

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE MARTYRDOM OF THE CARTHUSIAN MONKS.

THE TROUBLES OF
OUR CATHOLIC FOREFATHERS.

RELATED BY THEMSELVES.

First Series.

EDITED BY

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P R E F A C E.

My first duty in these introductory lines is to express my grateful acknowledgment to those kind friends to whom I am indebted for the materials of which this book is composed. Before each paper that is here printed I have prefixed an indication of the ownership of the manuscripts that I have been permitted to use, and I offer my sincere thanks as the only return that it is in my power to make.

I have presented these documents to the reader spelled in the modern fashion. I am quite conscious that in so doing I owe an apology to every antiquary. I confess that to my own taste the quaintness of the old appearance of the words heightens the quaintness of the ancient forms of expression; and I would even add that the pleasure is greater still when both are concealed under an ancient handwriting on time-stained paper, that much pains are needed to decipher. But I should be sorry to think that I have printed these documents only to interest antiquarians, and I am quite aware that to many readers the quaintness of old-fashioned expressions presents a difficulty which becomes fatal to their interest or curiosity

when they fail at once to recognize the words as they stand in their ancient dress. In the hope, therefore, that my book may be more freely read, I have not hesitated to modernize the spelling.

I would gladly have retained the proper names as they are written in the manuscripts I have copied, but this was impossible from the variety of forms under which they appear, which, if reproduced, would have been very confusing to the reader. For instance, within a few pages the name *Fortescue* is spelled Forteshew, Fosteskue, Fostekue, Fostkue, Foscue, and Foscu. These are evidently taken from the pronunciation, and sometimes from a slovenly pronunciation. So also are Pool for *Pole*, Room for *Rome*, and Liege for *Leeds*. Clearly no purpose can be served by reproducing such variations, unless the whole text is given *literatim*. These are mere mistakes, as Jhon for *John*, the erroneous form being, perhaps, more common than the correct spelling.

But the difficulty at once arises, How then are the proper names to be spelled? In editing Father Gerard's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, I tried to follow the spelling that most prevailed in the manuscript before me. I regret it now, for I got thus drawn into such spellings as Knoles for *Knox* and Falks for *Fawkes*.

I have had to choose in many cases between the old and the modern form of a name, and wishing to be easily understood I have chosen the modern. I have regarded as antiquated such methods of spelling as Cullen, Loven, Rhemes,

Doway, Brussels, Gaunt, Liege (one syllable like "*liege* lord"), although the corresponding pronunciations have hardly yet died out amongst old-fashioned persons. I have adopted the English names of places where they yet exist, but it must be confessed that the frequency of modern travel has worked much havoc among them. Thus I have ventured to regard as English forms yet surviving St. Omers for *St. Omer*, Douay for *Douai*, Mechlin for *Malines*, Loretto and Sienna for *Loreto* and *Siena*; as English as Leghorn or Antwerp, Venice or Dunkirk, Lyons or Rome. But I have felt myself driven by modern usage into the French forms *Louvain*, *Cologne*, *Liège*, *Bois-le-duc* (shortened by our ancestors into Bolduck), *Bruges* for Bridges; and, on the other hand, to Ghent, an approximation to the Flemish name *Gent*, whilst in that case amongst our ancestors the form Gant or Gaunt, nearer to the French *Gand*, seems to have prevailed since the days when it gave a surname to the third son of Edward III., John of Gaunt, who was born there in 1340.

The reader will not often be perplexed by antiquated forms of expression. I would single out one, to which I beg leave to call his attention. It is the constant use of "as" for "that." Father Blount's speech across the moat is an example. "I am so weak *as* if I should come back to fetch you, we should both be drowned." Sentences are often incorrect and ungrammatical. Where a word or break in the sentence would set them right, I

have occasionally permitted myself to make such a change. But I have preferred not to touch the simplicity of the originals, which would have been lost in any process of polishing. A few expressions, allowable in their plain-spoken age, I have been obliged, in accordance with modern feeling, to omit, and it has not been easy to know where to draw the line. Here again I have preferred to omit as little as possible.

The frontispiece is taken, by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, from a print in the Ghent edition of 1608 of Maurice Chauncy's *De vitæ ratione octodecim Cartusianorum*. It is copied by the "Woodbury" or permanent process.

One criticism on this volume is inevitable, and I venture to anticipate it. The story is told of a foreigner learning English who reported himself as reading Johnson's *Dictionary*, which he described as a "learned book but rather unconnected." The blame of this verdict, I fear, will be counted applicable here. It is true that the interest which Father John Gerard's Autobiography possesses, in being a consecutive narrative in which the same persons reappear, so that we seem to ourselves to form an acquaintance with them, the shorter stories in the present volume cannot have. But I have rendered the volume apparently more inconsecutive still by accepting almost any pretext for stringing together in some of the introductions subjects that have but slight connecting links. I

had rather that my book were something of a dictionary than that these scraps and fragments should be lost.

Besides the direct object I have in view, that of making the condition of Catholics in England after the Reformation better known, I hope that some interesting details of family history, and some curious traits of the manners of those times, may be brought to light in these pages. The Corpus Christi anthem on Thursdays in Mechlin Cathedral, or the thirty days *Miserere* at a Sister's grave in St. Monica's Cloister, may serve as examples of one kind. Of another is the state of the highways, as shown by the reason given why Father Blount should have been excessively splashed, "for, by reason of the darkness, *they kept the highway.*" The account of Lord Aston's grand manner of living carries us back to times very different from our own. So again, not less effectually, does the simple phrase describing the marksmanship of the royalist gentlemen in garrison at Oxford, that with a long fowling-piece, charged with a single bullet, "they could hit any little mark *as well as with a stone bow.*" More unlike our own time, thanks be God, is the treatment of a brave gentleman like Francis Tregian, and others, whose troubles for conscience sake are here related. A High Sheriff and the magistrates of a county no longer assemble to see a Priest hanged and mangled as they met around the scaffold of Cuthbert Maine; and even, happily, we have no Queen Elizabeth to throw

her "pantofle" at her choir-master for not hindering the conversion of one of his best choristers. Yet the seventeenth century is not far from us; in some sense it is nearer to us than the eighteenth. If any of its troubles should return upon us, may we show that, with the faith, we have inherited the courage of our Catholic Forefathers.

I have been fairly puzzled to find an appropriate title to volumes so miscellaneous in their contents as this is and its successor must be; and if it were not for the vexatious fines imposed solely on account of their religion upon free and easy country gentlemen like the Southcotes, it would be hard to see how Sir Edward Southcote's *Memoirs* could be included under the heading of *Troubles of our Catholic Forefathers*. I am fully conscious that this is far from the only point on which I have to ask indulgence; but if, in spite of all defects, these papers, as here presented to them, interest my readers one tithe of the degree in which they have interested me, something will have been gained in behalf of a cause that would be eminently attractive if it were but known, the honour due to our English Martyrs. A knowledge of the times in which our Martyrs lived will lead to a sympathy for their work and an interest in the manner of their lives and deaths, which must precede an affectionate devotion to the Martyrs themselves.

J. M.

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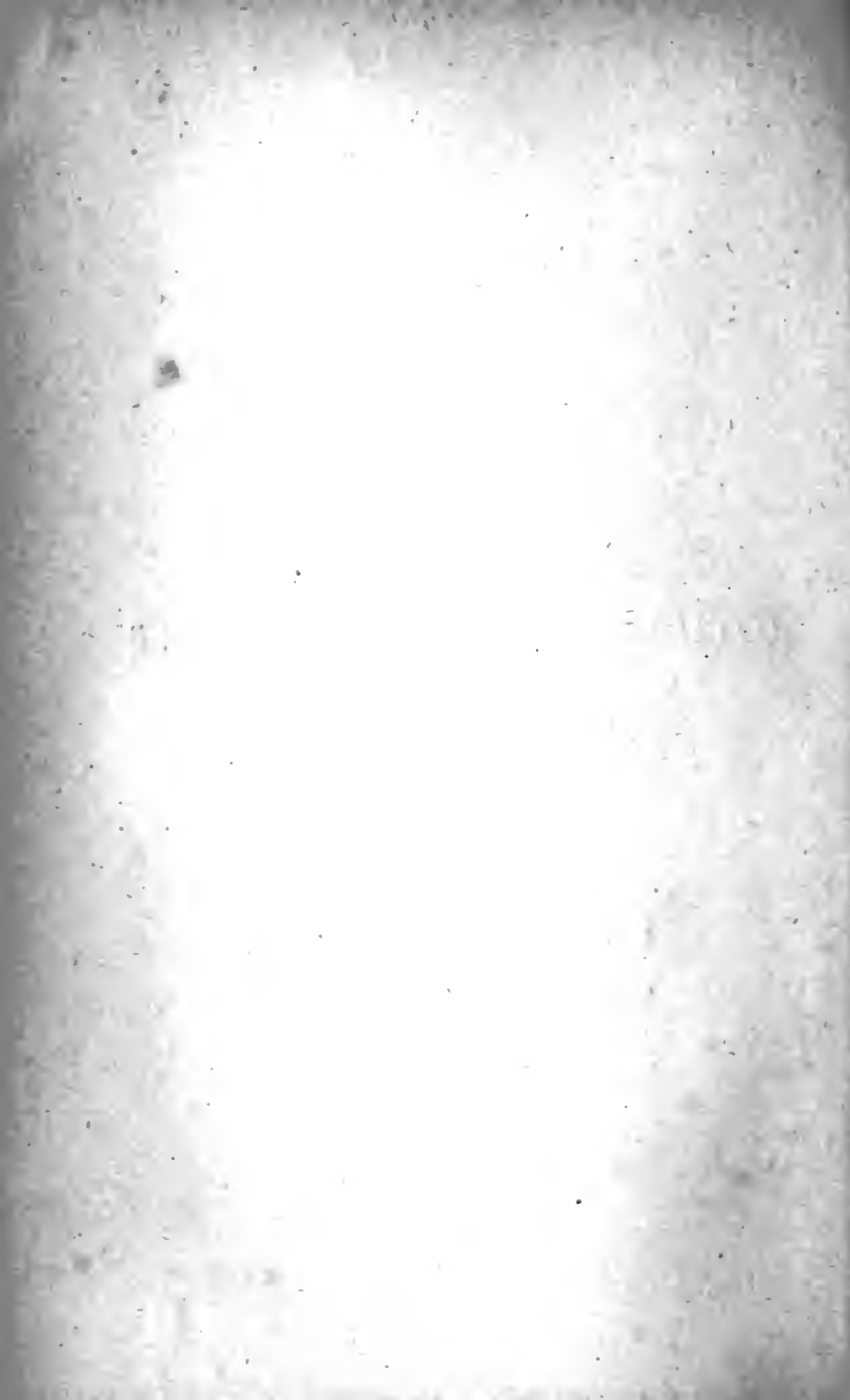
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I.

MOTHER MARGARET CLEMENT

AND THE

CARTHUSIAN MONKS.



MOTHER MARGARET CLEMENT

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ONE of the most beautiful features of the faith of our Catholic forefathers was their love for the Religious life. Under circumstances which would have justified, if any could do so, their attending solely to those essentials of their Catholic profession that were becoming every day more difficult to secure, they showed the depth and earnestness of their love of God by their resolve that, at least in exile, the counsels of perfection should be practised among them. The Carthusians of Sheen, and the Bridgettines of Sion, had been driven abroad, and all other Monasteries in England were suppressed. But in the beginning of the seventeenth century a considerable number of English Religious houses came into existence on the Continent.

The Orders of men were the English Benedictines, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits, besides the Carthusians already mentioned. Some of the ancient houses,¹ founded in the times of persecution, are amongst us to this day. The great Anglo-Benedictine Congregation, on the French revolution, transferred St. Gregory's College from Douay to Downside; and on the restitution of Douay, it was taken possession of by the survivors of St. Edmund's Monastery, Paris. The celebrated College of Bornheim, of the Order of St. Dominic, is now represented by the Priory of the Annunciation, Woodchester. And under the charge of the Society of Jesus, the College of Liège survives at Stonyhurst.

¹ *English Colleges and Convents on the Continent.* Edited by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth (now Provost of Northampton). Norwich, 1849.

Besides the Bridgettine Nuns of Sion House, who have lately returned to England from Lisbon and are now settled at Spetisbury, the ancient houses of English Religious women that have come down to our times are numerous. The Convent of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre, founded at Liége in 1616, is now at New Hall, near Chelmsford. The Benedictinesses have no less than six Convents with an ancient lineage. St. Mary's Abbey at East Bergholt represents the house founded in Brussels in 1598 by Lady Mary Percy; the Abbey of Our Lady of Consolation at Stanbrook is descended from Cambrai, a filiation from Brussels in 1623; St. Mary's Priory at Oulton succeeds that at Ghent, which also was a filiation from Brussels in 1624; St. Benedict's Priory, Colwich, is the Paris house, a filiation from Cambrai in 1651; and St. Scholastica's Abbey, Teignmouth, is that of Dunkirk, which was a filiation from Ghent in 1662. The sixth ancient Benedictine Convent is not of English origin, St. Mary's Priory, Princethorpe, from Montargis, a colony from Montmartre in 1630.

The English Nuns of the Second Order of St. Dominic, founded in 1661 by Cardinal Howard at Vilvorde, are now the Priory of Our Lady of Reparation at Carisbrooke, in the Isle of Wight. The house of Poor Clares at Gravelines was founded in 1609. This Community, together with its two filiations of Aire in 1629 and Rouen in 1648, is now settled at St. Clare's Abbey, Darlington. The Convent of the Third Order of St. Francis, which was founded in Brussels in 1621, and afterwards moved to Nieuport and Bruges, is now the Convent of Our Lady of Dolours, Taunton. And two ancient houses of Teresian Carmelites are now in England: that at Lanherne, which was founded at Antwerp in 1619, and the Convent now at Mount Carmel, Darlington, which came from Lierre, a colony in 1648 from Antwerp.

The most ancient Religious house founded and always remaining in England, and long the only Convent in the country, is the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary at York, which began in 1686.

The English Augustinianesses have three houses, the descendants of ancient foundations, in England, Belgium, and France respectively. St. Monica's, Louvain, a filiation from

St. Ursula's in the same town in 1609, is now at Abbotsleigh. A colony left Louvain for Bruges in 1629, and it is there still; and a house founded in Paris in 1633, now at Neuilly, survived until lately in the Rue des Fosses St. Victor.

Of these Religious houses, St. Monica's, Louvain, and its mother house, St. Ursula's, in the same city (the ruins of which still exist in the Mi-Rue), are concerned in the following narrative. Margaret Clement, whose life it is, was for thirty-eight years Prioress of the Flemish Augustinianesses of St. Ursula's, and was one of the English Sisters by whom the colony of St. Monica's was founded. Her father was John Clement;¹ her mother, the Margaret Giggs, "a gentleman's daughter of Norfolk,"² who appears by Margaret Roper's side in Holbein's picture of Sir Thomas More's family, and of whom Sir Thomas More said, in his last letter, "I send now to my good daughter Clement her algorism-stone,³ and send her and my godson, and all hers, God's blessing and mine." This godson was Thomas Clement, Margaret's brother.

The family of the Clements went into voluntary banishment for the sake of religion twice, returning to England during Queen Mary's reign. At that time (1551) they left their daughter Margaret as a scholar at St. Ursula's, Louvain, "for great was the fame of this Monastery for the education of children: besides, Elizabeth Woodford was there, a Religious of the English nation, much esteemed of the Prioress and of the other Religious, and well known to this Mr. Clement, for, being cast out of her Monastery in England at the suppression of Religious houses, until her coming over into Flanders, she had lived privately in his

¹ Bridgewater's *Concertatio*; in the *Brevis descriptio rerum* at the end. Amongst the other exiles for religion at that time, Bridgewater mentions another person whose name is connected with Sir Thomas More's death. Dorothy Colley, Margaret Roper's faithful maidservant, like her mistress, kissed the good old man as he was returning to the Tower when found guilty of high treason. More said of it afterwards, "that it was homely, but very lovingly done." And in his last letter he wrote, "I like especial well Dorothy Colley, I pray you be good unto her." Bridgewater tells us that Dorothy became the wife of John Harris, whom, in one of his notes to his daughter written in the Tower with a coal, Sir Thomas calls "my friend."

² *Chronicle of St. Monica's*, p. 4.

³ "Algorism (Arab.), implying the six operations of arithmetic." *Johnson*.

house, for which cause he assured himself she would take care of his young daughter." Some further particulars of this venerable Religious, from the *Chronicle of St. Monica's* cannot fail to be interesting.

"In the year 1572, upon the 25th day of October, died the old Nun, Elizabeth Woodford. She was a substantial woman, and a strict observer of Religion, although somewhat severe, as they used in old time to be towards youth in England. She had been professed fifty-three years, twenty-four whereof she lived in St. Ursula's Monastery, and the other years in England, she being professed there upon the day of our Blessed Lady's Conception, in the year 1519. She was of so good a judgment, that the Prioress of St. Ursula's would often ask her counsel and follow her advice in matters of moment. She would sometimes advise the young Nun, Sister Margaret Clement, that if ever she came into England, they should not admit of Abbesses in their Order, for the great abuses that she had seen to enter into Religion thereby, and would probably be again introduced: but Prioresses were, in England, of far better observance of the order."

By 1606, when Mother Margaret Clement had been Prioress of St. Ursula's thirty-eight years, and kept her jubilee of fifty years of Religion, there were in the Cloister twenty-two English Nuns, and six had died, viz., two scholars, three Nuns, and one White Sister¹ professed on her death-bed.

The records of St. Monica's contain a roll of honoured Catholic names. We must, for the present, be content with mentioning some only of those who were contemporaries of Mother Margaret Clement.

And first, "Mrs. Allen, widow to Mr. George [Richard] Allen, of Rossall in Lancashire, brother to Cardinal Allen, came over about this time [1562], with her three daughters. Two of them, Helen and Catharine, she put into the Monastery, and she lived herself in this town many years, until her death. The youngest daughter, Mistress Mary, married Mr. Worthington, of

¹ Nuns who were bound to the essential vows of Religion and inclosure, but not to choir. They were called Converses. *St. Monica's Chronicle*, p. 163.

Birch [Blainscow] in Lancashire." Helen was professed in 1594, and died in 1603. Catharine Allen was professed with Mary Wiseman,¹ May 8, 1595; and on the 5th of June in the same year, Bridget Wiseman, Margaret Garnet, and Dorothy Rookwood, were professed together. Margaret was sister of Father Henry Garnet, S.J., the martyr, and another sister, Eleanor, was professed two years later. In 1596 "entered into the Monastery Sister Anne Cletherow, daughter to Mrs. Cletherow, the proto-martyr of her sex in England, who followed well her holy mother's virtuous steps, for she was a very good Religious, who set herself seriously to the work of perfection, and our Sisters who came hither used to praise her much, saying that she laboured well in the overcoming of her nature and the practice of solid virtues." It is only needful to mention one more of the Religious in this place, but Sister Elizabeth has especial claims upon us, for, according to *St. Monica's Chronicle*, she was the authoress of the *Life of Mother Margaret Clement*. "She was the daughter to John Shirley, of Shirley in Leicestershire, the chiefest house of that name, and sister to the baronet, Sir George Shirley."

The *Life of Mother Clement* was written, as a note upon it says, in 1611. The *Chronicle of St. Monica's* embraces the first fifty years of that house, on the jubilee of which (1659) it tells us, "our Reverend Father preached after Evensong, and made a worthy sermon, and showed how that in the space of this fifty years we had professed here just a hundred persons, seventy-two whereof were Nuns of the Choir, the rest White Sisters and Lay-sisters." The earlier portion was written (p. 96) in 1631.

Let us turn now to the records of the holy Carthusian Fathers. Roper, in the life of his martyred father-in-law, relates that, "As Sir Thomas More, in the Tower, chanced on a time, looking out of his window, to behold one Master Reynolds, a religious, learned, and virtuous Father of Sion, and three Monks of the Charterhouse, for the matter of the Supremacy and

¹ *Father John Gerard's Life*, p. xxxi.

Matrimony, going out of the Tower to execution, he, as one longing on that journey to have accompanied them, said unto my wife [Margaret Roper], then standing there beside him, 'Lo, dost thou not see, Meg, that these blessed Fathers be now as cheerfully going to their death as bridegrooms to their marriage. Wherefore thereby mayest thou see, my own good daughter, what a great difference there is between such as have in effect spent all their days in a strait, hard, penitential and painful life, religiously; and such as have (as thy poor father hath done) consumed all their time in pleasure and ease licentiously. For God, considering their long-continued life in most sore and grievous penance, will no longer suffer them to remain here in this vale of misery and iniquity, but speedily hence taketh them to the fruition of His everlasting Deity. Whereas thy silly father, Meg, like a most wicked caitiff, hath passed forth the whole course of his miserable life most sinfully, God, thinking him not worthy so soon to come to that eternal felicity, leaveth him here yet still in the world, further to be plagued and turmoiled with misery.'"¹

The holy martyrs, whose cheerful bearing and happy end aroused the brave old Chancellor's holy envy, were Richard Reynolds, a Monk of Sion House, and three Carthusians, John Houghton, Prior of the London Charterhouse; Augustine Webster, a Monk of Sheen, Prior of the House of the Visitation, near Eppeworth, in the Isle of Axholme; and Robert Laurence, Prior of Beauvale, in Nottinghamshire. Fortunately for their name, the original indictment is still extant,² on which they were convicted, so that the cause of their death cannot be doubted. They were tried on the 29th of April, 1535, for that, "traitorously machinating to deprive the King of his title as Supreme Head of the Church of England, they did, on the 26th of April, at the Tower of London, openly declare and say—'The King, our Sovereign Lord, is not Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England.'" They suffered on the 4th of May, and with them a Secular Priest, John Hale, of Isleworth, who has not been accounted with them a martyr

¹ Roper's *Life of More*. Ed. Singer, 1822, p. 76.

² *Third Report of Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, App., p. 237.

for religion, as he pleaded guilty to traitorous speeches against the King.¹

Three other Monks of the Charterhouse were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn, on the 19th² of June, in the same year. They were convicted of high treason on the 11th, for having severally said, on the 25th of May, in conversation amongst one another—"I cannot nor will consent to be obedient to the King's Highness, as a true, lawful, and obedient subject, to take and repute him to be Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, under Christ."

In addition to these great martyrs, who gloriously gave their lives sooner than deny the supremacy of Christ's Vicar upon earth, the London Charterhouse gave to the Church other heroic souls, who were not less constant in the faith, though it was to an end less conspicuous, though not less trying. It was towards these holy martyrs that Margaret Clement, More's adopted daughter, showed her loving sympathy, as in the following narrative we learn from her daughter's life. But in order rightly to understand the cause of their death, and to appreciate their heroic constancy, it will be necessary to relate the manner of the suppression of their beautiful Charterhouse.

The Religious deserved the praise bestowed on them by Sir Thomas More, as he looked out of the Tower window on their Prior going to his martyrdom. Simplicity and fervour reigned amongst them. It is moving to read the account of the state of the house written by Maurice Chauncy, who had himself lived in

¹ Robert Feron, of Teddington, a Priest, was found guilty at the same time, but was pardoned, apparently as King's evidence, for the speeches in the indictment against Hale were taken down by him in writing. The following is a specimen of them. "Until the King and the rulers of this realm be plucked by the pates, and brought as we say to the pot, shall we never live merrily in England, which I pray God may chance, and now shortly, come to pass. Ireland is set against him, which will never shrink in their quarrel to die in it; and what think ye of Wales? Their noble and gentle Ap-Ryce, so cruelly put to death and so innocent, as they say, in the cause. I think not contrary but they will join and take part with the Irish and so invade our realm. If they do so, doubt ye not but they shall have aid and strength in England, for this is truth, three parts of England be against the King, as he shall find if he need."

² Dugdale, quoting Stow, says it was the 18th, but Hale agrees with Maurice Chauncy, their fellow-Carthusian, in saying the 19th.

it. William Tynbygh, an Irishman by birth, a saintly old man who was sixty years in Religion, had governed the house as its Prior for thirty years. His was a very supernatural life. Among the beautiful things told of him, it is said that for many years before his death he could scarcely ever say the last Gospel in the Mass, *In principio erat Verbum*, without an ecstasy. His Religious followed him in the spirit of tender piety. Chauncy gives an account of five in all of a large Community in troublous times who went astray, and his circumstantial narrative carries with it all the tokens of truthfulness. There were thirty Professed Fathers and eighteen Lay-brothers, *Converses*, as they were called; *Conversi*, says Chauncy, *re et nomine*. Even from the enemy, as we shall see, we learn that the Lay-brothers of the London Charterhouse were very fervent. Six of them were martyred.

Two Religious in particular are singled out by Chauncy for special praise, and we have already mentioned the martyrdom of both—John Houghton and William Exmew. The latter was at that time the Vicar of the house. He was also the Confessor of the holy Prior Houghton, and as such he testified of him that, many as were his occupations as Prior, they left him free from distractions in time of prayer.

John Houghton was born in Essex, and received his education in Cambridge, where he took the degree of bachelor of laws. His parents desiring him to marry against his will, he left his home and lived with a Priest until he attained the canonical age for his own ordination to the priesthood. He then returned to his parents and remained with them for four years. When twenty-eight years old, he resolved on serving God in the Carthusian Order, and, entering the Charterhouse of London, set a very signal example of Religious virtue. He held the office of Sacristan for five years, and of Procurator for three. He was then made Prior of Beauvale,¹ but he only remained there for six months, for in 1530, John Bartmanson dying, who the previous year had succeeded the holy Prior Tynbygh, he was recalled to the house of his profession, which he was to make glorious by his

¹ Dugdale has several omissions in his lists of Carthusian Priors. Webster should be at Eppeworth and not at Beauvale; Houghton at Beauvale; Bartmanson at London. The latter, according to Bale, wrote against Erasmus.

death. The year after, he was made Visitor of England by the Father General of the Grande Chartreuse. He had been Prior five years when he won his palm of martyrdom. Of him his brethren said that if he had not died a martyr he would have deserved to be canonized for his practice of virtue; and Chauncy reports that even Thomas Cromwell, the King's Vicar, said of him in their chapter house after his death that he was a good and holy man.

The first trouble that befell this home of Religious discipline and quiet prayer was one that tested the souls of all Englishmen, and found few with the courage of Fisher, of More, and of the Carthusians. June 1, 1533, Anne Boleyn was crowned Queen of England. In that year, the 25th of Henry's reign, an Act was passed by his subservient Parliament, requiring that all persons who were sixteen years of age, when it pleased the King to require it, should swear that they would maintain the Act of Succession, which Act declared that none were heirs to the Crown but the children of the King's "most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Anne." No form of oath was appointed by this statute. The Royal Commissioners required of Prior Houghton and his Community that they should swear to the Succession, as settled by the Act. The Prior tried to evade the treacherous question this demand involved, saying that his position did not require him to judge of such high matters as royal marriages. The Commissioners, however, required that in the presence of the Community he should swear that the King's marriage with Catharine was invalid. The Prior, however, simply saying that he could not understand how a marriage, solemnly celebrated in the face of the Church, could be afterwards annulled, he was sent to the Tower of London with the Procurator, Father Humphrey Middlemore. They were kept in prison for a month, but were set at liberty when they took the oath conditionally.

This was the beginning of troubles, and Prior Houghton knew it. When his Monks, in the midst of their joy at his return, felt greatly disturbed at the thought that a similar oath would soon be proposed to them, the Prior said—"Our hour has not yet come, dear Fathers. The very night that Father Procurator and

I were set free from prison, I dreamt that I was not to escape so soon, but that I should be brought back, and that very prison would receive me again within a year, and that there I should complete my course. So, though I set no store by dreams, I think that something else will be proposed to us before long; but meanwhile let us live without offending God, as far as we possibly can."

On the 30th of March, 1534, the last day of the Session of Parliament in that year, an oath was imposed to supply the defect of the Act of the preceding year. It was insidiously worded. It ran thus—"Ye shall swear to bear faith, truth, and obedience alonely to the King's Majesty, and to his heirs of his body of his most dear and entirely beloved lawful wife, Queen Anne, begotten and to be begotten. And further, to the heirs of our said Sovereign Lord, according to the limitation in the statute made for surety of his succession in the Crown of the Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other within the Realm, *nor foreign authority or potentate*. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made by you to any person or persons, that then ye repute the same as vain and annihilate. And that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the said Act of Succession," &c. That this was meant to be a sort of abjuration of the Pope, no one could doubt. He was the only "foreign authority" to whom an oath was taken, and this was to be declared "vain and annihilate." Acts had already been passed by Parliament forbidding appeals to the Pope, and the payment of first fruits to the Holy See; and the clergy in Convocation had declared themselves immediately dependent on the royal authority. It was, therefore, clear what was meant by bearing "faith, truth, and obedience *alonely* to the King's Majesty."

This was the oath that Fisher and More refused to take. Their objection was not to the enactments respecting the succession to the Crown. "Surely," said More, "as to swear to the succession I see no peril." "In good faith my conscience so moved me in the matter that, though I would not deny to swear to the succession, yet unto that oath that there was offered me

I could not swear without the jeoparding of my soul to perpetual damnation."¹ So also Bishop Fisher. "On his appearing before the Commissioners and their tendering to him the oath, his lordship told them that he was content to be sworn to that part of it which concerned the succession, for which he gave the Commissioners this reason, which he seems to have had from Sir Thomas More, and which his lordship told them had convinced him. That he doubted not but the Prince of any realm, with the assent of his nobles and commons, might appoint for his succession royal such an order as seemed most agreeable to his wisdom. But as to the other parts of the oath, he said, he could not swear to them, because his conscience would not suffer him to do so."²

This oath the Carthusians took, *sub conditione*. Chauncy, who himself was one of them, says that they took it under the condition, *quatenus licitum esset*. And Speed³ records, "By the counsel and exhortation of the Prior of the Charterhouse, the Convent submitted and took the oath of succession, with this condition, *as far as was lawful*." The Capitular Act attesting the oath, which is to be found in Rymer,⁴ makes no mention of any condition, but neither does it mention the Act of Parliament but simply "the Oaths and Fealties." These were taken by some on the 29th of May⁵ before Roland Lee,⁶ Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Thomas Bedyll, Clerk, and by others on the 6th of June before the same Roland Lee and Sir Thomas Kytson, Knight, the King's Commissioner.

At the end of 1534 the Convocations of Canterbury and York had tried to serve God and mammon by asserting the King's supremacy, *quantum per Dei legem licet*. The Parliament which met early in 1535 swept away their feeble protest, and first⁷ enacted the King's Highness to be Supreme Head in earth

¹ Roper's *Life of More*. Ed. Singer, 1822, pp. 123, 126.

² Lewis' *Life of Fisher*. Ed. Turner, 1855, vol. ii., p. 135.

³ *Memorials*, vol. i., p. 195.

⁴ *Fœdera*, vol. xiv., p. 419, *Ex autogr.*

⁵ Chauncy says the 24th, Speed the 4th, both erroneously.

⁶ Roland Lee, then one of the King's chaplains, performed the marriage ceremony between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn.

⁷ 26 Henry VIII., c. 1.

of the Church of England, and then¹ that "if any person, after the 1st day of February next coming, did maliciously wish, will, or desire, by words or writing, to deprive the King, the Queen, &c., of their dignity, title, or name of their royal estates, every such person should be adjudged a traitor." These are the Acts of Parliament under which Fisher, More, and the seven Religious suffered martyrdom.

The Prior of the Carthusians prepared his Community for the coming trial by a solemn triduum. His discourse in Chapter on the first day was on charity, being an exposition of the first five verses of the 59th Psalm, and it concluded with the words, "It is better for us here to bear some brief punishment for our faults, than to be preserved for eternal torments." He then went round the Chapter, begging pardon on his knees of each Religious for any offences committed by him against them; and in this act of charity and humility he was imitated by all his brethren. On the third day they sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and the sensible devotion felt at it was such that the Prior at the next assembly of the Community made it the subject of a special thanksgiving.

The Priors of Beauvale and Eppeworth being at the Charterhouse on a visit, it was resolved that they with Prior Houghton should forestall the arrival of the Commissioners by going themselves to Cromwell, the King's Vicar. The result of this was simply their committal to Newgate, followed by their trial, conviction, and martyrdom on the 4th of May, 1535. One quarter with an arm of Father Houghton was placed over the gate of his Priory. One day two of the Monks met under it, one entering the gateway and the other leaving, when suddenly the venerable relic fell at their feet, and as it happened that no one was by, they carried it into the house. They inclosed it in a chest, together with the bloodstained shirt in which he was martyred, and the account of the martyrdom written by the saintly William Exmew; and this they buried, "until the time when God should gather together the congregation of His people and be propitious to them."

Father Houghton wrote with his own hand a note of all

¹ 26 Henry VIII., c. 13.

the questions that had been proposed to them, and their answers, and sent it to Father Exmew. From him it passed to Father Chauncy, who intrusted it to a devout Spaniard named Peter de Bardis to take either to the Pope or to the President at the Grande Chartreuse.

Two days after the martyrdom of the Priors, Thomas Bedyll, one of the Commissaries, wrote to Cromwell, respecting the three next victims. These were Humphrey Middlemore, now Vicar, formerly Procurator, William Exmew, until lately Vicar, but now Procurator, and Sebastian Newdigate, "who was," says Chauncy, "bred up in the King's household." They were young men, but Priests and Professed Fathers. The pen of an enemy thus¹ bears witness to their constancy in the Catholic faith.

"Please it you to understand that on Tuesday, forthwith upon my departure from you, I repaired to the Charterhouse, and had with me divers books and annotations, both of my own and others, against the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and also of St. Peter, declaring evidently the equality of the Apostles by the Law of God. And after long communication, more than one hour and a half, with the Vicar and Procurator of the house, I left those books and annotations with them, that they should see the Holy Scriptures and Doctors thereupon concerning the said matters, and thereupon reform themselves accordingly. And yesterday they sent me the said books and annotations again home to my house by a servant of theirs, without any word or writing. Wherefore I sent to the Procurator to come and speak with me, seeing I kept my bed by reason of sickness, and could not come to him. And at his coming I demanded of him whether he and the Vicar and other of the Seniors had seen or heard the said annotations, or perused the titles of the books, making most for the said matters. And he answered that the Vicar and he and Newdigate had spent the time upon them till nine or ten of the clock at night, and that they saw nothing in them whereby they were moved to alter their opinion. I then declared to him the danger of his opinion, which was like to

¹ Printed in "Letters on Suppression of Monasteries," Camden Society, 1843, p. 40, from the Cottonian MSS.

be the destruction of them and their house for ever ; and as far as I could perceive by my communication with the Vicar and Procurator on Tuesday, and with the Procurator yesterday, they be obstinately determined to suffer all extremities rather than to alter their opinion, regarding no more the death of their Father in word or countenance than he were living and conversant among them. I also demanded of the Procurator whether the residue of his brethren were of like opinion, and he answered he was not sure, but he thought they were all of one mind. I showed him that I thought that the spirit which appeared afore God and said he would be a false spirit in the mouths of all the prophets of Achab, had inspired them and sowed this obstinacy in them. Finally, I suppose it to be the will of God, that as their Religion had a simple beginning, so in this realm it shall have a strange end, procured by themselves, and by none others. And albeit they pretend holiness in their behalf, surely the ground of their said opinion is hypocrisy, vainglory, confederacy, obstinacy, to the intent they may be seen to the world, or specially to such as have confidence in them, more faithful and more constant than any other. From Aldergate Street, this morning of Ascension Day [May 6, 1535]. I am so troubled with the fever, that I am fain to keep my house.

“By your own, THOMAS BEDYLL.”

In three weeks time this letter bore its fruit, and the three Religious were sent to prison. For a fortnight they were imprisoned with great cruelty, bound to posts with chains round their necks and legs, and not released for any cause whatever. This is worth noticing in their case, as it corroborates the account of the subsequent martyrs given by Margaret Clement. Their pains were ended by the usual butchery at Tyburn, on the 19th of June, 1535.

Another Commissary, Jasper Fylolle, in a letter¹ to Cromwell, the first part of which relates to the temporalities of the house, thus mentions two very different men. The one, John Rochester, was afterwards martyred. The other, Nicholas

¹ Printed in “Letters on Suppression of Monasteries,” Camden Society, 1843, p. 67, from the Cottonian MSS.

Rawlins,¹ is one whom Chauncy describes as of a very tepid conversation, to whom remaining in church was very disagreeable, and who at length came to think of apostatizing. "In the beginning of August last past, my Lord of Canterbury sent for two Monks here, Rochester and Rawlins. His lordship sent Rochester home again, but he keepeth Rawlins still with him, and I understand he hath changed his habit to Secular Priests' clothing, and eateth flesh. I know that some of them, and I think that divers more of them, would be glad to be licensed to the same. . . . Master John Maydwell, commonly called the Scottish Friar, hath been here with Dan John Rochester, William Marshall and other then being present, and hath exhorted him to the best, but they could find no good towardness in him, but after an hour's communication they left him as they found him. Then I entreated Rochester and four or five of the Monks to be contented to hear him preach one sermon among them one day that week, wherewith they were then contented; but on the next day, when they had spoken with their other Brothers, they sent me word that I should not bring him among them, for if I so did they would not hear him, because they heard tell of him that he preached against the honouring of images and of Saints, and that he was a blasphemmer of Saints. And I said that I marvelled much of them, for there can be no greater heresy in any man, especially in a Religious man, than to say that he cannot preach the Word of God, neither will not hear it preached. And they say that they will read their Doctors and go no farther; and I told them that such Doctors hath made some of their company to be strong traitors and traitorously to suffer death." He then adds, that he "dare do nothing till he knows somewhat of his mastership's pleasure, as he has learnt from his fellow John Whalley that his pleasure is that he should break none old order of the house;" and he dates his letter from the Charterhouse, Sept. 5 [1535]. In his postscript he adds that he has sent Cromwell "a parchment containing the names of the whole household of the Charterhouse," and "in the first line before every man's name that hath confessed himself to be the King's true man, there is set a *g* for good and before the other

¹ Misprinted in Chauncy, by an evident clerical error, Rawhus.

a *b* for bad." The "good" and the "bad" amongst the Monks of the Charterhouse have long since been judged by another standard.

Two years now passed without any other Religious being sent to prison. A new Prior was named, Father William Trafford, who has the ill fame of having resigned the Charterhouse into the King's hands when the time was ripe for its total suppression.¹ The house was governed by Royal Commissaries, who took possession of the place and treated the Religious according to the instructions they received. To show what a living martyrdom these two years must have been to the good, and how heavy the pressure was that was brought to bear on the weak, it will be well to give the letter² of the Commissaries' instructions.

"An Order for the Charterhouse of London.

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

"*Item*, that the said Governors shall call all the Monks before them, and all the other servants and officers of the house; and to show them that the King's Grace hath pardoned them of all heresies and treasons by any of them committed before that day, giving them warning that if they eftsoons offend, to die without mercy. And that there be a pardon purchased for them all under the King's Great Seal.

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

Item, that the said Governors call all the Monks to them severally, one after another, at divers times, and to examine them

¹ Indeed, the Religious do not seem to have regarded him as their Prior. Chauncy says, "Being deprived of a Prior exterior to ourselves, every man's conscience was his Prior." On the other hand Bedyll, as we shall see, praises him for "as honest a man as is in that habit," which meant "that howsoever he be ordered, he would be contented without grudge."

² Brit. Mus., Cotton. MSS., Cleopatra, iv., f. 27.

of all their opinions, and to exhort them to the truth, showing them that if any of them will, he shall have a dispensation to leave that Order and to live otherwise, and to have convenient stipend for a year or two, till he have provided himself of a living, so that he conform himself to the King's laws, and to endeavour himself to learn and to preach the Word of God, which every Priest is bound to do, and yet by their Religion (as it is said) they have professed falsely the contrary that none of them shall never preach the Word of God.

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

“*Item*, to take from them all manner of books wherein any errors be contained, and to let them all have the Old Testament and the New Testament.

“*Item*, to cause them to show all their ceremonies, and to teach them and to exhort them to leave and to forsake all such ceremonies that be nought.

“*Item*, if they find any of them so obstinate that in nowise will be reformed, then to commit him to prison till the Council may take some other direction for them. And they that will be reformed, to sever them from the company of the obstinates, and to be gently handled to cause them to utter the secrets and mischiefs used among them.

“*Item*, there would be three or four times in every week during this visitation, a sermon made by some discreet, well learned men, and all the monks, officers and servants to be caused to be there present, none exception save only sickness, and the said preachers to have their chambers there, and meat and drink, that they might quietly study therefore during that time.

“*Item*, the Lay-brethren be more obstinate and more froward and more unreasonable than the Monks; therefore they would be likewise examined, and the obstinates punished or expelled, and the other [the pliant] kept for a season for knowledge of divers points of them to be had.”

What this discipline cost the Religious, especially the pain they suffered at the loss of the books of which their cells were

stripped, Chauncy describes. He says that the Privy Councillors would often come and harangue them in their chapter house, and sometimes stay so long as to prevent their singing Vespers and Matins in choir. One Sunday Cromwell ordered four of the Fathers to be taken out of the church when they were at High Mass and carried off to St. Paul's, where they were placed in a prominent position, in custody of the Sheriffs, before an immense congregation, while a sermon was preached by a Bishop that did not edify them. They were then sent, on the 4th of May, 1536, the anniversary of Father Houghton's martyrdom, to two other houses of the Order in the north of England. Two of them, John Rochester and James Wannert,¹ were taken from Hull to York, and there were hung in chains by the Duke of Norfolk, on the 11th of May, 1537. Eight others were sent to Sion House, the Rector of which took blame to himself for having encouraged Prior Houghton to prefer death to what was required of him; and, though apparently near death, he tried to dissuade the Carthusians from following in their holy Prior's footsteps. Some were shaken by this counsel, but on their return to the Charterhouse, confirmed by the constancy of others, they continued to refuse the oath of the King's supremacy and of renunciation of the Pope.

At length a spirit of division fell among them, and their strength was broken. The pressure finally overpowered two-thirds of the survivors of the house. The oath that they were made to take must here be inserted in full,² as it shows with precision the cause of the imprisonment and death of the holy martyrs who preferred to die rather than to take it.

"Causa de Renunciatis."

