairs of the soul with follow-Catholics whom he might have in prison; these were his methods of spending the greater part of the night and the whole of each day. And that all this was not useless to others, who received the greatest assistance from the example of his life and the powerful efficacy of his words, is sufficiently proved by describing the rage of the bishops, who, on being apprised of the transformation effected by Pounce of the prisons into churches, of the heretics into Catholics, and of the tepid and wavering amongst them into being truly fervent and courageous, caused him to be hunted from prison to prison, and sent him to be buried in those which were far removed from their dioceses, and were deserted by other men, to the end that, like some one affected with deadly poison, his touch and his breath should not poison others.

“Our brother Pounce,” as Father Parsons writes of him,<sup>38</sup> “is separated far away from all the prisoners, he is most strictly guarded in a lonely castle, and made to stand there for the greater part of the time with a heavy weight of iron upon his back, in punishment of his having freely reproached, to their vexation, the evangelicals, so they call their preachers. To penetrate to him in prison is almost impossible, and to a great extent most dangerous; and a priest, who secretly carried him the Blessed Sacrament, was surprised and imprisoned.

“Now, by God’s mercy, the access is a little facilitated; so much so, that we mutually exchange letters and messages, and thus we get frequent accounts of his battles and contentions with the preachers. They say that he is buried in a prison under ground, totally dark and gloomy; having no other light than that of an oil lamp, and this anything but such an one as he would desire, nor can he ever procure a better by money or entreaty. He sleeps for the most part of the night on the damp ground, bound sometimes with one, two, and often with three iron fetters: nevertheless, he writes merrily to us, and as though he had nothing to say about his prison or sufferings.”

Thus passed the life of this all-enduring confessor till he

<sup>38</sup> Letter dated London, June 16, 1581, to Father General Aquaviva. See Father Bartoli, *Inghil.* l. i. cap. xvii. p. 134.

had attained the thirtieth year of his imprisonment, a period divided into ten stations, agreeing in number, as he himself remarks, with the ten prisons into which he was thrust.

King James at this time formed the plan of banishing from the kingdom the priests who had been captured, and were, according to the cruel laws of Elizabeth, guilty of death, and of entirely liberating all laymen.

Hereupon Mr. Thomas Pounce was remanded to his paternal mansion of Belmont, situated twelve miles from Winchester. Some time after this the Privy Council granted him a written licence to cross the seas, "well knowing," as Pounce says in one of his letters, "that I had no other intention than to give myself up to the Society, and to throw myself at our Father's feet. And I had already prepared to break through every hindrance and betake myself thither, mindful of the last words spoken to me by Father Henry Garnett, which are also those of the Apostle whose spirit he had imbibed, *Non querimus vestra, sed vos*—When, lo! an order came from the Superior whom I obey, and in whose hands I should be as a staff."

The manner of life which this great servant of God spent from his discharge out of prison till his death, a period of about eleven years, may be inferred from the following letter which he wrote to Father Parsons, six years before his death.<sup>39</sup> It shows the affection he always entertained towards the Society, and the strong foundation of virtues that had sustained his patience under persecution for so many years.

Great was my joy of soul when your letter of the 3rd of January was delivered to me, especially the greeting added by Father Claudius to me the least and most unworthy of his sons, for I had received no news from you for a long time. From that day, indeed, until the 15th of May, I remained uncertain what that meekest and humblest of men, my Superior, here willed concerning me.

At length a letter from him has made this sufficiently known to me. But to speak the truth, I say that I am greatly ashamed at my silence of so many years, and on my knees prostrate to the ground at the feet of both, I pray your indulgence. For neither have I met my Superior as I should have done, nor have I addressed your Reverence by letter, and I candidly confess that I find no door of excuse for my negligence. Your Reverence, however, will, perhaps, for the sake of blessed Edmund Campian, whose memory is in benediction, open your bowels of charity to me. Your Reverence loves him; I venerate him with all possible respect. However, not only in this letter, but in your books (which are a consolation to England, and a help to many abroad),

<sup>39</sup> More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.*, lib. ii., n. xxii., p. 52.

I am so greatly lauded that, whether in hearing or reading them, I am completely put to the blush. I congratulate you much, Reverend Father, who like another Israel, are wrestling with God for the preservation and conversion of England. As to what regards myself (to whom our good and great God gives somewhat to suffer), I arrogate nought to myself since nought I deserve.

I subscribed my last letter to our Reverend Father General—*Tot annis in statera appensus, Thomas Pounce*—"The Pounce that has been so many years weighed in the balance." If in that time or afterwards anything was accomplished the favour was of God, not my act. To you, my best of Fathers, I have written nothing. This, I think, may be ascribed to my timidity and pusillanimity. Indeed, I blame my own negligence for not having shown any token either of kindness or of gratitude towards those whom I so greatly honour, and which honour how great it is, is patent to those to whom all things here are manifest. If you ask whence this pusillanimity and fear, I believe it arises from delay. For I was for the space of thirty years dragged through various prisons for the cause of Christ and the Gospel. At the commencement I was mulct in sixteen, afterwards for twenty years in eighty golden crowns per month, and which I paid into the treasury (the whole amounting to twenty-one thousand one hundred and twenty crowns).<sup>40</sup>

And lastly, when thinking of crossing the seas, having made over my estate to two nephews (who, being born of heretical parents, I have brought up and educated as Catholics, as though they were my own sons), and with one foot as it were on the vessel, I was ordered to desist by my Superior (to whose nod I conform myself, as the old man's staff) until our Very Reverend Father's or your Reverence's determination should be known about me. Therefore, put off with hopes, and vainly hoping long against hope, tossed about with many storms and tempests, I nevertheless resolved, naked and poor, to offer myself, although late, as a fruitless and barren tree, that if by chance in this miserable cadence of my life, I can bring forth any fruit, it may be for your Reverence's merit and consolation. Your Reverence, with your accustomed charity, asks me what I am doing? What progress I make in spirit, what fruit, what consolation in my adopted mode of life? To speak plainly as I think, I say well, and most happily, as I hope. For what I once said to my keepers when taken to Framlingham Castle, the same I repeat now, and shall, I hope, say as long as I live, *Hanc, quam pro Societatis toga gero, vestem non*

<sup>40</sup> Father More mentions a case in which he was fined by the Bishop of Winchester sixteen thousand crowns for refusing to apostatize. "He had a good esquire's estate, but it was so plundered by fines and exactions, that even his enemies were ashamed of their cruelty. Yea, Salisbury himself upon my plaint, telling him that our Gospel taught out of Christ's own mouth, that it was more blessed to give than to take away, as they had taken so much from me, took so much compassion on me, for his own honour, as to give me back twenty pounds for my relief, of two hundred pounds, which from a ward that fell to me of one of my tenants, he had taken from me and given to his secretary." Besides this, we read in the *Rambler*, as above, p. 104, that Pounce affirmed to the Bishop of Winchester that he had paid upwards of £4,000 in fines for religion alone. "Multiply that sum," says Mr. Simpson, "by twelve, and we shall have the present (1857) equivalent of the cost of Catholicity to an English gentleman of the sixteenth century."

*regiâ coronâ commutarem*—"I would not change this habit of the Society which I wear for the Queen's crown."

I live with my two nephews frugally indeed; for my means are not such as is commonly reputed, because, forsooth, I give more amongst the poor than my neighbours, I mean the rich; and, because I make little account of those things after which others so eagerly gape, the honester sort, for the most part, wish me well. After a refection at mid-day (which practice of abstinence I would were also familiar to fishers of souls), my supper in the evening consists of bread and cheese; my drink is beer. I interdict myself from wine and medicine. *Cibus est medicina valenti*—"Food is the medicine of the healthy." For the last three years I have had much ado with my friends and domestics for holding to my mode of life. However, I hold on my course, and will stick to it, trusting to the prayers of our Blessed Lady and the whole celestial court. *Non enim existimo me comprehendisse, sed ad destinatum persequor bravium supernæ vocationis*—"I count not myself to have apprehended, but this one thing I do, forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things that are before, I press forward towards the goal of my high vocation."

Your Reverence assist me with your prayers, whose most unworthy son I am.

THOMAS PONDUS.

From my former house at Belmont, 3rd July, 1609.

He lived nearly six years after this, viz., till March 5, 1615, on which day God called him to the reward of his faithful service for so many years, and of the great merits of his multiplied sufferings and labours. He died in the same room at Belmont, in which seventy-six years before he had first seen the light of day. He was a man of truly wonderful perseverance, who had wearied out, as he wrote to a friend, so many judges, magistrates, and doctors, that were all furious against him and set upon his death. At last, despairing of success, they were obliged to satisfy themselves with torturing him during life, and plundering him of his property. Until finally, seeing him utterly indifferent both to the one and to the other, when put in comparison with his faith and the good of his soul, admiration changed their hatred into regard, and their contempt into reverence. "Therefore, whether living or dead, his memory is most highly honoured in that persecuted Church; although it would have been intolerable pain to the modesty of the holy man, had he seen himself lauded by the writers of the time, and in the diaries wherein his fellow-prisoners in the same good cause registered day by day the events that happened to him and the others, more especially in the Tower of London."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>41</sup> Bartoli, *Inghil.* l. i. cap. xvii.

The reader is referred to a very interesting and characteristic allusion to Thomas Pounce in the personal narrative of the Rev. Henry Chaderdon.<sup>42</sup>

The following narrative, by Thomas Pounce, was evidently addressed to King James himself. It is preserved among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, London, *Dom. James I.*, vol. xxi. n. 48, and is endorsed "A malicious discourse of the sufferings of a recusant."

My God, my God, the Eternal God of the Catholics, only to Thy Almighty Majesty (to whom the greatest earthly monarchs are but dust) I make my complaint to judge and discern my cause, and to witness between Thy enemies and me what their justice hath been towards me, and what my weapons or offences against them, almost these forty years. Thy admirable mercy it was which delivered my soul out of the very jaws of hell's mouth about the thirtieth year of my age, perchance for the comfort and consolation of any sinner, never so great, never to despair. The favours of Court and of all this sinful world I found to be but very mermaid's allurements to perdition. My age is now sixty-eight years complete this 29th of May, 1606 [a mistake for 1609]. The same year born into this world that Father Campian was . . . and to suffering some like disgraces, sweet Jesu, for Thy holy Name's sake as he did. Half these sixty-eight years Thou hast accepted me to be for Thy Catholic cause in prison, and three times there - for to be put in irons. My first imprisonment was in the town of Ludlow, and the shortest of all other, but for one forenoon's space; but much the sweeter for my fellow and partner in that imprisonment, Father Thomas Stephens, these thirty-nine years since a famous preacher of the Society at Goa, where their colony of St. Paul's is, at the East Indies, of whose great favours there showed to many of our English Protestants there sometimes arriving, they have in the history of their navigation given good testimony. He and I going on foot, first to see the ground in Herefordshire which moved, and beyond that to Ludlow to try our legs in footmanship, because we walked out, while we rested our blistered feet for a few days in Ludlow, to see the high cliff called Olee Hill, we were suspected forsooth for spies come to view the country.<sup>43</sup> My second imprisonment was in the Marshalsea,

<sup>42</sup> See pp. 543, seq.

<sup>43</sup> This prodigy of nature made a great stir at the time, and no doubt drew many others to see it besides Thomas Pounce and his faithful companion, Thomas Stephens. Spede thus quaintly mentions it under the head of Herefordshire: "Things of rare note in this shire are said to be *Bone Well*, a spring not far from Richards Castle, wherein are continually found little fishes' bones, but not a finne seen; and being wholly cleansed thereof, will notwithstanding have againe the like, whether naturally produced, or in veynes thither brought, no man knowith. But more admirable was the worke of the Omnipotent, even in our own remembrances, and yeare of Christ Jesus 1571, when the marshy hill in the east of this shire, rouzed itselfe out of a dead sleep, with a roaring noise removed from the place where it stood, and for three days together travelled from her first site, to the great amazement and fear of the beholders. It began to journey vpon the seventh day of February, being Saturday, at sixe of the clocke at night, and by seaven in the next morning had gone fortie paces, carrying with it

for certain months, by Mr. Sands committing me only for visiting and comforting in the best that I could of a merchantman of London, one Whitelock, in Mark Lane, which was possessed.<sup>44</sup> My third removing from thence was upon bonds, down into Hampshire, to my own mother's house, but not suffered there a year in quiet. My fourth removing from her and committing was by Horne, into the gaol of Winchester for a few months. My fifth removing was from thence, and from all other Catholic gentlemen of my own country, up by myself to the Marshalsea, and there kept five years. My sixth removing from thence was by Mr. Elmer, for a year to Starford Castle, in greater desolation, by myself alone, in revenge partly of my *Six Reasons*, and partly of my petition, which I put up at the same time in the name of all the Catholics, for public disputation upon even conditions to be granted for open trial of our cause. My seventh removing from thence was up to the Tower of London, when Father Campian was apprehended by Judas Elliot (for which good service his red coat was given him), and there kept four years. My eighth removing from thence was by the Queen and the Council, once more to my mother's house, first in Hampshire for half a year, and afterwards to the brick house at Newington, until the beginning of the tragedy of the King's good mother's death. My ninth removing again from Newington was for a year into the White Lion at Southwark, where, out of my window, I saw the bonfires and banquets in the streets for our King's mother's death; a justice there saying to me in derision, at sight of her picture in my chamber, that he was sorry for the loss to all Papists of so great a friend. My tenth removing from thence was to Wisbeach Castle, in the Isle of Ely, and there kept ten years. My eleventh removing from thence—and the three more with me, viz., Father Edmonds, Mr. Southworth, and Mr. Archer, priests—the first into the Counter in Wood Street, for six weeks; from thence into the Tower again, for my second durance there, for three years more close imprisonment, and that my twelfth removing; my thirteen removing from thence was with Mr. Alabaster and Mr. Archer to Fremingham Castle, and there kept three years. My enlargement from thence was by the pardon of course at his Majesty's coming to the crown; and afterwards my committing by the King himself to the Gatehouse for my fourteenth durance; and from thence to the Tower for four months, my fifteenth durance. From thence to the Fleet, at twice, for three months, my sixteenth durance. Of so many commitments and manifold afflictions so many years for my zeal of the holy truth and honour of Thy house, sweet Jesu, send me some

sheepe in their coates, hedgerows and trees; whereof some were overturned, and some that stood upon the plaine are firmly growing upon the hill; those that were east were turned west; and those in the west were set in the east; in which remove it overthrew Kinnaston Chappell, and turned two highwayes neere a hundred yards from their usual paths formerly trod. The ground thus travelling was about twentie-six acres, which opening itself with rockes and all bare the earth before it for foure hundred yards space without any stay, leaving that which was pasturage in place of the tillage, and the tillage overspread with pasturage. Lastly, overwhelming her lower parts, mounted to a hill of twelve fathoms high, and there rested herself, after three dayes travell; remaining his marke, that so laid hand upon this rocke, whose power hath poysed the hills in his ballance."

<sup>44</sup> This is the case referred to in page 577.

special comfort in Thee at my last hour against all the enemies of my soul, for Thy accepting of me so oft and so long to some partaking with Thee in Thy sufferings. Some defamation besides Thou knowest that I have endured, and besides all privy crosses; moreover, of worldly substance no small losses by most intolerable oppressions, even to distressing of some orphans and innocents, whose dependence, under Thee, is wholly of me, to our great distressing, I say many times, but most of all at this present, for repayment of that which of creditors we have borrowed for our poor maintaining, while this ravening State hath robbed us these many years of two parts of our poor revenues, taking away the children's bread, and giving it, Thou seest to whom. Thus groaning, we lie under as grievous afflictions as ever did the Israelites under the Egyptians. Vice is advanced and virtue punished; falsehood is impudently maintained, and truth obstinately resisted, yea, as their fleeing from any open trial of their cause manifestly betrayeth most certainly against the contradictors' own conscience. The godly under persecution are still in misery, the ungodly they flourish still in prosperity. This makes the atheist to think in his heart there is no God; and from the grievous scandal lately given by a few, in whom Abner his words to Saul were verified, that it is a perilous thing to put men in desperation, and whether any other were in it, God knoweth, the most innocent of Catholics do stink now in his Majesty's nose, his heart being much hardened against them, whom his royal mother at her last hour so well wished to, specially commending them for her sake to his favour, whensoever he should come to reign, as now he doth in her right over them. Were we not recomforted by daily meditating how far greater indignities Thy own Majesty, sweet Jesu, suffered for us, it were able to shake our confidence in Thee. But Thy own Blessed Mother's heart was pierced with many sharper swords of sorrow, and Thy great Apostle St. Paul was five times whipped with whips, and three times with rods, besides public stoning once for a blasphemer. Therefore, what are all the despisings and disgracings in this world now to such moths and worms as we are in comparison of Thyself and Thy greatest saints. Neither can all these heavy crosses inflicted by him upon us, which promised more Christianity to protect us, make us cease our prayer for him and his prosperity. "Maledicimur," said the Apostle, "et benedicimus, blasphemamur et obsecramus, persecutionem patimur et sustinemus; tanquam purgamenta hujus mundi facti sumus omnium peripsema." They which curse us, we bless them; they which blaspheme us, we pray to God for them; of them which persecute us we take compassion. We are become as the outcasts of this world, contemptible as the pavings of pavements under men's feet. What remaineth for them which any means have to flee out of this Egypt into any Catholic country more flowing for them with the spiritual milk and honey, but all speedy despatch thereto? "Exi de terrâ et de cognatione tuâ," said God to Abraham; "et veni in terram, quam monstravero tibi." If God's sweet providence in all extremities have wonderfully provided for us here in this land of such desolation, where every man in his own country is of least estimation, His blessing and comfort may be more with us in foreign peregrination for His more honour undertaken; He loving the pilgrim as ever He did, suffering him to want neither food nor clothing; and oh, how piercing are His callings thereto, how sweet also His promises, therein to provoke us! "If any one

come to Me," saith our Saviour, "and hateth not father and mother, wife and children, lands or livings, yea, and his own life, he cannot be My disciple." Again, "Whosoever shall forsake father and mother, wife and children, house and land, for following of Me shall receive a hundred-fold in this world, and in the world to come life everlasting." Yea, moreover, as He assured St. Peter, when he asked Him what their reward should be which had forsaken all that they had and followed Him, "Verily," said He, "when the Son of Man at the dreadful day of judgment shall come in His glory to judge men of the world, you shall be so secure from damnation that ye also shall sit with Him upon the judgment seat, as judges with him upon the world." Is it so, my good King? Is it so, my good lords, ye which here devour unstable souls like bread as it were into excrements, which neither will come yourselves into the only ark of safety, nor suffer any others, if you can keep them back from it? Do ye believe the Scriptures or no? or can ye forget that you are but mortal men, to give account of all your doings, and the more mighty ye be, if you abuse your authorities, to suffer most mighty torments. Oh, what will your judgment be for so long resisting against the Holy Ghost, for so long sinning, not only yourselves, but making so many millions of souls to sin with ye! My heirs be of age to enjoy the gift which I have given them, of all that I have had, to be as loyal subjects to the crown in all temporal things as can be, who is most; their obedience to God and His spiritual Vicar, in all spiritual causes concerning their soul's everlasting safety, first reserved. My dear country, God convert thee out of this pitiful captivity of schism and heresy. My sovereign liege lord, with so fair issue blessed of God, how gladly would I give my life for your conversion, that ye might reign for ever, both in earth and heaven! I envy not your Majesty's greatness; I hope you will not malign at my fleeing and abjecting of myself rather to be a doorkeeper in the house of my God, to which in my heart I have these many years been dedicated, than to be, if I might, among the highest in your Majesty's favour.<sup>45</sup>

We subjoin a copy of the original letter of Thomas Pounce to Father Robert Parsons, referred to above, dated the 3rd of June, 1609, which is preserved in the Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. iii. n. 95.

Having received your most loving letter to me of the 3rd of January, Right Rev., with our Father Cl. [Father General Claudius] so fatherly commendations and remembrance to and of one of the unworthiest of his children about three months past, and thereupon expecting here my humble governor his direction to me, until the 15th of May, at length, upon the 29th of May, upon which very day of that month I was born and christened, and my age then just seventy years full completed, I received his loving answer. To whose reverence here so near me, as to your own, so far distant, I fall upon my face for very confusion of so many years' muteness to you both (my rule therein also failed towards my nearest

<sup>45</sup> Mr. Simpson remarks in regard to the above narrative, "Though contemporaries refused to credit the truth of this document, there are plenty of evidences extant in the various Record Offices to confirm it paragraph by paragraph."

Superiors) and my negligence towards your Reverence inexcusable, whose special love and affection towards me (belike for my love and zeal of our Blessed Edmund C. [Campian]) his honour of glorious memory, could not contain itself, but in some of your good monuments [writings] wherewith God's happy afflicted flock (not only in England but elsewhere far and near are exceedingly comforted and confirmed) to give me such titles as the very hearing some time of them out of such records may make me to blush, and how could I then contain my pen from rendering some kind of congratulation again to you (such a Jacob-like wrestler with God Himself for the conversion and preservation of your whole country as you are), which attributed much more to me for a little sufferance by God's good favour laid upon me, than anything else in me could deserve. O Father, I am too much ashamed of it. Truly nothing else it was but a little (nay not a little) pusillanimity. The last letter that I wrote to the greatest of our Council was thus subscribed. *Tot annis in statera appensus T. P.* If any strength or weight in that time were, God's gift it was (not of myself). And yet you have seen now my weakness towards such whom in our spiritual warfare the highest of our powers here are not ignorant that I most honour them of all men living. And whereof came such weakness? I will truly show you. When, after thirty years' imprisonment through ten prisons, under most hungry caterpillars and many other oppressions, and in that space £4,000 spoil suffered of my substance, by 120<sup>li</sup> for twenty years yearly paid to the Queen and her patentees (my land for all that, by God's strange preserving, a good esquire's estate) worth between the King and my two nephews with my own reservations, yearly above a thousand crowns.

When after all this I say nine of our Council had set their hands to a licence for me to pass over sea, they well enough weeting [knowing] what my privy meaning was, there to have rendered up myself at the Society's feet (what they laid in wait for, it was suspected). But my farewell here given out in a few verses to honour my native country in the best manner that I could. When I was ready to have cut off all cables, and to cross the seas towards you, our dear Father W.'s<sup>46</sup> last words to me were out of the Apostle whose spirit was in him, *Non querimus vestra sed vos.* Behold my Superior here sent me word (under whose hold I must be *tanquam baculus in manu Domini*) that my good will and readiness were sufficiently seen; but nevertheless I must stay on this side until both he and I did hear further from F. G. or with his privy from you. In which meanwhile, by long expecting and re-expecting to hear from you, I still remained mute, like one ashamed of my barrenness to such a company. So many years through intolerable oppressions of so miserable a time, and therefore more desirous to prostrate myself to some of you there by visible presence than by any letters, to appear, as it were, empty before you in comparison of presenting you with myself, the tree itself with whatsoever fruit it may yield you, such as it is. Now in your desiring to hear (as due correspondence between the Superior and the inferiors every head and its members doth require) of what comfort I am in my course, and what fruit I reap thereof, your Reverence doth make me to remember what our Royal King and Captain, under Whose glorious banner of the Cross our warfaring is, did inquire to know of His disciples, *Quem dicunt homines esse Filium hominis.* An unprofitable member I acknowledge myself. And yet, as long as

<sup>46</sup> Father Garnett, *alias* Whalley.

I find so much comfort in this course taken upon me, that I hope I shall say still to my last hour (as at Ipswich openly long since I did, when for news by the pursuivants to be carried back to the Council, to whom, by their spies it was not before unknown, laying my own hand upon the breast of my cloak, I protested to them that I would not change that cloak for the Queen's crown. So long, I say, I had rather your Reverence should inquire what the voice is that *ab his qui foris sunt*, as well as from friends more conversant, what men say of this man and his ways, but a little contrary to theirs; of this man in the furnace so long at weyling [wailing]; and in the end where rest and cherishing should be sought, so yielding up his patrimony to his Catholic nephews given him of God from Protestant parents, to be bred up and adopted as his own children. A strange thing I may tell you, I hope without vanity, giving the glory to [the] God of all tribulations. The State hath almost wearied themselves in persecuting and pilling of me, seeing me and mine so brought down, and my sails so set to another course than outwardly I bear still the name of. And yet the very Protestants, yea, and some also Puritans, seeing my contempt of that which they so scrape for, do somewhat muse at it, and are not unready to any neighbourly kindness that lieth in them to serve me. Yea, Salisbury himself (upon my plain telling him what our Gospel taught out of Christ's own mouth, that it was more blessed to give than to take, and *à fortiori*, much more blessed to give than to take away from Catholics, as they had taken so much from me), took so much compassion on me for his own honour, as to give me back 20<sup>li</sup> for my relief of 200<sup>li</sup> which for a ward that fell to me of one of my tenants he had taken from me, and given it to his secretary.

Moreover, to keep my weapons from rusting, and me wheresoever I am waking, I have not wanted daily crosses for three years' space, very near to my own doors. "Attamen intercessione B. Virginis, totiusque in cœlis Societatis, Deo nobis protectore, Deo nobis adjutore in his omnibus superavimus. Hi sunt spiritualis militiæ nostræ triumphus. Nec tamen in his justificati sumus, sed cum timore usq. ad horam mortis, quæ nobis est tam incerta, ut salutem nostram operemur multo cautius vigilandum."

Touching the state of my health, the constitution of my jumentum hath been strong in a mean degree, and my stomach still meetly strong for my years; only my sight these two years is grown very dim and hardly knoweth to read a small print with any spectacles. Any rheumatisms or distillations never troubled me, yet if I should much use any waterish and extenuating meats, they would breed soon the scurvy to a prisoner, or in any like life, as once in the Tower they did to me.

Your Reverence will give me leave in secret to you to show some experiences of so long a hermit's life. I retired myself from the life in Court to solitary life in the country, near seven years before any committing of me to any prison; which being added to my thirty years' imprisonment, with the time since my enlargement, may resemble my life in that respect somewhat hermit-like for forty years' space. So long have I found some experience, that next to humility of heart and meekness of spirit, fervent love of God and holy Church, with contempt of this world, there is nothing more dreadful to the devil than fasting and prayer, adding also watching to it, or else early rising (the disciples of our holy patrons now in heaven are scarce imitable, but the third part of that in use makes

him soon to flee). But to return to your hermit's forty years' experience. So long he hath practised the abstinence of one competent meal the day, taken at the common dining hour, endeavouring always to a light supper, which, if it be not of any flesh, but rather some pittance of cheaper feeding, as every stomach shall best agree withal, not only less burthening the stomach, but the less to burthen the purse, whosoever the charge shall be. These I dare commend to be as quick a taking hook for fishers of men to use now in England (where Catholics are pilled and preyed on to the bare bones, and yet neither any succour sent them, nor any zeal of God's house showed for them), as quick a taking hook, I say, for this miserable time as a right good sermon; with which blessed bait, through so many false brothers as here now are risen, there is almost no safe fishing for them. Only within some gentleman's house of mean estate, yea, or in meaner place, a prompt and plain preacher might do great good, to the great comfort of many devout souls. Of which talents I humbly beseech my Reverend Superiors here to help me to one rather of our own Society than of any other coat, *tam propter vicinum bonum quam propter vestrum majorem honorem* (to whom I would have the secret of our estate as open as the sun), although our doors are shut to none. For my N. [nephew] is that way, as all other way very valorous and zealous, and his constancy well tried from his infancy. If Samson were some way proud and weak, who may not have some infirmity, and yet by God to be turned to his good? For the fruit which I have found in so long abstinence (*et quoniam validiora sunt exempla quam verba*), I have made a secret memorial of the hardest of it in these nine verses following, that it may plainly appear to have had no rigourousness in it in a life at such rest as mine hath here :

Sat michi prandenti tres haustus, cœna superq.  
 Prandenti libra sit cibi, sic nomine cœnæ  
 Esto libræ panis pars tertia, fructus abite ;  
 Forte tamen casei similis pars tertia grata.  
 Nec me laute magis quam fratres scimus egenos,  
 In votis mihi sit vel vivere, vel recreare.  
 Sit vinum infirmis ; mihi sit cervisia potus,  
 Nil mihi cum medico ; cibus medicina valenti.  
 Et memet pascens pasco simul esurientem.

My sight now is dim and weak to write any more than of great necessity. Therefore the acknowledgment signified to my Reverend Father Weston, from his long pupil in Wisbeach Castle and comforter what I could in the Tower, how much I am bound to honour him in my heart (and next him to love my dear brother some time, but many happy spent years since that, ten thousand miles hence ; I mean my Father Thomas Stephens), which was my first messenger for obtaining of my admittance into the Society, will be, as I hope, not uncomfortable to them, nor yet to my loving Father Ed. Co. of our College at Fremingham [Father Edward Coffin], whose hand I knew to be the secretary of your Reverence's letter, having sent to my Reverend Father General (the poor mite of an affectionate child) and to yourself, dear sir, and to Father Weston the like, as to my governor here, yea both F. W., for each of you and them, a London knife, with damask haft of the finest making, whereby to remember me, and the [same] to my Father Ed. C., your secretary, in requital of his book which he gave me at his last departure, with his name in the end of it. These I did provide of purpose for

tokens to so many of your Reverences, against my intended voyage over two years past, belike in *bonum omen* of my hearing at least from you in such manner as of late I have.

Immediately after my release out of the Fleet, I sent a great packet to Father Wh. als Ga. [Walley als Garnet] by Richard Fulwood, with many particulars in it not only of all my last troubles, but of all the chiefest things which I had put up to the King, part whereof was my reply to Crowley within Father Campian his lifetime. I sent up from Starford Castle by Justice Snag, both to the L. of London and to the Council, to cause it to be rejoined to for the credit of their cause; as to his Majesty, I still continued the like demand to show that no obstinacy was in us, if we might be convinced in any error. If Father Wa. did never send any particulars of that packet over to your sight, perchance your Reverence would be willing enough (considering what accidents have since fallen out) to see some of them yourself, or else to my Governour here to refer them. Humbly beseeching all your Reverences to remember me to God in your holy prayers. At my house at Belmont. My verses for my farewell at this mark as above mentioned I have also inclosed, if they be worth seeing.

One of your most devoted children, although hitherto least beneficial,

THO. P.

The following verses, written two years before, were inclosed in the above letter:

Præstantissima hujus insignis insulæ, patriæ meæ dulcissimæ, commoda.

Anglia musarum mater hæc peperitq; priori  
 Oxonium partu. Te (Cantabrigia) secundo.  
 Hæc tot sanctorum Regum mater atq. sepulcrum,  
 Hic tot martyrio Sancti supra astra levati:  
 Totq. Sacerdotum nunc Carnificina. Quid ergo?  
 Non ausim celebrare meo tua commoda versu?  
 Audeo et audebo, cave tu (Lutherane) placebo.  
 Septima pars Regni Sacris celeberrima votis,  
 Quæq. suam repetet quondam dos Sacra Mariæ  
 Tempa, seges, naves, mulier, bos, lana, metalla,  
 Panni, cornipedes quovis bene principe digni.  
 Dant pluviam nubes, flores et flumina montes.  
 Melleq; lacte fluunt campi, dant æquora pisces,  
 Quid referam quales, quibus est genus omne natantum?  
 Est mare pro muro (vos non ingrata colonæ)  
 Estque salis ferri, stanni, est et copia plumbi  
 Et crocus in latis (merx quam ditissima) campis.  
 Instar et ignis habet lapides cognomine seacoal,  
 Hocq. faber sua ferra liquat ferrarius igne.  
 Hoc silvæ umbrosæ: vivaria deniq. multa,  
 Cervorum et damarum grex pinguedine clarus.  
 Tectaq. nobilibus Dominis O quam speciosa!  
 Planities, montes, fontes non igne caventes.  
 Non lupus in silvis (taceo quod mente revolvo).  
 Est potus quovis melior cervisia vino.  
 Dæmonis invidia cui inventum credo tobacco.  
 Deliciæ O nimium multæ atq. pecunia multa.  
 In bello cives fortes, in pace fideles.  
 Rustica gens (mirum dictu) quam militat audax,  
 Gens munita satis sine muris, sat sibi dives,

Ingenio pollens, quibus ars fere absq. labore est  
 Musica, et (heu) saltans nimium famosa juvenus.  
 Lautaviatori, si quærat, cœna, deinde  
 Et cubitum lætus, quoniam hospes ab hospite tutus.  
 O fortunatus nimium bona si sua novit  
 Angligena, admonitus vanasq. relinqueret aras.  
 Cætera non dicam, tibi Christus sed benedicat,  
 Tot mihi tam charos ut in te sinat ille perire.  
 Nos patriam fugimus, Thomas cognomine Ponus ;  
 Omne solum forti patria est, valeatis amici.

Ætatis suæ 68.

1607.

Thomas Pounce, as we have seen in his letter, mentions his nephews to whom he had been a parent, and that one of them was very valorous and zealous, and his constancy well tried. He may very probably be the person named in a letter of Father Anthony Rivers, dated April 28, 1602, written to Father Robert Parsons, addressed Signor Ridolfo Perino, Venice.<sup>47</sup> In speaking of one Bomer, an apostate student of Douay, who had turned Government informer, he says: "Bomer with his pursuivants, meeting with one Mr. Henry Pounce, that had been a traveller, the day after the execution [of Father Francis Page, S.J., and the Rev. Robert Watkinson, at Tyburn, April 20, 1602] would have stayed him as a priest and traitor; he inquired by what name they arrested him, and what warrant they had, which they refusing to show, he drew upon them in the streets, hurt the pursuivant in divers places, and defended himself most valiantly against many 'prentices that came with halberds to help the pursuivant, and had not his sword broken, he would have beaten the whole street before him. Having wounded and hurt many, and being himself wounded and disarmed, he yielded, and was carried before the Chief Justice, where he testified himself as no priest, and was therefore wronged by their manner of proceeding. Notwithstanding, for that he was a Papist, and had been a traveller, he was sent to Newgate. The pursuivant is like to die; the gentleman is much pitied, and highly commended for his valour by all sorts."

We do not trace what became of Mr. Henry Pounce, but as he was acting in self-defence he was probably soon released.

Thomas Pounce was evidently a man of great ability and of considerable poetical talent. The late Mr. Simpson in p. 325 of his *Life of Father Campian* ascribes to Pounce the following lines, written upon the occasion of the martyrdom of Father Edmund Campian and his companions, when among other

<sup>47</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Series I. p. 29.

prodigies mentioned by Father Parsons in his *Epistle of Comfort to the Priests*, which he wrote early in 1582, he gives an account of "the wonderful stay and standing of the Thames the same day that Campian and his company were martyred, to the great marvel of the citizens and mariners, and the like stay of the river Trent about the same time. Which accidents, though some will impute to other causes, yet happening at such special times, when so open and unnatural injustice was done they cannot but be interpreted as tokens of God's indignation."

The scowling skies did storm and puff apace,  
 They could not bear the wrongs that malice wrought ;  
 The sun drew in his shining purple face ;  
 The moistened clouds shed brinish tears for thought ;  
 The river Thames awhile astonished stood  
 To count the drops of Campion's sacred blood.  
 Nature with tears bewailed her heavy loss ;  
 Honesty feared herself should shortly die ;  
 Religion saw her champion on the cross ;  
 Angels and saints desired leave to cry ;  
 E'en heresy, the eldest child of hell,  
 Began to blush, and thought she did not well."

Mr. Simpson in a volume of valuable MSS., containing his biographical sketch of Thomas Pounce, together with the letter supposed to have been written by Pounce to Francis Tregian, given in page 601, transcribes a copy of a long poem in two parts, some eighty-six stanzas, presumed to be from the pen of Thomas Pounce, and referred to in that letter, which, together with its accompaniments, were no doubt intercepted by the spies of the Privy Council.<sup>48</sup>

The poem is headed "Jesus. A challenge unto Fox the martyr-monger, written upon the occasion of the miraculous martyrdom of the aforesaid Peter Elcius, with a comfort to all afflicted Catholics."

The first part, "the challenge," contains some forty-two stanzas ; and the second, "the comfort to Christian Catholics," about forty-four. A few extracts are given by way of illustrating the biography.

The "challenge" begins :

Come forth, fond Fox, with all your rabble rout  
 Of monstrous martyrs in thy brainsick book ;  
 Compare them to this glorious martyr stout,  
 And thou shalt see how loathly foul they look.  
 For black and white compared somewhat near,  
 Will cause them both the better to appear.

This blessed man of God's professed foes  
 With deep despite in ruthless sort was slain ;

<sup>48</sup> See State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* n. 58, 1582. The Comfort would be "The Golden Cordial Comfort," referred to in p. 597.

What time himself a Catholic he shews,  
 And in that faith he hoped to obtain  
 The endless empire of eternal bliss,  
 Who prayed the saints to help and pray for this.

His courage, joy, and patience did declare  
 The fervour great of constant Xtian love,  
 The miracles at martyrdom so rare  
 This favour great with Mighty God doth prove.

After a severe handling of Mr. Fox and his martyrs, he concludes with the following stanzas :

For if that he a glorious martyr be  
 (Which spite herself for shame cannot deny),  
 Then any man which is not blind may see  
 In what bad state thy monsters mad did die.  
 For when the day appeareth fair and bright  
 There is no place for ugly shades of night.

Our altars God and Dagon cannot hold,  
 Our Christ and Belial needs must be at jar ;  
 For wolves and lambs agree not in one fold,  
 No more than peace can live at ease with war.  
 If therefore he in endless bliss do reign,  
 The state of thine is ever during pain.

Discomfort not, whate'er your foes do threat ;  
 Reck not of racks, their torments are but toys ;  
 The more they do upon your bodies set,  
 The more with Me they shall increase your joys.  
 Yea, and the greater that your torments be,  
 The greater comfort shall you have of Me.

Recount what tortures martyrs old did feel,  
 As stones and whips, hooks, plummetts, clubs and chains,  
 Saws, swords, shafts, darts, the rack, the wheel,  
 Frost, water, fire, the axe and sundry pains :  
 Some choked with stink, some famished, wanting meat,  
 And some were flung to brutish beasts to eat.

And some by them were likewise drawn in twain,  
 Some piecemeal hewn, some stripped of their skin,  
 Some boiled, some broiled, and some with bodkins slain,  
 And some hot oil and lead were dipped in.  
 And each of these of comfort had such store,  
 As all did wish their torments had been more.

Peruse their lives and use their virtues rare,  
 And then of what estate soe'er thou be  
 Their mildness may your Christian minds prepare  
 With them to take all griefs and cares in gree.  
 For no estate upon this earth doth dwell  
 Which with My saints may not be suited well.

Several stanzas are then devoted to the mention of various saints and martyrs. After which, the poet proceeds :

Withal behold these glorious wounds of Mine,  
 And think for you what men have done to Me.

You likewise may record how many ills  
 All foolish worldlings daily do endure,

For health, for wealth, for pleasure's poisoned pills,  
 For which their bones oftimes they do procure.  
 And let not these for shame take greater pain  
 To purchase hell, than you the heavens to gain.

My word is past, My promise may not fail,  
 Conform yourselves, I will confirm your grace ;  
 Hell gates shall not against your faith prevail,  
 Though these for rods we use now for a space.  
 But in the end they shall be endless fire,  
 And you with joy shall reap your earned hire.

And as the dandling nurse with babe doth play,  
 Wch puling long hath wept and cried for woe,  
 E'en so will I with you, and wipe away  
 The tears which down your leaves have trickled so.  
 Meantime, cheer each his mate ; to praying fall,  
 And I will be the cheerer of you all.

Call in therefore, thy loathsome lump of lies,  
 With humble mind make suit to God and Grace ;  
 That He may ope thy blind and bleared eyes  
 Thereby to see, and purchase thee a place ;  
 Whereas thy masters could not enter in,  
 Because they were so deeply drowned in sin.

Which, that thou mayst, with all my heart I pray,  
 And that is all the hurt I wish to thee ;  
 That we in peace may meet another day  
 In bliss, which here on earth could not agree.  
 And so farewell, from thee I turn my style,  
 To comfort Christian Catholics awhile.

The "comfort" thus begins :

You blessed men who suffer for belief,  
 Pluck up your hearts, take courage and be glad.  
 Sing praise to God, abandon care and grief,  
 This happy news forbids you to be sad.  
 Your state is bliss, yea treble blest it is—  
 To see our Church yield such an imp as this.

If elephants will be provoked to flight  
 (As Sacred Writ records to us for true),<sup>49</sup>  
 When blood of grapes is set before their sight,  
 What cause have we with courage to pursue,  
 When you behold the blessed martyr's blood,  
 And call to mind your case and quarrel good.

For as the tribe of Ruben and the rest,  
 Which had their parts allotted to their share,  
 Vowed to their mates, in land of God's behest,  
 With all their toil, their travail, and their care,  
 To help to plant them as they did desire  
 That every one might have their earned hire.

So these no doubt which seized have the skies,  
 And rest in peace within the port of bliss,  
 Present your prayers, your tears, your groans and cries,  
 To Him of helps the only help which is.  
 And if you work, they labour all their best,  
 To bring you likewise to the land of rest.

. . . . .

<sup>49</sup> 1 Mach. vi. 34.

With Christ in heaven, if that you hope to be,  
 With Christ on earth you must endure annoy ;  
 As none at once both heaven and earth can see,  
 So none in both can pleasures sweet enjoy.  
     Shade shrouds the back when sun beshines the face ;  
     When worldly comforts lack, then men have light of grace.

The poem thus concludes :

Here with our Saviour's speech I will conclude,  
 And you, renowned confessors, do request  
 In humble sort, my homely metres rude  
 To take in gree, and construe to the best.  
     For zeal, not skill, did make me take my pen  
     To stir myself, by stirring other men.  
 For, as the trumpeter whose limbs be lame,  
 To battle's broils encouraging the knight,  
 Some comfort takes partaking of the fame,  
 If foes he foils, and gain the spoil by fight :  
     So I in hope that you of prey right sure,  
     Will help with prayers my lamed lines to cure.  
     Deo gratias.  
     Convertantur qui oderunt Sion.

#### PART II.

We now proceed to the second part of our biography, viz., Thomas Pounce's connection with Father Campian and Father Parsons in their evangelical labours, and with the events of those times, his letters, &c. In doing so it will be necessary to enter a little into the history of that exciting period.

Fathers Campian and Parsons arrived in England on different days in the month of June, 1580. On reaching London Father Parsons went to the Marshalsea Prison, where he found our confessor, who received him with open arms, and introduced him to Mr. George Gilbert, a quondam convert of that Father, who bountifully provided for all his wants and comforts, as he did also for Father Campian on his arrival.<sup>50</sup>

Fathers Campian and Parsons finding London emptied of friends and swarming with spies, which rendered further stay both useless and dangerous, determined with the other priests to go forth on their appointed missions into the shires. Each of the Fathers was furnished with two horses and a servant, two suits of apparel for travelling, sixty pounds in money, books, vestments, and everything needful for the church or for the road, by George Gilbert, who also promised to supply whatever more might be necessary for them. Gilbert was the

<sup>50</sup> His life forms part of the present Series.

founder and the soul of a young men's club, the chief character and objects of which we now proceed to describe. The members bound themselves to perform the two functions of preparing Protestants and of securing the safe conduct of priests, besides procuring alms for the common fund, out of which the priests were supported. Not only did their peculiar position force these young laymen into such an association, but the various difficulties of the missionary priests made the cooperation of some such body absolutely necessary. The penal laws were already very severe, and held out strong inducements to the laity to betray the missionaries. Prudence, therefore, forbade them to compromise themselves or the persons whom they visited, before they knew that their visits would be safe for themselves or agreeable to their hosts. For this reason the Fathers were directed to be very careful as to the persons with whom they conversed; on no account to have personal dealings with any Protestant, until his Catholic friends had sounded his disposition, secured his impartiality, and felt sure that the priests might speak with him without fear of being betrayed. All which required an extensive organization among the Catholic gentry.

Further, as the safety of priests required that they should know to whom they were about to trust themselves, and should be protected and conducted on their way from house to house, so did the safety of the host require that he should know whom he was receiving. Priests could not carry with them the certificates of their priesthood, still less the proofs of their honesty. Strangers who presented themselves might be spies, or false brethren, or renegade priests, as easily as honest men. It was necessary, then, that the missionaries should be conducted by some well-known and trustworthy person, one who was respected throughout the country. Such duties entailed upon these guides great sacrifices; their rules required them "to imitate the lives of the Apostles, and devote themselves wholly to the salvation of souls and conversion of heretics." They promised "to content themselves with food and clothing, and the bare necessaries of their state, and to bestow all the rest for the good of the Catholic cause." This association was solemnly blessed by Pope Gregory XIII., April 14, 1580,<sup>51</sup> and its members soon became known as "subseminaries;" "conductors, companions, and comforters of priests;" "lay-brothers," "lay assistants," to "straggle abroad and bring in game;" whose business it was "not to argue, but to pry in

<sup>51</sup> State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxxxvii. n. 128.

corners, to get men to entertain conference of the priests, or inveigle youths to fly over sea to the seminaries." They entered on their dangerous and difficult path with "extraordinary joy and alacrity, every man offering himself, his person, his ability, his friends, and whatever God had lent him besides." George Gilbert was the first. The list includes some of the highest Catholic families, the Vauxs, Throgmortons, Tichbournes, Abingtons, Fitzherberts, Stonors, &c. Among them must have been at one time Lord Oxford, Lord Henry Howard, Lord Paget, and Thomas Pounce. Equipped by these gentlemen, Fathers Parsons and Campian rode forth, the first accompanied by George Gilbert, the second by Gervase Pierrepont. They agreed to meet and take leave of each other at Hogsdon [? Hoxton], at the house, probably, of Mr. Gardiner, Father Parsons' first convert.

Just before they left Hogsdon, Thomas Pounce, then a prisoner in the Marshalsea, but who had found means to blind his keeper to his temporary absence, came to them in great haste. He said that a meeting of associates, of the prisoners and others, had been held at the gaol to discuss the means of counteracting the rumours which the Privy Council was encouraging. It was believed that the Jesuits had come into England for political purposes. This story, said Pounce, would grow during their absence from London, and would gain new strength from every fresh report of the conversions which they were about to make in the shires; the Council would be exasperated, and should either of the Fathers fall into its hands, he would be treacherously put out of the way or openly slain, and then books would be published to misrepresent him, according to the usual fashion of the day, whereby well-meaning people would be deceived, and the Catholic cause not a little slandered. But much of this, he went on to declare, could be remedied if each of the Fathers would write a brief declaration of the true causes of his coming, and would leave it properly signed and sealed under care of some sure friends until he was either taken or put to death. In which event, if the enemy should falsely defame him, his friends might publish the declaration to justify his memory before God and man. Hence Pounce begged both of them to write their declarations, as if they were writing their last will.

The proposition was accepted by both the Fathers. Father Parsons' paper is preserved among the Stonyhurst MSS. Father Campian rose from the company, took a pen and seated himself

at the end of the table, where in less than half an hour he wrote the declaration which was soon to be so famous. It was written without preparation, and in the hurry of a journey; yet it was so "pithy in substance and style" that it was a triumph to one party and poison to the other.<sup>52</sup> It was addressed to the Lords of the Privy Council, before whom he expected to be examined when he should be apprehended.

As Thomas Pounce may really be looked upon as the originator of this famous challenge, it may not be out of the way to give the following copy of it, taken from the State Papers in the Public Record Office.<sup>53</sup>



Jesus—Mary.

Most Hon.—Whereas I have come out of Germanie and Boemelande, being sent by my Superiors, and adventured my selfe to this noble realme, my dear cuntrye, for the glorie of God and benefit of soules, I thought it likely enough that in this busie, watchfull, and suspicious worlde, I should either sooner or later be interrupted and stopped of my course. Wherefore, providinge all doubts and uncertainties, what may become of me when God shall haply deliver my body into durance, I supposed it needful to put this writinge in a readiness, desiring your good lordships to give it the readinge, and to knowe my cause. This doinge, I thinke I shall ease you of some labor, for that which otherwise you must have sought for by practice of witt, I doe lay now into your hands by plain confession. And to that intent, that this whole matter may be conceived in order, and so the better both understood and remembered, I make hereof these nine points or articles, directly, truly, and resolutely opening my full enterprise and purpose.

I. I confesse that I am, albeit unworthie, a priest of the Catholic Church, and, through the great mercie of God vowed now these viij. years into the religion of the Society of Jesus; and thereby have taken on me a speciall kind of warfare, under the banner of obedience, and eke resigned all my interest and possibilitie of wealth, honor, pleasure, and other worldlie felicitie.

II. At the voice of our General Provost, which is to me a warrant from heaven and an order of Christe, I tooke my voyage from Prague to Rome, where our sayd Father is always resiate, and from Rome to Englande, as I might and would have done joyfully into anie part of Christendome or heathenesse, had I been thereto assigned.

III. My charge is of free cost to preach the Gospell, to minister the sacraments, to instruct the simple, to reforme sinners, to con-

<sup>52</sup> See Mr. Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 156--159, and the authorities quoted by him in his valuable notes, &c.

<sup>53</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlii. n. 20, 1580. It is the one sent up by the sheriff of Wilts to the Council, with Pounce's six reasons, letters, &c. which will be given presently. The collection is endorsed—"Certain Papisticall reasons set down for the withdrawing of men to come to the church, sent from the sheriff of Wilts."

fute errors, and in brief to crie all *arma spiritualia*<sup>54</sup> against fowl vice and proud ignorance, wherewith manie of my deare cuntrymen are now abused.

IV. I never had minde, and am strictlye forbidden by our Fathers that sente me to deale in anie respectes with matters of State or policye of this realme, and those things which appertaine not to my vocation, and from which I doe gladly restrain and sequester my thoughts.

V. I aske, to the glorie of God, with all humilitie and under your correction iij. sorts of indifferent and quiet audiences: the first before your honours, wherein I will discourse of religion so far as it toucheth the commonweal and your nobilities: the seconde whereof I make more accompt before the doctors, the masters, and chosen men of both Universities; wherein I undertake to avow the faith of our Catholic Church by proofs invincible, Scriptures, Councils, Fathers, histories, naturall and morall reasons: the third before the lawyers spirituall and temporall; wherein I will justifie the sayde faith by the common wisdom of the lawes standing yet in force and practice.

VI. I would be loathe to speake anie thing that might sounde of anie insolent bragg, or challenge, especially being now as a dead man to this worlde, and willing to cast my head under everie man's foote, and to kiss the ground they treade upon. Yet have I such a courage in advancing the majestie of Jesus my Kinge, and such affiance in His gracious favour, and such assurance in my quarrell, and my evidence so impregnable, that because I know perfectly that none of the Protestants, not all the Protestants livinge, nor any sect of our adversaries (howsoever they face men downe in pulpits, and over-rule as in their kingdom of grammarians, and of unlearned ears) can maintaine their doctrine in disputation, I am to sue most humblie and instantlie for the combat with all and everie of them, and the most principall that may be founde; protesting that in this triall the better furnished they come, the better they shall be to me.

VII. And because it hath pleased God to enrich the Queen, my Sovereign Ladye, with noble gifts of nature, learninge, and princely education, I doe verilie trust that if her Highness woulde vouchsafe her royall person and good attention to such conference, as in the ij. part of my fifth article I have mentioned and requested, or to a few sermons which in her or your hearinge I am to vtter, such manifest and fair lights, by good methode and plain dealinge, may be cast upon those controversies, that possibly her zeal of truth and love of her people shall incline her noble grace to disfavor some proceedings hurtfull to the realme, and procure towards us oppressed more equity.

VIII. Moreover, I doubt not but you, her honorable Council, beinge of such wisdom and drift in cases most important, when you shall have heard these questions of religion opened faithfully, which many times by our adversaries are huddled upp and confounded, will see upon what substantial grounds our Catholic faith is builded, and how feeble that side is which by sway of the time prevaieth against us; and soe at last for your own soules, and manie thousand soules that depende upon your government, will discountenance error where it is bewrayed and hearken to those that wolde spend the best blood in their bodies for your

<sup>54</sup> The original is difficult to decipher. The words may be read *allarme spirituelle*, though the meaning is much the same.

salvation. Many innocent handes are lifted vpp to heaven for you dailie and houlrie by those English students whose posteritie shall never die, which, beyond the seas, gathering virtue and sufficient knowledge for the purpose, are determined never to give you over, but either to win you to heaven or to die uppon your pikes. And touchinge our Societie, be it known vnto you that we have made a league—all the Jesuites in the world, whose succession and multitude must overreach all the practices of Englande—cheerfully to carry the cross that God shall lay vppon us, and never to dispaire your recoverie while we have a man left to enjoy your Tiborne, or to be racked with your torments, or to be consumed with your prisons. The expense is reckoned, the enterprize is begun; it is of God, it cannot be withstood. Soe it was first planted, soe it must be restored.

IX. If these my offers be refused, and my endeavours can take no place, and I, having run thousands of miles to doe you good, shall be rewarded with rigour, I have no more to say but to recommend your case and mine to Almighty God, the searcher out of hearts, Who send us of His grace, and set us at accord before the day of payment, to the end we may at the last be friends in heaven, where all injuries [? miseries] shall be forgotten.<sup>55</sup>

Father Campian wrote this paper in haste, as we have seen, and gave a copy of it to Pounce, keeping the original himself. He desired that it might not be published till there was necessity for so doing; but he forgot to seal it as had been proposed, and as the more cautious Father Parsons took care to do. Pounce, therefore, went back to the prison and read it, and was so excited by it that, though he had no intention of imparting it to his friends, still less of giving them, or allowing them to take copies of it, he was resolved not to hide its light altogether under a bushel.

The Marshalsea in Southwark, one of the chief prisons for recusant Catholics, was at that time infested by two Puritan ministers, Mr. Tripp and Mr. Crowley, already mentioned in the first part, who, under the protection of the authorities, visited the poorer prisoners in their cells, and urged them to “abide some conference” with them, “offering, like vain men in angles, to the uncharitable vexation of the poor prisoners,” that disputation which they obstinately refused to abide in public. Pounce then, bursting with the secret of Father Campian’s challenge, which he carried in his bosom, was inspired by it himself to make his public challenge to Tripp and Crowley, as we have already seen, and to back it up on September 8, 1580, with petitions to the Council and the Bishop of London. Much of which, it will be seen, closely follows the eighth article of Father Campian’s paper.

<sup>55</sup> Reference is made to this famous protest or challenge in the letters of Fathers Campian and Parsons, given in the *Life of George Gilbert*.

*Petition to the Lords of the Privy Council.*<sup>56</sup>

To the Right Hon. the Lords of her Majestie's Privy Council, by all the Catholics in England, with one consent, as far as a few may presume of the minds of all the rest.

Right Hon.—Whereas, oure Catholike prelates and pastours are, and long have been, either in prisons put to silence or else in banishment, and all their bookes (God knoweth of what feare) also forbidden, which at the first they were challenged to put out as though they had no learning on their side to alleage. Verily, if it may please your honors, this maketh many hundreds, yea, thousands I might say, the more suspect our adversaries of fainting in their defence of learning, if the learned on our side should be admitted to anye manner of encounter in open conference with them. Nevertheless, a certain show there is now made, no doubt, at their petition, as if they mistrusted not their cause that way, in that they come out of late, and urge us, the inferior sort of our side, here in our chambers within the prisons to abide some conference with them. But when was it ever hearde, if your wisdoms will consider of it, that truth, having the time to support it, did ever flie for the daylight, and creepe into corners? Our Saviour thus answered for all true preachers' example, when He was asked of His doctrine, *Ego palam locutus sum mundo*, etc.—I have ever uttered My doctrine to the world openly; I have ever taught in the synagogues, and in the Temple where all the Jews frequent, and in angles I have used noe speech. Why asketh thou Me? sayth He; aske them which have openlie heard Me, what My doctrine hath been. This noble answer, indeed, did cost our sweet Saviour a blowe on the eare. Your honours' pardon, yet we crave upon our knees for [? aid] in this cause, which is God's cause, and of so many thousands of innocent people in this lamentable time of famine, both of truth and virtue. We beg the same of her Majestie and you with one common crie; and them, more boldly we require, that they will soe speake openlie vnto vs likewise, and not in corners, where, if themselves be convinced, yet their shame shall be covered, and the seducer never the sooner detected. But withall, our humble suite to your honors is that they may not only speake in open places to us, but that our preachers may have free leave and license to speake in the same place as openly to them again. Without which equal permission it is most evident that by any close conference nothing less is sought for than the truth, but either some glorie to our adversaries without victory, or the discredit of us, to make us to be reported for obstinate and ignorant men, through their good tongues, whose envie at us we are acquainted with. But if her Majestie, whose princely uprightness, with zeal of truthe, love of her people, and of learninge also, we honour on our knees, will vouchsafe to proclaim her edict of free leave and license to anye of our side in prison or abroade, within or without the realm, to come before her royal presence, and to be permitted to open audience either by disputation or by preaching interchangeably, which way soever our adversaries dare accept, no more but upon the honour of a prince's word, for our own assistants' safeties, whatsoever throwing of daggers or shooting of daggers happen to them afterwards, as to the weaker side, by malice of detected

<sup>56</sup> Taken from the original copy in the Record Office, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlii. n. 20, 1580. Sent by the Sheriff of Wilts.

spirits, wherein God's will be done, seeing it is in zeal of souls and for victory of truth. If then, I say, there do not come forth before her Highness, either four to four, or six to six, within fortie days after, to join the spiritual battle with them, yea, and that two or three of them shall challenge all their side to this combat, and give them leave to send to Geneva for Beza and all his brethren to assist them, then do I, the penner hereof for all our side, although most unworthie of that service, being, as I am, already in your hands and mercie, I say I doe most willingly yield my head to you to be cut off, and my quarters to be set on London gates, at the forty days' ende. If our adversaries be afraid, as most certain it is they are, to come to such an open conference, then we humbly beseech your honours, let them not offer that here in angles, like vain men, to our uncharitable vexation, which not one but they doe obstinately refuse in open places, against their owne salvation. But let this petition, made in the name of all the Catholike fathers of our nation, remain for a perpetuall recorde and testimonie even to our enemies, of our indifference and of their insufficiency. Muse not, my Lords, at this challenge, with a counterbuff, as the soldier saithe. For it is made in the further behalfe (as it may be presumed) of a perpetuall corporation and succession of moste learned Fathers, as anie without comparison in the world; with the aid of another good race besides, which cannot die, who have all vowed, as charitie hath inflamed them, either to win this realme again to the Catholike faith, and that without any bloodshed, except their owne, at God's permission, or else to die all uppon the pikes of your sharpest laws, and win heaven as they hope to themselves. The wisdom of God inspire your hearts and preserve you everlastingly. The 10th of September, 1580.

Your humble prisoner, prepared as I hope for weale and woe.

T. P.

Two things there are, if it may please your honours, which have the more emboldened us to put up this petition to your honors, partlie because the parties which came to confer with us at the Marshalsea did seem to like well of this waie, seeinge it was our suite which we stode vpon, promising also to move it to the Bishop of London, for him to prefer it higher; and partlie for that the saide Bishop of London did answer Mr. Tripp, now at his telling him of it, that he himselfe had made the like suite to her Majestie for manie years agoe, and will doe it now again, the rather if it be our desire; which answer doth bring us in credit to shoue how farr the learned of our side are well knowne to be from disagreeing to such a triall.

We now proceed to give a copy of Pounce's famous six reasons, of which, as we have seen in the first part, he gave a copy to his adversaries Tripp and Crowley; these will be followed by his correspondence with Tripp, and his letter to Sir Christopher Hatton. All these form part of the same collection in vol. cxlii., State Papers, *Domestic, Eliz. n. 20.*

The viith of September, 1580.

Sixe reasons sett downe to shewe that it is noe orderly way in controversies of faithe to appeal to be tryed only by Scripture (as

the absurde opinion of all the Sectaries is), but to the sentence and definition of the Catholicke Church by whome as by the Spouse of Christe, always inspired with the Holy Ghoste, the Holy Scripture is to be judged.

*Fyrste*, consider well these wordes of our Savioure in sendinge vs to the Scriptures, saying, "Search the Scriptures, for you thinke to have eternall life in them, and those are they that beare witness of Me." Marke well these wordes, I pray, that the Scripture is but witness-bearer to the truth, and not the judge to discerne of truth; for judgment given belongeth not to the witness-bearer, although he be as a rule to leade, and directe the judge in true judgment. But what if this witness should be corrupted, as no man will deny but it may, yet this judge to whome the Holy Ghoste is promised will finde it and reforme it: as shortly we will see by a true English Bible which is cominge forthe. Understand, therefore, my reasons why of necessitie the Church must be judge of the Scripture, and take your pen, and confute them, I say to you, if you can. The first is because the written texte is mute and dumb, utteringe nothinge to us from the booke, but onely the wordes, and not the sense, wherein the life, as it were, of the Scripture consisteth, and what definitive sentence can suche a judge give to overrule the conceited minde of an opinionative man, whiche hathe noe evident meanes to pronounce any judgment against him, but onely to shewe him a dumb sign in writinge, which a wrangler may construe still to his own vnderstandinge against all the worlde.

*The seconde* is because the Holy Scripture, as St. Augustine saith, is very full of harde and deepe mysteries, insomuche that when Honoratus saide to him (as many unlearned men say now-a-days), that he understoode it well enoughe without helpe of any instruction. "Say you," saith he, "you wold not take upon you to vnderstand such a poet as Terence is well without a master, and dare you rushe into the Holie Scriptures, whiche are soe full of divine mysteries, without a judge? All hearesayes, saith he, come of nothinge else: *Nisi dum Scripturæ bonæ intelliguntur non bene*—'But while the good Scriptures are not well vnderstoode.' Hereto, alsoe, St. Peter, in his Seconde Epistle, ch. iii., beareth witness, sainge, that many misunderstood St. Paule in many harde places perversely, to their owne perdition. But then you will saye the harde places may easily be vnderstoode by conference of the other Scriptures: we'll admit a childish reason for a worde or two; that because that might soe be amonge the humble-minded, therefore they must needes be soe, though men be never so perverse; yet give me leave to pushe you the one question farther to the quicke: how is it possible to know by any conference of the Scriptures which is canonical Scripture and which is not? Certainly if any infidell wolde denye the Olde Testament (as some hereticks in time past have done), and I pray God there be not many Atheistes at this day in Englande, which be farther gone than they; yea, if such an one sholde deny all the New Testament also, we have sure anchor-holde against him by the revelation of God, by His tradition to His Church, which is the pillar and sure stay of truth, which St. Augustine, well seeinge, thought he might be bolde to say, with due reverence to God and Holy Scripture bothe: 'I sholde not believe the Gospell except the authoritie of the Church did move me thereto;' meaning that tradition of the universall Church, and the testimonye of all the

people of God, in whom the Holy Ghost dwelleth, must justly move us to credit that whiche their authoritie doth commande us to give credit vnto. Therefore, let any man beware of flying from the Churches judgment [of] the Scripture only; least the Scripture itself shoulde be vtterly denied, as by some Atheistes in Englande (as I hearsay) it is already; and then might suche infidells laughe all heretickes to scorne for robbing themselves of their defence. But now to returne to my purpose. If conference of one Scripture with another might give light enough to all men, how happeneth it that all sectes vsinge that conference, yet they can never agree in their opinions, but diuers men, and all, vsinge suche conference doe yet construe it diuersely, the vttermoste shift they have is this, such a weake one as it is, that the reader must give himselfe to prayer for the truth to be revealed vnto him; wherein, mark (I pray you) the intollerable pride of arrogant hypocrites, that they will first mistrust Gods revelation of the truthe to His vniuersall Church, for the which Christ Himselfe hath prayed, and promised to teache them all truthe, and then most presumptuously to come and tempt God to have that truthe onely revealed to themselves, which beinge revealed, many hundreth years agone, and defined in Generall Councils by all the holie Fathers, where the Holy Ghost is alwaye present, or at least by the holie Doctors in their writings set downe, yet they will not beleive, nor harken vnto it. Yet this is their course, and soe, as they say, forsothe, they doe all pray very hartlie, though few of them can wringe out any teares in their prayers, but yet with suche a faithe in the Lorde (as their owne tearme is) that they doe all verilie believe the truthe is revealed vnto them, and yet, forsooth, they must needes be all deceived, as longe as they dwell in dissention, and are not in errors only, but one contrary to another; who now must be the iudge to trie the spirits whether they be of God or noe, but only the Church, or else shall they not be tried at all, but continuall permission for infinite legions of lyinge spirits to be still undetected, that they may seduce more and more.

*The third* reason is, because St. Peter saith plainly that no Scripture is to be taken after any private interpretation. For it was not uttered after the will and phantasie of man, but as holie men of God spake it, inspired by the Holie Ghost. Yet most contrary to this expresse rule, every private man shall have libertie to enterpret it to his own perverse will, after a private enterpretation, otherwise than at first it was inspired to the holie men, if every man may appeale from the ecclesiasticall sense of the vniuersall Church to the text itselfe, as he understandeth it.

*The fourth* reason is, because by appealing onely to the Scriptures, you seeme to give men libertie to deny all vnwritten verities, which we have received of the Church, either by expresse definition in Generall Council, or else by tradition. And I believe at my first naminge of vnwritten verities, Mr. Crowley and his fellows will laugh streight way, as though suche were but fables; but to temper their follie, I will not say their pride, a little in that point, I aske them all this question: how they prove the Trinitie of Persons, and Vnitie of Substance, by expresse Scripture, or the two distinct natures in Christe, and but one Person, or God the Father to be *ingenitus*; or the proceedinge of the Holie Ghoste, bothe from the Father, and the Sonne, as from one fountaine? Or the descendinge of Christ downe into hell, plain

worde of Scripture beinge therefore of many now-a-daies flatly denied? Or the custome of baptizinge of infantes, seeinge the Scripture saith rather as though they sholde be taught first their faith before they were baptized; sayinge, "Goe and teache all nations, baptizinge them in the name," &c.? Or why we sholde keepe the Sunday now at all, and not Saturday rather, which was the Jewes' Saboth day, that the Scripture speaketh of to be sanctified, although youre Puritans which goe to ploughe upon the Church's holidayes, seeme not yet to know the Sundaye for any of their makinge; or why we sholde not abstaine now still like the Jewes from strangled meates, as the Apostles once decreed in the Acts, and by no expresse Scripture againe abrogated; yea, then, why may not any hereticke deny all three Creedes, both the Apostles' Creede, the Nicene Creede, as it is called, and the Creede of Athanasius, seeinge never a one of those is written in Scripture expressly, but all left us by tradition onely, upon credit of the Church. Mark you not how these Bedlam Scripture-men wolde shake all the foundations of our Christian faith, by bindinge us to believe nothinge but Scripture. Do not these blind guides, think you, leade a trim daunce towards infidelitie? Thus much of the fourth reason.

*The fifth* is, because without a certain judge for interpretation of Scripture, this absurdity wolde follow, that God, which is the Author of all perfection, and disposeth every thing in strict and decent order, had left His universall Church on earth in this confusion, that whensoever any doubtfull question sholde arise vpon construction of His holie will, there were no provision at all ordayned by God, for deciding of all suche strifes, and preservation of concord amonge His people. And then certainly the kingdome of God's Church were not so well provided for in their government, as every civil kingdome is by policy of carnall men, amongst whome none almost are soe barbarous, but that they have counsellors for guidance of their estate, and judges for expoundinge and executing of their lawes; as well as lawes written, or else it were ridiculous. Wolde not he be counted a very wise man, thinke you, in one of our parliaments, whiche wolde step upp like a greate bragger, and persuade all his fellowes that for as much as they had a noble and ancient law left written vnto them, the realme sholde have no longer neede from henceforth of any prince, nor any rulers, nor peers, nor judges, nor justices, nor civil magistrates, but every man vpon his worde, for the warrant, wolde be content to governe himselfe orderlie by the law written, which as his wisdom thincks is plaine enoughe? And trulie ridiculous be they, but muche more to be laughed at, which will have the Scripture the onlie judge for every man to appeale vnto, and refuse all authoritie of the Church in expoundinge thereof. Now who knoweth not that the Arian hereticke produce forty places of Scripture for their horrible heresie, more than the Catholics had against them, but all falsely vnderstoode, which, when it is soe misvnderstoode and misapplied, then St. Augustine called it the hereticke's bow wherewith they shoote their owne venomous arrows. And Vincentius Lyrins saith it is then the sheep's clothing which the wolfe doth shrowd himselfe in, because that when a simple body feeleth the softnes, as it were, of his fleece, he sholde not mistrust the tyranny of his teethe; that is to say, of his false constructions of Scripture, wherein he wolde devour his soule; so did the devill himselfe alledge Scripture vnto Christ, and as oft

as any hereticks alledge Scripture to us against the Catholick faith, so oft, sayth Vincentius, we may be out of doubt the devyell dothe speake vnto us by their mouthes, and sayth vnto us, even as he did vnto Christ, *Si filius Dei es mitte te deorsum*; as much as to say—If thou wilt be the son of God, and professor of His holie Gospell, cast thyselfe downe from the highe authoritie, and traditions of this Catholike Church; whome, if we ask again, why we sholde doe this, saythe Vincentius, they come out with *Scriptum est*, etc., because it is written, search in the holie book, and from thence thou mayst learne a new lesson of Me how to be a right Christian; to whom we must saye, *Vade Sathan non tentabis*, and that with great fervour of faythe; for more perilous is the temptation of such a flattering servant, sayth St. Augustin, than the roaring of an angry lyon, because the one we flie from with feare, but the other with enticing may come the nearer to stinge us.

*The sixth reason*, most weighty of all, is this; because if you will refuse the authoritie of the Church's absolute judgement upon the Scripture's true sense, you shall soone come plainly to denie the Holie Ghost to be the Spirite of Truthe, which uppon the Apostles, and all the faithfull, was sent downe with visible signs, and with His Church it is promised to remaine vnto the worlde's ende, by the wordes of our Saviour, "I will ask My Father, and He shall sende you another comforter to tarry with you for ever, the Spirit of Truthe;" and a little after thus—"The Holie Ghoste the comforter whom My Father will sende in My name shall teach you all truth." So the Church is the surest judge, and none surer but the Church for all men in doubts of Scripture, because it hathe a promise that it shall never err in judgment, which is notably confirmed by the Prophet Esay, sayinge, "This is my covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit which is in thee, and My worde which I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out of the mouthes of thy seed, nor out of thy seede's seede, nowe nor ever to the worlde's ende." O most comfortable promise that the Spirit of Truth shall never departe out of ye Church's mouth! O fit judge appointed to be judge of Scripture, for our prophetes! Without presumption remember then, I say to you, what a sottish opinion that is which is held to the contrary, that every private man, whom belike you will imagine to be one of the Church, shall have good leave to be his owne judge in vnderstandinge of Scripture, as your crafty men are, and yet that the authorities of the whole vniversall Church shall not presume to take any judgment vpon them. Granting this, as you must needes, that the Church, which is our Mother, as the Scripture saithe, must needes teach vs all her children at first to believe in God, sayinge faith must come by hearinge, and also to know the Scriptures; and yet that the same Church beinge the pillar and sure staye of truthe shall not be absolute judge, and imperiall schoolmistress, to teache vs all how to believe in God, and how to vnderstande the Scriptures. For this blindness of your hearts I may say as justly to you as St. Paule saide to the Galatians, *O insensati*, etc.—O you foolish fellows, who hathe bewitched you not to obey vnto the truth? which even of infants and suckling babes (as it were) is discerned as cleare as the sun. Soe that you must not disdain Mr. Tripp, to be tripped in this matter for a silly seducer, to maintaine as you doe, all soe gross an opinion, beinge the forest indeede for all such foxes to litter their whelps in. Therefore, to conclude this assertion, acquite your-

selves as well as you can, why you may not all be justly subjected to deny the descending of the Holie Ghoste vnto the Church, for as much as you refuse the Church's sentence in judgement, with whome the Holie Ghoste is promised alwayes to remaine, and in truthe to direct them.

*Hæc est fides mea quia est Catholica*—"This is my faith because it is ye Catholic faithe."

THOMAS POUNDE.<sup>57</sup>

*Mr. Thomas Pounce to Mr. Tripp.*

To Mr. Tripp the viij. of September.

For as much at my requeste to you yesterday, and to Mr. Crowley, if ye be worthyie the naminge, makinge it, as I did, vpon my knees, not to you, as I tolde you, but for you to witnesse, and present to her Majestie, and to all the Councill, as the common petition of God's afflicted in Englande, for the Catholike faithe, that it might please them to admit the learned indeede of our side, with the best learned of yours, to open audience, either by disputation, or by sermons enterchangeably hearde accordinge to the lawes and conditions of an orderly conference, indeed as the weight of the cause doth require hereupon, for that I say you pretended to like well of it for youre parte, and promised all oure companie making the like meanes vnto you, for to preserve, and further oure saide petition; therefore I have here set downe our supplication to their honors, so that as you see in all the Catholicks' names vniversally, to save you some labour in movinge of it with as manie of vs as are here that may be spoken with, we hartlie pray you to preferre, and put upp to ye Councill accordinge to youre promise. Signifynge thus vnto you besides, to certifie that, if free license may be granted for the choice of all oure side, either within or without the realme of Englande, to come to this conference with good and safe conduct vpon the honoure of the Queene's Majestie's edict published in print, or if that be thought too muche, yet at the least for the choice of all oure side within the realme, as reason is, whencesoever they are to be removed vpon offeringe themselves voluntarily for this purpose, otherwise we are not so simple as to thinke ourselves satisfied with youre offering to call out vs the inferiors here now left abowte London in prison, if you should meane it to suche a conference, nor yet soe presumptuous as to take upon us to be the men meete to enter into suche a matche. Soe muche of the common cause. Now, touchinge my defence against you all, which I delivered you yesterday in writing, to feel your confidence in youre cause, beinge suche a question as knitts up all the contentions between us in one knot, and the absurdity which you helde, as I knew you wolde, beinge youre strongest castle. For as much now as the Bishop of London's warrant was made out for me, sen'night agone, to be removed very shortly to Storforde Castell, all alone there to be kept close prisoner, and havinge no great hope of any stay thereof, but rather of the lesse

<sup>57</sup> Dodd, *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 153, briefly notices Pounce. "A gentleman of considerable fortune. He was a great supporter of missionaries, and suffered much for his religion in prison in Queen Elizabeth's reign. He was a man of letters, and published a small treatise entitled *Six Reasons*, &c. This was answered by a work called '*An Answer to Thomas Pounce's Six Reasons, wherein he showeth that the Scripture must be judged by the Church.*' By Robert Crowley. London, 4to, 1581."

favor for this plainness in truth, whiche is wont, as you know, to breed noe friends ; therefore I require you to answer my defence sincerely, soe as the reputation of youre best learned may lye upon it, at the last issue, without pleadinge vnprivitie to youre penman's handling of the matter. Settinge all myne entirely together, being but a sheete of paper, which doinge, as before I require you, while I may, before we be muzzled upp, then afterwarde in God's name bringe it to the hammer, and turne it, and wend it as you list ; but yet save the poore man's neck whole if it lye in you, for at Mr. Crowley's watch-woorde, that the sworde was nearer our necks than we thought for, of all syllogisms, a slidinge knot you knowe is the crookedest to be answered. We may be so weary of this pininge in prison so many years, without seinge the whole conversion of our country, which we ought to thirst for, that we are enforced to be plainer with you than they that are abroade at libertie, and not so tainted up in stinckinge prisons, as most of us already are, and all of us shortly may looke to be. Moreover, touchinge my trippinge of you somewhat sharply in the latter end of my defence, verily you might impute it but truly to your own provoking us all, by suche blaspheminge as youre fellow used the day before, so loude as all men might heare, bothe against the holie Masse, and against blessed St. Francis, whom your fellow burthened untruly with wickedness not to be named, he beinge one of the miracles of the worlde for perfit holinesse, as well in himselfe as in his posteritie, althoughe among soe much corn, there may be some cockell founde, as well as there was one weede among our Saviour's twelve holie flowers. Neverthelesse, to make you part of amends, I humble myselfe to you this good day vpon my knees, if that will assuage you for it, beseechinge you for Christ's sake, to dwell noe longer in heresie, to be worthie to be called foxes, as in the canticle youre name is, for vndermininge of God's vineyard. But yelde to the truthe in time, whiche either you must all yelde to at last, or else it will crushe you all to pieces, for the citie of God is built upon soe highe a hill, and a rock soe invincible, that the weakest soldier which is in it may throwe out a stone to hit down any Goliath amonge you to the grounde. Sigh over youre citie, therefore, if you be wise, and cease youre batteringe in vaine against the wall upon the rock, for as one sayth truly, against this wall whosoever setteth his force doth but batter himselfe to pieces ; when hell gates shall not prevaile against it, what can the force of a few fleshly men prevaile against it. God illumine you, and bless you, even as I would wishe to mine owne soule. The viij. of September.

Your well-wisher,

T. P.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>58</sup> Mr. Simpson, in his biographical sketch of Thomas Pounce (*Rambler*, vol. ii. 1857), observes that Pounce's great mistake in these matters was his attempting to deal with Tripp, Bishop Aylmer, or the Lords of the Council, as men of truth, honour or conscience. We shall see into what a scrape he got by taking these men at their word and by acting on the supposition that they intended seriously even that which they declared most solemnly. These letters are from a MS. in the State Paper Office, transcribed in a great hurry by two scribes of the Sheriff of Wilts, who worked alternately to finish for the Council a copy of some seditious correspondence found probably on some captured recusant. Crowley, the companion of Tripp, observes Mr. Simpson, had been collated to a prebend in St. Paul's in 1563, but had been deprived in 1565, for some cause which

*Mr. Tripp's answer.*

S. P. in Domino.--Mr. Pounce, touchinge youre letter meant privately, wherein yow require my answer to youre Six Reasons, cravinge some pardon for youre pleasant allusion to my name, that is not anythinge to me, for either I can be contented to let it pass, or answer it with the like, if I might be bolde to tell you that all youre Six Reasons weigh not one Pounce, as shall appear by that which shall be answered. I was not minded, to tell you the truthe, to have answered them at all, Mr. Crowley vndertakinge to answer them, and he havinge your copie, of whose sufficiency in answering I doubt not; and if you meane to continue interchange of replie, and answer enoughe to encownter with one, hande to hande. It is sayde, *Ne Hercules quidem contra duos*. I confess myselfe the weaker of the two, and therefore thought to have abstayned. But I will yield my answer to you at my leasure; howbeit, I think yow will not thinke it meete that the credit of the best learned on oure side sholde depende upon my answer, noe more than the credit of your whole cause, and of the best learned on youre side on your defence. For it were noe reason that youre learned men sholde be discredited wholie by youre slender handlinge of the cause, or that youre cause sholde wholie quaille by youre defence, or ours by mine, except both you and I could bringe all that the best learned of bothe parties are able to bringe. Howbeit, if your reasons be overweighed, I wishe you sholde in sinceritie yelde, rather to save your credit to confesse an error in yeldinge to the thruthe. But for this matter the event shall show where truth moste resteth.

Touchinge your supplication to the Queen in Councill, I am ready to preferr the same, but this I think to be a defect in it, that preferringe it in the name of all, and avouchinge it to be done with consent of a few, yow only subscribe your name. I suppose it were meete that a few more sholde subscribe with you, lest you may seem to have done it of youre owne head onely. Bethinke you whether I advise you well or not, and soe returne it to me againe. Fare you well, this xiith of September, 1580.

Youres in the Lord, wishinge to yow as to myselfe.

HENRIE TRIPP.

“Pounce,” observes Mr. Simpson as above, “was not the man to be taken in by Tripp’s hypocrisy, so he returned him the following reply, in which we know not whether to admire most the direct incisiveness of the arguments, the playfulness of the good nature, or the charity that could command so cheerful and resigned a temper in the midst of such grotesque and impudent injustice.”

history is unwilling to disclose, but which must have been no small scandal, considering the free-and-easy clerical morality of those palmy days of Protestantism. By this time he had retrieved his disgrace by his multifarious and libellous writings, in prose and rhyme, against the religion and persons of Catholics, and had even been preferred to the rectory of St. Giles, Cripplegate. Heylin tells us that he was a great predestinarian, and that he answered the books of the more moderate Protestants with the same impudent scurrility which he employed against Papists. Pounce might have trusted more safely to the honour of a hangman than to that of these two very Protestant ministers and controversialists, as he soon found.

To Mr. Tripp again the xivth of September.

Sir,—I thanke you for undertaking to answer me at length, though at your leasure, as partely indeed you pleaded some want of leasure for any suche matters, at my first deliveringe of it. Againe, some indifferrence you seem to shewe, that you would not have me overcharged with twaine at once ; but youre cominge in cowples at first to conferre with every single man alone in their chambers, was not soe even as youre pretence. Moreover, you have robbed yourselfe of halfe the glorie of your victorie in accomptinge my reasons to be soe light and soe easy to be overweighed, and yet that they sholde be so longe in counterpassinge. If they had been anything weighty they might have asked some tyme to chew vpon them, but beinge of noe weight you might have stamped and stirmed by this time, in a meat mortar, soe as they sholde never have stuck in any bodies teeth, as otherwise perchance they will, without they be well and soundly answered, indeede better then in playing with my name, which in truth I cannot deny, you beinge without malice, as by likelihoode of your pleasant vein, which I can well enough beare, I hope it will end well ; I urge you to no haste in weighing them, lest you sholde mistake youre weights, and weigh either by weights, or in ballance not scaled, nor allowed by the clerks of the market, throughout the Catholick Christian comon weale. In which behalfe I warne you before hand, in the wordes of the Holie Ghost Whose cause it is, saying, *Statera justa, et æqua sint pondera*—“ Let balance be true and weights upright.” And then, I say, “ God speede the right.”

Touchinge youre sendinge back of our supplication for a defect in it, as you pretende, in having noe more men's handes to it but mine alone, trully you can witness sufficiently for me to the Councell, if I should neede to appeal therefore unto you, that it was the common requeste of the moste parte hereunto, your as well as myne, that you wolde make it to be preferred to the Councell, as their common suit. Soe farr off I am, as you can witness for me, from movinge it onely of my owne head, which notice, therefore, of yours I rest upon as sufficient I hope to answer for me. So much I presume you see, of your uprightness, for your profession sake, which partly I am enforced to, because I cannot well get the handes of close prisoners to it without risk of rebuke, both to themselves and their keepers. And besides that our keeper, I perceive, doth not well like the proceedinge it, as I suppose few doe of the deepest heads of your side, whatsoever some may persuade it. You will give me leave to be plaine with you, which cannot speake in these matters, but as I think. Moreover, if you woulde needs have any more handes to it, I wolde rather make humble suite that I might have leave to goe unto the handes of the chief and best learned in England of our side, than present up the names in it of any persons more inferiour, whose petitions perchance wold be more contemned for their obstinacie, than by the tendering of it thus in all our names universally, by sufficient conjecture, as you see, that all other sorte are of the like minde that you here have founde us. Let my offer, therefore, be sufficient for the matter, as I hope it may, seinge more than my life I cannot gage, otherwise if you require any more for your preferringe it, we may all well think that it is for some delay, or for some further ende, which I will drawe no man vnto. Howsoever, I offer myself vnto God's protection in so common a

cause. At your choice, therefore, be it, whether you will prefer it accordinge to your promise, or else to abyde the danger of the discredite it may be to your side, as though you were afraide to have it goe forward. Neverthelesse, I have added thus much more to it, as a letter comes to, which I have written to the Lord of London, in the same behalfe, which I beseeche you cary to him, and our supplication again vnder seale also, to rest as much longer at his deliberation what to doe in it, which if it come back any more, I thincke none of oure side neede to doubt what bad likinge of it you have to proceede.

Almighty God blesse you, to Whome I commit you. 1580.  
Your well-wisher in our Lorde.

“T. P.”

The following is Thomas Pounce's letter to Bishop Aylmer to which he refers in the latter part of the foregoing.

*Oure letter to the Superintendent<sup>59</sup> of London.*

Most heartily wishinge your lordship all honor, with grace and peace indeede unfained. Understandinge, as we doe, that your side will not refuse a conference, as we have all made our humble petition with one common crie to have admitted, we humbly beseech you not to suppress this our petition when it shall come to your hands, but to prefer it up to the councill, to whom it is made, and that with further petition if you will vouchsafe it may not staye there neither, but that it may come to her Majestie's sight, which truly will be most for the honor of your cause, at least soe far forthe for this affair yourselfe, that if you or any other should stande uppon any points of policy to the contrarie, more than we stand upon our own lives in trial of God's truth, yet there are thousands, as it may be presumed, even of your side which rather put it vp to her Majestie with as common a crie to have it granted, rather, I say, than this triall, soe much importing them, should not be seene. A matter now, therefore, of some weight it is, whereof the credit either of your, or of oure side, doth lie in bleedinge, as it were. And if your confidence in your cause for the truth to be on your side be anything at all, it behoveth that your having gone soe farr to labour as much as we, by like petition that the matter may come to open trial, and the learned of both sides to have open audiences; which God of His mercie grant, to Whom we commend you, wishinge you noe worse than to ourselves.

Dated vppon the day of the Exaltation of the Holie Crosse of Christe, the xiv. day of September, 1580.

T. P., in Domino.

We again refer to Mr. Simpson's biography as above. He observes that Aylmer's hypocritical pretence of a desire to refer all differences and disputes to fair and open conference was equal to Tripp and Crowley's, with the same adoption of all possible secret methods to prevent any such confer-

<sup>59</sup> So Pounce always called the Protestant bishop.

ences from taking place. His letters to Lord Burghley imploring him to stop the disputes in the Tower with Campian, on account of the harm they did the people, are still extant in autograph in the British Museum, and afford valuable testimony both to the power of the Martyr's eloquence and to the knavery and trickery of his antagonists." . . .

"We have seen by these letters what was the pretence of Tripp, Crowley, and Aylmer; the following quotation from the Protestant annalist, Strype, shows how their actions agreed with their professions.

"Another Popish gentleman there was about these times named Thomas Pounce, sometime a courtier, that had lain in prison for some years; him the Bishop thought convenient now to remove from London into another prison more remote, namely his Castle at Bishops-Stortford, to prevent his infecting others by his talk; for some such information, and what a dangerous person he was, was brought to the Bishop by Tripp and Crowley, two ministers, who went to confer with him."

Then follows the account of the dispute which led to Pounce's writing his six reasons; after which Strype concludes:—

"Upon this relation given of Pounce by the ministers, the Bishop thought fit to remove him to the aforesaid Castle, being, as Popish writers say, much provoked and angry. And they describe it to be an obscure and melancholy place, void of both light and converse."

Soon after his arrival at his new prison he wrote the following letter to his old friend Sir Christopher Hatton, the Vice-Chamberlain, who appears to have taken some interest in him, and to have made some ineffectual efforts to interpose between the Bishop and his victim.

"To the Righte Hon. Sir Christr. Hatton, Kt., Vice Chamberlaine to Her M<sup>tie.</sup>, and one of Her P. Councill.

"Your noble courtesie towards me, already shewed in writing so exceeding friendlie to my L., as you did of late, for some favor at least towards me for your sake, altho' it were but for a few days' respite, to have some of my debts cleared before my removing, which yet wolde not be granted, terminge me, as you vouchsafed, an old acquaintance and companion, both in Courte, and before in Inns of Courte, dothe embolden me ofte times to beseech your honour, that you will not be denied the obtaininge of so much favor towards me, as that my man, or boy, may be admitted to me in this miserable and desolate place, to bringe my diet, or for any other servile service for necessitie of nature, although he sholde be searched, if any suche jelousie were of me, at all tymes of his

repair. O God! Sir Christopher, I wolde you saw the spectacle of it, what a place I am brought into here! It is nothing but a large, vast room, cold water, bare walls, noe windows, but loupholes too high to looke out at, nor bed, nor bedsteade, nor place very fit for any, but the homliest thing in the middest of the house, a highe pair of stockes, such a pair of virginalls,<sup>60</sup> as made my poor boy to see, although far too bigg either for his fingering, or footing, all athwart my cold harbor,<sup>61</sup> and nothings else but chains enough, which yet I am not worthie of. And if there were neither meat nor drink neither for love nor money, then the ende wolde be but short. And yet what is all this, or ten times more for Heaven, which upon this cause dependeth. Shall hunger or cold, or stenchinge, or taintinge, or any kind of persecution, separate vs from the holie unities of Christ's Church, for which He hath shedd His pretious Bloode? No, God defend, at youre mercie, and Her Majestie's I am, while our pining time continueth, whether this much respite, as I humbly sue for on my knees, shall be had or no, well hopinge if your honour will vouchsafe to present my petition, that her Highness will not be soe vanquished by her vassals, but that even for her poetically present's sake, which Her Majesty disdayned not to take at poore Mercurie's hands, if you remember it, at Killiegworth Castle,<sup>62</sup> she will now vouchsafe, of her princely good nature, to give me as good a gifte again for double requitall thereof, as this suit comes to, especiallye knowinge as Her Highness well doth, what is written—That it is a blessedder thing to give than to take, wherein I humbly beseech your honor, at your wisdom and discretion, to trie once more what stead you can stande me in accordinge to youre goodwill, whereby for ever you shall bind me more and more unto. At Stortford, before my entering, ye 18th of September, 1580.

“Youre servant to God in dayly prayer.

“THOMAS POUNDE.”

Our confessor's zeal in challenging the ministers, and petitioning the Bishop and Council, had the effect of convincing the Queen's Ministers that a conspiracy was on foot. Pounce soon felt the consequence (as we have already seen in the first part of this biography); the Bishop of London, Elmer or Aylmer, having removed him from his companions in the Marshalsea (September 18, 1580), and sent him heavily ironed into solitary confinement at the then half-ruined episcopal castle of Bishop-Stortford. Pounce, therefore, on the eve of his

<sup>60</sup> Mr. Simpson (*Rambler*, as above, p. 99) observes, “The comparison of the stocks to the virginals (the pianoforte of those days) is whimsical in itself, and well introduced in this letter to Hatton, the person who presided over the Court revels, and who had doubtless often made use of the musical and poetical accomplishments of the disgraced and imprisoned courtier. It was, perhaps, through Hatton's interference that his confinement in this hole lasted not one year.”

<sup>61</sup> Cold Harbour was the proper name of one of the dungeons of the Tower of London.

<sup>62</sup> In allusion to Pounce having acted the part of Mercury in Gascoigne's mask, at the Queen's visit to Kenilworth. He had also probably presented the Queen, as he had done at Winchester, with a poetical complimentary address.

departure, either delivered Father Campian's paper to the keeping of some one even less retentive of a secret than himself, or else communicated it through an unwillingness to be checkmated by the Bishop of London, whose conduct he regarded as a mere device to stop all mention of a public discussion, or from a conviction that Father Campian's challenge was much more calculated to embarrass the Council than his own had proved to be. Actuated by one of these motives, Pounce communicated the paper to his neighbour, Benjamin Tichborne, Tichborne to William Horde, and he to several others, and especially to Elizabeth Saunders, a nun, sister to Dr. Saunders, who was at this time with the Italian expedition in Ireland.<sup>63</sup>

The paper or declaration of Father Campian was not printed, but circulated extensively in MS. It was called "The great bragge and challenge"—"A seditious pamphlet," &c., and was regarded as a gauntlet thrown down by the Jesuits.<sup>64</sup> Since the subject of our notice may be regarded as the author or first mover of Father Campian's famous declaration of intentions to the Council, we make a short digression to mention a few instances of its effects.

John Watson, the Bishop of Winchester, on the 18th of November, or thereabouts, laid hands on the above-named persons, with the exception of Tichborne, but including the nun, Elizabeth Saunders, and committed their bodies to the house of correction. It was about the same time that the copy with the letters, &c., of Thomas Pounce, were discovered, and sent by the Sheriff of Wilts to the Privy Council, and after this it became well known all over England, and got many persons into trouble for circulating copies of it;<sup>65</sup> while it is frequently mentioned in different State Papers. The following is a copy of the letter of the said Bishop of Winchester, and others endorsed, "November 18, 1580. From the Bishop of Winchester and others, with the examination and other things taken of Dr. Saunders' sister apprehended at Alton and committed at Winchester. Also the confession of William Hoord touchinge the challendge of the Jesuites, whome they have committed likewise at Winchester."<sup>66</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, p. 163.

<sup>64</sup> Mr. Simpson, in his Appendix to Father Campian's works, of the numerous publications connected with him mentions eight upon the subject of the challenge mentioned above.

<sup>65</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, p. 163; *Dom. Eliz.* Ireland, State Paper Office, February 17, 1581.

<sup>66</sup> State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxliv. n. 3, 1580.

Our duties to your Hon. Lordships humbly remembered. For that of late in Hampsheer, there happened to be apprehended by Sir Richard Norton, Knt., one Elizabeth Saunders, the sister of Dr. Saunders, and a professed nunn beyond the seas, as she saith, with whome were certain lewd and forbydden bookes, and the cople of a supplication, protestation, or challenge, the which cople, together with her examinations, we have thought herewith to sende vnto youre honors. And for that we finde by her sayde examination grete dissimulation and varietie in her, and also grete obstinacie in her perseverance of her profession; we have thought thereupon presentlie to committ her to safe keeping in the house of correction, within the Castle of Winchester, where she is to remain vntil such further order shall be taken for her, as by youre Lordships should be thought mete. We have further thought good herewith, also, to send vnto your honours the examination of one William Hoorde, gentleman, remaining at this present in the house of correction thither committed, for that he is a verie backwarde and obstinat person in matters of religion, and soe he continued all the tyme of her Majestie's raigne, whome we believe to be the first bringer and dispenser of the seditious challenge aforesaid in this countie; and yet beinge examined, refused to declare of whom he received the same. The rather we have signified the premises to your hon. for that the sayd challenge, at the first publication whereof in these partes, seemed vnto such like backwarde persons verie plausible. And soe we humbly committ your honors to the tuicion of Allmightie God.

St. Crosse, November 18, 1580.

In *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cxlvii., nn. 73, 74, 76 are other interesting papers upon the same subject. N. 74, which embodies the rest, is endorsed by Walsingham—

The declaration of Benjamin Tichborne's behaviour in bearing owt of one William Pittes, a scatterer of Champian's challenge, and a deliverer of lewd speeches touchinge her Majestye and the present state. Also of the ill usage of one Edwardes by the sayd Tichborne's servant, for which the peace was graunted against Tichborne and his man. And lastly, how Mr. Tichborne, to encounter all the honest gentlemen in religion in the countie of Southampton, hath procured himselfe to be put in the commission of the peace there, by the meanes of the Lord Chief Baron, who countenanceth the sayd Tichborne.

This Mr. Pitts was charged (amongst other things) with giving out—

That learned, and godlye persons who offered disputations, were refused to bee heard, saying it was odious that men's soules sholde hang in daunger by reason the sayd learned men were denied audience. That he thought her Majestye erred from the true fayth, saying that his daylie prayer was to bryng her to the Catholique faythe. *Item.* That hee asked one Lichepoole whether hee had not seen a cople of a challenge made by one

Campian, and other Jesuits. Wherevnto Lichepoole answered that hee had seene no suche wryting. The sayde Pytts immediately pulled owte of his purse the coppie of the sayde challenge, and read it vnto the sayde Lichpoole, promising him a coppie of the same, if hee sente for it vnto his lodgings, and Lichpoole sending for the same, he delivered the messenger the copping thereof. When Sir John Fettiplace heard the confession of Lichpoole, and had reade the copping of the challenge, he sent immediately to the lodgings of the sayd Pytts, to apprehend him, but the sayd Pitts was fledd.

Sir John then caused the house of Henry Pytts, the father of William, to be searched, but in vain, for William. "Nevertheless, finding there a sister of Dr. Saunders, who is a professed nun, and divers unlawfull bookes, with a chalice; she was brought to the lord bishoppe, which nun remaineth as yet in prison at Winchester."

The tale of Mr. Benjamin Tichborne is amusing. William Pitts was caught at Bath; from thence he wrote to Mr. Tichborne asking him to send the Mayor of Bath a certificate, "under his hande and seale of armes," in his favour on divers points. Mr. Tichborne sent this letter, and one from himself, to Mr. Henry Pitts, the father, at Alton, for information and instructions in making the certificate. The messenger being a stranger, asked for Pitt's house, saying he had a letter for him from his son. One Edwards hearing this got hold of the letter, and took it at once to the constable, who being from home, Edwards took it to one Mr. Stone, a lawyer, "by whose advice the letter was broken vpp to see the contents thereof." Mr. Tichborne being indignant at their impudence, sent his servant to Stone's house, who, luckily for himself, was from home. He then proceeded to Edwardes' house, and calling him out gave him a very severe beating, and said he would have used Stone much worse, if he could have found him, "for breaking vpp of his master's letter."

William Pitts was sent from Bath to Winchester, and committed to gaol for trial at the approaching assizes, and Mr. B. Tichborne and his servant were bound over likewise to appear at the same assizes, for the assault. William Pitts, however, "on the 10th of February, 1581, broke the Queen's gaol and fled, having horses layd readie for him as it may appear."

Mr. Tichborne completely outwitted his adversaries by getting into great favour with the Lord Chief Baron, who on his way to Winchester assizes honoured him with a visit at

Alton, and there made him a county magistrate. Mr. Tichborne told his lordship the whole case about the letter opening, and the assault by his servant, for which they were bound over to appear at the assizes. On making him a magistrate, the Chief Baron said to Mr. T., "Now you are fellow with those that bound you to the peace." At Alton also the Judge issued a warrant, at Mr. Tichborne's request, against the unlucky lawyer and Edwards, who appearing before him there, after reviling them, he bound them over in x*l.* a piece to appear before him at the assizes, saying, "I'll do nothing here unto you, but that which I shall doe, shall be done in the face of the whole shire, and Sir Richard Norton shall not out-countenance this matter." On Stone and Edwards appearing at the assizes, the Judge stopped the lawyer in opening his cause against Mr. Tichborne and his servant, saying that he would not hear him, but told him that he was expelled the temple [struck off the rolls] "for his misbehaviour; that he was verye sawcie to open the sayd letters, and threatned that he should take good heede that hee came no more before him, affirminge that if hee did hee sholde know the pryce thereof."

The Judge passed over the escape of William Pitts "slightly; saying also to the gaoler that hee should paye x*l.* for the same escape, and saying openly that the sayd gaoyler needed not to receive anye prisoner into the Queen's gaoyle, sent by the lord bisshoppe, or others, except it were for matter of the Crown only."<sup>67</sup>

The last instance we will notice is a letter dated June 27, 1586, from Walton, the keeper of the Fleet Prison, to Sir T. Walsingham, stating, "Here is now remaining one Stephen Vallenger, committed from the Starre Chamber by her Majestie's Privy Counsell for publishing certain libels of Edmund Campian, and hath been committed these iiij. years."<sup>68</sup>

Pounce was right, observes Mr. Simpson,<sup>69</sup> in the impor-

<sup>67</sup> Mr. Henry Pitts had married a sister of Dr. Saunders, and one of his sons was a fellow of the New College, Oxford, from whence he escaped to Rome. Mr. B. Tichborne was a great favourer of Papists, and was himself suspected, not having been to the "Lord's Supper" for some years past; and Mrs. T., and others of his house, refused to go to church. He gave warning to divers Catholics to fly from the diocese, who would otherwise have been apprehended by the savage Bishop. See State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlvii. n. 76.

<sup>68</sup> State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxc. n. 55, June 27, 1586.

<sup>69</sup> As above, p. 163.

tance he attached to public disputation. It soon became one of the chief weapons of the Jesuits, whose unexampled dexterity in wielding it is thus described by Sir Edwin Sandys :<sup>70</sup>

“As for the controversies themselves, the main matter of all other, therein their industry is at this day incomparable ; having so altered the tenures of them, refined the states, subtilized the distinctions, sharpened their own proofs, devised answers . . . that in affiance of this furniture, and of their promptness of speech and wit, which by continual exercise they aspire to perfect, they dare enter into combat even with the best of their oppugners, and will not doubt but either to entangle him so in the snares of their own quirks, or at leastwise so to avoid and put off his blows with the manifold wards of their multiplied distinctions, that an ordinary auditor shall never conceive them to be vanquished, and a favourable shall report them vanquishers.

“Whereupon they now to be quit with their adversaries, and by the very same act to draw away the multitude, cry mainly in all places for trial by disputations. This Campian, the Jesuit, did many years since with us. This, as I passed through Zurich, did the Cardinal Andrea of Constance and his Jesuits with their ministers . . . Not long before the same was done at Geneva ; and very lately the Capuchins renewed the challenge. In which parts I observed this discreet valour on both sides, that as the Romanists offer to dispute in the adversaries’ own cities, which they knew their magistrates will never accord, so the ministers, in supply thereof, offer to go to them to their cities, and that now is as much disliked on the other part ; each side being content that the fire should be kindled rather in his enemies’ house than in his own.”

To return now to the object of our biography. The Queen and her advisers having in vain tried by every means of promises and persuasion to induce Father Campian, who had now been apprehended, to apostatize, or betray his friends, determined to use him severely. He was several times cruelly racked, the first time being either on Sunday the 30th of July, or the next day, the anniversary of our holy Father St. Ignatius’ death. It was falsely given out by the preacher at Paul’s Cross, and by the ministers of nearly all the churches in London, that Father Campian was yielding, and had confessed various matters, places, and persons. On August 4, 1581, the Council wrote to, amongst others, the keepers of

<sup>70</sup> *Europæ Speculum*, p. 94. “Of their offers of disputation.”

Wisbeach Prison, whither Pounce had been removed by Aylmer the Bishop, from Bishops-Stortford, shortly before, "That whereas Campian had confessed that he delivered a copy of his challenge to one Norris a priest, commonly remaining about London; that he delivered another to one Pounce, then prisoner in the Marshalsea, who is thought to have dispersed the same abroad; that one Stephens brought the said Pounce to speak with Campian at Throckmorton House in London, and further that Pounce directed Campian by a token to one Dimock to speak with the Earl of Southampton," the said keepers were to examine Pounce on the matter. On the 14th of August the Council wrote to Bishop Aylmer, ordering him to send his prisoner Thomas Pounce from Wisbeach to the Tower, where Lieutenant Hopton is to receive him into his custody, to be jointly examined with Campian upon matters confessed by Campian about him.

When Pounce saw the long list of interrogations drawn up, as it was pretended, from Father Campian's confessions, he was wounded to the heart. Could it be that the man whom he had taken for the greatest champion of Catholicism, had turned traitor? So the same zeal which before had led him to disperse Father Campian's challenge, now led the impulsive and sanguine Pounce to an act of imprudence equally grave in its consequence. He wrote a letter to Campian urging him to behave like a man, telling him of the reports of his backsliding that were everywhere current, and asking him for authentic information of what he had done. This letter he gave to his keeper, who promised for a fee of four marks to have it privately delivered to Campian. The man took the money and kept it, but the letter he gave to Hopton, who opened and read it, and closed it again, as if it had never been tampered with, and told the keeper to deliver it to Campian, and to bring the reply. Father Campian wrote off a note to his friend, no authentic copy of which is preserved. The most likely record of it occurs in the reports of the trials of Lord Vaux and others in the Star Chamber, November 20th, 1581, and of Father Campian himself, where there was "a letter produced said to be intercepted, which Mr. Campian should seem to write to a fellow-prisoner of his, namely, Mr. Pounce; wherein he did take notice that by frailty he had confessed of some houses where he had been, which now he repented him of, and desired Mr. Pounce to beg him pardon of the Catholics

therein, saying that in this he rejoiced, that he had discovered no things of secret, nor would he, come rack, come rope." What the real meaning of this letter was, can only be guessed at; Pounce's letter, to which it was a reply, was never produced, and the above sketch of it was probably a guess of Father Parsons. The natural meaning of Father Campian's words is that he discovered nothing that had not been already publicly known through the confessions of other men.<sup>71</sup> There

<sup>71</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 247, seq., where the author at considerable length, and most lucidly, proves the reported confessions of the blessed martyr to have been base and wicked forgeries. The report of the trial in the Star Chamber, before the Lord Chancellor and others (*Harleian MSS.* 859), is of great length. The prisoners at the bar were Lord Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Kt., Mr. Powdrell, Mrs. Griffith of Bucks, and her husband's brother, Mr. Ambrose Griffith. All these came from the Fleet together, and were brought to the bar between nine and ten o'clock in the morning. The Queen's counsel were Popham the Attorney-General, Egerton the Solicitor-General, &c. The Attorney-General gave evidence against the prisoners, with a long exordium of the happy reign of the Queen's Majesty, showing what a malicious enemy to her Highness the Pope was, who had stirred the rebellion in the north, &c., and had sent in runagate Jesuits and Seminary priests, the very seed of sedition, amongst whom was one Campian, &c., who had been received since his coming over sundry times in the houses of the Lord Vaux, Mr. Powdrell, and the others. The prisoners, who had been previously charged with harbouring Fathers Campian and Parsons, &c., after those Fathers had been proclaimed, had simply denied it, but being required to swear upon oath to certain interrogatories, had refused to do so, and were now being tried in the Star Chamber for a contempt of court for the refusal. The charge against Mr. Powdrell was that he had refused to swear to the articles, unless he might first see them. It was upon this occasion that the feigned letter, said to have been written by Father Campian to Thomas Pounce, and to have been intercepted, in which Father Campian is made falsely to admit that he had confessed to certain houses of Catholics he had visited, was produced to influence the prisoners, and the Privy Council made a desperate effort upon the occasion. Mr. Simpson, in his *Life of Campian*, enters fully upon this iniquitous attempt. We content ourselves with the following extract:—

"Mr. Powdrell was then called upon.

"*Lord Chancellor.* Mr. Powdrell, what do you answer hereto? . . .

"*Mr. P.* My lords, I deny that part of Lord Shrewsbury's testimony of my confession, wherein he saith I came to the latter ending of the Mass, for I neither did so, nor did I say so. Also the day of the receiving of Mr. Campian into my house is not set down as in truth it was, for it was the 8th of January, which was four days before that day which is set down in my Lord of Shrewsbury's certificate. But that I have received Mr. Campian, I have confessed it; and I hope I have not offended therein for bestowing a night's lodging on him who sometimes did read to me in the University, and by whom I did never know evil.

"*Mr. Attorney.* For the difference of the days that you did take exception unto, it altereth not the case.

"*Mr. P.* Thus much it changeth the case, that I say it was done two days before the proclamation of Mr. Campian, and by that certificate it is said to be two days after the proclamation, when Mr. Campian came to my house,

"*Lord C.* What say you to your refusing to swear? Can you deny it: I did offer the oath to you?

"*Mr. P.* I confess that you so did, to whom I answered, I would not

is no record of the examination of Pounce in the Tower on this occasion, if indeed any took place. Perhaps none did; the Council may have feared to bring him into connection with Campian, whom they would never allow to be publicly interrogated about his reported confessions.

Pounce was present with Mr. Sherwin, Father Bosgrave, and others of the Catholic prisoners in the Tower, at the famous public conference in the chapel of the Tower, appointed to be held on the last day of August, 1581, by the Bishop of London, in obedience to the Lords of the Privy Council, between Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, and Day, Dean of Windsor, on the one side, and Father Campian on the other, which lasted for several days.

We add a few brief extracts from Mr. Simpson's *Life of Father Campian*, pp. 257, seq. touching this famous discussion, which must have so greatly excited Thomas Pounce.

The courtiers vehemently desired to hear the renowned author [Campian] speak. To this wish the Bishop of London opposed him-

depose unless I might first see the interrogatories whereto I should swear."

Mr. Powdrell's point as to the proclamation, &c., being evidently thought too pungent.

"*Mr. A.* Your lordships see that he confesseth that he refused to swear unless he might first see the interrogatories, wherewith he is only charged. If it please your lordships, I will proceed to another of the prisoners, Mrs. Griffith. This gentlewoman hath been a great receiver of Campian and Parsons, and many the like, as one of her husband's brothers hath confessed, sometimes by the names of Foster, Colt, &c.; and this as well before the proclamation as after, and thither were they brought by one Morrisse, sometime a schoolmaster, a common conductor of such. This gentlewoman being examined before, she refused to answer upon her oath.

"*Lord C.* What say you to this? Why did you refuse to swear?

"*Mrs. Griffith.* My lord, an oath is a thing of great importance, and I do not know the danger thereof. Therefore, as one scrupulous in conscience, and being afraid to swear for offending of my conscience, indeed I refused to swear, which I acknowledge.

"*Mr. A.* My lords, this gentlewoman's house hath been the ordinary house to receive them, and such like, and I have heard that it is rare to find such a house for that purpose: it standeth absent from other houses; there is a wood of a mile long adjoining to the house, and it is moated about, and yet sundry secret ways to escape out, as Mr. Blunt, that standeth by, can inform."

As regards Mrs. Griffith, the Lord Chancellor gave judgment thus— "He thought it convenient to discharge her of her fine of five hundred marks, because she was covert baron, and it could not be levied on her; and, because she knew not what belonged to an oath, she should tarry in prison till she did know."

For Mr. Powdrell, he urged two things against him: that he would refuse to swear when he told him that he should be examined of nothing but such as concerned her Majesty. Also that he denied one part of the Lord of Shrewsbury's certificate concerning the hearing of Mass. Lastly, he added that the prisoners should not only return to prison, to continue there till they had sworn, but withal that they should not be delivered without her Majesty's special favour obtained first therein. And when it

self in vain. Some higher will, probably the Queen's, through Burghley, and the Council, prevailed, and Campion was to be allowed the public disputation he had so often demanded. . . . The Bishop obeyed; he ordered that on the last day of August a public conference should be held in the chapel of the Tower; he deputed Nowell, the Dean of Paul's, and Day, Dean of Windsor, to be the disputants. The conference was to be public, but every advantage was to be taken to secure the victory to the right side. The two deans were to be the attacking parties; Campion was to reply to their objections but to start none of his own. They were to have all the time and all the assistance they required for preparation; Campion was to be apprised neither that there was to be a conference, nor, of course, of the time of it, nor of the subjects in dispute, till an hour or two before he was led, under strong guard, to the chapel. No allowance was to be made for his racked and tortured body and distressed mind; no comfortable chair to rest in, nor even a table to lean against; no books to refresh his memory were to be furnished for him. When the day came, Campion, Sherwin, Bosgrave, Pound, and others of the Catholic prisoners were led forth. They found the place as full as it would hold. The two sides of the chapel were fitted up for the tournament. At one side were two seats for the two deans, in front of them a table covered with books; to their right and left a quantity

was ordered that every prisoner should return from whence he came, he thought it well that they should all return to the Fleet. "And herewith the court did arise, and the prisoners were carried away."

Connected with Mrs. Griffith, whose house was evidently a resort of Fathers Parsons and Campian and possessed famous hiding-places, we find the following letter among the State Papers in the Public Record Office, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cl. n. 61, November 12, 1581. It is from Popham, the Attorney-General, to Walsingham, the Secretary of State. "May it please your honours to understand that according to their lordships' letters directed to Mr. Blunt and Mr. Saunders, Mr. Blunt hath brought unto me Mrs. Jane Griffith, wife unto William Griffith, and Ambrose Griffith and John Griffith, her husband's brothers, and having examined them according to the same letters, I do find the gentlewoman and Ambrose Griffith very obstinate, and not minded to confess anything touching Campian and Parsons being at any time at Mr. W. Griffith's house at Southland, and she utterly denieth that she saw her husband this month, when both the brothers do confess he was at home at Southland with her within these four days, and John Griffith, being but a young fellow of nineteen years of age, confesseth that his brother William was in the house after it was beset by Mr. Blount, and that nevertheless he was so shifted into some secret place, as for all the diligent search that was made he was not found. John confesseth also that both Campian and Parsons have been at that house both before the last sessions of Parliament and since, conducted thither by one Morris, a very bad man, and one who now is thought to be gone over into France. Mr. Blount informeth me that the house is so full of shifting places, as it may be that a man may easily shift himself from taking, that is acquainted with them. Though the house be moated, yet in the moat he found a pitched causeway under the water, which could be well protected by view, and which as he supposeth was prepared for a place to shift away by, if any search should be made. What their lord's pleasure shall be to have done with these parties, I am humbly to pray you would understand, that being advertised thereof from your honour, I may deal therein accordingly. The gentlewoman and Ambrose are exceedingly obstinate; the other more ready to yield, which, if your honour so think good, would deserve the more favour, if he continue of that mind."

of lower seats for the assistants of the principal combatants. At the opposite side a stage of some grandeur was erected for the ministers and courtiers. Between the two was another table, likewise covered with books, with seats for Chark the preacher of Gray's Inn, and Whittaker the Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, who were to act as notaries. In the middle of the chapel were a number of little stools, with a strong guard of soldiers around them, for the Catholic prisoners. Behind the guards the people were allowed to find what room they could. Among them was a Catholic who was bold enough to take notes of this and the other conferences. His reports of the later ones are still preserved in MS. in the British Museum. They were given to John Fox, the martyrologist, by Topcliffe, the priest-catcher, who found them in the house of Carter, the printer, who was hanged in 1584 for publishing a prayer-book in which Catholics were exhorted to imitate Judith, and exterminate the wicked demon Holofernes.<sup>72</sup> . . . There was another Catholic present, who wrote the life of Campion, afterwards translated by James Laing, at Paris. The chief things he noticed in Campion were his sickly face, and his mental weariness, worn with the rack, his memory destroyed, and his force of mind almost extinguished. . . . "I heard," he says, "Father Edmund reply to the subtleties of the adversaries so easily and readily, and bear so patiently all their contumely, abuse, derision, and jokes, that the greater part of the audience, even the heretics who had persecuted him, admired him exceedingly." Each day's discussion began at eight and continued till eleven, and was renewed in the afternoon from two till five.

Nowell opened the conference. They had come to seek the truth, not for themselves, for they had found it, but to help Campion and his fellows, and to do them good, if God permitted.

Campion in his reply [after answering an objection regarding his want of modesty in his *Ten Reasons*, by reciting a passage from its preface, proceeded] As to his hiding, every one knew it was not for fear of arguments; as to the conditions of the discussion, though they were clearly most unjust, yet he accepted them; he had challenged them; they had met him on the field he had indicated; but they had taken care to deprive him of his arms; for the arms of the disputant are books and meditation. No time had been given him for thought; as for books, even his notes had been taken from him. Was it an answer to his challenge to rack him first, then to deprive him of all books, and to set him to dispute? When life was in question, with the gallows before and the rack behind, the mind was hardly free for philosophy. He did not compare the cruelty of the English with that of others; he only complained of the positive tortures inflicted. He never persecuted; and it was folly to make distinctions, when there was no difference, for the Elizabethan racks were as bad as the Marian executions.<sup>73</sup> He had experience, and he had rather be hanged than racked.

<sup>72</sup> "William Carter, a printer, was hung at Tyburn on January 11, 1584, for printing a *Treatise on Schism* [not a Catholic prayer-book], against Catholics going to Protestant churches, in which a paragraph touching Judith and Holofernes, by a forced construction, was interpreted to be an exhortation to murder the Queen" (Bishop Challoner's *Missionary Priests*). See also *Rise and Growth of Anglican Schism*, by Dr. Sanders. Translated, with an Introduction, by David Lewis, Esq., M.A. Burns and Oates, 1877.

<sup>73</sup> This was in reply to the adversaries having charged him with

We do not follow the history of the various conferences, as they are too lengthy and belong properly to a life of Father Campian; but after several had been held, the Privy Council came round to the opinion of Bishop Aylmer, "that the conferences did no good to the Protestant cause." They were consequently stopped. Knowing Thomas Pounce's intrepid zeal, and recalling to mind his affair with Bishop Horne of Winchester, and how severely he had then gravelled that prelate, we may well imagine how fired and galled he must have been at the insolence of these two deans, the cruel and unjust treatment of Campian, and the conduct of the whole affair; especially at Nowell's arrogant opening; and indeed we find Nowell complaining during the conference of "Pounce's odious interpellations (as 'we know you to be a good Terence man') and his most scornful looks through his fingers, staring at him (Nowell) continually, whilst he was reasoning with Master Campion, to put him out of his memory." Whereupon Nowell broke out with *Os impudens*. "And Pounce," observes Mr. Simpson, "must have been a terrible fellow to have put a dean out of countenance by looking at him." Had an impartial report of these conferences been given, it is highly probable that we should meet with many other pungent and characteristic interpellations made by Mr. Pounce.

Amongst the many converts won by him was Father Thomas Cottam, who suffered at Tyburn, May 30, 1582, in the thirty-third year of his age.<sup>74</sup> He entered the Society in Rome, April 8, 1579. He was a native of Lancashire, born of Protestant parents, and brought up as such. Having made his earlier studies at home, he came to London to complete them, and to seek his own fortune. Here it pleased God that he should be introduced to, and become on the most intimate terms of friendship with Thomas Pounce, who was then at liberty. Father Cottam was not only a Protestant at that time, but his habits were not of the most praiseworthy kind. Pounce, however, by the cogency of his reasoning, and the example of his own holy life, not only converted him to the Catholic faith, but wrought a total reformation in him, changing him into another man; so much so that he resolved to give himself

accusing "the Queen's most merciful Government" with "strange cruelties." Regarding the fearful torments of the rack, especially of the "Topcliffe rack," see the "Life of Father Robert Southwell," *Records*, vol. i. Series I. See also a short allusion to Father Campian's sufferings from the rack in p. 41, above.

<sup>74</sup> See life of Father Cottam in *Records*, vol. ii. Series II.

up entirely to God, and the service of His Church. He left England for the Seminary of Douay, carrying with him, and retaining as he always did to the last, a present and lively recollection of Pounce, the father of his soul, and of the everlasting debt of gratitude he owed to that holy man, through whom he had gained the precious treasure of faith.

In a letter to his benefactor, dated Ascension Day, May 12, 1575, he says :

Your charity, like its Author, is eternal; and as there is no comparison between things eternal and perishable goods, between time and eternity, so am I unable either by word or writing to sufficiently express the debt of gratitude I owe you. I remember when you were to me a consoler in my solitude, the guide of my path, my helper in my afflictions, and my refuge in need.

Through you the Divine mercy recalled me from my wanderings; raised me up when fallen; sustained me in my wavering; preserved me in my trials; restored me when lost. So great a thing is it to possess a faithful friend; and such you have truly shown yourself to me; proving at the same time the vast difference there is between an honest and conscientious Christian and an ordinary one, and one of pleasures.

I had already begun to know vice (which I deeply lament). Now I follow virtue, and wonderfully it refreshes my soul, freed from earthly cares, and safe from my enemies, and in no great fear of hell. These are great things indeed, and for all of which I am indebted to you; but that is by far the greatest of all, which the Holy Ghost, by the mouth of the Apostle saith, *Testimonium reddit spiritui nostro, quod sumus filii Dei.*<sup>75</sup>

I beseech you by the same Holy Spirit; by Christ this day ascending into heaven; by the Eternal Father at Whose right hand He sitteth; by the Omnipotent and Immortal God, Three in One, that you be always mindful of me, and sometimes solace me by your letters. I will implore this same God, even to my latest breath, that He may long preserve you safe, with the highest increase of His honour and merits, and at last crown you with a holy end! Farewell!<sup>76</sup>

We conclude this biography with an expression of admiration at the providence of God displayed in Pounce's regard, decreeing that, although he was as much an object of dread and hatred to the adversaries of the faith as the blessed martyr Father Campian himself, yet he should not be led forth to consummate his victory at Tyburn, as so many other of his contemporaries were—a consummation which he had so long sighed after, had daily expected, and was so well prepared for—but that he should be reserved for a far more painful,

<sup>75</sup> Rom. viii. 16.