"We, the Prior and Convent of the House of the Salutation of Our Lady, of the Order of Carthusians, nigh London, and the Convent of the same, swear that from henceforth we shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish and forsake the Bishop of Rome and his authority, power, and jurisdiction.

¹ So Chauncy. Probably it is the Father who signed the oath in 1534 as "Jacobus Walwerke."

² Rymcr's *Fœdera*, tom. xiv., p. 588.

“And that we shall never consent nor agree that the Bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the King’s dominions, but that we shall resist the same at all times to the uttermost of our power;

“And that from henceforth we shall accept, repute, and take the King’s Majesty to be the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England;

“And that to our cunning, wit, and uttermost of our power, without guile, fraud, or other undue means, we shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend the whole effects and contents of all and singular Acts and Statutes made and to be made within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and all other Acts and Statutes made and to be made in reformation and corroboration of the King’s power of Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, and this we shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition soever they be, and in nowise do or attempt, nor to our power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apartly to the let, hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof by any manner of means or for any manner of pretence;

“And in case any oath be made, or hath be[en] made by us to any person or persons in maintenance, defence, or favour of the Bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, we repute the same as vain and annihilate.

“So help us God, all Saints, and the holy Evangelies.

“Given in our Chapter House, under our Common Seal, the 18th day of May, the twenty-ninth year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lord, King Henry the Eighth.

“Being then and there present, the Right Worshipful Mr. Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, and Master Richard Gwent, Archdeacon of London, witness in this behalf required.

“Per me, Willielmum Trafford, Priorem.

“Per me, Dominum Edmundum Sterne, Vicarium,” &c.

This document, which bore twenty signatures, was attested by William Say, a public notary. And he adds to it another

instrument, in which he testifies that the remaining ten Religious had been summoned to the chapter house to take the same oath,¹ and that they had refused to do so. Of these, three were Professed Monks and Priests, Thomas Johnson, Richard Bere, and Thomas Greene; one was professed but not a Priest, John Davy, who is styled Referendary; and the remaining six were Lay-brothers, Robert Salt, William Grenewode, Thomas-Redyng, Thomas Scryven, Walter Pierson, and William Horne. May their names for ever be in benediction.

This proceeding was on the 18th of May, 1537,² and on the 29th of that month they were sent to Newgate, where Margaret Clement visited them. A singular proof exists that her story is no exaggeration, and that they were killed by slow starvation, combined with the stench and misery of their dungeon. Thomas Bedyll, whose services had been rewarded by the revenues of the Archdeaconry of Cornwall, wrote the following letter to Lord Cromwell, the original of which is still extant.³

“My very good Lord,—After my most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand that the Monks of the Charterhouse here in London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour long time continued against the King’s Grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by the bill inclosed. Whereof, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not

¹ Lewis, in his *Life of Fisher* (vol. ii., p. 169), adopts a statement of Burnet that it “is a calumny that runs in a thread through all the historians of the Popish side that the Bishop, Sir Thomas More, the Monks of the Charterhouse, &c., who suffered at this time, were put to death for refusing to take the oath of Supremacy. Whereas, supposing that the oath of Succession might be so called, it is certain that, by the Act that required the taking it, the penalty of refusing it was not death, but only the loss of estate and liberty.” The indictments of the martyrs, the originals of which remain in the *Baga de secretis*, and the summary of which is given in the *Third Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records*, above quoted, show that they died not under the Act of Succession, but for denying the Royal Supremacy.

² Rymer erroneously marks it 1538.

³ Brit. Mus., Cotton. MSS., Cleopatra, iv., f. 256. In the “Letters relating to Suppression of Monasteries,” Camden Society, 1843, Mr. Wright sums up the letter without reference to the prisoners, and omits the inclosed list of their names.

sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's Highness and his worldly honour were in like case.

"My lord (as you may), I desire you in the way of charity and none otherwise to be good lord to the Prior of the said Charterhouse [William Trafford], which is as honest a man as ever was in that habit (or else I am much deceived), and is one which never offended the King's Grace by disobedience of his laws, but hath laboured very sore continually for the reformation of his brethren. And now at the last, at mine exhortation and instigation, constantly moved and finally persuaded his brethren to surrender their house, lands, and goods into the King's hands, and to trust only to his mercy and grace. I beseech you, my lord, that the said Prior may be so entreated by your help that he be not sorry and repent that he hath feared and followed your sore words and my gentle exhortations made unto him to surrender his said house, and think that he might have kept the same, if your lordship and I had not led him to the said surrender. But surely (I believe that I know the man so well) that howsoever he be order[ed], he will be contented without grudge. He is a man of such charity as I have not seen the like.

"As touching the house of the Charterhouse, I pray God, if it shall please the King to alter it, that it may be turned into a better use (seeing it is in the face of the world), and much communication will run thereof throughout the realm, for London is the common country of all England, from which is derived to all parts of the realm all good and ill occurrent here.

"From London the 14th day of June [1537].

"By your lordship's at commandment,

"THOMAS BEDYLL."

Inclosing.—"There be departed: Brother William Grenewode, Dan John Davye, Brother Robert Salt, Brother Walter Pierson, Dan Thomas Greene.

"There be even at the point of death: Brother Thomas Scryven, Brother Thomas Redyng.

"There be sick: Dan Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horne.

"One is whole: Dan Bere."

Now remembering that this was written when the ten Religious had been only sixteen days in Newgate, who can doubt, on Archdeacon Bedyll's testimony, that they were deliberately murdered by slow starvation? Margaret Clement's narrative gives us an insight into the cruel process of their lingering martyrdom. It would seem from Chauncy's account that the end came sooner than Cromwell intended, for he tells us that when the news of the death of the Religious was brought to him, he swore a great oath that he was very sorry for it, for he would have treated them more hardly if they had lived longer. One only of the heroic ten survived the ill-treatment which killed his brethren. It was not Dan Richard Bere, who only was "whole" when Bedyll reported their state, but one of the two who were then "sick," Brother William Horne. After remaining for four years in durance, he was hanged, drawn, and quartered on the 4th of November, 1541, completing thus the glorious list of the eighteen English martyrs that the Carthusian Order then gave to God.

The terms of the surrender¹ of the Monastery, dictated by Bedyll, and signed in Chapter, June 10, 1537, four days before the date of his letter, are miserably abject. "Forasmuch as the most and greater part of us, and others not a few of our Convent, both living and dead, have grievously offended the most illustrious Royal Majesty of England, and have so provoked the indignation of His Majesty against us and our Priory, that for our deserts by the laws of England, not only could the moveable and immoveable goods, the rights and possessions of our Priory be confiscated, but also the bodies of those who are living might justly and lawfully be adjudged to a most severe death; considering that it is more prudent and better for us spontaneously and freely to give over all that is ours to the hands and will of the royal clemency than to experience the severity of the laws against us and ours; and that the most just anger of His Majesty against us, and the rigour of the laws, may be more mild and tolerable; we give, grant, and deliver to our illustrious Prince and Lord, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of

¹ From the Latin, given in Bearcroft's *History of Thomas Sutton*. London, 1737, p. 255.

God King of England and France, Lord of Ireland, Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, and our Patron and that of our Monastery and Priory, the said Monastery and Priory, and all and every its manors," &c.

But all Prior Trafford's abject submission, and even Archdeacon Bedyll's interference on his behalf, were singularly ineffectual. He received of Henry's "mercy and grace," the pension of 20*l.*,¹ a sum far below that conferred upon other Priors of Religious houses who surrendered their possessions into the King's hands. Sixteen other Monks of the Charterhouse had for their pension the sum of 5*l.* Last on the list is the name of Maurice Chauncy,² afterwards the historian of the suppression of the house. It is not found among those who signed the oath of the King's Supremacy, but he acknowledges that he was weak enough to take it, though against his conscience. The survivors of the once flourishing Community, consisting of twelve Monks, three guests, and six Lay-brothers, were expelled on the 15th of November, 1539.

Bedyll had asked that the Charterhouse might be put to some "better use, seeing it was in the face of the world." Henry granted it, June 12, 1542, to John Bridges and Thomas Hale for their joint lives, in consideration of the safe keeping of the King's tents and pavilions, which had been then for some time there. Poor Father Chauncy describes with horror the uses to which the sanctuary of God was put, and he relates,

¹ From a Pension book, temp. Henry VIII., in the Augmentation Office. Dugdale's *Monasticon*. Ed. 1830, vol. vi., p. 10.

² Maurice Chauncy was the eldest son of John Chauncy, of Pishobury in Sawbridgeworth, co. Herts, and Elizabeth, heiress of John Proffit, of Barcombe, co. Sussex. His pedigree, from Chauncy de Chauncy near Amiens, whose name is in the roll of Battle Abbey, is traced by his brother Henry's great grand grandson, Sir Henry Chauncy, Knight, in his "*Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire*": London, 1700; p. 60. He was the first Prior of the English Carthusians at Bruges, where he died, July 2, 1581. His book, *Historia aliquot nostri sæculi martyrum*, was printed at Mayence in 1550; and has been reprinted at Munich, 1573, in *Illustria Ecclesie Catholica Trophæa*, again at Milan, 1606, and at both Cologne and Ghent, 1608. Chauncy is often misnamed Channy, from a misprint which curiously enough occurs in two independent places—in the preface to his book, and in the list of signatures to the oath of Succession in Rymer. He and two others are entered in that list (1534) as "Professed but not Priests."

with a positive sense of relief by the contrast, that it was granted, April 14, 1555, to Sir Edward, afterwards Lord, North, who made a palace for himself of the Convent, turned the chapel into a dining-hall, and pulled down most of the cloister. His son Roger Lord North sold it, May 31, 1565, to the Duke of Norfolk for 2,500*l.*, whose son Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, sold it in 1611 for 13,000*l.* to Thomas Sutton, Esq., the Founder of the existing Charterhouse Hospital and School.

Such was the end of Sir Walter de Manny's famous foundation, *la Salutation Mère Dieu*, the London Charterhouse. If the other Religious of England had been as faithful as the Carthusians, Henry VIII. could hardly have succeeded in rooting the monastic life out of the land.

THE LIFE OF OUR REV. OLD MOTHER MARGARET CLEMENT.

Partly from the original manuscript Life by Sister Elizabeth Shirley, the property of the Priory of our Blessed Lady of Nazareth, at Bruges ; and partly from the manuscript *Chronicle of St. Monica's*,¹ the property of St. Augustine's Priory, Abbotsleigh.

SHE was born of very holy and devout parents, her father a doctor of physic, her mother a very holy woman, as may appear in her acts ; amongst which one is worthy of memory, which I have heard our blessed Mother often to relate, and also others that had known her in times past in England. The persecution being very great, especially against the Charterhouse Monks, who were then in prison and cruelly handled, and after martyred for the true faith ; which when she did understand, bearing a singular devotion unto that holy Order, and moved with great compassion of those holy Fathers, she dealt with the gaoler that she might secretly have access unto them, and withal did win him with money that he was content to let her come into the prison to them, which she did very often, attiring and disguising herself as a milkmaid, with a great pail upon her head full of meat, wherewith she fed that blessed company, putting meat into their mouths, they being tied and not able to stir, nor to help themselves, which having done, she afterwards took from them their natural filth.

This pious work she continued for divers days, until at last the King inquiring of them if they were not dead,

¹ The extracts from the *Chronicle* are distinguished by inverted commas.

and understanding that they were not yet dead, to his great admiration, commanded a straiter watch to be set over them, so that the keeper durst not let in this good woman any more, fearing it might cost him his head if it should be discovered. Nevertheless, what with her importunity, and by force of money, she obtained of him that he let her go up to the tiles, right over the close prison where the blessed Fathers were. O rare example and courage of a woman! And so she, uncovering the ceiling or tiles over their heads, by a string let them down meat in a basket; approaching the same as well as she could unto their mouths as they did stand chained against the posts. But they not being able to feed themselves out of the basket, or very little, and the gaoler, fearing very much that it should be perceived, in the end refused to let her come any more; and so, soon after, they languished and pined away, one after another, what with the stink and want of food and other miseries which they there endured. And because God of His goodness leaveth no good work unrewarded, and especially such an heroic act as this was of this devout woman, I have thought good to God His greater honour and glory, and her perpetual memory, to set down her life.

She was brought up in the family of Sir Thomas More, Lord Chancellor of England, who, perceiving in her a singular inclination to virtue and learning, and that she was of a rare spirit, thought it good to bring her up with his daughter, Mrs. Margaret Roper, most dearly beloved of him, and so taught them both himself both Greek and Latin, he excelling in both, as is well known; and he did so trust this our good grandmother (for so I may well call her, she being the mother of our blessed Mother Margaret Clement), that she always provided him of all his devotions and secret penances of disciplines and haircloths, which he did wear continually in the Tower of London until the day before he was to go to his martyrdom, and

then sent it her again inclosed in a casket, because none but she should be privy to his devotions. She was married out of his own house unto Mr. John Clement, of whom he also made great account for his learning and skill in the aforesaid two languages, Greek and Latin, a rare thing in those days. They lived most virtuously in wedlock together, and being blessed with many children, he honoured them, being Lord Chancellor of England, with being godfather unto their son, giving him his own name, Thomas, and sending him his blessing before he went to suffer, which son after came to end his life in our Monastery in the Fathers' house. She did also teach her daughters both Greek and Latin, and did bring them up in such virtue and fear of God, that two of them forsook the world and went to be Religious, the one being a Poor Clare, and the other our most dear and Reverend Mother. But the times growing daily worse and worse in England, being from schism fallen to heresy, in King Edward the Sixth's day, this good married couple thought it best with Lot to depart from Sodom, and so betaking themselves to voluntary exile, they left their country, livings, and rents, with Abraham seeking only to serve God, they being the first family that came over to these Low Countries with all their household and children. Their first abode was at Bruges, from where, after a short time, they moved to Mechlin, and there continued for some few years, in all exercises of piety and devotion, visiting and frequenting the service of the Church in such sort that her husband would never fail, though being nearly threescore and ten years of age, to go every day to Matins in the cathedral church, winter and summer, and there sung the Psalms with the Canons, to the great edification and admiration of them all, and his wife frequented Masses all the morning long. She had an especial great devotion to the anthem of Corpus Christi, so as she would never fail to be at it, and would have her children to do the like.

Their house was a harbour of all Priests, who daily resorted thither for relief, and also for comfort in their banishment for religion ; which they passed with great joy, constancy, and cheerfulness of heart for God's cause, animating all others to do the like. But the time now being come that God had appointed to reward His handmaid for her aforesaid good works done unto the Fathers of the Charterhouse, He visited her with an ague which held her nine or ten days, and having brought her very low and in danger, she received all the Sacraments with great devotion, and being desirous to give her last blessing to all her children, who were all present excepting her Religious daughters and one more that remained at Bruges with her husband, she caused her to be sent for in all haste, but being not able to come so speedily, Wednesday being now come, which was the day before she died, and asking if her daughter were come, and being told no, but that they looked for her every hour, she made answer that she would stay no longer for her, and calling her husband, she told him that the time of her departing was now come, and she might stay no longer, for that there were standing about her bed the Reverend Fathers, Monks of the Charterhouse, whom she had relieved in prison in England, and did call upon her to come away with them, and that therefore she could stay no longer, because they did expect her, which seemed a strange talk unto him. Doubting she might speak idly by reason of her sickness, he called unto her the ghostly Father, a Reverend Father of the Franciscans then living in Mechlin, to examine and talk with her, to whom she constantly made answer, that she was no way beside herself, but declared that she had still the sight of the Charterhouse Monks before her, standing about her bedside, and inviting her to come away with them, as she had told her husband. At the which all were astonished.

The next day being Thursday, in the morning she called for her son Thomas, and willed him that he should take care that all her apparel should be made ready, for by God's grace she would not fail that day to go to Corpus Christi anthem; which he taking to be spoken of distraction, and comforting her the best he could to put this out of her head, she replied that by God's grace she would not fail of her purpose, and therefore all things should be in readiness. And so it fell out, that she from that moment drawing more and more to her end, as soon as the bell of St. Rumold's began to toll to the anthem of Corpus Christi, she gave up her happy soul into the hands of God, thereby showing to have foretold the hour of her death, and that she departed with that blessed company to Heaven, who had so long expected her to be partaker of their glory, as no doubt but she is. Her body was buried in the cathedral church of St. Rumold, behind the high altar, before the memory of our Blessed Saviour lying in His grave, where also her husband was laid by her within two years after.

Now to return again to my purpose, for this was but to relate that these holy martyrs whom she had so carefully assisted, would come to fetch her at her last end. The which so happened, for at her very departure she did see all those Carthusians in their habit perfectly appear before her, which with a smiling countenance she so expressed to those that were about her that it was admirable to the beholders. Thus much I thought good to note concerning the parents of this our Reverend Mother Margaret Clement, who was the youngest of all the eleven children those parents had, and the least esteemed of them all; being not so given to the world as the rest of the children, and therefore accounted simple, while, as the truth saith, the wisdom of men is counted foolishness before God, for she was always exceedingly given to true simplicity of heart, which God of His mercy give us all. Amen.

There was only one English besides herself in the Monastery of St. Ursula at Louvain, who was called Sister Elizabeth Woodford, a very good Religious. She was an old woman, having been professed in England in the days of King Henry VIII., and came into these countries at the suppression of Abbies.

She was a scholar five years before she took the habit ; in which time she did walk so sweetly amongst the Religious that they loved her exceedingly. She had another of her own sisters, that was also in the Monastery.

I cannot omit a childish temptation of scandal that she had once. Some of her companions were given to be sullen when they were chidden or corrected for their faults by their Mothers, and then they would not eat their meat till they were flattered again ; so she thought to do the same, yet when dinner time came she had wholly forgot, and eat a very hearty meal ; and when she had eaten sufficiently she began to think of her former purpose of forbearing her meat, but then it was too late ; but smiling, thinking verily it was her good Angel that had preserved her from falling into such a childish temptation, and determining with herself no more to yield to such an evil motion. This she would sometimes sweetly tell us in our recreation.

Then had she so great contentment and love to the place that although her friends would gladly have had her away in Queen Mary's days to be professed in England, she refused it and writ unto them again that if they would not permit her to remain there they must get her a husband, the which as she told me she minded not, although she seemed to say so to fear her parents. Her father showed her letter to Bishop Bonner who, upon the reading thereof, persuaded him by no means to take her out, for he knew what God had foreseen therein, whereupon he ceased to molest any more, although they had

provided a place for her at St. Bridget's [Sion House], and also made her a cell. I cannot omit to tell here the providence of God towards her, for not long after, the same Monastery of St. Bridget's, where she should have been placed, was wholly dispersed and dissolved, so that the Religious were fain to seek for themselves, by reason of the death of Queen Mary.

“In the year 1557, upon the 11th of October, our said Margaret Clement was admitted to Religious Profession, after she had been five years a scholar, and one year and a half a Novice. One year of probation had been sufficient according to the constitutions of the house, but the importunity of her father to have her into England was the cause of this her so long delay. And this her long probation was the more beneficial unto her by reason that she did not one jot the less carefully apply herself to gain the perfection of a Religious life, but it was a testimony that she had gotten already what some Professed Religious do not in many years attain unto, for being proved by delay, her constancy and settled mind in God, and love to Religious life, did the more manifestly appear in her.”

Once sitting at her work with silence according to her manner, where the rest of the company did break their silences, one said unto her, ‘Sister Margaret doth chapter us,’ meaning that her example did correct them.

After that she had been twelve years professed, it now happened so that the Mother that now governed was old and impotent, and therefore required to be set off from her chair of government, whereupon they were put to an election, and the choice fell between two, she being one of the two, and having one voice more than the other, the election fell upon her. [The minority appealed to Rome against her election, as she was the only English woman in the house, except Sister Elizabeth Woodford; and the Holy See ordered the Bishop to send two commissioners

to examine the election. These confirmed her in her office of Prioress. She thus became in 1569 "Superioress of almost fourscore persons."]

Now when she had received her authority, the first thing that she sought to reform in the Monastery was to bring in inclosure, which had been never well kept before her time. But in her time there was not any like unto us in strictness of inclosure, so great was her care therein, but with what difficulty she brought it thereto it were impossible to set down. If she had not had an extraordinary courage she had never gone through therewith, nor been able to have kept it so strictly so many years.

I remember one thing which happened in my time which might show her courage therein. One of the English Nuns¹ being very sick and at the point of death, her own mother [Mrs. Allen], dwelling in the town, hearing her daughter to be in such danger, came to the Monastery to desire our Mother that she might come in to see her sick daughter. The Reverend Mother flatly denied her, because she said it would be a breach to the inclosure, and she would not do it by any means without special leave from the Archbishop. This she said, hoping thereby she would have been answered; but the motherly heart could not be so contented, but went to the Bishop herself and obtained of him licence to go into the Monastery to visit her daughter, which she brought to our Reverend Mother with the Bishop's hand and seal, which our Reverend Mother seeing was somewhat troubled that there she must yield unto such an inconvenience, or hazard the Archbishop's displeasure. Yet of the two she rather chose to presume upon the Bishop's goodness, than to endanger the breaking of the inclosure; wherefore she took heart, and absolutely denied to accept of the Bishop's commission, for as she said the Bishop was not

¹ Sister Helen Allen, daughter of Cardinal Allen's eldest brother, died in 1603, "a fervent Religious, and very hard to herself."

sufficiently informed concerning the state of the house, for we being of two nations, Flemish and English, and she being English that requesteth this favour, the other nation that had often desired the same, and had been denied, might justly take exception thereof and so breed some disgust amongst us. Mrs. Allen, being not content, went again to the Bishop and complained that she could not be admitted to come into the Monastery, notwithstanding that she had brought with her the Bishop's licence. The Bishop, having heard her complaint, gave her no other answer than smiling said, 'I am sorry I have so few such Superiors; I would to God I had more of them,' and this was all the amends that she could have of her complaint, as she afterwards confessed herself to us.

"She was very well beloved of the Religious, as her virtue deserved, and they lived very peaceably under her government, although they were of different nations, qualities, and conditions, as gentlewomen and persons of mean degree. Notwithstanding, there was such grace and virtue among them that it plainly appeared God was there. For although the house was very poor in temporal maintenance, yet the order was strictly observed, and the English having been brought up most of them tenderly and daintily in their parents' or friends' houses, nevertheless, for the love of Christ, unto Whom they espoused, did willingly accommodate themselves to the hard fare and simple diet of the Cloister, dressed after the Dutch manner, which was indeed so very mean as to deserve to be recorded unto posterity, that we might know with what fervour our elders began to serve God in holy Religion.

"The bread was of coarse rye; their beer exceeding small. Their ordinary fare was a mess of porridge, made of herbs called warremus, sodden together with water only, and therewith they added at dinner a little piece of black beef about the greatness of two fingers, and at night for supper they had only a dish of some three or four little

pieces of mutton sodden with broth, which was to pass a table of ten Nuns, and to this was added bread and butter, and nothing else.

“In Lent also, when they fasted, the fare was very hard, for they had only a mess of porridge of the Dutch fashion, half a herring, or such like thing each one, and some little portion of peas dressed with lamp-oil. Only one day in the week the Lord Mayor’s wife of the town gave the Religious a dinner of charity, and then they had a portion of salt fish about the bigness of three fingers, with a little spoonful of salad oil, which was accounted great cheer. For their collation at night nothing else but a piece of the foresaid black rye bread and small beer; only one day in the week each one had a piece of common gingerbread of one finger’s thickness.

“The Mother herein assisted the English with the alms and relief which their friends sent them, for they had each one a little loaf of wheat bread allowed them every week, because some were sickly and could very hardly pass with the rye bread. Also they had some oatmeal porridge made for them; and the sick were assisted what the house could afford, which was very little.

“Besides this, their labours in exterior works were hard for gentlewomen to undergo, as washing of linsey-woolsey clothes, which were to be beaten (as the manner is) in such sort that some of the Nuns were sore after the wash-day in all their limbs, as if they had been disjoined. Besides the washing of linen in lye, which fetched off the skin from their fingers, also they helped to mould the great loaves of rye bread, mended the ways of the paved courts within the cloister, and swept the house, every one as they were able and appointed to do by obedience. Moreover, one or two of them were put into a weave-house they had, to help to weave linen in the looms, which was indeed a man’s work and very hard for tender weak women.

“All this, notwithstanding, they passed with alacrity of mind, for the love of God, and would be as merry with each other as if they had been in the world amidst all dainties and pleasures. Also they assisted one another in their necessities with great love; so that what poverty took away, charity supplied and made up. The English Nuns also being young helped the old Dutch Religious in their cells to go to bed, and when they needed it, made daily their beds, and swept their cells with joy and humility, for God’s sake, such as might in the world have been their chambermaids.

“Moreover, the order (as has been said) was strictly observed. They had not daily two hours of recreation, as now we have, but only two days in the week, all the afternoon they had leave to speak kindly together at their work in the work-chamber; but in the Lent and Advent they had no time of recreation at all. The choir also was heavy and painful, for they had no organs until Sister Mary Skidmore came, and so the burthen of all the service lay upon their voices; and they sang Matins very often many of those days we now only sing the Lauds. Besides this, the old Office was longer and more painful than the Roman, which they afterwards took on them, and rose at midnight, as we now do. The good Religious passed their days in fervour of spirit.”

Her [Mother Clement’s] first grievous annoyance was when the Prince of Orange came to assault the town, she having been but three years Prioress. It were a tragedy to report with what outcries the common people came to the Monastery and Religious houses of women to relate the destruction of the city, whereupon many fled from their company and came to hard mishap. But our Reverend Mother, seeing the danger so apparent, and they expecting nothing but sudden death by the soldiers, yet they performed their Office in the choir, at which time also our Mother, about nine of the clock

in the morning, ringing a little bell as the manner is to call the Convent together, so well the Work-sisters as Converses,¹ and all the Nuns, who being come together in the chapter house, she humbly asked forgiveness of them all, and also admonished them to do the like one to another, which they did with great humility, bitterness, and sorrow, for they stood in two extremes, either of present death by wars or at the best to be dispersed without any hope of ever meeting. The Work-sisters did nothing but boil meat and provide beer to help to maintain the soldiers. This did so impoverish the Monastery that our Reverend Mother had scarcely any money or victuals to relieve her own company, which made our Monastery ever after to be so poor.

[She put up] the riches of the Church . . . in a tun or vessel, as if it had been beer or wine, the worth almost of two hundred pounds, [and intrusted it to a man who died without mentioning it, and they could not recover it. But] a Beguine that dwelled in this town, going to another city three leagues off to visit some of her friends, heard the man of the house report that he had had a tun or vessel in his house for the space of twenty years, and never anybody had owned the same. . . . [He opened it, and finding 'Church stuff,' sent for the Clergy and in their presence] took out both the ornaments and the plate, amongst which there was a fine little image of St. Christopher, at the front of which image there was engraven that it did belong to the Cloister of St. Ursula in Louvain: and thus the Convent recovered its Church stuff.

The third great affliction . . . was the great overflowing of water, which came upon them on such a sudden that the whole Monastery was almost drowned; and the Religious, sitting together in their work-chamber, had much ado to escape drowning, if they had not with all speed gotten them up into the high garrets, where they

¹ *Vide supra*, note, p. 6.

remained till the flood was ceased. The Father Confessarius went also up to the garret with the Nuns, carrying with him the Blessed Sacrament. All were astonished, and the Mother greatly afflicted to hear the cries of the Nuns, as also to see the great ruin that the waters made, for looking out of the windows they could scarcely see the tops of the trees in the orchard, and the walls thereabout fell down to the ground, so that the inclosure lay wholly open, which was no small grief to the Reverend Mother.

The fourth great adversity . . . was the plague, so that there died to the number of twenty persons, eight of them being of the Religious, and the others were servants and sojourners. . . . A very holy Nun she desired, and in some sort charged by virtue of obedience, that if it were the will of God she should obtain that she herself might be the last that should die thereof. By the ordinance of God she was the last that died of the disease, although there were many more at the time that were sick thereof.

There came another great tumult of wars, which endured one whole year, all which time the good Mother was fain to provide for watch and ward to preserve them from the soldiers, both day and night, by reason the walls of the orchard had been driven down by the flood, as before is said, that the passage was free for every one. The Religious did watch every night, some in one place and some in another, and well may we think how many careful nights the good Mother had this while.

After this came an extreme famine, so that the good Mother was fain to sell the household stuff and their own habit to make money to buy corn, that was then rare to be gotten. . . . Many Cloisters did at that time break up for want that they had not food to live together. . . . She chose out the principal and discreetest of the Religious, and gave them leave to go home to their own friends till

the time was better. But those that were of the frailer sort, and as she feared were not able to withstand the dangers and deceits of the world, those she kept at home with her, and would not in anywise suffer them to depart from her own custody; and to supply their wants, she herself went abroad and begged for them, sending home daily such relief as she could procure. . . . This misery did continue longer than any of the rest, by reason of the wars, which kept them still in such great poverty; till afterwards that our English did come, for the fame that they had heard of our good Mother, and entered there to be Religious, bringing with them such sums of money as did much relieve them. [Her sister Dorothy, that was a Poor Clare, being obliged by poverty to leave her Monastery, came to live at St. Ursula's.]

Now when our Reverend Mother was come to her fifty years in profession, which we call our year of jubilee, although the Convent was very poor, yet they desired to have it done with the most magnificence that could be, she having been the Superioress thirty-eight years. Her nephew, Doctor Clement, did give her most of the charges, and the rest the Cloister did contribute. Some also was given by the town, they loving her very well.

It was the Sunday after the Visitation of our Blessed Lady, in the year of our Lord 1606. The High Mass was sung very solemn by the head Superior, she being led into the church by two of the ancients, who sit still by her till all the Office be out, and then lead her back again to the choir. At *Agnus Dei* she doth communicate.

There was a whole set of viols, which played music all the Mass. Then, after Mass, the crown was set upon her head, and then she was led again to the choir by the two elders. The choir and church were all over hanged with costly hangings, and corded wholly overhead with green cords and many pretty devices that we had not seen

before. Her ceremonies are all like unto the other Religious, only one Psalm more is sung and this anthem, *Esto mihi Domine in Deum protectorem.* This is all the difference between the Mother and the other Sisters.

But from our old Mother having been so long Superior, the whole cloister was very finely adorned; the pants [cloistered corridors], with the refectory and work-chamber, were corded with green and hanged, and in all these places was made a very stately place for our Reverend Mother to sit in, with a silk canopy over her head. The Convent had also provided many fine and costly gifts for her, which she gave to her friends. The youngers having given all their time for half a year before, thinking they could never do enough for the great reverence and respect which they bore unto her. All the officers did join together to contribute something thereto, every one devising how to do some service therein, or else they were not well contented. The elders were busying to find out some pretty holy recreation out of the Holy Scripture, to be acted at the meal times, so that every one found something to show their love and affection.

But all this was done without her knowledge, only the Subprioress gave them leave for all that was done. For, good woman, she thought little of such doings, and much less desired them, and if she had known thereof, she would have letted what she could, for she sought no such outward show. There was every day in the week some invited of the town; the first day the magistrates, the next day the burghers who were of her acquaintance, and, after the rest, the poor neighbours, besides all the English, and many that came from other towns, which her two nephews, Doctor Clement and Doctor Redmond brought with them. They also brought with them the Duke's musicians, so that there was excellent music, besides those of the town.

The Religious of the town, being also desirous to congratulate in this joy, brought with them their best voices and some instruments, and so divided themselves into days. The first day there came the Choristers of St. Peter's, the second day the Austin Friars, the third day the Franciscans, the fourth day Canon Regulars, and so the whole week was brought over with great jubilation.

But now we may a little lift up our eyes to Heaven to see the jubilee the Angels make there, who enjoy now that happy soul for all eternity, which joy and jubilee shall never have end, to which God of His mercy bring us all. Amen.

After that time that Almighty God had stricken her with blindness, with much ado and great entreaty she procured of the head Superior to be absolved and released of her offices of government, to her great contentment, but to the great grief and sorrow of all her Convent. Now after she had been blind some six years it happened that some treated of a separation of the English from the Dutch, to which she very willingly accorded, as also consented herself to be one of the first that should begin the new Monastery, notwithstanding her blindness, as also unablensness of body, but her great zeal was such as she never respected the great commodities and inconvenience that she should there find in her own bodily necessities coming to a naked house which had nothing but bare walls. She was one of six which the Bishop appointed to begin the house, but giving her no authority, nor any superiority over the rest more than her years of profession required.

“Upon St. Scholastica's Day [Feb. 10, 160³] in the morning, they were all called to the chapter house, both Nuns and Lay-sisters. Then those that were to depart acknowledged their faults, as the manner is. The old Mother beginning first, spake so humbly, and with such fervour desired pardon for whatever might in the time

of her government have given them cause of offence, that she made them almost all to weep; and the Dutch Mother asked also of them pardon in the behalf of herself and the Congregation for whatsoever they might have disgusted them. After this they heard a singing Mass of our Blessed Lady, and communicated. So they took their leave, but at their parting was much weeping on both sides; especially some were sore grieved to part from the old Mother that, for a long time after, they could not cease from tears.

“These our first Sisters came forth then out of St. Ursula’s for to begin this Monastery dedicated unto our Blessed Lady’s Conception, to the glorious Archangel St. Michael, and to St. Monica, mother to our holy Father St. Augustine. Their names were these. First, the Reverend old Mother Margaret Clement, whom her nephew assisted with maintenance, being blind. Next in profession was Sister Catharine Allen, niece unto Cardinal Allen. The third, Sister Margaret Garnet, sister to the Reverend Father Henry Garnet, Provincial of the Society of Jesus in England. The fourth, Sister Elizabeth Shirley, who had the charge to begin this Cloister, and was made Procuratrix and Superioress until the election of a Prioress. She had twenty marks a year allowed of her friends. The fifth, Sister Barbara Wilford, daughter to Thomas Wilford, Esquire, of Essex, who suffered much for his conscience. The sixth, Sister Mary Welch, niece to Mr. Southcote, a well known Catholic, who allowed her 10*l.* a year. Besides these six, went also Sister Elizabeth Dumford, a veiled Nun, for to help them in their household work. They went in the street by two and two in order, having on hukes¹ to make the less show; but, notwithstanding, the people ran out of their houses to see them, and some said, Oh, they knew the old Mother of St. Ursula’s, who came last, led by the

¹ “Huke (huque, Fr.), a cloak.” *Johnson.*

Reverend Father Fen on the one side and Mr. Worthington on the other side.

“They went all first to St. Peter’s Church, to visit our Blessed Lady’s picture of miracle there, for so the old Mother had desired leave of the Bishop they might do, and having heard Mass again at St. Peter’s, which Father Fen said, they thought to have come directly from thence to this house, but Mr. Worthington led them without their knowledge unto his own house, where he had prepared for them a great dinner, such was his joy to receive Nuns. They on their side were much amazed, thinking to have come to their own Cloister when they saw themselves in his house, but there was no remedy. He had leave of the Bishop, and they must do then as he would have them, for they knew not the way unto their own Monastery.

“There also met them the Rector of the English College [Father Thomas Talbot, S.J.], who had brought with him two great tarts, the one of minced meat made costly, the other of fruit very good. These two tarts Mrs. Allen would not have to be touched there, for they had enough. She sent them beforehand to their own house, and indeed they served our poor Sisters here a whole week. The said Rector also gave to Sister Shirley a little piece of gold of half-a-crown for an alms to begin house withal, and so they dined together there, to the great content of Mrs. Allen, her son and daughter.

“After dinner, about two or three of the clock in the afternoon, they came to this house, and the first thing they did was to dress the altar in that little chapel which is in the gallery above, by the dormitories, and then their Reverend Father Fen hallowed some water; which being done, they sung all together an antiphon of the Blessed Trinity, with the collect; next, *Ave Regina celorum*, with a collect unto our Blessed Lady; then an

antiphon and collect of our holy Father St. Augustine ; and lastly, an antiphon and collect of St. Monica, our Patroness.

“After this they went to settle in order their bedding and the things which they brought from St. Ursula’s, accommodating themselves in the rooms which they found, as was most convenient for a monastical life. Also Father Fen and their servant Roger, whom Sister Shirley had taken from Mr. Worthington to serve our Cloister, had their rooms apart, where he placed his library of books, which were many. The Procuratrix had caused Mrs. Allen to lay in a barrel of beer in the house aforehand, which she gave them, as also a batch of bread such as we use now for common bread. At night for their supper they had only every one an egg, and bread and butter ; but when they came to eat their eggs, they wanted salt with them, having none as yet in the house, which made them good recreation among themselves to see what a pretty shift they must make.

“So soon then as they were a little settled, within a day or two, presently they began to read their Office publicly ; and the gallery that joineth to the chapel served them for a choir, which is so narrow that when they bowed at *Gloria Patri* their heads did almost meet together. They also sung Mass upon Sundays and holidays. Only our Lady’s singing Mass upon Saturday they thought they must omit because they were so few, and half of them commonly busied in the offices of the house, but good Father Fen would needs have them to sing that Mass too ; yea, he said that if they would not, he would begin to sing it himself ; but they were willing enough to strain themselves to honour our Blessed Lady. The old Mother also could not be content till they had the Blessed Sacrament always in their little chapel, but the Procuratrix could not presently satisfy her herein, by reason that she was not able to buy a lamp and keep

it continually burning. Whereupon our Lord provided for Himself, and ordained that a good English gentleman, a student in this town, gave five shillings for the buying of a lamp, and soon after he dying left our Cloister the money he had, which was about 10*l*. So then they enjoyed the Blessed Sacrament; and no wonder the old Mother had this devotion, for she communicated every day, having leave of the Visitor in respect of her age and worthy fore-passed life.

“To Matins they rose at four o'clock in the morning, for they were as yet too few to rise at midnight, but such was their fervour in God's service that they could not be content with one Mass a day; and there being a poor Irish Priest who studied in the town and could not tell where to say his Mass, for he had been refused everywhere, he therefore came here and was accepted of to say the first Mass. The wine for Masses was that which the tradesmen of the town came and presented to the Nuns upon their first coming, for to have their custom, bringing each one a pot or two at several times; and they never drank it themselves, but kept it for the altar, because they were not well able to buy it. Besides this, Almighty God helped them to extend their charity to others, for the Irish Franciscan Friars beginning then also their Cloister [St. Anthony of Padua], and not having convenient means to celebrate Mass in their own house, had desired of the parish church they might say their Masses there, but they denied them, saying they could not allow them candles and wine. So they came hither and desired they might in the morning from six till eleven or twelve say all their Masses, offering to pay for the wine and candles, but they did not, for they were not able; nevertheless, here they continued to say Mass for some small time, till they could accommodate their own Cloister thereunto, and then our Sisters had Masses enough.

“As concerning their temporal state, it was this. Mrs. Allen gave to the Procuratrix, Sister Shirley, half a year’s board for her daughter, which was 4*l.*, and with that she bought such things as of necessity they must have for housekeeping and had not brought from St. Ursula’s. Their fare was eggs and white meat; only for the old Mother and Sister Catharine Allen, she being very sickly, they had some flesh; and thus they continued some time. Also against Lent, which soon followed, their coming forth being in February, the old Mother desired the Procuratrix they might be so inclosed that worldly folks might no more come into the house to them. Wherefore she caused a grate to be made of little wooden rails, parting that room which is now the children’s lower school in the midst with boards, so that it served both for the worldly folks and for the Nuns also.

“Almighty God raised friends from time to time unexpected who assisted them, as about a month after their being here a good Beguine came and offered a piece of money, about an angel, unto the Procuratrix, saying that one had desired her to bestow it in pious uses, and that it came into her mind she could not bestow it better than upon them, ‘who are, alas, strangers out of your own country.’ The Procuratrix thanked her heartily and took the alms, which came very luckily to help them. Also some of the English in the town a little assisted them, as Mr. Liggons and his wife, in particular, came once before they were inclosed to dine with them, and brought such a meal as served our Sisters about a week after. Doctor Clement also came over from Brussels to see them and paid for his diet so long as he continued here, and afterwards against Lent he sent them figs and raisins. And Mrs. Allen sent very often some particular thing from her own table for her daughter, being very sickly, so that she was well provided for always.

“The good old Mother was as fervent to help what she could in the holy order, as if she had been a young Nun. She sung the versicles in the choir when need was, which she could sing without book. The Procuratrix desired her to be the grate Sister, and to go also to the grate with those that were called for. This she did for good reasons, as knowing her to be a wise, discreet woman, and they had many enemies, who, though they made a fair show, yet did all that they could against them. She performed this office very willingly, and made so good a shift, that though she was blind, yet she stayed all day about the grate. She could grope unto the door when any did ring, and take their errand, then call to some other to have the business despatched. She also would not be idle, but besides the time of prayer, which was most part of the day, she did some little work only by feeling, as winding of thread or such like thing; and assisted continually with her counsel the Procuratrix, who depended upon her, and was by her animated in all her troubles.

“By leave of the Archbishop, Sister Frances Herbert, daughter to Sir Edward Herbert,¹ brother of the Earl of Pembroke, came hither upon the day of our holy Father’s Translation, at the end of February, the same day that the others came; so they were now eight in number.

“Within the Octave of All Saints in the same year, 1609, upon a Thursday, the Bishop’s licence came unto St. Ursula’s for eight more to depart. Immediately the Dutch Mother discharged those that had offices, as first Sister Mary Wiseman, who was Subprioress, and her sister Bridget, then sick mistress, Sister Frances Burrowes, Sacristan; the rest had other lesser employments; all which were now set free, and released by the Bishop of their obedience to St. Ursula’s Monastery, and referred unto that of St. Monica’s, and after this they packed up

¹ Sir Edward Herbert, second son of William first Earl of Pembroke, was the ancestor of the house of Powis.

such things as they had in their cells, as the Mother gave them leave, and their habit and bedding: but these were not called into the chapter house as the former, only they asked in particular pardon of each other, the English to the Dutch, and they again to them with all kindness. Upon Sunday night they had recreation in the refectory, as the time before at the others' parting, and better fare than ordinary, to be merry together for a farewell, and on Monday, the next day, in the morning they heard the first Mass, and then came down all to the grate and took their leaves of each other with many a weeping eye on both sides, for there was great love amongst them. Upon the same Monday, it being the Feast of the Church of St. Saviour's Dedication in Rome, and the 9th of November, came forth from St. Ursula's these eight Nuns, to wit, the two Sisters Wiseman, whose brother had promised them maintenance; Sister Frances Burrowes, niece to the Lord Vaux, whose cousin Mrs. Brooksby, that had brought her up, promised 10*l.* a year for her, but performed it only two or three years; Sister Anna Bromfield [a convert of Father Gerard's], who had gotten a grant of my Lady Petre of 10*l.* a year, which she faithfully performed for many years, so long as she lived; Sister Susan Labourn, daughter to a holy martyr, for whose sake the old Countess of Arundel gave now 80*l.* once for all, to help her hither; the two Sisters Tremain had nothing, but because they were good souls, and fit persons to help in the order, both those of St. Monica's, and those that came forth, were willing to have them; Sister Mary Skidmore, the youngest, had promise of her uncle, Sir Richard Farmer, of twenty nobles a year, moreover, because she could play on the organ, and had other good parts, she was gladly taken with them. These eight were named in the last mentioned licence of the Bishop, who went also with hukes in the street in order, but Mrs. Worthington would needs go before with the youngest for to lead the way.