<sup>76</sup> More, *Hist. Prov. Angl.* vol. iv. n. 7, p. 127.

because tedious martyrdom of thirty years of incarceration and chains, in one loathsome dungeon after another.

THE REVEREND JOHN POUNDE.—We occasionally meet with this priest, who was a brother of Thomas Pounce, and likewise a sufferer for the faith. In *Records*, vol. i. p. 476, he is mentioned in a report by Robert Barnett, a Government spy,<sup>77</sup> as being in Rome at that time.

In the list of priests sent by Pope Gregory XIII. from the English Colleges of Rome and Rheims 1575—1585,<sup>78</sup> we find John Pounce named with thirty-six others in 1583, with a note attached that he died in exile. He was probably seized soon after arriving in England, for in *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxix. n. 23, is a certificate of the recusants committed to the Clink since the return of the list certificate in October, 1583—viz., John Pounce, a priest, and Jaspar Heywood, a Jesuit. He is likewise mentioned in the Narrative of the Rev. Henry Chaderdon, p. 546 seq., as helping to his conversion to the faith.

<sup>77</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlvii. nn. 138—141, 1580.

<sup>78</sup> See p. 47.

## GEORGE GILBERT.

FATHER HENRY MORE,<sup>1</sup> when introducing his brief notice of George Gilbert, observes: "In proportion to the exertions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus and of the secular clergy in defending the orthodox faith against all enemies, was the virulence with which heresy sought out and assailed each one professing it, and endeavoured to shake their constancy."

By a recent Act of Parliament (January 16, 1581)<sup>2</sup> it is enacted that every one from the age of sixteen years who fails to attend the Protestant church shall be fined twenty pounds sterling (or eighty gold crowns) per month, reckoning the year at thirteen months; also, every one either going to a priest for confession, or who shall be reconciled to the Catholic Church, is declared guilty of high treason, for, indeed, they construed all this to be "a seducing of her Majesty's subjects from their allegiance." The penalty for attending Mass was one hundred marks with imprisonment during one year, or until payment of the fine, which in many cases involved imprisonment for life. A priest, for saying Mass, was sentenced to the same imprisonment, and fined in double that amount. An occurrence, somewhat ludicrous, though very characteristic of our judges in causes of this nature, happened under this Act. A certain secular priest was accused of having received Holy Orders abroad, contrary to the statute, he was tried, and acquitted by the jury for want of sufficient proof of his ordination. After this verdict was pronounced some obscure apostate came forward in court, and swore to having heard the priest say Mass thirty years ago. Upon this the learned judge, without any fresh trial, actually condemned the *acquitted* party, because, said his lordship, he could not have said Mass if he had not been a priest. As the unfortunate priest was unable to pay such a fine, he was adjudged to what in his case was tantamount to imprisonment for life. "But to return," says Father More, "to our immediate

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Prov. Angl.* vol. iii. n. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 23 Eliz. cap. i. See Madden, *Penal Laws*, p. 153.

matter. About this time (1581), there were apprehended and cast into prison, under these laws, the Earl of Southampton, Lords Paget, Compton, and Vaux, Sir Thomas Tresham, Sir William Catesby, Sir John Arundell, Sir Nicholas Poyntz, Ralph Sheldon, Esq., Thomas Throckmorton, Esq., and many others, men of high family and wealth. Amongst the rest of the more illustrious Catholics, the iniquitous knaves keenly hunted after George Gilbert, either because this noble youth far outstripped his companions in virtue, or else because they had discovered that he was almost always by the side of Father Parsons, as his faithful companion, guide, and supporter; and, had he fallen into their hands, he would inevitably have suffered the tortures of the Tower and the gallows of Tyburn."

This most excellent youth, George Gilbert, was a native of Suffolk. His father was a man of high rank and large property, and Gilbert had succeeded when young to his wealth. For the first seventeen years of his life, which he spent in England, he was brought up in heresy, more by the fault of others than his own. He was professedly a Puritan, according to the inclinations of his earnest nature, and he had been confirmed in his belief by daily frequenting the sermons of Deering, the famous preacher; yet, though his creed was bad, his life was good. From his childhood his thoughts turned towards God and the things relating to his soul, and one of his most congenial occupations was to read spiritual books, and lay up for himself these higher treasures. To his praise and merit, instead of remaining in error he began to inquire after Catholic truth; and having once embraced this, so great was his delight in it, so holy his practice, so faithful his pursuit of its teaching, that after the interval of a few months he became an example to, and the admiration of Catholics. Before his conversion to the true religion, his chief delight had been in exploits of arms and chivalry, which suited well his natural disposition, and were easily achieved by one of such strong bodily frame. His graceful form, his pleasing countenance, and gentlemanly address, together with his high birth, made him a great favourite at the Court, which, both under Mary and Elizabeth, abounded more than ever with gay cavaliers. After coming to the enjoyment of his property he obtained leave to travel, going first to Paris, where he made so great a figure at Court in all polished manners and feats of chivalry as to be esteemed among his compatriots

the "flower of the flock." Amid these scenes, however, he preserved his soul intact; for, as we have remarked, if his faith was unsound, his life was moral, a point which he deemed of great importance, both out of natural goodness and for the credit of his own reputation which, as a foreigner, in the midst of the numerous and criticizing society of Paris, he respected and carefully watched over; hence, he was jealous of his honour, and unwilling to appear to degenerate even in the eyes of strangers.

Father Thomas Darbyshire was at that time living in Paris, and the fame of his virtue and learning was well known to Mr. Gilbert in England.<sup>3</sup> He met Father Darbyshire at first upon terms of civility as a fellow-countryman, when their intimacy become closer he entered with him upon religious subjects, which until then he had carefully avoided owing to the monstrous and impious doctrine of "Assurance of salvation," professed by the sect to which he belonged. Being moved either by the eternal truths which Father Darbyshire laid before him, or else by the sanctity of life which he noticed in him, doubts arose in his mind as to his real state, sufficiently strong to induce him at once to banish from his heart and mind all the follies of Calvin, and, at the same time, all love and desire of Court society and deeds of arms. Travelling from Paris to Rome he gave himself up for instruction in the Catholic religion to Father Parsons, who was at that time confessor or penitentiary in St. Peter's Church. This ended in his speedy conversion and reconciliation to the Church, in the year 1579; Father Parsons standing as his godfather at confirmation. From that time, though the new convert still pursued his studies, and learned the accomplishments for which Italy was then famous, such as riding, fencing, vaulting, and the like,<sup>4</sup> yet he secretly added to these prayer, fasting, mortification, and liberal almsgiving. He wished to expend his first fervour in a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but Father Parsons persuaded him rather to return to England and lay out his money in assisting priests, and in other means of advancing the Catholic cause.

Strengthened with such admirable precepts, he returned to England altogether a different man from the gay George Gilbert who had left it a few years before. He was then

<sup>3</sup> See Father Darbyshire's biography.

<sup>4</sup> A quaint description of Mr. Gilbert is given at the end of this life. (P.R.O. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxi. n. 62.)

in the flower of his youth, an only child and an orphan, with a rich inheritance in Suffolk and other counties at his free disposal, which he liberally spent in relieving the needs of the Catholic poor. He contracted an intimate friendship with Thomas Pounce of Belmont, who had been long buried in prison for the cause of the faith. In his frequent visits to him in the gaol, he sometimes remarked that many of the incarcerated Catholics suffered much in the winter from cold owing to bad clothing; these he would immediately, at his own expense, furnish with new and suitable apparel. Mr. Pounce recommended to his charity a large community of nuns, who had been expelled from their convent in England, and had taken refuge in Flanders,<sup>5</sup> and on that account were reduced to such poverty that amongst their whole number there were only two breviaries for their use in saying Divine Office; and, indeed, one of these was only a manuscript copy, and was so old, torn, and worn out by constant use as to be almost unserviceable. These holy virgins did not ask relief in their other necessities, but only in this one, in order to enable them to sing the praises of God, and to have greater consolation in their hearts. The cost of reprinting would be three hundred scudi, but George Gilbert sent them six hundred, asking in return the favour of their presenting him with the old and torn manuscript copy; because it had been used for many years by one of these religious, who was then very aged, and held in great repute for sanctity.

One result of his return to England was that he drew together several young men of good rank, and organized them into an association for promoting the cause of the Catholic religion, in which they bound themselves to perform the two functions of instructing and conciliating Protestants and conducting priests in their visits, and, besides, of procuring alms for the common fund out of which the priests were supplied. The general objects of this undertaking and the names of those who combined in carrying it out have been already given in the Life of Thomas Pounce, and need not here be repeated.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Gilbert was the founder and soul of the association; and those whom his example and exhortations had inflamed with the desire to join in his efforts, being young

<sup>5</sup> Father Agazzari states in his letter, of which a copy is given at the end of this memoir, that these nuns had been obliged by penury to return to England, from which they had retired into Flanders on account of the heresy.

<sup>6</sup> See page 627.

men of birth and property, without the incumbrance of wives or offices, and thus free to devote themselves to the good cause, entered on their dangerous and difficult path with extraordinary joy and alacrity—every man offering himself, his time, his ability, his friends, and whatsoever God had lent him besides.

Father Parsons, under the disguise of a discharged soldier from the Low Countries, safely passed the eagle-eyed searchers at the port of Dover, and prepared the way for Father Campian's following as a "merchant of jewels"—most appropriate disguises, their mission being truly a warfare, and their business a merchandise of the "pearl of great price." Father Parsons reached Gravesend at midnight, and got to London, and found out Mr. Pounce in the Marshalsea Prison. Great was the astonishment and joy of that noble champion of Christ when Father Parsons stood before him; but his joy could only be of short duration, for the Father must be away again as quickly as possible, ere he was recognized by others. Mr. Pounce, therefore, sent with all haste to acquaint Mr. Gilbert, than whom none of all the many Catholics in London could be more trustworthy or more acceptable to Father Parsons. The Father dined with the numerous Catholic prisoners, and afterwards committed himself to the guidance of one of the guests, "Mr. Edward Brookesby, who led him to a Catholic house in the City, a kind of club, where he found other gentlemen and priests, and notably Mr. Gilbert."<sup>7</sup>

It was truly by an act of Divine Providence, in Mr. Gilbert's regard, that Father Parsons arrived on that very day in London, and that it occurred to Mr. Pounce, his friend, to recommend the Father to his hospitality, as that particular day was named for a meeting to discuss the settlements to be made on his intended marriage with a young heiress, to whom his friends had advised him to make proposals, and who was in every respect his equal in rank and fortune.

The very sight of Father Parsons so entirely changed him, and inspired him with such a repugnance to the intended marriage and to all other earthly things, that breaking off any further treaty about the match, he determined to enter upon a far different kind of life, and, with Father Parson's approbation, to consecrate himself to God by a vow of perpetual chastity. This the Father would not at first consent to, though at last he

<sup>7</sup> This was no doubt a house in Fetter or Chancery Lane, and the club was the Catholic Association.

gave him permission to take the vow "till the Catholic religion should be publicly professed in England."

He thereupon entirely devoted himself to Father Parsons as his companion on his journeys, placing himself at his complete disposal for the good of the Catholic cause, and ready to expend therein his sweat and his blood. He refused to be admitted on the terms of a patron or companion, and insisted on assuming the character of a servant or steward in the apostolical ministry. He not only liberally supplied Father Parsons with all the necessaries of life, habitation, and travelling, and everything requisite for the altar, but begged most earnestly to be allowed at his sole expense to do the same for Father Campian also and for the rest of their companions; nor was he more prompt in promising than munificent in performing. The bounty of this young man was not confined to the members of the Society of Jesus, but extended itself equally to other priests and Catholics, in the sure hope of a heavenly recompense. He made his home a common asylum to all priests and Catholics, and it often happened that, when an unexpected concourse filled his house, he would give up his own bed, and lie upon the ground. The rents of his estate did not long remain in his hands before some applicant for relief required them, or else he would expend them in the service of the Church, in everything consulting and following the the advice of Father Parsons. He would equip some of the Catholics with dresses and money according to their age, more or less handsome, thus enabling them to go about as gentlemen of rank, with a gay appearance, especially such as were priests. He assisted them in this way more efficaciously than in any other, because, by concealing their real character, he helped them through this innocent stratagem to elude the vigilance of the pursuivants and spies; and, if ever the supply of clothing of this style fell short, he furnished them from his own wardrobe.

By his incredible liberality towards Catholics and priests, especially towards those in prison, it is impossible to say how many souls he preserved from the danger of ruin, and how many lapsed Catholics he was the means of restoring to their faith. Indeed, so great were his labours for the help of souls in all these varied works of charity, either personally or by means of others, that they may be said without exaggeration to have exceeded in measure and merit those of the priests themselves. An intimate friend of his affirmed that a goodly

volume might be filled with the names of the vascillating whom he strengthened, the lapsed he restored, and the tepid whom he aroused by his own generous spirit, especially young men his equals in age and rank, from amongst whom, as we have seen, he formed the Catholic Association.

Early in July, 1580, as has been already mentioned in Mr. Pounce's Life, Father Parsons and Father Campian, duly equipped by George Gilbert, each having two horses and a servant, two suits of apparel for travelling, sixty pounds in money, with vestments, books, and everything needful for the chapel or for the road, set forth from London, which was then emptied of friends and swarming with spies. Further stay there was both needless and dangerous, and hence they resolved, with the other priests, to depart on their appointed missions into the shires.

Father Parsons was accompanied by George Gilbert, Father Campian by Gervase Pierrepont. They agreed to meet and take leave of each other at the house of a gentleman at "Hogsdon" [Hoxton], probably that of Mr. Gardiner, the first convert of Father Parsons.

The Council soon knew of their departure from London, and sent pursuivants into most of the counties in England with warrants to apprehend both of them wherever they could find them; but, being diligently warned by the Catholics, they easily avoided their pursuers. "They lost their labour, and we had three or four months free to follow our business, in which period, by the help and direction of the young gentlemen that went with us, we passed through the most part of the shires of England, preaching and administering the sacraments in almost every gentleman and nobleman's house that we passed by, whether he was Catholic or not, provided he had any Catholics in his house to hear us.

"We entered for the most part as an acquaintance or kinsfolk of some person that lived within the house, and when that failed us, as passengers, or friends of some gentleman that accompanied us; and after ordinary salutations, we had our lodgings, by procurement of the Catholics within the house, in some part retired from the rest, where, putting ourselves in priest's apparel and furniture, which we always carried with us, we had secret conference with the Catholics that were there, or such of them as might conveniently come, whom we ever caused to be ready for that night late to prepare themselves for the Sacrament of Confession; and the next morning, very

early, we had Mass, and the Blessed Sacrament ready for such as would communicate, and after that an exhortation, and then we made ourselves ready to depart again. And this was the manner of proceeding when we stayed least; but when there was longer and more liberal stay, then these exercises were more frequent.”<sup>8</sup>

As one object of the present volume is to bring to light the sufferings inflicted upon Catholics by their Protestant countrymen, in order to compel them, though the attempt were vain, to embrace the new religion of Barlow, Cranmer, and the rest, and to renounce the old Catholic traditions of their ancestors, we must pause a little to give some account of the labours of Father Parsons in his tour through the counties, accompanied by his faithful companion, George Gilbert. The piety of the latter was not satisfied with supplying riding-horses and men, who, whenever the Father went far from London to visit the different seats of the gentry, would go in advance through the country for many miles, giving notice to Catholics in what village or house they would find the Father on such a day, and in what neighbourhood he would visit on such another day; but he himself would accompany him as a guide and security, one time in his true character of a gentleman, at another time in that of his servant and groom in livery, with, according to circumstances, a constant change of dress for both of them. All this anxiety and watchfulness he showed entirely for the good Father's life; since for his own he had no thought. We anticipate a letter of Father Parsons from London, November 17, 1580, to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College, Rome, by quoting from one of a priest in London, to the same Father Agazzari, dated in July, 1581; an extract from which, describing the horrors of the prison of Wisbeach Castle, has been already given in the life of Thomas Pounce. “When a priest comes to their houses they first salute him as a stranger unknown to them, and then they take him to an inner chamber in which an oratory is set up, where all fall on their knees and beg his blessing. Then they ask how long he will remain with them, and pray him to stop as long as he can. If he says he must go on the morrow, as he usually does—for it is dangerous to stay longer—they all prepare for confession that evening. The next morning they hear Mass and receive Holy Communion; then, after preaching and giving his blessing a second time, the priest departs, and is conducted

<sup>8</sup> Father Parsons' manuscript *Life of Father Campian* (Stonyhurst MSS.).

on his journey by one of the young gentlemen" (that is, of the Catholic Association). "Sometimes when we are sitting merrily at table, conversing familiarly on matters of faith and devotion (for our talk is generally of such things), there comes a hurried knock at the door, like that of a pursuivant; all start up and listen, like deer when they hear the huntsman. We leave our food, and commend ourselves to God in a brief ejaculation; nor is word or sound heard till the servants come to say what the matter is. If it turns out to be nothing, we laugh at our fright.<sup>9</sup>

"No one is found in these parts to complain of the length of services. If a Mass does not last nearly an hour, many are discontented. If six, eight, or more Masses are said in the same place, and on the same day (as often happens when there is a meeting of priests), the same congregation will assist at all. When they can get priests they confess every week. Quarrels are scarce known amongst them. Disputes are almost always left to the arbitration of the priest. They do not willingly intermarry with heretics, nor will they pray with them, nor do they like to have any dealings with them. A lady was lately told that she should be let out of prison if she would walk through a church, but this she refused to do. She had come into prison with a sound conscience, and she would depart with it or die. In Henry VIII.'s days, the father of Queen Elizabeth, the whole kingdom, with all its bishops and learned men, abjured their faith at one word of the tyrant. But now, in his daughter's days, boys and women boldly profess the faith before the judge, and refuse to make the slightest concession, even at the threat of death."<sup>10</sup>

The following is Father Parsons' narrative of his missionary expedition with George Gilbert, as given in his letter of November 17, 1580.<sup>11</sup>

The heat of the persecution now raging against Catholics throughout the whole realm is most fiery, and such as hath never been heard of since the conversion of England. Gentle and simple, men and women, are being everywhere haled to prison, even children are being put into irons. They are despoiled of their goods, shut out from the light of day, and publicly held up to the contempt of the people in proclamations, sermons, and conferences, as traitors

<sup>9</sup> The hiding-places had become known by means of searchers and false brethren, in the middle of 1581; so that, even thus early, Catholics were compelled, when there was a night alarm, to betake themselves to woods and thickets, ditches and holes.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. Simpson's *Campion*, quoting this letter, pp. 171, 172.

<sup>11</sup> Quoted in Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 172 - 174.

and rebels. It is supposed that the reasons of this great persecution are, first, the ill success of the English in Ireland, next, the demonstration made last summer against England by the Spanish fleet, and lastly, the coming of the Jesuits into the island, and the great number of conversions made by them, which has so astonished the heretics that they know not what to do or say. They are most troubled about a certain protestation of their faith and religion, and of the reasons of their coming into England, which the Jesuits wrote and signed with their names, and placed in the hands of a friend, for fear that, if they were cast into prison, the heretics might pretend, as is their usual custom, that they had recanted. This protestation was communicated by the man who had charge of it to another, and by him to a third, and it soon came into the hands of an immense number, and even of the Queen's Councillors.<sup>12</sup> We hear that, one month since, more than fifty thousand names of persons who refused to go to heretical churches were reported. Many more, I fancy, have been discovered since.

The heretics, when they throw the Catholics into prison, only ask them one thing, to come to their churches and to hear sermon and service. It was even lately proposed to certain noblemen to come, if it were only once a year, to church, making, if they pleased, a previous protestation that they came not to approve of their religion or doctrines, but only to show an outward obedience to the Queen; and yet all most constantly refused. A certain noble lady was offered her choice either to stay in prison or simply to walk through the church without stopping there or exhibiting any signs of respect, but she declared that she never would. A boy of, I believe, twelve years of age, who had been cheated by his friends into walking to church before a bride (as the custom here is), and had been afterwards blamed by his companions, was perfectly inconsolable till he found me a few days after, when he threw himself down at my feet and confessed his sin. A thousand similar instances might be given.

We, although all conversation with us is forbidden by proclamation, are yet most earnestly invited everywhere; many take long journeys only to speak to us and put themselves and their fortunes entirely in our hands. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that more of our Society should be sent, if possible not fewer than five: one Spaniard, one Italian, and three Englishmen, who must be very learned men, on account of the many entangled cases of conscience which arise from no one here having ample faculties, and from the difficulty of consulting the Holy See, which is treason.

There is immense want of a Bishop to consecrate for us the holy oils for Baptism and Extreme Unction, for want of which we are brought to the greatest straits, and unless His Holiness makes haste to help us in this matter we shall soon be at our wits' end. The adversaries are very mad that by no cruelty can they move a single Catholic from his resolution, no, not even a little girl. A young lady of sixteen was questioned by the sham Bishop of London about the Pope, and answered him with courage, and even made fun of him in public, and so was ordered to be carried to the public prison<sup>13</sup> for a woman of bad character. On the way she cried out that she was sent to that place for her religion, and not for immodesty.

<sup>12</sup> This was Father Campian's famous Challenge and Brag, as it was called. See a copy in "Life of Thomas Pounce," part ii, page 629.

<sup>13</sup> Bridewell.

A certain English gentleman-pirate lately returned with a booty of more than two millions, taken in the West Indies. The Spanish Ambassador reclaimed the spoil in the King's name, but the Queen gave the shuffling answer that the King of Spain had given harbour to the Pope's ships on their passage to Ireland. She asked, moreover, why the Pope, without being harmed, attacked her kingdom in this way? He answered that he rather wondered that the Pope did not attempt to do more against her who had treated him so abominably, not only in refusing him all his ecclesiastical rights, which from the most ancient times were allowed to the Holy See by the Kings of England, but also by libels, sermons, lewd pictures, and many other ways, by which his authority was defamed and brought into contempt. He said more to the same effect, and the Queen was silent then, but afterwards said to a nobleman that the Pope had written to her that he was prepared to approve the whole Protestant service, if she would restore him his title of Supreme Head of the Church. But in these parts there is often talk of these kinds of pretended letters.

I keep myself safe here in London by frequent change of place. I never remain more than two days in one spot, because of the strict searches made for me. I am quite overwhelmed with business, to which I am obliged to devote the whole day, from early morning till midnight, after I have said Mass and Office, and preached, sometimes twice in the day. Therefore I hope for reinforcements, both from our Society and from the Pope's College.

All Catholics here lift up their hands and thank God and His Holiness for founding such a College at Rome, beyond all their hopes; and they beseech His Holiness, by the bowels of the mercy of our Saviour, to defend the College, and to enlarge it for the needs of the present time.<sup>14</sup>

Two days ago a priest called Clifton was led in chains through the streets, and he walked with so cheerful a countenance that the people wondered. When he saw this he began to laugh heartily, at which the folks were still more struck, and asked him why he was the only one to laugh at his own sad case, for which everybody else pitied him. He answered, it was because he was the gainer in the business. In the beginning of this persecution there were some people in a certain county who were frightened, and promised to go to the Protestant church, but their wives stood out against them, and threatened to leave them if they, for human respect, left off their obedience to God and the Church. Many like things have taken place amongst boys, who for this cause have separated themselves from their parents.

In October, 1580, Father Campian and Father Parsons returned towards London, to meet and confer once more, and to compare the results of their labours.

Father Parsons and his faithful friend, George Gilbert, reached London a few days before Father Campian's intended return, he tried to find a convenient lodging for him, but the persecution had become so hot and the search after him so close that it was decided unsafe for Father Campian to enter

<sup>14</sup> The English College, Rome, is here referred to; it was under the care of the Society of Jesus until 1773.

the town. He therefore stayed at William Griffith's house, near Uxbridge, and here the meeting was held.<sup>15</sup> Father Parsons' tour had been through the counties of Gloucester, Worcester, Hereford, and Derby. Father Campian had taken Berks, Oxford, and Northampton. In settling the plans for their next expedition, it was resolved that Father Parsons should for the present remain in or near London, because he was not as yet so diligently sought for as Father Campian, whose protest or "brag" had kindled such a flame throughout the land, and was now in everybody's hands, furnishing almost the only topic at ordinary tables and public meetings. He had been asked for by the Norfolk and Lancashire Catholics, whom he had not reached on his first tour. Lancashire was fixed upon as the remotest from London and containing the greatest number of Catholics.

Whilst this conference was being held in Uxbridge, in October, 1580, a new proclamation, the third since the entrance of the Jesuits into England, was issued by the Council for their discovery and apprehension. This caused so great a difficulty in Father Campian's passage through the various counties towards the north, in consequence of the constables, pursuivants, searchers, and other catch-poles, that he was forced to stay more upon the way than he had purposed, and he took occasion of one of these enforced times of leisure to write to the Father General an account of his first tour.<sup>16</sup>

Seeing the close connection between George Gilbert and Father Campian, who, as well as Father Parsons, was furnished by him with the sinews for this desperate warfare, it is impossible to omit the present opportunity of introducing this very beautiful letter from that glorious martyr. Indeed it would rather seem that Mr. Gilbert accompanied Father Campian part of the way at least on his journey towards the north, after the meeting at Uxbridge. Finding himself more than ever beset he was obliged, as we have just noticed, to tarry a long while on the way. "In fact," says Mr. Simpson, "I lost sight of him till about Christmastide, when Gervase Pierrepoint [one of Gilbert's Association, who had accompanied Father Campian on his first tour] took him to the house of his brother, Henry Pierrepoint of Holme Pierrepoint and Thoresby, Notts, the ancestor of the Earls of Kingston; there he remained

<sup>15</sup> This house was Southland. See notices of it and its inhabitants in the life of Thomas Pounce, pp. 652, 653.

<sup>16</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 181, 182.

till the Tuesday after Twelfth Day, when he and his guide went to Mr. Langford, where they spent the Thursday and Friday; thence to Lady Fuljambes of Walton, Derbyshire, and thence to Mr. Powdrells of West Hallam, Derby, a famous resort, even a century later, of priests, where they were joined by George Gilbert.”<sup>17</sup> How long he remained does not appear, but Pierrepoint soon after returned, and then Mr. Tempest led Father Campian into Yorkshire. Mr. Gilbert’s appearance at Mr. Powdrells’ may only have been as a visitor to Father Campian on some important matters relative to the undertaking. We may add here, that amongst the immense labours of Father Campian on his protracted and perilous journey to Lancashire, he stayed about twelve days at the house of Mr. William Harrington, of Mount St. John, brother-in-law of his guide, Mr. Tempest, during which time he was occupied in writing his famous book, *De Hæresi Desperata*, which afterwards appeared as his *Decem Rationes*. One of his host’s six sons, William, was so struck by the conduct of the blessed martyr, that three years afterwards he fled over seas to Rheims, from whence in due time he returned to England a priest, and himself suffered martyrdom at Tyburn, February 18, 1594, for the Catholic religion.<sup>18</sup>

Of Father Campian’s marvellous escapes from the pursuivants, who were always upon his heels, one took place at Mr. Worthington’s house, Lancashire, where he was saved from seizure by a maid-servant, who, in affected anger, pushed him into a pond, and thus effectually disguised him, by covering him with mud.

<sup>17</sup> The Rev. W. Harrington was born at St. John’s Mount, Yorkshire, of a good family. He made his studies at Douay College, during its temporary sojourn at Rheims. Here he was made priest, was thence sent upon the English Mission in 1592. Bishop Challoner says that he had been unable to learn the particulars of his missionary labours or sufferings, except that he was condemned to die on account of his priestly character and functions, and for this, and no other treason, was put to a most cruel death. Stowe, in his *Chronicles*, says, “The 18th of February, one named Harrington, a seminary priest, was drawn from Newgate to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, and struggled with the hangman; but was bowelled and quartered.” Bishop Challoner adds, “What the historian mentions of Mr. Harrington’s struggling with the hangman after he was cut down, cannot be drawn into an argument of his not being resigned to die; but only shows the efforts which nature will be sure to make in a man whose senses are stunned by having been half hanged, and therefore by the motion of his arms and body strives to resist that unnatural violence which is offered by the hands and knife of the executioner. Mr. Harrington suffered at Tyburn, February 18, 1594.” Brother Nicholas Harrington, the holy scholastic whose brief memoir is given in *Records*, vol. i. p. 177, was probably of the same family with the above martyr.

<sup>18</sup> Simpson’s *Campion*, p. 187.

The following is a copy of Father Campian's letter to Very Rev. Father General, before referred to. It describes the passages of his career since his previous letter from St. Omer's *en route* to England.

Having now passed, by God's great mercy, five months in these places, I thought it good to give you intelligence by my letters of the present state of things here, and what we may of likelihood look for to come, for I am sure, both for the common care of us all and special love to me, you long to know what I do, what hope I have, how I proceed. Of other things that fell before I wrote from St. Omer's, what has sithence happened now I will briefly recount unto you. It fell out, as I construe it, by God's special providence, that tarrying for wind four days together, I should at length take sea the fifth day in the evening, which was the feast of St. John Baptist, my peculiar patron, to whom I had often before commended my cause and journey. So we arrived safely at Dover the morrow following, very early, my little man and I together.<sup>19</sup> There we were at the very point of being taken, and were brought before the Mayor of the town, who conjectured many things, suspected us to be such as indeed we were, adversaries of the new heretical faction, favourers of the old Fathers' faith, that we dissembled our names, had been abroad for religion, and returned again to spread the same. One thing he especially urged, that I was Dr. Allen, which I denied, proffering my oath, if need be, for the verifying thereof. At length he resolveth, and that it so should be, he often repeated that, with some to guard me, I should be sent to the Council. Neither can I tell who altered his determination, saving God, to Whom, underhand, I then humbly prayed, using St. John's intercession also, by whose happy help I safely came so far. Suddenly cometh forth an old man, God give him grace for his labour. "Well," quoth he, "it is agreed you shall be dismissed; fare you well." And so we two go apace. The whole thing considered, and the like that daily befall unto me, I am verily persuaded that one day I shall be apprehended, but that then when it shall most pertain to God's glory, and not before.

Well, I came to London, and my good angel guided me unwittingly into the same house that had harboured Father Robert [Parsons] before, whither young gentlemen came to me on every hand.<sup>20</sup> They embrace me, reapparel me, furnish me, service me, weapon me, and convey me out of the City. I ride about some piece of the country every day. The harvest is wonderful great. On horseback I meditate my sermon; when I come to the house, I polish it. Then I talk with such as come to speak with me, or hear their confessions. In the morning after Mass, I preach; they hear with exceeding greediness, and very often receive the Sacraments, for the ministration whereof we are ever well assisted by priests, whom we find in every place, whereby both the people is well served, and we much eased in our charge. The priests of our country themselves, being most excellent for virtue and learning, yet have raised so great an opinion of our Society that I dare scarcely touch the exceeding reverence all Catholics do unto us. How much more is it requisite that such as hereafter are to be sent

<sup>19</sup> Brother Ralph Emerson.

<sup>20</sup> George Gilbert and his Catholic Association.

for supply, whereof we have great need, be such as may answer all men's expectation of them ! Specially let them be well trained for the pulpit. I cannot long escape the hands of the heretics ; the enemies have so many eyes, so many tongues, so many scouts and crafts. I am in apparel to myself very ridiculous. I often change it, and my name also. I read letters sometimes myself that in the first front tell news that Campian is taken, which, noised in every place where I come to, so filleth my ears with the sound thereof, that fear itself hath taken away all fear. My soul is in mine own hands ever. Let such as you send for, supply, premeditate, and make count of this always. Marry, the solaces that are ever intermingled with these miseries are so great that they do not only countervail the fear of what punishment temporal soever, but by infinite sweetness make all worldly pains, be they never so great, seem nothing. A conscience pure, a courage invincible, zeal incredible, a work so worthy, the number innumerable of high degree, of mean calling, of the inferior sort, of every age and sex.

Here, even amongst the Protestants themselves that are of milder nature, it is turned into a proverb, that he must be a Catholic that payeth faithfully what he oweth, insomuch that if any Catholic do injury, everybody expostulateth with him as for an act unworthy of men of that calling. To be short, heresy heareth ill of all men ; neither is there any condition of people commonly counted more vile and impure than their ministers, and we worthily have indignation that fellows so unlearned, so evil, so derided, so base, should in so desperate a quarrel overrule such a number of noble wits as our realm hath. Threatening edicts come forth against us daily ; notwithstanding, by good heed, and the prayers of good men, and, which is the chief of all, God's special gift, we have passed safely through the most part of the island. I find many neglecting their own security to have only the care of my safety.

A certain matter fell out these days unlooked for. I had set down in writing by several articles the causes of my coming in, and made certain demands most reasonable. I professed myself to be a priest of the Society ; that I returned to enlarge the Catholic faith, to teach the Gospel, to minister the sacraments, humbly asking audience of the Queen and the nobility of the realm, and proffering disputation to the adversaries. One copy of this writing I determined to keep with me, that if I should fall into the officers' hands it might go with me ; another copy I laid in a friend's hand, that when myself with the other should be seized, another might thereupon straight be dispersed. But my said friend kept it not close long, but divulged it, and it was read greedily ; whereat the adversaries were mad, answering out of the pulpit that themselves certes would not refuse to dispute, but the Queen's pleasure was not that matters should be called in question, being already established.<sup>21</sup> In the meanwhile, they tear and sting us with their venomous tongue, calling us seditious, hypocrites—yea, heretics, too, which is much laughed at. The people hereupon is ours, and that error of spreading abroad this writing hath much advanced the cause. If we be commanded, and may have safe conduct, we will [go] into the court.

But they mean nothing less, for they have filled all the old

<sup>21</sup> For this famous protest, &c., see "Life of Thomas Pounce," part ii. p. 629.

prisons with Catholics, and now make new ; and, in fine, plainly affirm that it were better to make a few traitors away than so many souls should be lost. Of their martyrs they brag no more now ; for it is now come to pass that for a few apostates and coblers of theirs burnt, we have bishops, lords, knights, the old nobility, patterns of learning, piety, and prudence, the flower of the youth, noble matrons, and of the inferior sorts innumerable, either martyred at once, or by consuming imprisonment dying daily. At the very writing hereof the persecution rages most cruelly. The house where I am is sad ; no other talk but of death, flight, prison, or spoil of their friends. Nevertheless, they proceed with courage. Very many, even at this present, being restored to the Church—new soldiers give up their names, while the old offer up their blood ; by which holy hosts and oblations God will be pleased, and we shall, no question, by Him overcome.

You see now, therefore, Reverend Father, how much need we have of your prayers and sacrifices, and other heavenly help, to go through with these things. There will never want in England men that will have care for their own salvation, nor such as shall advance other men's ; neither shall this Church here ever fail so long as priests and pastors shall be found for their sheep, rage man or devil never so much. But the rumour of present peril causeth me here to make an end. Arise God. His enemies avoid. Fare you well.<sup>19</sup>

E. C.

To return again to Father Parsons and George Gilbert. After Father Campian's departure for the north they retired to London, where they found the persecution redoubled in vigour. A fourth proclamation had come out against the Jesuits in November, and Father Parsons was obliged to change his lodgings. Sometimes he dwelt in Bridewell, sometimes in the suburbs, and sometimes even in one of the Queen's palaces. And from this time Catholics found their most secure asylums in the houses of pursuivants, or other civil or ecclesiastical officers whom they had in their pay. At this time Father Parsons procured the assistance of Mendoza, the

<sup>19</sup> Mr. Simpson could not find the position of this letter amongst the State Papers ; and Mr. Lemon's Calendars, 1547—1580, does not give it. "It is either a contemporary translation of Campian's well-known epistle ; or, if he wrote a duplicate, in English as well as in Latin, it may be his original composition. It was probably written on the same day as Parson's letter, during the fifth month of his residence in England, reckoning from June 25. This would quite agree with November 17, 1580." Since Mr. Simpson's work, viz., in October, 1872, another volume of the Calendars has been published by Mrs. Green, to whom the public owes so much for her essentially useful and important volumes. This volume is *Addenda*, 1580—1625, embracing all omitted matter between those dates, and amongst the rest is this very letter. It may be found in State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* *Addenda*, vol. xxvii. n. 60, and is without date. Mrs. Green suggests 1580 (?) ; and Mr. Simpson most clearly accounts for the date November, 1580. The letter in the P.R.O. is only a copy. It has been compared with the one here given, the only difference being that the modern spelling has been used.

Spanish Ambassador, who took him under his special protection, and would walk with him as one of his own men, whilst the Queen's officers were watching his house.<sup>20</sup>

Several of Father Parson's friends had been captured—Ralph Sherwin, James Bosgrave, Hart, and others—and committed to prison. The danger was imminent, and, to add to it, Adam Squier, the son-in-law of Bishop Aylmer, whom we have already mentioned, and whose protection George Gilbert had purchased for Father Parsons, declared himself unable to carry out his agreement, because of the quarrels in which it involved him with the Bishop, and the danger it exposed him to from the Council.

Father Parsons was now very busy in establishing a printing-press by the aid of a young friend, Mr. Stephen Brinckley, one of the Gilbert Catholic Association, at a house called Greenstreet, East Ham, Essex, about five miles from London. But the danger increasing, Father Parsons, with George Gilbert fled away. The first book that issued from this press was probably (Mr. Simpson says) some book of devotions or encouragement to Catholics; after it was printed, the press was taken to another place. Father Parsons, at the house of another friend, Mr. Francis Browne, set to work to write his censure of Charke and Hanmer, in three parts. Here he incurred great trouble and risk in publishing his book, in consequence of the trap laid for Gilbert, whose bailiff had been ordered by the Council to come up to London to pay him his rents. Father Parsons would not allow George Gilbert to go in person to receive them, but sent Browne and Charles Basset, both of the Catholic Association,<sup>21</sup> to Mr. Barnes' house in Tuttlefield, or rather to the house of one Higgins, an attorney. Whilst they were there, one Georçè Cary came and seized the money and the men together.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, Father Parsons'

<sup>20</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, p. 183.

<sup>21</sup> We have stated before that Charles Basset was a great grandson of the martyred Sir Thomas More. He was at Rouen with Father Robert Parsons in September, 1584. In two months afterwards Father Parsons had to bear the loss of Mr. Basset (as he writes to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College), who died at Rheims in November. He was the intimate friend of Mr. Gilbert, and his rival in making generous sacrifices for religion. He left his money to Douay College, then removed for a time to Rheims.

<sup>22</sup> This was Sir George Cary, the Queen's cousin, and once the intended husband of Mary Stuart. The holy martyr, Ralph Sherwin, having been seized and committed to the Marshalsea, like Father Campian (and we may add Thomas Pounce also), gave a general challenge to heretics to dispute with him. The gauntlet was taken up by Cary, who ordered certain questions to be put to him, but afterwards shrunk from argument,

“censure” appeared, and the quickness of his repartee made the Council doubly angry; and Father Parsons thinks that the proclamation of the 10th of January, 1581, ordering all young men to return from the foreign Seminaries, and denouncing all receivers and favourers of priests and Jesuits, was a kind of reply to his “censure.”<sup>23</sup>

Having thus traced the personal connection of George Gilbert with Fathers Parsons and Campian, as far as the means at hand will allow, we now resume the narrative of his life. He eluded the ambuscades of the spies and pursuivants by a constant change of character and dress, as we have already seen. In all these dangers he never allowed himself to omit anything which he considered appertained to the greater glory and service of God, nor would he permit them to distract his mind in his prayers and meditations, and yet the dangers were never greater, and the searchers were tracking him in every direction, so that at last Father Parsons despaired of being able any longer to conceal him. The Privy Council, enraged at their unsuccessful attempts to catch him, had confiscated the greater part of his estates to the Treasury. Father Parsons, therefore, determined to send him to the Continent. Whilst waiting an opportunity for a vessel, he lay hid for some days by the seaside, in solitary and deserted caves, and where beasts were housed, no slight hardship to a youth accustomed to every convenience and comfort of life. He spent this time in prayer with God, when his joy was so exuberant that he seemed to taste somewhat of the delights of Paradise, and as he afterwards related, he never felt happier during his whole life. In fact, at this time no Catholic gentlemen dared offer to conceal him within their houses, because his detection there would have cost them their own lives, so notorious had his virtues and merits rendered him.

In the month of May, 1581, he succeeded in crossing over to France, leaving seven horses with Father Parsons for the excursions of himself and other priests in their constant visits and labours amongst Catholics, especially those of the higher classes who for the greater part of the year lived more safely in the country, but yet stood in much need of encouragement under their severe trials. He also gave to Father Parsons

and sent Sherwin to the Tower, with Father Thomas Cottam and others, December 4, 1580 (Simpson's *Campion*, p. 183). This was a very conclusive *argumentum ad hominem*, and the usual one resorted to in those dark times.

<sup>23</sup> Simpson's *Campion*, pp. 185, 186.

as much money as was not already confiscated to the Queen's treasury, for publishing his many works *de Fide*, and for the promotion of piety and the consolation of Catholics.

The following is a copy of a letter written by Father Parsons to His Holiness, Pope Gregory XIII., by the hand of George Gilbert, whose final destination was to be the Eternal City.

Beatissime Pater,—Although I hope your Holiness knows our affairs by other letters I have sent you, yet, as I have found a convenient messenger, to whom I must needs give some kind of letter, I wished to add this brief notice of our state. To-day the French Ambassadors have left London without having effected their object, as is generally supposed, for the marriage is no longer talked about. We are daily expecting a fresh storm of persecution; for, two days ago, the Council sent an order to all parts of the realm, to make search for the Catholic recusants, as they call them, according to the form of a statute made in the last Session, which condemns every one above the age of sixteen to pay twenty pounds for every month they refuse to come to the Protestant church. And although there are very few Catholics who are rich enough to pay, and the rest must therefore expect to lie perpetually imprisoned, yet they are full of joy, and not at all anxious about this matter, for they hope that their case will be the same as that of the Israelites, and that the aggravation of their oppression will be the hope of a more speedy redemption.

Against us they publish the most threatening proclamations, books, sermons, ballads, libels, lies, and plays. But the people receive us with the greatest eagerness, and comfort and protect us. The number of the faithful is wonderfully increased, and of our shrewdest foes we have softened many; some we have converted. The contest is sharp. God give us humility, patience, and fortitude! Whatever priest or layman they lay hold of, whom they suspect to know anything about us, they torture on the rack to make him betray us; and quite lately they tormented one most atrociously, but could get nothing out of him.<sup>24</sup> Meanwhile, we live safely enough in their very sight. We talk, preach, write, and do everything else to resist them, expecting every kind of torment when we are taken; yet in the meantime, through God's goodness, we sleep soundly. We earnestly desire supplies of new men, and that soon, for fear we should be taken before they can fill our places. So much concerning religious affairs.

It now remains for me tell your Holiness somewhat about the bearer of this letter, who, to tell the truth, is the chief cause of my writing. He is a young gentleman named George Gilbert, who has afforded the rarest spectacle to all England. He was a man of great wealth, a great favourite at Court, and devoted all his property to the defence of the Catholic religion. When we first entered the island, whilst others were in fear and doubt, he alone took us in, comforted us, clothed us, fed us, helped us with money, horses, servants, then took us about the island at his own expense; he

<sup>24</sup> This was probably a servant of Mr. Brinckley, lately mentioned, who was caught and racked, without any information being extracted from him (Simpson's *Campion*, p. 185).

journeyed with us, gave us books and other necessaries, bought a press for us, sold some of his lands, and gave us a large sum of money for all purposes, whereby the Catholic religion might be promoted; nor was this all, he bestowed continual alms on the prisoners for religion, whereby he soon became so hateful to the heretics (especially as he had once been one of them), that they searched for him everywhere, and threatened to put him to a cruel death, if they could catch him. Now, although he cared little for this, yet since I saw that he could work no longer, nor stay in England, without plain peril of his life, and that we had more trouble and anxiety in protecting him than ourselves, I at last persuaded him to leave all things and cross over the sea, to keep himself for happier times. Now, therefore, I most humbly entreat your Holiness, or rather, all we priests entreat you, because this one man was a most munificent patron to many, that your Holiness will regard him, and console him for that consolation which he has given us, and whereby he has upheld the common cause. For if we have done any good, a great part is to be attributed to this youth. So, if he finds an equal charity on that side, it will be a great edification for all, and no little encouragement to his companions to imitate his example.

May the most merciful Jesus preserve your Holiness long, as the Catholics here pray day and night, who think themselves so bound by the immense kindness you have shown, that they never cease talking of your Holiness, and praying for your long life in this world, and your salvation and eternal happiness in the next.

Your Holiness' most unworthy son,

ROBERT PARSONS, S.J.

London, June 24, 1581.

George Gilbert was received at Rheims by Dr. Allen with all love and veneration, as though he were an angel from heaven. During the few weeks he remained with me, says the Doctor, he treated with me tenderly upon the affairs of his soul; and in sending him on to Rome along with Charles Basset, a member of his Catholic Association, who also had fled from the storm of persecution at home, the worthy great-grandson of that noble confessor and martyr, Sir Thomas More, he writes, "These two young men will be great luminaries shining resplendently there, as they have done in England." Again when mentioning Mr. Gilbert in a letter to Father Agazzari, Rector of the English College at Rome dated August 30, 1581, he says,—“If any man of all the English nobility deserves well of the Seminarians, of the Fathers, of the Catholic religion, and of his country, it is this same most noble youth. There is no peril to which he has not been exposed. With a ready will and joyful heart he has suffered the plunder of his estates and fortune. Out of what remains to him he has been a large benefactor to the Catholics; also to us at Rheims, seeing the great poverty of our College, he has

afforded no small relief—eighty golden crowns.<sup>25</sup> And imitating his example, Charles Basset has done the like; which, for gentlemen in a strange land, exiles, and spoiled of their patrimony, was princely munificence, or rather, to give it the right title, saintly charity.”

The following letter written by Dr. Allen to the same Father Agazzari is given entire, as being of general interest, although only the latter part relates personally to our subject. A copy of it, of which Mr. Simpson gives the following translation, is preserved amongst the State Papers.<sup>26</sup>

We have heard from England, by a letter of Father Robert Parsons, S.J., that the persecution still rages with the same fury, the Catholics being haled away to prison and otherwise vexed, and the Fathers of the Society being most diligently looked for, but they are still, by God's singular providence, at liberty. One of them, in the same chamber with Father Robert, was not long ago seized and searched, but the Father was absent at the time. A Mr. Briant, however, who was a scholar of our College at Rheims, was not only taken, but twice most cruelly tortured on the rack, to make him tell where “that Jesuit” was. But, so far from confessing anything of the sort, he laughed at the torturers, and though nearly killed with the pain, he said, “Is this all you can do? If the rack is no worse than this, you may bring a hundred more for this matter.”<sup>27</sup> The day after, John Nicholls, the apostate, met Father Tirrel, a scholar of your College, in the street and, as soon as he saw him, cried out “Traitor,” and so took him; he is not committed to the Tower, but to another prison called the Gatehouse, where he and Father Rishton, another pupil of your College, live happily. The Catholics were never more courageous, or ready to suffer. Two days afterwards a certain Mr. Ireson was taken, with ten copies of our *Apology*; thus the book came to the knowledge of the Lords of the Council. He is once again confined to his old home, the Fleet Prison, from whence he had by favour been delivered. The heretic, John Nicholls, boasts that he had made a long oration at Rome before the Cardinals (nothing can be more false), which he has just published in his second book, and has at the same time promised to issue the former turned into Latin, with an appendix of his travels, in which he will explain at length the horrible murders and adulteries of the Catholics, and the immoral life of the Jesuits and students. He now preaches publicly in London, but people are already universally tired of him, and I imagine that he will soon be tripped up, especially when the abjuration of heresies that he made at Rome in the Inquisition comes

<sup>25</sup> Father Agazzari's letter to Father General (given below) says that the donation was eight hundred scudi, which is more probable.

<sup>26</sup> P.R.O. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxlix. n. 51. See also *Life of Campion*, p. 208.

<sup>27</sup> Father Alexander Briant was seized April 28, 1581, and suffered at Tyburn, December 1, 1581, æt. 28. For two years before his death he had determined to enter the Society of Jesus, and his desire was accomplished in prison. He endured worse than the torture that cannibals inflict. His Life will be given in the Series of *Records* embracing the College of St. Francis Xavier, or the Herefordshire and South Wales district.

to England ; for I have received the authentic copy of it which you sent, containing his whole recantation, and have sent it to Father Robert in England.<sup>28</sup>

Father Robert wants three or four thousand or more of the Testaments, for many persons desire to have them. He says that he earnestly hopes and expects more fellow-labourers of your Order ; he says also that everything is going on well there, and that our *Apology* is vastly approved.

I inclose a letter for the Holy Father, and another for our Protector, which you must see delivered to them. Therein I thank His Holiness for his many favours for this year, namely, the foundation of the English College at Rome, for our College here provided for fifteen years, for his late extraordinary subsidy of five hundred golden crowns, for assigning so good a protector to each College, and particularly, for not listening to the detractors of the Colleges and missions, who, to excuse their own idleness and cowardice, assert that all these attempts on our country are in vain ; and I show that it is sufficiently evident that these missions and the endeavours of the Fathers and Seminarists are of extraordinary utility, and finally, I assert and boldly pronounce, from the opinion, sense, and experience of all good men, that the Fathers and priests have gained more souls this one year, in their own country, than they could possibly have gained in the whole world else, in the very longest lifetime. I write also that the dangers are not so great as to make it expedient to relinquish this duty, seeing that, of the fifty priests (at least) who have this year been sent from the two Colleges, not more than ten have fallen into the enemies' hands, and up to this time the Fathers are altogether free, and labouring fruitfully. Lastly, we show that our books are thus moderately worded, and nothing brought forward in anger, but rather directed by pity, because of the vast utility that accrues to every class of persons by reading them. So much for the letter to the Pope.

But to our Protector, I merely write to beg him to turn his ears from certain idle and envious men, who say that the work of the Fathers and the Seminarists in our country is useless. Moreover, I beseech him, for Christ's sake, not to forbid my sending five or six young men to that College next autumn, because our students have become so numerous that we cannot feed them, although His Holiness has bestowed upon us an extraordinary gift of five hundred gold crowns. So much for my letter to him. Note, that I am afraid to send any against his express injunction, lest we may seem to have no moderation, and to tax the Pope's liberality too much. At this very time, we are obliged to send for twenty youths (for the most part gentlemen) from Douay to our own College here at Rheims, who otherwise would have to return to England, to the manifest damage of soul and body, since, on account of this proclamation, they can get no money from England. Moreover, within the last fortnight, more than twenty young men have come

<sup>28</sup> This unhappy apostate is mentioned as John Nicholas in the "Life of Father Thomas Cottam," in *Records*, vol. ii. Series II. p. 164. The prisoners in the Tower were dragged by main force to hear the Protestant preachers in the chapel, where selected Calvinist ministers held forth against the Church and Catholic faith with bold and lying arguments. Among these preachers was a furious fanatic named John Nicholas, who from a Calvinistic ranter had feigned to become a Catholic, and had for some time been supported at Rome by the charity of the Sovereign Pontiff.

to me (poor me) from England, and where shall we get bread that these may eat, that each one of them may have only a little, lest they faint in this exile? May our Lord God bless and multiply our food!

This week I have heard that the Fathers in England are not only well, but so occupied in the vineyard that they could not write to me. Father Campian is said to have published a Latin book of advice to the two Universities, but as yet it has not come to our hands. See, Father, whether or no they push the work forward. I have sometime ago sent them the letter of the Father General. May the Lord Jesus send many such labourers into His vineyard! At least thirty priests have entered England since Easter, not one of whom was hindered on landing, or has since been taken, blessed be God. This year, I hope, will be every way a happy one for us. We sow in tears, but I trust in the Lord that we shall carry our sheaves with joy, through God, and this Pope Gregory, our true Father.

I have with me, at present, the most generous companion and benefactor of the priests in England, Mr. George Gilbert, who, on their account, has suffered the confiscation of almost all his goods and estates, and whom the heretics have busily persecuted more than the rest, knowing that the Fathers of the Society were kept and sustained by him. He has come hither into France, by the advice of Father Robert and others, in order to keep himself for another time. God willing, he will go to Rome in the autumn, and will dispose of himself according to the advice of the Father General and yourself. He tells me that more Fathers are very much wanted, if it were only to assist Father Robert, who, he says, has an incredible burthen to bear. He wrote those two beautiful little books himself, one of which we have hitherto supposed to be Campian's work. He preaches continually, he resolves cases of conscience for innumerable persons. The Catholics, in the midst of persecutions, have less scrupulous consciences than anywhere else that I know of, and have such an opinion of the Father, that they will not acquiesce in the judgment of any common priest unless it is confirmed by Father Robert. He has seven men continually at work at a press, outside of London (where the noise of the machine is less likely to betray it). He is continually appealed to by gentlemen, and by some of the Council, for necessary advice; so this Mr. Gilbert tells me, who has been his inseparable companion for this whole year, and who, at his departure, left Father Robert seven horses, for the necessary journeys and affairs of the Fathers and priests, and a large sum of money to procure needful things, paper, types, ink, and the like, for great things can only be done at great expense, and for the success of such works we must have men who are not only despisers of money, but rich into the bargain.

Father Campian is no less industrious in his own province, and it is supposed that there are twenty thousand more Catholics this year than last. Nor has God in this age anywhere given to the preachers of His word more power or success. Blessed be His Name for ever.

Our *Apologv*, as I hear, is read both by adversaries and friends, and the chief of the French Mission has given it to the Queen to read. Christ Jesus, &c.

Your Reverence's brother for eternity, as I hope, both in earth and Heaven,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

Rheims, June 23, 1581.

George Gilbert then journeyed onwards to Rome, where, upon his arrival, he presented himself to the Father General, Claudius Aquaviva. The object of his journey was to place himself in the hands of his Paternity, that he might dispose of him in any way *ad majorem Dei gloriam*, either by admitting him at once to the Society, which was his desire, or by deferring his entrance, to the end that he might be more free to deal with the Holy Father and the Cardinals on matters relating to the affairs of religion in England, chiefly concerning Father Parsons and Dr. Allen, to which he applied himself with consummate prudence, and made himself exceedingly useful. Father General Aquaviva willingly consented to this, and assigned him a room in the English College, where he led, in the dress of a secular gentleman, a truly Religious life. He did not venture to move in any business unless it was first approved of by his Superiors, upon whose direction and judgment he would entirely depend, and this with so perfect a submission of his own that it could not be exceeded by the most humble and obedient novice.

There were at that time English refugees in Rome, gentlemen once well off in their own country, but now ruined and exiled through their constancy in adhering to the faith of their forefathers. These persons in their need found George Gilbert a ready helper, and through him, Pope Gregory XIII. a true father; and when he was unable to assist any of them by means of others, he readily did so with his own, as far as his circumstances permitted. Nor was he less solicitous in regard of their spiritual wants, reminding those especially who were of the higher classes how they should conduct themselves before the criticizing eye of the public, to the honour and credit of those holy Catholics of England, whose faith, piety, devotion, and all other kinds of Christian virtue was so distinguished, that thus Rome, seeing the virtues reflected in these, would better understand what they found recorded of them in the pages of history. In like manner, amongst the young men of the College it is not easy to say what good he effected by his sweet and no less penetrating discourses which were entirely of God and of spiritual things. But although silent in its influence, the most efficacious means of all was the admirable example of his life. As we have seen, he had made a vow of chastity, and in preserving that angelical virtue immaculate he was so jealous and guarded, that when he chanced to meet women in passing through the city, he would rivet his eyes firmly on the ground

and keep as far off as possible; nay, so much did this rare virtue shine in him, showing itself in the virginal modesty both of his speech and countenance, his whole gait and manner, that it drew the hearts of all in reverential love towards him, as though he were an angel in human shape. But he showed little respect towards himself, maltreating his body with that holy hatred which the Gospel lays down to be the true self-love of the soul. Great and constant were the penances with which he macerated his body, and their very intermission added to his merit, because this was always imposed upon him by holy obedience. Frequent were his fasts, and long his vigils every night. The two-fold cause of this holy severity against himself was, first, the love of penance as such; and secondly, his great desire of martyrdom, so long entertained, and so deeply rooted in his heart that his withdrawal from England, in obedience to Father Parsons, had diminished neither his fervent desire nor his hope of being permitted some future day to obtain so great a crown.

He often discoursed with the English students in the College upon the joys and glory of martyrdom, and these discourses were beneficial alike to both parties; to himself as an opportunity of giving vent to the flames of divine love that consumed him, whilst they tended to enkindle similar flames in theirs; although, on his part, he never conversed with them upon this subject without many sighs, accusing himself as unworthy of the honour of martyrdom, since he had lived in the immediate presence of it for so long a time and yet, through his own faults and demerits, had never attained to its glorious palm. In the study and practice of prayer he was indefatigable; and his unfeigned humility was so great, that he always sought the lowest place in company, and the worst things in the community. He was most diligent in concealing his own good deeds, but could never say enough to praise those of others. When he heard his own merits and sufferings for the faith in England recorded, if he could not change the subject of conversation, his confusion of face and the pain he evidently felt were so great that those present would at once turn to some other subject in order to spare his evident distress.

Father Bartoli, whose history we have chiefly followed, goes on to recount various virtues of the holy youth, such as his daily practice of prayer and meditation, and other spiritual exercises—his prompt obedience to superiors and conformity with every College rule—his ardent devotion to the most august

Sacrament of the Altar, and to the Blessed Mother of God, his frequent visits to the seven great Basilicas of Rome (involving a circuit of some ten miles); and lastly his devotion to the Martyrs of the Church, especially to those of his own country. Amongst his other benefactions, out of his great desire for martyrdom, he covered the walls of the chapel of the English College in Rome with the pictures of the English martyrs, in which he went to great expense; but the painting, the subject, and the order of the whole thing he left to Father William Goode, who at that time was the English confessor in the College. The Annual Letters of the English College, 1583, say that these martyrs included all from the first conversion of England. Father Bartoli mentions that Mr. Gilbert gave to the same church of the English College the painting of St. George the Martyr, Patron Saint of England, and his own patron, whose history is represented in the church, and this work he himself superintended; and if the artist succeeded in producing a life-like picture of George Gilbert himself, it was due to his constantly watching his face till the work was finished.<sup>29</sup>

In the meantime, the holy Pontiff Gregory XIII. frequently summoned Mr. Gilbert to his presence upon a matter of business, which was generally believed to have been one of high import to the interests of the Catholic religion, in the transacting of which it was necessary for him to go to France, though it was currently supposed that his journey really tended towards England. Whilst he was preparing to execute this commission with all possible despatch, the very day before he was to mount his horse and depart, it pleased God that he should be seized with a fever which was so violent as to carry him off in seven days; within which brief space many remarkable points were observed in him that gave proof of his deep devotion and piety, and very much edified the whole College. A full account of his holy death is reserved for the letter from Father Agazzari. When he had offered to Christ our Lord the merits of His most holy Passion, and the sorrows which the most blessed of Mothers endured in life, followed by the excess of joy wherewith she was filled at her death; and had begged the prayers of his good angel guardian and of his patron saint for protection in the awful passage, he offered himself as a holocaust to God, praying Father General Claudius

<sup>29</sup> Some interesting particulars regarding this painting of St. George the Martyr, in which the artist cleverly contrived to produce a portrait of George Gilbert himself, are given in the letter of Father Agazzari to Father General.