The rest followed by two and two. The last came alone with Father Fen, who was come from St. Monica's to fetch them, and their servant Roger was sent to bring their things with the waggon-men.

“They went first to St. Peter's, and heard another Mass there, which Father Holtby said; from thence they went to the Augustine Friars, to visit the Blessed Sacrament of Miracles, which is kept there, and after that Mr. Worthington, without their knowledge, led them also to his house, as the former, having gotten leave of the Archbishop. After dinner, about two or three of the clock, they came to this Monastery, and were kindly received of their Sisters and of their old Mother. Having then awhile congratulated with each other, they went to Evensong together, and at supper they had recreation in the refectory, for to welcome them, and to rejoice together in our Lord. Upon the Wednesday after, being St. Martin's Day, they began their fast for the election of a Prioress, and kept silence all that week, until the Vicarius of the Archbishop came. So that upon Monday morning, the said Vicarius called them to give their voices. Then was elected for the first Prioress of St. Monica's Sister Mary Wiseman, who, as we have said, had the most voices at St. Ursula's in the election there two years before [but had not then the canonical age of forty years]. They went into the choir, and installed her in the dignity. After that they came to the chapter house, and there, in the presence of the Vicarius, all the Nuns, as the manner is, vowed obedience unto her.

“After that they chose for Subprioress Sister Elizabeth Shirley, who was before in the place both of Superior and Procuratrix; they chose, moreover, for Arcaria Sister Bridget Wiseman, and for Procuratrix Sister Margaret Tremain. Thus our Monastery was now, to the honour of God, confirmed and established, which Almighty God of His goodness hath since prospered well.

“In 1611, upon St. Anne’s Day, came from St. Ursula’s one Nun more, to wit, Sister Mary Best. She was older in Religion than any here, and upon St. Anne’s Feast, being her profession day, she came, to her great joy ; as also an English Lay-sister, named Margaret Ofspring, came some two or three days before. So now there remained of our English Nuns only four, to wit, Sister Frances Felton, Sister Eleanor Garnet, Sister Anne Rookwood, and Sister Anne Cletherow, daughter to Mrs. Cletherow the martyr, that was pressed to death in Queen Elizabeth’s reign at York ; of which four none ever came hither, but died all there very blessedly, leaving behind them in that Cloister much edification, and also note of sanctity.

“In 1610, entered into the Monastery upon the 4th day of July, two sisters, Mary and Helen Copley, nieces to the old Mother, daughters of William Copley, of Gatton in the county of Surrey, son and heir of the Lord Thomas Copley, Baron of Welles,¹ which said Thomas in his youth

¹ The second wife of Sir Roger Copley, of Gatton in Surrey, was Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Shelley, Knight, Justice of the Common Pleas, and sister to Sir Richard Shelley, the last English Lord Prior of St. John of Jerusalem. Their only son, Thomas, was knighted at Paris. They had three daughters ; Bridget, married to Richard Southwell, whose third son was Father Robert Southwell, S.J., the poet and martyr ; Catharine, the wife of Sir Thomas Lane ; and Margaret, who married Thomas Shelley of Maple-durham, co. Southampton.

Sir Thomas Copley claimed the barony of Welles through his great-grand-mother Eleanor, daughter, and at length heiress, of Leo Lord Welles. This Leo was the grandson of John Lord Welles, who fought, and lost, a duel with David Earl of Crauford, at London Bridge on St. George’s Day, 1396. Leo died on Palm Sunday, March 29, 1461, at Towton field, fighting on the Lancastrian side, and was attainted by Parliament. This attainder, which does not seem to have been reversed, stood between Sir Thomas Copley and the barony. Sir Richard, the son of Leo Lord Welles, who married Joan, heiress of Robert Lord Willoughby, was summoned to Parliament as Richard Welles, Lord Willoughby, and was put to death, together with his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Dimock, by Edward IV., because Sir Robert Welles, his son, was general of the Lancastrian armies. Defeating Sir Robert near Stamford, Edward beheaded him also, and thus ended the male line of the family of Welles. Anne, the eldest daughter of Thomas Lord Hoo and Hastings by his wife Eleanor, daughter of Leo Lord Welles, married Sir Roger

fell into heresy, although he had been brought up a Catholic by the old Lady Copley, his mother, daughter of the Lord Chief Justice of England, and continued a hot heretic in the time of Queen Mary, when all were Catholics; yet afterwards, by reading of controversy, for he was a great scholar, and finding it evidently proved how the Protestants did falsify the Word of God in their translations, he was so moved thereat through God's grace, that he turned again into the right way, even then when most part of the realm went into error, to wit, in the time of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Then did he become a most constant Catholic, and suffered much for the faith, going into voluntary banishment to enjoy the freedom of his conscience. For by reason that the Lord Chamberlain, the Queen's uncle [Lord Howard of Effingham], was his sore enemy, he having refused to marry his sister, and taken for wife one of Sir John Lutterel's¹ daughters, an heir of the blood royal, who for her beauty liked [pleased] him better; in respect of this he knew well that becoming a Catholic, the other would have fit opportunity continually to molest him for his conscience, he therefore came over seas into France and these Low Countries, at which time the said Lord Chamberlain hastened unto his manor house of Gatton, confiscated his goods, taking away, besides plate, so much armour as they say would have furnished hundreds of men, and in the house so fair a library of books that he pleased therewith the Universities of England,

Copley, whose son was the Sir Roger who married Elizabeth Shelley. Dugdale's *Baronage of England*. London, 1676, vol. ii., p. 10.

Sir Thomas Copley died September 15, 1584, leaving William his son and heir, then nineteen; the eldest son, Sir Henry, having died in his father's lifetime. William married first, Magdalen, daughter of Thomas Prideaux, who died August 30, 1619, and secondly, Margaret, daughter of William Fromondes of Cheam, who died April 30, 1655. He died December 22, 1643. His eldest son was Thomas Copley, S.J. William, the second son, his heir, left two daughters, Mary, who married John Weston, Esq., of Sutton, and Anne, who married Sir Nathaniel Minshull. Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*. London, 1809, vol. i., p. 312; vol. ii., p. 231.

¹ Robert Lutterel had summons to Parliament 25th Edward I.

insomuch that for some days there were still waggons going and coming to carry away the goods which he rifled. The said Thomas Copley, bearing all this like another Job, exercised the virtue of patience in suffering for so good a cause, and at length after some years died in these parts, leaving his second son, William, heir of his land; for the eldest son, being so brave a gentleman that the King of France had already made him knight, died at nineteen years of age of a pleurisy at Paris.

“William Copley then, after his father’s decease, coming into England to enjoy his inheritance, being not twenty-one years of age, and finding that to pass the Court of Wards¹ he must take the oath of supremacy, not having as yet experience how to escape that danger as others do, determined rather than to commit such an offence against Almighty God to venture the loss of all his land for his lifetime, so that he might enjoy freedom of his conscience. Wherefore, behold in this resolution this constant youth, most loyal to God, letteth forth all his leases for small rents, taking fines in the place, so maketh a good sum of money, and over sea he comes with one trusty servant and goeth into Spain, where God ordained that he got a pension in respect that his father’s worthiness had been well known to strangers.

“Here also he married with the daughter of Thomas Prideaux, an Esquire of Devonshire, and of Helen Clement, sister unto the old Mother, who all lived there in voluntary banishment for the safety of their conscience. This daughter of theirs, Magdalen Prideaux, whom he married, had in her childhood been brought up for some time in the

¹ Lord Burleigh, as Master of the Court of Wards, wrote, November 13, 1584, to the High Sheriff, requiring him not to return Burgesses for Gatton, which, as he supposes, being depopulate, one Mr. Copley used to nominate the Burgesses for the town, but he being dead, and his heir being within age, is in ward to the Queen. Manning and Bray’s *History of Surrey*, London, 1809, vol. iii., p. cxlii. The representation of Gatton in Parliament continued in this state until the Reform Bill passed in 1832.

Cloister of St. Ursula, under her aunt's government, as her mother before had also lived there with her sister Margaret, learning virtue, although both the mother and daughter had no calling to Religion. Which said Magdalen, being her parents' only daughter, had education to many rare qualities, for she was a fine musician, both in song and instruments, had the Latin tongue perfect, also poetry, and was skilful in the art of painting; a woman, indeed, wise, of good judgment, and pious in godly matters.

“In the meantime the Queen seizeth upon his living and gave it away to a cousin german of his that lived in her Court, named Sir William Lane, so that for the space of seventeen years the said William Copley enjoyed not one penny of his estate, but having four children by this his marriage, two daughters and two sons, he maintained them only by his pension. At the coming of the Infanta with Albertus, the Archduke of Austria, to be Princes of these Low Countries, he got his pension transferred into these quarters, for to be nearer home, and so came to live in these Low Countries; at which time his wife made a voyage into England to see if she could, by some composition, get again his estate.

“She left her eldest daughter in that space at St. Ursula's with her aunt Prioress to be brought up, taking the second daughter with her. The child stayed about two years in the Monastery, from the age of seven till nine, and there got a great desire to Religion, for Almighty God bestowed a calling on her in that tender age, which He had not given either to her mother or grandmother. After this, notwithstanding, she was taken forth against her will, for she would gladly have stayed there still: but her father said he would have her see the world, and when she came to years, if her desire to Religion continued, he would not hinder her, as indeed he did not.

“Her mother, after three years labour in the said business, returned out of England again without doing

any good, for so long as the Queen lived, nothing was to be gotten. Wherefore about two years after her return the Queen died, and then they both, with all their children, went into England, seeing that by the general pardon at the new King's coming, his fault of fugacy was pardoned, and now the land was by law his own. Nevertheless, so did his kind cousin stand against him, and prevailed so much with the law, the other being a Catholic, that he could by no means get into his own right until he had compounded with the said cousin of his for the living, and assured him 2,000*l.* before he would part with it, and to pay this sum he was enforced to sell a manor, that which alone had made him ward. So having obtained his estate, he suffered, notwithstanding, the troubles and afflictions incident to Catholics, and at this present payeth the statute of 20*l.* a month.

“When, therefore, his daughters were now of years to undertake any state, the eldest being eighteen, her mind to Religion continued still, for although, through the vanities of the world, she was allured to leave her intention, yet the continual counsels and advice of her virtuous parents helped her much, as also the reading of good books made her at length fully resolve to become a Religious. And her sister Helen, hearing her mother and sister to commend monastical life, determined also to come over to see the same and try if she liked it. Being both of this mind they thought to have gone to St. Benedict's Order at Brussels, where some of their kindred were, rather than to go to St. Ursula's, which was in such want and poverty, but hereupon they understood how the English were come forth thence, and had set up this Monastery of St. Monica; whereupon they resolved to come hither unto their old acquaintance.

“But one thing must not be omitted, to wit, that before their coming over our Lord would have them make public confession of their faith. For lying in the inn at Southwark,

expecting to depart with a widow that went under the Spanish Ambassador's charge, in the meantime there was much ado in London in searching of houses, upon news that the King of France was killed. Wherefore the inn-keeper's wife, having one night disputed with the eldest of these two sisters, and finding that she was too hard for her in matters of religion, confounding her even by the Bible, upon which she still harped; whether she had given notice or no, God knoweth, but one night, when they were abed, there comes a Justice of Peace with many men, and in they would come. They refusing to open the door, being about midnight, they threatened to break it open; wherefore the two sisters, not knowing what might happen, took such Catholic books as they had into the bed with them, as also the money for their voyage, and it was wisely done, for leaving only one vain book of Virgil's, that was taken away, and they saw it no more. So lying themselves still, they desired their old nurse, which had come out of Spain for their sakes, and was now to come over with them, to open the door. Then came into the room many men, and drew open the curtains. They lay still. The Justice of Peace sat him down by the bedside, and asked them of what religion they were, and whether they went to church. The eldest answered that they were well known in Southwark to be recusants, for their father hath one manor¹ and many houses there. Then he asked whether they would go to church? She answered, No. He asked again, Why? She answered, Because she would not be a dissembler; to be in her mind of one religion, and make a show of another. He, hearing this, could not tell what to say, but having demanded the cause of their coming to London,

¹ Robert Lemyng, brother and heir of William Lemyng, late citizen and grocer of London, re-leased, 12th July, 12th Edward IV., to Roger Copley and others all right in the Manor of Maze and Ewel. Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. iii., p. 654. Webbe-street, Melior-street, and Sutton-street, are names given by the descendants of the Copleys in their ancient manor in Southwark.

finding nothing to make against her but her constant resolution not to go to church, asked of the younger sister if she was also of the same mind, who answered, Yea. Then he willed them to stay in that inn till they heard further from him; and their man, who lay in another chamber, he took and sent to prison: but in respect of their father being well known there, he did not send them to prison, and so departed.

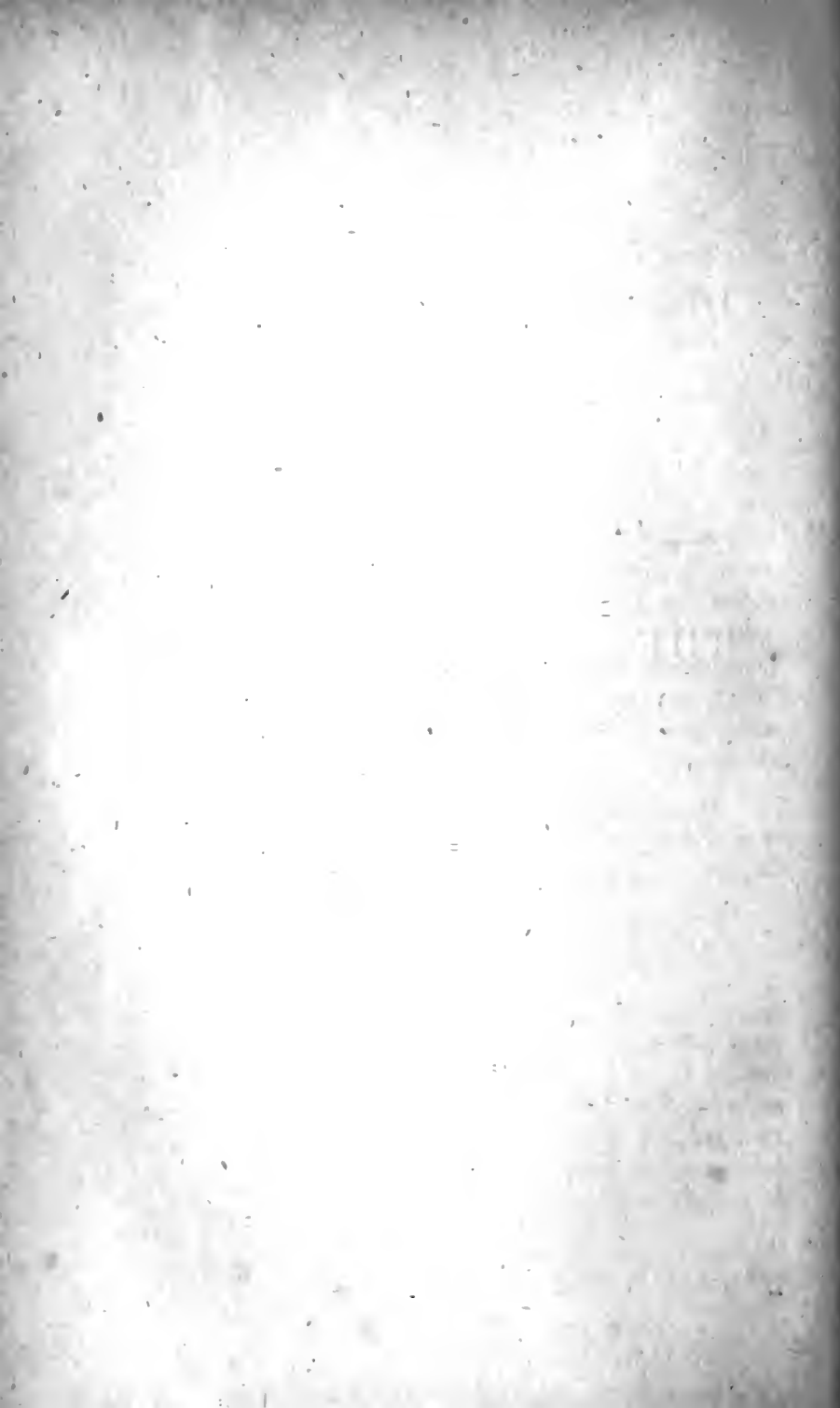
“After this they sent their mother word, who lived but fourteen miles off, of what had happened, who came speedily up, and speaking with the Justice, got them freed. So that within a few days they came away with the foresaid widow, and the good mother had a new grief at the parting with her children, for having no more daughters but them, according to nature she felt it most heavy to part from both; but for the love of God, and their greater good, she overcame herself, and went with them even to the Thames side, though before she wished them to depart without her knowledge, for she could not find in her heart to take leave of them, yet now she saw them take boat with a heavy heart.

“Their man was still detained in prison, until that, by means of the Dutch Ambassador, they got him released, being a stranger born of the Dutch nation, who came after and overtook them here at Louvain. But they, after this brunt, had a prosperous journey, and were kindly received first at St. Omers by Doctor Redmond, their cousin, a Canon there of that Church and great friend of this house, as also at Brussels by Doctor [Cæsar] Clement [Vicar General and Dean of St. Gudule’s], their cousin, who came with them himself to Louvain; and at their arrival the eldest sister knew and remembered her old acquaintances, so they were received into the Monastery with much joy, especially of the old Mother, their great aunt, who felt them, though she could not see them.”

It pleased God for her comfort to send her these two of her nieces to be Religious in the same house with her, in whom she greatly joyed, and would often say, 'It is now time I go to my home for I have here two persons to leave in my place.' . . . They were no sooner professed but within ten days after He called her out of this world. . . . And as it were reflecting, of her death sitting at the high table by the Mother that was then, being very merry in recreation, she said unto her, 'Good Mother, give me leave to do as the swan doth, that is, to sing you a song now before my death,' which the Prioress answered, saying, 'Good Mother, let us have it;' and with that she set out with such a voice that all the company admired. It was a Dutch ditty, but the matter was the Spouse and the Bridegroom. This was the last, for she never came into the refectory after, for next day being Friday, she sitting in the choir in her place and reading with the Convent a Dirge for the month, her sickness took her vehemently with a burning fit, yet would she not stir until the Office was out, and then she was led to her cell, and lived but four days after.

II.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF
FRANCIS TREGIAN.



THE IMPRISONMENT OF FRANCIS TREGIAN.

THE following story requires no introduction. It recounts, as far as is needful, the position and family connections of Francis Tregian, the devout confessor of the faith whose sufferings are here described. All that it wants is a sequel, and that is succinctly given in the record made on the occasion of his burial by the Father Prefect of the church of the English College at Lisbon. This will be found in the following letter, a contemporary transcript of which is preserved amongst the Stonyhurst MSS.¹ The letter relates the condition in which Tregian's body was found, when his grave was opened, seventeen years after his death.

“The copy of a letter which Father Ignatius Stafford sent from Lisbon to Father Forcer in Madrid, dated the 26th of April, this year 1625.

“Reverend Father,

“Pax Christi.

“I will relate unto you the sequent case which happened yesterday, the 25th of this present, by reason that a grave was then opened wherein an English Knight had been formerly buried, as in the book of the Prefect of the church is found briefly set down as followeth: *Nesta cava está enterrado Dom Francisco Tregian, Cavalheiro Inglez q. esteve preso em Inglaterra pela sancta fé 28 annos, sendo sñor principal de muitos vassallos, lhe tomaram toda sua fazenda: em fim desterrado de Inglat., veio*

¹ *Angl. A.*, vol. iv., n. 69. A summary of this letter is given by Father Grene in his *Collectanea*, M, f. 300, also among the Stonyhurst MSS.

p^a esta Cidade de Lisboa, e com entretenimento q. el Rey lhe deu de 60 cruzados cada mes, e sendo de idade de 60 annos o leuon Nosso Sr. ao Paraiso 25 de Setembro 1608. [In this vault is interred Mr. Francis Tregian, an English gentleman, who was detained twenty-eight years for the holy faith in England. He was lord of many vassals, but they took from him all his estate. At last, being exiled from England, he came to this city of Lisbon, where he lived on an allowance of sixty crowns a month given him by the King, and at sixty years of age our Lord took him to Paradise on the 25th of September, 1608.] This is *verbatim* that which is found in the Prefect's book, which some three weeks ago I read bechance, finding the book open in the same place, and then understood what this gentleman was, and found in the house by Fathers that knew him great testimonies of his sanctity. His grave being yesterday opened, his body was found incorrupt and entire, without corruption in any part, so much as in nose, ears, or stomach, or any other part most subject to corruption; yea, even his bowels were whole, neither did any evil savour or smell proceed from it. His hair is upon his head and beard, his nails upon his hands and feet, and, as I said, all whole and entire; his flesh soft, and being pressed down, riseth up again; his arms, fingers, and legs flexible. Finally, all that have resorted here, physicians and others, judge the matter to be miraculous, for it is seventeen years since he was buried, and some five years ago there was buried in the same grave a young youth (though not laid so deep as this body) who is altogether consumed. Moreover, in this our church we find by experience that all such persons as are buried therein are soon corrupted. Some have confessed they endeavoured to pull off fingers and nails, but could not. Also another particular circumstance happened to be found, and was that all the Franciscan habit wherein he was buried was consumed, save only so much as was sufficient to cover his members, about a span length and breadth, which was found entire. This is the present case briefly (hereafter we shall have more to write), which hath so sounded in this city, that although we did not show the body in public until the matter be juridically examined and allowed by the Archbishop, yet the concourse of people of all sorts, both yesternight and this

day morning, is so extreme, that both the streets, church, and courts are thronged in such sort, that we cannot resort to the gate to speak with such as come to visit and with business, and whether we will or no, many, especially gentlemen and Religious, enter in. This is all for the present. Thus I rest this 26th of April, 1625. Lisbon.

“Vestræ Reverentiæ servus in Christo,

IGNATIUS STAFFORD.”

A life of Francis Tregian was published in 12mo at Lisbon, in 1655, by Francis Plunket, son of one of his daughters. Father Grene’s criticism on the book is, that it is obscure in style, and poor in Latinity, the justice of which criticism we have, unfortunately, no means of verifying. From the few extracts that Father Grene has made from this book, we gain one additional fact in Tregian’s life, but it is one that adds greatly to our estimate of his sanctity. He sums up the story briefly thus: “He may be called martyr of chastity, refusing the Queen.”¹

Francis Plunket closes his volume by relating several miracles that were wrought by the relics of this holy man, which miracles, he says, had been examined and approved by the Ordinary, the Archbishop of Lisbon.

The severity of Francis Tregian’s sufferings, and his constancy in bearing them, made a very great impression on the mind of Catholics. During his lifetime Bridgewater² puts him in the foremost rank of confessors for the faith; and the celebrated Commentator on Holy Scripture, Cornelius a Lapide,³ quotes him as an example of those who have fulfilled the grand words of St. Paul, “Receiving with joy the plundering of your goods.” “Mr. Francis Tregian,” he says, “who, for having received into

¹ “Aulam Elizabethæ adit, ingruente persecutione, ut Catholicis opem aliquam ferret, ducta jam in conjugem Maria Vicecomitis [Baronis] Sturtoniæ filia; Regina per pedissequam illum invitat ad cubiculum, intempesta nocte; recusantem adit, lectoque assistens ad impudica provocat; renuentem increpat. Castitati suæ curam gerens ex Aula se proripuit, insalutata Regina: quæ idcirco furit, et in carcerem detrudi jubet. Factum id 8 Jun., 1577.” Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene’s *Collectan.*, M, f. 9.

² *Concertatio Ecclesiæ in Anglia*, 1588, pp. 292, 319.

³ In Ep. S. Pauli ad Hebr. c. x. v. 34.

his house Cuthbert Maine, the proto-martyr of all the Seminaries, was despoiled of all his goods and kept a prisoner for twenty-five years, heard his sentence with joy, and said, *Pereant bona, quae si non periissent, fortasse dominum perdidissent suum*: 'Perish the goods, which if they had not been lost, would perhaps have caused the loss of their master.'

The manuscript was written, as itself states, in 1593. Permission to publish it has been kindly given by the President of St. Mary's College, Oscott.¹ This manuscript seems to have been once in the possession of Thomas Tonkin, of Trevenaunce in Cornwall; at all events, he wrote a summary of it, which has been printed by Polwhele and Gilbert.² This Thomas Tonkin was descended in the fifth generation from Thomas Tonkin of Trevenaunce, who married Jane, the sister of Francis Tregian.

¹ The Oscott manuscript has the following title-page: "The great and long sufferings for the Catholic faith of Mr. Francis Tregian, Esquire, of Golden in Cornwall, together with the Martyrdom of Mr. Cuthbert Maine at Launceston, in the same county, the proto-martyr of Douay College, and consequently of all our English Seminaries."

The MS. has the following marks:

"Bib. Harvin. Cler. Sæc."

"Tho. Fesby."

"Ex libris Thomæ Yate Pronepotis Dni Tregian. Anno 1656."

"Colleg. Anglor."

"Dominus Cary, 1655. Ad majorem Dei gloriam. Robertus, Nicolaus, Henricus, Gabriel, Gilbert, Anthony, Franciscus, Rogerus, Oliverus, filii Domini Cary, nunc in diversis orbis partibus viventes."

² Gilbert's *Historical Survey of Cornwall*. Plymouth Dock, 1817, vol. i., p. 282.

A TREATISE TOUCHING THE IMPRISONMENT AND INDICTMENTS OF MR. FRANCIS TREGIAN, ESQUIRE, OF VOLVEDON, NOW CALLED GOLDEN, IN CORNWALL.

From the manuscript belonging to St. Mary's College, Oscott.

ON the 8th day of June, in the year of our Lord 1577, the Sheriff¹ of the county of Cornwall, accompanied with nine or ten Justices of the Peace, and with them well near a hundred persons, came unto Volvedon, commonly called Golden, the dwelling-house of Mr. Francis Tregian, Esquire, where, very unlawfully and most uncivilly, they left no place unsearched nor any person unsifted. And after many vile speeches and violent behaviours, accounting their lust a law and their will a sufficient warrant, they carried from thence the same day, unto a town called Truro, five miles distant, where the Bishop of Exeter then remained, both Mr. Tregian and sundry other of his servants, amongst whom there was one Mr. Cuthbert Maine, a Priest, of whose troubles and of Mr. Tregian's manifold miseries and manifest injuries we mind, with as much brevity as we may, chiefly in this treatise to discourse, as of the only persons who, above the rest, by the means of this most disorderly continued action, and of other notorious outrages wrought in this wicked time

¹ Sir Richard Granville, of Stowe, ancestor of John Granville, Earl of Bath, a title now in abeyance. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, vol. i., p. 508; vol. ii., p. 354. His name is given in a subsequent marginal note as Greenfield.

under colour of equity by the ministers of iniquity most impious and barbarous, have only in the west parts chiefly felt the furious, fierce, and bitter brunt of man's malice. The one, after many miseries, losing his life, the other his wealth, lands, and liberty, and yet, notwithstanding, most cruelly oppressed with continual calamity.

Omitting, therefore, many things that might be remembered concerning the mischievous practices and malicious proceedings of those magistrates, as that which, particularly to describe, would be perhaps more reproachful to the doers than pleasant to the readers. And omitting also that the most and mightiest of them were near Mr. Tregian, by kindred either linked or in some sort allied, or through divers his courtesies deeply indebted, some having promised their readiness to pleasure him, confirmed with their faith, some with more shame having yearly received their fee, and all in outward show seeming to be his friends, the which undoubtedly (this their attempt considered, being neither warranted by law, reason, or authority, but contrariwise proceeding of lust, rashness, and tyranny) would unto the whole world make their action the more inexcusable, and leave unto all posterity a perpetual note of their infamy. Omitting, therefore, I say, for brevity's sake, both these and many things more that might be remembered, we will only touch as it were in general terms, the order of those actions which chiefly concern Mr. Tregian and the said Cuthbert Maine in the process of this discourse; noting, notwithstanding, as occasion shall be offered, divers extraordinary outrages executed on sundry his servants and faithful friends of the said Mr. Tregian, wherein whatsoever, through the divine assistance, we shall set forth, hath been undoubtedly, either by our own eyes and ears truly and diligently observed, or by the constant report of very credible persons most faithfully confirmed.

Mr. Tregian, therefore, being brought unto Truro, and examined by the Bishop aforesaid concerning some points of religion, and not found to depend upon the opinion of the time, nor in outward show, as they term it, conformable unto their proceedings, after many deceitful and indirect dealings, threatenings, scoffs, and scorings, was not first permitted to depart before he had procured sufficient sureties, to be bound in the sum of 2,000*l.*, that he should personally appear before the Judges of that circuit at the next assizes or general sessions, to be holden at Launceston Castle, within the county of Cornwall, if in the mean season by their precept he should be so required.

But Cuthbert Maine, to the end their disorderly dealings with Mr. Tregian might yet seem unto the people the less reprehensible, and unto the Prince the more plausible, must forthwith be committed, as culpable of high treason, unto the Castle of Launceston, the common gaol of that county, for a Bull, forsooth, which was found in his custody, and by him, as they said, procured from the Bishop of Rome, concerning matter of absolution, contrary to the laws in that behalf provided. And that nothing might want to the setting forth of this heinous offence, no meaner man than the Sheriff himself, and that with no small solemnity, could convey him to the gaol aforesaid; where, when he came, he was laid in a most loathsome and lousy dungeon, scarce able at high noon to see his hands or his legs, so laden with iron, deprived of the use of writing and bereaved of the comfort of reading, neither permitted that any man might talk with him touching any matter whatsoever, but by special licence and in presence of the keeper. This place, therefore, being so unpleasant, we will see awhile and behold how these magistrates march on against Mr. Tregian, intending through force his utter overthrow, or vanquished with shame to leave

by the loss, for that always with worldlings which maliciously is attempted, to save their credit, must wickedly be maintained.

These men, therefore, treading the same steps and following the fashion with full sail, omit not out of hand, by writing, by preaching, by posting, and by all means possible, to publish a thousand untruths, tending to Mr. Tregian his infamy, and to the shadowings of their own treachery. Besides that they spared neither pen nor pains to persuade some persons (who then held the helm) to allow of their labour and countenance their cause.

Of all which proceedings, and whereunto they tended, Mr. Tregian was not ignorant, neither omitted to encounter the same by such means as the quality of the time permitted him to use. But iniquity having the upper hand, the general sessions now drawing on, Mr. Tregian (as his adversaries had before contrived, that the flood of their fury might the easier overflow his innocent servants, and have free course without any resistance), to accomplish the Council's commandment, both specified by message and letters for that purpose, must forthwith repair unto the Council with all possible speed, where, when he came, he signified the receipt of their letters, and, expecting their pleasures, it was told him that there were found in the custody of one of his servants sundry bad and prohibited things, of the which they were informed. But not allowing that the master should answer for the servant's offence, nor finding that he was any way privy thereunto, had not to charge him touching the same.

Notwithstanding, they had been informed also that he somewhat dissented from Her Majesty's proceedings, and especially in forbearing to repair to the church, the which, as it was but suggested by his adversaries, so they were fully persuaded that it rather proceeded of malice than

good matter. Wherein, notwithstanding, if negligence heretofore had been used, with diligence they hoped it should hereafter be amended. In the which doing, as he was unto some of them nearly allied, so he should by them all be unfeignedly friended.

Whereunto he answered that whether any things offensive were found, he knew not, the which if there were any (as he hoped none) he would not stand in the defence of it. Notwithstanding, well he hoped what his adversaries had informed was rather of malice than that his servants had anyway so offended. But touching his not repairing unto the church, he must needs acknowledge the information to be true, the which he protested he did not of obstinacy, neither in contempt of Her Highness' proceedings, but persuaded in conscience he could not do so without God's high displeasure, he only forbare to repair to the church, humbly beseeching that what of mere conscience and scruple was by him omitted, might not unto malice by them be imputed.

Mr. Tregian thus speaking, one of the Council¹ said they expected some further advertisement concerning those causes from the assizes, and therefore, till then he thought it convenient to defer all further talk touching the same. The which said order was presently taken that Mr. Tregian should make his appearance before them again, at a day prefixed, and in the mean season not to repair to his country on his allegiance straitly required. Whereupon he departing, was forthwith recalled, and by the Earl of Sussex (who in honour and eloquence did easily excel the rest) was invited to dinner, desirous, as he said, further to talk with him. The which talk being it was private, as impertinent to our purpose, we mind to omit, but the whole scope and drift thereof was, through plausible speeches and sophistical reasons, to have drawn Mr. Tregian from his firm resolution in

¹ Sir Francis Walsingham. *MS. in marg.*

points of religion, and specially to have won him to come to the church; the which not availing, some other means must be devised, but what they were we shall hereafter declare.

The important causes whereupon Mr. Tregian must personally appear, and that with such speed, before Her Majesty's Council having this issue; we will now examine how these magistrates (Mr. Tregian being absent) proceed against Cuthbert Maine, and sundry other his servants and special friends.

The assizes, therefore, being now begun at Launceston Castle, in the county of Cornwall, the 16th of September, in the year above written, nothing that tended to terror omitted, but all things as they thought trimly disposed, yea, the more bravely to countenance the cause, as also more surely to knit up the knot; thither forsooth in pompous manner, the Prince of the West must purposely come with his trumpeters before him, sounding to the slaughter, who no rather arrived but Cuthbert Maine, the aforesaid Priest; Richard Tremaine,¹ John Kempe,² Richard Hore,³ Thomas Harris,⁴ Gentlemen; John Williams, Master of Art; John Phillips, John Hodge, James Humphreys, Yeomen, were forthwith brought, for the more despite of their upper garments stript, in their hose and doublets unto the bar, where also divers others of the servants and friends of Mr. Tregian were presently produced. But not tasting of the terror so deeply as the rest, we will defer the describing of their names (with many more that were

¹ Perhaps Richard Tremaine, of Tregonnan in St. Eue, the native parish of the Tregians, of whom Carew says, "Being learned in the laws, he had yet to learn, or at least to practise, how he made other profit thereby, than by hoarding up treasure of gratitude in the mindful breasts of poor and rich, on whom he *gratis* bestoweth the fruits of his pains and knowledge." Gilbert's *Cornwall*, ii., p. 296.

² John Kempe, probably of Rosteage in St. Gerran's, younger son of William Kempe of Levethian. *Ibid.*, ii., p. 171.

³ Richard Hore of Trenowith died in 1610. *Ibid.*, i., p. 158.

⁴ Probably Thomas Harris of Camborne and Rosteage. *Ibid.*, i., p. 140.

not then present but then presented) unto some other place more fit for the purpose.

These men, therefore, thus standing, six several indictments were forthwith delivered, as the manner is, by the Grand Jury unto the Judges against Cuthbert Maine and sundry others, as well absent as present. The which indictments (the prisoners first by the Clerk of the Assizes being severally called, and severally commanded to hold up their hands at the bar) were read unto them in this form following.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art here accused by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk, for that thou, the 1st day of October, in the eighteenth year of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid, didst traitorously obtain from the See of Rome, a certain instrument printed, containing a pretended matter of absolution of divers subjects of the realm. The tenour of the which instrument doth follow in these words :

“*Gregorius Episcopus, servus servorum Dei*: and as followeth.

“Gregory, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, for the perpetual memory hereof unto those that are to come. Our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ, &c., *vide infra*.

“Contrary to the form of a certain statute in the thirteenth year of our Sovereign lady the Queen, lately made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.

“And that you,” meaning the rest to the number of nine contained in that indictment, “after the said instrument obtained as aforesaid, and knowing the said Cuthbert Maine to have obtained the same from the See Apostolic, the 20th day of April, in the nineteenth year of our said Sovereign lady the Queen’s reign that now is, at Golden aforesaid, did aid, maintain, and comfort the said Cuthbert Maine, of purpose and intent to extol and set forth the usurped power and authority of a foreign Prelate, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome, touching and concerning the execution of the premises, contrary to the said statute made and published as aforesaid, and contrary to the peace of our Sovereign lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.”

Whereunto being severally demanded whether they were guilty or no, they answered, “Not guilty;” and for trial thereof, as the manner is, put themselves upon God and the country. Whereupon again severally called, and commanded to hold up their hands, the second indictment was read unto them in this sort.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art here accused by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk: for that thou, the 1st day of September, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid within this county, didst traitorously publish a certain printed instrument obtained from the See of Rome, which instrument doth follow in these words: *Gregorius Episcopus*, &c., as before; contrary to the form of a certain statute in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen, lately made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.

“And you,” meaning the rest of the number of fifteen contained in that indictment, “knowing the said Cuthbert Maine to have published and put in use the said instrument as aforesaid, after the publishing thereof, that is to say, the 20th of April, in the nineteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen, at Golden aforesaid, did aid, comfort, and maintain the said Cuthbert Maine, of purpose and intent to extol and set forth the usurped power and authority ecclesiastical of the Bishop of Rome touching and concerning the execution of the premises, contrary to the form of the said statute made and published in the said thirteenth year of Her Majesty’s reign, and contrary to the peace of the said Sovereign lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.”

And so, likewise, demanding whether they were guilty or no, they answered as before, “Not guilty.” Then followed the third indictment, which was read unto them in this manner.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art here accused by the name of Cuthbert Maine, Clerk, of Golden, for that thou, the 14th day of February last past, at Launceston within this county, by express words in teaching maliciously, advisedly, and directly, didst uphold and stand with to extol, maintain, and set forth the ecclesiastical power, authority, and jurisdiction of a foreign Prelate, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome, before this time usurped within this realm of England, contrary to a certain statute in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.

“And that you,” meaning the rest of the number of fifteen, “knowing the said Cuthbert Maine to have extolled and maintained the authority of the Bishop of Rome, as aforesaid, at Launceston aforesaid, did aid, comfort, and maintain him, contrary to the form of the said statute in the first year of the reign of our said Sovereign lady the Queen made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.”

Whereunto likewise they all answered, “Not guilty.”

Then Cuthbert Maine only being called and commanded to hold up his hand, the fourth indictment was read unto him after this manner.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art here accused by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk, for that thou the last day of September, in the eighteenth year of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid, didst bring into this realm a certain vain sign and superstitious thing called an *Agnus Dei*, made of silver and stone, and hallowed, as it is commonly reported, by the Bishop of Rome in his own person; and didst deliver the same *Agnus Dei* unto Mr. Francis Tregian, Esquire, at Golden aforesaid, the day and year aforesaid; contrary to a certain statute in the thirteenth year of our said Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, lately made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.”

Whereunto he answered as before, “Not guilty.” Then followed the fifth indictment, which was read in this manner.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art accused here again, by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk, for that thou, the last day of September, in the eighteenth year of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid, didst offer and deliver unto Francis Tregian, Esquire, a certain vain sign and superstitious thing called an *Agnus Dei*, made of silver and stone, and hallowed, as it is commonly reported, by the Bishop of Rome in his own person; contrary to a certain statute in the thirteenth year of the reign of our lady the Queen that now is, lately made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.

“And that you,” meaning the rest of the number of eleven persons, “did not utter and disclose the said offer unto the next justice or magistrate of that county, nor did apprehend or bring, or cause to be apprehended and brought the said Cuthbert Maine, unto the next justice or magistrate; contrary to the said statute made in the thirteenth year aforesaid, in contempt of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.”

Whereunto they all again answered, “Not guilty.” This indictment thus read, the sixth and last followed in this sort.

“Thou, Cuthbert Maine, that there standest, art here accused again by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk; for that thou, the 1st day of June last past, in the nineteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid, didst say a certain public and open prayer called a private Mass, and

therein didst minister the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, after a Papistical manner, contrary to the form of a certain statute in the first year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, made and published, in contempt of our said Sovereign lady the Queen, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity."

Whereunto he answered, as unto all the rest, "Not guilty."

After all these indictments thus read, and after every one who was there accused, and being present had answered, as hath been declared, there was forthwith produced, as the manner is, a jury of good fellows, impanelled for the purpose, unto whom the Clerk of the Assizes used these words :

"Sirs ; before this time Cuthbert Maine, that there standeth, hath been accused by the name of Cuthbert Maine, of Golden, Clerk, for that he, the 1st day of October, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen that now is, at Golden aforesaid within this county, did traitorously obtain from the See of Rome a certain instrument printed, containing a pretended matter of absolution of divers subjects of this realm, the tenour of which instrument followeth in these words : *Gregorius*, &c., as before ; contrary to the form of a certain statute in the thirteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign lady the Queen lately made and published, and contrary to her peace, crown, and dignity.

"And all these men," meaning the rest contained in that bill, "knowing the said Cuthbert Maine to have obtained the same instrument from the See of Rome as is aforesaid, did aid, comfort, and maintain the said Cuthbert Maine, of purpose and intent to extol and set forth the usurped power and authority of a foreign Prelate, that is to say, the Bishop of Rome ; contrary to the said statute made and published as aforesaid, and contrary to the peace of our Sovereign lady the Queen, her crown and dignity.

"They have been hereunto severally called to answer, and have severally pleaded not guilty, and for trial thereof have severally put themselves unto God, and their country, which be of you.

"Now, therefore, your charge is to inquire whether they or any of them be guilty or no, and if you find that they or any of them be guilty, then you shall inquire what lands, tenements, goods or chattels, they or either of them, so being guilty, have or had at the time of the offence committed, or any time since ; and if you find that they or either of them be guilty, you shall say so, and no more."

The which declared, he likewise recited the second indictment, and so in order every one of them in manner

and form before rehearsed, giving also unto the jury such charge as thereunto appertained. Thus therefore ordered, proclamation was presently made, that if any man could inform the Queen's Justices, the Queen's Attorney or Solicitor, of any treason, murder, or felony, or of any other misdemeanour whatsoever, against Cuthbert Maine and the rest of the prisoners there at the bar, they should come forth and be heard. Whereunto the Queen's Attorney,¹ turning himself towards the jury, spake unto them in this sort:

“Masters, you that are sworn, you have heard by the indictments which have been here read unto you, how this man, Cuthbert Maine, hath obtained from the See of Rome a certain Bull, being an instrument of absolution, which they call a Jubilee, and within the Queen's dominions here hath published, and put the same in use, contrary to a statute made in the thirteenth year of the Queen's reign, and that these men, knowing he did so, have aided and maintained him contrary to the said statute.

“And further you have heard how, contrary to another statute, by express words he hath maintained the usurped power and authority of the Bishop of Rome, and they likewise, knowing thereof, have abetted, maintained, and comforted him. You have also heard how he likewise offered an *Agnus Dei* unto Francis Tregian, Esquire, his master, and that these men, also knowing the same, have concealed the said offer.

“And lastly, you have heard how he hath said Mass, contrary also to another statute made in this Queen's reign, unto all which indictments they have severally pleaded not guilty, and for trial thereof have put themselves upon God and the country, which be you. So your

¹ Popham. *MS. in marg.* Sir John Popham may have been a Queen's Counsel, but he was not yet Attorney General. He was made Serjeant in 1578, Solicitor General in 1579, Attorney General in 1581, and Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1592. Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*. London, 1680, p. 94.

charge is to inquire whether they be guilty or no. And to prove them guilty, this I say. First, concerning the Bull, to prove that Cuthbert Maine hath obtained and put the same in use, according as he is accused, you must note, that he is a Priest who came lately from Rome, and brought this Bull with him" (showing forth a copy of the Jubilee printed at Douay), "which was found in his chamber, and he cannot deny it.

"Now the effect of this instrument is to give a Priest authority to absolve sinners, and he being a Priest is come hither for that purpose, and thereby hath brought his master, with the most part of his servants and divers others here present, into a certain obstinacy against the Queen's proceedings, whereby they have and do refuse to frequent the Divine Service now used, and doth thereby harden the hearts of the Queen's subjects against her, intending, no doubt, to move some rebellion within this realm."

Then opening, as he thought, a bag of better proofs than only bare words, he showed forth a paper containing certain articles in writing, made, as it were, between Cuthbert Maine and his master concerning some points of religion, and allowing of some liberty, which, he said, Cuthbert Maine was desirous should be performed on the behalf of his master, whereunto, in truth, Mr. Tregian was never made privy, and the which also, God knoweth, was nothing to the purpose. Furthermore, he showed forth another paper, as impertinent as the former, wherein were contained divers questions concerning also matters of religion, with resolutions to the same.

And lastly he showed forth a letter written by one Mr. Gregory Martin, an archpapist, as he termed him, from Douay, wherein he exhorted the same Cuthbert Maine so to behave himself as he might be able to give good account of his function, which function he inferred to be, without all doubt, the execution of the said Bull.

So, shuffling all these frivolous cards together, he concluded, with much railing rhetoric, that Cuthbert Maine and all other Papists whatsoever, disobeying the Queen's proceedings in refusing to repair to the church, were traitors, and that which he had said and showed to be sufficient proofs against Cuthbert Maine concerning the first indictment, which was for obtaining a Bull concerning a pretended matter of absolution from the See of Rome, and for publishing and putting the same in use.

Wherein, how far wide he was from the matter, only they that have no sense cannot perceive, for the indictment, as is declared, speaketh of a printed instrument obtained from the See of Rome, and in evidence is showed forth but a copy of an instrument granted from the See of Rome, printed at Douay, where, it is most certain, were divers other copies also printed. Now every one of those copies cannot be said to be a printed instrument obtained from the See of Rome, but a copy of an instrument granted from the See of Rome, as in truth it was. And therefore, according to their indictment, if he would have proved him to have obtained a printed instrument from the See of Rome, that must undoubtedly have been such an instrument as had been made and printed at Rome, and not at Douay, and therefore that must needs have been the very Jubilee which the Pope granted under seal, and that they should either have showed forth or proved he did obtain.

The which, if they had done, had not yet been to any purpose at all, for the Jubilee itself would have been, and is, and will be unto all posterity, an infallible witness against them, for therein it is recited that the same is granted but once in twenty-five years, and that of course, and not at the suit of any private person, and so neither he nor any man living could possibly obtain from the See of Rome any such Jubilee. Again, the thing itself

doth witness that it was, and always is, granted to continue but for the space of one year, and it appeareth by the indictment itself that the year was ended long before it was alleged by the same he did obtain it, and so all this appearing in the indictment, the indictment itself is a proof that he neither did nor could obtain it.

And touching the other indictment, for publishing or putting the same in use, they should have brought forth witness to have proved how he did publish it, by whom he did send it, in what place he did show it, or whether he did set it on any post, door, or wall, by the which men use commonly to pass, for that properly is called a publishing. And for putting it in use, they should have proved who was absolved thereby, how, where, and when, or what other act was done thereby. But leaving a little this strict examination of so barbarous an ungodly proceeding, order wills us now to show what Cuthbert Maine himself said in his own defence concerning this matter.

The Attorney, therefore, having ordered his talk, as is before declared, Cuthbert Maine mildly answered that, whereas he was charged to have come from Rome, and to have traitorously obtained from thence an instrument of absolution, contrary to the laws of this realm, the very truth was that at Rome he had never been, nor ever obtained, or went about to obtain, such things, protesting also that he never attempted, or so much as intended, any traitorous or treacherous practice towards Her Majesty or his dear country.

And, touching the paper they showed forth in the Court, which, as he perceived, was made a heinous matter, he called God to witness, without any intent of evil, he bought it at a printer's shop at Douay, where there were also divers others to be sold, minding only, for that he had never seen the like before, thoroughly to peruse the contents thereof, and afterwards coming into

his country, which was long after the year of Jubilee expired, he chanced to pack up the same, and many other papers also to small purpose, amongst such books and other stuffs as he had to transport, never since at any time scarce thinking of it, nor making more account thereof than of a void paper, a thing past date, of no force, and out of all use.

Thus speaking, one of the Judges,¹ who was chief in commission, interrupting the course of his talk, stepped up from his seat and said: "Indeed we confess this Bull to be of no force here within this realm, nor ever was, nor of all the Bulls the Pope hath or can send do we make any account, and yet we have a law to abolish the memory of all such Romish rags and superstitious things, and therefore none such may be brought into this realm without the great contempt of Her Majesty and her laws.

Then, turning towards the jury, he said after this manner. "Masters, you that are sworn, this fellow here, Cuthbert Maine, is, as you see, a Rome-runner, a secret traitor to the Queen and her realm, and one that goeth about to seduce the people from their obedience both to God and to their Prince, and therefore is to have no favour at all. Wherefore, for your better instruction, you must remember that, in causes where direct proofs cannot be had, there presumptions must be allowed; for if a man be murdered, and a murderer found with a bloody weapon in his hand, and his clothes all bloody, this is such a presumption, although he were not seen to commit the murder, as amounted to a just and perfect proof.

"But, much more, treasons are always tried out by presumptions, or otherwise traitors would never be known.

¹ Manhoode. *MS. in marg.* Sir Roger Manwood was made Justice of the King's Bench, October 14th, 1573, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, January 24th, 1579. Dugdale's *Origines*, p. 94.

“So therefore this man, having this Bull with him in his custody, coming from Douay, and other countries, as himself confesseth, beyond the seas, being also a very lewd fellow, and refusing to come to the church, and to obey the Queen's most godly proceedings, is therefore without all doubt manifestly convinced, as guilty to the several treasons laid to his charge.”

Now truly this man, in our opinion, hath herein rather played, although to little purpose, the part of a counsellor speaking for his fee, than any way fulfilled the function of a Judge, for although he hath said somewhat touching the cause of murder by him advouched, yet hath he said nothing concerning the matter of treason supposed, for although a murderer, where murder is committed, may be found out by having bloody weapons, yet a traitor, where treason is not committed, can never be found out by any presumption in the world, for by statute it is treason to obtain a Bull or instrument from the See of Rome, and that must undoubtedly be intended to be a thing of some force, whereby some act or other may be done, and now there is showed forth a void piece of paper printed at Douay, without any proof at all of anything done thereby.

And his only being a Priest, and not coming to church, cannot be intended for a publishing and putting in use, whereas no publishing or putting in use is first proved. So as this case doth as much resemble that case of murder, as the Judge's nose was like a shoeing-horn; for in the one the murder was first committed, and then the fact by presumption proved, and in the other a presumption of treason is alleged, where no treason by any possible means could be committed.

But let this talk pass, the Judge thus concluding against Cuthbert Maine concerning the two first indictments, as hath been declared, the Attorney told the jury, that for proof of the third indictment, which was for the

maintenance of the Pope his ecclesiastical authority within this realm, they had witnesses there that should accuse him *viva voce*, face to face. Whereupon there were produced three false witnesses (not much unlike to those who accused our Saviour Christ) testifying upon their oaths that about eight or ten days before the assizes, being permitted by the keeper of the gaol to have some talk with Cuthbert Maine in the place where he there remained close prisoner, he, amongst many other speeches used unto them, should deny that the Queen was Supreme Head of the Church of England: the which, although it had been true, it was yet nothing to prove the allegation of the said indictment, which was that by express words in teaching maliciously, advisedly, and directly, he should uphold, and withstand, to extol, maintain, and set forth the ecclesiastical authority of the Bishop of Rome within this realm; for all men will confess that the denial of the one is no affirmation of the other. And in very truth they did nothing but lie, and that very loudly, all the while, that yet Cuthbert Maine, as it is well to be proved, had with them at that time no such speech at all, either of the Pope of Rome or of the Queen of England, but only of the Queen of Scots.

But let it be that he had talked with them of the Pope, or of the Queen of England never so much, it had been all nothing to the matter unless they had proved him to have offended by direct words, according to the allegation of their indictment; for when speaking of words is made an offence, that speech can never possibly be proved by any presumption or circumstance, but the words whereof the offence groweth must always directly be proved, as in the indictment they are alleged.

Now the Attorney, for proof of the fourth indictment, first showing forth an *Agnus Dei* inclosed within silver and crystal, which was alleged by their indictment to be made of silver and stone, saying: "Here is

the *Agnus Dei*. Here is the superstitious thing that these Papists made so great account of, produced on examination of Cuthbert Maine, wherein was confessed that he brought with him from beyond seas twelve or thirteen *Agnus Dei*, and of them they said there were found in his custody but eight or nine. Whereof it followed," though somewhat foolishly, "that he had of those which were lacking at least delivered one to his master." A bad consequence, God knoweth, and a weak presumption, but yet sufficient enough to prove, without any more ado, both this and the next indictment, which was not for the delivering, but for the offering to deliver, unto his master an *Agnus Dei* as is aforesaid.

Here it is now worth the noting that the one of these two last indictments allegeth the delivering and receiving of an *Agnus Dei*, and the other an offering to deliver, and by common intendment a refusing, and both done in one day; whereby it appeareth, that of these two indictments the one doth directly impugn the other. For if the *Agnus Dei* were not refused, the offering to deliver was no offence, and if it were received, then was it not an offer to deliver, but a plain delivery: so, as we say, that one doth directly disprove the other, unless they had proved a refusing at one time and a receiving at another, and both done in one day; the which they never did so much as dream of, for in truth their meaning was nothing less than orderly to proceed to the trial of anything, well knowing in taking that course they should altogether want apt engines to overthrow the fortress they intended.

But returning to our own matter, these sufficient proofs of the several indictments concerning the *Agnus Dei* there being produced and allowed, the Attorney again, for proof of the sixth and the last indictment, which was for hearing of a Mass, spake in this sort. "My masters, you that are sworn, I hope you remember

how you have heard that this Cuthbert Maine is a Priest, and there was found in his chamber an iron wherewith Papists use to make their Gods, a linen wherewith they use to wipe their chalices, and divers Mass books besides, and for the proof thereof, here is Mr. Sheriff,¹ that will be sworn. Which being true, it must needs follow that he hath said Mass." Whereunto the Sheriff being sworn, declared that he had found an iron and sarcenet in Cuthbert Maine his chamber, as the Attorney had spoken of, and that he found there likewise divers Mass books, and whatsoever else appertaining to the saying of Mass, yet all that in truth had been nothing to have proved that he did say Mass the 1st of June, according to the allegation of the indictment.

But to speak what we think, although this weak and uncertain presumption in very deed were nothing at all, where truth might take place and were duly administered, yet in our opinion it is somewhat more than anything whatsoever, for proof of any of the former indictments by them alleged.

Well, after the Sheriff had thus sworn, as hath been declared, the Attorney again, with a brief repetition, how that Cuthbert Maine would not come to the church, and that Papists were traitors and most wicked persons, both sowers of sedition and sharers of rebellion, not to be suffered in any commonwealth, not worthy to receive the benefit of law, thus ended his evidence, willing the jury to consider thereof.

Unto all which shameful surmised accusations Cuthbert Maine made no other answer than is before declared, saving that he, utterly denying, said he never delivered or offered to deliver any *Agnus Dei* unto his master, as they had alleged; but with silence, finding that no speech to be used in the defence of his innocency might any way prevail, he suffered the wicked to work their wills, and

¹ Greenefield. *MS. in marg.*

with wonderful patience, perceiving how equity was exiled, and iniquity highly exalted, truth suppressed and falsehood embraced, he sustained all their spiteful speeches, much to be detested, and their brutish behaviour, no less to be abhorred. Well, now that we have brought all such evidence as was given against Cuthbert Maine to an end, we shall have better vision to behold how Mr. Attorney doth deal with the rest. Without long tarrying, therefore, the Attorney, after his wonted manner, beginneth thus :

“Now, my masters, that we have proved the principal offender to have committed all the offences laid to his charge, we are further to prove these men that here stand to be accessories, that is, to have known thereof, and maintained him therein.

“And first you must note that they be all Papists of one confederacy, and do refuse to obey the Queen's proceedings in coming to the church, they are his familiars, and were fellows together in one house, and by reason of Papistry so linked in amity, as every one of them is privy to the others' doings, and therefore, if there were no more to be said herein, this surely were enough to prove them all accessories ; but yet, to make the matter most manifest, you shall have plain and particular proofs against every one of them,” which proofs how plain they were, and how well applied to the purpose, that it may appear in all their proceedings they were always like themselves, and would be, perhaps, worth the hearing, and because they are not many, we are more willing to declare them.

1. First, therefore, concerning Mr. Tremaine, there was showed forth a letter written by one William Wigges unto Cuthbert Maine, the contents whereof was that one Mr. Richard Tremaine and he had taken pains to inquire in Paul's Churchyard for those books as he had sent for, of the which some he had sent him, and the rest he could not for want of money, which he would have borrowed of

the said Mr. Tremaine, but could not have it. Notwithstanding the said Mr. Tremaine did promise him, if there were any books at his house which might pleasure him, he would write unto his brother to deliver them at any time when Cuthbert Maine should require them.

Hereof must needs follow that Mr. Tremaine was guilty of the aiding, comforting, and maintaining of Cuthbert Maine, knowing him to have published a Bull containing a pretended matter of absolution, to have spoken words in extolling the authority ecclesiastical of the Bishop of Rome, and knowing that he offered an *Agnus Dei* unto Mr. Tregian, and did not disclose it.

Notwithstanding it was well known that there were divers gentlemen which that country called by the name of Richard Tremaine; notwithstanding also it was well proved that this Richard Tremaine was never within the county of Cornwall during all that time which Cuthbert Maine remained in the house with Mr. Tregian; and notwithstanding that both of them solemnly protested that they never saw each other before that hour they met there at the bar, neither that ever any letters or so much as commendations had ever passed between them.

2. Then, touching John Kempe, there was showed forth another letter, also from the same William Wigges unto the said Cuthbert Maine, declaring that he had sent him by the said John Kempe all his stuff hallowed by the Bishop of Lincoln.¹ Wherefore it followed likewise that John Kempe was guilty of the aiding, comforting, and maintaining of Cuthbert Maine, first knowing him to have obtained a Bull from the See of Rome, containing matter of absolution; next, knowing him to have published the same; thirdly, knowing him to have used words in extolling the authority ecclesiastical of the Bishop of

¹ Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, was imprisoned in the Tower in 1559, whence he was removed to Wisbeach in 1582, and there he died in 1583.

Rome; and lastly, knowing that he offered to deliver an *Agnus Dei* unto Mr. Tregian, and did not reveal it.

3. As for Richard Hore, they showed forth a note or copy which he had written of certain Indulgences or pardons, granted for the use of hallowed grains, alleging further that he was Cuthbert Maine his scholar and follower in all things; and further, it must needs be that he was guilty of the four indictments aforesaid.

4. Now to prove Thomas Harris to have aided Cuthbert Maine, knowing him to have obtained a Bull, as it is aforesaid, from the See of Rome, only they showed forth a letter which he had written to a friend of his long before he was committed to prison, persuading him to the reformation of some matters which, through report, he had heard in him to be amiss, the which letter was thus subscribed, "T. H., chevalier errant."

And further, he alleged that one day, he being there in prison, letting his gloves fall on the ground, and trailing them after him, said, "The field was lost, the field was lost."

5. Against John Williams it was alleged that he was Cuthbert Maine his bedfellow, which God knoweth was nothing so; and it was further laid to his charge, that a child of his was christened at Mr. Tregian his house Papistically, and not at the church, according to the Queen's proceedings, and therefore there is no reason in the world why he should be better used than John Kempe or Richard Hore.

6. Now James Humphrey must needs drink of the same cup, because one John Neale, in a letter sent to Cuthbert Maine, commended him for an honest man.

7. And John Phillips must with them for company, because the said John Neale, in another letter likewise to Cuthbert Maine, commended him to be a trusty fellow.

8. But now, alas! for poor John Hodge,¹ that the Sheriff cannot save his life, for he will not both belie and betray his master. The Sheriff hoped of this fellow to have made a Judas; but God gave the man more grace: and because much malice was therein manifested, it will not be from our purpose in a word or two to rehearse the order of the history concerning John Hodge.

This Hodge, therefore, was by faculty a tailor, and one of Mr. Tregian his household servants, who had in his custody, at the time of Cuthbert Maine his apprehension, both cloth, apparel, and certain other stuffs of his, for which cause he repaired to Launceston to know his pleasure, what he would have done with the same stuff; who wished him to sell the same, and withal prayed him to be a mean unto the keeper (for that he lay in a place loathsome and greatly annoyed with stench), that he might be removed unto some more wholesome room.

The keeper was persuaded upon Hodge's motion to place him somewhat better, so as he might there have assurance to be answered for his diet and lodging. Hodge thereupon told him that he was ignorant what offence was laid against him, neither knew what he might do by law in that case; but so as he might do it without danger of law, he was contented to give his word for the answering of his debt, so far forth as 8*l.* should amount unto, for thereabouts he estimated the stuff in his custody to be worth.

The keeper assureth him he may lawfully do it, and promiseth, before two or three sufficient witnesses, to save him harmless concerning the same. Thereupon Hodge, in the behalf of Cuthbert Maine, gave the keeper his word for the answering of 8*l.*, which after he paid him at several times, and he was paid again for his labour; for this fact

¹ The Hodges rank as respectable yeomen, in different parts of Cornwall, as their ancestors likewise did, in the time of James I. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, vol. ii., p. 156.

of his, that he might receive as much as his fellows before him did, was evidence sufficient to prove him guilty of all four several indictments whereof they before had been accused, and he was served well enough; for he would not, to save his life, say to the Sheriff this money was his master's, which the Sheriff had rather than all the hairs of his beard he might have extorted.

For at the very instant when judgment of death was pronounced against Cuthbert Maine, the Sheriff himself came from his seat unto this Hodge, and told him that if he would confess the *8l.* he had paid the keeper for Cuthbert Maine to be his master's, he would not only save his life, but so prefer him, that for every pound he had gotten by his former service, he should hereafter receive ten. A time undoubtedly espied for the Sheriff to speed, and a person for his purpose, if his faithfulness had been agreeable to his fearfulness, for a more fearful fellow no man ever saw; yet God at this instant gave the man such grace, as neither for fear almost fainting, nor through fair promises much alluring, he was wrought unto the malicious will of the wicked.

Well, after all this substantial and inevitable evidence against them had been by the Attorney in their proper colours soundly set forth, adding his accustomed speeches, that they were all Papists and traitors, refusing to obey Her Majesty's proceedings in not coming to the church, and therefore not worthy of any favour, or fit to receive the benefit of law; he concluded in generality that what he had alleged was matter good and sufficient enough to prove them all guilty concerning the several indictments whereof they were accused, and so willed the jury to go together and bring in their verdict. The jury had not been long together, but they came into the judgment hall again, and yet sat down in the lower end thereof, staggering as though they had not been thoroughly resolved concerning their verdict, the which when the Sheriff

perceived, with speed he arose out of his seat, and went unto them, and there, in the sight both of the Judges and all the people, contrary to the course and order of law, contrary to all use and custom, and contrary to the oath of their foresworn keeper, he talked to them, and that very vehemently a long time, to what effect God knoweth.

But he was no rather departed and returned to his seat again, but they cried, as the manner is, "A verdict;" and then being called forth, they found both Cuthbert Maine and all the rest guilty of all, and every one of the surmised offences, whereof they had been most unjustly accused.

This sentence thus given, they were all (saving Cuthbert Maine, who was conveyed into a vile place to be close prisoner, kept from conference with the rest) returned again into the common gaol, where their beds were a bare floor, and their pillows hard stones. Now, omitting here particularly to unfold the insufficiency of every evidence before alleged, presupposed that no man is so ignorant but that he may easily perceive the imperfection thereof, and how both in law and equity they ought and were bound to have proved, first, that every one of the said parties had perfect knowledge of the foresaid offences supposed, and after such knowledges had, did aid, comfort, and maintain Cuthbert Maine, as is alleged, in contempt and contrary to the letter of the law.

Omitting also to exaggerate the offence of this most injurious jury, being doubtless such persons appointed for the purpose by the Sheriff himself, as if Jesus of Nazareth had been but so much as once named in any of those indictments, without any evidence at all, they would not have failed to find Him guilty.

Forbearing also for brevity's sake to exclaim of the injustice of those Judges, whose duty had been to have opened sincerely the defects of every evidence, and yet were so far from the accomplishment thereof as they not

only did conceal the said defects, but did allow, especially the one of them¹ with great vehemency did maintain the same to be very good and sufficient matter; yea, and in plain terms, did urge the jury, not needing a spur, to find them all guilty.

O times to be detested! O manners to be lamented! Forbearing, I say, now for brevity's sake, to spend time longer in matters not so much important, we will speed us to the view and consideration of their further proceedings against these men.

The next day, therefore, they were all brought forth again to receive judgment, coupled like dogs, two together with chains of iron, saving Cuthbert Maine, who also with iron fast fettered both hand and foot, went all alone as their captain before them, in which sort they marched on as well as they could, to the great admiration of the people, from the common gaol into the place of judgment. Where when they came, first Cuthbert Maine, as the manner is, was demanded what he could say why he ought not to receive judgment upon those several indictments whereof he was found guilty.

Whereunto he answered that he never committed or intended to commit any treason towards Her Majesty or his dear country, and as touching the copy of the Jubilee found in his custody, which they enforced to be a matter of great offence, as he had already said, the thing to his knowledge and to his account, was no other than a void paper which he brought from Douay and not from Rome, where he never was; besides the date of the same is expired, and so out of all use long before his coming into England, and therefore if he would, yet by no means he could have committed any such act contrary to the law, as was alleged. Further, admitting the date thereof had not been expired, but in full force, yet could he not thereby have committed any treason by any means

¹ Manwood. *MS. in marg.*

whatsoever, for any act that was thereby to be done, was only but to give absolution of sin unto penitent sinners, and therefore if the thing had been in full force as it was altogether out of use, yet he had committed no treason, unless they would make it treason to absolve sins.

Thus speaking, the Judge, who was chief in commission,¹ said: "We have not to do with your Papistical use in absolving of sins, you may keep it to yourselves, and although the date of this Bull was expired, and out of force, as you have alleged, so was it always out of force with us, for we never did nor do account any such thing to be of force or worth a straw, and yet the same is by law of this realm treason, and therefore thou hast deserved to die."

Hereunto he answered, what he had deserved, God did best know, but if it were as he said, he was very sorry this land had any such law.

Whereupon, the other Judge,² who was second in commission, communed with his fellow somewhat softly a long while, as it seemed in defence of that which Cuthbert Maine had alleged, for much contrariety and disagreement appeared in their talk. In the end therefore he who was chief in commission in some choler to be contraried, was heard to say thus: "Well, it maketh no matter; for all that, I will give judgment," and therewithal turning himself to Cuthbert Maine gave judgment against him in this manner.

"Thou, Cuthbert Maine,³ hast been here accused, for the traitorous obtaining, publishing, and putting in use of a printed instrument, containing matter of absolution from the See of Rome, contrary to the laws of this land, and hast thereunto pleaded, Not guilty; and for trial thereof hast put thyself upon God and the country, who have found

¹ Manwood. *MS. in marg.*

² Geffreies. *MS. in Marg.* Sir John Jeffreys made Justice of the Common Pleas in 1576, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer in 1577, in which judgeship he was succeeded by Sir Roger Manwood in 1579. Dugdale's *Origines*, p. 94.

³ Judgment of death pronounced on Cuthbert Mayne. *MS. in marg.*

thee guilty. The Court therefore doth award that thou shalt be carried from hence unto the place from whence thou camest, and from thence thou shalt be drawn unto the market-place of this town, where thou shalt be hanged until thou be half dead, . . . and thy bowels be taken out of thy body, and before thy face, being alive, shall be thrown into the fire, and then thy head shall be cut off and thy body divided into four parts to be hanged up in such several places as the Queen's Majesty shall appoint; and so God have mercy on thy soul." Which sentence thus pronounced, Cuthbert Maine, with a most mild and gladsome countenance, lifting up his eyes and hands unto heaven, only said, "God be thanked."

Whereupon Mr. Richard Tremaine, and the rest were likewise called forth, and demanded what they could say, why they should not receive judgment, who, besides many speeches which did manifestly clear them of any maintenance, did solemnly protest and offer to be deposed, if they should be so required, that they never saw the same copy of the Jubilee before it was shown there in Court, nor ever saw any *Agnus Dei* delivered or offered to be delivered unto Mr. Francis Tregian, nor ever committed any of the crimes whereof he had been most unjustly accused.

Notwithstanding, the same Judge concerning the several indictments gave one general sentence against them all that they should forfeit their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, to the Queen's Majesty's use, and their bodies to remain in perpetual prison, saving Mr. Richard Tremaine, whose judgment, either at the earnest suit of some friends, or because they had no colour or cunning to cloak so manifest and palpable injustice, was respited.

This matter thus ended, they were all, according to the judgment, returned back again to the common gaol, but Cuthbert Maine his execution, by reason of the Judges' disagreement, was respited until the Council's pleasure

therein were further known, who all the time of his life after (which was about the space of three months) remained amongst condemned persons in a most miserable and horrible dungeon, his legs laden and fast fettered continually with iron.

And the rest also were all adorned with irons, and so they continued a plausible spectacle unto some sort of people a long time. But at length when neither shameful abusing, sly persuasion, fair promising, loss of living, scoffs and scorning, threats, terrors, infinite troubles, nor any other whatsoever indirect dealing would once remove their invincible and constant minds, or make them any way in anything appliable unto the vain and inconstant proceedings of the time, they were discharged of them again.

These matters thus handled, there was forthwith in all post a certificate sent unto the Council expressing the order and effect of all their proceedings concerning the causes before declared. And because the matter might seem also to all men abroad more heinous and odious, sundry copies of the same with the like speed were despatched and dispersed unto divers parts of the realm, the which for more perspicuity's sake we have thought fit here to set forth.

The First Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk.* In gaol for obtaining an instrument of absolution from the See of Rome, and upon trial hath judgment of treason.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, *Armiger.*
LEONARD MORLEY, *Gentleman.*
ROBERT JESSOPPE.

} Not in gaol, but accused as aiders of Cuthbert Maine after the instrument of absolution obtained, and so in danger of loss of goods, lands, and liberty during life.

JOHN KEMPE, *Gent.*
RICHARD HORE, *Gent.*
JOHN WILLIAMS, *Master of Art.*
JOHN HODGE.
JOHN PHILLIPS.
JAMES HUMPHREYS.

} In gaol, and upon trial have judgment of the loss of goods, lands, and liberty during life, as aiders of Cuthbert Maine after the instrument aforesaid obtained.

The Second Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk.* For publishing the said instrument of absolution. In gaol and convicted of treason, *ut supra.*

FRANCIS TREGIAN, <i>Arm.</i>	}	Not in gaol, but accused for the aiding of Cuthbert Maine after the instrument aforesaid published, and in danger of the loss aforesaid.
LEONARD MORLEY, <i>Gent.</i>		
VINCENT INGHAM, <i>Arm.</i>		
THOMAS SCOTT DE LA MOTTE, <i>Arm.</i>		
ROBERT JESSOPPE.		
WILLIAM WIGGES.	}	In gaol, and upon trial, as aiders of Cuthbert Maine after the instrument as aforesaid is published, have judgment of the loss and penalty aforesaid, saving R. Tremaine, whose judgment is respited for certain good respects.
SIMON LOW, <i>Mercator.</i>		
JOHN NEALE.		
JOHN KEMPE, <i>Gent.</i>		
JOHN WILLIAMS, <i>Master of Art.</i>		
RICHARD HORE, <i>Gent.</i>		
RICHARD TREMAINE, <i>Gent.</i>		
JOHN HODGE.	}	
JOHN PHILLIPS.		
JAMES HUMPHREYS.		

The Third Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk.* In gaol, upon trial for extolling the Romish authority, hath judgment of the loss of lands, goods, and liberty.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, <i>Arm.</i>	}	Not in gaol, but accused as aiders of Cuthbert Maine in extolling of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and so in danger of the loss aforesaid.
LEONARD MORLEY, <i>Gent.</i>		
VINCENT INGHAM, <i>Arm.</i>		
THOMAS SCOTT DE LA MOTTE, <i>Arm.</i>		
SIMON LOW, <i>Mercator.</i>		
WILLIAM WIGGES.	}	In gaol, and as aiders of Cuthbert Maine in the extolling of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, having judgment of the loss aforesaid, except only Richard Tremaine, whose judgment is respited, <i>ut supra.</i>
ROBERT JESSOPPE.		
JOHN KEMPE, <i>Gent.</i>		
RICHARD TREMAINE, <i>Gent.</i>		
RICHARD HORE, <i>Gent.</i>		
THOMAS HARRIS, <i>Gent.</i>		
JOHN WILLIAMS, <i>Master of Art.</i>		
JOHN HODGE.	}	
JOHN PHILLIPS.		
JAMES HUMPHREYS.		

The Fourth Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk*. In gaol, and upon trial for bringing in and delivering an *Agnus Dei* unto his master, hath judgment of goods, lands, and liberty, as aforesaid.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, *Armiger*, not in gaol, but accused for receiving an *Agnus Dei*, and in danger of the loss aforesaid.

The Fifth Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk*. In gaol, and upon trial for bringing in and offering to deliver an *Agnus Dei* to his master, hath judgment of the loss aforesaid.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, *Arm*.

WILLIAM WIGGES.

JOHN NEALE.

WILLIAM COLLINS.

JOHN KEMPE, *Gent*.

RICHARD TREMAINE, *Gent*.

RICHARD HORE, *Gent*.

JOHN WILLIAMS, *Mr. Artium*.

JOHN HODGE.

JOHN PHILLIPS.

JAMES HUMPHREYS.

} Not in gaol, but accused for not disclosing the *Agnus Dei* offered, in danger, *ut supra*.

} In gaol, and upon trial for not disclosing of the *Agnus Dei* offered, have judgment for contempt.

The Sixth Indictment.

CUTHBERT MAINE, *Clerk*. In gaol and upon trial for saying Mass, hath judgment of the loss of one hundred marks or six months' imprisonment.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, *Armiger*. Not in gaol, but accused for procuring a Mass, and so in danger of the loss of one hundred marks, or six months' imprisonment.

The Seventh Indictment.

JOHN ARUNDELL,¹ *Equus au-*
ratus.

FRANCIS TREGIAN, *Arm*.

NICHOLAS ROSCARROCK,² *Gent*.

} Accused for not going to the church.

¹ Sir John Arundell of Lanherne was Francis Tregian's uncle.

² "The family of Roscarrock is populous; but of them two brothers, Hugh, for his civil carriage and kind hospitality, and Nicholas, for his industrious delight in matters of history and antiquity, do merit a commending remembrance." Carew's *Survey*. London, 1602, f. 127.

RICHARD TREMAINE, *Gent.*
 JOHANNA, *uxor ejus.*
 FRANCIS YEREMAN, *Gent.*
 MARY HAME.
 MARGARET KEMPE.
 DAVID KEMPE, *Gent.*
 WINEFRED KEMPE.
 PHILLIP TREMAINE, *Gent.*
 JANE TREMAINE.
 ROBERT SMITH, *Arm.*
 JANE, *uxor ejus.*
 ROBERT BECKETT, *Arm.*
 THOMAS BECKETT, *Gent.*
 THOMAS PICKFORDE, *Gent.*

} Accused for not going to the
 church.

By this time, the Council being certified of those magistrates' proceedings, and the day of Mr. Tregian his return to the Court being come, it was now laid to his charge by the said Council that he was a heinous offender, indicted by his own countrymen at least six or seven several times, and that concerning matters of no small importance.

Who thereupon told them although, through the over envious and malicious practices of his enemies, here he stood indicted of sundry offences, it did not therefore follow that he was an offender, humbly beseeching their honours to suspend any condemnation in opinion against him concerning the said surmised offences, and for just purgation of his innocency, that it would please their good lordships to suffer him to enjoy that liberty which the law did allow him. But neither his innocency, well known unto them, nor his humble petition, nor the protection of the law, could any way prevail; for they, following the rule of reason, as they said, the quality of the person and the cause whereof he was accused considered, could not but commit him to prison, no way meaning thereby but that he, notwithstanding, should have liberty to prosecute the purgation of innocency, the which how it was performed will hereafter appear.

For they forthwith committed him close prisoner unto the Knight Marshal's ward, and so there remained very closely kept by the space almost of ten months, in which time he could not obtain liberty so much as to talk with any of his friends touching any cause whatsoever, notwithstanding many humble suits made and supplicatory letters written to that effect.

In all which time, to unfold the infinite troubles he sustained, with sickness how sharply he was assaulted, how deadly he sometimes sounded, how barbarously he was abused, and every way how bitterly prosecuted, would be perhaps lamentable to declare. But, endeavouring to be short, we will leave him thus fallen from a high mountain of prosperity unto the deep seas of adversity, bewailing the wickedness of this unhappy time, and turn to the brief description of Cuthbert Maine his bitter execution. But first we may not omit to declare how Mr. Tregian, if he would have yielded only for a fashion sake, as they said, to have shown himself at the church, might have procured both immunity for himself, liberty for his servants, and the life of Cuthbert Maine. But no persuasions or offers whatsoever could once induce him to agree thereunto, always preferring Christianity before his own immunity or his servant's liberty. And concerning the life of Cuthbert Maine, always alleging that he would not hazard his own soul unto hell to withhold his man's from Heaven.

The condemnation of Cuthbert Maine not being liked nor allowed, as hath been declared, by Mr. Jeffreys, for so was the Judge called who was second in commission, it was thought necessary by some in authority, as we have heard, that all the Judges of the realm should meet and consider of the matter, but being carried into divers minds they departed, leaving the same undetermined, although the most ancient, most learned, and most in number maintained with Mr. Jeffreys his opinion, not allowing of the

condemnation. Notwithstanding, the state of the time considered, it was by the Council thought good and expedient that one should die for the sins of the people.

Whereupon, there was a warrant sent unto the Sheriff of Cornwall, subscribed with seven or eight of the Council's hands, for the execution of Cuthbert Maine. The day assigned for the same purpose was dedicated unto St. Andreas; but on the eve before, all the Justices of that county, with many preachers of the pretended reformed religion, being gathered together at Launceston aforesaid, Cuthbert Maine was brought before them, his legs being not only laden with mighty irons, but his hands also fast fettered together (in which miserable case he also remained many days before), when he maintained disputation with them concerning the controversy in religion at this day in question, from eight of the clock in the morning until it was almost dark night, continually standing, no doubt in great pain in that pitiful plight, on his feet.

Those preachers, besides the offer of his life and liberty if he would have conformed himself to their religion and renounced the authority of the Bishop of Rome, used many other persuasions to draw him from his opinion and received religion. But their labour was all lost, for they could not, with all their bitter railing and reproachful speeches, which they poured forth in great plenty, so much as once move him to the least impatience in the world.

Wherefore, according to the judgment he had received, the next day he was uneasily laid on a hurdle, and so spitefully drawn, receiving some knocks on his face and his fingers with a girdle, unto the market-place of the said town, where of purpose there was a very high gibbet erected, and all things else, both fire and knives, set to the show and ready prepared.

At¹ which place of execution, when he came, he was first forced, for the more despite, to mount the ladder backward; and after permitted to use very few words. Notwithstanding, he briefly opened the cause of his condemnation, the which how justly he deserved he referred to the judgment of Almighty God, and withal solemnly protested, and took it on his death, that his master was never privy or any way acquainted with his having of those things whercupon he was condemned, which was the Jubilee and the *Agnus Dei*; then beginning to use some words in way of exhortation, one of the Justices² interrupting his talk, commanded the hangman to put the rope about his neck, and then, quoth he, let him preach afterward; which done, another³ commanded the ladder to be overturned, so as he had not the leisure to recite the verse, *In manus tuas Domine*, to the end. With speed he was cut down, and with the fall had almost ended his life, which before remained very perfect in him, for the gibbet being very high, and he being yet in the swing, when the rope was cut, he fell in such sort, as his head first encountered the scaffold, which was there prepared of purpose to divide the quarters, as the one side of his face was very sorely bruised, and one of his eyes far driven out of his head.

After he was cut down the hangman first spoiled him of his clothes . . . and then in butcherly manner opening his belly he rent up his bowels, and after tore out his heart, the which as a plausible spectacle he held up aloft in his hand, showing it unto the people; lastly his head was cut off, and his body divided into four quarters,

¹ The execution of Cuthbert Maine. *MS. in marg.*

² Trefrye. *MS. in marg.* William Trefry of Fowey, descendant of Sir John, who was made knight-banneret by Edward III. at the battle of Poitiers. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, ii., pp. 278, 363.

³ Mohoune. *MS. in marg.* Sir Reginald Mohun, of Boconnoc, subsequently made a baronet, and father of Sir John Mohun, Lord Mohun of Oakhampton, a title now extinct. *Ibid.*, i., p. 536; ii., p. 369.

which afterwards were dispersed and set up on the Castle of Launceston, one quarter sent unto a town called Bodmin, the most populous town in Cornwall; another unto a town called Barnstaple, in Devonshire, whereabouts he was born; the third unto a town called Tregony, not above a mile distant from Mr. Tregian his house; the fourth unto Wadebridge, the most common travelled way in that county.

And thus was the most innocent maintainer of unity murdered and dismembered with great cruelty.

But now returning again to Mr. Tremaine and the rest, let us see what was further said unto them. Very much surely was Mr. Manwood overshot, and through the black mist of malice overmuch blinded, not contenting himself so cruelly and indirectly to deal with those innocent persons, but that he must yet seem more fully to manifest his good meaning unto the world, proceed so far forth as to give judgment against them in a matter which before him was no way determinable. For by the same law whereby he pretended to proceed against those poor prisoners, concerning the supposed offences laid unto their charge, it is provided that no man shall receive trial touching the maintenance of the authority of the Bishop of Rome, but before the Judges only of the King's Bench.

Wherefore the same indictment (notwithstanding the judgment thereupon already given) being certified unto the King's Bench, according to the course of the law, which by no cleanly conveyance, they could possibly let, there was thereupon a writ of *Capias* directed to the Sheriff of Cornwall for the bringing up of Mr. Tregian and Cuthbert Maine, with the rest condemned in Premunire remaining in the gaol of Launceston, which for the time not a little disturbed the magistrates of that county, both unwilling that they should be so wrested out of their clutches, and removed to some other place where it was likely they might be better used, as also doubting lest their unlawful

and indirect dealing might thereby the rather break forth and come to light.

But the Sheriff forthwith helpeth of the matter by returning that Cuthbert Maine was dead, that Mr. Tregian was not to be found within this bailiewick, that the rest were imprisoned and not in his custody.¹

But this serveth not the turn, for notwithstanding, after this cometh forth an *Alias*, which also they laboured to have illuded, as they did the former, earnestly soliciting Judge Jeffreys, who only was then there in circuit, for the stay of them. But he who was before too well acquainted with their indirect dealings would no way allow of their unlawful desires, still answering that whereas he only bearing rule was in place, law ought and should always have his course.

Here now we think it not amiss amongst infinite injuries which Mr. Tregian received, and manifold miseries which he sustained, by one example, for brevity's sake, to set forth how extremely every way this meanwhile, being kept close prisoner in the Marshalsea, he was dealt withal. Thus therefore it was.

Mr. Tregian, owing the sum of 70*l.* unto one Braudone, a goldsmith, of London (being partly the debt of his father's and partly his own), became bound for the same payment at a certain day appointed, the which, for that neither his wife nor his officers had intelligence thereof, was not paid at the day prefixed, neither Mr. Tregian could possibly take order for the discharge of the same although he both by his keeper made earnest suit, and by his letters humbly besought the Lords of the Council, unto whom only and to the Knight Marshal he was permitted to write, that it would please their honours to grant him liberty (not having then about him so much money as to satisfy the debt), either to speak with the party in the presence of his keeper, whereby he might compound with

¹ The gaol of Launceston belongeth not to the Sheriff of Cornwall. *MS. in marg.* It belonged to the Constable of Launceston.

him for some further day, or else to talk with some of his friends, to take order for his satisfaction, or otherwise that it would please their good lordships to take some such order as the party might be justly satisfied, and Mr. Tregian, through rigour of law, not damnified.