Aquaviva to admit him into the Society of Jesus which he so greatly loved and honoured, and for which, as Bartoli observes, he could not have done and suffered more had he all the time been a member of it, making it his last request, that he might be buried in the Church of St. Andrea, the chapel of the Roman Novitiate. At that moment the Father Rector Agazzari, who had gone to the Gesù to obtain from the Father General the necessary leave and faculties to admit him to the Society, and to receive his vows of religion, returned to the College and imparted to him the joyful news. Rendering hearty thanks to God, to whom all vows are made, he exerted himself to pronounce the formula with a most ardent affection of love, after which, uttering the most holy Names of Jesus and Mary, in the midst of fervent colloquies with God, he closed his eyes as one asleep, and rendered up his happy soul into the hands of his Creator, at the fourth hour of the night, on the 6th of October, 1583. At first the bystanders thought that he only slept, but when they saw that he was really dead they kissed his hands and feet, and bathed them with their tears.

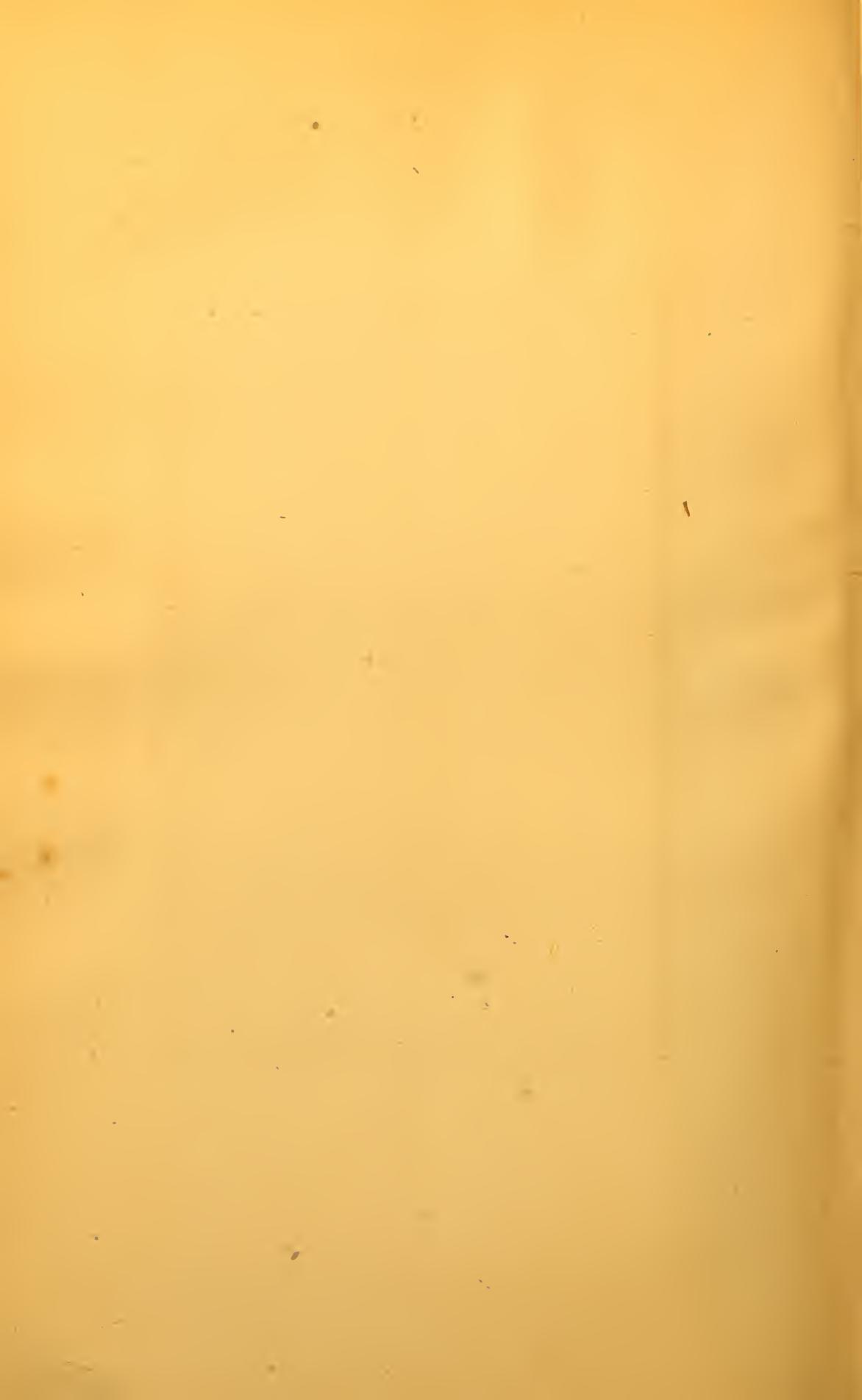
Being well known at the Court of Rome as a man of distinguished virtues, his loss was greatly regretted, so much so that the Sovereign Pontiff himself, Gregory XIII., who fully appreciated his virtues and his talents, was deeply grieved at his premature death, declaring it to be a serious loss to England. His body was carried to the Church of St. Andrea, and there buried amongst the novices, according to his own desires and to the wish of the Father General. His death was a heavy blow to Father Parsons, as he had fallen ill before that Father's départure for Paris. Father Parsons wrote on October 28, 1583, to Father Agazzari hoping that Gilbert was recovered and was on his way to Paris, where his presence was greatly needed; but, as he was in the act of writing, Agazzari's letter reached him, giving him intelligence of the death of that true and devoted friend. "Blessed be Jesus Christ and the Father of all mercies for this blow also," Father Parsons replied to the news of the death of this noble-hearted man, "though it is the heaviest which my soul has ever felt at the death of any creature."<sup>30</sup> In a letter from his Paternity to Dr. Allen, dated 10th October, 1583,<sup>31</sup> after relating the holy death of George Gilbert, and expressing the

<sup>30</sup> Stonyhurst MSS. P. fol. 351; *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 26.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted by Father Bartoli, *Inghil.* l. iv. p. 76. "Nel registro di Francia," October 10, 1583.



*W. F. Kelton sc.*  
 Georgius Gilbertus S. I. Nobilissima Familia Angliæ  
 totum Patrimonium in Angliæ conversionem  
 suscepto, sanctè obiit Romæ; 6. Oct; Anno 1583.



good hope they had that, being now in heaven, he would much more successfully promote the affairs of the Catholic religion in England than before, he adds—"Besides this, the same Mr. Gilbert, who as he long ago, and especially at the close of his life, devoted himself to our Society (a fact well known to your Reverence), and on this account wished to be buried in the church of the Novitiate of St. Andrea, so, for the relief of the poverty and needs of that house, he has left by his will eight hundred scudi. Which charity and benefaction, although most gratifying to us, nevertheless, considering the great needs of England, we believe it will be to the greater honour and service of God to employ the whole for the benefit of that nation. I therefore consider that it may be more useful for your Reverence at Rheims to employ it for your College, or else to relieve the poverty of some afflicted English exiles, or to form a fund towards the support of some that would live in Rome. It remains for your Reverence to determine, and whatever course you deem best shall be willingly executed."

The following is extracted from the Annual Letters of the English Mission for the year 1583—

Three young men, remarkable for their sanctity, died at the English College, Rome. One was Edward Throckmorton of a very distinguished family, a model of rare innocence, whose life, admirable for every virtue, has been written by his intimate friends.<sup>32</sup> Another was Ralph Shirley, also born of respectable parents, who, after a long resistance to the Holy Spirit, was at last by the grace of God brought over to the Catholic religion. Having come to Rheims from England at the instigation of a Catholic kinsman, he was often solicited by Dr. Allen to join the true Church, and although he strove to reject these counsels with great obstinacy of mind, still they always left some stings of conscience, which goaded him day and night, so that, failing to silence these, he gave himself up to pleasure, seeking by this means to distract his mind from unpleasant thoughts. At last, apprehensive of being converted to the truth, he set off for Paris to meet an English gentleman, whom he took to be a heretic (for so he had been slyly persuaded by a Catholic), but finding that the person he was in search of belonged to the Society whose members he loathed as an omen of evil, he resolved in the heat of his anger to go and visit Beza at Geneva. Providence, however, so contrived that, at the very time he wished to set out on his journey he was seized with a violent attack of fever, which obliged him to keep to his bed for several days; and during this time, being charitably visited by an English gentleman and a priest, who was one of our Society, he was by them brought into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and having recovered from his illness, he resolved to give up all thought of Geneva and go on to Rome. Meanwhile, letters were brought from

<sup>32</sup> His life will be given in a future Series, containing "The Residence of St. George, or the Worcester District."

a Protestant relation of the youth to the Queen's Ambassador, begging him either to keep the young man in Paris or to send him in safe custody to Geneva. This having come to the knowledge of a heretic who happened to meet the youth, and who found him already prepared to start for Rome, he endeavoured to detain him at all hazards. But Shirley, seeing the great danger there was in delay, and thinking of no other way of setting himself free, drew his dagger and threatened to stab the other on the spot unless he desisted; then, putting spurs to his horse, he set off for Rome at full speed. After his reception into the English College, he gave remarkable proofs of every virtue during the course of his life, and in his last illness. His conversion he himself was wont to set down to the merits of St. Augustine, towards whom, even from his childhood, although bred and born among heretics, he had always felt moved with a special devotion.

The third youth was George Gilbert, the glory of this College, who having been received into the Society before his death, may justly claim from us a short notice. From his very arrival amongst us he gave such proofs of piety that he seemed, not so much sent by God for instruction in virtue or for the cultivation of an untrained heart, as that he might spur on the rest to virtue by his example. For from the moment when, after having been brought up in the midst of heretics, he had through the exertions of one of our Fathers joined the Church, he had nothing more at heart than to prove himself a zealous advocate of the pure and undefiled religion. Hence his whole concern was to provide means for assisting priests and prisoners in the cause of the faith. Day and night his house was open to Catholic guests. And when any returned to England from the Colleges in Rome or France, he procured them fine suits of clothes, that they might not come under the suspicion of the heretics; and, if it happened that he had no means of getting them, he took off his own garments and clothed them. Often he put on the dress of a servant or disguised himself in order to manage the affairs of the Catholics more safely. When the number of his guests increased he gave up his own bed that they might want in nothing. His goods and fortune he made the common property of Catholics. Scarcely had he received his yearly rents than he had already spent all for their use and needs. These and many other things having come to the knowledge of the heretics, they laid so many traps for him that he was often forced to hide himself in dark caverns, and to go about in the dress of a beggar lest he might be recognized, and even to work as a labourer in tilling the ground. But as both the confidence and the number of his pursuers were daily on the increase, under the counsel and advice of one of our Fathers, yielding to the present fury, he left England for Rouen, and thence went on to Rheims to Dr. Allen, finally, being sent to this City, he was received as a student into the College. Here, such was the alacrity of his obedience and his careful observance of the rules and customs, that he seemed no mere novice in the virtue of obedience, but rather one who had passed a long life in subjection to the will of others. He practised very severe austerities in fasting, watching, and corporal inflictions of various kinds, by which, after the example of St. Paul, he strove to bring his domestic enemy, the flesh, into subjection to the spirit. He gave himself to intimate communing with God in prayer, when thus engaged he was not aware of the lapse of four or five hours together, but often, through great part of the night, whilst others

were asleep, he himself remained in prayer before the Most August Sacrament of the Altar. He very ardently desired of God that he might die either in the Society of Jesus, or, if that were not granted, at least in the cause of religion; in addition to this he wished to undergo martyrdom, having a singular affection towards all who had died for the Catholic religion. He frequently made, in consequence, visits to the basilicas of the martyrs, and venerated the places where traces of their precious blood were still to be found; for the same reason, he at his own expense beautifully decorated the College chapel with the pictures of those who, from the very first conversion of England to this present day, had given their lives for the faith. This ardent longing to shed his blood for Christ was shown in a special manner by the closing scene of his life. For, when he had been commissioned by the Sovereign Pontiff to undertake a work which promised him a very great chance of martyrdom, whilst most carefully preparing himself for the journey, the day before his intended departure he was seized with a very sharp attack of fever, of which he died shortly afterwards. This misfortune he at the time took so ill to heart that, on the day before his death, perceiving his friends weeping, he bade them cease their tears and comfort him, for they had no cause for tears who might still die for Christ, whereas he had very great cause, because he died in his bed at the very time when he had so excellent an opportunity of dying well.

The loss of these three students was mitigated by the arrival from England of seventeen young men of approved virtue, some of whom were of the highest lineage; some also, for the sole cause of religion, had suffered many outrages from the heretics.

We close our narrative of this excellent youth and perfect model of a Catholic gentleman with a long and very interesting letter, written by Father Alphonsus Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, Rome, to Father General Aquaviva, of date October 14, 1583, and preserved in the archives of the Society.

Very Rev. Father in Christ,  
P.C.

The happy passage from this to a better life of Mr. George Gilbert, an English gentleman, and very great friend of mine, affords me occasion and abundant matter for a letter to your Paternity, which will serve both for your consolation, as Mr. Gilbert was well known to and loved by your Paternity, and also for a relief to my sorrow. At the same time I invite my Superiors, and other particular friends, to condole with me, and with all our College, nay, I might even say with the whole of England, for the loss of so excellent a man. And, as I think that your Paternity is scarcely aware of many rare qualities, which I have observed in him from my continual and intimate intercourse with him, it will be neither burthensome to me, nor tedious to your Paternity, to dwell at some length on his life.

I will start from the commencement by saying that he was of good family, and from his boyhood had been trained in all the accomplishments of a gentleman; so that few surpassed him in the use of arms, in the management of his horse, or in bodily agility

and dexterity. So much so, that when in the twentieth year of his age he visited the French Court, he gave there a display of his valour, for which, as well as for the suavity of his manners, all were delighted with him. Though at that time he was still a heretic, or rather, lived as a heretic, it was not through any spirit of malice or of a bad will that he did so, but from the fact of his having been born in a country where he could receive no other education than that of heretics. Notwithstanding these bad seeds, he often exhibited certain instincts and inclinations favourable to piety, and felt a special pleasure in reading Catholic and spiritual books,—a very clear token, in my opinion, of his eternal predestination. The tour which he made to France for the sake of recreation was the opportunity which God made use of for working in this chosen soul that which He had eternally decreed. For in going thither, where he could inhale the perfume on the vestments of the Bride of Christ, the holy Roman Church, he perceived that rich odour, and found himself drawn gently to her holy bosom. His conversion then began in France, God effecting it through the help of an English Father of the Society, Father Thomas Darbyshire, whom the youth afterwards loved so much that he never afterwards called him by any other name than that of *my* Father, while in his turn the Father felt so delighted at his conversion, and bore so strong a spiritual affection to the young convert, that he never gave him any other name than that of *my* son. Thirsting rather after the pure milk of Holy Church than the poisoned wine of heresy the neophyte wished to approach evermore the sacred breast of that Mother, and therefore he determined to come to Rome. Here he soon ceased to be one of those “to whom milk instead of solid food was needful,” and quickly became an adult in virtue and in the knowledge of God. He applied himself to greater undertakings and to more heroic works. His leaving Rome for England was a sort of weaning from the breast, that he might feed on more solid food, exposing himself, as we shall see further on, to numberless dangers for the sake of Christ and of His servants; his intention being to make his house a hospice for priestly and holy confessors and labourers in God’s vineyard.

Who will be able to give a full account of what he did and suffered in England for those holy workmen in general, but especially in protecting Father Campian and Father Parsons? Who can tell the enormous expenses which he had to incur for them, and the persecution which he had to bear on their behalf, and the imminent danger of death in which he placed himself for the sake of each one of them? I say nothing of the hospitality which he practised towards all the priests, who in that country are reputed to be rebels to the Queen. When he could no longer harbour them safely in his house, he sought a lodging for them now in one place, now in another. Many a time he disguised himself as a servant of Campian and of Father Robert, or had to take flight with them; thus, to save them in their dangers, in their distresses, in their many difficulties, he made himself a shield to them, not caring for inconvenience or loss to himself, provided he could be any assistance to those Fathers. Often he took his rest on the bare ground, that others might have a spare and comfortable room. He grudged neither expense nor inconvenience, if he could promote the glory of God and the safety of His servants. He had set up a private printing-press for publishing at once those books which Campian and Parsons frequently composed for the defence of the

Catholic religion, and I leave your Paternity to consider the amount of money, of danger, and of continual care and anxiety which this undertaking must have cost.

The following fact has been told us by an English student who heard it from Mr. Thomas Pounce himself, a noble-hearted Englishman, now of our Society, who has been in prison for the faith these ten years. George Gilbert having gone as usual to visit this confessor of the faith, he learned from him that certain English nuns who had withdrawn to Flanders on account of the heresy, were now obliged through penury to return to England, and were in want of many things, and especially of books for recitation of the Divine Office. They had only two breviaries, which they had written by hand with great labour, and it was necessary to get some printed. Our youth asked what sum was required for this, and on being told three hundred scudi, and at the same time requested to contribute towards it, what did he do? Did he perhaps send one hundred, or two hundred, or even the whole sum? All this was too little for his generous heart. He gave double the amount, sending six hundred scudi for the wants of those poor nuns, and begging in return only the old breviary which belonged to one of these Mothers, who had closed a holy life with a death of virtue and sanctity. This breviary he kept as a treasure of inestimable value. Another time, having heard that some Catholics in prison were too poorly clothed, he sent them secretly by another hand as much cloth as would be sufficient for all. On learning that they were also in need of money, he sent them hundreds of scudi. His liberality was such that he almost stript himself; no sooner had he received a part of his income than he gave it all away, and as he did not trust himself in its distribution, he used to take the money immediately to Father Robert [Parsons] saying, "Look here, I have got one thousand scudi, I beg your Reverence to say how, and to whom they ought to be distributed." The Father arranged accordingly, and the fervent Catholic, either by himself or by others, sent the money to various places, prisons, and poor priests. Thus what was paid into one hand, was paid out again by the other; it had no sooner come out of the earthly bank, than it was stored up in the heavenly treasury, for he well understood the meaning of the words, *Thesaurizate vobis thesauros in cælo*. Lastly, he was so prodigal that whenever he heard of a Catholic being in need, if he could not assist him for the moment in any other way, he gave him his own clothes, preferring to go naked himself rather than see Christ, in the person of the poor, with tattered garments.

His kind-heartedness was not confined to the corporal wants of his neighbour, but exerted itself still more in supplying the spiritual wants. Hence he began at once to do good to his own household, and in a short time succeeded in drawing his brothers and sisters to the fold. By private conversation, as I hear, he converted so many of rank, and after so wonderful a manner, that if I were to write of each one in particular, his deeds would fill up a large volume. He had arranged a chapel in his house for the convenience of the Catholics of the neighbourhood, and after he had with great risk to himself taken to his house the priest who was to preach, say Mass, and administer the Sacraments, he used to run about to the different houses to give notice. While then the ordinary bell was calling others to the Church of the wicked, he as the mystical bell of Christ summoned the faithful to the Church of the just. Nor was the sound of bell ever heard at such a distance

as was this one, for if the Catholic gentlemen lived very far asunder, as happens in some places, he himself went on horseback with great haste in one direction, and his servant in another, sending to each one notice of the coming Mass or sermon. All this he did in England as long as he was not discovered, though, indeed, I have described very little compared to what might be said of him. From these instances, however, your Paternity will be able to form an idea of the rest. But who can tell what he did when he was already publicly proclaimed by the heretics as a traitor to his country? If the dangers had been before so great, what must they have been when everybody knew that he was the supporter and the stronghold of the soldiers of Christ in their fight against the soldiers of Satan! How often he had to hide himself for days in caverns, under the disguise of a servant, that in one way or other he might avoid the snares laid for him by his adversaries, doing this not from any unwillingness to suffer for Christ, but in order to reserve himself for future occasions of greater fruit, and that, after having exhausted all his resources and strength, he might at last give up his blood, his life, and all that he had for Christ.

It is also very remarkable that, without any vain boasting, to which he was as we shall see exceedingly averse, but in order to comfort and animate the students, he used to say that he acknowledged himself quite unworthy of the sweetnesses and consolations which Almighty God communicated to him in his labours and dangers. Never in his life, said he, either since his departure from England or before, had he experienced any consolation that equalled in the least that which he enjoyed in the midst of his former trials and perils. The greater the dangers and persecutions were, the more did God enlarge his heart with His grace, causing him to feel by experience *quod, secundum multitudinem dolorum suorum, consolationes Dei lætificabant animam servi sui*. Hence he said he never felt so much rejoiced by God his Saviour, *in canticis et hymnis spiritualibus*, as when tribulations reached the highest point. On these occasions he would sometimes repeat that beautiful verse, *Oculi mei semper ad Dominum, quoniam ipse evellet de laqueo pedes meos*; or else this other, *Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper, quoniam a dextris est mihi ne commovear*; or again, *Dominus illuminatio mea et salus mea, quem timebo?* adding to the same effect several very devout hymns. And what is much to be noted is that this most religious and valiant youth never avoided exposing himself to any danger whatsoever, however imminent it might have been, when he saw it would be conducive to the greater glory of God. Though he was commonly treated as a rebel by the heretics, and for this reason all the rest of his property was confiscated, he never abandoned his undertakings. What pained him most in his trials, though in one respect it gave him great consolation, was the charity of Catholics towards him. For these, seeing him in so many dangers, though they knew full well that they would incur the same by giving him shelter, yet with great charity they insisted on harbouring him. This good soldier of Christ, feeling compassion for their dangers, and not wishing to aggravate their position, sometimes refused their invitation. They, however, would answer him thus: "My dear Mr. Gilbert, if the gallows were raised up before my door, and I were told that for receiving George Gilbert I should be hanged up immediately upon them, yet would I never refuse to welcome you, and would esteem the gallows a reward for

my hospitality." Persecutions and dangers increased to such an extent that it seemed impossible to escape them longer. Hence all his friends and relations advised him to keep quiet for a time, but the indomitable youth, who had nothing left to give to God but his blood and life, lived quite cheerfully amidst tribulations, and with a tranquil heart and serene countenance awaited and desired that death for Christ, which he deemed to be a most blessed life. He would never yield to the entreaties of others till good Father Parsons ordered him to retire as soon as possible, and to reserve himself for a more propitious time. Though his fervent spirit inclined him to live amidst dangers, and thus obtain more easily the grace of martyrdom, yet he submitted at once to the advice given him, having chosen that missionary as the father of his soul, and being accustomed to yield to him in all things with religious obedience. He accordingly determined to leave England, but before doing so, as he still possessed a large sum of money and other things, he left to Father Parsons a considerable portion of these, and several horses, that he might dispose of them as he thought best for the use of the priests during their missionary excursions in the service of God and the conversion of souls.

He left England, to the great regret of all Catholics, not without new dangers in embarking, and sailed for France carrying with him a good sum of money, not for his own use, but with the intention of assisting the Catholics who were dispersed in foreign countries. At Rouen he found a monastery of English nuns who had fled from England in order not to break their allegiance to their Bride and Lord. He called on them, and learning in conversation the great necessity to which they were reduced, he left them six hundred scudi, and through his friend, Mr. Charles Basset, bestowed upon the convent another large alms. From thence he passed to Rheims, where he found Mr. Allen in great poverty and want, charged with the care of a College of more than one hundred students (whose number is now doubled, because that reverend priest is the common refuge of all who are reduced in their means through their conversion from heresy, and apply to him as to the universal father of their country). No sooner had the champion of Christ heard how the case was, than he gave him eight hundred golden scudi for the benefit of his poor students. Let your Paternity conceive how noble must be the qualities of the heart of this youth, who on the one hand was so unconquerable, so valiant, so magnanimous, as never to be shaken in the least, or seized with any fear in the face of dangers, trials, crosses, or death, whilst on the other hand he was so inclined to mercy, so easy, so sweet, so tender, that in learning of his neighbour's distress his heart at once melted like wax before the fire. Of the arrival of this young man at Rheims (whence your Paternity may shortly receive a very trustworthy and excellent evidence of his virtues) the Rev. Mr. Allen writes thus to me.

Father Agazzari, after citing the latter portion of Dr. Allen's letter, already given in page 680, thus continues :

He came then to Rome and lived in the English College as one of the students in everything except the habit. For he continued to dress as a layman, that he might be the better able to transact business in behalf of his countrymen, and help in other

objects for the greater glory of God. His Holiness provided also for his convenient support according to his rank. I shall now try to relate as briefly as possible some of the more remarkable traits of his virtue and sanctity, which were observed not only in the College but by many throughout the city.

In the first place he was peculiarly distinguished for the love of his neighbour,—not an ordinary or natural, but a perfect and spiritual love. His charity in assisting all in their temporal wants was simply marvellous. Whenever an English Catholic nobleman came to Rome, he was exceedingly ingenious in procuring for him from the Holy Father a suitable provision according to each one's merit, or if for some reason he did not think it proper to apply to the Pope, he did his best to assist the person from his own means. Very often he denied himself many comforts which he might with safe conscience have taken, and preserved for the poor what he thus denied to himself. Many times when it was suggested to him that he should incur some expense for his own convenience, he would reply, after a moment's reflection, that he did not think it proper to do so. And on being asked the reason, "Am I," he replied, "to make use for my convenience of that money which God has given me for the aid of my brethren? God forbid!" For his charity he was regarded by all these English gentlemen as a father. He resembled a city of provision, where all the needy applied, nor was there ever a case in which, if he could do so, he did not come to the assistance of the applicant, at the cost even of personal detriment. His charity was also great towards students who might happen to be in some more than ordinary difficulty, such as having their lectures transcribed, or books bound, or the like. He helped them with great liberality and willingness, knowing that all these things tended to the good of the souls of his countrymen. Nor was his solicitude exerted only for those with whom he presently lived, but also for far distant objects, such as the College of Rheims, and the above-mentioned convent of nuns, for the latter of which he procured from His Holiness more than three hundred scudi, and, for the former, contributions from various quarters. But in the collection which was made for that College he was so generous as to take the part of a beggar for Christ's poor, and personally went about soliciting alms both here in Rome and elsewhere to promote it. I omit many other works of charity which he practised in assisting all in their corporal necessities, insomuch as he was enabled to say with the Apostle—"I am become all things to all men." For I would rather speak of that more noble kind of charity with which he endeavoured to help his countrymen in their interior and spiritual wants. Oh, how gently he used to induce his companions by pious discourses to embrace virtue. How sweetly he often invited them to approach the Sacraments more frequently, with what dexterity he sometimes withdrew them from bad habits, with what suavity of manner he used, whenever occasion offered, to correct the erring; with what delicate skill he could calm those who had lost their temper; how often, on hearing that some one was exasperated against him without cause, he would humble himself, and thus putting his opponent to the blush would win back his favour.

The behaviour of this holy soul was so excellent that the mere thought of him overwhelms me with confusion. He had become a preacher of Christ, though he did not mount the pulpit, for by his pious discourses he so efficaciously influenced those with whom he

conversed as to draw them either to a better life or to strengthen them in virtue ; nor as a rule would he leave them till he saw them touched with true compunction.

If he happened to be in company where the conversation was, I will not say evil, but upon idle and profitless subjects, he would lead the discourse by an admirable dexterity to useful and spiritual matters. The topic of conversation which he most commonly introduced amongst English gentlemen was the frequenting of the Sacraments, showing the great utility of this and the facility of obtaining so great a treasure at the beginning of every month. He made it a special point to ask each one in turn if he had been to the Sacraments, chiefly urging that of confession. The effect was that some did not fail to go at the appointed times, through a reverential deference for Mr. Gilbert, wishing to be able to give for answer that they had kept their promise of following his advice. For if any one failed on this point, he would reproach him when needful with a modest severity, until he was gently forced into satisfying him. It happened sometimes that the students, either out of respect towards him, or because they were not allowed as a rule to talk in Latin, would speak in English to him, but with his rigid observance of all rules he always answered them in Latin. If the others continued to speak in English, he would call their attention to this contravention of the rule by again answering in Latin, with a smile and expression of countenance sufficient to make them understand his motive ; if that means also failed, he would say to them with great liberty, but with gentleness, and as if in joke, "Let us converse in Latin, my dear child. Am not I a scholar, like yourselves, though differently dressed? Therefore let us all equally observe the rule of speaking Latin." It was edifying to observe that, although he had no facility in speaking the language, yet, rather than be to others an occasion of breaking the rule, he would do his best, however much confusion it cost him.

With the students, whom he looked upon as sheep destined for the slaughter, he frequently conversed about martyrdom, putting before them the example of Christ their Leader, of the blessed martyrs, Campian, Sherwin, Briant, and of other brave companions. He reminded them of the consolation which God communicates to those who think of the multitude of delights, and the shortness of the sufferings, the greatness of the glory, and the slightness of the ignominy which is to be borne ; often repeating the words of St. Paul, *Momentaneum et leve tribulationis nostræ æternum gloriæ pondus operatur in nobis*. He exhorted them to meditate upon the desires of the saints to die for Christ, and how eager they were to be found in similar circumstances to the present students of the English College. To this end he suggested means for cultivating in themselves the desire of so blessed a crown ; one of which was to meditate often on the Passion of our Lord. "Depend on it, my brothers," he would say, "you can only draw forth the strong and inebriating wine of perfect charity from the side of Christ crucified, which was opened and pierced for all. Draw from it without measure, and be assured that it will be said of you also, 'These are full of wine'—*Musto pleni sunt isti*."

As I shall have to dwell long on his acts of piety, I will only say here, regarding his method of assisting all by his example, that he was as a clear and polished mirror wherein everyone

perceived his own defects. When he entered the church it was wonderful to observe his effect upon the students in their modest appearance and conduct, and if any one, unaware of the presence of Gilbert, spoke or did something not quite becoming, he would at once assume a fitting exterior of seriousness, as soon as his companion pointed out to him who was present. But it is impossible to express the great sweetness of his spirit, which sprang from the charity which he bore to all. I will mention only some instances that your Paternity, who is a better judge of spiritual things, may form your judgment from them. If the good youth saw any one in affliction, he did all he could to console him; and, when conferring with the members of the Society, he often complained in the tenderness of his compassion that some particular scholar had an inclination to sadness, and would say to us, "My Fathers, please, for the love of God, to withdraw so and so from the meditation of death, hell, or judgment," when he thought that his distress arose from this cause. "For," said he, "I should not like any, if their mind is embarrassed by a spirit of sadness brought on through a too depressing consideration of these last truths, to dwell too much thereon, with perhaps serious detriment to their health. Make them rather pass on to the consideration of the infinite love of Jesus Christ crucified; let them plunge themselves into that, let them betake themselves to the vast fountain of His wounds, and thus they will gain two advantages, they will learn better how to love their neighbour, and how to exercise zeal for Him; and they will derive matter, not only of love, but also of abundant consolation and cheerfulness. He would have the students meditate first upon the life and death of Christ, and the life of his Holy Mother; and secondly, upon the blessings of martyrdom; thirdly, in their meditation he would have them exercise themselves in passing through the heavenly choirs, and addressing now one saint and now another. Let them, for instance, ask St. Francis: "By what way have you, O glorious Saint, reached to so grand and lofty a throne?" answering themselves according to his special virtue, "I am here by humility, by poverty," &c. "And you, O glorious Bartholomew, how have you succeeded in obtaining so precious a purple garment?" Again answering, "By having been flayed alive for Christ." "And you, Stephen, how do I see you crowned with a diadem of such brilliant gems?" His answer would be, "These are the stones with which I was martyred." He remarked that this seemed to him an excellent method for animating ourselves to embrace their virtues, and to desire every kind of suffering for the love of God. He felt so much interest in the priests, and desired so much that they should stand firm, and at the same time that nothing should be wanting to them in England, that this good teacher wrote a very beautiful treatise full of rules for their direction when going back to their country. He once showed it to me, and I was much struck with the extraordinary prudence, judgment, and zeal which it exhibited.

But to avoid being wearisome I will pass on to other rare qualities. It is well known to your Paternity that this holy youth had always very much at heart the virtue of obedience, not only in executing what was enjoined him, but also in conforming his will and understanding to that of his Superiors. I say nothing of the readiness with which he carried out any business intrusted to him by Mr. Allen, by Father Robert, and by myself. Certainly in this he was wonderful; and, though his prudence and clear

judgment were equal to any I have ever noticed in others of the same age, yet he never trusted himself, and he would never treat of anything without the advice and the consent of his Superiors. If, perchance, he was sometimes contradicted and even blamed, he would not lose his temper in the least, but always maintaining his usual serene countenance would again propose his reasons; and if the Superior failed to be persuaded, he dismissed all further thought of that business, thinking that what the Superior deemed best was more suitable and more for the glory of God, than his own desires. And not to omit a good point upon this subject of obedience, I will here relate an instance, though it may be premature to do so. When he was seriously ill and in extremity, as we shall see further on, and was unable to eat anything, I tried in my desire of prolonging his life, should it so please Almighty God, to make him take something by way of food, but this he declined. I replied, "Mr. Gilbert, for the sake of obedience, take some of this." At the sound of this word he accepted everything with great promptness, saying, "I cannot fail to obey your Reverence, having always had this principle in my heart." A little after he had made this act of obedience with much cheerfulness, he said in secret to one of our Fathers who enjoyed his confidence, "O my dear Father, what a joy I feel!" "On what account?" asked the Father. He replied, "The Blessed Virgin has appeared to me with a face so gentle in return for this act of obedience, whereas a short time before she showed herself with a less cheerful countenance, because I had adhered too much to my opinion in some other matter." From which we may gather that his death was frequently sweetened by the presence of her to whom the servant of God professed so much devotion. Happy fault, if it can be called a fault, which was atoned for by so remarkable an act of virtue, and gently corrected with the presence of so loving a Mother! He used to say that our Society was peculiarly dear to him because he saw her so highly distinguished in the virtue of holy obedience.

This holy youth was very hard and austere to his own body in matter of abstinence and the other ways of subduing the flesh. He scourged himself pitilessly twice in the week, sometimes three times, and, after his death, I found in his desk his disciplines very much worn out and stained with blood. Under soft delicate clothes he wore often rough hair-shirts, at least once or twice a week. He frequently knelt, not in the church and the tribune only, but in his own room during many consecutive hours. In order to preserve chastity he kept the greatest guard over his senses and especially over his eyes. When walking he would observe some distance off whether he were about to meet females and would then cast down his eyes, so as to appear even to close them. A very familiar friend once said that Gilbert's eyes seemed to inspire him with chastity whenever he looked at them, and that whenever he conversed with him, he felt his affection increased towards this virtue. Not only did Gilbert thus diligently watch over chastity, but he had made oblation of it by vow before he came to Rome.

How much he loved humility, the foundation of all virtues, each of us in this College can bear witness. It would be endless to descend to particular acts. He always sought for the last place at table, in the church, at exhortations, and on every other occasion. He could not bear to be in the slightest degree praised; and if any one happened to mention in his presence the

heroic works which he had done when in England, his face suddenly flushed up as though in anger, and he hastened to depreciate himself; but if he happened to be praised for a thing which was already well known to the bystanders, he would make light of it, and politely change the subject of conversation.

Of his patience I remember this remarkable example. Once, having had occasion to go to a city upon business connected with the service of God, he felt sure of finding lodging in the house of a gentleman and friend of his, to whom he had rendered considerable pecuniary service; nay, the very business which he had now gone to despatch was to the advantage of him and of his family. But our Lord, Who often tries His servants, preferred to give him an excellent occasion of practising patience, inasmuch as, instead of the welcome to his friend's house which he had expected, God permitted that he should be refused not only a room and bed, but even any sheltered place in which he might pass the night on a chair, having earnestly requested this least possible favour of him. The case, humanly speaking, would have caused both astonishment and trouble to another. He, however, showed no sign of this, nor did he allow his ordinary peace to be disturbed, but having found a lodging elsewhere, successfully finished his business the following morning, and writing that very day to the brother of the above-mentioned gentleman, whom the affair chiefly concerned, he so expressed himself, when sending him information of his visit, that far from speaking with resentment of the ill-behaviour of his brother he rather insinuated that he had been well received and treated. He bore patiently injuries received not only from his equals but from his inferiors, of this I have known and seen many examples, but for the sake of brevity I must omit them now.

The last point I have to speak of is his uncommon piety towards God. But here I feel, Very Rev. Father, that my powers utterly fail me to do justice to the frequency and earnestness of his prayer and meditation both by day and night; his eagerness for the presence of his Lord; the violence which, like another Moses, he used in prayer with God; the arrows of love which he frequently darted to his Beloved; the peculiar devotion that he felt to the Blessed Sacrament of the altar; his affection towards the saints; the honour which he paid to their relics, the reverence which he showed towards their pictures. These graces in him were like an interminable ocean. After the manner of a pauper he was at all hours begging alms, laying before God, his most merciful Sovereign, his every want and infirmity, whence he never passed an hour in which, with the eyes of his mind lifted up to heaven, he did not recommend himself to God and implore His assistance; for which end he was in the habit of using some verses of the Prophet as ejaculatory prayers, especially on days when he was busily engaged in exterior affairs. In the night while the others went to rest, he would often go to the tribune and watch in prayer before the Blessed Sacrament. He was frequently found there by persons, and especially by Fr. Minister, who used to go on purpose and observe him for his own consolation and edification. He ordinarily gave five hours every day, and sometimes indeed the whole day to prayer, when not engaged away from home in matters of business for the service of God. Repeatedly during the day he made reflections upon the subject of his meditations, and afterwards wrote them down on paper; of

these I have found sufficient to form quite a volume. In speaking with the students about prayer, he used to say that occasionally it was necessary to do violence to God if we wished to obtain what we ask, and to use the words of Jacob to the angel, "I will not let Thee go unless Thou bless me," and that thus our prayers would be more efficacious, because such violence pleases His Divine Majesty. He added that as a rule he never obtained his petitions except when he had thus, so to speak, forced God, for instance, with this kind of prayer, "My Lord, I will not depart from this place until Thou grant my petition, or until I feel in my heart a lively confidence that somehow I shall obtain it." Whence your Paternity may gather how intimate must have been his familiarity with Almighty God, if he could venture to put Him under conditions.

The ordinary subject of his meditation was the life and death of Christ, into which he had dived so deeply and with so much sensible delight, that any other subject of meditation seemed to him comparatively of little efficacy for penetrating the heart. At the end of his life he told us that he had derived from it two strong desires, the first of which was that, all he had hitherto done seeming to him too little, he might spend whatever was still left to him, his blood and his life, for the cause of religion, in order to conform himself the more closely to the ardent love of Him, "*qui amavit Ecclesiam et tradidit semetipsum pro ea.*" The second desire was to become one of our Society, which seemed to him to teach a life very conformable to that of our Blessed Saviour, in that she was always occupied in the conversion of souls and assistance of holy Church. At the end of his life he expressed to me these wishes, in order that, as he had not been able to obtain admission into the Society, I might intercede with your Paternity for his reception at the hour of death, which in fact your Reverence has granted. He declared to me that he was wont to ask these two favours every day before the Blessed Sacrament, begging of His Divine Majesty that if it did not please Him to grant what he chiefly desired, namely that he might die combating the heretics, or on the scaffold for the faith in England, he might at least be allowed to die in the Society, a prayer which Divine Providence was pleased to answer. He was filled with an extraordinary and affectionate devotion towards the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar, and he received Communion on all Sundays and festivals. The affections of his heart before and after Communion were wonderful. Sometimes he could not conceal the interior fire which inflamed him, and was forced, in spite of all his efforts to the contrary, to give vent to it in sighs and tears. He was eminently devout to the saints, and above all to the Blessed Virgin Mary. So much so, that though he experienced great difficulty in vocal prayers, and gave himself up to meditation on our Lady, yet he used to recite in her honour the Office and Rosary with especial devotion.

Among the saints he showed a very great veneration for the martyrs, on account of the ardent desire which he entertained to become their companion in torments and death. Hence the holy youth took great pains to learn the names of all the English martyrs of former and modern times, and caused their acts of martyrdom to be represented in paintings, with which he adorned the whole church of this College in the way that your Paternity has seen, placing also the holy confessors alternately with the martyrs over the capitals of the columns. This cost him seven hundred

scudi, having collected for the purpose contributions from several of his English friends. He used to say that his object in this was not only to honour those glorious martyrs, and to manifest before the world the glory and splendour of the Church in England, but also that the students of the College, beholding the example of their predecessors, might stimulate themselves to follow it; moreover that Rome and the world, when seeing the deplorable state of their country, might be moved to pray for it. Among these pictures was one of St. George, Patron of England, in which his martyrdom was represented, and his act of rescuing the King's daughter by slaying the dragon. Some requested the artist to make the face of St. George a portrait of that of George Gilbert, this he really merited, being already so like the Saint in many respects. But, having discovered this design, he interrupted his frequent visits to the painter as long as he was engaged on that picture, to prevent his likeness from being taken. In spite of this, however, the artist managed to give to the Saint a certain air of resemblance, on noticing which he said to the painter, "How is it you have represented a man armed and in the act of fighting without his visor? Pray make this correct." The painter offered some opposition, but it was arranged that he should give the Saint a helmet. However, Mr. Gilbert was not fully satisfied, and, in order that the face might be still more concealed, he required the two armour side-plates, which usually cover the ears and are tied under the chin, to be added. Father Minister objected and would by no means allow his wishes to be complied with, for he much desired that the portrait of this gentleman should remain in the College for the consolation of all.<sup>33</sup> His devotion towards the Saints led him to visit their churches very frequently, hence he never let a fortnight pass without making the usual round of the seven basilicas, visiting each one with great devotion, generally alone, and when fewer would be there, that he might the better preserve recollection.

A life so virtuous and full of ardour could not but merit a most holy death. He fell ill the very day before he had to leave Rome on his way to France and perhaps to England, where he ardently desired to give his life for Christ. His illness lasted only eight days, during which consultations of the chief physicians of Rome were held, and several remedies were adopted to preserve to us so great a treasure, besides the prayers which were offered up on all sides. He himself made every possible effort to overcome the disease, and for this end any kind of medicine, however nauseous, seemed sweet to him. He was not actuated in this by an inordinate attachment to life, but simply by the desire of suffering greater things for God and of dying, as he said, not in a rack and easy bed, but after having been stretched many times on a rack, and then torn and ripped up by cruel executioners for the sake of Christ. In his illness he had to change his room for one more cheerful and near to my own, the physicians having given this order. He insisted on passing through the tribune, and requested those who carried him to halt for a little, but when once in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, in the ecstasy of his delight he longed to remain there, while the infirmarian kept urging him to go on for fear delay might be prejudicial to him, as his illness was already so serious that he died within two days;

<sup>33</sup> Father Bartoli calls it a living likeness of George Gilbert.

he most earnestly begged, "Let me hear, at least till the elevation, the Mass which has just begun." Arriving on the scene at that moment I requested him not to linger any longer, adding that this would be more pleasing to God. He, however, continued to urge his request, asking this favour with still greater earnestness. But not deeming it advisable, I ordered him to be carried away immediately, though much against his will.

Before he knew that his complaint was incurable, he felt very anxious about his health, for the reasons above-named. Still the moment I announced to him that there was no hope left, he dismissed from his mind at once all desire of life, and gave himself up entirely to the will of God, for Whose glory and for no other end he had desired his recovery. As soon as I ceased speaking he turned towards me with a serene and cheerful countenance and thanked me with expressions of great affection, saying that he had always known me as a father who loved him with a love not carnal but spiritual, and that now more than ever I had given him evident proof of this, quite sufficient were any wanting to beget in him the sentiments and affections of a son towards me. He gave utterance to these and similar words with so much feeling that I was, as your Paternity can imagine, greatly edified and affected even to tears.

The night before his death, seeing himself already approaching the long wished for harbour, he asked with great love and desire for the heavenly manna of the Blessed Sacrament. I myself gave him Communion, and your Paternity can conceive with what fervour and devotion he prayed, and held loving colloquies with his Lord. A little after he asked for and received Extreme Unction. He passed nearly the whole night in affectionate ejaculations, prefaced by a protestation of faith reduced to a few short articles in the form of a prayer, deeply regretting that he had as yet done nothing, and expended nothing of his own for the faith and in the cause of the Church, seeing that he had not shed a drop of blood for her. Turning to the bystanders whom he saw bitterly weeping, he consoled each one individually, saying, "Do not weep," as he named them one by one, "because thou hast done," this or that thing, "for Christ and His Church, and thou hast still a hope of dying in that cause. Let me rather weep, who as yet have done nothing, so that owing to my demerits I am now dying as a coward in my bed." Then holding the crucifix in his hand, he began to sing aloud those words of the Lamentations of Jeremias, "*Quis dabit capiti meo aquam et oculis meis fontem lacrymarum, ut lugeam die ac nocte.*" "Who will give me," said he, "O my Saviour, that my eyes may become as fountains of most bitter tears, wherewith to weep over the sins which I committed when as yet I did not know Thee, O Eternal Beauty! O Lord, I am sorry for my grievous sins, and since I knew Thee I have always detested them, both for their hatefulness in themselves and for the loss which they have caused, and the great danger in which they have placed me. But the sorrow, which I feel on this account for my sins, is but small in comparison with that which I feel, and have always felt, in my soul because '*Tibi soli peccavi et malum coram Te feci,*' I have sinned against Thee alone, O my God. I ought to love and serve Thee and keep Thy name imprinted on my heart; yet as a fool I have said within myself '*Non est Deus,*' for I lived as if there was no God. Nor, O Lord, must I weep only for the time in which I knew Thee not but I also need a fountain

of tears to weep over my ingratitude in having employed so little diligence and fervour in Thy service, after Thou didst make Thyself manifest to me. How is it possible, O my God, that I, whom Thou by a most distinguished favour hast drawn out of error, did not abandon myself to all manner of persecutions and trials, and to all imaginable deaths for the defence of Thy faith which I saw so insulted, and of the Church so sadly outraged? Alas! who will give me tears to weep over my demerit?" I then presented to him that little crucifix which the martyr Alexander Briant made, and carried with him to the place of execution. Mr. Gilbert on seeing it, took it with the greatest affection and kissed it, then lifting up his eyes to heaven he called to his assistance those three first most glorious martyrs, Campian, Sherwin, and Briant, exclaiming, "O my Lord, why have I not been found worthy of those ropes, of those racks, of the most precious deaths of those my sweet and dear companions? Why have I not been myself for Thy love cut into pieces and lacerated? O ropes, O racks, O knives, O death most desirable. Who will grant me now that in some part of London I may be treated by you as you did treat my dear Father Campian, and that you may be the means of bringing me to my Saviour as you brought him?"<sup>34</sup>

The words of this holy youth were so choice, so ardent, that I cannot give proper effect to them, and indeed I know not from what source he drew them, for even when in good health he was by no means ready in his speech. At this point seeing that all the bystanders gave way to bitter tears he said to them, "My dear friends, do not weep, because the tears of you all should rather be shed by me. I beseech you, lift up your hearts to God in my behalf, for it is no time now to compassionate the affliction of the body, but to assist my spirit to fly upon the wings of your prayers." Then returning to the crucifix, which he kept in his hand, he continued his colloquy with wonderful affection, kissing the wounds of his Saviour, and never ceasing to press to his lips the feet of our Lord, saying that he could find rest nowhere save in those holy feet which had so often suffered fatigue for him. Upon the crucifix being removed from his hand, he lifted up his eyes towards heaven, and continued with tender affection to address his colloquies now to our Lord, now to our Blessed Lady, to the angels, or to his patron saint. He offered up to Christ His own merits, His passion and death; to the Blessed Virgin he offered her Son, with His dolours and joys, and hers with the glory which through Him she had gained, and the affection with which her Son had always loved and served her. To his angel guardian and his patron saint, whom he also called by name, he offered himself, that they might come to assist and protect him. And lastly, making a most perfect holocaust of his whole being, he concluded his colloquy with the words, "*Insuper ego peccator voveo Tibi Deo meo, coram Beatissima Matre Virgine Maria et omnibus Sanctis, paupertatem, castitatem, et obedientiam in Societate Jesu.*" He uttered these with such fervour of expression as showed

<sup>34</sup> In Bishop Kennett's Collection, vol. iv. lviii. *Lansdowne MSS.* n. 982, "Some additions to Mr. Wood's account of Alex. Briant," it is stated that "Alexander Briant had shaved his crown himself, and made him a cross of a piece of a trencher, which he held in his hand openly, and prayed to; which, when he was rebuked for, he boldly and stoutly made answer: that his crown was of his own shaving, and he had good hope to do it again."

how truly they proceeded from a crucified heart. Nor would he have ended here, but seeing him already near his last moment, and fearing lest the vehemence of his ardour would accelerate his death, I interrupted him and ordered him to give himself some rest. Being already worn out by the force of these heavenly aspirations, and having lost his power of speech, he could with difficulty pronounce the names "Jesus and Mary." Then closing his eyes in wonderful tranquillity as one going to sleep, without any contortion of the face his blessed soul departed this life on the 6th of October at four o'clock a.m., and flew up to heaven. His countenance wore such a bright and calm expression that for a long while it was doubtful whether he was really dead or only asleep. When at last the certainty of his death was ascertained those present began to weep abundantly, and as the news was spread through the College, no one could refrain from shedding tears for their loss. So also, when the report reached the other English residents in Rome, all hastened to see the body, being full of grief, and many of them weeping inconsolably. Nor were the English singular in this, for I can assure your Paternity that, of those in Rome who knew him, there was no one who did not weep, and among them many Prelates and Cardinals. His Holiness, too, was very much grieved at the news, and said that England had lost a good helper. In a similar strain, and with great feeling the Maéstro di Cámara of His Holiness spoke to me. But what will be the tears of the good nuns of Rouen, of that excellent man Dr. Allen, and of Father Robert, of whom he was the right hand? Surely the grief of all these holy confessors and of the Catholics of England will be inconsolable, as they relied so much upon his life for assistance, both to their country and to themselves individually. But I above all have reason to be grieved, as I have lost in him not only an excellent and faithful assistant in my labours, but also a mirror and living example of every virtue. For certain it is that I never saw this holy youth without feeling stimulated towards some particular virtue which was eminent in him. As long as he was in the College I felt as if I was safe from every evil, I thought nothing could happen so hard or arduous in my government that his prayers and advice could not make easy and sweet to me.

May the Almighty grant me grace that, as I have not been worthy to enjoy him for a longer time, at least I may imitate him perfectly, for which favour in conclusion I beg humbly your Paternity to assist me in your prayers and Holy Sacrifices, and to impart to me your holy blessing.

Your Rev. Paternity's servant and son in Jesus,  
ALFONSO AGAZZARI.

Rome, English College,  
October 14, 1583,

*Dom. Eliz.* vol. cxi. n. 62.

The Examination of John Taylor, taken before me, George May, 26th December, 1580.

1. To the first question he sayeth he remembreth not that he hath seen him, George Gilbert, these four or five monthes, but that one of his servants coming from Bedford mett with him and his servant, Roger Yardley als Caules, early betwixt St. Talbons [St. Albans] and London, about a month sines. His servant hath

sins bin at the house of this examinant, who asked him whether his master was in towne; he answered no; he asked farder whither he rid at the time he was met withall by Saynt Talbons; he answered "to his frendes," but told not whither; he demanded farther when he wold com to towne, and where he wold lye when he came: he answered that shortly he wold be in towne, but knew not wher he determined to lye: this communication was betwixt a fortnite and three weekes last past, betwixt the said Roger and this examinant.

2. To the second he sayeth that in the towne he knoweth not directly the haunts; but at Mr. Townsend's in Barbican, and as he thinketh, at Mr. Roper's, in Shen [Shire] Lane, and at one Cook, a sadlers, in Flete Street, and to Sir Thomas Jarets [Gerard], and to the Master of the Rowles professing, and to Mr. Allington, one Norris, sometimes of the Inns of Courts, and ye ij Roscarochs: (the said Townsend hath a taylor, one Thomas, that served Mr. Gilbert half a yere sins): in the country he resorteth to his tenant's houses in Bucks, for thereabouts, he thinketh, his mother, Grace Gilbert, a widow, dwelleth (he farther sayeth that this Gilbert hath bin a very earnest Protestant about seven years past). Also about Nottingham towne, as he thinketh, Sir Gervase Clifton's. His most familiar frendes, to his knowledge, be one Mr. Perpoynt, lying in Nottingham; also one Mr. Peter Baset, one that lyeth much at Mr. Roper's; one Mr. Rob. Gifford, of Stafford; one Brinkley; and divers others, which this examinant remembereth not nor knoweth.

3. To the third, he sayeth Roger doth use chiefly to Yardley, a miller at Stetbridge, both because he is akin to him, and a mayde in the house cauled Winefrid, where this examinant ij day sens, asking for Roger Yardley, sayde that he thought he wolde within a day or ij write letters to one Offal; where Mr. Offal did lye he knew not: demanding further wher Mr. Gilbert was, he answered that he was ignorant thereof.

4. To the fourth, he sayeth he knoweth none of them by those names, but he will inquire of his wife, whether any such did resort to his house or not.

5. To the fifth, he sayeth that he is of reasonable tawle stature, brode sholdered, with a big leg bending somewhat in the knees, short visaged, fayre complexioned, reasonable well coloured, littell here [little hair] upon his face, and short if he have any, thik of speech, and about twenty-four years of age.

6. To the sixth, he sayeth he will most faythfully perform theyr commandments, if it shold be for his owne father. He sayeth farder that about half a year sens, Norris, the pursuivant, as he thinketh, brought Gilbert before the Bp. of London, but how from thence he was discharged he knoweth not, but Norris told this examinant that he was an honest gentleman, and well might he saye so.<sup>35</sup>

JOHN TAYLOR."

<sup>35</sup> Mr. Simpson, in making an extract from the above State Paper in his *Life of Campion*, p. 211, adds, that about midsummer, 1580, Mr. Gilbert was taken before Aylmer, the Protestant Bishop of London, by Norris the pursuivant, but discharged on Norris declaring him an honest gentleman. Norris might well say so, for Gilbert paid him liberally, and hired his house to be a kind of sanctuary for hunted recusants, as we have already seen. Mr. Townsend, of the Barbican, was probably either Isaac Towns-

*Dom. Eliz.* 1581, vol. cxlviii. n. 11.

Chester. [Sir Wm. Gerarde and Sir G. Caulneley (Sheriff of Chesh.) to Earl of Leicester.]

Yt may like yr honors yesterday, the second of this month, wee received your honourable letter of the xxviiiith of Feb. last, comytting thereby to our diligent and secret travell the apprehension of Campion the Jesuit, who, as yt was informed, and one Gilbert, were conveyed by one Townsend of Ludlow, whose cozen the same Gilbert ys, to Mr. Rafe Duttons of Hatton, who hath married ye said Townsend his sister.

The same afternoon I, the sheriffe, with some few of my own servants and a couple of gentlemen sent by me from Chauncellor Woode to Hutton, where we found Mr. Button, the same Townsend of Ludlowe, called Roburt, and a younger brother of his named Isaac. Presenthe I, the sheriffe, delt with Mr. Dutton, touchinge his knowledge of this Campion, who I was assured would tell me his knowledge. I founde he never either knewe or heard of the man, and the younger Townsend made the like answer. Wee told the said Townsend of Ludlow that the surmyse made was that he should be the conveyor of Campion and his nephew Gilbert to Hutton. He utterly denyed to have any knowlledge either of the purpose or that his cozen Gilbert had any dwelling with him. After this deniall, and upon dewe search made in the house, where wee found no person other than ye ordinarye howshould of ye same Mr. Dutton and the servants of ye said Townsend, we departed, having taken order for our meeting at Chester in the morning, at which tyme chiefly, at the request of the said Rob. Townsend himself, wee examined him upon his othe upon the materialest parts of the matters contiyned in the said letter, whereof the suspicion was gathered. His answer upon his oathe subscribed by him & us, wee send to your honor inclosed; which although of our own knowledge wee cannot afferme, yet upon other circumstances falling out upon the taking of the examination, we be in oure conceyings fully resolved that he speaketh trewly.

Wee found that the said Townsend had the wardshipp of this Gilbert his sister's sonne, that when he came to the age of xviii. years he delivered him his lands and his free marriage, before which tyme Townsend kept him as a schollar at his own house, and after at the Universitye. That sithen he, ye said Gilbert, had charge to fynde himself, he seldom came to his vncl, and at his coming made noe long aboade. And that he lastly came to him about mydsomer last with one mann, and tarryed about three days; and otherwise, then at those comyngs, he seldom saw his said cozen. Denying upon his oath to know where he now is, or hath been sithen he departed, but judged he was travelled beyond the seas. Upon the taking of which exam. we took order for appearance of the said Townsend at any tyme before yr honors, and

end or his brother Robert Townsend, of Ludlow, both brothers of George Gilbert's mother. Robert had been Mr. Gilbert's guardian till he came to the age of eighteen, when he delivered him his lands and his free marriage, before which time his uncle kept him as a scholar at his own house, and after at the University. Mr. Gilbert, however, now scarcely ever visited his said uncle, a Protestant, and never stayed more than three days together. (See the examination of Townsend).

returned him to Hatton. And soe, having at full advertized your honors of the manner of our proceedings, wee take leave.

At your honorable commands,

GEO. CAULNELEY,  
WM. GERRARD.

Chester, the 4 of March, 1580 (1).

The exam. and declaration of Robert Townsend, Esquier, taken before us, Sr. Wm. Gerrard and Sir Geo. Calveley, Kts., the 3rd of March, 1580, upon his corporall oathe.

Examined when he last saw his nephew, Geo. Gilbert. Saith, about midsomer last past, the same Geo. came to him and tarried three or foure daies or thereabout, and after departed.

Examined what company the said Geo. had with him at his coming thither. Saith his own man, one Roger, and noe stranger.

Examined whether he saw the said Gilbert at any tyme sithen. Saith he did not to his knowledge.

Examined whether he, this examint, doe knowe or have seene one Edmund Campian the Jesuite. Saith upon his oath, to his knowledge, he never sawe him, neyther at this howre doth he know him of all men.

Examined whether he found out upon talk with Gilbert that Gilbert dyd knowe the same Campian. Saith that he could not perceyve at any time by any speach that Gilbert and Campian were acquainted.

He utterly denieth upon his oath that he knoweth eyther the sayd Campian or knoweth where he now ys, or ever was to his knowledge, what company the said Gilbert hath kept with the said Campian, whether they have been in company, or whether the said Campian have any maintenance by the sayd Gilbert, or upon what occasion the sayd Gilbert shoulde extend any favour to the sayd Campian, he knoweth not himself, nor by the report of the sayd Gilbert.

ROBERT TOWNESHEND.  
WM. GERRARD.  
GEO. CAULNELEY.

## FATHER THOMAS DARBYSHIRE.

FATHER THOMAS DARBYSHIRE was nephew to Bonner, the Catholic Bishop of London, who, when Queen Mary, on the death of the boy-King, Edward VI., assumed the reins of government, was conspicuous for his zeal in arresting the hitherto hidden serpent of heresy. Besides this point of relationship, he was a disciple and imitator of the heroic fortitude of that Prelate, who was not to be moved or shaken, either by the feigned promises or the real threats of Queen Elizabeth, when, in punishment of his invincible firmness in the Catholic faith, and obedience and submission to the Sovereign Pontiff, she condemned him to be buried alive in a wretched and narrow dungeon, there to be slowly consumed by a long martyrdom of suffering, to which he at last succumbed. Bishop Bonner employed Father Darbyshire as his chancellor in the administration of his episcopal functions, and made him his fellow-soldier in combating the enemies of the faith.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Bonner was a native of Worcestershire, and was eventually translated to the see of London, April, 1540. He had been deprived in Edward VI.'s reign, and committed to the Marshalsea the 21st September, 1549, "and conveyed thither in his episcopal robes." After being released by Queen Mary, he was restored to his see in 1553. When Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne (1558) and determined to side with the Reformers, she by degrees, as the most effectual way of securing her title, removed all persons from their employment, both in Church and State, who might be at all likely to cause her any disturbance. Bishop Bonner, being a man of spirit and great experience, was among the first of the sacred order against whom a summons was issued; and on refusing to comply, he was committed prisoner to the Marshalsea. Here he remained until 1563, when Horne, the Protestant Bishop of Winchester (the same to whom Thomas Pounce gave such serious offence, see his *Life*, p. 578), either to affront him or bring him into further trouble by a fresh prosecution, again summoned him to take the oath of supremacy. He repeated his refusal and Horne indicted him. Bonner traversed the indictment, and retained the famous Edmund Plowden with Mr. Wray (two eminent lawyers) to manage his cause. Thereupon ensued the celebrated trial (for which see Collier, *Eccl. Hist.* vol. ii. bk. vi. p. 493). Bishop Bonner spent the rest of his life in the same prison, "where with a cheerful temper and Christian resignation he was a comfort both to himself and others." He died September 5th, 1569. (See a concise biography of this celebrated Bishop in Dodd's *Church History*, vol. i. pp. 492, seq., quoting Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, Collier, Stowe, &c.)