But neither of these petitions was either permitted, or so much as once in any sort regarded, the Council not having to do, as they said, with the payment of other men's debts.

Whereupon the greedy goldsmith, gaping after gain, perceiving a fit time for the purpose, as perhaps also provoked by some such as were of greater power, proceeded against Mr. Tregian, by way of action, which he followed in such sort as he speedily procured an *Execat* against him, by virtue whereof the Sheriff of Cornwall seized into his hands, for satisfying of the said debt, so much corn and cattle as was well worth 500*l.* But Mrs. Tregian, in absence of her husband, by the mediation of friends (and paying the party above 150*l.*, besides four proper geldings, being not so little worth as 40*l.*), had shortly after, though with much loss, the use of the corn and cattle again.

So Mr. Tregian, by means of their most malicious and Machiavellian dealing, paid no less than the value of 200*l.* for the debt of 70*l.*, besides such loss and spoil by reason of that *Execat* sustained, as over 100*l.* more would not sufficiently have repaired. But what needed he to care for the loss of this little, who within a few months after must lose a great deal more, even no less than all he enjoyed, both goods, lands, and liberty? But thereof in place.

Now Mr. Tregian his capital adversaries, finding this course to make so good effect, thought that this his close imprisonment might also work their avail for a writ of *Capias ut ligatum*, growing by reason of process granted thereupon that indictment which we have before declared

to be certified unto the King's Bench, was likely very shortly to be awarded against him, the which being brought to pass, would be a speedy way for the attaining their purpose, if, as they hoped, the matter might have proceeded without his knowledge, as it was likely to have done indeed, if a friend of his had not prevented the same, which fell out in this sort.

Upon certificate made of the aforesaid indictment into the King's Bench, process was forth directed unto the Sheriff of Cornwall, for the apprehending of Mr. Tregian, but *Non est inventus* was the return. Whereupon, shortly after a writ of *Capias ut ligatum* was awarded, of all which proceedings Mr. Tregian was altogether ignorant, but a friend of his by chance being then in place, perceiving which way the world went, informeth the Court that Mr. Tregian was, by the Council's commandment, close prisoner at the Marshalsea, meaning thereby to have done him a great pleasure, which fell out far otherwise, for thereupon his adversaries took such a course as procured him such and so manifold miseries as we think hath seldom happened to any in our age.

Here it is to be noted that in this action Mr. Tregian was ever assaulted, besides infinite others, by these especial and mighty adversaries, first by the Lords of the Council, next by the Knight Marshal, and lastly by those gentlemen, if they may be so termed, who rascally and uncivilly searched his house. The Council contriving many subtle and sour means to win him from his constant and stout confession of the Catholic religion. The Knight Marshal likewise, having obtained at Her Majesty's hands the gift of his lands, labouring both by force and cunning to possess the said living. And the gentlemen, both to justify their unlawful attempt, as also to avoid all future reckonings for their former folly, procuring with earnest endeavour his utter subversion, so as what by the means of

the one and the other, very much was Mr. Tregian always distressed, as hereafter in part it shall appear.

Well, upon the information aforesaid, further process was stayed, and the hope of having his living after that sort was made frustrate. Wherefore some other way must be wrought, but what way they took, when we have shown what happened unto those poor prisoners which remained in Launceston gaol, shall be declared.

When the Justices,¹ as we have said, could not prevail with the Judge for the further stay of the aforesaid prisoners, then the Sheriff of force must forth with his charge, whereof, as it should seem, he took no small care; for from Launcester gaol unto the King's Bench they were always strongly guarded by a ruffianly rout of bloody bluecoats, with bows, bills, and guns, unto whom were also associated certain attorneys with other good fellows. But yet to make the matter more sure, their arms, like felons or murderers, were pinioned behind their backs with cords, and that nothing might want to the fast keeping of so weighty a charge, their horses also, like colliers nags, were fast tied with halters the one to the other.

And in this seemly way they marched, one always providing that before they came unto a town or village, a crier should make proclamation that "the Papists are coming, the traitors are coming," with infinite other such shameless abuses and detestable derisions, whereof for brevity's sake we forbear to speak.

But the poor prisoners, assisted through His grace for Whom they were bound, did rejoice in their bonds, giving God thanks that it would please Him of His goodness to admit them, poor wretches, to suffer such reproach and shame for His Church and Name. These men, now being brought to the bar at the King's Bench, were there arraigned again upon the same indictment whereof they before at Launceston had received judgment.

¹ Nicolls. *MS. in marg.*

Shortly after, Mr. Tregian likewise, for that they would deal more orderly with him than they had done with all the rest, was brought from the prison of the Marshalsea to be arraigned before the Judges of the King's Bench upon that indictment only, which, as we have before declared, ought by order of law both to have been certified and determined in the Court. Where, when he came, the indictment being first read, and thereunto as the order is required to answer, he told them that he had been then almost ten months a close prisoner committed by the Lords of the Council, for that, as they said, were it until that day he certainly knew not, neither could in all that space, upon any humble petition made unto them, so much as obtain liberty to talk with any of his friends concerning any cause whatsoever whereby what trouble of mind, what punishment of his body, what spoil of his goods, he had every way sustained, would be thought very lamentable to unfold, but unfitting speeches to trouble that honourable Court. He humbly besought them that by their order a copy of the said indictment unto him might be delivered, learned counsel assigned, and convenient respite to answer allowed. Whereupon, after divers speeches spent on both sides, it was in the end ordered that Mr. Tregian must presently answer either guilty or not guilty, the which was performed, and he presently pleaded (saving all advantages touching the insufficiency of the indictment) "Not guilty," and thereupon had counsel assigned, such as himself required.

Notwithstanding for all this, the Court would not (for they said they could not) discharge him of his close imprisonment, but he was enforced, by way of supplication unto the Council, to sue for the same. All the discharge which thereupon he obtained was, that in respect of an action depending against him at Her Majesty's suit, it should be lawful for him to confer with his counsel concerning that cause only, and that in the presence and hearing of his

keeper, who was both officer and servant unto the Knight Marshal, who had obtained the grant of his living.

O England, we do bewail thee! O Justice, we want thee! Fye for shame that ever a gentleman, well deserving of many, and offending none, by his countrymen, his kinsmen, and such as for many respects were bound unto him, against law, against nature, and against all right and reason, should be so brutishly abused and treacherously betrayed, and afterwards trained under pretence of authority out of his country, where the meanwhile he was indicted and thereupon committed to prison, in which by the space of almost ten months, he remained so straitly kept as upon no humble petition he could be allowed to talk with any of his friends concerning any cause whatsoever, and at length enforced to confer with his counsel for the defence of his innocency in the presence and hearing of his most capital adversary.

But we could wish that this had been the worst. Let us now see what followeth after. Mr. Tregian, upon conference with his counsel touching his cause, found that the indictment whereupon he had been arraigned was, for divers respects, altogether insufficient and void in law; the which his counsel, obtaining a time for the purpose, largely and learnedly proved, and thereupon required the judgment of the Court, which was not at all times given, but put over, for that, as they said, they would deliberate of the matter until the next day following. Now the Knight Marshal, finding that this would not fall out for his purpose, wrought by all means possible for the stay thereof, which he so followed as he, being able to do in this case but what he listed, caused the same to be delayed from day to day, until the term was fully ended. And afterwards Mr. Tregian, by warrant from the Council against all order of law, was sent unto Cornwall, to receive trial there at the next assizes upon the same indictment, which by law in that Court where he was arraigned ought

only to have been determined, and which by the counsel but a few days before was proved, and by all the Judges of England assembled for that purpose, shortly after approved to be insufficient and void of law. But such is the outrageous fury of some extreme tempests, as no talking whatsoever can possibly save the ship from shivers. In describing this matter, we may omit to declare how that a few days before order was taken for Mr. Tregian's remove into Cornwall, he was first sent for from the Marshalsea by the Lords of the Council, to no other end, as it should seem, but that they were desirous to see what alteration so long close imprisonment had made in the man and whether by any means they might have wrought him to the bent of their bow, whom not finding applicable to their mind, they dismissed with many a thundering threat.

But as he was departing out at door, one of the Clerks of the Council¹ stayed him, and told him that the Lords of the Council and divers others his friends were not a little sorry to see him so obstinate in points of religion, affirming that whatsoever punishment he had received therefore proceeded from them altogether as from a charitable and fatherly affection; but seeing that course could take no better effect, he perceived they were not unwilling to take some other way with him, such, as if himself were not in fault, he did not doubt would redound to his great avail, and therefore earnestly prayed him that he would become a petitioner unto their lordships, that it would please them to assign him some learned minister with whom he might confer and have full resolution of his doubts in religion, protesting and assuring him if he would take that course, he should have all their lordships

¹ Edmund Tremaine. *MS. in marg.* Edmund, second son of Thomas Tremaine of Collacombe, was in the service of Edward Marquis of Exeter, and when his master was sent to the Tower for Wyatt's conspiracy, he was racked to extort from him a confession. Queen Elizabeth rewarded him on her accession by making him one of the Clerks of her Privy Council. *Gilbert's Cornwall*, ii., p. 293.

unfaindly reconciled, all indictments wherewith he stood then charged defcated, and all former griefs sustained by reason of his endurance repaired.

Whereunto Mr. Tregian, finding from whence the first part of his speech proceeded, and whereunto all his plausible conclusion tended, briefly answered, that in no way he doubted any article of his faith or any point of his religion, and therefore to be resolved, in that whereof he stood in no way doubtful, were too childish a fashion, and argued an intolerable dissimulation. Notwithstanding, to satisfy their lordships, he would not refuse, by them so commanded, to yield an account unto any man whatsoever touching any article whatsoever pertaining to his faith or his religion.

Which answer not liked, Mr. Tregian departed and repaired to the prison, from whence, within a few days after, under the conduct of one¹ who before that time had greatly abused him, he was conveyed unto Cornwall for the purpose aforesaid, upon a gallant palfrey, whose legs, as we guess, for lack of shoes, were bravely furnished with boots, a pair in doubt of a great price, little less worth, with all his furniture, than ten shillings.

Now, notwithstanding those other prisoners have been purposely brought, as we have before declared, out of Cornwall to receive their trial in the King's Bench, being only there arraigned; without any more ado, against all order of law, they were also, with Mr. Tregian, sent back to the place from whence they came, that they might there now once again receive trial under the same indictment whereof and wherefore they had once before received judgment. *Sic lex lege caret, legumque invertitur ordo.*

Thus wholesome laws of States they stay,
The use of law doth lack;
Thus, thus all order is untwined,
Which breedeth woeful wrack.

¹ Walkow. *MS. in marg.*

Well, the time of Mr. Tregian's trial forsooth being now come, that we may not declare how rascal renegades by English Justices, to give false witness against him, were wickedly suborned; nor how the jury by one of his mightiest and most malicious adversaries, without all authority, was returned; nor how six hundred such pestilent practices to further their purpose were craftily contrived: we will only, and that briefly, set forth the order, or rather disorder, of the proceedings against him at that assizes, for from the beginning of that action unto this present instant it can never be proved that ever, in any one thing, they have orderly and lawfully proceeded against him.

All things therefore for the purpose, even as they would have it, being ready prepared in the beginning of the assizes, Mr. Tregian, as though he had been some notorious traitor, very carefully guarded with bills and glaives,¹ was brought to the bar where he was first arraigned upon all those other causes whereof, as hath been declared, he stood indicted; and after they proceeded to the trial of that cause whereupon he was removed, wherein, to prove him guilty, certain lawyers appointed as counsellors for the Queen, laboured not a little, but one of them overlabouring his eloquence, for lack of good matter against Mr. Tregian, very bitterly declaimed against Cuthbert Maine: whose vehement invective ended, to make some show without substance, he opened his pack of peltry, and to prove that Mr. Tregian had aided, abetted, and maintained the jurisdiction and authority of the Bishop of Rome, he declareth that Maine being an archpapist, Mr. Tregian was of the same religion, that in Mr. Tregian's house he was solemnly served by himself with a mess of meat as delicately as his master, that he was daintily lodged, and to be such that he was in such favour and credit with his master as he could want nothing, and

¹ "A blade mounted on a long handle." *Wedgwood.*

thereupon inferred that Mr. Tregian knew him to have spoken the words, *as before*, did aid, abet, and maintain him of purpose and to the intent to extol and set forth the jurisdiction and authority of the Bishop of Rome.

Some other as impertinent proofs he poured forth, but that which seemed to serve for the twist of his work was a most detestable and newly-devised examination of a lewd fellow suborned for the purpose, named Twiggess, which maintained that the same good fellow, forsooth, had sundry times resorted unto Golden, Mr. Tregian's house, where he saw Cuthbert Maine and divers others to repair often unto Mr. Tregian's chamber, and there to remain so long a space as a Mass might well be said. Further that he, coming into Golden with an interlude at Christmas, in the year of our Lord 1575, was then lodged with the said Cuthbert Maine, at which time Maine told him that he was a Priest, and that he had been at Rome, that he had brought from thence divers *Agnus Dei*, and we knew not what, that he had greater authority than any Minister in England, that this world was nought, and would not amend until this land were invaded by Spaniards, as it should be shortly, and I know not who.

Much more good stuff to the like effect was contained in the same examination which the said Twiggess, being called forth, did, with a pale countenance, trembling hands, and staggering tongue (signs of a guilty conscience), on his oath affirm to be true. All which, if it had been true, as it was most false, had yet been very little to the purpose to have proved Mr. Tregian guilty of the crime whereof he was accused.

But in truth, although with one limed twig they intended then to take two birds, yet this examination was not newly devised, neither now produced so much against Mr. Tregian as thereby to give out to the world some colourable show besides bare words, which at first through

overmuch haste was omitted, that Cuthbert Maine forsooth, who now had been executed almost a year before, without all doubt was not a very good man, but an enemy to the State, and unworthy of life, that he had been at Rome, and brought from thence Bulls, *Agnus Dei*, and such other stuff, whereof without any proof, or colour of proof, most maliciously and wickedly he had been before accused and condemned: so that which first through the fury of blind malice was indiscreetly omitted, was now, as they thought, upon mature deliberation very politicly amended; and in truth if this evidence, though most untrue, had been devised and produced when first Cuthbert Maine was arraigned, their proceedings then undoubtedly would not have seemed altogether so maliciously intended as now they plainly appear to be most wicked dealings, which by no colour can be defended.

After the evidence was once ended, Mr. Tregian, besides many other, after trial, speeches delivered in defence of his innocency, declared that no man as he hoped, who was indeed but with common sense, would think it likely that a poor parish clerk, for he was no better, running about the country from place to place with a bald interlude,¹ should be lodged with Cuthbert Maine, being steward of his house, and who in truth was by him well used and lodged, and of whom of all other his servants, no one excepted, he made most account. Besides, admitting that Twigges had lain with him, yet he well hoped it would also be thought as unlikely that Cuthbert Maine, being both wise and learned, would unto a mere stranger, and one whom he never saw before that hour, impart matters of so great importance, as which by the laws of

¹ "The ancient interludes were called *Guary*, in English miracle-plays, and sometimes lasted longer than a whole day. There are still some faint traces of the acting of plays at Christmas, when, at the time of feasting, some of the best informed among the vulgar, called puffers, enter in disguise into gentlemen's houses, where they personate characters, and carry on miserable dialogues on Scripture subjects." Gilbert's *Cornwall*, i., p. 105.

the realm, and through the hatred conceived of his function, whereof he was not ignorant, should either have cost him the loss of his life, or at least the deprivance of his liberty. Moreover, this good Twigges, being demanded by Mr. Tregian in what part of his house Cuthbert Maine was lodged, what manner of chamber it was, what windows were in it, what fashion bed he lay in, where the chimney stood, and such like, overtaken by means of his ignorance therein, after he had muttered a word or two very inaptly and indirectly to the first proposed question, was enforced to answer the rest with shameful silence, which the Judge who was chief in commission perceiving, without any blushing commanded him forthwith not to answer one word more as he termed it unto such vain and frivolous questions. But after, to put the matter out of all doubt, Mr. Tregian offered there presently to prove in the face of the Court, by the deposition of at least forty credible persons, that the same Christmas, when this good fellow played the interlude in his house, for he never played any other, but that one alone, Cuthbert Maine was not there, nor as yet had been received into his service, nor almost eight months after, neither in truth was he then in England, but at Douay in Flanders, who came over into this realm the Easter following. But by no means possible he could be permitted to produce any one of his witnesses for proof of the same, for if the deposition of this honest companion, which they had for their purpose so cunningly contrived and politicly procured, had been plainly descried and publicly disproved, their fine fishing would have proved but a foolish frogging, all the fat had fallen into the fire, and the whole frame of their intended and Babylonical buildings had been unjointed.

Well, upon the whole matter, the jury, being men to the most part of little knowledge and less conscience, and also picked for the purpose, would not yet find Mr. Tregian guilty of the crime whereof he was accused

before they had thereunto been by one of the Judges¹ at least once or twice both encouraged, required, and with threatenings feared.

And it was there not unworthy the noting that before their verdict, as they call it, was given, certain of this jury, under pretence, God knoweth, of great friendship, signified by one of his servants unto him, that unless he would conform himself unto Her Majesty's proceedings in coming to the church, they were all agreed and could no less than to pass against him; but if he would, as they most desired, he should had them determined the contrary, and therefore of his resolution therein they prayed speedily his answer.

Upon recite thereof they presently gave sentence against him, and speedily proceeded to the trial of those other indictments, whereof he had been there arraigned; but because he should not be any worse used than his servants before him had been, the very same jury which before upon the very same cause had passed against them, one or two as well cruel fellows excepted, were now also appointed to pass against him.

Whereunto also, as the return of the former jury, and unto many other their proceedings he might have taken just and lawful exception, but yet finding how without all justice and order they intended his ruin and utter subversion, and well knowing therefore that a staff to beat a dog will never be found wanting, as the thing that then could no way advantage his cause he omitted, choosing rather patiently to repose himself on the Author of his innocency than bootless of reason to strive against his fatal destiny.

Well, to make short, saving another examination of one who thought he had never been well whipped for lying, yet was he oft for stealing, very untowardly saying that Mr. Tregian had Mass celebrated openly in his chapel, whereas all might behold it, upon the same evidence only that

¹ Manwood. *MS. in marg.*

before was given against him (which undoubtedly being very horrible, was sufficient in that place to have condemned any one man upon any cause whatsoever), the jury, impatient of long tarrying, speedily found him guilty of every cause whereof he stood indicted, saving for not coming to the church, which at the first he confessed.

But judgment, by reason of some disagreement thereupon between the Judges, was respited until the next assizes; and all other proceedings against those other poor prisoners, who were removed from the King's Bench to receive new trial before those Judges in the country, being now brought again to remain in that place where their adversaries knew by experience they should want no kind of rigour and filthy imprisonment, for which cause only in truth they were removed, was now, God knoweth, most foolishly with a brazen face omitted.

Shortly after those assizes, Mr. Tregian sendeth one of his servants towards London, with certain money to satisfy a friend of his, who had for him, and in his affairs, before that time disbursed the same, and by the said messenger he also sendeth briefly and newly described the whole order of such proceedings as at that assizes had been passed against him.

This fellow, as it fell out, being first stayed at Honiton in Devonshire, was after sent back unto the Earl of Bedford, then living at Exeter, by whom, after that he had been discharged of his letters and money, he was committed to the common gaol of that county, where he remained close prisoner, and his legs also handsomely fettered with irons; from whence, notwithstanding, at length, after better consideration had of the matter, despoiled of his money, he was sent back to his master.

By this time Mr. Tregian his adversaries had certified unto the King's Bench the verdict which was given against him upon that indictment which concerned the aiding and abetting of Cuthbert Maine, in maintaining the jurisdiction

and authority of the Bishop of Rome, whereupon Knight Marshal, for losing no time, laboureth by letters from the Council again and again, and by all means possible, to procure judgment against him, but his travail taken therein at that time turned to nothing, for, as we have before declared, by all the Judges of the realm, purposely assembled, it was then thoroughly determined that the judgment was altogether insufficient and void of law.

And although the same had been forcible, yet the party not being present, they could not with justice proceed unto judgment against him. Wherefore this drift being thus in the dust, some other shift must be devised to serve the turn, for both the profit of the Knight Marshal, the credit of some seigniors which did countenance the cause, and that which was more, the safety of the State, forsooth, if you list so to believe it, did require the same.

Few words may suffice; that which first, through the equity of many could not be achieved, through the iniquity of one soon after was speedily procured. At the next assizes, therefore, holden at Launceston in that county of Cornwall, Mr. Tregian, upon the indictment only for aiding and maintaining Cuthbert Maine concerning the execution of the aforesaid Bull obtained from the Bishop of Rome, by that corrupt caterpillar¹ of this age, and most unjust Judge of that circuit, was condemned on the pain of a Premunire, which was the loss of all his goods, lands, and liberty, and to remain out of Her Highness' protection, subject unto perpetual misery.

Notwithstanding by his counsel learned in the laws it was always both earnestly defended and sufficiently maintained that he had not, nor could not commit any such offence as he was charged withal; and that by any means he might so do, very plainly and largely they did prove to be a thing altogether improper, improbable, and

¹ Manwood. *MS. in marg.*

impossible; for by the indictment it was alleged that Cuthbert Maine, the 1st of October, in the eighteenth year of Her Majesty's reign, did obtain the same, the 20th of April then following, from the See of Rome, a certain instrument printed, containing a pretended matter of absolution, and that Mr. Tregian, knowing him to have obtained the same, did aid and maintain him; but this instrument, which is the matter of the supposed offence, is not contained within the letter or meaning of the law, and therefore no offence.

First, the letter of the law is, that if any person shall obtain from the See of Rome any Bull, writing, or instrument, which, by the letter of the law, is tended to be offensive, must be such as is immediately obtained and granted from the See of Rome, and not any copy of the same; but this writing being printed at Douay, is therefore a mere copy and no instrument from the See of Rome. Further, it must contain¹ some matter or thing material, which this writing did not the indictment itself doth most manifestly declare, saying that it contained a pretended matter, which in truth is no matter and not agreeable to the letter of law, for between matter and matter pretended, the difference is as much as between the thing that is and the thing that is not. As, for example, a pretended king is in truth no king, and a judge without authority is but a pretended judge, and in truth no judge; so this instrument by the indictment itself is declared to be but a pretended matter, and in truth no matter. Therefore this instrument, being neither obtained from the See of Rome, neither in truth containing anything material, is clearly without the letter of law, and so consequently no offence.

Now that this, out of the meaning also of the law, is most evident, for first in the preamble of this statute, as in all other, for the most part it is commonly expressed

¹ A good proof. *MS. in marg.*

what is conceived to be amiss, and what intended to be reformed, it is declared that whereas divers persons have procured from the See of Rome, or Bishop of the same, a certain Bull of excommunication against our Sovereign lady the Queen, thereby to withdraw her subjects from their due obedience, and to cause seditions and rebellions within this realm, and also Bulls of reconciliations to reconcile her said subjects from their natural obedience unto the said See or Bishop of Rome, for reformation thereof it is ordained that whosoever shall obtain any such Bull shall incur the pain of high treason; whereby it is very manifest what was complained to be amiss, and what the matter of that law did intend to amend, which was the obtaining of a Bull from the See of Rome, either of excommunication or reconciliation, withdrawing the subjects of this realm from their natural obedience, and moving sedition within the same.

Now in this writing it cannot appear that there is any one cause contained withdrawing the subjects of this realm from their natural obedience, and moving sedition and rebellion within the same, and therefore it is clearly also without the meaning of the law, and so consequently no offence.

But although it be afterwards in the same statute ordained, as before is declared, that none shall obtain from the See of Rome any Bull, writing, or instrument, written or printed, containing any matter or thing whatsoever, yet in reason it cannot be otherwise intended but that the same Bull, writing, or instrument, so to be obtained must contain some such matter or thing as before is alleged, or at least some such matter or thing as may be put in use, and be hurtful to the Queen and some of her subjects.

For it were too absurd once to suppose that so many discreet and learned men, both honourable, and others as were the devisers and composers of this law, did ever

make or intend to make any act or thing whatsoever to be treason, or so grievously punished, by the which neither hurt nor evil could by any means be done or committed. Now this writing containing no such matter as before is declared, neither any matter or thing that may be executed, put in use, and be hurtful to the Queen, or any her subjects, is therefore clearly without the meaning of the law, and so consequently no offence.

Further, this instrument, as appeareth by the indictment, was to continue in force but for the space of one year, the which year, as likewise is showed by the same indictment, was ended at Christmas before the said 1st of October when it was alleged that the same was obtained, whereby it manifestly appeareth that the force and date of the same instrument at the time mentioned in the same indictment was void and expired, and therefore did contain no matter or thing whatsoever, unless some such matter or thing as no manner of act or deed could thereby be done or committed. Again, by this instrument contained in the indictment it is mentioned that the predecessors of the Bishop of Rome have always used solemnly, though not by equal distance of time, to celebrate *Annum Jubilæum*, the year of Jubilee, and that thereupon they likewise have usually granted such a Bull, writing, or instrument of absolution, as this copy contained in the indictment importeth, and withal that Gregory XIII., then Bishop of that See of Rome, intending to celebrate the said year of Jubilee, according to the laudable and ancient use of his predecessors, did of his own mere motion, and that not only unto one province or country, but unto the whole corps of Christendom, the 9th of May, in the year of our Lord 1574, indict it.

Therefore this instrument, being granted from the Bishop of Rome, following the laudable and ancient use of his predecessors, it cannot by any possibility of

reason stand that the same through the suit of one person whatsoever should be obtained.

Lastly, the indictment declareth that Cuthbert Maine, the 1st of October, in the year of our Lord 1576, did obtain from the Sec of Rome the foresaid instrument, which being there recited, most evidently showeth itself to be fully determined at Christmas before, in the year of our Lord 1575, and the indictment affirming that it was obtained the 1st of October, in the year of our Lord 1576, which two, by no possibility of reason, can stand together, and so the indictment, containing not only manifest matter of insufficiency, but also evident demonstration of impossibility, is therefore false, erroneous, and void in law.

But all this notwithstanding, judgment for the causes before specified must of necessity, whatsoever could be said to the contrary, proceed against Mr. Tregian, who, receiving that most rigorous and unjust sentence no otherwise than the innocency of his conscience and goodness of the cause did require, was presently thereupon committed unto a dark dungeon, a place often, by reason of the dankishness thereof, infested with foul toads and other filthy vermin, where the only outward solace he could receive was to behold, at a little loop with the upper face of the earth (not able, by reason of the darkness of his den, to see again), some soberly talking, nodding their heads; some scornfully laughing, pointing with their fingers; and some bitterly weeping and wringing their hands. In which most filthy and solitary den, through the divine assistance, he most contentedly passing the time, was from thence, the first day after in the morning, removed unto his former lodging again.

In this mean space presently after judgment was given, no small crew of gentle companions prepared for the purpose, not tarrying the finding of an officer to authorize their actions, being in greater haste than could allow of

any delay, with all possible expedition speed them unto Golden, Mr. Tregian his house.

Where, coming in the depth of the night, in horrible manner with great outrage they brake down both gates, doors, and walls, entered the house, and without all humanity very brutishly rushed even into the chamber where Mrs. Tregian then lay, accompanied only with her poor unfortunate babes, Francis the one and Adrian the other, and Mary her daughter, besides a few other women, God knoweth both evil at ease and very great with child, destitute of all help, comfort and counsel, perplexed and doubtful what should become of her; whom with her poor children and family, after many despiteful speeches, and most barbarous abuses, bitterly bewailing their lamentable chance, bereaved and spoiled of all that ever they had (their apparel excepted), they turned out of doors.

Here now we think it not amiss nor much impertinent to our purpose if in a word or two we shall briefly speak of a strange accident that happened unto this gentlewoman in her more youthful years. Thus therefore it was.¹

Mr. Tregian, her husband, not many days after they were first married, upon causes of great importance, enforced by the space almost of ten months supplicantly to follow the Lords of the Council, his wife always in the mean season lying with a very virtuous maid, a sister of her husband's, it chanced that one night looking for fleas, as the manner of women is, she espied in her smock sundry spots, the which noting them more narrowly she perceived to carry the shape of sundry crosses, some of one sort and some of another, some longer and some shorter, some greater and some smaller, but all of one colour, not much unlike a lion-tawny, so aptly proportioned, as if some curious painter had devised to have drawn them with his pencil. Whereat she much marvelling

¹ A strange accident. *MS. in marg.*

besought her sister, being then at her prayers, to behold the same; whereupon, when both had long looked and wondered, at length endeavouring to number them, they found contained in the same smock, by just account, no less than one hundred and twenty-five crosses, and after, upon more curious search, they likewise found sundry other both on her pillow and in her sheets, on that side only which she did use to lie upon.

Now after many of good account, both men and women, for the strangeness of the matter had seen the said smock, it was thought not amiss that it with the same both sheets and pillow should be washed, whereupon the crosses presently vanished. But by the space almost of six months together, upon the change of every smock, she should find therein the next morning (though the number even from time decreased) some such crosses as before, and so likewise in her pillows and sheets, ever on that side only on which she accustomed to lie, no one at all on her sister's side at any time to be found. And the like also at other times hath often since happened to her ever since the beginning of the unkind and cruel persecution of her husband; yea, and not many days before the writing hereof. Whereof what to divine, because we know not, we will therefore leave it unto the Almighty's inscrutable and secret judgments. And so to return to the proof of our purpose.

Mrs. Tregian, being thus cruelly cast forth from a terrestrial paradise into a main ocean of ill fortune, subject unto all miseries that might happen unto man, through the poor help yet of some friends was so furnished as shortly after, accompanied with a man and a maid, and her two little sons named before, the sweet pledges of their imprisoned father, carried her poor babes in a pair of panniers. On all sides, God knoweth, laden with woe and pain, she travelleth towards London, where Her Majesty then remained, hoping at Her Highness' hands

to receive, if not full redress of her injury, yet at least some help of her misery. The whole of whose painful travel and troublesome suits taken and made in that behalf, at length, after she had most lamentably complained at Her Majesty's feet by the space of a whole year or more, obtaining no one penny for the maintaining of her life, or her poor husband, ended in this that she was rejected.

But now, not finishing much more than one half of our journey, enforced to yield unto the summons of nature, amongst so many heavy and unacquainted mishaps, through the divine providence she was safely delivered of a daughter, whom, now awhile, not being able to travel any further, we will leave, and therefore declare what in the mean season happened unto her afflicted husband.

Presently, therefore, after his return from that loathsome den or dungeon, whereof before we have made mention, the Sheriff of the shire showed a commission of inquiry granted out of Her Highness' Court of the Exchequer, concerning his goods and lands, and withal letters of seizure written from the Council to the same effect.

Whereby, it may evidently appear, both bearing date long before the assizes, whatsoever could be said to the contrary, that notwithstanding it was determined according to the Judge's express speeches, who was chief in commission, given out also in open court, that judgment should be against him.

Neither can they allege any colour to the contrary, being a thing almost impossible, that in two days only four hundred miles should be passed, and the commission with the letters written and despatched.

But letting this pass, the Commissioners nominated in the aforesaid commission now (after they had already seized and taken into their possession whatsoever they

could find) orderly proceeded to the further inquiry of his goods and lands.

Wherein, through the help of a jury appointed for the purpose, they became so good husbands for the Knight Marshal, as whatsoever Mr. Tregian, by the space of two years before, had either given or sold unto any man, they found the means, partly by menacing, partly by main force, in most wicked and disorderous manner, speedily to dispossess the true owners thereof, leaving almost no one house or other secret corner whatsoever of any of his servants, farmers, or friends unsearched or unsifted, the parties themselves being straitly examined, some of them often imprisoned, many utterly spoiled, and all much molested.

And as touching his lands, they found and presented that Mr. John Tregian, father unto Mr. Tregian that now is, did seize of the same in fee the 20th of January, in the twentieth year of Her Majesty's reign, the which by his death so descended in fee unto his son, contrary to the express limitation of an incalled deed made by him almost thirty years before, both showed and sufficiently proved, for which indeed both a competent portion was appointed in jointure unto Mrs. Katherine Tregian, wife unto John Tregian, and the whole land likewise limited, not only unto Mr. Tregian that now is, and to the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, but, for lack of such issue, in remainder over unto others.

Which deed so incalled, not making for the profit of the Knight Marshal, they rejected, for, by the laws of the realm, upon the conviction of any man in case of Premunire, all lands holden in fee for ever are forfeited. But that which by foul means is entailed ought to remain unto the heirs of the party convicted.

But the Knight Marshal, upon return of his inquisition, perceiving by the same that the lands were found to descend unto Mr. Tregian that now is, long after the

supposed offence committed, and therefore much doubting lest some question in law might hereafter arise, to avoid all danger through the help of an expert hand, so altered the matter, as Mr. Tregian that now is, the 20th of January before declared, was found to have seized in fee of all the said lands without naming his father or touching the descent.

If we should now here at full set forth how Mrs. Katherine Tregian before-named, mother unto Mr. Tregian that now is, in her extreme age, was most cruelly spoiled and deprived of all her livelihood, and what dishonest and shameless shifts from time to time were practised, what loud and lewd lies invented, how many persons suborned, how often perjury committed, what swearing, what staring, what cracking, what facing, what punishing, what imprisoning, hath every way been used in maintaining of that most sinful attempt, we shall no doubt even weary the reader with wondering at the wickedness of this unhappy age.

Wherefore, returning unto Mr. Tregian, we will briefly unfold his unfortunate further illhaps, who this while was kept close prisoner, not once permitted to remove out of his solitary chamber, both deprived of the use of writing, and bereaved of the comfort of reading.

But his implacable adversaries, not contented with his calamity much to be lamented without the abridging of his days by death, could no way be satisfied, wherefore they consult again and again concerning that matter. Sometime it is thought good to proceed against him under the pretence and colour of law, sometime to take some shorter course with him, which they like much better, and seemeth to be more allowed on; and after often debating of the cause it grew to this effect, that whosoever would undertake to murder him in prison, not only immunity for the fact was solemnly assured, but also thereby some singular recompense for so good service might no doubt be deserved.

Whereof Mr. Tregian having intelligence, not doubting, as we have often heard him deeply protest, to yield his life in defence of the cause, for which he had been before both bitterly imprisoned and grievously punished, but fearing lest, through the malice of his adversaries, being secretly murdered in prison, he should incur the suspicion of laying violent hands on himself, he thought it not amiss, by sleight of it might be to prevent the mischief which was imminent, and therefore, through the help of a boy being appointed to provide such things as he wanted, he took such order for performance thereof as the present condition of his estate any way permitted, and in the mean season, whilst his designments concerning his escape could fully be accomplished, persuaded thereunto through a very vehement and unwonted motion of the mind, he gave himself to the composing of English verses, whereof amongst many, because they were the first that ever he invented, and the argument thereof being neither vain nor unworthy the reading, we think it not amiss here to set forth a prayer which he then compiled, and written with a pin and the snuff of a candle, for want of a pen and ink, sent inclosed in a letter, likewise framed in verse, unto his woeful wedlock in this sort.

O ever living Lord of Lords,
O mighty King of Kings,
O solace of the sorrowful,
O glass, who gladness brings :
O puissant Prince, O passing power,
O regent of all rule,
My guide, my guard, expel from me
All foolish fear and dule :¹
Send down with speed that Spirit on me
From out Thy holy hill,
Which never may by might of men
Once doubt to do Thy will :
And grant I never feed on food,
Of thine effied² spouse,

¹ Sorrow. ² Perhaps affianced. To "affie," means to trust.

And that I never eat profaned
 The Lamb without Thy house :
 Let not my sins me cause, O Lord,
 To wander from the Rock,
 But grant I may be found in fold
 Of Thine afflicted flock :
 Let never double-dealing dare
 Once harbour in my breast,
 But grant, good God, that glosing¹ guile
 I ever do detest :
 Dissembling draw'th to dreadful death,
 No means thou may'st admit,
 Who flocks for fear to cursed crew,
 Shall sink in sulphur pit :
 Regard whereof hath set my feet
 Far from resort of men,
 From wife, from babes, from all my friends,
 Bereft of ink and pen :
 I am become as pelican,
 That doth in desert dwell,
 And as the night-crow in his nest,
 Whom other birds expel :
 My foes revile me day by day,
 Incensed through rage they fret,
 Wherefore my drink is mixed with tears,
 I ashes eat for meat :
 The want of worldly wealth, O Lord,
 Thou see'st I do sustain,
 And how that fury with great force
 Is poured on me amain :
 What should I show Thee one by one
 The causes of my grief,
 Thou see'st my wrack, Thou know'st my lack,
 Thou can'st give me relief :
 The which if so Thy pleasure be,
 I humbly ask of Thee,
 For will of Thine, not will of mine,
 O Lord, fulfilled be :
 But if Thy doom have so decreed
 I shall be scourged more,
 Grant yet at least I never lack
 A plaster for each sore :
 As is Thy holy ghost,² O Lord,
 I pray that Thou wouldst spare
 The workers of my web of woe,
 The causers of my care :

¹ Flattering.² Mind, spirit.

I humbly Thee beseech, O Lord,
Even by Thy blessed Blood,
Forgive their guilt, forgive their ill,
And send them all much good :
Turn not, O Lord, Thy face from me,
Although a wretched wight,
But let me joy in Thee all day,
Rejoice in Thee all night :
And in all chances of this life,
By sea, and eke by land,
Let me always protected be
By Thy Almighty hand :
Preserve, O Lord, my shaking ship,
From pirates, spoils, and knocks,
From gulphs, from shelves, from sinking sands,
From rending on the rocks :
That after stirring storms are staid,
And surging seas do cease,
I may with mirth cast anchor in
The pleasant port of peace.

The letter sent at the same time unto his wife, Mistress
Mary Tregian :

My wont is not to write in verse,
You know, good wife, I wis,
Wherefore you may well bear with me,
Though now I write amiss :
For lack of ink the candle coal,
For pen a pin I use,
The which also I may allege
In part of my excuse :
For said it is of many men,
And such as are no fools,
A workman is but little worth
If he do want his tools :
Though tools I have wherewith in sort,
My mind I may disclose,
They are, in truth, more fit to paint
A nettle than a rose :
Perhaps they are yet fit enough
For him that takes in hand
In surging seas to guide a ship
Which never came from land :
In learning yet of arts, you know,
An entrance must be had,
For he that now is waxed a man,
Was first a little lad :

Before you could in simple cloth
 Frame frets¹ with threads of gold,
 You were taught first how in your hand
 Your needle you should hold :
 Before you could the knowledge get
 A sentence how to frame,
 You were taught first the skill to know
 Your letters how to name :
 Even so in every other art,
 Unskilled we first begin,
 For practice is the only mean
 Whereby we knowledge win :
 Wherefore to write, if knowledge want
 In me for lack of use,
 If I be not deceived, I think
 That may be my excuse :
 And what although my vein in verse
 Be not as Maro's was,
 Yet may such lines as Francis frames
 To his own Mary pass :
 To whom I do, my loving wife,
 Inclosed herein, send
 A prayer that I practised oft,
 Though with a pin I penned :
 I would I had some thing wherein
 Some solace you might find,
 I wish I had some thing to send
 That might content your mind :
 What I should send I know not well,
 But sure I am of this,
 The doleful mind restored to mirth
 By perfect prayer is :
 Let prayer be your practice, wife,
 Let prayer be your play,
 Let prayer be your staple of trust,
 Let prayer be your stay :
 Let prayer be your castle strong,
 Let prayer be your fort,
 Let prayer be your place of rest,
 Let prayer be your port :
 Let prayer always plead for grace,
 Let prayer purchase right,
 Let prayer be your chief delight
 By day and eke by night :
 For sure, sweet spouse, a salve that saves,
 A pleasant bane² of bliss,
 A gladsome rock of rest, I find
 That perfect prayer is :

¹ Interlaced and projecting work. ² Perhaps in the sense of "a stroke."

Pray therefore still unto that King
Who rules the rolling spheres,
To oppress your grief, to send relief,
He will regard your tears :
Of Him if oft you humbly crave,
As known it is by proof,
You shall obtain what is in truth
Most fit for your behoof :
If often on the blessed life
And bitter pains of Christ,
You firmly fix a faithful mind,
And thereon oft persist :
You may thereby no doubt, good wife,
Such passing pleasure find,
As I cannot by pin describe,
Nor yet conceive in mind :
You may thereby purge all your spots,
And cure eke every scar,
You may thereby be made as bright
As is the morning star :
You may thereby enriched be
With virtues of great price,
You may thereby in holy writ
To knowledge great arise :
You may thereby triumphantly
Despise the force of foes,
You may thereby great comfort get
In all extremes and woes :
You may thereby devoutly live
Whilst here on earth you dwell,
You may thereby compunct, also,
Be often in your cell :
You may thereby full sweetly weep
In prayer without pain,
You may thereby oft meditate,
To your no little gain :
You may thereby in doing good
Persevere without pranks,
You may thereby, with passing joy,
Give God immortal thanks :
You may thereby be often rapt
Into excess of mind,
You may thereby, yea diversly,
Deep secrets often find :
You may thereby, for to be short,
A happy end attain,
You may thereby eternally
In bed of bliss remain :

Wherefore, good wife, the life of Christ
 Take for your looking-glass,
 Look often in the same, sweet heart,
 And let all other pass :
 I know not what to send you, wife,
 I know not what to say,
 I know not in this world a mean
 Whereby so well you may
 Appease your grief, procure relief,
 And eke all ill resist,
 As prayer, and to meditate
 Upon the life of Christ :
 My keeper knocks at door, who comes
 To see his hawks in mew,
 Wherefore, good wife, I must make short
 Farewell, sweet spouse, adieu :
 Farewell, the anchor of my hope,
 Farewell, my stay of life,
 Farewell, my poor Penelope,
 Farewell, my faithful wife :
 Bless, in my name, my little babes,
 God send them all good hap,
 And bless withal that little babe
 That lieth in your lap :
 Commend me to your maid Bosgrave,
 And tell her yet I live,
 But not in state to pleasure her,
 For nought I have to give :
 Yet sure I will pray for her weal,
 And wish her happy chance,
 That well she may by virtue's lore
 Her poor estate advance :
 Whom more I may remember now,
 I know not without blame,
 Yet sure I may wish all men well,
 Though them I do not name :
 Farewell, again, thou lamp of light,
 Vicegerent of my heart,
 He that takes leave so oft, I think,
 He likes not to depart :
 And yet depart we must of force,
 To my no little grief,
 God send us well to meet again,
 God send us still relief :
 And well to run our restless race,
 Though rough and full of pain,
 That through the blessed Blood of Christ,
 True glory we may gain.