Thomas Darbyshire was educated at Broadgate Hall, Oxford, now Pembroke College, where he took the degree of Doctor of Civil Law on February 17, 1555. Afterwards receiving Orders, he was elected Doctor of Canon Law, and also of Divinity. Having thus qualified himself, and being supported by his uncle's interest, he had considerable benefices and dignities bestowed upon him. He was successively made Archdeacon of Essex, Canon of St. Paul's, Chancellor of the Diocese of London, and, lastly, Dean of St. Paul's.<sup>2</sup> Queen Mary's death, and with that event the overthrow of the Catholic religion in England, put a stop to his further promotion. He was conspicuous for his constancy in defending the faith on the accession of Elizabeth, and being, in consequence, deprived of all his preferments, dignities, and ample fortune, which, by the favour of his Prince and of the Holy See, and in reward of his talents and learning, had been bestowed upon him, he remained in England for some time longer, in the hope of seeing another change. He was held in great esteem amongst his fellow-Catholics, and was deputed in their name to the assembled Fathers of the Council of Trent, to procure their opinion upon the point of controversy, so much agitated amongst the English Catholics, whether they were permitted to frequent the churches and services of the Protestants, to which act they were forced under pain of the severest penalties. He shortly returned to England, bringing back an answer to the effect that attendance on the said churches and worship would be a grave sin. Dr. Oliver, in his notice of Father Darbyshire,<sup>3</sup> says that through his zealous representations, the Fathers of the Council of Trent passed their decree, *De non adeundis hæreticorum templis*.

In the following extract of a paper in the Public Record Office, which is supposed by the editor of the *State Paper Calendar* to be dated about 1561, Father Darbyshire is named Dr. Darbyshire, &c. A full extract is given, as the document is curious in itself and shows the spirit of the times, together with the active zeal of the new pseudo-bishops on stepping into the sees of those that had been ejected.

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, Addenda, vol. xi. n. A 5, 1561 [?].

Schedule signed by Edmund [Grindall], Bishop of London, Richard [Cox] of Ely, William [Downham] of Chester, and three others, Commissioners of Recusants who are at large, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Father Bartoli, *Istoria S.J. Inghil.*, says that he was Professor of Philosophy in London.

<sup>3</sup> *Collectanea S.J.*

List of evil-disposed persons of whom complaint has been made, but who lurk so secretly that process cannot be served upon them [amongst others]—

Philip Morgan, late of Oxford.

Friar Gregory, a common Mass sayer.

One Ely, late Master of St. John's College, Oxford.

Dr. Robinson, late Dean of Durham, is excused by his lameness. One thought to do much hurt in Yorkshire.

One Morris, late chaplain to Dr. Bonner, wanders about Staffordshire and Lancashire very seditiously, and is the person who cast abroad the seditious libel in Chester.

Robert Gray, priest, much supported at Sir Thomas Fitzherbert's, and now wandering in like sort. A man meet to be looked to.

Dr. Hoskins, late of Salisbury, a subtle adversary, through the example of Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, John Sacheverell, and John Dracot, committed by us to prison, and through their families and friends, most in the counties of Stafford and Derby, are evil intended to religion, and use froward speeches in ale-houses.

List of persons who have fled over the seas—

Dr. Bullock, late Prebendary.

Dr. Darbyshire, late chancellor to Dr. Bonner, and his kinsman.

William Taylor, late chaplain to Archbishop of York.

Prisoners in the Fleet, by order from us—

Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, Knt.

Dr. Scott, late Bishop of Chester.

Dr. Harpesfilde, late Archdeacon of London.

Thomas Wood, late parson of High Ongar, Essex, and chaplain to Queen Mary.

Dr. Cole, late Dean of St. Paul's.

Prisoners in the Marshalsea—

Dr. Bonner, late Bishop of London.

John Symes, a priest of Somersetshire.

In the Counter, Poultry—

John Dracot, gentleman.

In the Counter, Wood Street—

John Sacheverell.

Thomas Atkinson, clerk, late Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxon.

John Greete, a priest, late beneficed in Hants.

In the King's Bench—

John Baker, clerk, late parson of Stamford Rivers, Essex.

Although Father Darbyshire is returned in the above list as having fled beyond the seas, it is most probable that he had simply gone to lay the matter above mentioned before the Fathers assembled at Trent. When the Protestants perceived that many by Father Darbyshire's example and authority retained their faith with constancy, and that many more were

converted by him from heresy, he was seized and condemned to a most wretched prison. Here on one occasion, when deeply oppressed by his sufferings and sorrows and weeping over his misfortunes, an image of the crucified Saviour suddenly appeared to him, bleeding, and, as it were, affixed to the wall of the cell, which before that time he had never observed. By this vision he was so strengthened to undergo all events, even death itself, that from that moment he had no other desire than for the rack, the tortures, the axe, and the gibbet itself. But being banished for life instead of suffering death, in grief at seeing the laurels of martyrdom torn from his brow, he determined on what he felt to be an honour, namely to satisfy his desire of martyrdom by embracing a chaste and religious life in the Society of Jesus—a martyrdom not less severe because it is more prolonged. He did this the more willingly from having been already connected with that holy name; for, by order of Philip and Mary, he had been appointed by royal commission Prefect of a certain sodality called by the name of Jesus, and especially intrusted with the distribution of large alms. And not long after this he was unanimously elected Principal of a College of Priests, called “The Table of Jesus,” in the room of the deceased Suffragan of London. He expressed his gratitude at being chosen to such great benefices, and afterwards to the Society of Jesus, in these words—*Qui me prius promoverat ad Fraternitatem Nominis Jesu; qui secundo ad mensam Nominis Jesu invitaverat; tertio quoque in Societate Nominis Jesu collocavit. Fecit mihi magna qui potens est, et sanctum nomen ejus.*

He was no less delighted to join the Society of Jesus on account of its holy title than through admiration of its Institute. When, during his deliberations upon the choice of a state of life, he was hesitating as to which would most help in securing his own personal salvation, and had turned his thoughts towards a secluded and holy life in the severe Order of the Carthusians, a stranger suddenly stood before him, though the door was shut, and thus addressed him—“Thou,” said he, “by becoming a Carthusian consultest indeed thine own salvation; but how as to that of thy neighbours?”—*Et tu (inquit) si Carthusianus futurus es, salutis tuæ consules; at ubi futurus est proximus.* This apparition and counsel banished all further hesitation, he recognized in it an admonition to join the Society of Jesus, which specially devotes itself to its own and its neighbours’ salvation. Thereupon he betook himself to Father Laynez,

who was at that time attending the Council of Trent as one of the Pope's theologians, and became second General of the Society, on the death of St. Ignatius, July 31, 1556. Being sent by Father Laynez to Rome, he was received into the Society, May 1, 1563, at the age of forty-five years. Dodd says that he had first visited several parts of France and Flanders, and that after his reception into the Society his time was chiefly spent in examining youths in the Colleges, which his facility in the Latin tongue enabled him to do with great success. Dr. Allen highly respected him, and from Rome they travelled together to Rheims, where they arrived on April 2, 1580; subsequently Father Darbyshire being obliged to leave Paris on account of bad health, Dr. Barret, then President of the College at Rheims, invited him thither. Accepting the offer he arrived on December 1, 1590, and as long as he remained there he was employed at a catechist, an office in which he always took special delight.<sup>4</sup>

Wood<sup>5</sup> says of Father Darbyshire—"In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth he was deprived of his spiritualities, whereupon Thomas Cole, who had been Dean of Salisbury, as 'tis said, in the time of King Edward VI., and afterwards an exile in the time of Mary, succeeded him in his archdeaconry, who kept it till the time of his death, the beginning of 1571. After Darbyshire was deprived he went beyond the seas, and at length entered himself into the Society of Jesus, and became a noted person amongst the Roman Catholics. He had a great skill in the Scriptures, and was profound in divinity. He catechised also many years publicly at Paris in the Latin tongue, with great concourse and approbation of the most learned of that city. Whether he wrote anything I find not as yet, only that he died at a good old age at Pont-à-Mousson, 1604 (2 James I.). Whilst he was chancellor of the diocese of London, he had much to do in examining heretics, as they were then called, that were brought before Bishop Bonner about matters of faith."

To return to the thread of our narrative. Father Darbyshire, before his noviceship was ended, being asked, according to custom, if he was ready to undertake the duty of teaching in any class, even the lowest, and for as long as obedience should

<sup>4</sup> Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii, p. 524. Again, quoting Wood's *Athen. Oxon.* p. 160, we are told that Father Thomas had a brother, William Darbyshire, who was a canon of St. Paul's, and died July 3, 1552.

<sup>5</sup> *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. p. 83, Fasti. Edit. 1721.

enjoin him to do so, and also to perform any duty, however low, that might be assigned him, he gave the following answer in writing—*Paratum cor meum Deus, paratum cor meum; neque dubito verum dixisse Christi vicarium in initiis hujus Societatis, quando ista protulit, Digitus Dei est hic*—"My heart is ready, O my God, my heart is ready; nor do I doubt but that the Vicar of Christ spoke the truth when, in the commencement of this Society he uttered these words, 'The finger of God is here.'" He went to Dillingen, where for some years he spread the sweet odour of his virtues. From that place he was, according to Sacchinus,<sup>6</sup> sent into Scotland in 1566 on some mission by the Holy Father, as companion, along with Father Edmund Hay, then Rector of the Scotch College, Paris, to the Apostolic Nuncio, Vincentius Laurens, whom the Pope had consecrated Bishop, and appointed as his successor in the see of Monte Regale. The object of this mission does not appear, though it was probably connected with some affairs of Mary Queen of Scots, who was married to Darnley in the following year. From Dillingen he was ordered to France, having been appointed Master of Novices at Billom, in the exercise of which most responsible office he gave proofs of very great virtue, both in the art of discernment of spirits (for which he was specially distinguished), and as possessing the most affable manners in the art of conciliating and preserving the friendship of others, and exercising other works of benevolence and charity. Father Darbyshire was solemnly professed in the Society of Jesus during the year 1572. For some years he lectured in Latin to the members of the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Hist. S.J.* pars iii. l. ii. n. 6.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably at Paris. Amongst the State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* 1574, vol. xcix. n. 55, is a list of recusants' names, and amongst them Father Darbishere, Jesuite, Paris."

The following extracts, taken from various sources, make mention of Father Darbyshire in Paris:—In the Life of Father Robert Southwell, Martyr (*Records*, vol. i. Series I. p. 303), we read that at the age of fifteen (1575-6) his father sent him to Paris to be more secure from the plague of heresy at home. "Father Thomas Darbyshire, then an exile for the faith, was at that time residing in Paris. Young Southwell was introduced to him, and placed himself under his spiritual direction.

Again we find Father Darbyshire in Paris in 1579, when Father Metham, who had then spent four years in the Tower of London, and longed to enter the Society of Jesus, managed to get his desire to be a Jesuit conveyed to his friend Father Thomas Darbyshire, who was then in Paris. Father Darbyshire interceded for him with Father Everard Mercurian, and the letter by which the General granted his desire is dated May 4, 1579 (See *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 246).

In the "Life of George Gilbert" (p. 658), we also find Father

At this period of our biography, Father Agricola, in his *Hist. Germ. Sup. S.J.*, vol. i. p. 86, nn. 132, 133, says "that on the first of September, 1564, the degree of Bachelor of Theology was conferred in the schools at Dillingen by the Reverend Father Rector Dionysius, upon six candidates, two of whom were externs, and four of the Society, among whom Father Jaspar Haywood and John Rabenstein have frequently

Darbyshire in Paris, converting Gilbert to the true faith, in 1579. After this he seems to have gone to Rome for a short visit, since we read of his returning from thence (as mentioned in the text) with Dr. Allen, and arriving at Rheims (whither the community of Douay had temporarily removed), as the following extract from the Second Douay Diary shows: "Die 2 Aprilis [1580], Rediit D. Præses [Alanus] et cum eo venerabiles viri Pater Soc. Jesu, D. Thomas Darbyshire, Juris utriusque Doctor: Doctores Sacræ Theologiæ D. Bavantus et D. Saundersonus, et D. Elie, Juris item utriusque Doctor, D. Hortonus et H. Brunus, famulus Dni. Præs: et D. Gabriel Alanus, frater D. Præsidis. 5 die Aprilis primum Sacrum fecerunt in templo Beati Stephani, D. Hollandus, D. Holmeus [M.] et D. Taylerus, præsentibus et suffragantibus nobili viro, D. Dacre, D. Præsidi, Doctoribus Bavanto Saundersono, Patre Darbyshire, D. Elie, omnibusque aliis Anglis in hac urbe tunc temporis degentibus. [Die 8.] Eodem die Parisios profecti sunt, D. Darbyshire, D. Vennice, presbyter, D. Clithero et D. Munden."

Again, in 1583, we still meet with Father Darbyshire at Paris. George Gilbert, who was then in Rome, had urged Dr. Allen to send reinforcements of priests to England, where they were so greatly needed. Dr. Allen reported to the Father General of the Society that Father Darbyshire and Father William Good were then incapable through age of bearing the fatigue of the English Mission, and recommended two others, of whom Father William Weston was one (See *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 20).

We have already seen in our biography of Father Richard Holtby (p. 5.), that, not finding the Superior of the English Mission, Father Jaspar Haywood, in London (to see whom, and beg from him admission to the Society, he had ridden all the way from the north), he sold his horse and crossed over to France, and having opened his mind to Father Thomas Darbyshire, then in Paris, he made the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius under him, and was duly admitted to the Society. This took place in the same year 1583.

Again, in p. 24, *ibid.*, in the brief notice of Father John Curry, who had been sent by Father Jaspar Haywood on special business to Father Robert Parsons, but not finding him there, and being impatient to enter the Society, he left the business in the hands of Father Thomas Darbyshire, and betook himself to the novitiate.

In the *Harleian MS.* 228, fol. 154, is an intercepted letter from Father Darbyshire to another Jesuit Father at Avignon, dated Paris, August 13, 1584. This letter is quoted in *Troubles*, as above, p. 27. A few days after its date it fell into the hands of Lord Burghley, and a copy was possessed by Walsingham before the month was out, which states—"We have here now, and have had for some months, Father Robert Parsons, of whom I suppose you have often heard—Campian's companion. There is also another, Father Weston, who not long ago came here from Spain. We are now nine English in this Province, praise be to Christ."

In 1586, Father John Gerard relates of himself (*Condition of Catholics*, p. xii.) that he left Rheims and went to Clermont College, Paris, to see more closely the manner of the Society's life, and to be more solidly grounded in his studies. A year after this (1587) he accompanied Father Darbyshire to Rouen, in order to see Father Parsons, who was staying there *incognito* to superintend the publication of his *Christian Directory*.

found a place in history. Father Darbyshire was appointed the first Superior of the College of St. Jerome, at which you will be astonished, for he was as yet but a novice, and not bound by the vows of religion. But verily the piety, the learning, and prudence of the man rendered him worthy both of the post and of our memory." After briefly tracing the history of Father Darbyshire, he goes on to state that he was sent first to Monaco and then to Dillingen, from whence he passed to Billom, where he was Rector for several years, instilling into the novices the principles of his own sanctity.

As no leave was given for any members of the Society to enter England until 1580, such being the inscrutable providence of God, Father Darbyshire, eager for procuring the salvation of souls in any place or country whatever, was employed entirely in assisting his neighbour in France, labouring especially amongst the lower and more ignorant classes; and though a man of such rare talents and a Professed Father in the Society, yet leaving the pulpits and chairs of professors, he almost entirely confined himself to giving catechetical instructions. This extreme humility in a learned and distinguished Father was so agreeable to God that, in spite of the Father's determination to confine himself to the very poorest and to the young and illiterate, men of the highest rank and distinguished for their learning, flocked in numbers to hear him. This was especially the case at Pont-à-Mousson, where his lectures and instructions were interspersed with such rich ornaments of learning and eloquence, that not only his poor hearers were delighted, but (as mentioned by Father Agricola) grave theologians also would eagerly make notes of them, lest they should be lost when once delivered, being, as they said, worthy of a larger theatre.

In Paris an event occurred worthy of notice as a proof of his zeal and of his admirable tact in leading souls to God. A certain English doctor in theology, cast forth from his native land by the common shipwreck of the faith, arrived safely at Paris. He was an old friend of Father Darbyshire, who frequently visited him, and resolved to attack him upon the point of his confession, and persuade him to make a general one of his whole life. Taking a favourable opportunity, he introduced the subject by saying, in order to draw his friend's attention in the right direction, "I have no time to enter into other matters; one alone occupies all my care. I had a dream last night, which may as much strike you with wonder

as it loudly admonishes me of my own duty. I seemed to be seated with a party at a large banquet, when, in the midst of the feast, musicians entered the room. They asked if any one wished to hear them play. 'Certainly,' was the universal answer. Then one of them turning to me said, 'Do you wish me to sing you a song?' 'I give you leave,' I answered; 'sing on.' But the man, lifting up the veil from my conscience since my earliest years, placed at one view before my eyes all the sins I had ever committed up to that hour, which struck me with so great a horror that I resolved to free myself as speedily as possible from the dreadful burthen." "Come on, therefore," said Father Thomas; "take a quiet interval of two or three days in which to examine carefully your whole past life, that you may the more perfectly prepare yourself for so excellent a work." "This is not necessary," he replied, "for I always keep things so clearly digested in my mind that any such delay is superfluous." The doctor then and there, in an admirably arranged manner, made his general confession, giving us a lesson of the wonderful method by which God is pleased to assist His own elect ones; and it was for himself, as he little thought at the time, a preparation for a much nearer departure from this world than he expected, for soon after he was seized with mortal sickness and made a pious death.

To the industry of Father Darbyshire, says Father Tanner,<sup>8</sup> England owes the conversion of Mr. George Gilbert (the second subject of this Series) from the errors of Calvin to the one true Church of God; and we may add that to the same zeal the Society of Jesus owes their renowned member, and the Catholic Church in Ireland its zealous labourer and confessor of the faith, Father Henry Fitzsimon, whose most deeply interesting life, one of great historical importance in the annals of Irish Church history, has been lately made familiar to many through the labours of Father Edmund Hogan, of the Irish Province, in consecutive numbers of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*. In the following extract "Of holy water, and effects thereof," taken from Father Henry Fitzsimon's work, *Justification of the Masse*, chap. iii., p. 115, he alludes to his journey to Paris, where the miraculous effects of holy water were felt by himself, and to the fact of his conversion by Father Darbyshire:

"Yet truly Sathan and al his adherents have cause to detest holy water, whether antient Christians approved it or noe;

<sup>8</sup> *Soc. Jesu Apost. Imitatrix.*

considering that St. Eligius delivered fiftie possessed by devils by only sprinkling them therewith, and St. Gregory and St. Hubert purged monasteries and howses formerly subiect to their molestation in the same maner. Therwith also did our St. Malachie helpe and heale a woman in frensie and divers others diseased. Nether are more miraculous histories recorded of any other memorial of Christ's benifits towards vs. For the vse of *holie water* is to make us myndful of our regeneration by the water of baptisme; as *holy bread* of our feeding on the B. Bodie of Christ Jesus; as the *Agnus Dei* of our deliverie by Christ's oblation for synns, and as the framing of the sign of the *Crosse*, of our triumph over death and hel by Christ's holy Passion. They are therfor grateful memorials, because they are a kinde of real protestation of our myndful gratuitie; whereby also God maketh them soe miraculous, to warrant such our devotion, and to testifie His gracious acceptation.

"It is honorable to reveale the works of God, nor lesse in my owne cause then of others. I wil briefly relate it as a merciful worke of God with al humble and grateful fidelitie. In the year 1587, being the twentieth of my age, and tenth of my education in heresie, I came to Paris; so far overweening of my profession, that I surmised to be able to convert to Protestancie any encountre whosoever. Nether did I fynde many of the ordinarie Catholikes, whom I did not often grauel. At length, to my happiness, I was overcome by Father Thomas Darbishire, ane owld English Jesuit, long tyme experienced in the reduction of many thowsands to the Catholic religion.

"Only toward holy water I remained squeamish, I know not how; rather by ignorance than obstinate or malitiose doubtfulness. At the same tyme a vehement tormenting payne seased my third finger of the left hand, with that smarting grieffe that I thought often to chopp it of. No fomentation could qualifie it. A holy day requiring my going to Masse, I would not in the first fervour of my devotion omitte it, not knowing then but that I was bound thereto notwithstanding al paine. Repairing therefore to St. Severius' Church, my payne redubled in such scorching excesse that I teared and groned, as in the greatest agonie; and being neere the holy water font, I plunged in my whole hand, not then for devotion, but for refrigeration. To Thee, O Lord my God, be al prayse for ever and ever, who at that very instant vnsensiblie, intierly, abundantlye didst heale me without al sensible signe of my former payne, and with exclusion of al palenes and vncheer-

fulness thereby procured, in the presence of M. Henry Segrave, M. John Lea, M. Dominiche Roch, and many others, giving me occasion to be confounded for my incredulitie, and eternally thankful for my deliverance. To Thee, therefore, again and again, be al glorie for ever and ever. Amen !”

In addition to his other labours Father Darbyshire was no less assiduous in the duties of the confessional, applying himself to the conversion of great sinners with much zeal and industry, which God also was pleased to further with wonderful efficacy, to the extent of his assisting his penitents even by prodigies.

During his residence in Paris he wrote the following letter to another member of the Society at Avignon. A Latin copy is preserved at the State Papers Office ;<sup>9</sup> and the original letter still exists in the British Museum, Harleian MSS., 288, fol. 154. In another hand at the top of the letter is written : “The vain hope the Papists had of the King’s apostacy.” The original letter is endorsed, “Father Darbyshire—intercepted letter.” To have intercepted a letter written in France to another party in the same country shows the extraordinary activity of the Government spies in those times.

The copy in the Public Record Office is endorsed, “Coppye of a letter of Darbishier to another English Jesuite at Avignon, whereof I have sent the original to Mr. Secretary, 29th August, 1584.”

“I have received your letter of the 6th of the nones of July, which afforded me the greatest joy, as from it I learn that you persevere in your vocation, and (as I hope) make progress, which I trust you will always do. That you are mindful of me for my good is what I give thanks for, first to God, and next to yourself, for so I persuade myself it will be. On many accounts I confess that I am bound to you, nor shall you find me ungrateful in anything in which I may be able to serve you. This, beyond measure delights me, that the mere recollection and thought of our Institute so pleases you. Believe me, my brother, that this is a singular grace of God which not many receive. Oh ! if we but knew the gift of God.” [The letter then gives some information about one Henry Bayley in Paris, and continues]—“Your parents are well, but your father always in prison on account of his faith

<sup>9</sup> *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxxii. n. 17, 1584.

and profession of the Catholic religion. Oh ! happy you are to have such a father, so constant in the faith, and so ready to die for Christ and His holy Catholic Church. It would be pleasing to them to receive letters occasionally from you ; but I leave it to your prudence to be sure not to write to them anything that would make your father's condition worse as regards his bodily sufferings. We have here now, and for some months past, Father Robert Parsons, of whom you will have often heard, the companion of Father Campian. There is another Father also, Father Weston, who has come hither not long ago from Spain. In this province we are nine Englishmen at present ; praise be to Christ.

“ Concerning England, I will only say this much, that those men are full of fury and full of fear, wicked consciences giving them no rest. I do not see what they have to fear from man. Would that they strove to make God their friend.

“ The King of Scotland [afterwards James I.] goes on well, but when I consider that his mother is in England [Mary Queen of Scots, in prison], and that he is deprived of her wisdom and experience, and is without external help and advice, I fear much that some evil may happen, both for him and for us, for she who now reigns in England, as long as she [Queen Mary] lives, does not think herself secure, and will leave no stone unturned to get rid of her.<sup>10</sup>

“ Edward, who a short time ago came from England into France, who was friendly to your father, is in prison for the Catholic business which is now being treated of.

“ Farewell, and commend us to Christ in your prayers. Salute in my name, very affectionately, your Reverend Father Rector, of whom I have retained the most pleasant recollections.

“ Yours always in our Lord,

“ THOMAS DARBYSHIRE, Soc. Jes.

“ Paris, 13th August, 1584.”

The following is a specimen of the spy system employed by the bitter anti-Catholic Government at the time, and shows to

<sup>10</sup> On the 8th of February, 1587, Mary Queen of Scotland and Dowager Queen of France was beheaded at Fotheringay Castle, Northamptonshire, by her cousin Elizabeth, after an imprisonment of eighteen years. As her constancy in the Catholic religion was the chief cause of her death, whatever might otherwise be pretended, she is usually reckoned amongst those who suffered for religion (Challoner's *Missionary Priests*, vol. i. p. 191. Edit. 1741).

what depth of degradation even a Sir Francis Walsingham could stoop to curry favour in high quarters, and to entrap such a man as Father Darbyshire. We insert this letter without the slightest fear of damaging the character of that holy man, whose long and deep experience in the ways of the world, and in the trials of those times, and whose great prudence were proverbial, to say nothing of his well-known piety and sanctity of life. Let the candid reader contrast the Father's character with the barefaced statement of the spy and of his dishonourable employer, and he will find but little difficulty in treating the whole (and this applies to the case of most of these spies) as a tissue of misstatements or exaggerations, if not a simple concoction of falsehoods invented to deceive and please the employer, and then let him turn the tables upon Walsingham himself, as tacitly, at least, suggesting the removal of Mary Queen of Scots, "Whose life is a steppe vnto her Majestie's death," and advising his sovereign "for her own safetie and her subjects to add to God's good providence her just policie," &c.

Harleian MSS. 260, p. 178, *Plut.* lxvi. E. "Sir Francis Walsingham to the Right Hon. Lord Burleigh."

March 15th, 1572.

To the Rt. Hon. and my very good Lord of Bourleigh.

Your lordship, by Sir Thomas' letters unto her Matie., shal be fully informed what hath passed in conference, as wel with the Kinge as his deputies, touching the league to which I refer yow. Of late I caused one, under the colour of a Catholique, to repaire to one Darbyshire, an English Jesuite in Paris, for that I understand there is a concurrence of intelligence betweene him and those of Loraine, as also with those of the Scottish Queen's faction. The partie I sent did seem [pretend] very much to bewaile the evill successe that the late practices took in Englande, and that nowe he did feare their cause would growe more desperate, especiallie for that Mathers' enterprize was also discovered. To this the Jesuite answered, that the evil handling of matters was the cause of that they tooke noe better effecte. Notwithstandinge, saith he, bee of good comforte, and assure yourselfe there are more Mathers in Englande then one, who will not omitt, when the time shall conveniently serve, to adventure their lives in seeking to acquit us of that lewde woman (meaning Her Matie.), for, saithe he, if she were gone, then would the hedge lye open, whereby the good Queen that nowe is prisoner, in whome resteth the present right of this crowne, should then safely enjoy the same. For besides that all the Catholiques which in the realme of England are at her devocon, there are, sayth he, diverse heretiques, God bee thanked, that are well affected towards her; which, sayth hee, is noe small miracle that God hath soe blinded their eyes, as that they should bee inclined vnto her, that in the end shall yeelde unto

them their just desertes, unless they return to the Catholique faith. The other replied, that for his parte he coulde never hope to see her at libertie, nor longe to see her keepe her heade uppon her shouldiers, and therefore could receave no greate comferte that way. Well, sayth the Jesuite, I tell you trewlie that I dare assure yow shee shall have noe harme, for shee lacketh noe friendes in the English Courte, and as for her libertie (saiethe hee), it standeth all good Catholiques in hande soe much to see it, eyther by hook or by crooke, as doubt not man; but there are some good men that will venture a joynt to bringe it to passe. For yf shee were once possessed of the crowne of England, it wil bee the onlie way and meane to reforme all Christendome in reducinge them to the Catholique faith, and therefore you must thinke that there are more heades occupied in this matter then English heades, and that there are more waies to the wood than one, and therfore be of good courage, and ere over one yeare bee att an end, yow shall know more. Besides the villanous and undutyfull language of Her Matie., he used very lewd and bitter speeches agaynst the Earl of Leicester and your lordp. And this was the summe of their talke, which I confirringe and weighinge with the former intended practises, made me thinke it worth the advertisement, that Her Matie. may see how much theye build uppon the possibilitie of that dangerous woman, whose life is a stepp vnto Her Mtie.'s death, for that they repute her for an undoubtfull successor, or raither, which is a more danger, for a right inheritour. And though I know her mischievous intencons are limited, that they reach no further to Her Mtie.'s harm or prejudice then shall seeme good to God's providence, yett is Her Mtie. bound, for her own safetie and her subjects, to add [to] the same His good providence, her just policie, soe farr forth as may stand with justice. And soe leavinge further to trouble your honour att this present, I most humblie take my leave.

Att Sloys, the second of Marche, 1572,

Yr. honour's to commande,

FFRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

The following is an extract from a letter of one Henry Alis, another Government spy,<sup>11</sup> who says—"That, being bound for Paris, he was commended from John Woodward unto Pater Thomas Darbysher, one of the Fathers of the Jesuetts of Paris; who acquainted me with one James Hill, servant unto the Duke of Guise, and hath a brother that doth serve my Lord of Arundell. Also, he acquainted me with one Robert Tempest, that is Treasurer and Procurator of the Colledge of Reims; and, after divers communications betwixte us, and he knowinge by the reports of my Lord of Northumberlande's younge sonnes and their tutor that are in Paris, and one Thomas Hole that was tutor to my Lord of Northumberlande that nowe is, gave me credit the better. And when I was in the Marshalsea, of your honor's com-

<sup>11</sup> P.R.O. State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccix. n. 57, 1588.

mandment, I was acquainted with diverse prestes that were banished owte of the Marshalsea, and are now in Paris. One Smith and one Griffen, and diverse other prestes, which made me credit the better; and, after many greate schoolings, with the fall of Gyfford, being alledged that he was a spy; and divers other admonitions for my loyaltie towardes their Church," &c. [This spy, having thus got admittance to the Catholics, proceeds to give various points of information he had gathered, though for the most part of a very trifling nature]—"Father Darbyshire began in this manner with me, and began to bewaile the state of our nobilitee, and wished to God they bore so noble a mind in England as the Duke of Guise doth, who had the Kinge up in a mewse, and perforce made him swear and agree to what they wolde, or else he sholde be put where two or three kinges had been before—in a religious howse, and so ended their daies."

Having given the two foregoing specimens of the plans of the Government spies in connection with the subject of our history, the reader must pardon a further digression on this interesting subject by the insertion of an account of one notorious spy, a *pious evangelical* character, who actually made his way into the English College at Rome, and there pretended to become a convert to the Catholic faith. Such men as these penetrated, under all imaginable shapes, into prisons, private and religious houses, and colleges at home and abroad, so that a Catholic of whatever degree was never secure. In the Public Record Office, State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.*, vol. cxlix., n. 184, is the following (endorsed "Secret advices—Samuel Postinget"):

Whereas, your honor desireth to knowe all such manor of dealings as the Papists do use towards Protestants for to make them denye their Lord and Maker, and so to revolte from their fayth. . . . I sett forth unto you their behaviour towardes me and my felowe in our aboad there amongst them.

First, therefore, when wee came to Rome we went unto the English Seminarye ther, and wheras to others the preveledge of the house go but viij dayes, yet beinge we were scholars, yonge men in necessitie, and not instructed in their religion, they granted unto us vj weekes at the leaste, in which tyme they did nothing but persuade us for to be reconciled to ther Church, and to become (as they call them) Catholiques. We had a booke or two, which they tooke from us, and instead of them gave us such bookes as best plesed ther myndes, in the which we learned Seaven Sacraments; workes without fayth to be sufficient to salvation; the Pope to be the Head of the Church, and that whatsoever he did binde and loose in earth the same was bound and loosed

in heaven; that whosoever dyed not in the state of ther Churche dyed not in the state of grace, and so could not be saved. Of Purgatory, also, there was somewhat to be seene, and how in the sacrament we did eate and drinke the Body and Blood of Christ wholly and substantiallye, with an infinite companye more of such devillishe doctrines, amongst Christians never to be named. Thus, when they had *nortered* [nurtured] us at ther pleasure a tyme, they called a Congregation, in the which the Pope gave us leave to be admitted into the bosome of ther Church. All this done, yet they could not admit us thereunto till such tyme as being ledd by feare, or compelled by force, they had made us to abjure ourselves, and utterly to forsake God and His trewth. And, instead of this, to swear that forever we would follow ther religion, viz., Antichrist, &c.

Now, when they had wrought us to ther purpose, as they thoughte, then we were amongst them confirmed, after that confessed and pardoned our sins by a man who hath no lesse need to have his sins washed away in the blood of Christ then we had, and thus they doe with all such that come hither. . . .

Further more, whereas your honor commanded me to sett downe the names of all such as I did know beyond the seas, enemies to ther country and fled for religion. Although I cannot remember all ther names, yet the names of those I do know I will rehearse as trulye as I can.

The spy then proceeds to give a very long list of priests and others in the English College, &c., Rome, adding :

Ther be 20 more in the Sem. at Rome, at the leaste, whose names I know not. Paris doth abound with Papists, and I am persuaded that his honor the L. Ambass. hath and doth seeke all possible meanes to roote them owte yf it could be; and refuseth neyther coste nor labour to winne them (if they woulde hear him) unto the Shepherd of their sowles Ct. J., and obedience towards ther Prince and countrye.

After this he undertakes, by command of his honour, the Secretary, to point out the means for obtaining news from Rome. He names an Italian Catholic, who loveth England, and married an Englishwoman, one John Brygosa; also one William, an Englishman, who had married an Italian. Again, he mentions a young man, Edward Boss, a scrivener in London, who made his way to Rome, and got into the Inquisition, &c., &c. He also told the Lord Ambass. "of 3 other verye fytt men to be spyes," with whom his honor must find some one to speak about it. He continues—

This much I certified my L. Ambass. more, that many he might thither sende, but some or none of them should ever come away, for yf he be known to have been in France, though he never came in England (or at the least not of two or three years), and goeth not from D. [Douay], often letters are at Rome afore him for his apprehendinge when he cometh thither.

I further certifie his honor that yf these before rehearsed were not sufficient instruments to bring to pass his honor's purpose, then yf he did please to fynd out the man, I wolde sett downe the course he should take, which yf he wolde observe, he sholde live in Rome a spye so longe as him listed : and moreover that yf no meanes colde be founde to convey letters I wolde shew unto his honor howe a man should go thither, and retorne agayne at his pleasure, without all suspicion. His honor inquired not of me the meanes how this might be wroughte, onely he willed me to advertize yr honor thereof, when I come to London. To show myselfe obed. therefore unto his honor's commandment I assure your honor that yf all occasyons of hearing newes from Rome were taken away (as I think they be well nere), yet your honor may betraye the same by pilgrimage.

Last of all I gave his honor to note of one Pownde, a Pryste bound for Inglande.<sup>12</sup> He came from Rome in the beginning of Lent, and I did think he woulde have gone by Paris, which yf he did I told his honor that in my opynion noe greater benefit colde be wroughte to our countrie then to work his apprehendinge. He ys a very weake man, and such an one as I thinke according to the proverbe, had rather "turne than burne," which yf he coulde be broughte unto, yt wolde greatlie worke the confusion of the Papystes, for that ys one of the things that they doe chiefly boaste of, namelye, that as yet none of their Priestes have fallen or recanted.

He then points out, as he says, "in obedience to your honor's command, things which doe most hurt the estate of our countrie," and gives his opinion as to the "remedye."

Fyrste, therefore, that matters in Council privately handled must be privately kept, and not imparted but unto those who love their countrie, and the good estate thereof, for I protest unto your honor that ther is nothinge done in your Privie Council which is not known in Rome within 8 wekes at the moste, and this I think one inconvenience, but as touchinge the remedye thereof, I leave that to your honor.

Another inconvenience is the lyfe of Parson, a Jesuit, who hurteth our countrie more than I am able to declare, onely I note the same unto your honor as one great hurte unto our countrie, and to be forseen by your honor's wisdom.

Another inconvenience ys as I thinke the continuance of the English Seminarye at Rhemes, a thing very easy to be reformed, and no small benefite unto our common wealth, for yf it were made frustrate, the Seminarye at Rome were to no effecte. I could laye down some reason for that which I doe saye, but your honor's wysdom is able to comprehend the sume of my meaninge.

Another inconvenience is that Papistes are suffered to live in the Inns of Court (I dare not say in the Queen's M<sup>tie</sup>'s Court) lest I shoulde offend, but this I dare boldlye saye that amongst lawyers more Papystes ther are than in all Inglande beside, for yee have not nowe allmoste in all Englande one Papist Priest which hath not been a lawyer, or els brought upp amongst them.

<sup>12</sup> The Rev. John Pounce, brother of Thomas Pounce, whose character little agrees with this spy's description. See mention of him in Henry Chaderdon's narrative, p. 546 seq.

Another discommoditie ensueth by givinge unto young gent<sup>n</sup> leave to travell beyond the seas under the pretence of learning language, were yt not for discharge of my conscience, and for shewing my betrothed dutye unto your honor, I had rather with sylence to overpasse these thinges, then otherwyse to deal with them, fearing that if it were known I should have small rewarde for my labours.

Another inconvenience is yt your searchers are not trustye; they covet all to be gent<sup>n</sup> and yf at the first entering to their office they be not worth a groate, within a yeare or two they become so ryche that they will be purchasers. This is not by just dealinge, &c.

Returning to Father Darbyshire, we find that Father John Gerard in his Narrative<sup>13</sup> mentions how he became acquainted with Father Darbyshire during his residence at Clermont College, Paris, about 1582-3; and we have seen that the latter was obliged to leave Paris on account of ill health. He again visited Rome, and thence went to Pont-a-Mousson, in Lorraine, where he remained until his death. He received the following letter at Pont-a-Mousson from Father Henry Tichbourne. This letter was probably intercepted, and thus found its way to the State Paper Office.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Condition of Catholics*, pp. xii. xiii. We have already given an extract in p. 711, note.

<sup>14</sup> State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxii. n. 28, 1598. Father Henry Tichborne, of Salisbury, entered the Society of Jesus, October 11, 1587. He rendered essential service as Minister, Confessor, and Professor of Moral Theology, in the rising English Seminary at Seville, founded by Father Parsons in 1588. Father Henry More (*Hist. Prov. Angl.* p. 290) fixes his death in the year 1606, and adds that he died "with a great opinion of sanctity and learning." The Annual Letters of the English College, Saville (1605), state that he died there, being at the time the Father Minister. Father Henry was probably a brother of Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Knight, of Tichborne, who was Sheriff of Southampton in the twenty-first and in the last year of Queen Elizabeth (1602-3), and knight of that shire in the thirty-fifth year of the same. This gentleman (says Burke in his *Peerage and Baronetage*), as soon as he had intimation of the death of the Queen, repaired immediately to Winchester, and without any orders from the administration, proclaimed in his capacity of High Sheriff the accession of King James I. to the crown of England, for which important service the new monarch conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, and the Castle of Winchester in fee farm, and the dignity of a baronet March 8, 1620.

Several other members of this family also became Jesuits. Father, Sir John Hermingild Tichborne became the fifth baronet upon the death of his father, Sir Henry Joseph (who had survived all his other sons), on May 5, 1743. This Father was second son of Sir Henry Tichborne, who suffered in person and property during the usurpation, but was recompensed after the Restoration by being appointed Lieutenant of the New Forest and of the Ordnance. He married Mary, daughter of Charles Arundell, Esq., and niece of Thomas, second Lord Arundell of Wardour, who died December 24, 1698. Father John was born in the year 1679. After completing his early course of studies at the College of the English Fathers S.J., St. Omer, he entered the novitiate at Watten October 21,

The reason that moveth us in these partes to have hopes more then ordenare of ye convercõn of our countrye are verie pregnant. Firste, ye hie degree of credit our princepal pilleirs and agentes have bothe in R[ome] and S[pain]. In R——, Fr. P[arsons] with the Pope himselve is so accepted that he will not suffre him to use anie other complimente of *Kinghes* or other wayes in his presence then are usual for Cardinalles : his newew hath assigned him his day of audience, and sendeth his coche for him dailie : he hath composed those desęperate controversyes between the Fathers and Scolerres and let out ye corrupt blood w<sup>h</sup> that dexteritie as hath gott him ye fame of an expert phisitian ; and hath triumphed so over ye cruc of malcontentes that whereas before his coming to R——, ye young youghters [youngsters] were so averted from the S[paniards] that they could not abide ther sight, and wold not move ther hattes to the Ambassd : he brought them to degest the one, and respect the other. And to confirm me ye rather in this opinion, I find that with great difficultie and the clamorous reluctance of our hole [whole] Ordre he hath avoided the reade cappe, Ffr. C[reswell] in S[pain], and Ffr. H[olt] in Flanders have with ye Princes they deal with no less credit than he here. The seconde supporte of this our hopes yr ye continuallie confluence of the rares and bestes wittes of our nation to the Seminares, and ther constance in following their missions, and procuring to be qualified for ther retorne ; which ys in ye sight of man marvellous to se that ye rigoure of ye lawes conceavid and contrived in those cases and ye vigilant ayes [eyes] and sever execution ther of this ten or xii yeares practised hath bene ye foundation of all this our credit abrod and an invitement to men to adventure for God's sake and ye saving of soules, ther skinne and bones. It ys then observid yt where before these lawes published, we had but tow [two] Seminaries, and those but indeferantlie furnished of persons or provision, sens that tyme for tow we have 8 : one here the nombre 70 : one in Doyai the nombre 120 : one in St. Omers the nombre 80. One in Vaillolit the nombre 63 : one in Civile the nombre 65 ; in St. Luca and Lisbonnd tow residences furnished proportionable and for our missions, wher before those onlie there returned not 7 or 8 yearelie at ye most, now ye nombre of them yt retorne

1700, and was made a Professed Father on February 2, 1717. In 1728 he was living at the English house of Tertians, S.J., at Ghent, and died on May 5, 1748, æt. 69.

Francis Tichborne, after making his humanity course of studies at St. Omer's College, left with three other students to enter the Society at Watten, in September, 1701. We do not trace him beyond the novitiate, nor does it appear what relation he was to Sir John Hermingild Tichborne: he may have been one of the other issue of Sir Henry, alluded to by Burke as dying unmarried.

Father John Tichborne, usually called junior, was born March 26, 1694, entered the Society in 1712, and made a Professed Father in 1730. He was Rector of the English Novitiate, Watten, from 1741 to 1745, when he was sent to the English Mission ; he served for some time at Southend, and died in London April 20, 1772, æt. 78.

Father Michael Tichborne was born January 26, 1692, and after his early studies at St. Omer's College, entered the Society in 1712, and was made a Professed Father on February 2, 1729. Being sent to the English Mission, he served at Hooton, Cheshire, for a while, was then placed at the old mission of the English Province in Liverpool, from thence sent to Brinn, where he died July 4, 1751, æt. 59, and was buried on the Gospel side of the altar in the chapel there.

yearlie ys conted to be some 40 or 50. The nombre of adventurers and labourers in England is lifted to five hundred, besides them of our Societie which are some 150 in England and abrode, besides Capuchins and other Relegeux ye nombre of one 100. These evident testimones of missions and remissions and of ye particular intellegences of all preparations and pretentions of our Conseil at home sent continuallie to Fr. P. by expresse messingers yt all such that seke to contradict or oppose against him are either discardid or discredited, and all they can say or proiecte to ye contrarie, held for inventions and intertainments. The onlie thing yt ys feared will be the interruption of this our settled hopes or diminution of credet, ys a reporte which hath bene here verie herte [hurtful] of libertie of conscience at home, which is supposed to proceed from some deiper brayne then our ordenarie wittes are wonte to yealde; and because I knowe it will be to you gratefull and withall a caveat to take hede of such compaignons yt gape after yt libertie, I will set you downe ye discourse *pro* and *con*, and raisons upone bothe partes in ther memoriales for ye procuring of aprobaton and good liking of ther designe. And first it was on both partes for a maxime concluded that parcial or propocinable execution of the lawes served for nothing els but to make suche as riped benefit thereby reputed for spies, and men of so large a conscience, and in fine so hard to distinguish therin by the rule of more moderate execution that happilie those that lest deserved it were most hardlie dealte with. Yt rested then yt of late some by some publique altering and repealing of lawes or some solemne securitie under the Prince's worde yt ys objected on the one parte and much feared of ours, yt this ys onlie meanes to discover the defeate and nakednes of our cause and to show that yt which we are faine to doute w<sup>th</sup> suche gloriose colours ys but a mere chemire [chimera] and bare shadowe, yt ther is no suche numbers of men affected to our parte as we wolde enforce yt a more milde and moderate course were more fetting for all partes that yt ys observed in all histories yt religion was never planted or restored by armes; that suffering and submission must nedes in tyme worke commiseration. That liberty granted will be a badge and as yt were a leverie cote to distinguish betweene staide and plaine meaning Catholiques, yt are desirous to geve Cæsar yt which ys Cæsar's, and God yt which ys God's, yt ye way to take away on all partes geloses, suspitions, and a laborinth of perplexites ys for the one part to geve what testimonie or pledge may humanlie be devised by ther innocence and sincere submission, ye other of ther humantitie, nobilitie, and obedience, yt for obtaining this liberte they offer no other conditions than Card<sup>l</sup>. Allain dothe in his apologe *Tertullian and Justinus Martyr*. Replie was made by ours that this meanes was so dangerous yt what rigour of lawes cold not compasse in so manie yeares, ys liberte and lenitie will effectuate in 20 dayes. To wit the disfernishing of ye Seminaries, the disanimating of men to come, and others to retorne; ye expulsion of the Societie a confusion as in Germanie; extinction of zeal and fervor a disanimation of Princes from the hott pursuit of ye enterprise of our reduction, will leave us hopeles and healples and will fall out with us as with the shepe yt maid peace with the wolves on condition they should remove the dogges. So that the circumstances and conditions necessarielie imply the removal of the Companie (w<sup>ch</sup> by ther rule may admitte no like conditions) and are our dogges. We shall be left as a praye to ye wolves yt will besides drive our greatest

patron to stoupe to a peace w<sup>ch</sup> will be the utter ruine of our edifice, this manie yeares in building. It was further opposed that color of matter of State was pretended, but ye marke was utterlie to extirpat and cut off by the rootes of all memorie of ye Catholik religion, that the danger of suche alterations in a settled course the discredit might light upon ye devisers and makers of suche lawes yf suche mutations should now folow dothe demonstrate that this discourse of liberte ys but an invention of busie heades, and nether for to be allowed nor accepted yf it might be procured, nor in ytself possible to be procured, for the former raising hiatus was made that wisemen consider the end of the lawes and are not alwayes tied to the same meanes, but like skilfull phisitions use cupping or cutting but when otherwise the humours cannot be removed by potions and purgations; so that when Lycurgus' lawes may accomplish ther endes, they put into the scabbord the sword of Draco's lawes till the rigours of tymes otherwise require. Seeing then yt by a benefit bestowed by repealing rigorous lawes, by using benignant and beneficōus, by geven a limited and conditionall liberte the end of the law may take place w<sup>ch</sup> ys to protect the State from perils and perturbances, to purge it of practitioners and intestine and domestical enemies, to flanke it and fortifie yt from all foraine invasions, yt ys thought yt no private love of estimation or affection to ther owne plottes which might grievouslie hinder so clement a mutation. To this replie was maid in a word yt ye world did [MS. damaged by age for three or four words] the conservation of State as hatred of religion. It being further demanded with what credit the partie persecuting could be induced to suche alteration, or what securitie might be required or geven of the partie benefitted, answere was made yt ye intercession of Princes in religion Catholik yet frendes to the State might make the alteration most honorable. Ther wordes likewise geven for the security might be considered sufficient, other particularities concurrent. None to be admitted or permitted to that benefit, but such as be men knowne to be faithful to the State should be approved, none but such as shall take othe to be free from matters of State and bound to reveale what they knowe to be prejudicial therto; and here by the way I must advise you that Sir Thomas Tresham as a frend to the State ys holden among us for an Atheist, and all others of his humour eyther so or worse. Thus you have what was argued on both partes: but the Libertins with ther raisons were with just disdain rejected, so that I thinke hereafter they deare no more open ther mouthes.

R[ome] this 2 of Febr. 1598.

Yours ever assured,

HENRY TWETCHBOURNE,

of ye Societie of Jesus.

Al molto R<sup>do</sup> Padre il Pad., Thomaso Derbeshire de la Comp<sup>a</sup> de Giesu, a Mossepointi.

Father Darbyshire suffered grievously from some severe and obstinate disease in the shin bone, which caused him acute pain and defied all the efforts of the medical men of the time. Despairing of any remedy they decided that it was necessary to amputate the diseased limb, but Father Thomas imploring

the aid of the Prince of the Apostles, on whose feast the terrible decision had been made, was suddenly cured by his powerful intercession. God conferred on him the supernatural gift of the foreknowledge of events, of which the following is a remarkable instance. When the Fathers of the Society were assembled at the General Congregation in Rome for the election of a successor to the Very Reverend Father General Mercurian, then just dead, Father Darbyshire, who was living at Paris, asked Father James Tyrie, a Jesuit of great authority and distinction in the Society, whether he knew a certain Father of the name of Claudius in Rome? To whom Father Tyrie replied, "Certainly, I know him; but why do you ask?" Father Darbyshire then with childlike simplicity, relating what had occurred, said, "I arose at night to pray to God for the happy election of our new Father General, when the most clement Mother of God was pleased to condescend to appear to me, and conducted me in spirit to the conclave of the Fathers; then amongst the rest she led by the hand a certain young Father of the name of Claudius, and indicated to the Congregation that he was to be the object of their choice." The event proved the truth of his prediction, for shortly afterwards, Father Claudius Aquaviva was elected General, to the great advantage of the Society, and in confirmation of the pious life and sanctity of Father Darbyshire.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Father James Tyrie was of a good Scotch family. He joined the Society at Rome on the 19th of August, 1563, and eventually became one of its most distinguished ornaments. After filling the chairs of philosophy and divinity at Paris, he returned to Rome, and was elected Assistant for the French Province, at the Fifth General Congregation of the Society, November, 1593. But he was prematurely carried off by a short illness on the 20th of March, 1597, at the age of fifty-four. Under the name of George Thompson he wrote a brief though learned treatise, *De Antiquitate Ecclesie Scotiæ*, which Possevinus inserted in lib. xvi. *Bibliotheca*. This treatise exasperated the coarse and violent John Knox to publish an answer. Father Tyrie's rejoinder, *The Refutation of an Answer made be Schir Johnne Knox to ane letter send be James Tyrie to his unquihyle brother*, Paris, 1573, is pronounced by Bishop Leslie to be most argumentative and victorious. A copy was sold at Heber's sale, April 10, 1835, n. 3,616 (Oliver's *Collectanea S.J.*).

We read in Drew's *Fasti S.J.*, where he is called Assistant for Germany, that, when yet a boy, rays of light were seen to shine round his head, foreboding of his future sanctity. When studying logic at the Roman College, being over-much addicted to his books, St. Ignatius appeared to him in a vision, chided him for languor in the study of virtues, and for filching a portion of his time from prayer to give to his studies, an unworthy and dangerous theft, concluding his correction by the following, "James, more virtue; less of learning." James therefore recovered himself again, and giving to God and virtue the things of God entirely, he became a man eminent both for virtue and learning.

A short eulogy, preserved in the archives of the Society, states that

Father Darbyshire died at Pont-a-Mousson, April 6, 1604, aged eighty-six.

None of his chroniclers ever lead us to suppose that he returned to labour in the English mission. The following notices, however, of a Priest of that name are found amongst the State Papers. These may refer to another who bore his name, or it is even possible that this most zealous lover of souls may have for a short time revisited his beloved and afflicted land. The exact date of the events referred to seems uncertain. The editor of the State Paper *Calendars* gives "1584?" We append these extracts, and leave the reader to form his own conclusion.

State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. clxviii. n. 33.

Endorsed—"An abstract of the notes delivered by the Lord Hunsdon concerning Seminarist and Recusants. Feb., 1583."

The names of certaine persons noted in sondrie Counties to be Receavors and Entertayners of Jesuites and Seminaries.

when a youth in his native country of Scotland, before he was acquainted with any member of the Society, he would often imagine in his mind some Order totally devoted to the service of God and the help of one's neighbour, of which he longed some day to become a member, and such in fact as he afterwards experienced the Society of Jesus to be. Hence it would appear that from this early time, before he had so much as heard of the name of the Society, Divine Providence, with its accustomed sweetness, had efficaciously disposed him for a vocation to His service. At this time a certain priest well known for his sanctity of life, on once beholding the youth and closely regarding him, divinely inspired (as we may well believe), ordered him to apply himself diligently and with good courage to study, for that he would become a religious in a certain holy Society, and would seriously apply himself to the conversion of his country from heresy to the Catholic religion. In the meanwhile Father Edmund Hay, who afterwards entered the Society and died Assistant of France and Germany, when he came to know the youth in Scotland, and had frequently heard of the excellency of his talent by the letters of his friends, began to reflect how he could get him away from Scotland, where heresy was then rampant, into France or Flanders. Many letters having passed between him and the mother and eldest brother of James to no effect, he resolved to cross over to Scotland himself for the purpose, which he accordingly did, and succeeded in accomplishing his object, getting their permission to take James to Louvain. Having arrived there, and becoming familiarly acquainted with our Fathers, he recognized in them the members of such a Society as he had so often depicted to his own mind. Discovering herein the call of God, he determined to follow it and go to Rome, and there beg the accomplishment of his desires. On passing through Trent, where the Council was at that time sitting, he fell in with Father James Laynez, who at once recognized him and addressed him by his proper name, to his great astonishment, and also received him with singular marks of kindness. Lastly, having been admitted to the Society in Rome and having passed through a shorter noviceship than customary, he was ordered to apply to his studies; and entered upon them

Mr. E. Ludlow of Cames, prisoner in Winchester. His wife keepeth in his house Gardiner, receiveth Darbysbire, *alias* Escham. S. Hampton.

Mr. Wells of Otterbourne often harboureth in his house, Darbyshire, *alias* Hampshire, *alias* Escham. S. Hampton.

City of London. At the house of Mr. Shelley of Mapledurham. County Southampton, are commonly to be found (amongst others) Derbyshire.

In later years we find a distinguished member of the Order of St. Dominic, of the name of Darbyshire.

James Darbyshire (in religion Dominic), who was born about the year 1690, entered the Order in 1714, and was ordained priest about 1717. After a course of teaching at the College attached to the Monastery at Bornhem, of which for a time he was Sub-prior, he came to England in 1726, and was stationed at Standish, near Wigan, and was probably resident in the old Catholic family of that name, when it so narrowly escaped destruction with the good Earl of Derwentwater. In 1728-9 he became chaplain and missionary at Sir Francis

with such avidity that one night Saint Ignatius appeared to him and gave him the admonition we have before mentioned. He was so affected by the vision, that he never forgot this correction from the best of Fathers, and after that time grave and dangerous troubles and perturbations of mind, which had for some time afflicted him, entirely vanished. He fell into his last sickness on the night of the 14th of March [1597]. His companion and fellow-countryman, named Adams, had fallen sick on the 10th of the same month. Some days previously, when both were as yet in good health, he frequently dreamed that he and Adams had left Rome together, and had both arrived after a long journey at a certain delightful country. Hence on the very night he was taken ill, it occurred to him that God called both of them from this life of trouble to a better one. He mentioned this to his confessor, to whom he made a general confession of his whole life two days before he died, and gave him an opportunity of making known these things for the glory of God and the edification of others, though they really related to himself alone.

Among the State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. ccli. n. 98, 1595, is a statement dated April 7th, on five pages, by one Nicholas Williamson, a prisoner in the Gatehouse, Westminster, to the Earl of Essex and Sir R. Cecil. The names of the Scotch Fathers, Creichton (or Creighton), Gordon, and Tyrie, are mixed up in it. "I resolved to go," he says, "from Brussels to Scotland, before knowing Creighton and Morton, but was stayed by the first. I heard of James Gordon's coming with 10,000 crowns from the Pope to the four rebel Earls of Scotland, and of 30,000 crowns in the Nuncio's hands at Brussels to be sent if they could possess themselves of the King's person, or if he would voluntarily join them. Thomas Tyrie, servant to Lord Hume, went to Rome to deal with the Pope for further aid by means of his uncle Tyrie, the Scotch Jesuit there. The Pope replied that if the King became Catholic he should have the 30,000 crowns. If he would suppress Protestants in his own realm and England, he offered him 200,000 crowns; and, if that would not defray the charge of the army which he should levy for five months, he would supply it, or leave never a chalice in Rome. I heard all this from George Moore, not from Creighton nor Morton."

Mannock's of Gifford Hall, and in 1735 at Lord Clifford's of Ugbrooke Park, Devon, and for nearly twenty years was actively engaged in attending that family and the scattered Catholics in the surrounding district. In 1747, Father Dominic was summoned to Bornhem, having been elected Prior of the Monastery. His loss was deeply felt by the family of Ugbrooke, and at the earnest request of the then Lord Clifford, he was allowed to resign his office and return to Ugbrooke, where he remained until his death in 1757, at the age of sixty-eight, in religion forty-six.<sup>16</sup> Father Dominic commenced a diary some years before his death, and continued it to the last. It is referred to by Dr. Oliver (as above) as still existing (1857) in the library of Lord Clifford of Ugbrooke. Such a diary would no doubt contain many interesting historical jottings of his time; but on inquiry we regret to find that, at the period of the death of Dr. Oliver at Exeter, it was still among his papers, and for a time at least, has passed from the hands of its real owner.

<sup>16</sup> See Dr. Oliver's *Historical Collections for Devonshire, &c.*



## ADDENDA.

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### FATHER CHRISTOPHER GRENE'S MS., VOL. "F."

SINCE the excerpts from this MS. were in type,<sup>1</sup> we have been favoured, by the kindness of J. O. Payne, Esq., Southboro'. Tunbridge Wells, with the following additional extracts from the same volume :

"English College, Rome, Father Christopher Grene's MS., 'F,' fol. 66.<sup>2</sup>

#### SPES MEA JESU MARIA.

"*Anno Domini* 1587. Mr. Anthonie Aske, gentleman, was apprehended in Holdone parish, about Michaelmas, by Mr. Gaites of Howden and Mr. Hugh Bettall. At the same time was Mr. William Sprote taken at Howdon, to his great loss. Both were brought to York before the President and Council, who committed them to the Castle close prisoners, and so kept from the Catholic prisoners there a good space, till for money the keeper put them amongst the rest, where Mr. Aske sickened and died February 5, 1587, to the great comfort of them all, and was buried behind the Castle wall, Meverell being keeper. Mr. Sprot in the summer after got liberty upon bond to go unto his own house in the south.

"At the same Michaelmas, to my remembrance, the President went over night with his man to Ardinton Hall, and there spoiling and breaking down the house, took Mrs. Ardinton with her daughter Winsour, who after fell. Also entered the place wherein Dame Isabel Whithead, a nun, lay there sick in her bed. They stood over her with their naked swords, and rapiers, and did threaten to kill her unless she would tell where David Ingleby and Mr. Winsour were. After this she and Mrs. Ardington were, with others then taken there, brought

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 214—257, above.