By this time, when all things appointed for his escape were now orderly prepared, through the indiscreet regard of a kinsman of his, one not so fortunate as forward, his pretence was discovered.

Whereupon some of Mr. Tregian his adversaries, very worshipful magistrates, finding by examination of the boy before named, that he was to issue out of prison upon a watchword to be given by the same boy, brought him at time and place, to give notice unto his master, by the watchword assigned, how all things according to his direction were ready prepared, fully intending, if once he had set foot out of prison, having gotten, as they thought, a very fit occasion to accomplish their long-desired purpose, that he should presently have died the death.

But the boy, by no cunning or cruel device of threats, could once be induced to answer their expectation, offering with many tears to endure any death than to betray the trust of his master; whereupon he and divers others endeavouring to help Mr. Tregian in the accomplishment of his pretended escape, most cruelly without all compassion their legs first fettered and laden with great bolts of iron, were thrust into a most deep and filthy dungeon. And unto Mr. Tregian was offered little better dealing, who was very straitly kept in his solitary cabin, fastened with a huge pair of fetters to his heels, containing little less than thirty pounds weight.

But within a few days after, when the keeper of the prison, for all this time he had been abroad, was come home to visit his charge, and had heard Mr. Tregian report concerning the cause of his pretended escape, and had found the same to be most true, being thereupon justly touched with human compassion, both caused those fetters to be drawn from his heels, and offered such helps as lay in his power to ease, if it might be, his woeful estate, now deeply plunged in the main seas of most heavy adversity.

But, alas! such is the implacable hatred of some hard and cankered hearts, as no fear of God nor innocency of man may any way withhold them from the unjust and barbarous execution of their unlawful and cruel intention.

For behold, Mr. Tregian, thus resting six or seven days with his legs at his liberty, though otherwise sufficiently wrapped in misery by direction of his adversaries, the magistrates aforesaid, he was again both laden with mighty fetters of iron, and committed amongst a very miserable and wretched company of felons, traitors, and murderers unto a most stinking, dark, and horrible dungeon, very noisome through the continual increase of crawling lice, foul toads, and other filthy vermin.

In the which most vile and loathsome labyrinth, as in the centre of all human calamity, having passed some days, by circular means he was earnestly moved by some to take compassion of his own most miserable and unfortunate condition, and not through such obstinacy to work the overthrow of all his posterity, but rather with loyalty, as in all duty he was thereunto bound, to show himself conformable unto Her Highness' proceedings, in doing of the which no doubt he should both purchase his liberty and restitution through Her Majesty's clemency.

The which not taking effect, they therefore apply more forcible engines to accomplish their enterprize, permitting of purpose, the more to annoy him, the ordure and excrements of almost twenty persons, having no other shift than to lay it down by them even in the open floor, so to remain in most filthy and beastly manner by the space of a whole month together; whereas before that instant they always used to cleanse the dungeon, by remove of the dung, at the least thrice in the week.

And to aggravate his grief, or otherwise to distemper his patience by practice, they induced a most vile and wretched captive egregiously to abuse him, one while by braving the matter up and down before him another

while deriding him and laughing him to scorn, now vomiting forth most filthy and vile speeches to provoke and incense him, another time giving out most false and malicious accusations against him.

But this course neither having better success, then they allow by the space of ten days, no other meat than brown crust and cold water, the which also he often wanted, whereby, and by means of the horrible and intolerable stench, he was sometimes so attainted and perplexed as he made no other reckoning than that the soul from the body should forthwith have departed.

Thus when he had remained by the space of thirty days in that most loathsome and stinking dungeon, enduring with patience, through the divine assistance, that spiteful, barbarous, and more than Scythian cruelty of his adversaries, as a man now grown desperate and past all care, he was removed unto his former cabin again.

Where also he after remained by the space of almost four months, most closely kept and continually grieved until such time as, through the pitiful and very earnest petition of his woeful wife, by the order of the Council he was removed from that dolorous den into the prison of the King's Bench. Where also he had not remained four days, but through the instigation of his adversaries, he was committed into close prison again, and shortly after, by means of a letter of his written unto the Lords of the Council, declaring the causes of his pretended escape to be such as partly, though briefly, we have before remembered, he was straitly examined concerning the particular contents thereof, his adversaries well hoping in some one point or other to have found his said information untrue, whereof, not having otherwise any just cause of offence touching him withal, they would have been right glad.

Commission was therefore directed unto the Earl of Bedford, then remaining in the west, both diligently to inquire and speedily to certify the truth thereof, which in

the end, after very strait examination and shifting of the matter, was found in all things agreeable unto that which Mr. Tregian had informed.

But notwithstanding, the parties being good subjects might not be punished, neither Mr. Tregian being a Papist might be better used. Now while these things were thus adoin, the conductor of Mr. Tregian from the gaol of Launceston aforesaid unto the prison of the King's Bench, suing for allowance of his charge bestowed in that service, amounting by his reckoning almost unto 50*l.*, by the Council¹ as careful husbands to Her Majesty, who both by the law of the realm and otherwise in equity ought to have defrayed that charge, was posted over to seek satisfaction of Mr. Tregian, who (not having anything in the world left him to answer the same, neither, in truth, scarce a penny in his purse) humbly besought their lordships that Her Majesty would satisfy, the which he could not through want of ability.

Whereupon they take present order that unless he did without delay satisfy that party, he should forthwith be sent back again from whence he came into the country, and directed of purpose their warrant unto one of the Judges of Her Majesty's Bench for the speedy execution thereof.

But his woeful poor wife with many tears, both begging and borrowing, and selling also some clothes from her back, shortly obtained so much money as procured the stay of her lamentable afflicted husband.

Wherein, that we use no more irreverent speeches, the extreme disposition of the Lords of the Council is here not unworthy the noting. First, in requiring the performance of that which is not in his power, and after taking so shamefully an order for his remove unto a place well known unto them, where lately before he had been both beastly abused and daily in danger to be cruelly

¹ Injustice incredible. *MS. in marg.*

murdered, desirous rather than Her Majesty, though thereunto in equity she was bound, should have disbursed one penny to ease him, that she should have bestowed law to torment him.

But Mr. Tregian (his fatal calamity so permitting, or some other secret matter so causing) might not in anything, from the beginning of this outrageous action amongst so great vanity of hard fortune, once enjoy the benefit of direct and indifferent dealings.

For when he had now remained almost six months a close prisoner in the King's Bench, upon supplication by him exhibited unto the Council, humbly beseeching that he might either be allowed some small portion for his necessary relief, or otherwise permitted, through the access of good people, to enjoy such charitable alms as, upon view of his misery, God should put in their minds to give him, he was, instead of some reasonable satisfaction of his said very just petition, forthwith removed unto the common gaol of the Fleet, among a sort of banqueroutes,¹ cozeners, and forgerers, annoyed not a little with a filthy stench, besides an infinite number of other discommodities, which such strait and rigorous prisons commonly yield.

Where he continued in miserable state by the space almost of two years, not a little afflicted with sundry sorts of calamities, and at length so grievously oppressed with a vehement sickness as he was often deprived of the use of his senses. During which disease, being one time through help gotten out of his bed, and leaning against a bad window, he suddenly fell down stark dead, in such sort as his face first encountered with the roughness of a very hard and uneven floor, by means whereof it was sore bruised, the skin rent, and for a time much disfigured.

Whereat his wife, being present, beholding so pitiful a spectacle in the person of her husband lying altogether senseless, with a face all bruised and bleeding, was so

¹ Bankrupts.

extremely affrighted and deeply wounded with grief, being then great with child, she being then also extremely sick, shortly after, without all help of man or woman, in very miserable and pitiful manner, to the unspeakable grief of them both, she endured the bitter pains, and by means of some extraordinary accident remained a long while after very sickly and weak, hardly escaped the imminent danger of death.

But now at length during this time of Mr. Tregian's extremity, upon some remorse had of his great misery, he was removed from that filthy and stinking prison unto a more sweet and wholesome lodging, whereat, that we speak not of any other infelicity, he now remaineth continually wounded with the bitter and sharp prick of poverty, enjoying notwithstanding more liberty, though it exceed not the limits of a little garden, than by the space almost of five years past, upon any humble petition whatsoever, he could possibly obtain.

And since thither we have brought him we will now leave him, beseeching the Almighty that what here in earth he hath sown with tears he may in Heaven reap with joy. Amen. The 20th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1593.

CERTAIN NOTES CONCERNING MR. TREGIAN.

1. Mr. Tregian was first committed to prison in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and hath been now, which is the year of our Lord 1593, above sixteen years a prisoner, and in all this space never permitted upon any humble petition whatsoever to enjoy the benefit of the open air otherwise than as he hath been removed from prison to prison.

2. He was first imprisoned in the duchy of Cornwall, his native country, afterwards at Windsor Castle; from thence removed unto the Marshalsea, and then sent back

again unto the castle of Launceston, in his own country; from thence he was removed to the prison of the King's Bench; and lastly, sent to the Fleet, where he now remaineth, and hath done this thirteen years; in which places at several times he hath been kept close prisoner almost five years.

3. For the space of seven or eight years together, being of a strong constitution and having a very active and able body, amongst an infinite number of miseries, he yet enjoyed the benefit of health; but in the end, through cares, studies, filthy diet, most stinking air, and want of exercise, he became very sickly, and so continued by the space of six or seven years; notwithstanding at this present the state of his body is much amended, and is like to recover his perfect health.

4. His revenues (the quality of his estate being considered) were very great, surmounting the value of a thousand pounds of old rent, and all in effect within the duchy of Cornwall, the which, with many other graces and blessings of that which God above many others had most plentifully bestowed upon him, were the cause of no small envy raised against him, which, as often it hath happened to many, hath wrought his overthrow.

5. He was descended very well, both by father and mother. By the father's side¹ he came of a most generous progeny planted in those western parts, of the Tregians, beyond all memory to the contrary, and is, in very truth, of the natural race and remain of the ancient Britons.

6. His mother was the eldest sister of Sir John Arundell, Knight of Lanherne, otherwise called the great

¹ The Tregians were of the parish of St. Eue, near Tregony. Wolvedon or Golden, in the parish of Probus, came to them by the marriage of the grandfather of Francis Tregian with a daughter and coheiress of John Wolvedon of Wolvedon. Gilbert's *Cornwall*, vol. ii., p. 281.

Arundell,¹ whose ancestors came into this realm with the conquering Norman, whose house also hath remained ever since in nobility and great splendour.

7. Sir John, the chiefest of his house, is the thirteenth after twelve Knights, heirs of that house, all called John, and deserving their knighthood by virtue.

8. Mr. Tregian's great grandmother was one of the daughters of Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorchester,² who was half-brother unto Queen Elizabeth, the wife of King Henry VII., and daughter to King Edward IV.

9. He married with the eldest sister of the Lord Stourton that now liveth. His wife's mother (who is married unto Sir John Arundell the great, after the death

¹ It seems hardly possible that Mass was still said in the parish church of St. Columb as late as 1590, the date of the death of Sir John, the great Arundell. But if not, what is the meaning of the words *ubi intemerata fulgent sacra* in his epitaph? The inscription on his brass runs thus: "D. O. M. In hoc Divi Columbæ, magnorum sepultura Arundeliorum, ubi intemerata fulgent sacra, atrato hoc marmore tegitur depositum Nobilmi Joannis Arundelii Ord. Equest., una cum sua conjuge Anna Stanley, filia Thomæ [Edward] Illmi Comitis Derbiensis. Horum progenies duo fuere filii, Joannes et Georgius, filix vero quinque, Dorothea, Elizabetha, Cecilia, Margareta, Gertruda. Depositarii hi ut sanguine ita et virtutibus claruere, amorque patris in Joannem filium parentibus exemplo fuit. Vixere hic ad 60, illa ad 71 ætatis annum, et postmodum hic positi sunt ad suos majores, ille 17° Novem., illa 22° Sept., A° salutis ille 1590, illa 1602."

His son's brass is on the same stone. "D. O. M. Eodem sub marmore sunt etiam deposita Nobilmi viri Joannis Arundelii, filii hujusce Equitis, et Annæ Jarnegan [Jerningham] suæ conjugis, fœminæ ut religione præstantis ita clarissimo oriundæ stemmate Illustrissimorum Baronum de Dacres partium Borealium [Dacres of the North]. His filii quatuor, Joannes, Michael, Thomas, Georgius, filixque Maria Magdalena, Maria Anna, Catharina, Dorothea, Winefreda. Ut in Joanne patre ita in Joanne hic sepulto filio, incaluit relativa affectio, adeo ut amore paterno plene responsa dederat filii pietas, qui ut possessionum ita virtutum amplam hereditatem accepit. Obiit 22° Julii scalaris (?) suo A° septuagesimo, nimirum ascendens ad requiem laboribus et doloribus annorum exemto, salutis vero humanæ 1633."

² All that remains of the inscription in the church of St. Columb, on the brass of the Sir John Arundell, whose second son was the ancestor of the Arundells Lords Arundell of Wardour, is as follows: "+ John Arundell, Knyght of ye Bath and Knyght Banneret, Recyvor of ye duchy of Cornwall, firste ma[rried] Elizabeth [Eleanor] Grey, daughter to the Lorde Marques Dorset [and secondly Catharine] daughter of Syr Thomas Gr[anville, Kni]ght, [deceased] iiii February, the xxxvi year of the raigne of King Henry the eight, An° Domini 1545 and ye . . . yere of his age."

of her first husband, Lord Stourton, who was executed¹ in Queen Mary's reign), is the eldest sister of the Earl of Derby that now liveth, and is one of the most ancient and richest houses of nobility in England.

10. His wife (who liveth almost continually in prison with her husband) hath borne him eighteen children, and although through the rigour of authority they have been often separated, sometimes ten months, sometimes seven, sometimes more, she hath borne him, notwithstanding, eleven children since he was first imprisoned. Some are dead, but the most part are alive.

11. Of the male children, Francis, called after the father, is the eldest; of the female, Mary, called after the mother, whom Mr. Thomas Yates, of Berkshire, hath taken to his wife without dowry, so enjoined him by his father's command, and of her, now being four years married, hath issue two children, the one male, and the other female. God send them more.

12. Mr. Tregian spendeth the most part of his time in prayer and studies, wherein he hath in sundry ways not a little profited, and in effect, altogether through his own labour, he hath attained to the knowledge of many other languages.

God send him long to live, if not in this world, yet in the world to come. Amen.

A COPY OF THE JUBILEE.

Gregorius Episcopus Servus servorum Dei, and as followeth.

Gregory, Pope, the Thirteenth of that name, to all Christian people that these present letters shall behold, greeting and Apostolical benediction.

Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the Son of God, Who hath vouchsafed to redeem us, by the shedding of His most precious Blood, out of the hands of our adversary, seeking whom he may devour, hath been willing to deliver unto us, although unworthy, His place and

¹ He was executed with a halter of silk at Salisbury, March 6, 1557.

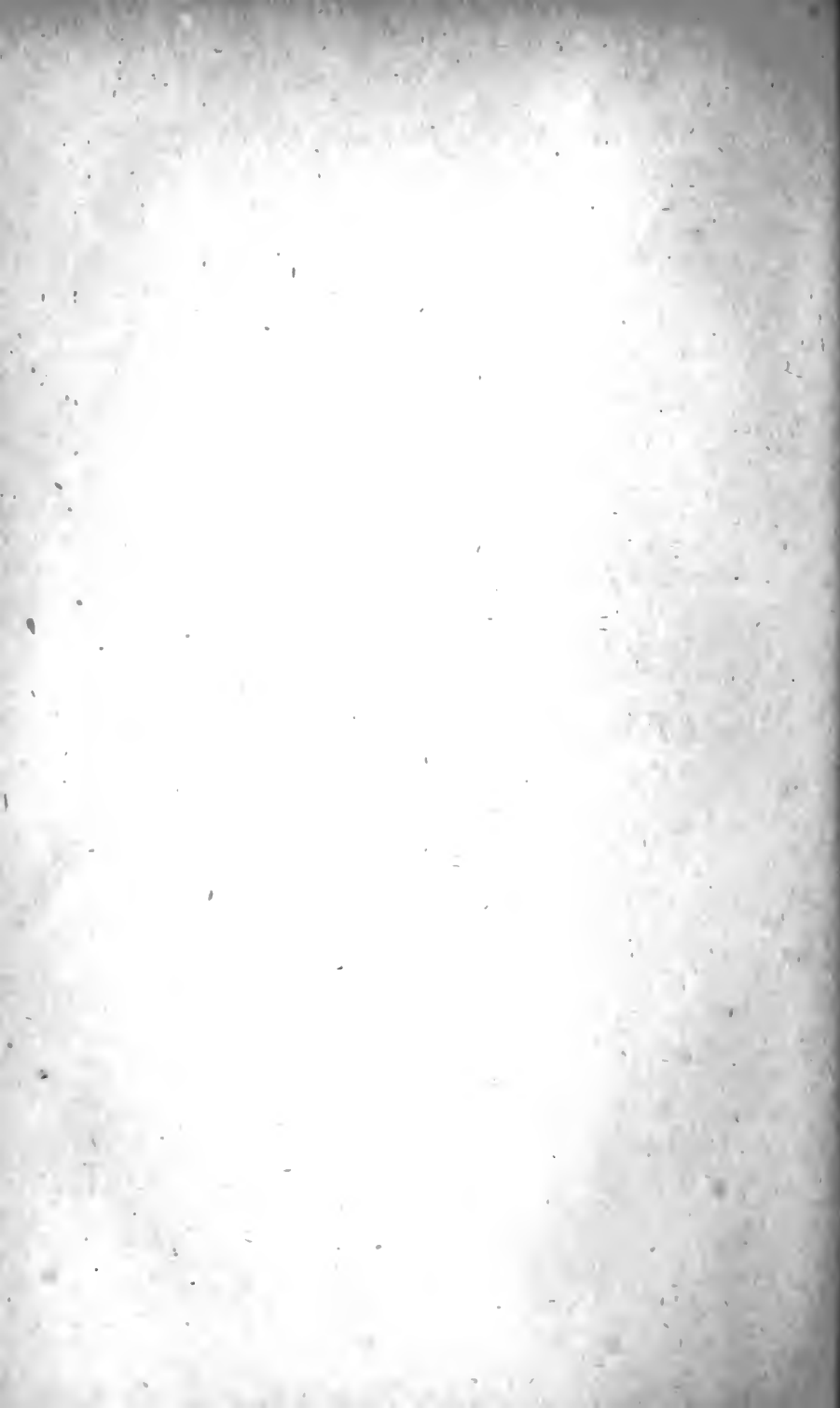
power of binding and loosing, that we might the more abundantly, for the preservation of our Lord's flock, especially in this acceptable time of remission and year of Jubilee, show forth Apostolical cogitations and affections. Hereupon, forasmuch as we understand that English people, faithful and Catholic Christians, as well in England as out of England, dispersed in divers countries, cannot come to Rome to enjoy the fruits of this year of Jubilee; some because they are not permitted to come out of the realm, and some in that they have lost their goods, and are banished persons for the Catholic faith, not able to bear the charge and travail of so long a journey, or otherwise having some just impediments: We therefore, as the duty and office of an Universal Pastor requireth, and of fatherly love towards all Christian people, desirous to provide for the health of their souls, do grant unto all the aforesaid Catholics of England, as well men as women, being truly penitent and confessed, who shall fifteen times religiously visit four churches, if there be so many, or if not, three, two, or one only church, where there are no more, and shall devoutly pray unto God, and perform all other things contained in our letter of indiction of this year of Jubilee; And to them also that be in England, wherein in no church, nor in any other place whatsoever, as we are informed, it is permitted that God after a Catholic manner be publicly honoured, being there detained by any lawful impediment, if they do and work after the prescribed order of a discreet confessor, regard being had to the state, condition, and calling of every person with the time and place, or if a ghostly Father cannot be gotten, then reciting devoutly fifteen times, with true contrition of heart, the Rosary or crown of our Blessed Lady, that they and every one of them have all, yea, plenary indulgence and remission of their sins, as fully as if they personally had visited this sacred city, and that they may also choose for this purpose confessors, Priests Secular or Regular of any Order, who, after the diligent hearing of their confession, may enjoin them wholesome penances, and absolve them from all sin, crime, or fault, how grievous or enormous soever, although reserved even to the See Apostolic, notwithstanding other contradiction whatsoever. And we will also that the same credit be had and given in all places to the copies of these letters printed, being subscribed by the hands of a public notary, and signed with the seal of some person placed in ecclesiastical dignity, which should be had or given unto these presents, if they were exhibited and showed forth.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, under the Fisher's Ring, the 3rd of March, 1575, in the third year of our government.

CÆSAR GLORIERI. .

III.

FATHER TESIMOND'S
LANDING IN ENGLAND.



FATHER TESIMOND'S LANDING IN ENGLAND.

UNDER the name of Father Greenway, Father Oswald Tesimond is often mentioned, as he was one of the three Jesuits who were indicted for the Gunpowder Plot. But of his life little is known, and the fragment of an Autobiography now published is an important contribution to our knowledge of him.

Oswald Tesimond was a Yorkshireman, who, after his humanity studies, went to Rome, and in his seventeenth year entered the English College there. This was in 1580, the year after the foundation of the College by Pope Gregory XIII. After three years of Philosophy, by leave of Cardinal Moroni, the Protector, he entered the Society, April 13th, 1584. After his Noviceship, he made his Theological studies at Messina in Sicily; and on their completion, before his promotion to sacred orders, he was sent to teach Philosophy, first at Messina, and then at Palermo. It was not until 1597, he tells us, that he was sent on the English Mission. He was then a Priest, thirty-four years of age, and he had been thirteen years in Religion. He was professed of the four vows in England in 1603. He had been engaged only nine years in the work of the ministry in England, when the storm raised by the Powder Plot rendered it necessary for him to leave the country. He was safely conveyed to Calais in a small boat laden with dead pigs, of which cargo he passed as the owner. Calais was no safe place for him, and he went on to Boulogne and St. Omers, staying in the latter place for some time. Afterwards going to Italy, he was employed first at Rome, and then in Sicily as Prefect of Studies;¹ then he taught Theology in the

¹ "Philippus Bemondus, on the 10th of January, 1621, came to the English College, Rome, to be Prefect of Studies, and on the 10th of December in the same year went from Rome towards Messina." Such is Father Grene's quotation from Roger "Baines his Diary," in his *Collectan. N.*, i., p. 99, Stonyhurst MSS.

English College at Valladolid, and after fulfilling other duties at Florence and at Naples, he died in 1635, in his seventy-second year.¹ The name by which he was known on the Continent was Philip Beaumont or Beaumond.

The Proclamation² for his apprehension gives the following description of his person. "Of a reasonable stature, black hair, a brown beard cut close on the cheeks and left broad on the chin, somewhat long-visaged, lean in the face but of a good red complexion, his nose somewhat long and sharp at the end, his hands slender and long fingers, his body slender, his legs of a good proportion, his feet somewhat long and slender.

"His apparel of cloth, hose and jerkin much after the Italian fashion, the jerkin buttoned on the breast, his cloak buttoned down before with ribands hanging down on his breast, his hat narrow-brimmed with a small band and a broad full crown, as now the fashion is."

There is another State Paper³ which is worth mentioning in relation to Father Tesimond, as it shows that there was no measure, even of credibility, in the accusations that were framed against him. Sir Edwin Rich writes from Naples, October 5th, 1610, to the King to say that a Jesuit, Philip Beaumont, *alias* Oswald Tesimond, has arrived there, and is plotting to send the King an embroidered satin doublet and hose, which are poisoned, and will be death to the wearer.

Of the subjects mentioned by Father Tesimond, the most curious is his statement that Sir John Fortescue's house was resorted to by Priests. He is clearly mistaken in saying that he was ultimately deprived of his office of Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe for being a Catholic. In the State Papers at the Record Office, Sir John Fortescue's career can be clearly traced. When he ceased to be Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, it was to be promoted. He survived Queen Elizabeth, and died in 1607, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In Elizabeth's time he was not only Master of the Great Wardrobe, and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer, but in 1591 he was made Chancellor

¹ More's *History of the English Province S. J.*, lib. vii., n. 40.

² P. R. O., *Domestic, James I.*, vol. xviii., n. 21.

³ P. R. O., *Domestic, James I.*, vol. lvii., n. 92.

of the Exchequer, and soon after was knighted. It is clear that he was greatly trusted by Elizabeth. His name occurs with those of her other Ministers in numerous Commissions, chiefly no doubt in connection with his office in the royal household, as for the sale of Crown lands,¹ to take the accounts of the purveyors of the household and stable,² or to sell the Queen's unserviceable jewels;³ but sometimes in judicial cases, as in the trial of Lopez;⁴ though not often in the trials of Catholics. In fulfilment, however, of the duties of his office he must occasionally have had that to do which must have gone greatly against his Catholic sympathies. For instance, February 26th, 1592, in concurrence with Lord Burleigh, he issued⁵ a "warrant to pay 30*l.* to Edward, son of the late Thomas Morrison, Clerk of the Pipe, for his pains in extracting and entering into the great Roll the debts of recusants, separating the third part and entering it into the Pipe schedule in the office of the Treasurer's remembrancer, that he might send out Commissioners into each county to seize the said lands," &c. Or, more singular still for a Catholic in heart, on the death of Richard Young,⁶ the Justice who had committed more Catholics to prison, searched more Catholic houses and examined more Catholic prisoners than any one, and had shown more animosity against Catholics than any man but Topcliffe, his children had such confidence in Sir John Fortescue as to petition that their case might be referred to him.⁷

That he had Elizabeth's favour is shown, not only by his retention of high office all through her reign, but by the grant for his own life and that of his son Francis of the bailiwick and keeping of Whichwood Forest and Cornbury Park. He had sued for it on the very ground that it would be "a proof of the Queen's favour, and that his house [Salden, Bucks] is the only one that can receive Her Majesty when she comes into those parts."⁸

¹ P. R. O., *Dom. Elizabeth*, vol. ccxxvii., n. 31.

² *Ibid.*, vol. ccxxxix., n. 104.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. cclxxv., n. 87.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxlvii., n. 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. ccxli., n. 65.

⁶ See *Father Gerard's Life*, p. lxxix.

⁷ P. R. O., *Dom. Elizabeth*, vol. cclxv., n. 208.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. cclxv., n. 130; and Docquet, June 19, 1591.

On the accession of King James, Sir John Fortescue¹ was commissioned with the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Lord Chamberlain, and others, "to consider upon such preparations for the coronation as are according to honour, without superfluity of charge;" and the last recorded act of his life was his presenting his account of the expenses of the coronation, which amounted to 19,711*l.* 8*s.* 8¼*d.* The last mention of his name in the State Papers is in a letter from Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated December 30, 1607, stating that he was dead, and that Sir Thomas Parry was sworn in his office of the duchy of Lancaster. His sons' names appear later, Sir Francis, for instance, writing from Salden, and Sir William (who had been knighted in 1600 by the Lord Deputy of Ireland) from Hanslope, in 1609.² The only mark of suspicion against him in the State Papers is a hint at the time of the Powder Plot in a letter from Lord Chief Justice Popham to Salisbury, that "there are letters from abroad at Fortescue's house by the Wardrobe."³

It is plain that Sir John Fortescue was what in those days was distinguished by the name of a schismatic; that is to say, in order to save his estates and worldly position he frequented the Protestant Church, and conformed externally to the Queen's religion. The family, however, did not cease to be Catholic: indeed, two Catholic branches of it, one at Salden and the other at Husbands Bosworth, until comparatively recent times maintained in each place a Jesuit mission. Nearer to Father Tesimond's time we find some notices of their Catholicity. The *Chronicle of St. Monica* records the arrival in 1622, at the Convent in Louvain, of "Sister Frances Fortescue, daughter of Sir Francis Fortescue, son of John Fortescue of the Privy Council, of a great estate: his chief house was Salden in Buckinghamshire." On the death of Sir John, his widow went to live at St. Omers. In the entry in the same *Chronicle* of the Profession of her daughter Mary, it seems to be implied that Sir John lived there also. It runs thus: "In 1617 upon St. Mary Magdalen's Day was professed

¹ P. R. O., *Dom. James I.*, vol. i., n. 90; vol. xix., n. 36.

² *Ibid.*, *James I.*, vol. l., n. 46; vol. xliv., n. 86; and *Elizabeth*, vol. cclxxv., n. 144.

³ P. R. O., *Gunpowder Plot Book*, n. 10.

another White Sister,¹ Mary Fortescue, her father was of no great estate, but of ancient family. Their house was a receptacle for all Priests and Religious men without partiality or exception. At length, being now aged, they desired to come and end their days this side the seas, where they might enjoy the free exercise of Catholic religion without continual fear and molestation as before. Their two daughters, being also well bestowed in marriage with good Catholics, this their youngest daughter Mary they would have to come over with them." Later on, the *Chronicle* tells us that Sir John Fortescue's eldest daughter married "Francis Bedingfeld, of Bedingfeld in Suffolk, Esquire, a very good Catholic and harbourer of Priests, whose father, John Bedingfeld, was also a most constant Catholic, and suffered much at divers times for his conscience." It was their daughter "Helen Bedingfeld, whom her grandmother Fortescue brought with her to St. Omers when she came (as is said) to live there, being then but eight years of age; she lived there with her grandmother until fifteen, when her grandfather procured a place in our Monastery, where his daughter Mary, her aunt, was professed some years before." Dorothy, Sir John Fortescue's other daughter, married Sir Robert Throckmorton, the first baronet, who died January 16, 1650.

Leaving now the Fortescues, it may be well to put together a few notes in illustration of Father Tesimond's account of Father Garnet's dwelling-places. Father John Gerard has given an account² of a search in Father Garnet's house; Father Tesimond gives another. It will be interesting to compare these with Father Garnet's own letters on the subject to Father Persons and Father Aquaviva at Rome. Writing³ then under date April 9, 1598 (the date of Father Tesimond's landing was March 9), he says to Father Persons:—

"There hath been terrible searching of late. This week past they kept the house of Mr. Abington in Worcestershire three days, beating down all at their pleasure, and eating up all the

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 6.

² See his *Life*, p. xxxviii.

³ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. P.*, f. 551.

provision, and took away two servants, the master being not at home. . . . We are constrained to shift often our dwelling and to have divers houses at once, and also to keep divers houses at those times when we run away, for we cannot remove the old woman¹ so often, and the place of my residence is like a little College, never without four or five. We were yesterday five of our own family [Jesuits], two being driven unto me for fear [Father Tesimond and perhaps Father Joseph Pollen], and continual resort is of others unto me. There is none taken but he is asked for Henry [himself], and yet he scapeth, not by any worldly policy, but because he is unfit for the combat, for otherwise he is as much a *pecorella* as ever he was, and so I pray you tell Benedictus Pererius, who Henry understandeth should say on a time, *Io mi meraviglio come quella pecorella ha scappato tanto* [I wonder how that lamb has escaped so often]. I remember him and other my friends oft to my comfort. I sent to Alphonso Agazzari [S.J., Rector of the English College at Rome] Father Southwell's Breviary that he used in the Tower, but it is taken. He must accept my goodwill."

While Father Tesimond was with Father Garnet, indeed a

¹ When Father Grene first came across the "old woman" in Father Garnet's letters he was fairly puzzled, but it became plain to him who was meant as he went on transcribing them. His marginal note is *Videtur fuisse mater Personii*: to which he afterwards added *inmo certum est*. Quoting a letter of January 20, 1599, he says, "In this and in other letters he frequently repeateth that *the old woman* was well, of whom he showeth a most special care, but I know not who this old woman was. And in one dated April 21, 1599, writeth thus, 'The old woman is very dull, &c. Her son John [the brother of Father Robert Persons, S.J.] hath not his letter yet. There is no hope of him, nor ever was, but I will send it shortly.'" [He dates a paper amongst the Stonyhurst MSS., *Angl. A.*, vol. iii., n. 14, "At my parsonage house of Cherlinch, this last of May, 1602." He was then a strong Protestant.] In a letter of August 19, 1601, Father Garnet speaks of her as then dead. He says that "those which lived long with his [Father Persons'] mother gave her singular commendation of honesty and gravity." He adds that "two gentlemen," that is Priests, were with her when she died. On January 14, 1600, she was alive, for he then says, "The old woman is very well, and to-morrow we go all to her, having long absented ourselves, to see how things passed. We find all well, and she hath for the most part not wanted a workman" [has had a Priest in the house]. After her death, Father Garnet says, "When she first came to Henry [himself], he was exceedingly comforted to have her out of danger."

very few days after their going to the house in Spitalfields, the latter made the solemn vows of a Professed Father in the Society. We learn the date from Father Grene's extracts from his letters. On the 6th of May Father Garnet wrote, "Concerning Profession, I mean myself to despatch on Monday next, that being the day I parted last from you. The Saint [St. Michael] I have ever since acknowledged the protector and patron of my mission." May 8 is the Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael.

A few days after, May 20, he says, "I wrote to Claude [Acquaviva, the General] of Henry's profession, made 8 Maii, and I send the papers concerning that."

And an Italian letter without a date says, "Thus far the holy Angels have not failed me, *potentes virtute*, who are to defend me as I hope for the greater glory of God, for as I left Rome on St. Michael's Day in May, I chose that most blessed spirit, and all his companions, as the special patrons of this my mission. By the time I had spent nine years here, I began to doubt a little whether my patrons meant to patronize me any more, for I never could have expected to have remained in safety half that time. See now I have come to the end of the twelfth year.¹ I had notice many weeks ago to prepare myself for my Profession, and as lately I received a letter from our Father General that I was to make it at once, I did so on the Feast of St. Michael, just as if he himself had arranged it so."

Having given Father Garnet's account of the search related by Father Tesimond, it will be well to go back to the earlier one, which is told in Father Gerard's *Life*. He thus wrote to the General, March 17, 159 $\frac{3}{4}$.²

"Last year was so stormy for us, as for all other Catholics, that, in addition to our other troubles, there was no possibility of our meeting. For though sometimes in the course of the year

¹ He therefore left Rome May 8, 1586. He entered England July 7 in that year; for he ends one of his letters, "Now in the last day of my fifteenth year in this wilderness, 6^o July, 1601." On which Father Grene says, "Hinc colligo Garnettum intrasse Angliam 7^o Julii, 1586, quo die celebratur ibi Translatio S. Thomæ Cant." *P.*, f. 538.

² Copied by Father Grene (*P.*, f. 556) from the autograph, which is dated, more Anglico, 1593. The original is in Latin. The marks of omission are as Father Grene gives them.

we were two or three together, yet we never could all assemble; either to take counsel on our affairs or to renew our vows. But towards the end of January or in the beginning of February this year, while our enemies were taken up by the meeting of Parliament and their plans for fresh persecutions, by coming at different times and in two separate companies (that if it should please God one should be taken the other might escape), we succeeded by God's help in happily accomplishing our desire. We now see in it the Providence of God, for there have been but two quiet intervals of time in all this space, and these have been the very occasions chosen for our meetings. Our present quiet is far from consisting of the abrogation of unjust laws or the free exercise of religion. It is but the expectation of still harder things, both in laws and in penalties. For very cruel minds are not contented with the blood and oppression of the innocent, but if they pause in their cruelty, it is that they may look forward to and plan worse things still. . . .

"We hope that these our meetings are as pleasing to God as we feel they are offensive to the devil. . . . But we would not have our dearest and sweetest friends in ignorance of our difficulties and dangers, for in all our anxieties we feel this most present consolation, that there is no moment of time in which we may be undergoing suffering, or fearing something dreadful, but that at that very moment at least some of our friends are feeling for us, commending us to God, making light by their prayers what would otherwise be beyond bearing. . . . (He then tells how they met on St. Luke's Day, 1591, for the renewal of vows, and were freed from imminent peril). That solemn meeting of ours was fixed for the three days that precede the Feast of St. Luke. . . . The house we had chosen for the purpose of our assembly was that which we had almost always employed on former occasions. It was the house of two sisters [Eleanor Brooksby and Anne Vaux], one a widow, and the other a virgin, both of them illustrious for goodness and holiness, whom, in my own mind, I often compare to the two women who received our Lord. . . .

"Of a sudden there arrives a Queen's messenger. . . . Rosaries, chalices, sacred vestments, all other signs of piety

are, with the men, thrown into a cavern: the mistress of the house is hidden away in another hiding-place. . . . On this occasion, as often enough on others when the pursuivant came, the younger sister, the unmarried one, passed herself off for the mistress of the house. . . . To all the other discomforts this is to be added, that in cases like this it is necessary to contend with men who are hard to satisfy (the searchers).¹ This the young lady always did with such skill and prudence as to be able to control their pertinacity and talkativeness. She was remarkable at all times for her virginal modesty and shamefastness, but in the cause of God and the defence of His servants the *virgo* became *virago*. She is almost always ill, but we have seen her when so weakened as to be scarce able to utter three words without pain, on the arrival of the pursuivants become so strong as to spend three or four hours in contest with them. When she has no Priest in the house she feels afraid; but the simple presence of a Priest so animates her that then she makes sure that no devil has any power over her house. This was proved to be true in this cruel search in particular. . . . For, quite miraculously, one pursuivant who took into his hand a silver pyx which was used for carrying the Blessed Sacrament from place to place, straightway put it down again, as if he had never seen it. Before the eyes of another lay a precious Dalmatic folded up. He unfolded everything else, but that he did not touch. I should never stop if I were to write down all the edifying things that have happened in this or other searches."

We may hear the evidence of another witness of the searches to which Father Garnet's dwelling was subject, if we allow an adopted daughter of Mrs. Brooksby's to tell her tale to us as she told it to her Sisters in Religion. It is thus embodied in the plain-spoken *Chronicle of St. Monica's Convent*, which we quote in full, though it leads us far from Father Tesimond's story.

"In the year 1637, upon the 3rd day of March, died Sister Frances Burrows, one of the elders that came from St. Ursula's in the second company [to found the new Convent of St. Monica's,

¹ These words, and the parenthesis above naming the year, are Father Grene's.

Nov. 9, 1609; she was professed in 1597]. She had been sickly all her life long, and weak. She was very tractable, obedient always to her Superiors, and suffered much contempt in the Community because she had some little defects, which though she laboured hard to subdue, she could not so wholly overcome them but that sometimes a hasty or rash word came from her, which nevertheless was presently amended with humble speaking her fault. So as it may well be hoped she hath gained a good crown in Heaven for the continual labour she took here in overcoming of herself, although for her humiliation some small defects still seemed to remain, which perhaps were not so displeasing to God as to creatures; as also for her great patience and humility, which showed well in divers occasions, especially at her going forth to Bruges with the rest in the time of our distress. She gave good edification by her patience and humility, as also by her sweet and blessed death.

“And in respect that we have not heretofore particularly spoken of her parents and coming to Religion, we will now set it down here, as it was noted down in a paper apart by our Reverend Father.¹ She was born at Burrow-on-the-hill, in Leicestershire. Her father a gentleman, but younger brother; his name was Anthony Burrows. Her mother called Maud, daughter to the Lord Vaux, Baron of Harrowden, in Northamptonshire. This daughter of theirs was first brought up in her father's house, her mother dying when she was but five years of age, in whose infancy this happened worthy of note, and might be accounted a sign of God's graces she was afterwards to receive. Her father being a man who then in his religion followed the time and frequented the churches of heretics, was wont on Sundays and holidays to go with his family to their service. Frances being very young was carried thither also in the maid's arms, but so soon as she was within the church she presently fell fast asleep, not waking till she was out of the church again; and this continued with her after she could go alone, and was so observed in her that they thought it bootless to lead her into the church, but would leave her in the churchyard to play during

¹ Father Stephen Barnes, in 1651, had been their “ghostly father” forty years.

the time of the service, and there she never slept, but in the church always.

“Soon after her mother's death she was taken from her father's care, and assumed by a kinswoman [aunt] of hers, one Mrs. Brooksby, a young widow and daughter to the Lord Vaux, who brought her up as her own daughter, for the most part at Harrowden House, where her cousin lived. When this child came first to the said widow, she took her in her arms with tears and said, ‘I will have Frances, I will have Frances’ (having intended before to have taken another of her sisters, who was her god-daughter), ‘for to this child,’ quoth she, ‘God will give a blessing which none of the rest shall have,’ which proved true indeed, for she became Religious, and none of the rest so much as Catholic. Being committed to this her cousin's care, she was first taught to say her prayers, then instructed in Catholic religion, and admitted to be present at the exercises thereof, for this was a very Catholic house. As she grew in years, so did she in constant profession of her religion, and showed great courage when the pursuivants and other officers came to the house to search for Priests, church stuff, or Catholic books, which was there often to do, the rest hiding them in secret places made in the house for that purpose, but she was always let out to go up and down and to answer the officers, because her courage was such as she never seemed to be daunted or afraid of anything.

“It happened, when she was but eleven years of age, a Priest being at Mass in the chamber and another present, a great noise was heard in the house below, and fearing it to be as indeed it was, the Priest desired the gentlewoman of the house to go down, and the girl with her, to see what the matter was. They went, and in the hall found, through negligence of the doorkeeper, the pursuivants and constables entered, with many swords drawn, which the child seeing, cried out, ‘Oh, put up your swords, or else my mother will die, for she cannot endure to see a naked sword.’ The officers, perceiving the gentlewoman's countenance to change through fear, believed her, and put up their swords. But Frances runneth back again, pretending to fetch some wine for her mother, shut the doors, gave warning to the Priests,

helped to hide them, and then came back again to the pursuivants, having frustrated them of their expectation, for they could find no Priest. Such was her present wit not disturbed in time of greatest danger.

“Another time a pursuivant, thinking with terror to make her discover the secret place of the house, caught her by the arm, and holding his naked dagger at her breast, threatened that if she would not tell him where the Priests were, he would stab her to the heart. She undaunted, as not apprehending anything of death, bade him if he durst; and with courage said, ‘If you do, it shall be the hottest blood that ever thou sheddest in thy life.’ The pursuivant perceiving that death could not fright her, offered a hundred pounds to have her, for to make a present of her to the Lord Bishop of London, saying that it was a pity a maid of her courage should be spoiled with Papistry.