<sup>2</sup> Father Grene, in his MS. vol. "M," Stonyhurst Collection, gives several of the following shorter notices, with brief extracts from longer ones. These are copied in *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 315, seq.

to York, and committed close prisoners severally to the Castle and to other places. In the Lent after, Dame Isabel sickened and died, March 18, 1587, and was buried under the Castle wall.<sup>3</sup>

“Also about the same [March] time, the President sent to search Mr. Yorke’s house, and to apprehend Mrs. Yorke, and committed her to York Castle close prisoner, and not to speak with her sister, Mrs. Ardington, who both after got liberty. Dame Isabel was [a nun] professed in the nunnery of Ardinton until it was suppressed, yet she continued her state as she could, so far as I know, and remained with the Lady Midelton at Stuborn, or Stokell, until she died, and then wandering up and down, doing charitable works, as visiting Catholic prisoners, comforting and relieving them till stayed herself with Mrs. Ardington, where she was taken, as I have said. She gave all she had to prisoners that were Catholics.

“1588.<sup>4</sup> WILLIAM RENOULD, a webster, dwelling at North Staynley, near Ripon, being a Catholic, for not bringing his child to the Protestant church, was apprehended by one Mr. William Stavelley, or his brother; brought to York before the Dean and Commissioners, who for not coming to the church and bringing his child to be christened, was committed to York Castle, and from thence to Hull Castle, and after to the South Blockhouse, under one Alcoke, who used all the Catholic prisoners most extremely, keeping meat and drink from them, and other necessaries, defrauding them of such things as they sent to buy, or had sent. Got removed from him to York Castle amongst the Catholic prisoners, where virtuously he lived, and there fell sick and died, February the 4th, and was buried under the wall.

“LUCY BUDGE, uxor, of the city, died prisoner at Kidcott, March 19, 1587, and was buried on Toft Grine.<sup>5</sup>

“SIR THOMAS RUDALL, an old priest, was taken about or near Mr. Bowen’s house in Richmondshire, brought to York before the Council, who sent him prisoner to the Castle, where he quietly conversed, and falling sick, gave all he had to the Catholic prisoners. He died April 11, 1587, and was buried under the Castle wall.

<sup>3</sup> Here in the MS. is an interlineation, afterwards cancelled—“Giving all she had to the Catholic prisoners.”

<sup>4</sup> So altered in the MS. from 1587, doubtless 1587-8.

<sup>5</sup> This entry is inserted between the lines.

"SIR WILLIAM BANDERSBY, priest, an old man, was taken at Mrs. Frances Watson's house, by Sir Richard Malivera and Mr. Slingsby, brought before the Council, who sent him to the Castle. He was a man of sound and grave judgment, well read, a Master of Art, devout and zealous in the Catholic faith, much given to prayer and contemplation all the time of his wandering up and down the country. He was conversant with the good Lady Quarton until she died. He stayed himself with Mr. Watson. Falling sick, he gave all he had to the Catholic prisoners, and died in the Castle, April 21, 1587, and was buried behind the wall.

"1587. MR. RAULFE COWLINGE, of the city of York, cordiner, one that had borne office in the city of Yorke, flying from his home, was taken at Nedd by Sir Richard Malevera in a search, and Nicholas Browne, brought to the city, and there evil abused, for some cast chamber pots; others would have drawn him, and another taken with him, through the fires which then were made in the streets for triumph concerning the Queen of Scots.<sup>6</sup> The officers had much ado to get them safe to the Council, who committed Mr. Caulinge to Dearman's house, the pursuivant, where he remained a long time. The other, Nicholas Brown, to the Castle. Afterwards he was removed to the Castle, where he died August 1, 1587, and was buried under the wall amongst the rest.

"SIR GEORGE DOUGLES, 'an old' priest, a Scotchman born, and one (as I have heard) that went over the sea with Doctor Harding (a student with him and others divers years) coming about Ripon, did utter words against married priests and bishops, that their children were not legitimate. Whereupon he was taken and sore imprisoned (in a dark dungeon the space of a year, put in the stocks and irons, and then arraigned and condemned, as some say), and from thence brought to York Castle, put amongst the felons in the Low House about a year, and after brought before the judges to the bar, and upon the former words condemned. After which he remained as before a long time, in which space twice he offered to make an exhortation to the prisoners, and began very orderly and learnedly to preach and open the Catholic faith unto them for their souls' health. But Mr. Mevarell hearing him commanded him in the Queen's

<sup>6</sup> She died February 8, 1586-7.

Majesty's name to stay. He, not regarding his words, proceeded until the gaoler caused him to be thrust down in the Low House, and gave the prisoners charge not to hear him any more. He was a stout champion, ready to answer and confute all the ministers or preachers that came to him or to the prisoners, and therefore it was thought they caused his death to be hastened the sooner. He was marvellous stout and zealous to suffer anything for Christ's sake.

"Being brought to the place of execution, the under sheriff, then Mr. Snell, caused him to put off all his clothes at the stage foot to his shirt, and willed the topman to go up, and gave him a great knife, saying, 'Cut the rope when I shall bid thee with this.' A gentleman standing by, beholding Mr. Douglas, said, 'Fie, Mr. Sheriff, it is a shame to see a man stand so naked' (for his shirt was very short); 'it is against humanity. He is a man, as we are, and therefore what need this?' 'Tush,' quoth the sheriff, 'it shall be so.' Then he willed him to go up the ladder, which meekly he did, for he was so obedient and tractable that he did everything he was commanded. Commending himself unto God, he was cast off the ladder, and the sheriff commanded to cut the rope. The topman not being hasty, one of the bailiffs with his halbert burst the rope asunder, and the martyr fell upon his back, and quickly sat up. Then came two butcherly slaves, the one took hold of his feet, and the other of the rope, and so strangling him, and trailing him to the fire, ripped him. He offered to put his hand to the place and to rise up, but was held down for all his struggling. His tongue was heard to go. Thus cruelly this holy martyr died, and was executed for the profession of the Catholic faith, September 9, 1587, for that he would not yield to go to the church.<sup>7</sup>

"1587. This year John Wedall and Leonard Beckwith were chosen sheriffs at Michaelmas, who at their entrance did cruelly thrust down into the low place of the Kidcott, amongst the felons, all or the most of the Catholic prisoners, specially

<sup>7</sup> Bishop Challoner had no information for his *Memoirs* respecting this martyr. In his brief account of the martyrdom of the Rev. John Hambley at York, he subjoins: "Those who affirm that Mr. Hambley suffered at York on the 9th of September, 1587, give him for companion in death, Mr. George Douglas, . . . who was executed on that day at York, not precisely for being a priest, but for persuading the Queen's subjects to the Catholic religion. . . . Molanus calls him a Douay priest, but this circumstance is not found in any other Catalogue, nor have I met with his name in the journals of the College."

the women, whereupon they fell into sickness, most of them, for the place was infected with a prisoner which died there. Whereupon Marie Huton, wife of William Huton, a virtuous and constant young woman, died the 25th of October. The next day died the reverend and devout matron, Mrs. Dorothy Vavasour, wife of Mr. Thomas Vavasour, Doctor of Physic, who dwelt in the city. Also the day following died Alice Aldcorne, the wife of Thomas Aldcorne, now prisoner at Hull. These were buried on Tofte Green, an obscure place near Mickelgate Bar. Thus through hard usage and extreme dealing these had their days shortened in this life for professing the Catholic faith. All dwellers in the city.

“1587. MRS. ISABEL FOSTER, wife to Mr. William Foster of Curstick,<sup>8</sup> or Huntington, near York, and daughter of the holy martyr, Mr. Richard Longley [or Langley]. Her husband and she being Catholics, fled from the house upon the apprehension of her father, 1586, and after returning to see her house, was moved upon charity to visit and see the Catholic prisoners in the Castle, and bestow her charitable alms upon them in seeing their wants, and being great with child, was desirous herself to crave all their prayers. And coming thither, Anthony Ellice, then gaoler, sent his man for the pursuivant to apprehend her as she came forth, which being done, she was carried before the Dean, Mr. Hutton, who, for that she denied to go to the church, committed her to the Castle ‘close prisoner,’ where virtuously and patiently she bore this injury with joy and comfort, desiring God to forgive those that sought her trouble. Her modesty and mildness was a light to many. There she conversed sweetly, and gave herself to prayer and holy exercises of devotion. Before her account, she fell into an ague, through close keeping and the corrupt air of the house; yet she continued zealous in devotion, and often desired to frequent the sacraments. Before her death she was heard to call upon her own father, desiring him either to stay with her, or to let her go with him; and those that were by, hearing, marvelled, and one said: ‘I am here; what would you have me to do?’ She said: ‘I call not nor speak not to you; it is my own father. Do you not see him stand even there by you?’ &c. The next day after she died sweetly, to the great comfort of the beholders, December 3, 1587, and was buried amongst the rest under the

<sup>8</sup> So altered from Harstocke.

Castle wall. Thus she and her child did both perish through cruel treachery and covetousness of the gaoler, who made her pay four mark fees, besides her weekly rent.

“ 1588. SIR GEORGE WHIT, ‘an old’ priest, committed the 7th of July to York Castle for not coming to church by the Council.

“ 1588. MR. EDMOND SYKES, a seminary priest, ‘Rhemist,’ born at Leeds, or thereabout, being brought up at school, after went to Oxford, and after to the seminary beyond sea in France, or Douay, and there after proceeding in virtue and learning, took Holy Orders, and being desirous to benefit his country with that talent which God had given him, came over and lived a very strict and strait life, wandering as a poor pilgrim, coming to Leeds, did help many with his holy life and doctrine, there fell sick in an extreme ague. There one Arthur Webster, who was a Catholic, and through wrath, envy, and lowness of life, fell from his faith and Catholic religion, knowing where this good man lay, having procured a commission for to apprehend Catholics, went and took Mr. Sykes, being sick, brought him to York before the Council, who committed him to the Kidcot, and through feebleness and infirmity he went to church, yet straight he recalled himself back, that he kept him still there. And from thence he was banished, in which time he went to Rome upon some occasion that happened whilst he was prisoner. And as he was praying there in a church, he had a revelation, which fore-showed unto him that he should return into England, and there receive his crown, for otherwise he determined to enter into a religious habit. After which he returned into his country, and coming to a kinsman’s house of his about Tanfeld, or in Wath, who presently caused him to be apprehended, and brought to York before the Council, who sent him close prisoner to York Castle, where straitly he was kept. Yet there he gave himself to much contemplation and prayer, abstinence, and discipline; for Wednesday and Friday he used it sharply, with much watching. In the Lent following at the assize, he was brought before the judges at the bar amongst the felons. The judge upbraiding him with his former actions, he answered, ‘It was the infirmity of sickness which caused me to go to your service, and not for any liking I had of it; the which I have repented, and now detest

to do it. Neither did I wholly that which was required, or like of your doing, wherefore I was kept in prison, and so banished.' They proceeded against him, and condemned him as a traitor, whereat he rejoiced and thanked God. Being brought back, and kept that night most straitly from his other fellow prisoners, and watched in a chamber that night, the next day following, 23rd of March, he was laid on the hurdle in the castle yard, where heretics did assault him, and from thence to the place where he was executed.<sup>9</sup>

HRCULEES WELBOURNE, born \_\_\_\_\_, [sic] served his apprenticeship in the city of York with Alderman Maltby. After setting up, the world did favour him, and much for the time he got, being a draper and a freeman. After he came to the knowledge of the true serving of God in the Catholic Church, he left all that commodity and pomp which the world did offer unto him, and became a perfect Catholic; was soon after apprehended, and put in prison, and then he passed away his stock and shop to his master for a sum of money, which done, he was sent to Hull, and there lived of his stock many years, being hardly used under Ancoke, the bad keeper. He procured friends to be removed to York Castle, where he fell into a great infirmity of dropsy or gout, so that he was lamed of both hands and feet; yet his patience was wonderful, for he was never heard to grudge or murmur at his pain, though it did exceed. He had a great desire to frequent the sacraments. At the going of Francis Hemesworth and the rest, the gaoler put him in the Low House with double irons, which merrily he suffered. By will he gave 40 *li.* to the Catholic prisoners. Having taken his last Viaticum, the sacraments, the next night, or soon after, he died very meekly, October 22, 1588. His body was buried under the Castle wall amongst the rest.

"MR. EDWARD BURDON, born in Charland, as I suppose, a young man, a student at the University of Oxford, and there proceeded Master of Art. After this he went and was a student beyond the sea and at Rome. Then he came back again for the good of his country, fell into an extreme sickness. A little after the recovery, walking on foot near a place, a town called Keningrave, one Mr. John Constable meeting

<sup>9</sup> This account forms an interesting addition to Bishop Challoner's brief memoir of the martyr. See *Missionary Priests*.

him began to stay him, and examined him, and so took him, and carrying him to his house, searched him, and took all things he found on him from him, yea his money, and then sent him to the Council at York, who committed him to the Castle, where sweetly he served God, and was a comfort to all his company. He told his keeper how his money and other things were taken from him by Mr. Constable; thereupon he got a precept that Mr. Constable should come and make account of such things he took; but he certified the Council he had spent so much about him, and so the holy man was defrauded.

“When the time came of his arraignment he was sick and feeble in bed, yet he was forced to rise, and being brought to the bar amongst the felons before the Council who then sat, had before that examined him where he had used most, or what places he had been at, as about Ripon, for that one Edward More, there dwelling, did challenge him before Mr. Mears to have used thereabout, but wisely he answered and passed their malicious demands: ‘You inquire things of one for no good end, and therefore I will not answer.’ They proceeded against him, and condemned him as a traitor, but he rejoiced in God. The next day he offered sacrifice to God, being hurdled to the place of execution. Ransdell and others began there to utter their venomous ware; but he willed all men to take heed of false wolves, who sought their destruction. He confuted all they said. He craved leave that he might speak, but they cried like wolves, ‘Despatch him, for he is able to do much hurt;’ and so he was executed 29th November, 1588.<sup>10</sup>

“1588. This year, about the 23rd of June, PETER TUNSON was apprehended at his house at Hambrough, Elizabeth Ellison, the wife of John Ellison, and Ellen Clarke, a maid, and brought to York, by the cozening fellows that went up and down the country, under pretence of a great commission, robbing and spoiling, yet for bribes they let many pass. The man was committed to the Kidcott, ‘because his wife was at the Castle for money,’ where the sergeants abused him, laying double irons on him, and putting him down amongst the felons

<sup>10</sup> Bishop Challoner has no information regarding this martyr, except generally that he was a Douay priest during the sojourn of the College at Rheims, was a native of the bishopric of Durham, educated at Trinity College, Oxford, ordained priest 1584, and sent into England 1586, and executed at York the 29th November, 1588.

without bed or straw. The women were sent to the Castle. After, for money, Peter got removed from thence to the Castle, where his wife was prisoner for the same cause; and long after Elizabeth Ellison got home for money.

"1589. SIR ROBERT DALBIE [priest], born in Hemborough parish; after he became a Catholic he served in the south, the place through the malice of heretics broken up; he went to Rome to the seminary there, where much he profited, so that he took holy orders, and then was very desirous to come into his country, and so obtaining leave came in about Scarborough, and was soon after taken at his host's house, and so brought to York before the Council, who sent him to the Castle, where merrily he conversed, for to suffer for Christ's sake was all his joy. He was taken before or soon after Mr. Burdon, but when Mr. Burdon was call[ed] and condemned, and not he, he fell into great sorrow and wept bitterly, and imputing it unto his own unworthiness. Before the next Assize one Mr. Jo. Amias, a gentleman born about Wakefield, apprehended in Lancashire by one Mr. Talbert at one Mr. Murton[']s house, who, with his wife, was brought to York before the Council, who sent Mr. Murton to the Castle close prisoner, and his wife to the pursuivant's, Mr. Amias to the Castle to be kept close. He had been a married man, and dwelt in Wakefield, a great occupier of cloth; and when his wife died he gave his children portions and placed them well, and then went over sea to his book, and so profiting in virtue took holy orders, and then returning into the vineyard did much good. He was sober and wise in his conversation, so that others were edified by him. The Lent following he was called to the bar, and Mr. Dalbie with him, whereat he rejoiced greatly, and went with great fortitude and stout courage. The judge began to say they were simple ignorant men, and that what they did it was for to please some that so they might be well esteemed; 'but as for thou, Amias, thou was a bankrupt and an inferior man, and therefore fell to this shift.' 'Not so; I am a gentleman by birth, of an ancient house, and when I gave up my trade I was able to live with the best,' and took witness that he was so of the Queen's Attorney, who confirmed his words to be true, for he [*sic*] one of his children and portion; the which the Queen's Attorney, Mr. Birkhead, affirmed it was so. They proceeded against them and condemned them both. I omit to speak of that which was

seen at their arraignment by one of the prisoners there standing behind them. The next morning they both served God in the best manner. Being brought forth they desired to be both of one hurdle, and so they lay sweetly together with their hands joined and hearts lifted up to heaven, were thus brought to the place of torture. Yet not one whit dismayed with it or the fear of death, told the people boldly that they were free from all treason, and died for the defence of the Catholic religion; and then they were executed the 16th of March, 1589.<sup>11</sup>

“1589. MR. WM. SPENCER, born in Craven, had an uncle a priest beneficed near Oxford, who caused his father to send him to Oxford, where he maintained him many years till he proceeded Master of Art and one of the masters of the college; and being always well affected did contradict and withstand the heretics. For the which he was, and other his fellows ‘were,’ expelled the college, and all the officers put forth and disgraced. Yet used they the matter so that they were placed again, and gave their adversaries the foil every way, playing theirs again merrily.

“About a year after he left the University and went over to Rheims, and others with him, and there he took another course of study, which was to practice and learn virtue. After some continuance at his book he took there holy orders of priesthood, and so came in again and laboured in the vineyard about three years space; in which time he won his mother, and many other good souls he did call home and comfort. As thus he travelled to benefit his country and to raise and set up withered vines, Sir William Mallory in Boirgat or Bougat Lane, near Ripon, met him with one riding before him a good space. He stayed him and began to examine him, and so take him, and then caused him that was ridden on, his man, to follow and stay him, and so brought him to him; and asking his name he told him Robert Hardestie. Then were they carried to his house in Hutton Park. This was about Lammas. At that time the superintendent, Mr. Pearce, came to Ripon; and then Sir William brought Mr. Spencer, a seminary Papist, before his honourable grace, and Robert Hardestie with him, who stoutly and wittily answered

<sup>11</sup> Bishop Challoner gives an interesting account of the martyrdom from a MS. of Dr. Champney, who was an eye-witness of their death, to which the present will form a valuable addition.

all his captious questions. After this his wolfish whelps, ever fawning, as Mr. King and the rest, saying that he knew him and were of his acquaintance in Oxford; and then entering in to talk of controversies he soundly answered every of them. But shortly after the malicious Grace made his warrant that both these holy men should be carried to York Castle; and so they were about the 5th of August, and all such things as they both had Sir William took from them, and their horses. Being thus committed, Robert gave himself up to much abstinence, fasting, and prayer. The enemy did much assault and trouble him, although he frequented the sacraments. The same morning that he was to go to the bar, being in ghostly talk with one, and aboutward to open the enemies wicked suggestion, even on the sudden started up, and with a monstrous voice cried so loud that all [the] Castle guard did wonder, and drew to the house to know what it should be. I was the first that came to him, as I remember, and taking him by the arm desired others that came to help in with him to a chamber, for he was on a pace where we used to walk. He willed and cried out that no man should handle or touch him. We laid him on a bed and made the chamber dark, and then came up to him the keeper and his man to see how things were, who spoke to him very friendly, and then left him. All the company fell to prayer, leaving two with him to look well to him. Within three hours after he was reasonable well, and at afternoon was carried to the bar, where he answered well to everything that was demanded of him, so that they framed out the indictment for being in the company of Mr. Spencer, but [? and] for aiding and bringing bacon, cheese, and venison to the recusants in the Castle. And to show this Mr. Mears called for the keeper, Mr. Anthony Ellice and his man Thomas Earles, who were witnesses that he had brought such things to the Papists, and so the jury upon their words for this did find him guilty of death; whereupon the man rejoiced and thanked God heartily, praying God to forgive them.

“Being brought from the bar into the Castle, as they there were Mr. Ellice, so soon as he saw Robert said to him, ‘I pray you, good Robert, for God’s sake forgive me;’ and weeping earnestly, said, ‘That which I have done and said was to please the magistrates, and I durst say no other when Mr. Mears called me to be a witness against you.’ ‘Then he answered, ‘God forgive you, and I do, even from my very

heart. I am to request one thing of you, even what you will, you shall have nothing but my cloak, for I would bestow it upon a very friend of mine. With a good will, take it.'

"Likewise Mr. Spencer being condemned and brought in, one Mr. Boulmer, a gentleman, and the foreman of his jury, came to him and required for God's sake that he would forgive him for that he had, being the foreman of the jury, given verdict against him of death, contrary to his conscience. Upon which words he pitied the gentleman, and freely forgave him it. The morning after came Mr. King, and called for Mr. Spencer to talk with him of matters of controversy; and after he had stopped his mouth said, You come to me now when time serveth not to talk of these matters. 'You might have come all this time that I have been here, and then I would have freely talked with you.' I think that I have heard that Mr. King said: 'I come of good will for old acquaintance, and if you will confer I will get you stayed, and then after your pardon.' 'I need not to confer with any of you, for I doubt not in any point of my faith or religion, and therefore I will not confer.' And so they parted. Yet at the place of execution Mr. King, as one of the head and chief chaplains of the superintendant, came and spoke to Mr. Spencer, who, shaking them and the rest off, took his death merrily, giving the people admonition to take heed of their false and erroneous doctrine, died the 24th of September, 1589, and Robert Hardistie also. His body was brought into the city, and buried by his friend in Trinity Churchyard, or St. Martin's next it, in Micklegate.<sup>12</sup>

"1589. The 5th of August, RICHARD BARKER, yeoman, a tailor by science, was committed to the Castle of York for not coming to the church.

"*Anno Domini*, 1590. About the 25th of January was MR. PETER KNAYSBOROUGH, yeoman, committed to the Castle of Yorke, for not coming to the church; and (as I suppose) his man, Richard Lambart, to the Kidcott, and were

<sup>12</sup> Bishop Challoner states of the Rev. William Spenser, that he was a Douay student at Rheims, and was sent upon the English Mission in 1584; but beyond the fact of his having been executed for the priesthood, he has no information. And he has no record whatever of Robert Hardesty, except that he was martyred for having harboured and relieved Mr. Spenser. In *Troubles*, Third Series, under the head of "An Ancient Editor's Notebook," an account is given of these martyrs somewhat similar to the above, differing only in some of the details, but not in essentials.

taken in Bushiprige [Bishoprick]; yet for a sum of money was released.

"1590. MR. THOMAS BARNABY, Esq., was committed to the Castle for not going to the church, about the 11th of March. Also MARGARET HARPAN the same day for the same cause, by the Commissioners.

"1590. The 16th of March, MRS. FRANCES THORPE, widow, was taken in her house at Peasom Green in York, by Mr. Edmund Bonnie and others, brought before the Commissioners for not coming to the church, sent to York Castle, and therefore constrained to break up home.

"1590. The 18th of April, SIR GEORGE WILLIAMS, a seminary priest, taken at Newcastle, and from thence brought to Durham, and returned back again, and not well liked of.<sup>13</sup>

"1590. The 16th of June, young MRS. ARDINGTON committed to Alderman Robinson's house, and MRS. PALMES of Naybourne to Alderman Brooke's, for not coming to the church.

"1590. About the same time of June, THOMAS NEWIT, who had got liberty, was brought in and committed to Hull Castle. WILLIAM BAYLES then committed to the Kidcott. Also MR. RICHARD ALMON, who was by commandment at the Sheriff's of York, was then sent to Hull Castle, and after fell.

"1590. The 30th of June, MRS. BETTERIS [? BETTY] BARNABY, wife to Mr. Thomas beforementioned, after long remaining at the Sheriff House in the city, was removed to York Castle for not coming to the church.

"1590. The 15th June, JOHN HOBBS, of Skymingrave, a fisherman, delivered upon bond.

"1590. The 30th of June, WILLIAM PHILLIPS delivered upon bond.

"1590. The 3rd of August, JOHN KIRKMAN removed from the Castle.

"1590. The 8th of August, MR. MARTIN RUDSTONE, committed to the Castle for not coming to the church.

"1590. THOMAS WHIT, delivered the 30th of August upon bond.

"1590. The 31st of August, SIR RICHARD BOWES, an old priest, died at the Castle of York, and was buried under the wall. He was one of the Vicars at Ripon Minster when the Earls rose, and never after would do any Protestant service,

<sup>13</sup> In the MS. this entry is cancelled, and in the margin is written, "He made an escape out of prison, and so got away."

or come to church with them; and then for many years he was drawn from place to place, yet at last was taken, brought to York before the Council, who sent him to the Castle.

“1590. About Lammas THOMAS ARCHER and THOMAS BOWES came to the city, and were apprehended and committed to the Kidcott for not coming to church. Arraigned before the judges and discharged, and Archer was delivered the 2nd of September, but kept by the Mayor and Aldermen and Recorder Hilyard until October following, then arraigned again as a rogue, and burned through the ear the 9th of October, and the sixteenth day delivered from the Kidcott by them.

“1590. The 12th of September, CHRISTOPHER LUND was delivered from the Castle for money.

“1590. The 14th of September, ISABEL THWINGE delivered from the Kidcott upon bond.

“1590. The 29th of September, MR. THOMAS BARNABY and his wife delivered for money upon bond. Also WILLIAM TYPLADIE, JOHN SMALWOD, THOMAS THURSBY, HUMPHREY METCALFE, and BERNARD STAFFORD, having been tried before, all for money delivered.

“1590. The 7th of October, JOHN KIRKMAN returned to prison.<sup>14</sup>

“1590. The 26th of October, WILLIAM BAYLES went from the Kidcott, which caused the rest of his company to be straitened.

“1590. The 6th of November, HUMPHREY returned to the Castle again prisoner for preventing danger to the company.

“1590. The 16th, ELLEN ROWSON was committed to the Kidcott by the Commissioners for not coming to the church.

“1590. The 16th of December, MR. MARTIN RUDSTONE delivered upon the suit of Sir Robert Stapleton from the Castle.

“1590. THOMAS STILLING committed the 17th of December by the Commissioners to the Castle of York for not coming to church.

“1590. The 19th of December, ELIZABETH ELLISON and MARGARET HARPAIN delivered from the Castle.

“1590. The 24th of December, JOHN HAWKRIDGE delivered upon bond by the Council from the Castle.

“1591. The 8th of January, JAMES ROSS delivered upon bond from the Kidcott.

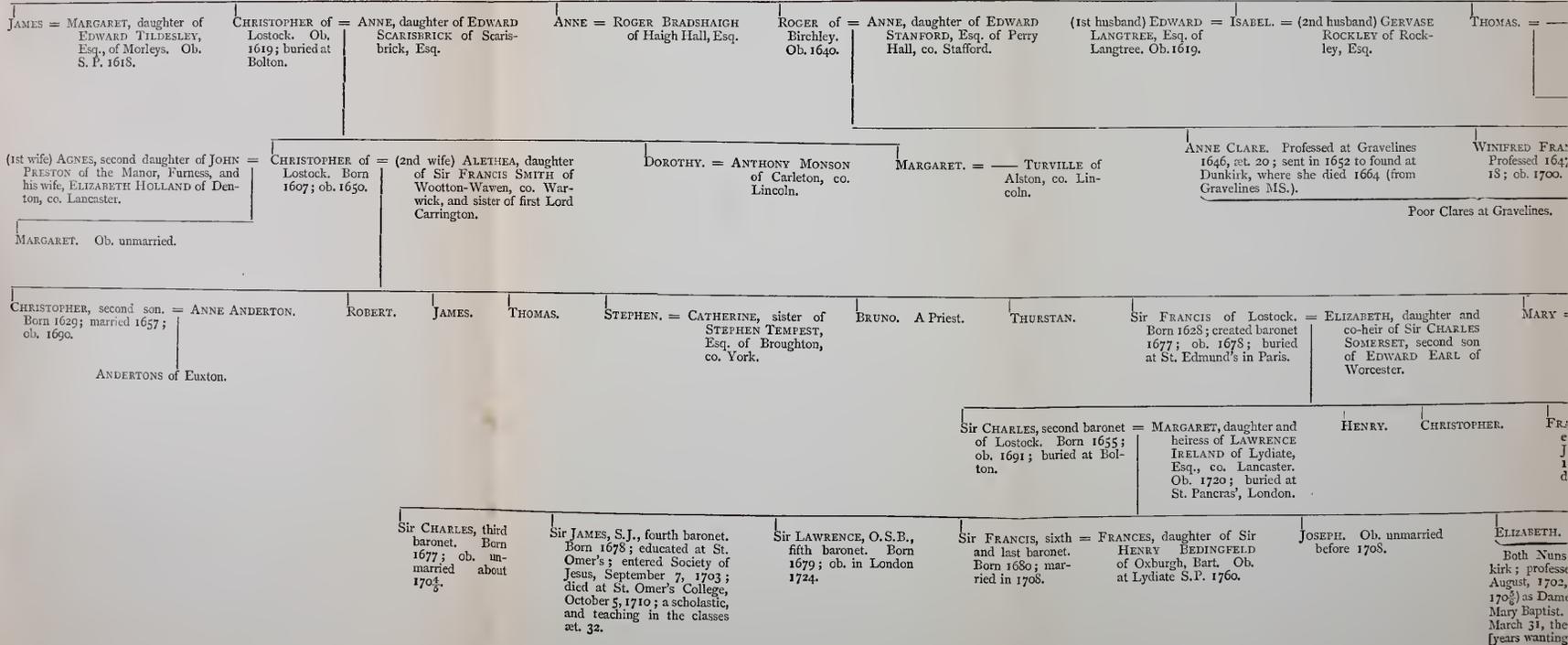
<sup>14</sup> This entry is cancelled in the MS.

ANDERTONS OF LOSTOCK.

[Compiled by permission from the Rev. T. E. Gibson's Lostock Pedigree, *Lydiat Hall and its "Associations,"* with o

CHRISTOPHER ANDERTON of Lostock, = DOROTHEA, daughter of PETER  
son of LAWRENCE ANDERTON, de-  
scended from a third son of —  
ANDERTON of Anderton. Ob. 1593.  
Will proved at York, October 19, 1593.

ANDERTON of Anderton, Esq.  
by his first wife, daughter of  
JOHN GRENEHALGH of Bran-  
dlesome, Esq.



ANDERTONS OF LOSTOCK.

son's Lostock Pedigree, *Lydiat Hall and its "Associations,"* with other information subsequently obtained.]

HER ANDERTON of Lostock, = DOROTHEA, daughter of PETER  
LAWRENCE ANDERTON, de- ANDERTON of Anderton, Esq.  
from a third son of — by his first wife, daughter of  
SON of Anderton. Ob. 1593. JOHN GRENEHALGH of Bran-  
died at York, October 19, 1593. dlesome, Esq.

UD = ISABEL = (2nd husband) GERVASE  
of Rockley, Esq.  
9.

THOMAS. = —

LAWRENCE, S.J. His being rightly placed is  
doubtful but probable. Known as LAWRENCE  
SCROOPE. Born 1576; studied at Blackburn  
and Cambridge. A convert to the Catholic  
religion. Entered Society of Jesus 1604 (see  
Text).

DOROTHY. = WILLIAM THOMPSON  
of Esheld, co. York.

ELIZABETH. = THOMAS TILDESLEY  
of Tildesley and  
Morleys, Esq.

ALICE. = JOHN ORRELL  
of Turton,  
Ob. 1627.

ANNE CLARE. Professed at Gravelines  
1646, *et.* 20; sent in 1652 to found at  
Dunkirk, where she died 1664 (from  
Gravelines MS.).

WINIFRED FRANCES.  
Professed 1647, *et.*  
18; ob. 1700.

MARY EUFRASIA.  
Professed 1648;  
ob. 1683; *et.* 53.

Other issue.

LAWRENCE.  
A Priest.

WILLIAM, alias = —  
SCROOPE.

THOMAS, alias BARTON. A Priest.  
It is probable he is the Thomas  
Barton, S.J., named in the Text.  
Born 1612; entered Society of  
Jesus 1631; professed August 16,  
1652. Was known also as Thomas  
Harvey. Ob. in the Maryland  
Mission S.J. 1696, *et.* 84.

DOROTHY. Professed at the  
Poor Clares, Gravelines, in  
1630, as Sister Dorothy  
Joseph, *et.* 24; ob. in  
1658 (from a Gravelines  
MS.).

Poor Clares at Gravelines.

ANNE of Lostock. = ELIZABETH, daughter and  
co-heir of Sir CHARLES  
SOMERSET, second son  
of EDWARD EARL of  
Worcester.

MARY = WILLIAM JONES,  
Esq. of Trevon,  
co. Monmouth.

ANN = JOHN TUBERVILLE  
of Penclun Castle,  
co. Glamorgan.

EMMERIE, OF  
ALMENIA.

ALETHEA. Born 1638;  
professed as Sister Mag-  
dalen at the Augustinian  
Convent, Louvain, July  
2, 1658; ob. March 28,  
1679, *et.* 41.

DOROTHY. Born  
1642; ob. 1653,  
*et.* 11 (see Text).

ELIZABETH. An  
Augustinian Nun  
at Paris.

MARGARET, daughter and  
heir of LAWRENCE  
BLAND of Lydiat,  
co. Lancaster.  
Ob. 1720; buried at  
Pancras', London.

HENRY.

CHRISTOPHER.

FRANCIS, S.J. Born 1664;  
entered Society of Jesus  
June 21, 1685; living in  
1718; ob. between that  
date and 1725.

MARY.  
Ob. infans.

JOHN.

HEATHER of Sir  
EDINGFELD  
Bart. Ob.  
1760.

JOSEPH. Ob. unmarried  
before 1708.

ELIZABETH.

ANNE.

MARY = HENRY BLUNDELL  
of Ince Blundell,  
Esq.

Both Nuns O.S.B. at Dun-  
kirk; professed (the one about  
August, 1702, the other about  
1702½) as Dame Agnes and Dame  
Mary Baptist. The former died  
March 31, the latter January 24  
[years wanting].

"1591. About the 1st of February one MRS. METTAM, of Barnall was committed to the Palace, who had been about eight or ten days prisoner in the city, as I heard, for not coming to the church; who after fell, and lieth yet.<sup>15</sup>

"1591. The 23rd of February, WILLIAM CRAVEN committed to the Kidcott 'for not coming to the church.'

"The 27th of February, MR. ROGER ASHTON, gentleman, and MR. OLIVER COTTON, gentleman, born in Lancashire, and MR. ROBERT MUSGRAVE, gentleman, born in the north, attempted to take ship at Shields, or thereabout, near Newcastle, was by a contrary wind after certain days sailing brought back again to Shields, and there apprehended on the 27th of February, and brought back to Durham, and there committed. About the 2nd of March after, was MRS. URSALIE [URSULA] TAYLOR, a maid, taken for harbouring them, and committed to Newcastle Gaol close prisoner, as the rest were. About the 12th or 13th day of April following they were brought to York Castle from Durham, and Mrs. Ursalie and Sir George Williams, a seminary priest, with them, by the under sheriff of the Shire. But so soon as the Council heard of them they sent for them and committed them to several places that day; Mr. Roger Ashton to the Kidcott, Mr. Cotton to Alderman Jackson's, Mr. Musgrave to the Palace, Mrs. Ursula Taylor to Peter Prison, and Sir George to the Castle, all closely to be kept, and so were——<sup>16</sup>

"1591. The 2nd of March, THOMAS BOWES was taken again at Northallerton, and so brought to York. At his departure from York there went two scholars; the one of them had been usher in the High School, the other (I think) taught \_\_\_\_\_, who at that instant were become Catholics, and therefore willing for to leave all, took Bowes as their guide for to conduct them over the sea, for he had been at Rheims. Thus they journeyed to Newcastle, and there they all took shipping. Long they lay on the water, and their master not dealing well with them, urged them to such great charges that all they had was almost consumed, and then they thought good to go to land; and so they parted. One of them went to Oxford, and Dawson (who was born in York) came after to York in secret, but stayed not, for there was much ado about his and the other going from thence. Bowes brought before Mr. Mears, who asked him if he would not yet go to church. 'No,' said

<sup>15</sup> This entry is cancelled in the original.

<sup>16</sup> A word here deleted, and illegible in the MS.

he. 'Yea, but thou shalt,' and then commanded his men to lay hands on him, and bring him after him to the Minster; and so cruelly did they trail and handle him, he resisting them to his power, lost his hat and shirtband. He talked to them, and willed all there to witness that he was brought by violence and force, and so there kept. Then Mr. Mears in rage commanded to carry him to the Castle and lay irons on him, and that he should be put and kept in the Low House, and so he was amongst the felons a long time. After his arraignment when he was called to the bar, he pleaded the Statute, and spoke so well that many did commend him; yet was he found guilty to be hanged as a rogue, for because the Lord Mayor of the city had burned him in the ear. When the Judges had cleared him, saying the law could not touch him, he said: 'I thank God that thus you use me for my conscience' sake and religion, for no other cause you have thus to use me, and therefore I am willing to die. Yet I crave the benefit of my book, which the law doth yield.' 'No,' said Mr. Rokeby, 'thou shall stay of that. We will consider further.' But they kept him still in prison till he procured to come before the Judges, and he craved to have the benefit of his book, 1592, which they granted to him, and then about the 10th of March he was burned in the hands, and so got delivered. Yet after he was gone the Council not knowing sent word to the keeper to stay Bowes.

"1591. The 20th of March, Mr. FRANCIS JACKSON, delivered from York Castle upon bond to appear at the assizes, having had divers times all his goods strained and taken from him upon the Statute for not coming to church, bought it at the Queen's price again, and after the same manner took his land. Yet still as he agreed with one came another, and with the assistance of sheriff's officers, entered his house and put his wife forth, he being in prison. Thus they spoiled him sundry times, being prisoner both at Hull Castle and York Castle divers years. His house and dwelling is at Sharelestone, near Wakefield.

"1591. The 28th of March, being Palm Sunday, the night before Sir ROBERT THORPE, a seminary priest, came to one Thomas Watkinson's house at Monthrope, a yeoman and widower, well able to live of his own living, a Catholic, yet timorous; and coming there to serve God was prevented. For early in the morning came one Mr. Gaites, who dwelt at Howden, and a great Justice in the country. He brought

with him a great company, and entering the house found Mr. Thorpe and all the Church stuff, wherewith he went to serve with that day: and ranging up and down the house, he and his company broke open and took away what they liked. After they went to his neighbour's house, John Freeman, and there finding no such things as they thought, took his bond to appear at the assizes, which he did, and so was committed to the Castle; but Mr. Thorpe they carried with them, and Thomas Watkinson, and his son, who was simple and no Catholic, John Hugh, William Parker, and Jane Adam. These were brought to the city before the Council, who committed them to several places, and all fell, one after another, save Mr. Thorpe and Thomas Watkinson,<sup>17</sup> who were committed both to the Castle, kept several, remained constant, even to death.

"1591. The 31st of March, ROBERT POWELL was committed to the Peter Prison for not coming to church.<sup>18</sup>

"1591. The 13th of April, JOHN FREEMAN brought in and committed to the Castle by the Commissioners; also MARGARITE BLACKBOURNE, for not coming to church.

"1591. The 27th of April, ROGER LOCKWOOD was removed from Peter Prison to the Castle, where he had long remained and suffered much hardness, or any knew of him, for he was a Lancashire man, and taken there about his father's house, who was troubled for keeping of an old priest at his house, which was some cause of Roger's taking. The priest was

<sup>17</sup> Bishop Challoner gives a short extract regarding the martyr-priest Robert Thorpe, from a MS. of Dr. Champney, who had once been his penitent. He had laboured for a long time with very great fruit in the vineyard of the Lord, was of low stature, infirm health, not learned, but of great piety, and though naturally timorous and weak, yet suffered death with great fortitude. The Bishop also gives a short account of his apprehension, related by Lady Babthorpe, who, as we have before seen (p. 192), became a nun at Louvain upon her husband's death. She says, "To my remembrance it is twenty-nine years since we were committed to Sheriff Hutton Castle. The President of the North was then the Earl of Huntington, and the Archbishop's name was Piers, who had been a priest. . . . On the eve of Palm Sunday he was by an evil neighbour seen to go into Watkinson's house; or, as some said, that neighbour saw some of Watkinson's servants get palm, which was sufficient to assure him that he had a priest in his house, for they well knew that priests used much to come to his house. . . . They went with speed to Mr. John Gates, a Justice of the Peace, living in Houldone, some three miles off, . . . who with his company came so early on Palm Sunday in the morning that, as I heard, they took them in their beds, and carried them away to York. . . . Mr. Watkinson was offered his life if he would go to church, which he refusing, was martyred with the priest."

<sup>18</sup> The entry originally stood thus—"Was delivered free upon bond for money to his own house."

impotent and aged, yet Mr. Meares willed to bring him, though he come but a mile a day in a cart, and so perhaps he might had he not died. About Lammas Assize Roger made means by the Judges to be removed to Lancaster to answer at the assize, and so got liberty ever since.

“The 22nd of May the Council and Mr. Topliffe called Mr. WILLIAMS before them and the Mayor, and examining him sent him back again to be kept close prisoner alone from other company; and so he was. The same day they sent for Mr. GEORGE ERRINGTON, who was taken in the north, as I think, brought to York and committed by the Council to Dear, the pursuivant. After they had examined him they sent him back again<sup>19</sup> close prisoner.

“1591. The 24th, next they called before them Mr. THORPE: and Mr. Topliffe asking him who he took to be the Head of the Church, he said, ‘The Pope’s Holiness, if the realm were, as it should be, Catholic.’ ‘Thou are a traitor.’ ‘No, I speak truth, and therefore no traitor. That name rather belongeth to you, for that you are against God and His truth.’ ‘Whose part will you take if the Pope and King of Spain come to invade this realm to set up his Popish religion?’ ‘If he come for that end and purpose I will take his.’ After this plain fashion he answered to everything that was demanded of him, and so returned him back from whence he came. Also Mr. Errington was examined again. They sent him to the Castle close prisoner. Then Mr. Musgrave being before them was removed to the Castle. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Ashton likewise sent to the Castle, put together, and kept close a long time.

“1591. About the 28th of May, ROBERT ARCHAR, being in the Low House at the Kidcott, was put up above amongst the other Catholics. The sergeants useth thus to do for money. The same day ROBERT POWLES [POWELL] delivered for money from Peter Prison to his own house, upon bond to appear when he should be sent for.

“About the 6th of May, JENNET RICHARDSON committed to the Kidcott for not coming to the church by the Mayor and Aldermen: she dwelling on Ousebridge: poor and lame and old, yet had no pity of her.

“1591. Mr. ROBERT THORP, priest, was brought before the Judges amongst the fellows, and there indicted as a traitor,

<sup>19</sup> They sent him to York Castle. This is the martyr George Errington, Esq., shortly noticed in p. 260, note.

being a seminary priest; where, with stout courage in God's cause, he answered them plainly to all their assertions and subtle questions, was condemned. Then they called THOMAS WATKINSON, and read his indictment for receiving Robert Thorp, a seminary priest and traitor. 'I received him as the messenger and servant of God, for my soul's health.' 'How will you be tried?' 'By your consciences.' Then they said: 'Nay, refuse not the benefit of the law, for that were to do injury to yourself;' and so after he put himself to the country and was condemned. Then he thanked God and received great fortitude, saying: 'If I were in place again I would receive more than ever I did, and now I wish I had received them oftener.' These, or the like words, he said, although before his arraignment he was a man very timorous, and thought to have procured means for his pardon; but then, at that instant, he received such consolation and comfort that he despised it all to suffer for so just a cause, though before he was much given to the world, and it did favour him. After his coming to prison he gave him to much prayer and abstinence. He gave some land to the Church when God should restore the Catholic religion again. After he was condemned and brought from the bar into the Castle, there came divers ministers or preachers unto him, and being locked up, the keeper of the door (one Foxe, a bad fellow) called him forth to speak with some of his friends. 'Who are they?' said he. 'Come forth and see.' 'Let them come to me if they be my friends and come not to trouble me, for now I would be quiet; and if they be ministers I will not talk with any of them, or come at them.' 'No,' said Foxe, 'no, indeed. Well, these are your dear friends; come and see them, you need not stay.' The good meaning man coming forth, the door was locked and so another; and looking for his friends saw a company of ministers standing on the stairs, said: 'Where are those my friends that you said were here to speak with me?' 'These!' 'Away, wicked men, I will not talk with you, I am fully resolved, I thank God. Thou, crafty fellow, open the door.' 'Nay,' said they, 'stay, we would talk with you.' 'I defy your doctrine, and I will not hear your wicked words; and therefore, Foxe, open the door. I told thee this before I came forth that with no such wicked heretics I would talk. Away! fie on your doctrine. I am a Christian Catholic, and therefore detest all wicked doctrine and teachers thereof.' Then Foxe, seeing him so resolute, opened the door and quickly he got

into the other, saying, 'Open this door;' yet they followed and desired him to hear them but speak. 'No, no, I will not, and therefore away!' The door being open he swiftly got into another house and shut the door of them all, bidding them away, and so kept it shut till they were gone. Then Mr. Thorp being there they began to speak unto him, who said: 'Away, wicked wolves, I know you to be the first begotten of the devil and dame heresy.' And so roundly he answered them that they departed away muttering.

"The next day they served God together, and after were brought to the place of execution, where Mr. Thorpe stoutly answered the ministers and willed the people to take heed of them, for they taught them a false faith and naughty heretical doctrine. Having commended himself to prayer to God he died. Then went Thomas Watkinson up, a grave and fatherly old man, having left his children freely and commended them to God. They willed him to ask the Queen's Majesty forgiveness for receiving that traitor, Thorp, into his house. 'I have not offended her Majesty therein; I knew him not, nor received him for no such man, but as a priest sent to do good to his country. If I were to live longer I would receive more, and oftener than I have. I forgive all those that have here in any way procured my death.' And so having commended his soul and body to God, died sweetly the 31st of May, 1591. He was buried by his son-in-law in the churchyard of St. John in Mickelgate, as I think.<sup>20</sup>

"1591. The 2nd of June, PETER DICCONSON, a tanner of Ripon, RICHARD HETHER, yeoman, a serving-man about Wakefield, ANTHONY JEFFERSON, a smith, having a wife and three or four small young children, and an old woman to his mother, very impotent, was committed to York Castle for not coming to church. Dwelt in Ripon. His family sustained great necessity for his want. The same day was Mr. SAMUEL PULLAN, gentleman, of Killinghall, committed to Colyer at the Palace; Mrs. SEWALL to Dodworthy House. She dwelt at South Stainley. Also Mr. DALTON, esquire, to the Castle; his wife to Dearman's house, the pursuivant. JOHN WELLS, yeoman, to another place, all for not coming to church. Mr. Dalton and John Wells were accused for receiving in their houses Mr. Beasley, a seminary priest. Then he and

<sup>20</sup> Bishop Challoner was unable to give any information regarding the imprisonment and deaths of these two glorious martyrs.

his wife fell, and were kept together till the assizes, and then arraigned, &c.

"1591. The 17th of June, WILLIAM CONDALL and LEONARD GRIME, young men, taken about Knaresborough by the pursuivant Colyer, brought before the Commissioners and committed to him at the Palace for not coming to church; yet for money were soon discharged.

"1591. The 22nd of June, Mrs. URSULA TAYLER, a maid, was removed from Peter Prison to the Castle, where she sustained great hardness by herself alone without comfort of any company in a darksome place without fire and oftentimes water and other necessaries, by reason the keeper dwelt other where far off; yet meekly she did take all for Christ's sake and the Catholic faith. The same day one RICHARD ELDERTON brought from the seaside about Skinninggrane for not coming to church, but soon fell after.

"1591. The 27th of June, Mr. JOHN SAER, esquire, a widower, dwelling near Richmond, committed to the Castle of York for not coming to the church, although he paid 20*l.* a month for the same, according to the Statute.

"1591. The 28th of June, good wife LINGE delivered from the Kidcott for a time, there being prisoner for religion and the Catholic faith.

"1591. The 30th of June, WILLIAM JACKSON, a young man, delivered upon bond from the Kidcott, and there had suffered much for not coming to church.

"1591. About the 11th of July JOHN KIRKMAN got liberty for a few weeks.

"1591. The 19th of July, STEPHEN BRANTON died in the Castle, who had suffered about eighteen years in prison; at the Kidcott first, then removed to Hull Castle, from thence the keeper, John Bisbeie, carried him to the North Blockhouse, for that he could not give him so much rent as he asked, and there kept him a longer space in a low house by himself. After he was removed from Bisbie to the South Blockhouse under Ancoke, the tyrant, divers years; then removed (and others with him) from thence to York Castle, where dying was buried under the Castle wall, as others were.

"1591. The 21st of July, Mr. NICHOLAS ELWISH, gentleman, who was an attorney in the town and dwelt in Doncaster, when he was constrained first to fly from his house for not coming to church. His [wife] was Mr. D. Mettam's sister, who died at Wisbeach in prison. Many years he and she were

driven up and down the country, being well able to [pay], were thereby constrained to consume all they had. God did bless his wife with children, but she never rested or bare them in one place, but one in York, and in the country here and there, or about London. At last he took a little cottage, having consumed his substance thus wandering, not using his trade in the Peake in Derbyshire, and there remained until the apprehension of Mr. John Fitzherbert at Padley, where Mr. Garlicke and another seminary were taken in Mr. John's house by the Earl of Shrewsbury, who committed the gentleman to the house and the seminaries and some more to Derby gaol; but Mr. Elwish he sent to York Castle, for that he was a Yorkshireman, where divers times he should have been arraigned. But it was thought the Judges and others did favour him, for that he had been a man amongst them of credit and account, and was the clerk of the assize at York before he was prosecuted the 29th of July. He made such friends to the Judges that they delivered him from the Castle upon bond to appear at the assizes when he should be called for; and so remaineth in Derbyshire.

"1591. The 30th of July, THOMAS STILLINGE was delivered upon bond by the Judges from the Castle.

"1591. The 6th of August, RICHARD LAMBERT delivered from the Kidcott upon bond. He was Mr. Knaisbrough's man.

"1591. The 21st of August, WILLIAM PARKER delivered from Peter Prison, and so fell.

"1591. The 23rd of August, JOHN KIRKMAN returned to the Castle.

"1591. The 8th of September, Mr. JOHN SEAR delivered by the Privy Council warrant from the Castle.

"1591. The 27th of September, THOMAS WHIT, dwelling about Gisbrough, and coming to Malton, or thereabouts, was apprehended by Colyer, the pursuivant, although he was delivered by warrant from the Council or Commissioners, brought to York before the Commissioners, who committed him to the Kidcott for not coming to church.

"1591. About the 1st of October, Mrs. VYSE, of Crake, committed to Blockhouse by the Commissioners for not coming to church. Also Mrs. SEWALL, of South Stainlay, likewise to Dodsworth House.

"1591. The 6th<sup>21</sup> of October, Mr. THOMAS BAPTHORP,  
<sup>21</sup> Originally, "The 5th of October."

gentleman, committed to the Palace by the Commissioners, who had been prisoner at Hull Castle before, for not coming to church.

"1591. The 5th of October, Mr. THOMAS MOUNTON, gentleman, committed to the Palace for not coming to church, by the Commissioners.

"The same day FRANCIS YONGE, a husbandman and married, a little from Knysbrough [Knaresbrough], CHRISTIAN HORSEMAN, a married man, about Kyrbiemalside and JOHN FREEMAN, yeoman, at Mentthrop, committed to the Castle for not coming to the church. Also RICHARD BODOMLAY to the Kidcott; likewise a young man dwelling a little from Knaresbrough.

"1591. The 15th of October, the Council sent with a commission to search the Castle, one Mr. Cotterell and Mr. Hardwicke, examiners, and Mr. Westrop the sergeant, who began to search about eleven o'clock in the night, and so continued until five in the morning, running up and down, taking at their pleasure what they thought good. Hardwicke took from JOHN THACKERY certain great curell [coral] and a great silver heart gilt, and a great silver ring and a crucifix, which he esteemed better than a vial though pretended to be spite conceived, break crucifixes and defacing tables, and so sent them again [*sic*]; yet Mr. Hardwicke kept all. The same day sennight after, being Friday, the Council sent their tipstaff to the Castle to bring before them a prisoner amongst the recusants called John Thackery, who was then somewhat sickly with an ague. Going before them in the Manor Garth, meeting them from thence, Mr. Rokeby (after many frivolous questions asked by Mr. Mears) asked him for a book that was found in his study at the Castle, called *The Answer to the English Justice*—a book most pernicious, detestable, and abominable against her Majesty's person. The young man said, 'I do not remember any such' (which in truth at that instant, nor before, he did not), 'but if your worships will let me see it I shall show you whether it was mine or no; for I, not being well, went to bed, as they willed me when they entered into my study.' 'You shall, with good will,' said Mr. Mears. 'No, not so,' said Mr. Rokeby. After many crossing words and fawning flattery, for at the first Mr. Rokeby would not let him have his hat off, saying, 'Mr. Mears and Dr. Gibson, give the young man leave to put on his hat, if it please you.' 'We are content.' They talking and conferring often, or they came to the Minster, and after awhile they setting down called the young man again

before them and used more harder speech, saying, 'You are best confess with it when it shall come to be tried, the country will sure find it to be yours, being found in your study, for we have three substantial, honest, wise, and men of good credit that will depose there it was found.' 'No more I can say than I have, unless I see it.' 'You're a stubborn fellow and like to find it, and therefore look for no favour, which otherwise you might have had. Carry him away from whence he came, and let him be kept close prisoner from other of his company.' And so he was a good while; and though he made a sup [plication] to them that he might, being not well, be amongst his company, they would not release him, till the gaoler did of himself quietly. The book and other things which they had taken in the Castle were burned on the payment or the wist [*sic*], and so the young man was called no more. Then was it that they burned divers bones of the late martyrs. And touching them, Mr. Rokeby said to the young man, 'Before the Lord you are such a kind of people as I never saw, for you keep bones and flesh of dead men.' The young man said, 'For no ill, I warrant you, but good meaning they have that kept them, and so they [will] tell you why they did it, if you would know.' But then in great rage and snuff he went away to Mr. Mears and the other gone afore.

"1591. The 17th of September, Mr. OLIVER COTTON was by warrant sent to London upon bond to go there to one whom in time past he had served, and therefore he wrote to President Superinte[ndent] and Council to let him come up to him, which they did, and so he got liberty after to go home to his father's house in Lancashire.

"1591. The 25th, Mrs. FRANCES THORPE, widow, of Holderness, got liberty by her uncle, Sir William Mallory, and Mr. William Ingleby and Sir Robert Stapleton, who had spoken for her, upon bond from the Castle.

"The 4th of December, in the evening, Sir GEORGE WILLIAMS, a Seminary priest and a Welshman born, Mr. GEORGE ERRINGTON, a northern gentleman, went both away from the Castle, to the great trouble, discredit, and disquietness of the Catholic prisoners, who were locked up and abridged of their former liberty. For upon the 21st day after, being St. Thomas the Apostle day, the Council sent Mr. Fletcher and Mr. Goodman, one of the President's men, with a commission to search the Castle for books, papers, and relics. Yet they asked most and looked for Mr. Williams' gown, or other of his clothes,

and not finding any of them, or other matter of effect, they went away.

"The 11th of December, JOHN FREEMAN delivered from the Castle. The same day, Mr. JOHN WRIGHT, apothecary, having had a few weeks of liberty at his own house upon bond, returned to Hull Castle again, from whence he came; for the keeper of the Castle of Hull, fearing that he should either stay at home, or else get to some other person about York, went to the Super[intendent] at Lawood, and bring[ing] a present unto him, which he liked well, Mr. Beisbie desiring his Grace that he would grant him Mr. Wright to be his prisoner again, for that he was the best and most commodious prisoner he had. 'With a good will you shall. When his day comes he shall return to you again.' And so all the friends he could make could not stay him at that time, or remove him to any other prison, till long after, the President, at suit of friends, enlarged him to his own house, where now he is in York.

"The 20th of December [*sic*], being great with child and near her account was, by Dr. Bennet and Commissioners enlarged to go home to her dwelling-place until she were delivered, and then at the month end, or about, to return to the Castle.

"Mr. Gooderike, being the sheriff of the shire, entered with his deputy to keep the Castle of York and prisoners therein, and entering bond for the safety of it returned to the Castle. A little wench coming to the gate inquiring to speak with one Thomas Tayler, who was a prisoner for recusancy, the busy fellow then searched the child's apron, and found there a box which had divers things in it, as jet rings, crosses, and other work, with a note; all which, with the child, one Christopher Dodsworth, the deputy for the sheriff carried to the Council. They viewing it and reading the note, commanded that Thomas Tayler should be brought before them, and so he was. They asked him if he knew one Christopher Stayhouse, a worker of jet, 'who hath written unto [you, who] desireth all your company may pray for his wife, being with child and at account.' And then Thomas, perceiving the matter, answered them so that no way they could touch him, desiring to see the letter, and the endorsement being to one Mr. Thomas Tayler, he said, 'It is not to me, for I am no gentleman;' and so he passed all the matter. Then sent the Council their warrant forth for the taking of Christopher Stayanus. The child was then sent home, who had been kept all that time at the Castle by the Council commandment. Christopher, being apprehended, his

wife but now brought in bed, was without any stay to be brought to York before the Council. After they had questioned him of this matter they asked him if he would go to the church. He said 'No,' and then they committed him to Dearman's, the pursuivant, being the 29th of December, and there he remained, to his great loss and hindrance of his trade.

" 1591. The 31st of December, Mr. ROBERT MUSGRAVE delivered upon bond from the Castle for a time, and then to return, and to make his appearance before the Lord President at York.

" 1592. The 20th of January, CHRISTOPHER STAYANUS was removed from Dearman's, the pursuivant, to York Castle.

" 1592. About the 14th of February the Superintendent and Commissioners committed Mrs. VANCE [VYSE] to Blenckhorne's house, Mrs. SEWALL<sup>22</sup> to Dodesworth's house in the attic, Mrs. CHARNLAY to the Palace, Mrs. KATHERAN BECKWITH to the Palace, and Mrs. SALVIN, having been long at Sotheran's house, the crier, was removed to the Palace. The same day THO. WHIT inlawed himself prisoner to the Castle.

" 1592. The 10th of March, Mr. DALTON, his wife, and JOHN WELLS, being arraigned, were condemned for receiving one Mr. Beasley, a Seminary priest, into their houses, though Mr. Dalton and his wife and [Wells] before yielded and usually gone to their church, yet as condemned persons all three remained prisoners in the Castle. At the same time was arraigned one EDWARD CHESTER, a southern man born, who travelling towards St. Ann of Buxton, coming to Shearshell in the first week of Lent, and lighting at the best inn, when he came to supper, and refusing to eat eggs and butter was presently suspected to be a seminary, and so taken and brought to York before the Council, who sent him to the Castle, with commandment to have double irons laid on him, for he confessed that he was a Catholic and determined to have gone to Buxton Well, and the last master he served was one Mr. Browne, and therefore had less favour. Also he confessed he had been a Catholic long, and had suffered in the Tower for the same, and there through fawning speeches and fairer promises made unto him by the Lady Hopton, who said she was akin unto him, he yielded to go unto a sermon, thinking to be delivered, so as she promised; and seeing that he was not, he

<sup>22</sup> This name is blotted in the MS., and the reading is uncertain.

asked God mercy for that which he had done against his conscience, and resolved with himself never to do the like again ; and therefore a warrant was made for his removal <sup>23</sup> to Bridewell, and being carried Mr. Topliffe went with him, and said to him that had him, ' Whither are you bound with this fellow ? ' ' To Bridewell.' ' Where is the warrant ? ' and perusing it he went to the next merchant's shop, and borrowing a pen and ink he set down in the warrant what was not before in, that he should have forty stripes ; which he had. After long continuance he was removed to the Marshalsea or Fleet, as I remember, and from thence got out upon bond, and so came into Mr. Browne his service. Thus much I think Chester wrote to the Council ; being commanded after his committing to set down his whole course to them, which simply he did. Being brought to the bar was arraigned as a rogue, although he was well appavelled, having horse and good furniture and reasonable store of money in his purse, and so some of his chamber-fellows in the Castle can witness, who took twenty shillings forth of his purse when he was in bed, whereof he could never get a penny again. He was condemned and burned in the ear, and after thereupon delivered.