“Being now come to years of discretion, and some ripeness of judgment, conversing daily with Priests, and hearing many good things, and sometimes her cousin talked of a sister of hers called Elizabeth, who was a Nun at Rouen in France, of St. Clare’s Order, she got thereupon a great love unto that kind of life, although she could not imagine what it was to be a Nun, and being ashamed to ask, contented herself that surely it was a fine thing: but wavering in her mind, sometimes she would be a Nun, sometimes not, and thus she continued working with her mind some two years, till once in an evening about twilight, having left her company, and sitting alone with thoughts of being a Nun, she felt in her soul great and strong inspirations from God, in which she took very much delight, yet understood not what she felt, but resolutely resolved to remain a virgin all her life.

“In the summer after this, being in a Catholic gentleman’s house, where for some time she remained, it happened on a Sunday after dinner, as she was left alone in a little garden with great comfort of mind thinking about being a Nun, she suddenly heard one to knock at the back door of the said garden, where none could come but those of the house, and knowing that the servants were at dinner, she thought it might be some of the children, therefore went and opened the door, and saw there a man standing clothed in woollen cloth all in white. His garments

were long, but neatly tucked up, such as she had never seen before. He looked cheerfully on her and spake unto her, but she understood him not, and so she told him. Then he made signs to her, as she thought, for to have something to eat: wherefore presently she runs to the butler to ask something for a poor man. He gave her a good piece of bread and meat, and whilst that he went to fetch her also a pot of strong beer, she cut a piece of pie that was there, and conveyed it out at the window that the butler might not see it, and so went with haste to the man, fearing he might be departed, but he was not gone. She gave it him, who took it graciously, eat the bread and meat and drank the beer, to her seeming, but the pie he put up in the tuck of his garment. She perceiving him about to do it, said to him, 'Oh, you will spoil your white coat!' at which he smiled, but yet put it in. All this while she stood, as it were forgetful of herself, earnestly viewing and beholding him, never having seen any man in the like attire before; who when he had eaten and drunk, lifting up his hand, with his two forefingers he gave her a long blessing, and went away. But she forgetting still herself, would not so leave him, but followed him a good way, till coming to go over a stile, remembering where she was and that alone, forthwith ran back in all haste home, and told the gentleman of the house, and the Priest who was there, what she had seen. They went presently with speed to fetch him, but never could see or spy him. They made inquiry of the neighbours, who all said they had seen no such man, and they never could hear more of him. Neither could she imagine what he might be, until three years after, coming to Louvain to be a Religious, and visiting the church of Augustin Friars before she entered, who serve the Church in white, she saw theirs to be the same habit which the man wore whom she had seen before. This was now a great motive to settle her in her vocation, accounting this as a means wherewith Almighty God had called her. She was sent over by Father Garnet, the elder martyr, who was Superior of the Jesuits in England, being about nineteen years of age, and was professed on the 13th of July two years after, having been one year scholar and one year Novice. She made a blessed end by a quiet and sweet death, after some time of sharp sickness, having had a

lingering weakness, wherewith she was daily troubled, for to make her crown of patience in Heaven. Notwithstanding, she bore the office of Sacristan at St. Ursula's, and took good pains therein; as also here she was often employed in divers things by obedience, and was still ready to do what she could willingly in the service of the Convent, as looking to the workmen or such like employments, having but a weak voice for the Choir."

It is well to add that the same *Chronicle* tells us that Mrs. Brooksby had a daughter, who married Richard Thimelby, of Irnham in the county of Lincoln. Their daughters, Winefrid and Frances Thimelby, entered the Convent at Louvain in 1634 and 1642. In 1668 Sister Winefrid was elected Prioress of St. Monica's Convent, the third in that office; Mother Mary Wiseman having governed the house for twenty-four years, and Mother Magdalene Throckmorton for thirty-five. This generation of the Thimelbys was doubly connected with the family of the Astons, of whom we shall hear much when we come to Sir Edward Southcote's memoirs in this volume. Sister Gertrude Thimelby, the widow of Sister Winefrid's younger brother Henry, and daughter of the first Lord Aston, was professed at St. Monica's September 29, 1658; and Catharine Aston, a daughter of another of the same family, who had married Lord Aston's second son, made her profession August 19, 1668. These are mentioned here only on account of their relationship with Eleanor Brooksby, "Mrs. Anne Vaux's sister," as the *Chronicle* words it, "all very good and constant Catholics, who kept Father Garnet the worthy martyr in their house, the chief of the Jesuits."

Father Tesimond may now be left to begin his tale.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FATHER TESIMOND.

Translated from the Italian holograph original, the property of Stonyhurst College.¹

I SET out for the English mission from Valladolid towards the end of November, in the year 1597, quite alone, in secular attire. In the beginning of December I arrived at Bilbao, when I heard that a ship was about to start for Calais in France,² a city which was in the possession of the King of Spain and was occupied by a Spanish garrison. I pressed on with all possible speed to the seaport of Bilbao, in order not to lose the opportunity. I found the ship quite ready to start, and nearly full of passengers. Among these were two Priests, who had left the College of Valladolid some time before to go on the same mission. One of them was named John Ruffet,³ who had returned about a year before from England, where the Superiors of the College had sent him to recruit his health. This man, our Lord permitting it, fell into the hands of the heretics, and being detected as one of

¹ It forms a part of Father Grene's *Collectan. C.*, f. 179, immediately following Father Gerard's autograph history of the Powder Plot.

² Cales in Francia. *Orig.* They called Cadiz, "Cales in Spagna."

³ His subsequent apprehension is mentioned by Father Richard Blount in a letter to Father Persons, dated April 8th, 1602. "My abode at this present is, and so hath been for some years, altogether in London. . . . Here is one Atkins[on], a Priest, a very disorderly fellow of long time, but now hath passed all bounds of moral honesty and common humanity. He hath caused two other Priests to be apprehended, namely, Tichburne and one Ruffet." Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. M.*, f. 95. Thomas Tichburne was martyred at Tyburn, April 20, 1602.

the scholars of that Seminary, although not then a Priest, was cruelly tortured; but after remaining constant and displaying much fortitude, he was at length by some means or other liberated; and now, having been able to complete his studies, he was returning to the mission as a Priest.

The name of the other was Roger Filcock, a man very remarkable both for his virtue and learning, afterwards a glorious martyr for the faith.¹ Before his martyrdom he became a member of our Society.

These two good Priests I found, as I have said, at the port of Bilbao, with their preparations made and ready to embark. As for myself, having arrived when the ship was on the point of starting, I was forced to embark even without water or anything else to eat or drink, so that for the whole nine days that we were sailing to Calais, I ate and drank nothing save what was given me in pure charity, and this was so little that I cannot venture to tell it lest I should not be believed: for every one was afraid lest the stock of provisions which he had brought from Bilbao should fail him, and so would not sell for love or money what they had bought for themselves alone. Nor could I either avail myself of the charity of the two Priests, for although they had with them some provisions, yet the stock was so small that it would have seemed to me a shame to diminish it; and, to tell the truth, I met only one of them, Father Roger, on the voyage, and that on a single occasion: for as I was the last to come on board, I had the worst place in the ship, for which nevertheless, such as it was, I paid six gold crowns. The place was so narrow and confined that almost continually during those nine days I was compelled to lie day and night upon a heap of

¹ Roger Filcock, S.J., executed for his priesthood, with Mark Barkworth, O.S.B., and Anne Line, at Tyburn, Feb. 27, 1601. *Father Gerard's Life*, p. lxxvi.

chesnuts, scarcely able to turn from one side to the other. But what caused me the greatest and almost incredible annoyance was the smoke; for my quarters, where I lay in torture rather than in bed, were right in front of the stove, where they kept a continuous fire either for cooking purposes or to warm the passengers. This faced pretty nearly the place where I was, so that I could not open my eyes, into which the pungency of the smoke brought incessant tears. Indeed, I was hardly able to breathe, for my head and lungs were both so full of it that I was tortured beyond measure.

After nine days, that is, on December 13, 1597, at midnight, we were close to the mouth of Calais harbour, when the wind subsided into a calm, and we could proceed no farther. Upon this the sailors were exceedingly frightened, and began to take counsel among themselves, without the passengers being able to divine why they were so much disturbed. But when they began to cover the sides of the ship with bales of wool and to prepare their arms, it became evident that some danger was to be feared from an enemy. And in truth there was very great danger. For Calais being at that time, as I have said, in the power of the Spaniards, the Dutch navy were blockading that port, in common with all on that coast which belonged to the King of Spain, so that it was impossible to go in or out except when it was quite dark. When we learned what our danger was, and that we could not move a single foot either forwards or backwards for want of wind, and knew for certain that, ill-armed as we were and in a very weak vessel, it was impossible for us to make a stand against the enemy, we began some to recommend ourselves to God, some to be troubled, some to lament over our bad fortune, some to weep and cry, for our ship contained persons of all sorts, men and women, old and young, and almost all without hope of escaping from the hands of those

savage enemies, from whom nothing was to be expected but slaughter and the cruellest death, as we knew from cases of almost daily occurrence, especially when Spaniards, whom they hated more than devils, chanced to fall into their hands. And for my part, the best I could venture to hope was that I might be taken and sent to England; but there was not much ground for hoping this, for I was dressed as a Spaniard, and should consequently be treated by them as such in their first fury.

The principal person among the Spaniards who were in the ship knew what I was, for I had made myself known to him. He came to me secretly to confession, and we began to pray to our Lord to deliver us from this great and evident danger, for no other end could we expect to this tragedy than that, by the light of day, which was already drawing on, we should be discovered to our enemies, whose prey we must inevitably become.

Meanwhile the sailors had sent a swimmer to the shore to inform the townspeople of our danger, in hopes that they might be induced to send out their artillery to the beach and so afford us some defence against the enemy's ships, and that they might send out a company of musketeers to enter our ship in some light boats. All this was done, but so slowly that, had not our Lord first sent us help from Heaven, it would have been useless for the defence of the people, although it might have sufficed, as indeed it did suffice, for the safety of the cargo. But it pleased our Lord that not long before dawn there was the ebb or fall of the tide, which in those parts is so great that it leaves dry a great part of the beach which at high tide is covered. This happened most fortunately for us, for as soon as the day broke the enemy perceived our vessel, and raising anchor and setting sail, came after us as fast as they could, with great joy and shouts, as though certain of their prey. The men in our ship, on the other hand, nerved by despair, choosing

rather to die beneath the waves of the sea than beneath the hands of those savages, lowered the ship's boat, so as to save all those whom it could hold. But upon this a horrible struggle arose among them as to who should get in, every one wishing to be the first, without respect for poor or rich, old or young, the case being one of extreme necessity. And, to tell the truth, it was a work of danger even to enter the boat, both on account of the multitude who, if all entered together, would have been drowned together, and on account of the waves which, through the heavy sea that had prevailed before the calm, were very great, and broke heavily against the shore, so that it seemed impossible for the boat to arrive safely, however few it might contain. At last some gentlemen interposed who had their wives on board the ship, and with the help of the sailors they endeavoured to get these ladies into the boat. When I saw this, and that the enemy were upon us, I resolved to jump into the sea, and, if I could do nothing else, to cling to the stern of the boat and trust to chance. This resolution of mine met with such success that it gave heart to the rest, for upon jumping into the water, I found not only that the depth of water was less than one would have conjectured, but that with some difficulty one could wade to land on account of the great fall of the tide. Whereupon all who had remained in the ship jumped into the water one after the other, in full sight of the enemy, who, unable otherwise to attack the fugitives, fired at us a few rounds of artillery. But, stooping down, we hid ourselves behind the sand heaps, and heard the whiz of the balls as they flew over our heads; but, God be thanked, they did us no harm. When we had got to the public road which leads to the *place* or city of Calais, we met a great concourse of people who, in company with the soldiers from the garrison, were hastening to the defence of our ship, and in their rear came some

pieces of artillery for the same purpose. But already the enemy had gained possession of our vessel. They found it stranded, on account of the great fall of the tide and because the sailors had drawn it as close in shore as they could. Perceiving, therefore, that they could not tow it off in their direction, and fearing the arrival of the soldiers and artillery, which they saw approaching, they dismantled it of its more valuable contents, and abandoned it.

Arrived at Calais, partly through the fatigue of the morning's adventure, partly because of the hunger and thirst which I had suffered on the preceding days while on board the ship, I became so weak and feeble that I could scarcely stand on my legs. My stomach turned against all food, and I was very nearly falling into a serious illness. But it pleased God to give me strength to reach Brussels. I stopped at Brussels in expectation of a companion to go with me to England, and was able to inform the Superior of the English mission of my arrival.

Not many days passed ere I met a youth named Raphael [Ashley],¹ who had left the College of Valladolid some months before, where he had served as baker and in other offices, but being somewhat indisposed and unfit for such fatigues, he had been sent to England. Meeting with him in this way, and knowing how virtuous and well-disposed he was, both from the acquaintance I had had with him at College and from the constancy which he had displayed among the Dutch heretics, by whom he had been captured on his journey and ill-treated, I thought good to take him as my companion to England. And I account it a singular incident of Divine Providence towards the youth that I should have done so, and it has

¹ Raphael, that is Ralph Ashley, afterwards martyr. *Father Grene's marginal note.* See Father Gerard's *Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot*, pp. 181, 275.

ever given me the greatest satisfaction and consolation. For I was able to recommend him to ¹Father Edward Oldcorne, with whom he remained for eight whole years, till at length they were both taken and received the glorious crown of martyrdom. Such was the constancy, the ardour, and joy which he displayed on the occasion, that I doubt if, throughout this cruel persecution, there was any secular who showed greater bravery or more evident signs of the special assistance of the Holy Spirit and the lavish graces of our Lord God. I touch briefly upon this event now, to point out how many excellent companions I had at the commencement of my missionary life. For of the three whom I have already mentioned two are glorious martyrs, and the third is a confessor, so that all three are now Saints in Paradise. To these I must add a fourth, who, though still living, has nevertheless a good earnest of the Kingdom of Heaven which is promised to those *qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam*, for he has suffered much for the profession of our holy faith in his long imprisonment, having been sent by the College of Douay to preach as a Priest on that mission. His name is Thomas Standish. He was returning from Rome, where he had been to arrange some matters connected with this mission, and came to Brussels whilst I was there. The companionship of this excellent Priest seemed most opportune, especially because it seemed that, having been to and fro between England and the Continent, he could conduct us both by the best road. And yet, to tell things as they happened, it was owing to him that we all but fell into the hands of our enemies, as will soon appear.

We, that is to say, the aforesaid Priest, Raphael, and myself, left Brussels in January, 1598, and soon arrived at Antwerp. Thence we walked to Middleburg, the principal city of the island of Zeeland, hoping to find one of the

¹ The word *Beato* is here erased.

ports of that island convenient for embarking for England, although all the ports, and the whole country round, were occupied by hereties, and consequently dangerous to enter, the more so because the English Queen had garrisoned with her own men the principal fortified town, Flushing. Indeed, had I known the state of the country and what was awaiting me, I do not think I could have been induced to take that route. We embarked, however, in the Scheldt in very severe wintry weather, such that I never remember to have experienced in all my life cold more intense than it was that day and night. Whilst we were on our way to Lillo¹ we were exceedingly inconvenienced and endangered by the floating masses of ice that the river brought down upon us. When we got to Lillo, one among our company thought it would be best to pass the night in the boat, for this place was a Dutch fortress and on the Spanish frontier, and it was probable that they would pry curiously into our doings. If so, we could not hide them, or pass forth under false colours, as would be needful, so that we should be in imminent danger of being taken. But my advice was that we should disembark, as the cold was so unusually bitter, especially considering what we had suffered the previous night, which to me seemed intolerable, for under these circumstances we should attract the attention of the garrison far more by remaining. They would be astonished to see men who could come ashore and enjoy the advantages of fuel and shelter, choose rather to die of cold in a boat on the river, still more as we could not possibly start before the next morning, as that is the custom of the place with regard to the boats that go to and come from Antwerp. So, unless we landed, we should certainly give occasion to those who visited the boat in the usual way to wonder at us, and come to suspect what was really the case. It was with difficulty that I could

¹ A fortress nine miles N.W. of Antwerp, built by the Dutch in 1584.

persuade that good Priest and another gentleman who chanced to be our fellow-passenger to Middleburg.

As my own reasons appeared good, and I could not imagine the grounds of their objections, their opposition seemed strange ; but in fact they had reasons, and perhaps better than mine, but they did not divulge them to me, perhaps because they feared lest I should be terrified. Beyond all question the danger was plain, whether we went ashore or remained in the boat. But whilst we were discussing the matter, a man came to ask if we wished to disembark, as night was coming on and the city gates would soon be shut. To show that we were not hesitating or deliberating I asked a number of questions, as to the hour of opening the gates in the morning, when the tide turned, if we could get the examination of our boat done that night, exhibiting merely eagerness and desire to get quickly to Middleburg, and no sign of fear of landing. Finding it to be impossible to sail before morning, I leapt ashore forthwith, and going on before the others made show of unusual gladness, the better to cover the fear which my companions showed. We were shown a lodging in a public-house, but as soon as the Priest my companion entered it he changed all sorts of colours and retired into a corner. This displeased me somewhat, fearing lest others should see it, so going up to him I asked him the reason of what he was doing. His answer was, "This is the house in which, so many months ago, I was taken in my journey to Rome ; here I lost my reliquary, which was a cross of gold, and was threatened with being sent a prisoner to England, as it was plain, by the Breviary I carried and by other signs, that I was a Priest, and, as they said, a traitor to the Queen. And now I am hiding myself, not to be recognized by these very persons who then for a considerable sum of money set me free. If they were to try to play the same trick upon me again it

would be far worse than before, for now I have not the means of satisfying them with money." These words cleared up for me the cause of the great difficulty he made about leaving the boat, thinking it better to bear that tremendous cold amid the ice than to have a thousand bad nights in England. Perhaps I should have been of the same opinion if he had told me this story a little sooner, and I could not help telling him then and there that I thought it very imprudent in him to have come that road when he had such risk before him in that place ; but that my advice was that he had no choice now but to pass it off the best way he could, without showing any fear, not to draw attention to himself. For the rest, he had better leave everything to me, and not meddle with anything at all.

Then I called Raphael, who spoke Flemish moderately well, and told him to try to find something to occupy the people of the house, that they might not have time to stand about idly looking at us, and that I would attend to some English soldiers whom the report of our arrival had brought together. They came as usual under pretext of a visit of civility, but in reality to see who we were, and at least to get their suppers that evening. It seems to me that this occurrence came from God, for this was Ash Wednesday, and on the following Friday two others of our Fathers,¹ Father Thomas Lister and Father Edward Coffin, after having escaped all other perilous passes in the ports of England, whence they

¹ Thomas Lister, born in Lancashire, entered the English College, Rome, Sept. 15, 1579, *æt.* 20, and the Novitiate Feb. 20, 1583, where he was a fellow-novice of Mutius Vitelleschi, afterwards General of the Society. He made his studies at Mussipont, where he took the degree of D.D. in 1592. Stonyhurst MSS., Father N. Southwell's *Catalogus primorum Patrum*, p. 23. Father Gerard tells us that he was at Henlip with Father Oldcorne.

Edward Coffin, born in the diocese of Exeter, appears first in the books of the English College at Rome as a pilgrim, July 17, 1588, entered there as a student in September, 1589, and was sent thence to England as a Priest, March 10, 1592. When he was taken in Holland with Father Lister he was on his

came as obedience called, and other places of these heretical States, either because they were too quiet and modest, or because they could not pass themselves off as the occasion required, were taken in that very house, and in the room we occupied, and were brought to Middleburg a day before our arrival in that city, as I will directly mention.

But before doing anything else I got a bed ready for that good Priest who accompanied me, as if he were not well, that so he might keep out of sight without arousing suspicions. Raphael ordered them to make an excellent fire, notwithstanding the great price of firewood in that place, and to get ready a good supper, ordering one thing after another in a good-humoured way. The soldiers were very well pleased to have fallen on liberal people, who would give them a good supper that night. I stopped with them, talking of all sorts of things, asking them various questions about the country and the war, until they asked me to play a game with them. That confused me a little, for to have refused would have had a suspicious look. Not knowing how was the only excuse that one could make with people like them, and that would not agree with my profession, which for the nonce was that of a swordsman; and to go on talking about the war was hardly less dangerous, for that is a trade of which I was totally ignorant, and that would soon be found out. So I agreed to play, and named a certain game that is played with dice and little pieces,

way to the Novitiate, having been received into the Society by Father Garnet, Jan. 13, 1597⁸. He spent his Noviceship, and indeed his first five years of Religious life, in prison, having been sent from Holland to England, where he was imprisoned, first in Newgate and then at Framlingham, whence he was sent into banishment on the accession of James I. in 1603. After this he spent twenty years at Rome as Confessor of the English College, and there was professed of the four vows. He was on his way back to England when he died at St. Omers, April 17, 1626, *at.* 56, *Soc.* 28. Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. N.*, i., p. 21; Southwell's *Bibliotheca Scriptor. S. J.* Romæ, 1676, p. 185.

which in England is called "the Irish game." Twenty years since I had seen the game, but happily I had not forgotten it, but before beginning I protested that I must go to bed directly after supper, as I had suffered so much the day and night before.

Meanwhile Raphael took my companion something to eat, and when supper was ready we had our meal, directly after which we sent the soldiers away and went to bed. We were congratulating ourselves on having got safely through the danger, but the good Priest had the panic on him still, remembering that the time before he had been taken when in bed at night. It pleased our Lord that we should pass that night in peace, and in the morning before daybreak I got up to settle accounts with our host and to pay the usual port dues, that as soon as the gates were open we might embark without further delay. This we did, yet not so early but that we had for a companion one of the soldiers who had supped with us. By this the good Priest became persuaded, so that it was impossible to get him free of the fear, that the soldier was sent with us as a guard to Middleburg, that we might be taken there. To tell the truth there was some reason for his fear, as the night before the man had not given us any inkling of his intention, and had waited for the hour and almost the minute of our departure. Just before reaching Middleburg we passed a fort held by the English, called the Castle of Ramikins. There we fully expected to be examined, but by God's favour we reached Middleburg without any hindrance. When we got there we went with our soldier into a tavern and gave him something to drink, after which he left us, and we went into a private lodging. This was a house kept by a certain Anabaptist, where we remained until our departure for England. That is to say, we stopped there for six weeks, for all that while we were unable to obtain a passage such as would content my

companion, who advanced first one reason, then another, all of them arising from his timidity. At last I was forced to resolve to leave him; but it pleased our Lord that, notwithstanding all the difficulties, we should reach England in good fellowship, more by chance than of set purpose, as I will relate.

We had not been in Middleburg more than a day or two when our host came to tell us that there was talk through all the city of the capture of two Jesuits at Lillo. By this news my companion was a little disturbed, doubting whether they had not got to know of our passing through that place, and were therefore in search of us; but we soon learnt the truth, that is, that two Fathers had been taken, and were brought prisoners to Middleburg, where they were to remain till letters came from England to say what the Queen's Council wished to be done with them. How they came to be taken, and what they suffered in that prison, they can relate better than I. This only will I say, that when I heard the news I planned to visit them and help them in the best way I could. There was in that city a Flemish merchant, a good Catholic, Arnold Fatter by name, in whom we put great trust. I begged him to go in person and visit them, and to ask Father Thomas Lister whether he knew a person called Oswald Tesimond, as he was in the city and desirous of seeing him, and begged to know in what way he could best carry out his wish. The good Arnold hesitated some days whether he would run the risk of such a visit, and at last gave it up, not daring to go in person for fear of being noticed and calumniated by the heretics; but he sent by the keeper of the prison to ask Father Thomas whether he knew such a one, naming me, without saying that I was in Middleburg, or anything else. The question good Father Thomas thought very strange, having had no news of me for many years, and not dreaming that I was in that city; and though he immediately remembered me when the

question was asked him, he replied by asking what such a question meant; and that answer was brought me by Arnold without telling me that he had made the heretical keeper of the prison his messenger, perhaps because he perceived that he had betrayed my name, and so had brought me into no slight danger. Nevertheless, after some days I went to the prison, and showing a desire to see, for novelty and curiosity's sake, what sort of men Jesuits were, of whom one heard so much, giving the keeper something to drink, I got leave to enter and to talk to them at my ease. Those good Fathers were greatly consoled at the sight of me. When we had comforted one another and had talked awhile, I gave them to understand that when they wanted anything, I had left orders with the merchant Arnold to help them with all that they could want, and that on the credit that my friends had given me he would not fail to procure them whatever they might ask. This was shortly before my departure from Middleburg for England, and they availed themselves afterwards of that merchant's money to obtain their release from prison; but the business was so badly managed that they were taken again and sent into England, where they were long kept in prison, as they themselves can declare in narratives of their own.

Now our expenses daily increasing in the city of Middleburg, where owing to the war everything was very dear, and such a long delay causing me great regret, I took a resolve which at first sight looked very dangerous, but which our Lord prospered. It was to go and try to find a passage at Flushing, one of those military places that the Queen of England held, and which the present King holds now. It was garrisoned with her troops, and held as a pledge for the monies lent by her to the States. It was about three or four miles from Middleburg, and in the same island.

As I saw that the danger was very great if I treated

with the soldiers as an Englishman, I went in company of sundry Italian merchants as one of their nation and a friend of theirs. The Priest my companion and Raphael went with me, but we all kept apart, as they did not know Italian; and in order that we might not all be taken together if we fell into danger. To cut the story short, in that port we immediately found several ships about to sail. We agreed with the master of a Flemish or Dutch vessel, a heretic; and that same day we embarked, but the wind was foul, and after coasting awhile and afterwards tacking, we found we could make no headway. There were some thirty or forty ships in all, and we returned to port.

Here I do not know what happened, or what question was put to the Priest or to Raphael, but he began to think that there was such danger in that seaport town that, come what might, he determined to go back to Middleburg. Not to let him go alone, I gave him Raphael for a companion, giving Raphael, however, express orders that he should return to Flushing the next morning extremely early, for I intended by God's grace to leave in the first ship that set sail from the port. I told him also, if possible, to bring Father Thomas with him. The next morning at daybreak I went down to the port to arrange about embarking, though the wind still continued foul. I found all the masters had agreed to sail, though they would have to tack and perform in four or six days what is usually done in one, for their merchandize, chiefly fish, was getting spoiled by such a long stay as this that they were making by waiting such a time for a fair wind. I was just embarking when Raphael came with the news that my companion was not coming, partly because he saw that the same wind was still blowing, and that while it was in that quarter he thought we could not sail, and partly not to expose himself again to the dangers that haunted him. Therefore we two went on board, though we were sorry to leave him behind. We had made some way as best we

could with that wind, when a long way off on the beach I espied the good Priest, who finding himself alone in the house and very lonely after Raphael's departure, set out after him, and arriving too late, saw all the fleet of ships under sail. He wanted to take a boat to reach us (which could have been easily done, as we were tacking up and down rather than making progress), but he did not know which was ours amongst so many ships, and did not dare to ask. Having compassion upon him, I urged the master of the ship to make a signal. This he perceived, and taking a felucca or row-boat, he came to meet us as we tacked in shore, and we took him on board, to his great satisfaction and our own.

There was but one other passenger sailing in this ship, an English Puritan. Our voyage lasted four days (twenty-four hours would have been enough with a fair wind), and during that time his presence caused us some inconvenience by taking from us the liberty that otherwise we might have had among ourselves, but he was afterwards the means of our escape from a danger, as I shall have to tell. During these few days we ate nothing but some raw salt herrings, and but little of them, as we were not used to that kind of food. There was nothing else to be found, as we had embarked in haste and had made no provision.

As we entered the Thames, two royal pinnaces came to meet us, one a good while after the other, to see what we were. It happened that of all the thirty or forty ships we were the first. For this reason, having all the others to visit, they did not stay long with us: but the fear of my companion was a sight to see, for his legs shook in such a way that fearing lest the crew of the pinnace should perceive it, I made him sit on the ship's boat, and took it on myself to make all the replies. His fear was greater still when the second pinnace came, and with more reason, for they wanted to know all about us, and asked the master of our ship whether he was acquainted with us.

He promptly answered yes, and that we were traders. I was astonished at the readiness of the master, and so afterwards I banteringly asked him how he could say he knew us when he had never seen us before, and further had said that the Puritan was my servant, when he knew the contrary. He said he did it to set us free from those people who under pretext of the royal commission look for nothing but money, alleging that passengers are either people under suspicion, or soldiers who had deserted, or some similar invention, detaining them till they were satisfied with money if possible, and if not, then with the vexation of the poor passengers.

If that had happened to us, the fear of my companion would have been quite enough to show who we were. His panic was so great that he kept on saying that the two pinnaces were come out expressly for us, and that certainly they would come back to look for us; and he never got quit of this fear until we had lost sight of those vessels.

As we drew near London, our master gave us news of another pass, far more dangerous than any we had yet encountered. He told us that the galleon that we saw not far off, at a village called Gravesend, on the river, not more than twenty miles from London, was stationed there on purpose to examine everybody that went up the river to London, with orders to detain all whom they accounted suspicious persons. Here I began to doubt, and with good cause, as it seemed to me, whether we were not to be shipwrecked in port. As we were now close upon the galleon, and there was no time or place for consultation, I called my new servant, the Puritan I have mentioned, and said to him, "Come here, George," (that was his name); "this time you will be kept here as a deserter, and though you can prove the contrary, you will be badly used till you prove it. Now, do what I tell you. Perhaps you know one of the merchants who

come to Gravesend." He answered that he did, and that once he had been servant to one. "Well, then," said I, "get on the prow of the boat by my side, and before these people begin to speak to you and examine you, shout out and ask them whether your master has not left orders that if a boat like ours came, we were to find him at Gravesend, or whether he has left word how long it would be before he came."

George began his questions while we were yet a good way off, answering their replies so excellently and with such details, that they on board the galleon, instead of examining us, were examined by us; and George showed such anxiety at getting no news of his master, and was so sorry, and so unwilling to believe their answers, that he kept the men of the galleon in talk until we were so far from them that words could not be distinguished. So we were free of that trouble that the ship-master and everybody else on board expected.

Having gone past the galleon, and sailed some miles up the river, we met some passenger boats, which on that river are very numerous, and taking one of them, we were set ashore a mile or two before reaching the city. We arrived on the 9th of March, 1598.¹ My companion left me at a house to wait his return, while he went to the house of a gentleman, by name Sir John Fortescue, Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe, where he was known. Not long after, he came back, saying that he had knocked at the door, but that no one came, and that he was afraid to stop at the door as he did not know what was the matter. It seemed better to him that I should go, and if I could find that gentleman, or any confidential person, that I should give them the news of his arrival, and beg them to give us shelter for that night.

As I was thoroughly inexperienced in these things, I made no great difficulty, and so I went and knocked at

¹ Writing in Italian Father Tesimond's dates are N.S.

the door for a long time before I got an answer from any direction. At last the brother of Sir John made his appearance. I asked him his name, and then told him that my companion was not far off, giving his name, and saying that at his request I was come to give them notice of his arrival, and to beg them to receive us for that night.

The gentleman was astounded, and for a short time kept silence, looking at me fixedly and with much disdain; and at last he spoke to me in such a way as to show that he suspected that I was a spy, or some one who had come to set a trap for him.¹ When I perceived this, I told him that I was sorry I had let the Priest persuade me to carry such a message, as he could have done it himself much better, for he was close at hand, and was known in that house, as he had told me; and that if I had made a mistake, the gentleman must pardon me, as I was an unpractised and inexperienced man, having not yet passed one full hour since my arrival in London; and so I would go and tell my companion that when he thought proper, he must come himself, as he ought for every reason to have done in the first instance. At these words the gentleman began to feel a little more safe, and asking me some details about my companion and other things relating to Catholics, and having received what he thought sufficient satisfaction, he said to me that I must not be surprised at the coldness that he had shown me, for matters were in such straits with him and with all his family, that at the first words I spoke to him of my companion and his arrival, he had a thousand thoughts what to say and what to think. The very night before, he said, the whole house had been upset, for the Queen's officers had been there with the pursuivants, in search of some Priests of whom they had had notice that they were to be found there, and that by name they had asked for that companion of mine, who

¹ "Per coglierlo in qualche falso latino." *Orig.*

it was said had already come back to England. He never remembered such a storm as they had thus had all the night, those cursed folk having turned everything upside down. Two or three Priests were there, one of whom was of our Society, Father Joseph Pollen by name ; but by God's favour they took none of them, as they had had time enough to conceal themselves in the hiding-places that were made on purpose for such assaults. They had, however, carried away everything that had any sign of Catholic faith or practice, as books, pictures, church vestments or altars. They had also taken the master of the house, his brother, Sir John, away with them, together with his wife and children, and they greatly feared that Sir John would lose his office of Keeper of the Wardrobe. In point of fact, some time after he did lose it, though not on that occasion, as he had many friends and relations at Court. What afflicted him more than anything else, was the danger in which those young children were, in the power of those savage wolves, and especially two little girls, who were held to be the fairest in London. He ended by saying that I had indeed proved I was new and inexperienced in that mission by having come at such a time, that is, openly in broad daylight, to a house that was so well known to be Catholic, and that the danger at that particular time was very plain and very great, on account of the number of spies who were all about. He therefore counselled me to return, together with my companion, to some safe place, and let that storm calm down a little. For that night he would provide us a lodging. It was at the house of a Protestant friend of his. We went there in company of a younger brother, as friends and companions of his, extremely late at night, with the excuse that at that late hour we could not get into our own house.

A good part of that night I spent in thoughts and discussions with myself what sort of a life this was that

I was now beginning ; of how many perils it was full, if at the very outset, and at my first steps forward, I had found so many ; and in consequence of how great a grace of our Lord I and all on that mission stood in need, who laboured in a vineyard with such fatigue, or more truly, who were warring and fighting in so dangerous a campaign. I prayed to our Lord to come to my aid, and resolved on the following morning to find, if possible, the place of residence of the Superior of the Mission, who at that time was Father Henry Garnet. This thought of mine I communicated to my companion. He directed me where he thought it probable that I might get news of him, that is, to certain intimate friends of the Society, for the place where that Father lived was known to a very few persons, who could be thoroughly trusted. I went where he sent me, and in a few hours had the information I desired, with directions how to find the place and the house. It was about twelve or thirteen miles from London, near a village called Uxbridge, and the name of the house was Morecroftes. I and my companion walked thither, and arrived there an hour or two before sunset. We were received with the warmest welcome and the greatest imaginable charity. I found with Father Henry two or three other Fathers of the Society who had come to confer with him on their affairs. This they were accustomed to do, one at one time and another at another.

We had been with Father Henry two or three days at most, when one day towards evening a man came out from London on purpose to tell us that the Privy Council had had notice of that house, and that that night, without doubt, the Queen's officers would come to search it. It was a perfect marvel, and as such I noted it at the time, to see the great peace and serenity of soul that Father Henry showed when he heard this news. In truth, he proved himself to be an old soldier and experienced captain,

accustomed to such assaults. Without being the least disturbed, he spoke to all with his usual modest cheerfulness, bidding them recommend to our Lord the necessities of that house, and, after taking some corporal refreshment to enable them to walk during the night, get themselves ready as best they could to go one in one direction and one in another, following either the directions that he gave, or that they knew how to take. There were some, on the other hand, who showed great signs of fear, bringing all sorts of reasons to show how impossible it was to escape so urgent and manifest a danger. Good Father Henry, whom I afterwards saw perfectly calm as he was now on some ten other occasions in dangers greater than this, consoled and strengthened them all by a few grave words. He gave orders to hide in the hiding-places, which had long since been prepared for such an occurrence, everything that could show that the house belonged to Catholics, as books, altar vestments, pictures, and everything of the sort; and then he stowed away all things of greater value. Lastly, when it was dark he sent away those that were guests or strangers, that they might return to their usual dwelling-places. Amongst these was I, the new comer, whom he directed until he otherwise disposed of me, to go towards London, with directions that some of us should wait for him at a village called Brentford, about half way between the house we were leaving and London. His object was that we should go together to another house he had in London, which he kept on purpose to be able to retire to it in similar emergencies.

We walked almost all that night, till near daybreak on the following morning, by roads that were unknown to us—mere byways, lest we should meet the officers who we supposed would come by the Queen's highway. We did not even all go by the same paths, but some one way and some another. It was scarcely possible to see where to

put our feet, and yet, though it was a march on foot and by night, I was so extraordinarily sleepy that never in all my life do I remember to have felt the like. So I could hardly lift a foot, and I stumbled at every step.

The most of us arrived at the place already mentioned in Brentford, where we waited a good while for Father Henry, not without fear lest he should have met the Queen's officers on the road, for we hoped to have found that he had arrived there long before us, as he was on horseback. However, he and his guide, trying to avoid the high-road, lost their way; so our joy was all the greater when we saw him arrive at last safe and sound.

Brentford is about six or seven miles from London, and on the river Thames, and from it by a boat one can get to London both easily and quickly. This was no slight advantage for us, as we were very wearied with our night's walk. So we got into a boat, and reached our house in the suburbs of London, near a place called the Hospital [Spitalfields]. This house served us for some time without being discovered or known by the heretics. It was a wonderful thing how our Lord constantly set His servants free from the hands of their enemies, just when they made the greatest efforts, and in their opinion were most sure of taking them.

This very house after a time came to their knowledge, and they were waiting for nothing but the return of Father Henry to take him with all the household, as they always try to do, and as most certainly they would have done here, if the good Father had not, in what might be called a miraculous manner, received warning of it all.

How this happened¹ may be best learnt from Brother John Lilly, who was at that time in the Tower of London. It was he who by a note warned a friend of his of the danger, as of a positive certainty and to befall them very

¹ This story is also told by Father Gerard, in his *Life*, p. cxliii. It happened in July, 1599.

soon, as they were only waiting for Father Henry's return to possess themselves of that house. He could tell the story more minutely and with all its circumstances. To put my recollections of it down briefly: One day the Lieutenant of the Tower, a man of great cruelty towards Catholics, but above measure hostile to our Society, asked him whether he knew Father Garnet's house, which was that of Mrs. Anne Vaux, and of her sister Mrs. Brooksby, and he saying "No," the Lieutenant said out loud, "That is right; if you do not know it, we do, and we are so certain about it that we expect soon to have him in our hands. I would never have told you this if I were not sure that you are a close prisoner, and that you cannot possibly let Garnet know or anybody else." He then named the place and the house, being unable to contain himself for joy at the expectation of his speedy capture.

Good John Lilly was extremely afflicted at the news, and all the more that he knew that he could not get it to the ears that ought to hear it, for he was kept in such strict custody in that prison. Those who are close prisoners there are to all intents and purposes dead men, for no one can communicate with them or obtain any intelligence of them. But it was the will of our Lord that the great diligence and anxiety of John Lilly should be rewarded by his finding favour with his gaoler, that he undertook to carry for him a note to a friend. The gaoler understood nothing but that it contained a request for certain things that he stood in need of in the prison; but this was the way by which the peril became known, and it was avoided by the abandonment of that house. Many similar dangers the good Father escaped, which I have heard related, but as I do not remember the details I leave them to others who know them better than I. Those noble ladies I have mentioned could give account of several.

We came to London, as I have said, and I remained in that house with Father Henry for some weeks, until a request came that I should go to the house of a person of note. I then began to labour in that vineyard, gaining by little and little those souls whom it pleased our Lord to help by my means. As labours like these are ordinary enough, I could only relate of the eight years that I stayed in England what befalls all those who work in that vineyard: that is, fatiguing journeys on foot, sufferings of every kind, and, above all, the frequent and almost daily perils of falling into the hands of our enemies, who are extremely vigilant, and employ every means to take the Priests, and particularly Jesuits, who are scattered up and down the country seeking to gain the souls that heresy is destroying.

Though I was never taken, I often had such narrow escapes that I have since seen that it did not please our Lord to make use of me in any way but that in which I was engaged. I will briefly relate one or two cases.

When the holy Father Roger Filcock was taken, with whom, as I have said before, I sailed from Spain to Calais in France, he got to know a few days before his martyrdom that a certain great spy, who knew both him and me very well, had purposely taken a room in the street in which he suspected that I lived. In this he was not far wrong, for the house to which I usually resorted when I came to London, was directly opposite that in which he had taken a room from which to spy me out. Good Father Roger managed to have me warned of the danger. After I had had the warning, I neither went in nor out of that house except at night, and by other doors, one of which opened on another street, and another on the river Thames, and even this with the greatest caution. I let my beard grow so long as to change my appearance very much; and in this way I spent some months. During this time he met me more than once, but did not know me sufficiently well

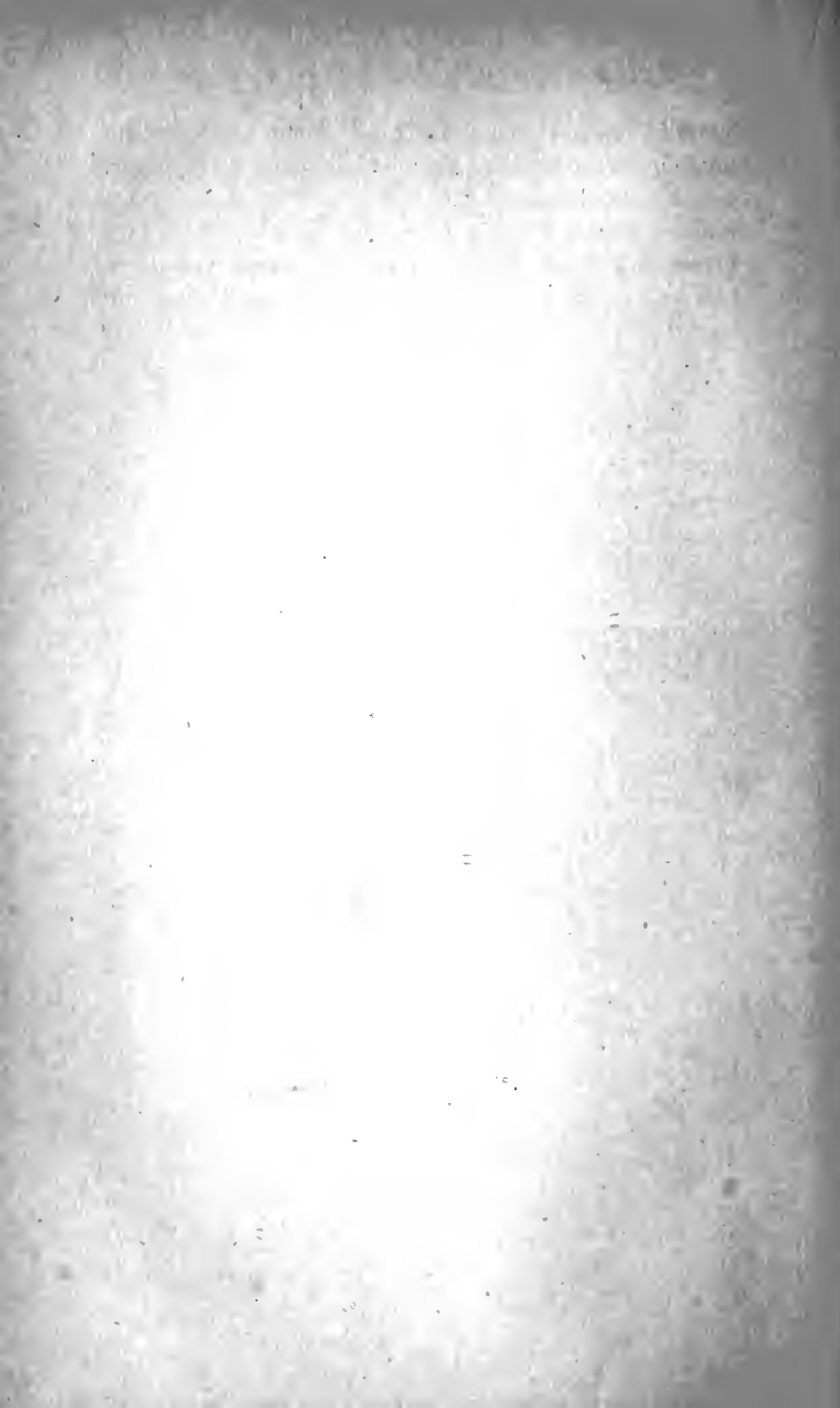
to induce him to take me. This I afterwards knew from himself, and in the following manner.