" Also the same time THOMAS BOWES, having procured to come to the bar, showed the Judges how he had been dealt with, and therefore craved their Honours to grant him the benefit of his book, which they did ; and so he was burned in the hand and discharged. And so Chester, having spent his horse, travelled with Bowes on foot from York.

" 1592. About 16th <sup>24</sup> of March, Sir PETER CLOUDESLEY, an old priest, taken at Browne's house about Humsley, beaten with a wand. Both he and Browne were brought to York before the Council, who committed Sir Peter to John Stockes' house, the tipstaff, the 20th of March, and Browne, who was a retainer to Mr. William Ingleby, to the Castle, and so remained a long time, yet not a Catholic. Upon bond got forth to answer when he should be called.

" 1592. The President having, partly in fawning manner and partly upon commandment with the Superintendent, gotten most of the worshipful of the country, whose wives were Catholics, to bring them in, entered bond. Which doing, the President and Superintendent, Mr. Peares, did meet the 23rd of March at Mr. Doctor Benet's house, with the commission,

<sup>23</sup> Originally, " And therefore Sir Owen made his warrant."

<sup>24</sup> Originally, " The 20th."

so close that none was permitted to come in but those that were called ; which day that year was Shrove Thursday. There they called the Lady ‘ MARGARET ’ CONSTABLE, ‘ of Burton-in-Holderness,’ offering her that if she would do never so little they would trouble her no more, but she should go home. Who constantly answered she would not hold up a straw against her conscience and the house of God, and therefore would not care to hear any of their service. Then they committed her to one Mr. Watkinson’s house, the clerk of the city, where precisely she was kept. Then Mrs. METTAM, of Mettam, who constantly professed her faith and Catholic religion, was committed to Mr. Cotteril’s, the examiner, who strictly used her. Also Mrs. INGLEBY, of Ripley, who answered them as boldly, and was committed to Mr. Hilyard, the recorder. Mrs. BATHORP, who fervently with stout mind answered she would not come to any of their service, was committed to one Mr. Buskils, a lawyer. Mrs. HUNGATE likewise was committed to Mr. Paylers,<sup>25</sup> a lawyer, and Mrs. CONSTABLE of Everingham to Mr. Meares. And she being, as I heard, in a chamber, a minister, a preacher, was brought in and read something, it being contrary to her mind, yet they raised a slander that she was at service, and so her husband got her home, and so kept her when the rest were committed.

“ 1592. About the 4th of April, Mrs. LAWSON of Brough was brought in before them, and standing constantly was committed to Alderman Truehouse.

“ The 8th of April, Mrs. CHARNLAY of Whitby brought before the President, who stood constantly and was committed to Mr. Dodesworth, a lawyer, where Mrs. Sewall was. Also her<sup>26</sup>

“ 1593. The 11th of August, JOHN WELLES, a prisoner for the Catholic cause, stole away from the Castle, wherefore the keeper put three of the company in the Low House, and so straitly kept them there amongst the felons four days and four nights.

“ 1593. The 23rd of August, CHRISTOPHER STAYANUS and FRANCIS YOUNGE committed for the Catholic cause, and amongst the rest in the Castle stole away, to the great trouble and discredit of all the rest, who the next day were called down and

<sup>25</sup> Or “ Paller.”

<sup>26</sup> Here one or more leaves are wanting in the MS. Possibly an entire gathering of eight leaves.

kept in the grate till within night. The keeper said he had rather have given £20, and ever after these runnings away he did so storm against the whole company, for that he said we sought his destruction, that he never left off his malice till he spoiled the house, using means to get some removed thence to Hull. This was Wharton.

"1593. About the 9th of September was Mr. JOHN BOST betrayed and taken by Francis Englesfield (who went under the name of a Catholic), at one Mr. William Claxton's house, who then was prisoner at Sedbur, called Waterhouse. There was taken also Lady MARGARET NEVILL and one THOMAS ROBINSON, who was brought to York with Mr. Bost, the 14th day committed to the pursuivant Outlaw's, and Mr. Bost to the Castle, where he was watched day and night by the President's men and others; for watch was kept both within the Castle and without in the yard while he stayed. The 27th day after he was removed betwixt seven and eight in the night to the Manor, the President being come forth of the north, and brought with him a young youth new come from beyond sea, taken at his father's house, called Mr. WILLIAM OGILL, and committed him to Outlaw's, the pursuivant, for that he would not go to church nor confer with ministers. When Mr. Bost was betrayed and taken by Sir William Bowes, he brought him before the President at Durham, who sent him by Mr. Rokeby and others to York. Lady Margaret and the gentlewoman of the house was committed to Durham gaol, and so kept close.

"1593. The 3rd of October the President in great secret sent up Mr. Bost by three o'clock in the morning to London, with the pursuivant and his men, although he seemed to fawn him with speech, and his brother, who made suit to him that his brother live, and therefore willed him, as we heard, that he should buy him some apparel somewhat like to his profession, as a black cloak; and so it was reported he did.

"1593. About the 2nd of October one Rawdon's wife was brought before the Council for not coming to church, and so presently fell, and another wife with her.

"The 5th of October, WILLIAM KNIGHT and WILLIAM WHITFIELD was removed from the Palace to the Castle by Colyer the pursuivant, for that he had not money to pay him weekly, and after five days kept amongst the felons for their fees, came up amongst other Catholic prisoners, and within three weeks after William Whitfeld was released and went home.

"1593. The 18th of October Mr. WILLIAM OGILL removed from Outlaw's to the Castle, where strictly he was kept from the Catholic prisoners, and amongst executioners and felons.

"About the 6th of November Mr. RALPH GRIMSTON, taken by Sir Richard Malliver, who brought him before the President and Council, was committed by them to Outlaw's the pursuivant, and there straitly kept. Also two young men brought forth of Bishoprick, there taken, and Mr. George Errington. The young men were committed to the Castle and Mr. George to the pursuivants. The one of them called Spence was fallen for fear, and went to the service. He was accused for to carry priests up and down; and in the Lent after the President going to sit at the assizes at Durham, caused Spence to be brought thither from York Castle, where all that time he lay amongst the felons and suffered much. [He] was at Durham arraigned and condemned, and so executed, '1594 in the Lent time,' because he would not accuse his master and other Catholics for priests harbouring, 1594. The other young man was called Nicholas Bridges; and, falling sick, his friends got him forth upon bond, and after it was said he fell.<sup>27</sup>

"1593. The 7th of November Mr. GEORGE ERRINGTON brought to the Castle by the pursuivant from the Council, and called before the President and Council again the 16th of November was examined.

"1593. The 18th of November Mr. RALPH GRIMSTON twice examined before the President.

"1593. About that time Mr. BLENKINSOP was removed from Hull to be prisoner in Mr. Thomas Musgrave's house, and there fell.<sup>28</sup>

"1593. The 16th or 17th of November Mrs. METTAM was removed from Sheriff-Hutton Castle and carried before the President and Superintendent, and so upon bond sent home.

<sup>27</sup> Spence is called John Spede by Father Holtby in his account of the persecutions in the north. See *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 188, 191, 192, where some interesting details regarding him may be read. He was a very simple and ignorant man, who at first, for safety of his life and danger of others, as he supposed, had been content to yield and go to the heretics' church; yet in the end recovered and became a glorious martyr. Bishop Challoner, who calls him John Spead, simply records the fact of his martyrdom, for aiding and assisting and conducting priests.

<sup>28</sup> Originally, "There some say fell," but the two words were afterwards deleted. In *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 329, we read: "Mr. Thomas Blenkinsop, Esq., of Helbeck, being prisoner in York Castle, . . . became grievously diseased through the infectious air, and he obtained the favour to be prisoner in the city, and help of physicians, but all in vain, for he died shortly after."

"1593. About the 22nd of November the four gentlewomen were fetched from Knaresborough Castle by Outlaw, who when they were coming returned back to the Castle, willing them to go on, and searching their chambers and trunks found certain church stuff and brought it to the President. The next day Mrs. Litster was committed to the Palace, and Mrs. Dutton to the Castle, the other two to Outlaw's were straitly kept. Then fell Mrs. Margaret Charlay, and went to church, which long had been feared, the 2nd of December. Then after a while Mrs. Dutton brought to the Manor, and there secretly heard something (the 4th of December) read, and so fell, with her sister, yet heavily she seemed to take it after she had done it, but so did not her sister.

"1593. Also the 22nd November all those that were in Sheriff-Hutton Castle were brought to York and were sent home upon bond; but Mrs. Babthorpe was stayed in the city.

"1593. The 20th of November RALPH FISHER was taken at Mr. Grimston's house, brought to York, and committed for not coming to church, the 24th of November.

"1593. The 23rd of November Mrs. BARTON and Mrs. VANCE delivered upon bond from the Palace.

"1593. The 2nd of December Mrs. BABTHORPE delivered upon bond.

"1593. The 6th of December the gaol delivery was holden, and Mr. MAYOR was carried from the Kidcott before the President at the Manor, and there staying within few days after fell, and went to sermons.

"1593. About the 7th of December Mr. WALPOLE,<sup>29</sup> Mr. LIGNUM, and another were taken about Scarborough, or Flam-borough, at their arrival, and brought to the city before the Council, who committed Mr. Walpole to Outlaw's, Mr. Lignum to Harrison the Sheriff, and the other [to] the other Sheriff.

"1593. About the 13th of December Mr. ANN, of Frickley, was taken and brought to York, committed to Colyer's, and his wife to Outlaw's; but a few days after he was sent to Hull, and shortly after his wife fell, about St. Thomas' day.

"1593. The 18th of December Mrs. TRUTHET,<sup>30</sup> of Lincolnshire, taken a little from Pomfret, brought to York before the Council, and committed to Mrs. Meare's house, her

<sup>29</sup> Father Henry Walpole, martyr.

<sup>30</sup> This name is underlined in the MS., and above it is written, "Kirwet" [? Terwhitt].

daughter to an alderman's house; yet after upon bond got liberty to go home.

"1593. The 18th of December Mr. Rokeby came to the Castle under pretence to examine a prisoner, and Outlaw the pursuivant setting watch about the house came in. Then Mr. Rokeby caused all the Catholic prisoners to be brought down into the yard, and one after another asked them if they would come to church, who answered 'No'; and so he left them. Then Cole, the President, Secretary, and the Superintendent, Controller, Outlaw, and Mr. Rokeby's men, having entered their chambers, took away what they liked, and that night the house was watched within and without. Then in the morning they and the Superintendent's men came, and a number with them, calling the prisoners one by one, and put them all together in a chamber, or parlour, spoiled all before them, broke up floors and walls, ceiling and thatch, and so found the church stuff and books, not taking this away, but took the money and clothes, both linen and other necessary apparel. Thus they continued spoiling and robbing three days together, so that many of their company said they pitied to see it.

"1593. The Sunday following, the 23rd of December, Mr. Hardisty<sup>31</sup> came to York Castle in the morning, and Goodman and Wharton then, as keepers, called all the Catholic prisoners by name into the hall, and said: 'Mr. Lord Lieutenant hath sent his mind unto you by one who here shall deliver it unto you.' And Hardisty standing all this while betwixt the doors, they said, 'Gentleman, come in,' and so twice or thrice called ere he came. Then coming the prisoners, who knew him, said, 'What, are you come? Are you not ashamed of yourself?' All speaking, he willed them to hold their peace, he came as sent from the Lord Lieutenant. They said they would not hear him, nor any such wolf as he was. Then he got up into the window and willed Mr. Goodman and Wharton make their peace in my Lord President's name. Nothing prevailing, he commanded all in the name of Queen Elizabeth to hold the peace, and this he repeated three times over, but all served not. Then he said, 'All that will go and not hear me, let them' (for all were kept together by force), 'and those that will hear me, stay,' and all departed from him. He went away and read his sermon beneath to other prisoners.

<sup>31</sup> Hardestey was an apostate priest, and had turned spy and informer.

"1593. The week before Christmas Mrs. CHARLAY of Bransbie was delivered from Outlaw's, Mrs. RATCLIF from the Palace, and Mrs. PALMER and other gentlewomen, all upon bond.

"About the second week of Advent Mr. HILTON and his wife delivered upon bond from Outlaw's.

"1593. About that time Mr. RAYNES was taken in Nottinghamshire through the forwardness and rashness of one Harrison, who had told of him to a cunning fellow who made Harrison and him be taken. Being taken to York before the President, he sent him and Mr. Ann to the South Blockhouse at Hull, under the keeping of one Henry Hubert. But Harrison, removed from John Stockhouse to the Castle, fell.

"1594. The 9th<sup>32</sup> of January Mr. EDWOTH<sup>33</sup> delivered upon bond from Outlaw's, who having some suits to be heard before the Council at York, came to the Town Hall, and being called, for that his matter was to be heard, so soon as the President heard him named he asked where the gentleman was, who answering and appearing, the President committed him close prisoner to Outlaw's. This was at the sitting before Christmas, or else about Whit Sunday<sup>34</sup> sitting. He was accused for being a receiver of priests.

"1594. The 28th of January through the suit of Henry Hubert, counsel, procurement and furtherance of William Wharton and Mr. Goodman for to injure<sup>35</sup> the prisoners and to hinder Mr. Fletcher 'debite,' who was to enter, then made suit to the President that he might have some of the prisoners that were in the Castle to his and Bisbie's keeping at Hull, and thereupon came and called out so many as he and they thought good, taking their names brought a warrant 'the 16th of January,' and willed them to get ready out of hand, and so they prepared them and got all their stuff into a kile. The next morning he, coming to my lord to know if he would command him with any more service to Hull, Mr. Rokeby being there, told my lord that they were all a sort of poor men, and therefore not able to be carried, desiring my lord that they might stay till the gaol were past which that day they were to sit on. 'If the matter be so, then,' said my lord, 'I am abused; for they told me that they all were able men to

<sup>32</sup> Originally in the MS. "28th of January."

<sup>33</sup> Corrected by another hand to "Ludwoorth."

<sup>34</sup> Originally in the MS., "Or else after Lammas."

<sup>35</sup> Originally, "For injury Fletcher the keeper the prisoners."

live of themselves.' It not so, which was true indeed. Then was Goodman and Wharton sent for to my lord, and came from him discontented. They could not get their bedding and stuff forth of the kile till they were constrained to give him sixteen shillings for that one night that their stuff lay in the kile. Yet Hubert prosecuting his suit got it granted again, and then they were constrained to go hire a new kilman, who had twenty shillings and more money, many of them not being able to ride for infirmity and age, being sickly, feeble, weak, and impotent persons, were constrained to go by water, both men and women, one having a child sucking on her breast. The day was tempestuous, stormy, and boisterous, with continual snow all the day long. Thus being brought they used them hardly for to get fees, and by advice were constrained to compound with them. Then after this extortion they claimed another never heard of before, that was twelve pence apiece for the warrant by which we were committed, which they said they had paid to Mr. Proctor; but they<sup>36</sup> in no case would pay it, and therefore the keeper took it off the first money that was brought to them. There were in all eighteen men and women.

"1594. The 2nd of April Mr. RALPH GRIMSTON was removed from Outlaw's house to the Castle.

"1594. Mr. BARNARD BICKERDIKE and his wife were delivered from the South Blockhouse at Hull for money upon bond.

"1594. The 21st of May RICHARD DURHAM was removed from Hull Castle to York Castle for money.

"1594. The 25th of June Mrs. ANN TESHE removed from South Blockhouse at Hull to York Castle.

"1594. The 20th of September JOHN FREEMAN removed from South Blockhouse at Hull to his brother's house at Berlay, and so got home.

"1594. The 10th of November WILLIAM CHALLINER and ROBERT FOWKINGEBRIGE delivered for money from the South Blockhouse upon bond.

"1594. The 3rd of September Mr. EDWARD OSBESTON [OSBALDESTON] was taken at Tollerton and betrayed by one Mr. Clarke, a seminary priest fallen, brought to the Council, committed to the Castle, there arraigned, condemned, and executed the 16th of November.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Originally, "We."

<sup>37</sup> See page 9 for a short account of this martyr, and a letter of his sent by Father Richard Holtby to Father Henry Garnett, his Superior.

"1594. This time the President and Council sent Mr. WALPOLE and Mr. LIGNUM, who was taken with him; also Mr. INGRAM, who was taken shortly after and kept at the Manor straitly. He was called the Scotch priest, for he said he was born in Angish, but Mr. Hardisty and Mr. Mayor detected him, and said he was an Englishman born, and one which they knew at Rome. These were all together sent up to London. Mr. Ingram was often put on the rack, and another torture as ill, termed by some 'Younge's Fiddle,' in-somuch that Topliffe said he was a monster, for that he was so silent, never detecting for all these neither house, person, nor place, either before or after his torments. He was brought from London the 13th of July, and three days was kept in a gaol-house close by himself very strait. Then was he and John Carr carried both from York to Newcastle.<sup>38</sup> John had been long kept in Peter Prison, not a Catholic, but charged to receive priests; and about the Thursday after looked to be arraigned and condemned thereabout. Mr. Ingram was executed, and John Carr relieved.<sup>39</sup>

"1594. The 16th of July Mr. BOST and Mr. GEORGE ERRINGTON were sent pinioned to Durham from York Castle. Mr. Bost had been four times on the rack and twice on the other torture, and whilst he was on the torture Mr. Mayor came there to accuse him. He was fifteen times before the Councillors and torturers examined. He told them every time that kill him they might, but with no torture (God willing) they should overcome him to be accessory to innocent blood. And in his greatest torments they brought Mayor to avouch many things. Also in the Tower he was cozened with a counterfeit fellow, who said he was fallen and desired to have his help and favour. He said he thought it an impossibility for any prisoner to be in the Tower and not to be cozened. He was arraigned, condemned, and executed at Durham; but Mr. Errington was not called, but returned to York Castle, and so remaineth.

<sup>38</sup> Originally, "Durham."

<sup>39</sup> Bishop Challoner, *Memoirs*, states that the Rev. John Ingram was a native of Warwickshire. He was a convert to the Catholic faith, and being ejected from New College for recusancy, became a student at Douay College, and thence passed to the English College, Rome, for his higher studies, and having been ordained priest, was sent upon the English Mission, and laboured chiefly in the North, on the borders of Scotland. The Bishop prints two beautiful letters of the martyr, from copies preserved in the Douay MSS. He suffered at York, July 25, 1594. Some very interesting details regarding him are given in Father Holtby's narrative, *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 196, seq.

“Mr. BOST his diet was very strait when he came to York, for he ate nothing after he came there but bread and water, saving that once he took a little morsel of cheese and bread, and after ate a little milk. When he went to Durham he had been racked and tormented so sore that when he sat on his knees (as for the most part he ever was) he was all in a heap, as if he had been all in pieces. Yet he would have gotten up of himself and have spoken very cheerfully to any that came unto him; yea, and was as fervent in his talk against heretics when they came unto him as ever he was, I think, in any exhortation or sermon. And the same diet he kept, (by report) the other good man, Mr. Ingram, kept.<sup>40</sup>

“1594. The 3rd of December Mr. THOMAS TOCKETES was delivered for money upon bond from the South Blockhouse at Hull.

“1594. The 27th of December THOMAS NEWET delivered for money upon bond from Hull Castle. The same day, JOHN THACKARY also.

“1594. The 28th of December, Mrs. URSULA TAYLOR delivered for money from the South Blockhouse upon bond.

“1595. About the 9th of January, HUMPHREY METCALF delivered from the South Blockhouse at Hull for money upon bond. At the same time WILLIAM BAYLES delivered from Heselton for money upon bond.

“1595. About the 22nd of January, THOMAS TAYLOR and his wife, RICHARD TAYLOR his brother, WILLIAM WALKER and NELL CLARKE, all delivered for money from the South Blockhouse at Hull, upon bond. And so there were no prisoners left in that house.

“1594. About All-hallow-tide there were taken three young gentlemen, one Mr. EDMOND HAILES and his brother, the other I know not. In sundry places they had attempted to go over sea, and were prevented. They were born in the

<sup>40</sup> Bishop Challoner gives a short biography of this great martyr, from various sources. The facts here recorded are new, and form an important addition to the Bishop's *Memoirs*. Much more interesting matter connected with the martyr may be likewise found in Father Richard Holtby's narrative, *Troubles*, pp. 185, seq. Mr. Boast was a native of Cornwall, and took his degree of M.A. in one of the home Universities; left all for conscience' sake on becoming a Catholic; studied for some time at Rheims, and was ordained priest and sent upon the mission in 1581. He suffered at Durham, July 24, 1594, a cruel butchery, being cut down alive, and thrice exclaimed while his heart was being taken out, “Jesus, Jesus, Jesus forgive thee.”

south. Being brought to York before the President and Council the two brothers were committed, the one to the sheriff of the city's house, the other (Mr. Edmond) to Peter Prison, and there had a pair of double fetters and hardly kept. The other, sent to Outlaw's, had irons which swelled his legs so that he fell into an extreme sickness. The 5th of January after, 1595, the two brethren were brought to Outlaw's, to be carried up to London. Meeting, they embraced and saluted the one the other joyfully, and so went presently merrily together. Within a fortnight after the other man at Outlaw's somewhat recovering was sent up, and as I heard died about Royston.

"1594. At Christmas Day at morn, the Catholic prisoners in the Castle of York, were all called by the sheriff of the shire, the Master Vaughan, who carried them from thence with halberds to Peter Prison, where some of them lay in the dungeon, where no light was; the rest above; and were kept till the twelfth day, and then they were removed to Heslerton Hall, where they are.

"1594. Upon Christmas Even, Outlaw, the pursuivant, that night about midnight was sent to search in Mrs. Warkcop's house, in or about Winsley Wood. And there met him one Atkinson, a searcher of Hull, who had brought with him from London about thirty men for that purpose. And coming to the place all they upon Christmas Even entered the house, and long searching could find no such matter as they came for. Yet at last breaking down a wall they found a conveyance, wherein was one Mr. ALEXANDER RAWLINGS, a Seminary priest, and one JOHN SANDER, and a maid, which is his wife's sister. Then they searched and spoiled the house, took Mr. WARKCOP, his man, the priest, and the man and maid, who is Mr. Hardistie's sister, brought them before the President and Council. And so Mr. Warkcop was committed close prisoner to Outlaw's, yet joyful and merry. It is reported that one lord offered him that if he would go to church he should go home to his wife and children. He willed him to have a care of them. He said, 'I have a care of them, and do offer them to God; but rather than I will offend God by going to your church or service, I will leave them all.' Thus resolute I heard he was. Mr. Alexander they committed to be kept in a tower in St. Marie's Wall of the Manor; John Sander and the other young man to the Kidcott, put amongst the felons with double irons. The maid, Mr. Hardistie desired,

for that she was his own sister, that she might be at one Blinkhorne's house, that so he might persuade her; but the good virtuous maid rejected him as none of her brother.

“1595. About the 20th of January, after Mr. Warkcop got from Outlaw's house, and as yet not gotten. [Sic in original.]

“Many and great have been the cruel punishments which Catholic prisoners have sustained at Hull; some have been kept three or four years in low houses without fire where the houses have been overflowed with salt water at high tide, so that as they walked, the earth was so raw and moist that their shoes would cleave to the ground. Neither had any place of ease but by their bedsides, and when the keeper came morn and even, to carry it in their hands and to throw it into the haven or water, he standing afar off to look that none spake to them. After this they were put in high chambers a great company of reverend old Fathers, priests, aged and impotent, and locked up many years together, and none permitted to speak with them but such as the keeper liked. No place of ease but one for them all, and that was in one of the chambers where they lay, which annoyed them all. The old Fathers, some of them falling sick and standing in great need of good looking to and help, were denied, and so pitifully died. Some of them had pegs in their legs and other infirmities through sickness, so that the chambers were corrupt and noisome, and the gaoler himself confessed he could scarce come in or through the chamber, yet for all this showed he no releasement upon their extremities.

“I remember about fifteen or sixteen years ago there was one Mr. HORSLEY, a gentleman of the north, as I have heard. He went to go over at Hull, or else was carried over; and being in company in Hull some began to commend the Prince of Orange, and he spake the contrary, and said he was a wicked man. Upon these words or the like he was taken, brought to York before the Council, who sent him about nine o'clock in the night to the Castle, where he had double irons laid on him, and took them merrily. The next morning the Council sent for him and committed him to the Bishop's Prison, or Peter Prison, and laid irons on him, and there straitly and cruelly he was used, for that almost none could learn where he was committed till he was sent back again to Hull, and there monstrously abused, for he was there arraigned and condemned to have his ears cut off, which shamefully and cruelly

they did. Then the tyrants put him in a filthy place and prison called the Hall, and kept him straitly, for he was thought to be a Catholic, and therefore they fined him, for he was glad to eat the crusts that some threw in at the window. Thus starving him he died, and lay dead so long (how long none knoweth) that the rats had eaten his face and other places. At that time the Catholic prisoners in the Castle and Blockhouse, some of them hearing of this detestable usage (yet not all) could by no means possible get any help or comfort by the man, which greatly grieved them, so straitly they were kept and looked unto, and he was dead or [ever] the most of them knew."

N.B.—The original MS. is written throughout in one and the same hand, on pott paper, English, with many corrections. It has been closely adhered to, although in a few places the sense is defective.

#### BROTHER JOSEPH LOWICK.

BROTHER JOSEPH LOWICK was a native of Yorkshire, born in the year 1611. His parents were poor, but had suffered persecution and imprisonment for the faith; indeed he was born in prison, where his mother was at the time confined. Out of gratitude for miraculous assistance afforded by our Blessed Lady herself in the distressing circumstances attending the birth of her son, his mother gave the infant the name of Joseph; and though he was distinguished for humility, and was exceedingly cautious in relating what might at all redound to his own praise, he never hesitated to recount this great favour conferred upon him to those before whom he was accustomed to unbosom himself. He entered the Society in the year 1633 as a lay-brother, and having happily begun this new state of life, he applied himself with all his strength and industry to regulate his actions according to the constitutions of our holy Father, in his own particular degree.

The ingenuousness of his manners and conversation admirably portrayed the candour of his soul, whilst his contempt of the world and innate hatred of vanity exhibit him rather as a wayfarer and guest than an inhabitant of earth. His every action breathed so sweet an odour that it was clear to all by what spirit he was led. It was his delight to undertake the humblest and most laborious occupations, and those most

repugnant to others. He never acted from a mere motive of love or hatred, of hope or fear, nor from the desire of gaining favour, but with the pure intention of serving God alone, having in view not the judgment of men but of God. No one was a greater lover of holy poverty, none more scrupulous in regard of things that may be used only with leave from Superiors, but having obtained this leave none was more liberal in dispensing than he was, especially to the poor. In his office of porter he became an advocate in their behalf with the Rector, who, admiring his tender charity and solicitude for the suffering members of Christ, willingly acceded to his petitions for food and clothing and other necessaries to give them. But his leading virtue was an entire conformity to the will of God, and this, as he acknowledged to a certain Father some years before his death, was the source to him of imperturbable peace in every event, as it assuredly was in the hour of his death.

In the exercise of these and other virtues, when nearly worn out by age and the austerities with which he macerated his body, he was afflicted with various diseases, especially paralysis in one of his arms, which rendered severe incisions necessary from the shoulder to the wrist. Ever eager for an occasion of suffering he underwent this painful operation with unchanged countenance and without a sigh, a sure indication of a courageous heart, and of his perfect reliance upon God. At length, full of merits and ripe for heaven, he placidly passed, as we hope, to the joy of his Lord, on the 15th of October, 1675, at the age of sixty-four.

#### FATHER JAMES BOSGRAVE.

After the biography of Father Bosgrave was in type, our attention was directed to an important fact by an interesting article from the pen of the Editor of the *Christian Apologist*.<sup>1</sup> The writer alludes to certain priests and others examined by the Queen's, Commissioners,<sup>2</sup> as to the deposing power of the Holy See.<sup>3</sup> The questions put to those examined were six, of which

No. vi. October, 1877.

Popham, the Attorney General; Egerton, the Solicitor General; and Doctors Lewis and John Hammond.

<sup>3</sup> The prisoners examined were the Reverends Sherwin, Richardson, Ford, Shert, Kirby, Johnson, Hart, and Filbie, secular priests; Fathers Campian, Cottam, Briant, and Bosgrave, Jesuits; and Henry Orton, Esq.

we select four of chief importance.<sup>4</sup> (1) Whether the Bull of Pius V. against the Queen's Majesty be a lawful sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the subjects of England? (2) Is the Queen a lawful Queen, and ought she to be obeyed by her subjects, notwithstanding the Bull? (3) Has the Pope power to discharge subjects from their allegiance for any cause? (6) If the Bull pronounces the Queen to be deprived and her subjects discharged, what part would you take in case of invasion by the Pope's authority?

"To these questions," adds the Editor of the *Apologist*, "Bosgrave answered boldly that he held the Bull to be unlawful, and that he believed the Queen to be lawful Queen of this realm; he furthermore denied the Pope's power to discharge any of her subjects from their allegiance." And the writer then proceeds to make some very natural and obvious remarks upon the apparent discrepancy between the opinion of Father Bosgrave and of his co-religionists as expressed in their answers to the examiners.

In the biography of Father Bosgrave (p. 291) is published, probably for the first time, a defence of Bosgrave and Orton, entitled, "A censure upon the answers of Mr. Bosgrave and Mr. Orton sett forth in prynt." The defence would bear date the end of June or the commencement of July, 1582, a few weeks after the Government had issued the Declaration alluded to in the defence. This declaration was probably made by the authorities in the beginning of June, 1582, by way of justification of the cruel slaughter of the priests, which, joined to the unrelenting persecution of Catholics generally, had brought utter discredit upon them, both at home, and more especially in the eyes of foreign Catholic Powers, and it subsequently called forth Cecil's apologetic work, *Execution of Justice in England*, 1583. Of all the priests who had been condemned on the 20th and 21st of November, 1581, Father Campian, Sherwin, and Briant alone suffered death at that time, viz., on the 1st of the following month of December. The rest were reprieved until the latter end of May, 1582, when all were hung except Bosgrave, Hart, Rishton, and Orton.

The Declaration is thus entitled: "The publication by the authority of Government of the six questions on the

<sup>4</sup> They occur in *Records*, vol. ii. Series II. p. 157, "The Life of Father Cottam."

Pope's deposing power, and the answers of the twelve priests to them.

"A Particular Declaration or Testimony of the undutiful and traitorous affection borne against her Majestie by Edmund Campian, Jesuite, and other condemned priests, witnessed by their own confessions, in reproof of those slanderous books and libels delivered out to the contrary by such as are maliciously affected towards her Majestie and the State.

Published by authoritie. Imprinted at London by Christr. Barker, Printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie. A.D. 1582. Motto: 1 Peter ii. 13, "Submit, &c." <sup>5</sup>

The old biographers, from whom the notice of Father Bosgrave is chiefly derived, do not give these examinations, and hence the fact was overlooked. Father More (as stated in the biography, p. 285) expressly relates that one of the charges alleged against Father Bosgrave was for not giving a direct reply on being interrogated regarding the Bull; and Father Bartoli, after alluding to Father Bosgrave's protest or retractation before the Privy Council respecting his offer to attend the Protestant Churches (see biography, p. 281), adds that in truth he did not speak in prejudice of the Bull of Pope Pius V., in the terms published in print by the Protestants, and that as much was certified to Dr. Allen by a Catholic newly arrived at the English Seminary of Rheims from the Tower of London. Bartoli likewise refers to a letter from Dr. Allen to Father Agazzari, the Rector of the English College, Rome, dated the 23rd of June, 1582, and finally considers from what followed regarding him that Father Bosgrave wished to avoid giving any decided opinion, and acted the part of one who, desiring to be neutral between two extreme parties, steers a middle course, and so offends the one without satisfying the other.

We have already mentioned, in page 292, the curious manner in which this defence first came to light, which Hammond calls "a seditious pamphlett." It is a clever production, well written, and contains close and effective reasoning, and it evidently caused a considerable degree of consternation among the authors of the Declaration; while it tends to throw considerable suspicion upon the genuineness of the reported answers of

<sup>5</sup> Copies of this declaration, with the examinations annexed, are to be found in *Phoenix Brit.* by Morgan, vol. i. p. 481; also in Howell's *State Trials*, who copies from *Bib. Cott.* 1014; and a copy is likewise given in Tierney's *Dodd*, vol. iii. p. iii. Appendix.

Bosgrave and Orton. The examinations of the prisoners in the Tower appear to have been held at different periods, though by the same examiners. Those of Sherwin, Briant, and Campian were taken some months before their trial in 1581, the rest bear no date; but a paper headed, "The Articles ministered to the priests and others condemned with them, and the answers of these to the same, *May 13th, 1582,*" shows them to have been taken long after the trials in November, 1581, whilst the fact of their having been made at the very time of the publication of the Government Apologetic Declaration, suggests that they were resorted to for express insertion in that pamphlet, and that Bosgrave and Orton's original reprieves were certainly not the fruits of these alleged concessions.

The *reported* answers of Bosgrave are so complete an exoneration from the principal charges of high treason for which he had been tried, and was then awaiting, under respite, the execution of the sentence at Tyburn, that one would have naturally looked for a free discharge; but, instead of this, what do we find? A long incarceration and cruel treatment in the horrid dungeon of the Tower of London for nearly three years, and this notwithstanding the personal application of the King of Poland to Queen Elizabeth for the Father's release,<sup>6</sup> which led to his forced transportation for life in the early part of 1585, "as standing indicted and attainted of high treason for divers and sundry heinous and horrible treasons against us committed, as by the record thereof more fully and at large doth appear."<sup>7</sup> Why, we may ask, were these terms applied to Bosgrave personally, and the charges still retained upon the record, if two years before he had really given the alleged satisfactory answers? There is, to say the least, a strange and suspicious inconsistency between the conduct of the authorities and their reported examinations of Bosgrave and Orton, for our observations equally apply to the latter, whose replies are recorded in nearly the same words as those of Father Bosgrave. We do not stay to remark upon the strange and exceptional proceedings of subjecting criminals under sentence of death to a second formal personal examination upon the very matters for which they had been previously tried and convicted.

Without going the length of the author of the Defence in

<sup>6</sup> See biography, p. 290.

<sup>7</sup> See the extract from the original commission for the banishment, p. 288.

the first part of his *résumé*, "all these reasons considered and weighed together, give me sufficient occasion to suspect that those answers were forged in the names of those two parties to whom they are ascribed, and were never made by them at all," we think that he had strong grounds for his concluding remark, that the answers were at least not made by them, "in such words and such sense as they be reported in print;" and that not without good cause he had previously observed, "Moreover, it is a common practice among them to make report of Catholic answers as they can wrest them by altering the words and misconstruing the meaning, as, if that a man should answer that he had heard of such a rumour, that party shall be said to have consented to the thing therein mentioned, and whoso sayeth that the Pope cannot depose princes at his pleasure (for so they will of purpose propose the question), his answer shall be written down that he denieth the Pope's authority in deposing, when just cause is given, and such like."

We take this opportunity of correcting an error pointed out by the Editor of the *Christian Apologist*, in page 327, note 8, line 3, Series III. Instead of "both," read "he."

#### THE ANDERTONS OF LANCASHIRE.

SEVERAL members of this ancient Catholic family entered the English Province of the Society of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> In page 489, a short biographical account of Hugh Anderton, son of James Anderton, Esq., of Clayton, has been already given. He died on September 29, 1603, having been previously received into the Society, æt. 33.

FATHER LAURENCE ANDERTON (*alias* SCROOP) was, according to the late Dr. Oliver,<sup>2</sup> born in the year 1576. He must have been of the Lostock family, but in what degree of relationship is uncertain.<sup>3</sup> He learned his rudiments at the

<sup>1</sup> We have been permitted by the Rev. T. E. Gibson to use his pedigree of the Lostock family (see his late work, *Lydiat Hall and its Associations*), to which some additions have been made from recent researches.

<sup>2</sup> *Collectanea S.J.*

<sup>3</sup> The author of *Lydiat Hall* states that Lawrence was a favourite name in Lancashire, and was the chief family name of the Irelands of Lydiat. It was especially common in the neighbourhood of Chorley, owing, no doubt, to a particular devotion to St. Lawrence, some of whose relics were deposited in the church of his name at Chorley. These relics were brought from Normandy, in 1435, by Sir Rowland Standish, Knight, and the vicar's formal acknowledgment of the gift may be seen in Baine's *Lancashire*, vol. ii. p. 124.

Grammar School of Blackburn, and from thence was sent to Christchurch College, Cambridge, where he was admired for his brilliant genius and ready eloquence, upon which account he was commonly called "the silver-mouthed Anderton."<sup>4</sup> Being much addicted to reading books of controversy, he could not get over some difficulties he met with concerning the origin and doctrines of the Reformation, which at last ended in his conversion to the Catholic Church. He was at the time a minister of the Establishment. He proceeded to Rome and entered the Society in 1604, at the age of twenty-eight, and became a very distinguished member of the English Province. His missionary life was chiefly passed in his native county of Lancashire. He wrote the following controversial works—A treatise entitled, *One God, one Faith*, under the initials of W. B., 8vo., 1625; *The Progenie of Catholics and Protestants*, 4to., Rouen, 1632. This work is divided into five books, each separately paged, and containing in the whole two hundred and forty-seven pages. *The Triple Cord*; or, a Treatise proving the truth of the Roman Catholic religion by the Bible, as explained by the holy Fathers, and as interpreted by Protestant writers, 4to., St. Omer, 1634, pp. 801.

Dr. Oliver suspects that he is the chaplain of the Earl of Essex, whom Father Gerard received into his house in London, and who assigned three reasons for adopting the Institute of the Society of Jesus, viz.—

(1) Because it was detested more than the other religious Orders by heretics and the wicked of all classes.

(2) Because it foreclosed all hopes of Church preferment.

(3) Because it especially cherished the practice of obedience.

We find a Father Anderton named in the apostate Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London (1624),<sup>5</sup> "Anderton, a Jesuit, a Lancashire man, yet not the same Anderton who goeth by the name of Scroope." Gee also names a "F. Scroope, a Jesuit,"<sup>6</sup> who was probably Father William Hart, S.J., *alias* Scroop. The former may have been the priest Laurence Anderton, mentioned in the Lostock pedigree.

Father Laurence (under the *alias* of Scroop) is likewise named in the short autobiographical statement of Father John Heton, S.J., given in *Records*, vol. i. p. 666. Father Heton

<sup>4</sup> See Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

<sup>5</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 677.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 679.

was both the nephew and convert of Father Laurence Anderton.<sup>7</sup>

We have before mentioned the uncertainty regarding the relationship of Laurence to the Lostock family. A friend, whose authority stands high, suggests that it is not unlikely that Father Laurence Scroop, *vere* Anderton, was a son of Christopher Anderton of Lostock, who died 1593,<sup>8</sup> and that his son, the second Christopher, who died 16 $\frac{1}{2}$  $\frac{9}{10}$ , might well be the protector of Henry Morley, the convert of Father Laurence mentioned in the note. Christopher lived at Harwich, in his eldest brother James' time, upon whose death, in 1618, Christopher became the Squire of Lostock, and Morley would probably go to the College after the death of his protector. These are, however, but speculations, and are noticed rather for the purpose of inviting inquiry.

FATHER THOMAS ANDERTON, *alias* BARTON, we believe to have been the son of William Anderton, as named in the Pedigree. In 1684 he was sent to the New York Mission S.J., of which in 1686 he was appointed Superior. In 1696 he went to Maryland, and died there.

<sup>7</sup> Father Henry Morley, *alias* Laurence Rigby, was another convert of Father Laurence Anderton. Dr. Oliver names him as Laurence Rigby, and is only able to say that he entered the Society in 1630. After his conversion to the Catholic faith, he became a student at the English College, Rome, and on entering the College gave the following autobiographical account of himself: "1621. My name is Henry Morley, and I am now about twenty years of age, born in the county of Lancaster, in the town of Bury, and I was brought up by Christopher Anderton, the brother of the Reverend Father Scroop, of the Society of Jesus. My father died long ago, when I was quite a boy. My mother still survives, and is not inclined either towards Catholics or heretics. I have an only sister, under my mother's care. All my friends, as far as I can recollect, are time-servers. I studied humanities at various schools in Lancashire, but was never at Oxford or Cambridge. As long as I was studying at the public schools among heretical masters and fellow-students, I could gain no knowledge of the Catholic religion; but after I had attained my thirteenth year, the Rev. Father Scroop converted me, giving me the name which he himself had used when he first studied, he also sent me over to St. Omer's College. I desire, by the grace of God, to embrace the ecclesiastical state of life." The Diary of the English College, Rome, states that Henry Morley entered as an alumnus in the name of Laurence Rigby, aged nineteen years, on September 21, 1621, and took the usual college oath on May 16, 1622. He was ordained priest in the month of August, 1626, and having completed seven years study, departed for England, with Father Phillips, on August 21, 1628. We are unable to find the date of his death.

<sup>8</sup> See Lostock Pedigree.

FATHER CHRISTOPHER ANDERTON. In a catalogue of the English Province for the year 164½, we find recorded Christopher Anderton, a native of Lancashire, born 1617, who entered the Society 1637, and in 164½ was making his first year's theology at the College of Liege. His name does not occur at all in the catalogue for 1655; nor can the omission be explained. Dr. Oliver states that he was Rector of the English College, Rome, on two occasions, viz., from 1663 to 1667, and again from 1673 to 1683, and that in the interval between the above periods he was employed as Penitentiary at St. Peter's, Rome, where he died, according to a catalogue of the deceased of the English Province (preserved in the library of the University of Louvain), on December 20, 1698, at the age of eighty.

Dr. Oliver states that the Prefect of the Apostolic Sacramentary gave to Father Christopher on May 14, 1667, the relics of the martyr St. Gordian, who suffered at Rome under Julian the apostate on May 10, 362. His relics were possessed by the Benedictine Abbey of Kempton, near Ausberg.<sup>9</sup>

FATHER FRANCIS ANDERTON, a native of Lancashire, is mentioned in the Lostock pedigree, son of Sir Francis Anderton, Bart., by his wife Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Charles Somerset, second son of Edward, Earl of Worcester. He was born in the year 1664, and entered the Society at the age of twenty-one, on June 21, 1685. He is mentioned in the Annual Letters for the Residence of St. John, or the Durham District, for the year 1710, as being then employed in that locality, and as "a man worthy of all praise." We are unable to give the date of his death.

SIR JAMES ANDERTON, BART., S.J., whose birth the late Dr. Oliver erroneously places in the year 1683, was the second son of Sir Charles Anderton of Lostock, the second Baronet, by Margaret, the daughter and heiress of Laurence Ireland of Lydiate, who, upon the death of his wife Anne, the daughter of Edward Scarisbrick, Esq., of Scarisbrick, on December 28, 1663, retired from the world and entered the Society of Jesus, and died at York, June 30, 1673.<sup>10</sup> James Anderton made his early studies at the College of the English Jesuits at St. Omer, and entered the Society of Jesus on

<sup>9</sup> Butler's *Lives of the Saints*.

<sup>10</sup> See Pedigrees of the Irelands of Lydiate and Andertons of Lostock; in *Lydiate Hall and its Associations*.

September 7, 1703. Upon the death of his eldest brother, Sir Charles, the third Baronet, unmarried, before the year 1705, he succeeded to the title as fourth Baronet. On the decease of his brother he was party to a recovery deed and settlement, dated February 21, 1705, of the extensive estates of the Andertons of Lostock and the Irelands of Lydiate, the ultimate remainder of which, after divers estates tail, was vested in himself in fee.<sup>11</sup>

In the year 1707, Sir James granted a lease to John Etock of a messuage in Heaton, but although he was obliged, by the circumstances in which the family were placed, to assume the legal ownership of the Lostock estates, he contented himself, upon the settlement of them, with the modest pittance of £50 a year. Like his brother, Sir Charles, he met with an early death, departing this life at St. Omer's, October 5, 1710, while he was a scholastic, and engaged in teaching.<sup>12</sup>

Upon his death his next brother, Laurence, succeeded to the title, and died in London, 1724. He was a priest and a Benedictine monk, but unhappily conformed to the times that he might save the family estates.

FATHER WILLIAM ANDERTON, of Lancashire, was born on April 24, 1754, and made his early studies at the College of Bruges, whither the English Fathers had retired on their forcible expulsion from their old College of St. Omer by the French Parliament in 1762. He was ordained priest at Liege in the Church of the Nuns of the Holy Sepulchre, March 11, 1780. For some time he filled the office of Prefect at the College of the ex-Jesuits at Liege, before their settling at Stonyhurst in 1794. In the year 1799—1800, he was sent to the Hereford mission, which he served for many years, and died there on September 28, 1823, at the age of seventy. It is a singular fact that he was buried in the Hereford Cathedral churchyard, with a gravestone recording his name, age, and date of death. The Editor of the *Hereford Journal* of that period, gives the following generous eulogy of the Father—"This truly pious and excellent man was an honour to human nature and an ornament to the religion he professed. Although possessing only a small income, his unostentatious charities to the distressed were extensively bestowed without consideration as to sect or opinion. With him, to use his own expressive words, 'Charity was of all religions,' and where he thought relief was

<sup>11</sup> A recital of this deed is given in *Lydiate Hall*, p. 65.

<sup>12</sup> See *Lydiate Hall*, pp. 65, 66.

required there it was cheerfully given. He was sincerely attached to his own Church, but free from intolerance and bigotry ; independent and upright in his transactions, and kind and conciliating to all with whom he was connected. By his congregation he was highly esteemed and revered, and by all who knew him justly and deservedly loved. His blameless and virtuous life rendered his death-bed a scene of cheerful peace, of humble hope, and pious resignation ; and he departed without a pang, to receive the bright reward the righteous may justly expect. For him death had no sting, the grave no victory ; and while he lingered on the threshold of eternity, the happy state of this good man's mind presented to the contemplative Christian a spectacle before which the pride of the self-styled great, or the presumption of the enthusiast, dwindled into nothingness. His ways were those of peace, and his end that of the just."

In proof of the sterling loyalty of this family, no less than five of its members lost their lives in the royal cause during the civil wars between Charles I. and the Parliament,<sup>13</sup> viz.—

JAMES ANDERTON, a gentleman volunteer, who was killed in Wales.

THURSTON ANDERTON, a captain, mortally wounded at Newbury, and died soon after in Oxford.

THOMAS ANDERTON, a captain in the King's army, killed during the war.

NICHOLAS ANDERTON, a captain, killed at Greenough Castle, near Garstang, Lancashire.

MATTHEW ANDERTON, a captain, killed at Sheriff-Hutton, in Yorkshire.

The Anderton family was also rich in vocations both to the priesthood and the religious life. From the Lostock pedigree and other sources we trace about thirteen priests, of whom seven were Benedictines and at least four were Jesuits, but there is considerable difficulty in identifying them. Five members were nuns, two of whom, viz., Elizabeth and Anne, the sisters of Father Sir James Anderton, we have been enabled by the kindness of Dame Mary (O.S.B.) to trace as Benedictine nuns at Dunkirk. Unfortunately the entry in the chronicles of the Abbey do not give either the Christian names of these two nuns, or the years of their deaths. " Dame Agnes Anderton died 31st of March ; Dame Mary

<sup>13</sup> See *Catholic Apology*.

Baptist 24th of January." From a letter of the Lady Abbess, Dame Mary Caryll, to her brother, the first Lord Caryll, the profession of one of the two would have taken place in or about the month of August, 1702. The other was probably a novice in 1705-6. Dame Mary then gives the following very interesting extract regarding Alethea Anderton, the nun at Louvain, and her parents, Christopher Anderton and his wife Alethea Smythe, and a younger daughter Dorothy.

"Alethea, so called in baptism, was daughter of Mr. Christopher Anderton of Lostock, a man of fair estate, who fell awhile from the Church about a suit of law; but it pleased our Lord to deal with him mercifully, and he returned soon to the Faith. By his first marriage he had one daughter. After his return to the Church he went for awhile to the Low Countries, and after that, returning home, he married Mistress Alethea Smythe, sister to Frances Smythe, who was an Augustinian nun at Louvain (and to the first Lord Carrington). Mr. and Mrs. Anderton both suffered very much for their conscience in the time of the Parliament, having their goods plundered and their land in such hands that the good gentlewoman had scarcely enough left to maintain herself and her children, of whom she had fourteen—insomuch that one of them being sick, she was fain to roast a bit of meat for her with two sticks. Besides this, she had a far greater cross when they took away three of her children, one son and two daughters, to make them heretics, and put them to a place where they were most cruelly used, although there was taken out of their parents' living, for those three, more than was left to maintain all the rest! They kept them barelegged in sackcloth, and their food was flour and water sodden together; if sometimes they cast them a bone from their table, it had scarce any meat upon it. Besides that, they did beat them with whips that had crooked pins in them, and once did therewith hit one of them (she that was professed at Louvain) in her eyes and made her almost blind, so as she was fain to be a good while in cure; and the younger sister, Dorothy, they put daily to fetch water in a sort of pail for their use (the weight being far too great for one of her tender age), so that with such hard usage, and being compelled to eat such trash as she could get, it is thought she contracted the disease (of which she died in 1653, being then only eleven years old). The good mother, understanding how cruelly her children were used, made all the means she could for to get them out of their hands, after

they had been with them suffering this hard life above two years, and she got them to be placed with some of their tenants, where they were better used in body ; but they so perverted their minds that Catholic religion they could not abide, and the elder daughter, Alethea, began to be great in the Bible. After some three years' stay with these tenants, their mother found means to get them home. At first Alethea gave her mother trouble about her prayers and catechism, but in the end her mother overcame her, and she became a good Catholic. It happened about the time she was twelve years old, my Lord Carrington (her mother's brother) boarded at the house of the Confessor at Louvain, and having the portions of these two daughters in his hands [probably as their guardian, for their father seems to have died at the commencement of these greater troubles], Mrs. Anderton, his sister, was content he should place them there. . . . So they were sent over to Louvain Convent, and lived convictrices, the eldest some four years, in which time the youngest died. Alethea, to whom our Lord had given an earnest desire to be a Religious, took the habit in 1656, and made her holy profession at the age of almost eighteen years, and changed her name from Alethea to Magdalen. The Lord Carrington was not present, because for more safety he was gone to live under the Hollanders."

## ADDENDA TO VOL. I.

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### FATHER RIVERS' LETTERS, THE SKINNERS, &c.

THE Editor is indebted for the following *corrigenda* and addenda to Dame Mary [English], O.S.B. of St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth.

Father Rivers in one of his letters<sup>1</sup> mentions the fact of a gentleman of late offering his services to a great Councillor upon some political affair, and then states "the man is very intimate with Barwis, son to Alderman Skinner, deceased; he married Sir Griffin Mowcham's sister." This friend of Barwis (the priest frequently mentioned in Father Rivers' letters) and son of Alderman Skinner was, says Dame Mary, "Sir John Skinner of Comcastle in Essex (whose father died Lord Mayor of London), he married a daughter of Mr. Markham of Sidebrook in the county of Notts, and sister to Sir Griffin Markham (not Mowchamp). She was married to this Lord Mayor's son against her will, by her parents, on account of his great wealth, he having £3,000 a year, which, through a law suit against him by the Earl of Westmoreland, would have been lost, if Mr. Markham (I suppose a lawyer or a Judge) had not saved it, and thereupon got this marriage concluded for his daughter. They were both of them (Sir John and Lady Skinner) no Catholics; but she having always been inclined thereto, through her mother's bringing up (who was a Catholic), could have no peace of mind till she was reconciled; which, however, she was unable to accomplish till some years after her marriage. Sir John, however, being a rank heretic, would not allow any of the children to be brought up Catholics. He was, moreover, such a spendthrift that he spent all his estate, and left both his wife and children in great poverty. After his death three of the children became Catholics, of whom one was an Augustinian nun at Louvain. Lady Skinner,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 9.

their mother, after her husband's death, led a most strict and devout life. Placing herself under the direction of a Carmelite Father she observed the religious vows of poverty, continency, and obedience, living entirely by the work of her hands, and serving the sick in the most humble manner for the love of God. Besides her other afflictions she had many sufferings and contempts from her own friends and kindred; all which she bore with invincible patience. Finally, having had the joy of seeing her daughter come over to be a religious, which she had much desired, some few years after, whilst serving the sick in London at the time of the plague, she took the malady, and died a blessed and happy death. For three days she remained unburied, none daring to approach for fear of infection; but then a man whom she had formerly assisted when he was in great misery, having with him his son, who was a priest, undertook this work of charity and buried her.<sup>2</sup>

"Lady Skinner was sister to Lady Smith of Ashby-Folville in the county of Leicester. Sister Clementia Skinner, her daughter, died in 1675 in her seventy-fifth year. . . . One of our first professed was Mary Skinner, daughter of George Skinner, Esq., and Sister to Father Placid Skinner, O.S.B., at Douay."

Interesting mention is made of this Sister Clementia (who was professed August 24, 1625, and whose Christian name was Elizabeth) in *Troubles*, Series I. p. 275, "St. Monica's Convent." One of the novices, Sister Grace Bedingfield, the youngest of the twelve daughters of Sir Francis Bedingfield of Bedingfield, Sussex, who was professed at Louvain, September 30, 1635, fell most grievously sick of a fever which was feared to be the plague, but pronounced by the doctors to be only a pestilent fever. They laid the novice there in the garret above, and Sister Clementia, who had herself been plague-stricken in England, and was the great authority of the convent on the subject, and the nurse of those who were sick of the plague, was left to attend her.

Again, in p. 284 seq., one of the nuns was taken ill of the

<sup>2</sup> The information regarding Lady Skinner is derived from the Louvain MS., which further relates that she used to attend the poor patients at Bedlam, to see what good could be done there; and it happened that a citizen's wife there, being in course of time brought back to her senses, was by Lady Skinner's means brought also unto the Catholic religion; and so this worthy lady gained a soul there to God. It is also reported that after her death, one whom she had desired to convert had a glorious vision of her, and was thereby brought to the faith.

plague, Sister Mary Worthington. Early in the morning at four o'clock, feeling herself sick "before Prime she went and looked about for Sister Clementia, who having had the plague in England, she thought could best discern what she had . . . who after due examination affirmed presently that she had the plague . . . when the Reverend Mother being thereat stricken with extreme grief, presently took order to have her severed from the community." This was done, and a very interesting account is given of her sickness which soon ended in death on June 11, 1636.

With respect to the Markhams, Father Morris, in *Condition of Catholics*, pp. clxxxviii. seq., 160<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>, gives a correspondence in 160<sup>5</sup>/<sub>6</sub>, between Secretary Cecil and Lady Anne Markham, betraying an offer made by her to deliver the person of Father John Gerard into the hands of the State, and consequently to certain death, with the object to obtain the pardon and restoration of her husband Sir Griffin Markham, then in banishment for having taken part in Watson's conspiracy.

This act reflects but little honour on the parties, but, as Father Morris observes, "her letters are interesting . . . for the testimony she bears to the general belief entertained by Catholics in Father Gerard's sanctity, and the improbability, in the judgment of all who knew him, of his being a party to the Gunpowder Plot."

This act was partially redeemed in later times by two other members of the Markham family, viz.: Thomas Markham of Ollerton, Newark, a lieutenant-colonel in the royal army, who was killed fighting for his King at Gainsborough; and Major Gilbert Markham of Colonel Wray's regiment, who was mortally wounded at Chester, in the same royal service, and, having been taken prisoner, died in prison soon after.<sup>3</sup>

Margaret Markham, probably their sister, was a Benedictine nun of the English Monastery in Ghent. She was one of the four deputed to found a community of their Order at Boulogne-sur-mer, in 1652, which was removed to Pontoise in 1658. In 1687 she went over to Dublin to model a new foundation in that city; but upon the breaking out of the Revolution returned to Pontoise, where she died 1717, at the extraordinary age of one hundred and five.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See *Catholic Apology*.

<sup>4</sup> Records of the English Benedictine Monastery at Ghent and Pontoise, quoted by Dodd *Church Hist.* vol. iii.

THE ROOKWOOD FAMILY.

IN *Records* Vol. I. Series I. p. 198 is a short autobiographical account of the Reverend Robert Rookwood. We find from the records of the English Poor Clares in Rouen, that after leaving Rome he became Confessor to that Order at their Convent in Gravelines, in which post he remained for nearly eighteen years until about 1649, when Mary Taylor, a nun of the said Convent was permitted to lay the foundation of another house of the same Order at Rouen in Normandy. Mr. Rookwood gave his services to this new colony and was their confessor for twenty-four years, until he died on November 12, 1668.<sup>1</sup> He was buried there and his monumental inscription is still to be seen in the Convent at Rouen, formerly occupied by the Poor Clares, but now a Monastery of Visitandines. The inscription served for two Reverend Confessors, Robert Rookwood and the Reverend Robert Trentham, thus :

Hic jacent.

Venerabilis in Xto Presbyter Dom. Robertus Rookwood qui, cum 42 annis huic Monasterio confessa- rius fuisset, obiit æt. anno 82, Domino vero 1668, die 12 Novem- bris.	On the other side is the inscrip- tion to the other confessor, Rev. Roger Trentham. The inscrip- tion is in the middle of the transept, facing the altar.
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An elder sister of Robert, born 1582, named Elizabeth, became a Religious of the Order of St. Benedict at Brussels, and was known as Dame Elizabeth, professed at the age of thirty-three—1615, and died in 1621. The Rookwoods, as they were staunch Catholics, so did they suffer in consequence severely at the hands of their persecutors. The case of Edward Rookwood of Euston is very remarkable. He had signed a petition of loyalty to Elizabeth and was rewarded by her deigning to be entertained at Euston on her progress through Suffolk. Full of joy Edward Rookwood had laid in noble stores of provision for her Majesty and suite, then retired with his family to a smaller house, leaving Euston “the biggest house in the county,” for the accommodation of the visitors. When Elizabeth and her suite had feasted right loyally on Rookwood’s plentiful stores for three days, the

<sup>1</sup> See Dodd’s *Church History*, vol. iii.

owner came, before they started, to express his hopes that all had been arranged to her Majesty's satisfaction. She assured him that such was the case, gave him her hand to kiss, and called him "her gentle Rookwood." Full of content he withdrew, but was followed by the Chamberlain who "signified unto him" that the Queen's orders were that he should instantly be imprisoned for life, for having dared to attempt "her *real presence*," and forthwith he was hurried off to gaol, not being allowed even to go home and let his family know where he was going, and was kept in strict confinement (required nevertheless to pay all the usual fines for "recusancy"), till his death in 1598, twenty years after this Queen's visit.<sup>2</sup>

One of the Queen's suite appears to have been her obsequious servant, the notorious Topcliffe, the priest hunter, whose name so often occurs in the Records of those cruel times.

We extract the following from a very long letter written by him to the Earl of Shrewsbury, relating to Edward Rookwood, and other matters connected with the Queen's progress.<sup>3</sup>

The principall newes is her Maty's good health, and well lyking her jorney since my Lo's returne; for whose Lordsh's healte her Majistye sayeth she will thanke yow and my La. I did never see her Maty. better received by two counties then Suffolke and Norfolk now; Suffolke of Gentillmen, and Norfolk of the meaner sort; with exceedinge joye to themselves and well liking to her Maty.; great interteigment at the Ma of the Rowlls; greater at Killinghall; and exceeding all at Norwich. The next good newes (but in accompt the highestt) her Maty. hath served God withe great zeal and comfortable examples; for by her Cownsaille two notorious Papists, younge Rookewode (the Mr of Ewston Hall<sup>4</sup> where her Maty. did lye upon Sundaye now a fortnight) and one Downes, a Gent. were both comytted th' one to the towne Prison at Norwyche, the other to the Countie preson there, for obstynat Papystrie; an vii more Gent. of worship<sup>e</sup> were comytted to several houses in Norwyche, as presoners; too of the Lovells, another Downes, one Beningfield, one Pary, and two others not worthy memory for baddnes of belyffe.

This Rookewode is a Papyste of kynde newly crept out of his late Wardeshipp. Her Mty. by some meanes I know not, was lodged at his house, Ewston, farre unmeet for her highnes but fitter for the blackegarde; neverthelesse (the Gentilman brought into

<sup>2</sup> Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.

<sup>3</sup> See Nicholl's *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 216.

<sup>4</sup> Euston in Suffolk, which formerly belonged to a family of that name, became forfeited to the Crown by the recusancy of Mr. Rookwood. It was afterwards granted to the Pattishalls, and soon after to Sir Henry Bennett, afterwards Earl of Arlington, who built the present Euston Hall. His only daughter, Isabella, married Henry Fitzroy, first Duke of Grafton.

her M<sup>ty</sup>s. presence by lyke desiree) her Excell<sup>t</sup> Maty. gave to Raokewoode ordenary thanks for his badd house, and her fayre hand to kysse ; after w<sup>ch</sup> it was brayved at ; But my Lo. Chamberlayn, nobly and gravely understandinge that Rookwoode was excommunicated for Papystrye, cawled him before him ; demanded of him how he durst presume to attempt her reall presence, he unfyt to accompanye any Chrystyan person ; forthwith sayd he was fyttter for a payre of stocks ; comanded him out of the coort, and yet to attend her counsell's pleasure ; and at Norwyche he was comytted. And, to dissyffer [*sic*] the Gent. to the full ; a Peece of plaite being missed in the Coorte, and searched for in his hay house, in the hayryck suche an immadge of o<sup>r</sup> Lady was ther fownd, as for greatnes, for gayness of workmanshypp I did never see a matche ; and, after a sorte of cuntree daunces ended, in her M<sup>ty</sup>s. sighte the idoll was set behinde the people who avoyeded ; She rather seemed a beaste, raysed upon a sudden from Hell by conjuring, than the picture for whome it hadd bene so often and longe abused. Her M<sup>ty</sup>. comanded it to the fyer, which in her sight by the cuntrie folks was quickly done to her content, and unspeakable joy of every one, but some one or two who had sucked of the idolls poisoned mylke . . .

Yor Lo. ever

RIC. TOPCLIFFE.

John Gage, Esq., in his *Antiquities of Hargrave* p. 248, note, says, "Several of this family [Rookwood] have met with tragical ends as we shall notice, Edward Rookwood of Euston, a younger branch of the Rookwoods of Stanningfield, and who with other Catholic gentlemen of Suffolk signed a protestation of loyalty, and a declaration against the Pope's deposing power, entertained at his house Queen Elizabeth, in her progress through the county in 1578. Of this event a singular account is given by Richard Topcliffe to George, Earl of Shrewsbury, in a letter published by Mr. Lodge in his *Illustrations of British History*. In return for Rookwood's hospitality, her Majesty, for no other reason than because he was a papist, not only joined in insulting him in the grossest manner in his own house, but had him hurried off to Norwich gaol and fined him afterwards in a large sum for presuming "to attempt her real presence." The poor man ultimately died in the gaol of Bury St. Edmunds, and his house and estate at Euston were sold to relieve the distress of the family. The register of the parish of St. James', Bury St. Edmunds, has this entry of his burial: "Mr. Rookwood from the jail, buried June 14, 1598."

There is a discrepancy between Mr. Gage's account and the autobiographical statement of Robert Rookwood, who says that his father was still living in 1620. Another account says

that the Euston estates were sold in 1655 to the Earl of Denbigh who became Lord of the Manor.<sup>5</sup>

“In 1586, Edward Rookwood of Euston, being a Popish recusant, agreed to pay £30 annually to the Exchequer, to be exempt from all penalties on account of recusancy.”<sup>6</sup>

“In 1594, Edward Rookwood of Euston, had paid into the Exchequer between Michaelmas last and March 10th £120 on account of Recusancy.”<sup>7</sup>

“In 1655, Edward Rookwood of Euston was taxed by the Commissioners for his real estate at £30.”<sup>8</sup>

As the Rookwood and Gage families have been for many years intimately connected with the English Province of the Society, and furnished it and various other religious orders with many members, we give the annexed pedigrees.

FATHER ROBERT ROOKWOOD, mentioned in the pedigree, is recorded in the Diary of the English College, Rome, as Robert Robinson, *vero nomine* Rookwood of Suffolk, admitted among the alumni of the Holy Father, October 18, 1598, aged sixteen. He took the usual College oath May 1, 1600. Received minor orders in the same year, was ordained subdeacon on the 7th, and deacon on the 14th of December, 1603, and priest August 1, 1604. He had been somewhat too familiar with certain disobedient students of his day, but corrected his behaviour a little before his departure. Being sent into England June 19, 1605, he afterwards returned to Rome and entered the Society. We find him named in Gee's list of priests and Jesuits in and about London,<sup>9</sup> as “F. Townsend *alias* Ruckwood (brother to that Ruckwood who was executed at the Gunpowder treason), a Jesuite, a little black fellow, very compt and gallant, lodging about the midst of Drury Lane . . .” Unfortunately, from loss of records, we possess no further information about this Father.

The Catholic *Apology* quoted by Dodd, *Church Hist.* p. 74, names two of the family who lost their lives in the service of their Sovereign, Charles I. ; viz., Robert, a captain, mentioned in the pedigree, at Oxford, and William Rookwood, a captain likewise, at the fight at Alresford, Hampshire. We do not find this member of the family in the pedigree.

<sup>5</sup> Communicated by Dame Mary, O.S.B.

<sup>6</sup> Strype's *Annals*, vol. iii. pp. 152, 153. <sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. iv. p. 427.

<sup>9</sup> See *Records*, vol. i. Appendix, p. 676.

PEDIGREE—ROOKWOOD OF STANNINGFIELD

Sir JOHN ROOKWOOD, M.P. for Suffolk, purchased the Manor of Stanningfield in 1357.



After six generations

(1st wife) BRIDGET, daughter of EDMUND KEMPE of London. Married 1547. = ROBERT ROOKWOOD, Esq. (seventh in descent from Sir JOHN) of Stanningfield. Died 1600. = (2

ROBERT. Died 1580 unmarried; buried at Gravelines.	EDWARD. JOHN. EDMUND. All died unmarried.	FRANCES. Drowned when a child.	ANNE. A Nun of the Order of St. Bridget, first of Rouen, then of Lisbon.	SUSANNA. = ROBERT FOWLE, Gent. of Lincolnshire.	HENRY. A Priest. Born February 25, 1565; living in 1602.	AMBROSE. Heir to his half-brother Robert; executed in the Gunpowder Plot, January 31, 1605.	ELIZABETH, daughter of ROBERT TYRWHITT, Esq., co. Lincoln.	
			Sir ROBERT of Stanningfield and Coldham Hall. Buried June 10, 1679.	= MARY, daughter of Sir ROBERT TOWNSEND of Ladlow. Buried November 29, 1679.	HENRY.	ELIZABETH = WILLIAM CALVERLEY, second son of WILLIAM CALVERLEY, Esq.		
AMBROSE of Coldham. Born August 29, 1622; buried December 6, 1693.	= ELIZABETH, daughter and heir of — CADWELL of Cantys' in Dantons, Essex. Died at Bruges, March 23, 1691.	MARY. Born November 17, 1623; Abbess of Poor Clares, Dunkirk; died 1676.	ROBERT. Born November 12, 1624. A Captain; killed in Royal Army at Oxford.	FRANCES. Born February 8, 1626; Abbess of Poor Clares, Dunkirk; died 1692.	THOMAS. Born September 8, 1627.	JOHN. Born November 20, 1628.	CHARLES. Born 1629; died a month after.	ELIZABETH. Born June 15, 1631.
ROBERT of Coldham. Born 1633; died S.P.	MARY. Born November 18, 1654; a Nun of the Order of Poor Clares at Dunkirk.	ELIZABETH. Born January 11, 1656.	AMBROSE. Born December 24, 1656; died an infant.	(1st wife) TAMWORTH, daughter of Sir ROGER MARTYN of Long Melford, Bart.	THOMAS of Coldham. = (2nd wife) DOROTHY, daughter of COMPTON HANFORD, Esq., of Wollers-hill, co. Worcester; Died S.P. May 2, 1727.	HENRY, S.J. Born November 8, 1659; entered Society of Jesus September 7, 1681; made a Professed Father June 20, 1699; died April 20, 1730; buried at Stanningfield.	FRANCIS, O.S.B. December 13, 1660; at Douay, a No September 8, 1680; removed to Stanning in March, 1681.	
			ELIZABETH of Coldham. = JOHN GAGE, Esq. second son Only child; born January 4, 1683; died January 30, 1759.	JOHN GAGE, Esq. second son of Sir WILLIAM GAGE of Hengrave (second baronet); married January 7, 1717.				

Two sons, of whom the elder became fifth baronet of Hengrave in 1767. JOHN ROOKWOOD, the youngest son, was born July 28, 1720; entered the Society of Jesus September 7, 1746, and was made a Professed Father February 2, 1756; served the old Jesuit Mission of Bury St. Edmunds (to which his mother and himself were liberal benefactors) for many years, and died there October 31, 1790, at 70; buried in the family vault of Stanningfield Church, which had been erected by the Rookwoods in the fourteenth century. The Rookwoods name and Coldham Hall continued to be held by younger sons of the Hengrave family, until the two last Gages, both of whom died S.P.

PEDIGREE—ROOKWOOD OF STANNINGFIELD, SUFFOLK.

ROOKWOOD, M.P. for Suffolk, purchased the Manor of Stanningfield in 1357. Died and was buried at Stanningfield 1384.



After six generations

(1st wife) BRIDGET, daughter of EDMUND KEMPE of London. Married 1547. = ROBERT ROOKWOOD, Esq. (seventh in descent from Sir JOHN) of Stanningfield. Died 1600. = (2nd wife) DOROTHY, daughter of Sir WILLIAM DRURY, Knt. of Hawkstead.

Priest. ry 25, g in	AMEROSE. Heir to his half-brother Robert; executed in the Gunpowder Plot, January 31, 1605.	ELIZABETH, daughter of ROBERT TYRWHITT, Esq., co. Lincoln.	CHRISTOPHER. A Priest O.S.F. at Madrid.	ROBERT, S.J. Born 1586, but according to the English College Diary in 1582; entered English College, Rome, 1598; ordained Priest 1604; sent to England 1605, and entered Society of Jesus; was in London 1628 (see Text).	CORDELL.	WINEFRID.	ELIZABETH = CHRISTOPHER FORSTER, Esq. of Copdock.	DOROTHY. Died 1602.	
HENRY.	ELIZABETH = WILLIAM CALVERLEY, second son of WILLIAM CALVERLEY, Esq.								
. Born ber 8,	JOHN. Born November 20, 1628.	CHARLES. Born 1629; died a month after.	ELIZABETH. Born June 15, 1631.	FRANCIS. Born September 22, 1632.	HENRY. Born October 4, 1633.	MARGARET. Born October 1, 1634.	CHARLES. Born September 15, 1635.	IGNATIUS. Born December 25, 1636.	DOROTHY. Born May 10, 1639.
DOROTHY, MPTON Esq., of co. Wor- d S.P.	HENRY, S.J. Born November 8, 1659; entered Society of Jesus September 7, 1681; made a Professed Father June 20, 1699; died April 20, 1730; buried at Stanningfield.	FRANCIS, O.S.B. Born December 13, 1660; died at Douay, a Novice, September 8, 1680; body removed to Stanningfield in March, 1681.	ANNE. Born January 28, 1662; a Poor Clare at Gravelines, and in 1683 at Dunkirk.	MARGARET. Born July 7, 1663; a Poor Clare at Gravelines.	AMEROSE. Born September 20, 1664; Brigadier-General of Guards of King James II.; attained and executed 1696.	JOHN, O.S.F. Born February 13, 1666; living in 1730.	CATHERINE. Born September 6, 1667.	FRANCIS (? FRANK). Born October 4, 1668; a Priest of the Order of St. Augustin; living in 1730.	CHARLES. Born April 27, 1671; Buried at Bury St. Edmunds, September 22, 1727.

July 28, 1720; entered the of Bury St. Edmunds (to ed in the family vault of Coldham Hall continued

Summary of the members of this family who dedicated themselves to God in Religion, &c.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ANNE ROOKWOOD, Brigettine Nun.           | FRANCIS ROOKWOOD, O.S.B.                        |
| CHRISTOPHER ROOKWOOD, O.S.F.             | ANNE ROOKWOOD, Poor Clare.                      |
| ROBERT ROOKWOOD, S.J.                    | MARGARET ROOKWOOD, Poor Clare.                  |
| MARY ROOKWOOD, Abbess of Poor Clares.    | JOHN ROOKWOOD, O.S.F.                           |
| FRANCES ROOKWOOD, Abbess of Poor Clares. | FRANK (or FRANCIS) ROOKWOOD, Augustinian Friar. |
| MARY ROOKWOOD, Poor Clare.               | JOHN ROOKWOOD GAGE, S.J.                        |
| HENRY ROOKWOOD, S.J.                     |   |

[To face page 788.

THE ROOKWOODS OF

Compiled from data supplied by Dame

ROGER ROOKWOOD, lord of the manor 1482,

NICHOLAS ROOKWOOD. =  
Died 1557.

(1st wife) ELIZABETH BROWNE, = EDWARD. = (2  
daughter of WILLIAM BROWNE  
DE ELSEDOWN (ELVING) Esq.,  
of the Viscount Montague family.

NICHOLAS of = ANNE TYRWHITT,  
Euston 1609. daughter of his  
stepmother.

WILLIAM.

ELIZABETH. A Nun O.S.B.  
Born 1582; professed as  
Dame Elizabeth 1615; died  
1621.

ROBERT, alias RAWLEY.  
A Priest. Born 1588;  
died 1668 (see Text).

EDWA

EDWARD of Euston. = — GOODWIN of Stonham.

NICHOLAS = ANNE, daughter of  
B. BACON of  
Redgrave.

ROOKWOODS OF EUSTON.

from data supplied by Dame Mary O.S.B.

OD, lord of the manor 1482, sold it to his brother

NICHOLAS ROOKWOOD. = —  
Died 1557.

OWNE, = EDWARD. = (2nd wife) —, widow of ROBERT  
OWNE Tyrwhitt, whose maiden name  
Esq., was FRECHWELL.  
family.

alias RAWLEY.  
t. Born 1588;  
58 (see Text).

EDWARD. ANNE. ALICE. SARAH. DOROTHY. EDWARD. EDMUND.

The records of the English Poor Clares in Dunkirk say that Mary Rookwood was their third Abbess in Dunkirk, and had been so for nine years.<sup>10</sup> Frances Rookwood, her sister succeeded her as fourth Abbess. She is recorded as having been a person of great zeal and prudence, and gave the habit to thirty-nine Religious Sisters during the sixteen years of her government. She died in 1692, to the great regret of all the community.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Dodd, as above, p. 328.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

## ADDENDA TO VOL. II.

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### SIR GEOFFREY POLE AND HIS SON GEOFFREY.

IN *Records*, Vol. II. Series II. pp. 139, seq., a very interesting letter is published, probably for the first time, from Richard, then Bishop of London, to Secretary Cecil, dated London, April 27, 1602.<sup>1</sup> Among other matters, the writer gives information regarding the Lancashire Catholics (recusants): "Also they in Lancashire and those parts stand not in fear, by reason of the great multitude there is of them. Likewise I have heard it reported publicly among them that they of that county have beaten divers pursuivants extremely, and made them vow and swear that they would never meddle with any recusants more, and one pursuivant in particular to *eat his warrant*, and vow never to trouble them more." The Editor has been favoured by Dame Mary with the following copy of an original MS., preserved in her convent. The Bishop did not give the name of the party who made the luckless bailiff eat his warrant, but this MS. discloses it.

"The Countess of Salisbury and her two sons, Lord Montague and Sir Geoffrey Pole, were condemned to death by Henry VIII., in defiance of all justice, human and divine. The two former were executed, but "Sir Geoffrey took such extreme grief at the wicked and malicious proceeding against his mother and himself, that he fell extreme sick, and was come even to the point of death before the executioner was called on to bereave him of life. Wherefore his lady, a very devout and good woman, took heart to go to the King and beg his life in this distressed case, hoping (it should seem) that, if she could obtain his life of an earthly prince, she might perhaps obtain it [also] of the King of Heaven. Upon this her request [of which those about the King told him] that his

<sup>1</sup> P.R.O., State Papers, *Dom. Eliz.* vol. cclxxxiii.A, n. 86.

Majesty might well grant her this to comfort her, in respect that her husband was already as good as dead. Having then obtained her petition, she presently caused five Masses to be said for him in honour of our Blessed Saviour's five wounds, unto which she was very devout. And behold, Almighty God heard her prayers, for, as the fifth Mass was a-saying Sir Geoffrey began to mend, and soon after recovered. His estate notwithstanding was all confiscated to the King, so that he had no more left but what was his wife's, the which was an heiress, daughter of Sir Edward Paginham (descended from the Kings of Ireland). By her he had many children, but of all the sons none had issue except his son Geoffrey Pole [one of whose daughters was an Augustinian nun at Louvain].

“To speak now of this son, he too was a brave and courageous gentleman, a most constant Catholic, a harbourer of priests, and one who being strong in hand would beat the pursuivants and catchpoles so handsomely, that they stood in great fear of him. Once a pursuivant being sent down to serve a writ upon him for his conscience [being a recusant] it chanced that the pursuivant, [who did not know him by sight], met him upon the road; so riding on together the fellow began to speak about Mr. Geoffrey Pole, saying thus: ‘He’s a shrod (*sic*) man of his hands, for he did beat a brother of mine; but I have something here, I warrant, that will cool his courage;’ and then he told how he brought a writ for him. The gentleman heard all and said nothing who he was, but entertained the pursuivant with talk, and rode on together with him till he had him in a fit place, and then said he unto him: ‘Here is Geoffrey Pole, what hast thou to say to him?’ The fellow pulled out his writ, and said (as the manner is): ‘The Queen greets you’—(for it was in Elizabeth’s reign). He, hearing this, made no more ado, but drew out his sword, and said: ‘Look here, fellow, I give thee thy choice—either eat up this writ presently, or else eat my sword, for one of the two thou shalt do ere we depart hence!’ The poor knave began to quake for fear, and durst not once resist him, but like a coward was wholly daunted, and did indeed eat up the writ for fear, rather than he would be killed. So became the writ of no effect, except to punish the pursuivant for his pains.

“Having an aunt of his married unto an heretical bishop he would play them such merry tricks, in contempt of that false

dignity, as, when he chanced to ride by the[ir] house, he would blow a horn and shoot off a pistol for to give them a mock.

“Such like good feats did this worthy gentleman perform, and showed always his zeal unto Catholic religion ; but at last the parsons made the country too hot for him, for he did often confute and deride them ; and so he went over the seas into voluntary banishment, where he died a constant Catholic at Antwerp.”<sup>2</sup>

FATHER THOMAS FITZHERBERT OF SWYNNERTON.

IN *Records*, Vol. II. Series III., we give under the head of Swynnerton, a biography of this Father. The Reverend Dr. Knox, of the Oratory, has lately favoured the Editor with a very interesting document regarding the Father. The original is in Spanish, and the nuns of New Hall have kindly supplied a translation. Dr. Knox observes that the Duke of Feria was transferred from the post of Viceroy of Catalonia to that of Viceroy of Palermo. He was next appointed Ambassador of the Obedience to the newly-elected Pope Paul V., and, when this function was accomplished, he was to proceed as Ambassador to the Emperor of Germany. In accepting these last two offices he was most anxious to obtain the services of Fitzherbert as his secretary, and petitioned the King to that effect. The Duke died at Naples, January 26, 1607, on his way to Rome.<sup>3</sup> There is in the archives of the archdiocese of Westminster a letter in Spanish from Father Joseph Creswell to the Duke of Feria, dated, Madrid, October 13, 1606, announcing Fitzherbert's appointment. It is endorsed, “A letter of Father Creswell to the Duke of Feria, which arrived after the Duke's death. It concerneth my going into Germany with the Duke.”

Dr. Knox likewise adds : “As far as I can ascertain, the Duke of Feria, Father Fitzherbert's patron and friend, was never at Milan. He seems to have passed from France to Flanders, thence to the vice-royalty of Catalonia, thence to that of Sicily, and he died on his road to Rome and Germany. There is a volume of Spanish letters in his Grace the Cardinal's archives, mostly from him or relating to him, which I have

<sup>2</sup> His daughter was professed in 1622, and in 1639 was chosen Superior of Bruges, where she died November 4, 1640.

<sup>3</sup> Letter of the Duke, his son and successor to Fitzherbert.

FITZHERBERT PEDIGREE.

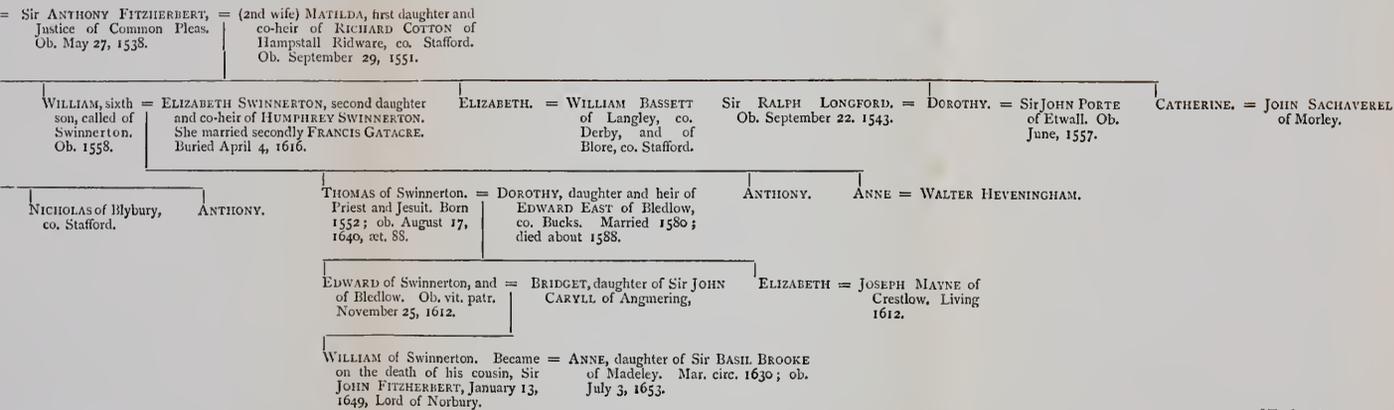
(1st wife) DOROTHY, daughter of Sir = Sir ANTHONY FITZHERBERT, = (2nd  
 HENRY WILLOUGHBY of Wollaton. Justice of Common Pleas. co  
 Ob. Nov. 5, 1507, S.P. Ob. May 27, 1538. F  
 C

First and second sons died young.	Sir THOMAS of Norbury, third son. Ob. in Tower, October 2, 1591, æt. 73 or 74. S.P.	= ANNE, daughter and heir of Sir ARTHUR EYRE of Over Padley. Marriage Settlement 1535. Living 1567.	JOHN, fourth son. Ob. November 8, 1590.	= CATHERINE, daughter of EDWARD RESTWOLD of the Vache, co. Bucks. Living 1544.	RICHARD, fifth son, of Har-tesmere, co. Stafford.	= MARY, daughter of WESTCOTE.	WILLIAM, sixth son, called of Swinnerton. Ob. 1558.	= ELIZABETH SWIN and co-heir of F She married sec Buried April 4
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First and second sons died very young.	THOMAS. Succeeded his uncle, Sir THOMAS, whom he caused to die in the Tower. Ob. S.P.	= ELIZABETH, daughter of JOHN WESTBY of Mowbrecke, co. Lancaster.	NICHOLAS. Secretary to Cardinal Allen. Drowned November 6, 1612, æt. circ. 63.	FRANCIS.	GEORGE.	ANTHONY. = MARTHA, daughter of THOMAS AUSTEN of Oxbery, widow of WILLIAM GARTON.	WILLIAM. Ob. S.P.	NICHOLAS of Blybury, co. Stafford.	ANTHONY.
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JANE. = THOMAS EYRE. MATILDA. = THOMAS BARLOW. ELIZABETH. = Sir ROBERT HARCOURT. ANNE. MARY. = THOMAS DRAYCOTT.

FITZHERBERT PEDIGREE.



[To face page 792.]

indexed. I think they must have been originally collected and bound up by Fitzherbert. The Duke, though of an English mother, did not understand English. Fitzherbert wrote to him in Spanish."

*Don Lorenzo Saurez de Figueroa y Cordova, Duke of Feria, &c.  
Viceroy and Governour for his Majesty in the kingdom of Sicily.*

I certify to all those who may see this letter that having arrived in the city of Paris, in the year 93, to assist at the States-General of the kingdom of France, by order of the King, our Lord of glorious memory, I was informed that an English gentleman, by name Thomas Fitzherbert, was residing at Rouen, under an allowance from his Majesty, for the purpose of communicating to his ministers all that concerned the service of God and his own; that he then commenced this correspondence with me, and continued it with great punctuality and veracity, diligence and intelligence, in discovering the aims (or purposes) of our enemies, reasoning in so wise and judicious a manner, and so much to the point, that in order to derive more benefit from him personally I sent for him to dwell with me, and share my table whilst I remained in France, my opinion of him, as well as my confidence in him, increasing the more I dealt with him. I did the same afterwards, whilst residing in the States of Flanders, and going from Italy to Catalonia, where his Majesty ordered me to remain for his service, during all that time from the testimony given by persons of the highest authority, without exception, and by Francis Englefield, Councillor of State of the Lady Queen Mary, and of his Majesty whilst he reigned in England, when at the close of his Christian and exemplary life he notified to his Majesty, in a private letter, that the said Thomas Fitzherbert was the only individual who occurred to his mind as fit to replace him in the confidential correspondence relating to the affairs of England, which had been so long intrusted to him. Then his Majesty sent him word to remain in Castile and take upon him this charge, in which, as I have heard from the chief ministers, he rendered himself most agreeable by his manners and counsels. The same occurred when he was sent for to Rome, and for my part, inasmuch as the virtue and the merits of this gentleman are so well known to me, I give the present signed by my hand, sealed with my seal, and countersigned by my secretary, as written beneath.

Given in Meçina, twenty-sixth day of October, 1604.

By order of his Excellency.

The seal and signatures are original.

At page 198, endorsed upon the Fitzherbert pedigree by Topcliffe, is a short and in some respects imperfect one of this interesting historical family. By the kindness of a friend we have been furnished with the corrected and enlarged one, annexed.

## THE RELICS OF ST. CHAD.

UNDER the head of Swynnerton, in pages 231-2 of the same Vol. II. a brief notice is given relative to some relics of St. Chad, long preserved there. The editor has been since favoured by Thomas Weld Blundell, Esq., of Ince Blundell Hall, Crosby, with the following interesting note regarding the way in which the body or relics of St. Chad were discovered, according to the information he had received. "Before the opening of the Catholic church at Birmingham, I understood that the bones of the Saint had been discovered in the following way: A key was found at Swynnerton, to which was attached a label, and on the label was written a statement that the key would open the chest in which the relics of St. Chad had been placed, and that the chest, for the sake of security, had been transported from Swynnerton to Aston Hall. On searching Aston Hall, the chest containing the relics was found, and the key opened it. . . . Aston Hall belonged to the Heveningham family, which had possessed some manors in the neighbourhood in the time of Henry II. The daughter and heiress of the last of the family, Sir Walter Heveningham, baronet, married Sir James Simeon, baronet, of Brightwell, Oxon, and their only daughter married Humphrey Weld, Esq., of Lulworth Castle. The Weld family thus became representatives of both these families, the Heveninghams and Simeons. The Heveningham estates were sold by my grandfather, Mr. Thomas Weld, of Lulworth Castle; but Aston Hall, in which there was an ancient private chapel, was, I think, given to the Franciscans (or to the Bishop of the diocese), and was afterwards in the possession of the Passionists. I am inclined to believe that, when the relics of St. Chad were found at Aston, the Bishop was in possession."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A short notice will be given of Brightwell, or Britwell, Oxon, in our Series to include the Residence of St. Mary, or the Oxfordshire District. Edward Simeon, son of Sir George Simeon of Britwell, by his second wife, Margaret, daughter of Sir Richard Molyneux of Sefton, co. Lancaster, Bart., was born 1632, educated by the English Fathers at St. Omer's College and the English College, Rome, entered the Society of Jesus 1657, and died January 6, 1701. Further notice of him is reserved for Brightwell. The ancient Catholic family of Weld appears to have been connected with Staffordshire from a very early period, according to Erdeswick, *Survey of Staffordshire*, under the head of Alveton—"The Weld Family. Alice Aston, heiress to the estate of Horecross, in the parish of Yoxall, married John Wellys, Esq., whose name was anciently Yoxall, and by living near the well in Bacon Street, Lichfield, took the name of Athwell,

We take the present opportunity of supplying a translation<sup>2</sup> of the old Latin relation regarding these relics, copied in *Records*, Vol. II. p. 231.

*“A Relation how six of the greater bones of St. Chad came into my hands. Written by Father Peter Turner and Father William Atkins, Missionary Priests of the Society of Jesus.*

“A.D. 1615, on September 8, the day of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, Henry Hodsheeds of Woodsaton, near Sedgley, in the county of Stafford, being on his death-bed, sent for me to attend him. After having strengthened him with the last rites of the Church, I knelt down and recited the Litany of the Saints, to which the sick man, who was not unacquainted with the Latin language, answered with great devotion. When we came to that part where the holy confessors are invoked, he drew his hands from beneath the coverlet, and joining them devoutly on his breast he broke forth into this exclamation: ‘Holy St. Chad, pray for me.’ On his repeating this many times I interrupted the course of the Litany, and asked him why he thus so frequently invoked St. Chad? He replied: ‘St. Chad is present yonder on the upper part of the bed: this is a treasure which I wish to be guarded with great honour, and therefore I give it to you.’ Having said this, and the Litany being first finished, I expressed a desire to see these relics, which Henry’s wife placed in my hands wrapped up in a piece of black buckram.

“Both Henry and myself thought that this was the same cover in which these relics had been wrapped at the time they were laid in a silver reliquary in the church of Lichfield. From the above-named cover I took out the sacred bones, and placed them in a wooden box, nineteen or twenty inches long, six deep, and six broad, together with the cover separately folded, and I sealed the box with two small seals of wax. On my asking him how he had become possessed of these relics, he answered: ‘When the Catholic faith was overturned, a certain Prebendary Dudley (related to the famous Dudley who formerly

or *At th’ well*, and afterwards of Wells, or Welles, or Weld, the present name of the family, now seated at Lulworth Castle, Dorset. This John Wells died 20th Henry VIII. The family of Weld, formerly seated also at Witley, Salop, and still at Lulworth Castle, conceive themselves to be descended from Edric Forester, called also ‘the Wild,’ a powerful Saxon.” The derivation of the name appears to be somewhat far-fetched and improbable. It is recorded as a literary curiosity.

<sup>2</sup> From the *Catholicon*, vol. i. April, 1818.

was Lord or Baron) took away these sacred relics from the church of Lichfield, for the sake of the honour and reverence due to them, which he intrusted to two noble women his relations (of the same name of Dudley), who lived at Russell Hall, a house near the country residence of Dudley. The Prebendary being dead, these women being alarmed by the terrors of the laws, although Catholics, were anxious to avoid exposing themselves to danger, and therefore willingly gave them to me and my brother William (they being our neighbours and very friendly to us). In the division that was made of them, part of them was allotted to my brother and the rest to me. From that time to this hour I have faithfully preserved them.'

"He (Henry Hodsheeds) being dead, his wife delivered to me the relics, which I had placed, as I said before, with the cover, in a box. Neither have I any doubt that all these [things] are most true, since for nearly twenty years I have always been impressed with the prudence and faith of this man. In testimony whereof I hereunto subscribe my name.

"(Signed) PETER TURNER.

"FRANCIS COTTON. THOMAS WILKINSON.

"WILLIAM ATKINS. RICHARD VAVASOUR."

"On October 1, 1652, the Rev. Father Francis Foster, English Provincial of the Jesuits, diligently inspected the relics of St. Chad, and said that by the privilege of Apostolic Notary which had been granted to him, he approved of the relics, and would take care that the relation of Father Turner should be entered in the Acts and placed in the Archives, I, William Atkins, being present.

"Father Peter Turner dying on May 27, 1655, these relics, by the approbation of Father Edward Bedingfeld, were placed with John Leveson, because he belonged at this time both to the district and to the College of Blessed Aloysius. The cover above mentioned, as it was grown old and tattered, was burnt by me, William Atkins.

"The box in which these relics were deposited was broken open by the soldiers and others, and one bone being dashed against the pavement broke into two parts, on the feast of St. Andrew, 1658, in the house of Father Leveson. Those impious men carried off with them a part of the relics.

"(Signed) WILLIAM ATKINS.

“I, William Atkins, on March 2, 1664, removed these sacred relics from the box, which the soldiers had broken, into another box lined with silk.”

To this relation, which is kept at Swynnerton Hall, at Mr. Fitzherbert's, are added the following :

“1. On a loose paper, an attestation of Father Richard Foster, Rector of St. Omer's, dated January 20, 1667, at St. Omer's, stating that being Visitor of the Residence of St. Chad he took out of the box of St. Chad's relics, in the house of a certain noble Catholic, a particle of St. Chad's relics, and gave it to the Father Director of the English Sodality, to be exposed to public veneration, if the Bishop of St. Omer should think proper.”

#### FATHER FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

IN *Records*, Vol. II. Series III. part ii. p. 383, it is stated in the life of this celebrated convert, that a small treatise in MS. upon mental prayer (bound up in a volume of Meditations, &c., called “The Evangelical Pearl,” and now preserved in the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre, at New Hall), was written by Father Walsingham for the use of the English Benedictine Dames at Pontoise, who were then probably under his spiritual direction.

This was an error which we take the present opportunity of correcting, through the kindness of Dame Mary, who says : “This treatise is erroneously attributed to Father Francis Walsingham. Dates will show that our Sisters of Pontoise could never have had the happiness of having Father Francis for Director. He died in 1647. The filiation from Ghent, which eventually became the Pontoise house, only started in 1652, and settled first at Boulogne-sur-mer ; but Cromwell's successes frightened them, and the same year that Dunkirk was surrendered (1658) the nuns of Boulogne moved on to Pontoise, where they settled in July, 1658. There they met with great kindness from the Abbot of St. Martin's, near Pontoise, Walter Montague (brother to the Earl of Manchester), who was a priest, and was named Ecclesiastical Visitor of the Pontoise Nuns by the Archbishop of Rouen, the Ordinary. Now this Abbot Montague had (as I learn from a MS. of Lady Abbess Neville of Pontoise, who governed that house from December, 1670, to December, 1689) a secretary, Mr. Walsingham, who in 1660 was ordained priest and named

Curé d'Aronville (in, or very near to Pontoise), and supply to the Lord Abbot Montague. In the following year Mr. (his Christian name is not mentioned) Walsingham was named Confessor Extraordinary to the Pontoise Nuns, to whom he had ever been a most kind friend. In 1663 Abbot Montague was obliged, as Grand Almoner to Henrietta Maria, to accompany her to England, and he took with him Mr. Walsingham, who lived but a short time after his arrival in this country, being cut off by a sudden illness, of which he died on the 9th of October, 1663, to the great regret of the Lady Abbess Neville and her community."



CORRIGENDA TO CATALOGUE.

FOR the sake of the strictest accuracy possible, it is better to explain that the term "Confessor" in the following list is applied in the widest sense, and includes many who have suffered for the faith by long imprisonment and exile; and for reasons given below the following names of *Martyrs* are withdrawn.

Clarkenson James, already in Bishop Challoner's list as Claxton or Clarkson James, Martyr.

Cronkerus Mr. is a misspelling in the original transcript for Crowther, already in Challoner as Thomas Crowther, Martyr.

Davis Thomas, i. Challoner's William Davis, Martyr.

Kirk Richard, in transcript "Kirkill," a mistake by transcriber for Thirkill, already in Challoner, 1583.

Thompson *alias* Ballard, Challoner's William Thompson, Martyr, 1586.

Thorpe Thomas, Challoner's Robert Thorpe, Martyr.

Jetter Mr., possibly Challoner's John Jetter, priest.

Ballard John, omit the words "in prison."

Page 800, York. Toby Matthews, Archbishop, omit date, 1588.

White Mrs., to be omitted.

[To face page 799.]

CATALOGUE OF CONFESSORS OF THE FAITH,  
WHO DIED IN BONDS, &C., COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS  
SOURCES, AND NOT CONTAINED IN BISHOP CHALLONER'S  
"MEMOIRS OF MISSIONARY PRIESTS." THIS LIST DOES  
NOT MENTION THOSE ALREADY COLLECTED IN FATHER  
BRIDGEWATER'S "CONCERTATIO."

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Anonymous, viz., Carmarthenshire, 158-. One died in prison.  
*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 28.

Dorchester Gaol, about 1588. An aged priest and several  
others.

*Troubles*, as above, p. 36.

Gloucester, 1588. A poor glover, for persuading some of his  
kin to become Catholics.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 43. Father Morris suggests that this  
may be William Lampley, of whom Bishop Challoner only observes  
that he suffered at Gloucester, 1588.

Hereford (or Leominster probably), about 1613. A gentleman  
and his wife; converts to the faith. He was son of the  
schoolmaster under whom Father Robert Parsons learned  
his rudiments. They both died the same day.

See Stonyhurst MSS. *Anglia*, vol. vi. To be published in a  
future volume of *Records*, the "College of St. Francis Xavier, or the  
Herefordshire District."

Hull Castle. Some aged priests out of a great company of  
Reverend Fathers, falling sick, and denied all help, "piti-  
fully died."

Father Grene's MS. *Records*, vol. iii. p. 768.

Royston, 1594. A prisoner died. He had been sent up from  
York, where he was in Outlaw the pursuivant's custody.

Father Grene's MS. *Records*, vol. iii. p. 767.

Stafford Gaol, about 158-. Out of thirty imprisoned, six only  
then remained—the others for the most part dead.

*Troubles*, as above, p. 27.

Stafford Gaol. "Divers of the tenants of Sir Thomas Fitz-  
herbert imprisoned in Stafford, and there some of them  
are dead."

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 25, 26

Westminster, in the Gatehouse Prison. Two lay gentlemen executed, the one for giving a priest a quart of wine, the other a supper.

*Troubles*, as above, pp. 28, 29.

Worcester, 1588. A farmer in Worcester Gaol.

*Troubles*, Third Series, "Ancient Editor's Note-Book." He had been despoiled of all he had, and left a wife and eight children, all under twenty years of age.

Worcester, 1590. Two aged priests died in prison.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

York, Ousebridge Prison, 1579—1594. Eleven died out of thirty women committed in this period.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

York (under Toby Matthews, the Archbishop), 1588, &c. Out of fifty imprisoned at York by this prelate for refusing the unlawful oath, forty died of their sufferings in prison.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 329, "Notes of a Prisoner." "Some were pressed by extreme hunger; others were forced to lie on the ground in the prison until their putrid flesh adhered to their clothes."

Abbot, Augustin, *alias* Rivers, a priest in Newgate between 1640 and 1651.

*Troubles*, First Series, p. 337.

Ackrick, or Ackrige, John, a priest. Hull Castle, March 2, 1585.

Father Grene's MS. "F," in *Records*, vol. iii. p. 233.

Ackrick, Thomas, O.S.F., priest. Hull Castle, about 1583.

Father Grene's MS. "F," in *Records*, vol. iii. p. 248.

Almond, John, priest, of Cheshire (Cistercian). Hull Castle, April 18, 1585.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 247; also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 321.

Anderton, Dorothy. 1653. Daughter of Christopher Anderton, Esq., of Lostock, Lancashire, aged eleven years, from cruel usage at the hands of the heretics.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 780.

Arden, Edward. Tower of London. Hanged December 23, 1583, "protesting his innocence of every charge, and declaring that his only crime was the profession of the Catholic religion."

Rishton's *Diary*. See Father Morris' *Condition of Catholics*, cxv.; also *Concertatio*, p. 409. "Edward Arden was condemned upon a charge of being concerned in a plot against the life of Queen Elizabeth, by his son-in-law, John Somerville, or Somerfeld" (Dugdale, vol. ii. p. 830). "John Somerville, Esq., who in 25 Eliz., being a hot-spirited gentleman, and about twenty-three years of age, but a Roman Catholic

by profession, is said to have been so far transported with zeal for the restoring of that religion, by the instigation of one Hall, a priest, that he resolved to kill the Queen, and to that purpose made a journey to London, and that upon his apprehension he confessed his intent, but being arraigned and condemned and committed to Newgate, within three days after he was found strangled in his lodging. How far forth he was guilty of this God knows; for with what a high hand things were then borne through the power of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, is not unknown to most men; which Earl had a particular spleen against Mr. Arden of Park Hall, father-in-law, to this gentleman, as by sundry aged persons of credit I have often heard."

These pretended plots against the life of the Queen, at the instigation of Catholic priests, were not unfrequent (see the case of Squire and Father Richard Walpole, *Records*, vol. ii. part i. pp. 236, seq.). The anti-Catholic spirit of the times, the character of Leicester, the above extract from Dugdale, and the dying protestation of Mr. Arden, justify an insertion of his name in the list of confessors for their faith. The *Concertatio* likewise styles him a martyr. Rishton's *Diary* says it does not appear whether Somerville strangled himself or was murdered by others. We do not therefore insert his name, although cases are recorded of murders in prisons, and the sufferers have been basely charged with committing suicide.

Arrowsmith, Thurstan. Manchester, or Salford Prison, about 1583. He was grandfather to Father Edmund Arrowsmith, S.J., martyr.

*Records*, vol. ii. pp. 136, 138.

Aske, Anthony, Mr., gentleman. York Castle, February 5, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 731; *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 330.

Baldwin, William, priest. Derby Gaol, 1588.

Pope Gregory's List, as above, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 48.

Ballard, John, priest. (No place or date). In prison.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 44.

Bandersby, William, an aged priest. York Castle, April 21, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 733.

Bazier, Matthew, Father, S.J., *alias* Grimes. In Newgate, August 11, 1650.

*Records*, vol. i. p. 223.

Bedall, Thomas, priest. Hull Castle, 158-. Removed from York. Prisoner since 1568.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 300.

Berisford, Humphrey, Esq. Derby Gaol, about 1588.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 230.

Blenkinsop, Thomas, Esq., of Helbeck. York Castle, 158-.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 329.

- Bolbet, Richard. Hull or York Castles, 1589.  
 "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 35.
- Bowes, Richard, aged priest. York Castle, August 31, 1590.  
 "Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 322; Father Grene's MS., *Records*, vol. iii. p. 743.
- Branton, Stephen. York Castle, July 19, 1591, after twenty years' imprisonment.  
 Father Grene's MS., *Records*, vol. iii. p. 751; also "Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, as above, p. 322.
- Brestock, William. Worcester Gaol, 1590.  
 "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 31, 36.
- Brown, James, priest. In Newgate about 1640, under sentence of death.  
*Troubles*, First Series, p. 337.
- Brushford, James (or John), priest. Wisbeach Castle, 1593.  
*Records*, vol. iii. p. 276.
- Budge, Lucy, a wife. York, March 19, 1587.  
 Father Grene's MS. "F," and *Records*, vol. iii. p. 732.
- Cannon, Edmund, priest. In Newgate, under sentence of death, 1640 to 1651.  
*Troubles*, First Series, p. 337.
- Chalmare, or Chalner (? Challoner), John, gentleman. York Castle, June 7, 1582.  
*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 324.
- Chalmare, Isabel, his wife. York Castle, July 23, 1582.  
*Ibid.*
- Chalmare, Bridget, their daughter. } Both about the same time.  
 Chalmare, William, their son. }
- Ibid.*
- Clarkenson, James, priest, exile, and martyr, 1588.  
 Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 46.
- Clayton, James, priest. Derby Gaol, July 22, 1588, under sentence of death.  
 Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 47; also Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 230.
- Collier, L., aged priest. Stafford (probably), 158—.  
 "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 8.
- Conniers, Samuel, priest. Died in exile.  
 Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 46.
- Constable, John, Esq. In York Gaol, 1581.  
 Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 223, 224.
- Cosens, Thomas. York (probably), 1589.  
 "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 35.

- Cosens, —, his wife. York (probably), 1589.
- Cowling, Ralph, cordwainer. York Castle, August, 1587.  
*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 323.
- Cowper, Peter. In the Tower dungeons about 1581.  
*Records*, vol. iii. p. 293.
- Cronkerus, Mr., priest, B.D. of Douay. Died in the Marshalsea Prison three days before the time appointed for his banishment.  
Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 42.
- Cumberford, or Comberford, or Comberforth, Henry, priest. Hull Castle, 1590. In prison sixteen years.  
"Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 300.
- Davis, Thomas, priest. In prison 1587.  
Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 48.
- Deeg, William, layman. Burton-on-Trent, March, 1588. Privately hung by a Justice of the Peace and his constable, in the house of the former!  
Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 227.
- Draycott, Dr. For long prisoner at York or Hull, 1590. Died at Dracott, Salop, after getting a little liberty.  
"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, p. 35.
- Dutton, Hugh. Counter, Wood Street, London, about 1590.  
"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.
- Eldersha, John, of Andelen, Yorkshire, at the age of ninety or thereabouts, from the violence of the Sheriff and his pursuivants.  
"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 16 and 17.
- Ellis, Edward. Fleet Prison, London, about 1590; immediately after his removal from the prison.  
"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 37.
- Empringham, Gabriel, gentleman, aged twenty. Marshalsea, September, 1586.  
*Ibid.* p. 36.
- Fitzherbert, John, of Padley, Esq. In a London prison, 1596. Was first confined in Derby Gaol. "Then removed to London, where he lived in great want, and at the last died." [November 8, 1590.]  
Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 230.
- Fitzherbert, Thomas, Sir. In the Tower, October, 1591.  
"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 25, 26.  
"Sir Thomas Fitzherbert, Knight, and John Gage, gentleman, were committed close prisoners to the Tower by warrant dated xth daie of

Januarie, 1590-1, signed by the late Lo. Chancellor, Lo. Shre., Lo. Admiral, Lo. Chamberlaine, Lo. Cobham, Lo. Buckhurst, Sir Francis Knowles, Sir Tho. Heneage, and Mr. John Wolley. The saide Thomas Fitzherbert died in the Tower the second daie of Oct. 1591, and the said John Gage remaineth still close prisoner. Sir Thomas Fitzherbert buried ye xiith of October" (Bell's *Chapel of the Tower*).

Forster, Thomas, Father S.J. In Lincoln Gaol, March 31, 1648.

*Records*, vol. ii. p. 642.

Forster, Ursula, Mrs. Shrewsbury Gaol, July 15, 1590.

"Having there worn irons, very much misused by the keeper, and not an hour before her death threatened with the dungeon" ("Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 36, 37). An antiquarian friend suggests to the Editor that Ursula must have been the wife of Thomas Forster, of Tonge, county Salop, daughter of Humphrey Vyse, of Staunton, Stafford. She had two children, Humphrey Forster, living 1614, and Isabel, who in 1595 married Edward, Lord Stafford. The Peerages consider Isabel to have been his mother's chambermaid. It is probable that Lady Stafford, the mother, took the child into her household on her mother's imprisonment and death, for they were close neighbours at Tonge, and the marriage which followed would be reckoned a *mesalliance* in a family, which till then had only married into the very highest nobility. But it will be seen that the despised Isabel was not only of gentle birth, but added to the honour of the Stafford family by being the daughter of a martyr.

Foster, Isabell, wife of William Foster of Huntingdon, near York, and daughter to the martyr, Mr. Richard Langley. In York Castle December 3, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 735; also *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 325, 326.

Foster, Mrs. Ousebridge Prison, York, 1577.

"Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

Fryer, Andrew, priest. Newgate, 1640-1651.

*Troubles*, First Series, p. 337.

Fuister, Agnes. Ousebridge, York, 1581.

"Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

Gibson, John, a tailor. Ousebridge, York (or rather in Durham), 158—.

"Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 322.

Glyn, servant to Sir John Arundell. In prison, London (probably), 158—.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 437, note.

Green, Mr. Salisbury Prison, about 1589.

*Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Grene, Nicholas, priest. Ousebridge, York, about 1571.

"Notes of a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 300.

Griffiths, Humphrey. Oxford, July 5, 1589.

He is no doubt Bishop Challoner's Humphrey Pritchard. Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 47.

Griffiths, William, Carnarvonshire, schoolmaster, about 1587.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Grimes, Matthew (see Bazier, Father, S.J.).

Gwynne, David. Counter, London, about 1590.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 37.

Hammond, John, priest, *alias* Jackson. Newgate, between 1640 and 1651.

*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 337.

Harwood, Thomas. Ousebridge, York, about 1586.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 301.

Heath, Mrs., wife of Mr. Heath of Cumberland, 158— . Killed by the pursuivants on Monday in Easter week.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 16.

Heath, William, Mr. Worcester Gaol, 1590. Imprisoned three or four years, after loss of all his goods. He was nephew to Dr. Heath, Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Hocknell, Mr., of Cheshire. No date. Killed by his keeper.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 28.

Holland, Robert, Mr., gentleman, aged forty-eight. Marshalsea Prison, June, 1586.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Horsley, Mr. Hull Castle, about 1580.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, p. 769. "The tyrants put him in a filthy prison called the Hall, and kept him straitly . . . he was glad to eat the crusts that some threw in at the window . . . thus starving he died, and lay dead so long that the rats had eaten his face and other parts."

Hudd, John, Father, S.J. Lincoln Gaol, August 4, 1649.

*Records*, vol. ii. p. 642.

Hunsworth (or Hempworth or Hemsworth), Stephen, priest. Hull Castle, about April, 1585.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 249.

Hutton, Mary, wife of William Hutton. York, October 25, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 735.

Jessopp, John (or George), Mr. Dorchester Prison, 1588.

*Records*, vol. iii. pp. 428, seq.

Jetter, Mr. London Prison. No date. Servant to the Earl of Worcester.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 28.

Johnson, Agnes. Ousebridge, York, 1579.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

Jones, David. London. Fellow-servant and prisoner with Mr. Jetter, above.

Kirk, Richard. 1583.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 43. This is probably an error in the list. It may be Bishop Challoner's Richard Kirkman. 1582. The reference in the list to *Concertatio* is wrong. No Richard Kirk is named in it.

Kitchen, Richard, husbandman. Derby Gaol, about 1588. Prisoner for five years.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 230.

Knowles, William, yeoman. Stafford Gaol, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 226.

Landers, Mr., attorney, York. Clink Prison, London, January 26, 1590.

Landers, Anne, Mrs., his wife. Clink, 1589.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 253, seq., also "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 35.

Lawson, Peter, gentleman. Marshalsea Prison, September, 1586.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Layne, Thomas. Ousebridge, York, 1580.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

Lowe, Philip, Mrs. White Lion Prison, London, April, 1588.

"For many years greatly vexed both in prison and abroad."

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Luke, Mrs., wife of the Judge of the city. At Ousebridge Kidcott, York, March 19, 1587.

*Troubles*, vol. iii. p. 328. Father Grene in a note says "*Uxor Lucae*, Judge of the City, *si recte lego*."

Lynch, Thomas, Mr. Salisbury, about 1590.

*Ibid.*

Madde (or Mudde), Thomas, priest, monk of the Abbey of St. Gervase. Hull Castle, September 7, 1583.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 239, seq.

Marcott, William, priest. No place or date.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 45.

Maxfield, William, Mr. Stafford, 1587. Probably father of Thomas Maxfield, priest and martyr.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 232, also "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 8.

Morecroft, an artisan. Dorchester Gaol, before 1591.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 429.

Neville, Edmund, Father S.J., *alias* Nelson. Newgate (probably), July 18, 1648.

*Records*, vol. i. pp. 220, seq.

Neville, the Lady. Holborn, London, no date. Killed by the pursuivants.

*Condition of Catholics*, p. 39.

Oldcorne, Alice, wife of Thomas. York, October 27, 1587-8.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 735, also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 317.

Oldcorne, Thomas, was likewise then, and for many years had been in York Castle and Ousebridge Prisons; also in Hull Castle, and may have died in captivity. He was an uncle probably of Father Edmund Oldcorne, S.J., martyr, 1606.

Pauline, Alice. Stafford Gaol, about 1588. After an imprisonment of two years.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 227.

Pearson, John, "a venerable" priest. Durham Gaol. Many years in prison. 158-.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 315.

Pounde, John, priest. In exile. Banished 1583-4.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 47, 657.

Prescott, Cuthbert, S.J., lay-brother. Newgate, Feb. 20, 1647.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 98.

Quashet, Francis, priest. Newgate, about 1642. Under sentence of death.

*Troubles*, First Series, p. 337.

Renould, a webster, of North Stanley. York Castle, February 4, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 732, also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 328.

Riston, Henry, gentleman, aged thirty-six. Marshalsea, November, 1586.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Robinson, Mr., of Upsall Castle, Yorkshire. York Castle probably), 1616, or before.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 49.

Robinson, Mrs., his wife; after several years' confinement in same prison, died soon after her release, in consequence of her sufferings.

*Ibid.*

808 *Catalogue of Confessors of the Faith.*

Rookwood, Edward, Esq., of Euston. Bury St. Edmund's Gaol, June, 1598.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 787.

Rudall, Thomas, an aged priest. York Castle, April 11, 1587.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 732; also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 326.

Sexten, Edmund, gentleman, aged sixty. Marshalsea, October, 1586.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.

Smith, John, Father, S.J., *alias* Harrison. Hanged at Lancaster, 165 $\frac{0}{1}$ .

*Records*, vol. i. p. 663.

Spencer, Richard, yeoman. Derby Gaol, about 1588.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 230.

Stable, John. York Castle, July 26, 1584.

Stable, Margaret, his wife. York Castle, July 27, 1584.

Stable, Margaret, his daughter. York Castle, about 1591. She was also born in prison.

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 324.

Stephenson, Jeffrey. Hull Castle, about 157 $\frac{3}{4}$ . "Being thrust down into a low vault at Hull, by reason of cold and noisome vapours and damp, he lost the use of all his senses, and so shortly after died."

"Notes by a Prisoner," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 301.

Storey, John, Dr. (D.L.). Tyburn, June 1, 1571.

See Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, Dodd's *Church History*, vol. ii. p. 164.

"Tyburn gallows had been set up new for his execution, and were consecrated by his blood" (*Simpson's Champion*, p. 201).

Thomas, John, formerly servant to Bishop Goldwell. In the Counter, about 1590.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 37.

Thompson, *alias* Ballard, priest. Tyburn probably, about 1586.

*Records*, vol. iii. pp. 439, 440. This may be Bishop Challoner's William Thomas, *alias* Blackburne.

Thompson, John, Father, S.J. York Castle, 164-.

*Records*, vol. iii. pp. 53, 146.

Thorpes, Thomas, priest. 1591.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 48. (Probably Bishop Challoner's Robert).

Thursley, Charles, Father, S.J. Newgate, probably. He died soon after his release, of fever taken in the prison.

*Records*, vol. i. pp. 208, 209.

- Tippets, John, priest. Died in exile.  
Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 42.
- Tremain, Mrs. Dorchester Prison, about 1588.  
*Records*, vol. iii. p. 429; also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 36.
- Vavasour, Thomas, Dr. Hull Castle, May 2, 1585.
- Vavasour, Dorothy, Mrs., his wife. New Counter, Ousebridge, York, October 26, 1587.  
Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 233, seq.; also *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 316, seq.
- Vyze (or Vyse), Edmund, of Stoke, gentleman. In Stafford Gaol, 1592.  
Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 227.
- Vyze, Joan, Miss. Stafford Gaol, 1589. After four years' imprisonment.  
*Ibid.*, p. 226. These were probably of the same family as Ursula Vyse, mother of Lady Stafford. The Vyses are of Stawn (*alias* Stawnton), probably the above "Stoke" is a mistake in copying.
- Waldegrave, Edward, Sir, Knight. Tower of London, in chains, September 1, 1561. Confined for hearing Mass and keeping a priest in his house. He had been previously confined to the Tower in King Edward's time for refusing to force the Protestant service on Queen Mary.  
*Mackyn's Diary* by Nicholls; see also *Concertatio*.
- Watson, Christopher, a rich merchant of Ripon. York Castle, September 3, 1581.  
Bishop Challoner records his name only. For a deeply interesting account, see Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 223, seq.; also an abbreviated one in *Troubles*, Third Series, pp. 329, 330.
- Watson, Dr., Bishop of Lincoln. In Wisbeach Castle, 158—.  
*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 239.
- Webster, Margaret, Mrs. York Castle, April, 1585.
- Webster, Frances, Miss, her daughter. York Castle, June 29, 1585.  
Father Grene's MS., *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 249, seq.
- Welbourne, Hercules, a draper and freeman of York. York Castle, October 22, 1588.  
Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. p. 737; also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 329. "Though labouring under gout or dropsy, and lame of both hands and feet, and suffering patiently excessive pain, yet the gaoler put him in the low house with double chains, which merrily he suffered."
- Welford, Peter, priest. In Newgate, under sentence of death, about 1645.  
*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 337.

Weston, Richard, aged thirty. In the Marshalsea, about 1590.  
 "Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, p. 36.

Wharton, Anne, The Lady. In the Tower, June 7, 1561.

According to *Makyn's Diary*. In April, 1561, Sir Thomas and Lady Wharton were indicted for having Mass at their house—"the honner of Bewley," otherwise New Hall, Essex. Sir Thomas unhappily conformed. Lady Wharton (Anne Ratcliff) was daughter to Robert Earl of Sussex and Lady Margaret his wife, who was daughter of Thomas Earl of Derby. She seems to have been honoured with a great funeral, conducted by "Master Somersett, the harold of armes." She was "as fayre a lade as be, and mony morners in bloke, and grett mone mad for hyr in the contrey." She is named in the *Concertatio* as "Lady Wharton, cast into chains for confession of the faith;" but her death is not recorded.

White, Mrs., receiver of priests. Condemned to death about 1586, or after. Her death is not traced.

*Records*, vol. iii. p. 271, also *Troubles*, Second Series, p. 436.

Whitehead, Dame Isabel. York Prison, March 18, 1587-8. A professed nun in the Convent of Ardington; after its suppression she retained her state as well as she could.

Father Grene's MS. "F," *Records*, vol. iii. pp. 731, seq., also *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 328.

Williamson, Alice. Ousebridge, York, about 1579.

"Ancient Editor's Note-Book," *Troubles*, Third Series, p. 302.

Wood, Dr., priest, Confessor to Queen Mary. Wisbeach Castle, 159—.

*Troubles*, Second Series, p. 239.

Woodruffe, Robert, priest. No place stated. 1591.

Pope Gregory's List, *Records*, vol. iii. p. 46.

Worthington, John, Father S.J. For many years a prisoner. Died a prisoner on parole, January 25, 1648.

*Records*, vol. ii. pp. 75, seq.

Young, John, priest, D.D., once Master of Pembroke College, Oxford, and Vice-Chancellor of the University. In Wisbeach Castle, about 1579.

*Records*, vol. ii. p. 162, note.

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