One day I was in company with some Catholic lords and knights, who were well known in London to be such. As I left the house with some of them, the spy I was speaking of was in the street, and as he knew very well that the gentlemen with whom I was were Catholics, he looked more attentively at me than he had done before, and yet he could not altogether make up his mind that I was the man of whom he was in search. He waited until I bade them good-bye, and then remained in a passage down which I had passed in order to reach a meadow, a way I had taken in order to get free from the houses. I had passed him where he stood without thinking of him, or of meeting any other molestation in that quiet place, when I heard somebody salute me in Spanish with these words, "Guarda Dios a Vuestra Merced." At once I turned my head to see who had spoken, when who should I see coming quickly towards me but the spy. He knew that I understood Spanish, and seeing me turn my head, he felt sure that I was the man he was looking for. At that moment I perceived that it was the spy whom I was trying to avoid. I waited where I was with more courage in my face than in my heart; indeed I went towards him, and taking him by the hand I congratulated myself on having met him after so long a time that I had not seen him. I entertained him with good words until I had led him aside to some little distance from the public footpath in that meadow. It then occurred to him that he was without help, and that I had led him on purpose to that solitary place; so he began to try to make me understand that he wished me no harm, but that certain other spies (and he named them to me) had begged of him to help them to take me, and that therefore I must be on the look out. I told him plainly what I had heard of him, and bade him leave such evil designs and reconcile

himself anew to God and His holy Church, promising him my help. And further I promised that if I were satisfied with his proceedings I would provide him a master with whom he could live like a Catholic. He made a show of hearing all this with content and pleasure, and bringing him to a place where I had nothing more to fear from him, I got away from him for that time, to the great surprise of those who knew how long and with what pains he had been trying to take me.

From that time forward I gave up walking through the streets of London with the boldness I had shown, but either went in a boat on the river, or through the suburbs and less frequented streets. But notwithstanding, a few months after the last adventure, passing once by a lane towards the house where I usually lived, all of a sudden, at the top of the lane I met the same spy once more, close by a churchyard, in the midst of which was a church. He came towards me and said something to me to stop me; while I for my part, pretending to be in a very great hurry on important business, said he must excuse me that time if I did not stay to talk with him; and leaving him amazed at my warmth and vehemence, I jumped into the church and, as quickly as I could, out again by another door, and then twisting about in various lanes, we soon lost sight of one another.¹

¹ The manuscript ends abruptly here, and is evidently unfinished.



IV.

FATHER RICHARD BLOUNT

AND

SCOTNEY CASTLE.



FATHER RICHARD BLOUNT

AND

SCOTNEY CASTLE.

SCOTNEY CASTLE stands in the parish of Lamberhurst, about a mile and a half beyond the village on the road leading to Rye. It is reputed to be partly in Kent and partly in Sussex; the stream called the Bewle, which divides the counties, having once run through the centre of the ground plot upon which the house stands.¹ It was moated round, and had a strong stone gateway with towers, which, when Hasted wrote in 1782, "the late Mr. Darell" had pulled down.

It was possessed in the reign of King Henry III. by Walter de Scoteni, who in 1259 was hanged at Winchester for having poisoned Richard Earl of Gloucester and William de Clare his brother. About the middle of the reign of Edward III. it passed into the possession of the family of Ashburnham, and soon after the accession of Henry V. it was alienated to Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury, who dated one of his mandates from Scoteneye, April 3, 1418.²

The Archbishop settled the manor on Florence, one of the daughters of his youngest brother, William Chicheley of Higham Ferrers, co. Northampton, on her marriage with John Darrell, third son of William Darell, of Sesay in Yorkshire. William Darell and his wife were both buried at Little Chart in Kent, in 1491. Florence, who was herself the widow of Sir William Peche, Knt., was his second wife. The Darells, of Calehill in Kent, were descended from him by his first wife, Johanna, heiress of Valentine Barret of Perrycourt.³

¹ Horsfield's *Sussex*, 1835, vol. i., p. 411.

² Hasted's *Kent*. Canterbury, 1782, vol. ii., p. 380.

³ Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*. London, 1830, p. 165.

The manor of Scotney passed from father to son in unbroken descent for seven generations, till Arthur Darell, the last male heir of the line, died unmarried in 1720. It then passed to the elder branch of the family. Its new possessor was George, second son of John Darell of Calehill, by Olivia his wife (second daughter of Philip Viscount Strangford), and next brother to Philip Darell, of Calehill. The third and fourth sons, John and James, were Jesuits. The letter we are about to give was addressed by Father John Darell, then Rector of St. Omers, to his brother George, who was therefore alive in 1757, the year in which it was written. In 1774, John Darell, the son of George, sold Scotney.

In Father Blount's time the owner of Scotney was Thomas Darell, the third in descent from Archbishop Chicheley's niece. By his first wife Elizabeth, daughter of James Horne of Bethersden, co. Kent, he had three sons and two daughters. At the time of the search in his house, which our documents relate, he was married to his second wife, Alice, daughter of William Whetenhall, by whom he had two children, William and Rose. This William was the writer of the first of the two narratives that follow, as we learn from the endorsement of the Brussels copy, "Mr. Will. Darell about Mr. Blunt's escape out of his father's house, 1598." Father John Darell thinks that he was a child in the house at the time.

"The ancient family¹ of the Blounts is said to take its rise from the Blondi² or Biondi in Italy, and they from the Roman Flavii, both so called from their fair hair." Sir Robert, one of the three sons of Le Blond, Lord of Guisnes in France, came over with the Conqueror, by whom he was created Baron of Icksworth in Suffolk. From him descended Gilbert, who had two sons, William and Stephen. The last Baron of Icksworth was the

¹ Clifford's *History of Tixall*. Paris, 1417, p. 227.

² Father Blount latinizes his name as "Blondus," which leads us to prefer the form of the name as we have written it. Both forms of the name, "Blount" and "Blunt" were indiscriminately used. So with the owners of Scotney, Berry spells the name "Darrell" in his *Sussex Genealogies*, p. 165, and "Darell" in the *Kent Genealogies*, p. 102.

son of William, who was killed at the battle of Lewes in 1264. Sir Stephen Blount, his uncle, married Maria, heiress of Sir William Le Blound, of Saxlingham in Suffolk, who was the great grandson of Sir William, a brother of the Sir Robert who came over with the Conqueror, and obtained lordships in Lincolnshire. Sir William, grandson of Stephen, was Sheriff of Rutland in 1307 and 1314. He had three sons. From Sir Thomas Le Blound, the second son, who was steward of the household to Edward II., descend the Blounts of Maple-durham near Reading. Sir Walter, of Rock in Worcestershire, eldest son of Sir William, married Joan, heiress of Sir W. De Sodington. Sir John, his son, married Isolda, heiress of Thomas Lord Mountjoy. Their eldest son, Sir Thomas, was executed for his fidelity to Richard II., in 1399. His son Walter was created Lord Mountjoy in 1465, and was the ancestor of the Charles Lord Mountjoy who was made Earl of Devonshire, and of whose death in 1606 Father Gerard gives so sad an account.¹ Sir John Blount, second son of Sir John and Isolda, above mentioned, was ancestor, by his first wife, of Sir Walter Blount, who was created a Baronet in 1647, and by his second wife of the Blounts of Kinlet.

Father Richard Blount was of a Leicestershire branch of this great family. Margery, coheir of John Sutton of Osbaston in that county, married Walter,² the son of John Blunt of Blunt's hall, co. Stafford, "descended of those Blunts from whence came the Lord Mountjoy." The grandson of this Walter, Sir Thomas Pope Blount of Osbaston, co. Leicester, and Tittenhanger, co. Herts, Knight, was the elder brother of Father Richard Blount. Their father's Christian name was Walter, and the surname of their maternal grandfather was Love.

Richard Blount was one of the many zealous and able men, whom Oxford, in his time as in ours, has given to the Catholic Church. When nearly twenty, he left Oxford for Rome, entering the English College in 1584, and having relaid with greater exactness the foundations of sacred study by a full course of philosophy, he then drew his theology from the fountain head, and was ordained Priest at Rome. Father Cresswell was at that

¹ *Life*, p. xxxiii.

² Burton's *Leicestershire*. London, 1622, p. 210.

time Rector, and he sent the newly ordained Priest into Spain. He spent some months at Madrid, and thence he went to Valladolid, and on to Seville. In the latter city, probably with the intention of shedding some lustre on the English College newly founded there by the influence of Father Persons, Richard Blount publicly defended his Theses in Theology in the presence of the Cardinal. His short residence in these Colleges is recorded as having furnished an admirable specimen to their inmates of modesty and virtue, and to their founders of the fruits that might be expected from these new Seminaries.

In 1591 Father Persons arranged a plan for the entrance into England of Richard Blount and a numerous party of Priests. He applied to the Spanish Admiral to equip them as if they were sailors, who had formed part of the expedition against Spain under the Earl of Essex, and having been taken prisoners, were now duly released, with permission to return to England. In this disguise, on their arrival, they were taken before Lord Howard of Effingham, afterwards Earl of Nottingham, the English Lord High Admiral, and as they had made themselves so accurately acquainted with the details of the expedition, as to be able to answer all the questions that were put to them, they were without trouble or delay permitted to land. The stratagem came to Lord Burleigh's ears when it was too late, and the searches and inquiries ordered in consequence by the Privy Council were without result. Richard Blount found a home and a centre for his work with the Darells at Scotney.

About five years elapsed from the time of his landing in England as a Priest, before he was received into the Society. In a letter¹ to Father Persons, dated September 8, 1598, Father Garnet, who was then Vice-Prefect or Superior, says, "This day, being the Nativity of our Lady, Richard Blount hath made an end of his two years." His Novitiate had therefore been spent among the perils of the mission, and he was still a Novice when he was driven from Scotney in the manner our narratives describe.

At the time when he took his first vows there were in

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. P.*, f. 552.

England, including himself, fifteen Fathers¹ out of prison; while Father William Weston and Brother Ralph Emerson, were confined at Wisbeach, together with Ralph Bickley and Thomas Pound, who had been received into the Society, and were waiting till they could make their studies preparatory to the priesthood. This we learn from Father Garnet himself in a letter² to the Pope, dated October 30, 1598.

There is a paper in the Public Record Office,³ indorsed by the Earl of Salisbury, "A note of the Jesuits that lurk in England." As a specimen of the accuracy of the information that at least sometimes Cecil received from his spies, and for the sake of the valuable information it contains, it is worthy of insertion here.

THE NAMES OF THE JESUITS IN ENGLAND, WITH
THE CHIEF PLACES OF THEIR ABODE. —

- Mr. Garnet, with Mrs. Brooksby of Leicestershire, at Arundell House.
He hath lodgings of his own in London.
- Mr. Holtby, with Mr. Hodgson, at Heborne, three miles from Newcastle.
- Mr. Lister, with Mr. Cotton, of Warblington, in Hampshire.
- Mr. Bennett, with Mr. Barlow, of Pembrokeshire.
- Mr. Percie, with Mr. Fittes, in Essex.
- John Gerrard, with Mrs. Vaux and young Mr. Hastings.
- Gilbert Gerrard, with Edm. Fortescue's widow and young Mr. Hurlstone.
- Mr. Blunt, with Mr. Torrell [Darell], in Sussex.
- Mr. Bankes, with Mr. Wiseman, of Brodocke, in Essex.
- Mr. Oldcorne (*alias* Hutton), with Mr. Abington, of Worcestershire.
- Mr. Tissemond, with the Provincial, Garnet.
Henry Flud, in Newgate.
- Mr. Jones, with Mr. Lacon and Mr. Dracott, of Painsly, in Shropshire.
- Mr. Stanney, with the Countess of Arundel.
- Mr. Pullen, with the Lady Lovel and Mr. Porridge, of Kent.
- Mr. Coolinge, with Mr. Bentley, in Northamptonshire.
- Mr. Johnson, with Mr. Richard Thimbelby, in Lincolnshire.

¹ FF. Henry Garnet, Thomas Lister, Richard Holtby, Robert Jones, John Bennett, John Gerard, Edward Oldcorne, Thomas Stanny, John Percy, Edward Walpole, Richard Collins, Joseph Pollen, Richard Blount, Oswald Tesimond, and Richard Bankes.

² Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. P.*, f. 560.

³ *Domestic, James I.*, vol. vii., n. 50. It is misdated, "1604, Ap.?" for the Framlingham prisoners were banished in 1603, on James' accession.

Mr. Walpoole, with old Mr. Cotton, at Swanborow, in Sussex.

Mr. Perpoint, with Mr. Carvyle, in Norfolk.

Mr. Oven, with the Lady Clark, in Oxfordshire.

Mr. Edmonds, *alias* Weston, in the Tower.

Mr. Coffin, *alias* Hatton.

Mr. Bramston.

Mr. Emersham.

Mr. Bickly.

Mr. Pound, a Lay Jesuit.

Mr. Sheldon, a Lay Jesuit.

Mr. Hollywood.

Mr. Hoskins.

Mr. Sicklemore.

Mr. Archer.

Mr. Baldwin.

Prisoners at Frammyingham.

From Scotney Father Blount passed to the house of a lady of rank, and her house was his home for the remainder of his life. The risks that he had run had taught him the absolute necessity of caution, if any good was to be done by him at all. Besides the dangers at Scotney, he had narrowly escaped capture when Father Robert Southwell was taken. He was on his way to meet that holy martyr at Mrs. Bellamy's house at Harrow, when it so happened that he was disappointed of a horse that he had expected would be provided for him, and thus he was obliged to spend a night longer on the road than he had intended. The delay saved his life. This was, by the date of Father Southwell's martyrdom, before his admission into the Society.

All these perils made Father Blount so cautious that, though when he died he had been more than forty years a Jesuit, and twenty-one years Superior in England, and though he wrote and received numberless letters, yet the place where he lived was so well kept secret that we are in ignorance of it now. We know only that it was in London, from the following passage in a letter written by him to Father Persons, dated April 8, 1602. "My abode at this present is, and so hath been for some years, altogether in London."¹ It is said that Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was acquainted with his dwelling-place, but that he would make no use of the knowledge, from a kindly remembrance of the time they had spent together in Oxford,

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. M.*, f. 95.

and out of respect for the lady in whose house Father Blount resided. The house was, however, occasionally searched, notwithstanding this friendly feeling on the part of one of the chief persecutors of the Catholics. The care taken to maintain secrecy was so great that for fifteen years Father Blount kept himself out of sight of the domestics, and on the rare occasions when business took him from home he left the house and re-entered it by night. One of the servants of the household became a spy and betrayer of Priests, and thus showed that such precautions were far from unnecessary for a man who felt that he had a work to do on earth, as Father Blount, having the work to do, can hardly have failed to have felt. One of his sayings was characteristic, when asked to go out of the house for anything but for sheer and simple duty. "If I am taken," he would answer, "I should like to be taken as a Priest, and not as an idler."

A few extracts from his letters will show the state of Catholics under Elizabeth and James I.

To Father Persons,¹ October 22, 1600, he wrote: "We are all well, and follow our accustomed trade with good gain, for our customers (thanks be to God) do daily increase, which is perceivable even to our enemies, and hath caused the Chief Justice to complain very bitterly to Her Majesty now of late of the great multitudes of Catholics in this land.

"The persecution was never more hot than at this instant, for albeit for policy sake they are not so bloody altogether as in time past, yet do they otherwise more grievously by many degrees afflict the Catholic part than by death itself. It would grieve your heart to hear the hourly general complaints of all that sort of the most inhuman and conscienceless dealing towards them, whole families daily ruined, of all such as are not able to pay the 20*l.* monthly, or did omit to pay it at their first conviction; not being afterward admitted to pay if they would, but two parts of all their lands to be forfeited to the Queen, and all their goods and all arrearages of the 20*l.* monthly to be levied upon them notwithstanding. And this is prosecuted in every shire with great violence by the Chief Justice Popham, principally that no

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. M.*, f. 96.

former conveyances of land will take place, no law will be allowed on that behalf, nor no lawyer can be hired to plead their case, and oftentimes their very beds they lie upon, pots and pans and all their household stuff, are sold before their faces, and this kind of dealing is exercised upon one and the self-same person, so long and so often as anything is to be found to seize upon for the Queen. Wherein the patience of Catholics doth much edify, and many (otherwise averse from their religion) do greatly compassionate their miseries."

In another letter¹ to Father Persons shortly after (November 18, 1600), he says: "Sir, I wrote unto you in my last . . . of the present persecution, . . . the severity and fury whereof daily increaseth. The Lord Chief Justice Popham, the only man of name that persecuteth with all main, all hard and violent courses, contenteth not himself to lay the rigour of the law of 20*l.* monthly upon all gentlemen, but likewise extendeth it to their wives; . . . which course of his, howbeit many of good worth, both Judges and noblemen, have openly contradicted as contrary to the meaning of the Parliament, yet can they not prevail. But this course he taketh with all, viz., he sendeth for by warrant all such gentlemen whose wives are known recusants, and giveth them six months' respite to work their wives' conformity (as they term it), at the end of which time they are bound to appear again, and if then, their wives not conforming themselves, they refuse to pay the 20*l.* monthly for them (for by law the husband is not chargeable for the wife's debt), then they are committed to prison, and there lie without hope of bail till they shall condescend unto it. And this doth touch chiefly schismatics, whose wives for the most part are all recusants, and many Protestants, besides Catholics.

"Also, in every shire, there are some by the Chief Justice his warrant appointed to seize upon the goods and cattle of all such recusants as are not of ability to answer the full value of the statute, whereupon, one seeking to rescue his cattle that were

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., *Father Grene's Collectan. M.*, f. 96. We have but few of Father Blount's original letters. These are taken from Father Christopher Grene's extracts. The spaces in our text show the omissions made by him in transcribing.

driven out of his ground, had his leg piteously cut and his life thereby endangered. Another gentleman of good account, named Mr. Anthony Medcalf, was beaten down from his horse and hardly escaped with life, and this is generally the course in all shires."

The demise of the Crown he mentions thus (May 4, 1603): "Queen Elizabeth died the 24th of our March, being our Lady's Eve, about two of the clock in the morning. The same day about eight of the clock was proclaimed King James."

Of the new King's unfavourable dispositions, and the little hopes of toleration for Catholics, he frequently speaks. "I do greatly marvel," he writes, August 24, 1603, "what motives you had to conceive so good hope of more facility now than before of our trading and trafficking here. Assure yourself the intercession of strangers (whereupon you and others seem to ground) will be of small moment where a contrary course is already settled and generally resolved on. I doubt not but of that point you know as much by this time as I can now possibly write, and we here all from the first beginning continue constant still in the same belief. And if haply you there swerve from us in opinion touching that affair, questionless you will find yourselves in fine deceived. Sig: Tommaso I have not seen these many months. The sickness is so general it disperseth friends and acquaintance; they cannot meet together with safety. Of Watson and Clarke being committed to the Tower for a supposed conspiracy; of certain Irish gentlemen that are also imprisoned for presuming to make a petition to the King for liberty of their religion, amongst other points, and of the King's answer, that he would rather lose his kingdom than tolerate Papistry, I doubt not but you hear particularly by others, as also of the continual jars between English and Scottish."

Another letter of the same year says: "The Irish are still in prison, and there like to continue. The King lately inveighed very bitterly against them for their insolency in presuming to demand toleration of religion for a whole country; whereas he should deal very graciously if he should grant that favour to four or five several persons. Whereunto Earl Mar replied that he hoped he should never live to see him grant it to any one.

Lord Cecil added that Papists were the fuel to nourish all treasons in a commonwealth. . . . So that the hopes of poor Catholics be all dashed, and they expect now a worse world than in the Queen's time."

Again, September 27, 1603: "The number of those that are dead of the plague within the space of eight weeks amounts to thirty thousand and odd within the liberties of London only, Westminster and Islington excepted."

And December 3, 1603: "G. Brook, Markham, Parham, Brooksby, Copley, Watson, Clarke, were all arraigned on 15th November: all condemned but Parham. Every one of them was accused by Watson. . . . Markham confessed his spleen to the Jesuits caused him to seek the acquaintance of Watson and Clarke."

Lastly two letters dated, the one March 6, the other June 3, 1605, say: "In matters of religion we find every day verified, *Semper deterior posterior dies.*"

"Catholics are in most miserable state: the persecution by many degrees passing all former times. The prisons in the north are full of Catholics. . . . The Sheriffs seize upon their cattle and goods, and sell them before their faces, for the King's use. . . . The King is possessed with so ill an opinion of Papists as he thinketh them unworthy to be tolerated in any commonwealth, and but the last day drunk very solemnly at dinner to the eternal damnation of all Papists."

The series of extracts from Father Blount's letters that we possess is confined almost exclusively to these years. Here, however, is one that is several years later in date:

From London¹ to Father Owen in Rome, December 10, 1614. "I suppose you are informed of our occurrents here: the state of Catholics most miserable. Many fall away daily. Those that stand, ruined in their temporalities. Priests daily imprisoned, and the number of the clergy and laity so great, as they are in danger to starve, the allowance of most amounting to about 18*d.* a week for defraying of all charges, and some nine of the Priests, by reason they cannot pay as the gaoler exacteth, are all this winter put down to the common prisoners, without fire, beds or

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. M.*, f. 95.

mats to lie on, and with a hundredweight of irons upon them : with which usage one is already dead, another is dying, and some others be sick."

If from Father Blount's letters we turn to the records of his missionary life, we shall find that they relate to quieter times. It is hardly interesting to be told without mention of names, with the habitual caution of the writers of that age, that he reconciled to the Church an Oxford dignitary, who thereupon selling his preferments, went to St. Omers with his wife, and there lived and died. More interesting are the following narratives, as we know to whom they refer.

Among Father Blount's converts was Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, Lord High Treasurer under Elizabeth and James I. Father Blount admitted him to the Sacraments not long before his death, and it was well for him that it was so, for "he died *anno* 1608 of an apoplexy, as he sat at the Council table, Queen Anne being then present."¹ Later on, Father Blount received a service from Sir Edward Sackville, Lord Dorset's younger son and successor. Recusant Papists were ordered into confinement by royal warrant, and Sir Edward had been moved by his uncle, Thomas Sackville, to include Father Blount in the number of those to be so treated. The Father, however, asked for a personal interview, and Sir Edward Sackville was so pleased with the candour and truthfulness of all his answers to the accusations that had been brought against him, that he obtained from the King the omission of Father Blount's name from the Privy Council list, and the withdrawal of the warrant from the hands of the pursuivants, to whom it had already been given.

A more curious story relates to Anne of Denmark, the Queen Consort of James I. It is known that "at her coronation, Queen Anne gave great scandal to her new subjects, by refusing to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England. This refusal caused Her Majesty to be grievously suspected of an affection to Popery."² Her biographer considers it an irrational suspicion: but that it was not so we learn from the

¹ *Peerage of England*. London, 1717, vol. i., p. 195.

² Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*. London, 1844, vol. vii., p. 409.

letter¹ to the General of the Society, which recounted the events of Father Blount's life, immediately upon its close.

Queen Anne "had been required in Scotland to forsake the Lutheran faith, in which she had been educated, for the Calvinistic; now she was required to communicate with the Church of England." No wonder that, as Father Blount's biographer says, she was "in religion very doubtful." She went so far as to beg Father Blount to give her the Sacraments, and he required from her, and obtained, a promise that she would observe the Pope's commands, and would cease to frequent the Protestant service. It was just before the birth of one of the Queen's children, and her confinement proving favourable, Anne openly attributed it to the efficacy of the Holy Eucharist. She did not, however, keep her promise not to attend Protestant services, but, overcome by the importunities of the Protestant Bishops, permitted herself to attend their prayers and sermons, though she never would go to their Communion service. The writer adds that Father Blount had occasional opportunities of speaking to her seriously and in a friendly manner on the sin she was committing, and that he doubts not that the Father would have been summoned to her at the last if her death had not been hastened by an over-copious bleeding.

Queen Anne had two children after her English coronation. Both Princesses were born at Greenwich, Mary on the 7th of April, 1605, and Sophia the 22nd of June, 1606. The latter only lived to be christened, and the mother "was herself very ill and weak for some time afterwards." It must therefore have been before the birth of Princess Mary that Queen Anne received the Sacraments of the Catholic Church. But her Catholicism cannot have been very deep. The child was the first royal infant in England that was baptized according to Protestant forms, and the Queen herself was churched in the chapel at Greenwich, according to the Common Prayer-book. And when the Queen came to die, she could hardly have been in the dispositions Father Blount's biographer supposes. "The Archbishop of Canterbury

¹ Archives de l'Etat, Brussels. The letter is dated June 1, 1638, O.S.; Father Blount died May 13. To it and to Father Henry More's *History of the English Province* we are largely indebted in this memoir.

said to her, 'Madam, we hope your Majesty will not trust to your own merits, nor to the merits of Saints, but only to the Blood and merits of your Saviour.' 'I do,' she answered; and withal she said, 'I renounce the mediation of Saints and my own merits, and only rely on my Saviour Christ, Who has redeemed my soul by His Blood.' Which declaration gave great satisfaction to the Prelates and those who heard her."¹ If she had been in heart a Catholic, she could and would have disclaimed placing her trust in any merits or mediation independent of, or separate from, our Blessed Lord; but she never could have said, "I renounce the mediation of Saints." That the question should have been asked her was, however, a sign that her leaning at one time to the Catholic Church was well known.

On one occasion at least Father Blount had an interview with King James. The King knew that he had done his best to frustrate Clarke's and Watson's plot, and to prevent Catholics from joining it; and so indeed did other Jesuits, and this fact ought to have protected the Society from any suspicion of complicity with the Powder Treason. It was a similar scheme, real or fictitious, for the assassination of King James, that brought Father Blount into his presence. A man who was either a fanatic or a rogue had gone to Rome, and there, making profession that he had suffered greatly in England for his religion, declared that it was his intention to kill the King. This coming to Father Persons' ears, he informed Cardinal Borghese, the Pope's uncle, who caused the adventurer to be put into prison. A letter was then written to King James, and sent for delivery to the Superior of the English Jesuits. Father Blount was considered to be the fittest person to be the bearer of it, and he rode post haste to Salisbury, where the King then was. Cecil was summoned to hear the letter read, and James very wisely resolved to pass the threat by in silence. He bore, however, a kindly recollection of Father Blount in consequence.

That which most troubled and pained Father Blount was the Protestantism of his family. One sister was a Catholic, but his brothers he could not move. His eldest brother, Sir Thomas

¹ Miss Strickland's *Lives of the Queens of England*, vol. vii., pp. 426, 430, 480.

Pope Blount, would interchange affectionate letters with him, but would never consent to see him. Father Blount had obtained a royal pardon for the offence of being ordained a Priest, and the King's leave to live undisturbed wherever he pleased, without entailing any danger to his entertainer. This not sufficing to embolden his brother, Father Blount had recourse to a stratagem, which, however, was unsuccessful. He presented to the King the singular petition that he might be imprisoned, and that his brother's house at Tittenhanger in Hertfordshire might be his place of confinement, and that his brother might be his gaoler. This account, written to the General after Father Blount's death, is corroborated by the petition itself,¹ which still exists among the State Papers. At this time he was in his seventy-fourth year. It was therefore the year before his death.

It was necessary for the consolidation of the English Province that Father Blount should lead the life of a Confessor rather than die the death of a Martyr. If Persons and Campion planted, it was Blount who watered, while God gave singularly large and rapid increase. We have seen what the numbers were when Blount entered the Society. In England, in 1598, there were in all nineteen Jesuits, of whom one was a Lay-brother, and two others were not Priests. In 1620, there were scattered throughout England one hundred and nine Jesuits,² and there were as many more English Jesuits on the Continent. There was, however, this difference, there was scarcely one in England who was not a Priest, while in Flanders the majority were either studying for the priesthood, or were Lay-brothers. The Novitiate, which was very shortly afterwards removed to Watten, was in 1620

¹ P. R. O., *Dom. Charles I.*, vol. cccviii., n. 68.

² In the London district 19
 ,, Suffolk 8
 ,, Hampshire 8
 ,, Stafford 10
 ,, Lancashire 12
 ,, Leicestershire 12
 ,, Lincolnshire 6
 ,, Yorkshire 7
 ,, Northamptonshire 11
 ,, Worcestershire 5

and in Wales 11. More's *History of the English Province*, p. 435.

at Liége under Father John Gerard. The English Theologate was at St. John's, the house once of the Knights of Malta, at Louvain. A flourishing College for the education of English boys had been established for nearly thirty years at St. Omers. And in 1620 Anne Countess of Arundel founded the Tertianship for the English Fathers at Ghent.

The English Jesuits had been governed from the beginning by a Prefect of the Mission residing in Rome, who was represented in England, Belgium, and Spain by Vice-Prefects. In 1619, Father Mutius Vitelleschi changed their condition from that of a Mission to a Vice-Province, and in 1623 into a Province of the Society. Father Richard Blount, who had been Vice-Prefect in England, was appointed Vice-Provincial, and finally Provincial. In this short interval the number had risen to two hundred and forty-eight, and in a second Novitiate which had been begun in London, there were seventeen Priests. This House of Probation carried on its work in London for a few years; but in March, 162 $\frac{7}{3}$,¹ the house in which it was established was broken open by the pursuivants, and Father Banks, the Rector, and six other Fathers, were taken prisoners. They escaped, however, any worse fate than the confiscation of their property. There were at that time eighteen Novices there, of whom all but four were Priests. Besides these, there was a flourishing Novitiate at Watten. The London Novitiate, however, was then broken up. The wonder is how it could ever have existed at all.

Another serious misfortune happened in Father Blount's time, and one that made a great impression on men's minds. "The Doleful Evensong," the pamphleteers called it. Father Robert Drury (*alias* Bedford) was preaching to a congregation of three hundred persons in an upper room belonging to the French Ambassador, when the floor fell, and crushed through the story

¹ Many of the papers taken in this search have been printed by Mr. John Gough Nichols in the *Camden Miscellany*, vols. ii. and iv. From them we learn that the Novitiate was at Edmonton in 1624, at Camberwell from May 1625, to January 162 $\frac{7}{3}$, and was just settled in a house belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury, "the corner house upon the Broadway above Clerkenwell," when attention was drawn to it by the neighbours in St. John's who saw provisions carried into it, and observed lights in it, for which they could not account.

below, to the ground. Eighty persons were killed, amongst whom was the preacher, and also Father William Whittingham, a very zealous Missionary, who, in the year in which he thus died, had received one hundred and fifty converts. The survivors, bruised by the fall, and half-choked by the dust, were pelted with stones and mud by the London mob. Many of the dead were buried in the courtyard of the house where they fell. The house was Hunsdon Hall, in Blackfriars, and the date was Sunday, October 26, 1623, O.S.

At this time there was a lull in the storm of persecution. The Court was extremely anxious for the marriage of the Prince of Wales (afterwards Charles I.) with the Infanta of Spain, and an unwonted freedom was practically, though not legally, given to Catholics. The effect of the relief was instantly felt. In the year 1623 the Jesuits reckoned the numbers of their converts at 2,600. But such a state of things was of short duration. Parliament was anxious to limit the Royal Prerogative, and in the reign of Charles I. the life of a Priest was often a grave question of State, where the King did his best to save those for whose blood Parliament seemed to thirst. The gradually decreasing power of the Crown is well illustrated by the narrative of the arrest and liberation of the Venetian Ambassador's Chaplain, which will be found in this volume.

King Charles was on the throne when Father Blount died. It was on Whitsunday, May 13, 1638,¹ O.S., and he was seventy-four years and seven months old. About two years before he had obtained his release from the cares of the Provinciate. He had been Superior from 1615 to 1636, a term of office of unusual length. His death seems to have been accelerated by the severity with which he observed his last Lent. An apoplectic seizure during Mass on Passion Sunday was followed by paralysis

¹ The reader of Father More's *History of the Province* should be on his guard lest he be misled by the dates at the head of each page. Thus (p. 467) he seems to place the capture of the Father Rector of London and his six companions in 1634 instead of 1628. And (p. 482) Father Blount's death is noted as if it had taken place in 1635. Father Grene remarks that the true date is shown by the Sunday letter. "Cum relatio de ejus morte missa ex Anglia dicat obiisse Dominica Pentecostes, 13 Maii stilo veteri, certum est non fuisse annum 1635 sed 1638, quando littera Dominicalis in Anglia fuit G." Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. N.*, p. 16.

of the right side, and his naturally strong constitution so fought for life that he lingered till Pentecost.

His funeral was as exceptional as his life. The Queen, Henrietta Maria, had her own chapel in Somerset House, served by the Capuchin Fathers.¹ By her special leave, late one evening

¹ "You must know that in London there are but two Catholic cemeteries, belonging to the two churches of the Queens [Henrietta Maria, Queen of England, and her mother, Mary of Medicis, Queen of France], wherein are interred none but their officers and servants, of both sexes, who die in the faith of the Church of Rome. The other Catholics are buried by the ministers in the cemeteries of the Protestants, after the Priests who attend them at their death have blessed some mould, put it into the coffin with the body, said prayers, and performed secretly all the other usual ceremonies of the Church" (p. 342). *Memoirs of the Mission in England of the Capuchin Friars of the Province of Paris, from the year 1630 to 1669*, by Father Cyprien de Gamache, one of the Capuchins belonging to the Household of the Queen; of which a translation is published in *The Court and Times of Charles I.*, London, 1848, vol. ii., p. 289, *et seq.* From these curious and interesting memoirs we learn the most minute particulars of the Queen's ecclesiastical establishment. The Capuchins were preceded by Fathers of the Oratory, then recently founded by Cardinal de Berulle, who were sent back to France by the influence of the Duke of Buckingham. "The Fathers of the Oratory, on their arrival in London, were lodged in the suburb of St. James, in sight of the royal residence, to which access was not obtained of the sentries without extreme difficulty by the Catholics, who repaired thither to attend divine service" (p. 294). When the Capuchins came, the Queen laid the foundation stone of a chapel royal, on September 14, 1632, at "Somerset House, which belongs particularly to the Queen, and is the finest palace of all England" (p. 306). When this chapel was opened, "Her Majesty's Capuchins" served it thus: "From six o'clock in the morning there were successively Masses, and generally communions, till noon. Not a day passed without bringing some penitents to the confessionals. On Sundays and festivals the throng was so great that one could not get in without difficulty. Persons were obliged to wait two or three hours before they could enter a confessional. On those days a controversial lecture was held from one o'clock till two, immediately before Vespers, which the Capuchins and the musicians, placed in two galleries opposite to each other, sang alternately. When Vespers were finished, the preacher mounted the pulpit, and preached for the space of an hour or three quarters on the Gospel of the day, touching occasionally upon certain controversial points. Compline was then sung. Then followed various conferences, some of piety with Catholics, others of religion with the sectaries, who came eagerly to be instructed in our creed, and to have their doubts resolved. The Christian doctrine was publicly taught in French and English on three different days in each week" (p. 314). "Not a week passed but there were two or three conversions" (p. 343). During the Queen's absence in Holland the Capuchins were imprisoned by the authority of Parliament, and afterwards banished, their house was pulled down, and the chapel desecrated. They were reinstated when Henrietta Maria returned to England as Queen Mother, in 1663, after the Restoration.

in May, Father Richard Blount was there laid to rest, with the ceremonial of a Catholic burial. The voices of his Brethren mingled with those of the Capuchin Friars in that commendation of a departed soul which for so long a time in England had been uttered only in secret and almost in whispers. In life and in death he had a little foretaste of the freedom that we enjoy, of being able to worship God as our fathers worshipped Him. But the life of Father Blount was but an opening between the clouds. Heavy and gloomy times were to intervene, much innocent blood was to be shed, and much suffering inflicted, before an Englishman was to be other than an outcast solely because he was a Catholic.

His contemporaries are enthusiastic in their praise of Father Blount. He was remarkably equable in temper, and the same to all. Catesby one day said of him, "Here comes Father Blount, who is everybody's favourite, and has no favourites himself." His great fitness for the guidance and government of others arose from this, that he combined in a very remarkable degree the most perfect gentleness of manner and sweetness of disposition with an inflexible firmness and persevering courage. He was a living example of the combination inculcated in the Rules of the Society, of paternal tenderness and love with sacerdotal gravity. His reprehensions were without bitterness. His undertakings sprang from reason and not from impulse. He set the example of humility to all. On one occasion, a servant of the French Ambassador had committed a theft and been discharged. Father Blount thought the case one for an exceptional interference on his part, and he made his request for forgiveness on his knees. So again, if any difference arose between two of his subjects, he would urge them to atone for any breach of charity by kissing one another's feet, and it was difficult for them to delay a reconciliation that should be founded in humility, for their Provincial would throw himself on the ground and humbly kiss the feet of both. It was remarked that though his Novitiate had been passed on the Mission, and for the first years of his Religious life he never had the opportunity of setting foot in a Religious house, yet when he was made Vice-Provincial, and thus as Superior had to visit the Colleges of the English Jesuits on the

Continent, Community life presented no difficulty to him, and he fell into the practice of all its little observances with the greatest exactness. The same is said of Father John Gerard, another active Missionary; and in each case it speaks of the power that lies within the spirit of a Religious vocation. Fidelity to his vocation had been Father Blount's protection in the midst of the manner of life apparently the most adverse to the Religious spirit. For instance, of his poverty it is recorded that though he had costly and splendid clothes, in which under the guise of a mere man of the world he might visit men of the world, when there was no actual need of such apparel, he would be seen in threadbare clothes, looking the poor man that he was in spirit. And all this virtue sprang from union with God. Some ejaculatory prayer was ever on his lips. Everything that came for his decision was not only calmly weighed and maturely considered; but the decision was made *consulto suppliciter Domino*, to use St. Ignatius' words—after consulting God in fervent prayer. It was the judgment of those who lived under his happy guidance, that by prayer he governed his Province.

One word more before we return to the perils of his early missionary life. We have before us the confidential report¹ of his Superior (probably Father Persons) to the General of the Society when it was proposed that he should be admitted to profession of the four solemn vows. Its measured terms convey the highest praise. "Father Richard Blount, English, forty-four years old,² twelve in the Society and seventeen in the English vineyard, made his Novitiate in England, finished his course of theology with success amongst the first, has good health, is remarkable for his experience, has laboured admirably in England with edification given to all, is in great esteem amongst the principal Catholics. He is a man of great ability and no little prudence and virtue, has his passions mortified, loves the Institute, is full of zeal for the salvation of souls. He is fit for government and for all the duties of the Society."

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., *Angl. A.*, vol. vi.

² This was written in 1608. Father Blount was born October 6, 1563, professed May 5, 1609, and died May 13, 1638, O.S.

The first of the two accounts of Father Blount's escape from Scotney is in manuscript at Stonyhurst, with the words, "A literal copy. 1810." From it we take the following letter.

"St. Omers, October 20, 1757.

"To George Darell, Esq. of Scotney.

"Dear Brother,—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 it would be acceptable to you if you have not seen or heard of such a thing before, and as it describes the attention and zeal of the family to protect Priests in the severe times of persecution, and in particular the first Provincial of the English Province, viz., Father Blount, it shows what a good understanding there was between the family of the Darells and the family of Ignatius, of above 180 years' date, continued almost uninterrupted down to our days, there being now actually at the same seat at 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 by Mr. William Darell, who seems to have been one of the children in the house at the time, and who died about the year 1639, one year after Father Blount."

The letter has no signature, but it is indorsed—"Father John Darell, Rector of St. Omers from 1752 to 1757."

The first narrative is printed from the contemporary manuscript now at Brussels, which was once at St. Omers, corrected from the Stonyhurst copy. The second, though it also was among the St. Omers papers, was apparently not found by Father John Darell. Its many variations in detail from the other account show it to be independent of it.

FATHER BLOUNT'S ESCAPE FROM SCOTNEY.

From two manuscripts, one¹ in the Archives de l'Etat, Brussels, and the other at Stonyhurst College.

In the year 1598, or in that next before it, Mr. Darell's house in Sussex, about forty-six miles distant from London, was twice searched, Father Blount at each time being in the house, where for the space of seven or eight years from his coming into England he had resided. The first search was by two Justices of the Peace, with a pursuivant and such as they brought with them to watch and beset the house: who, at their first coming, sent Mr. Darell to London prisoner, his wife to one of the Justices' houses, and most of the servants to the county gaol; suffering in the house one maid to stay with the little children, and the searchers having the house.

This during² about the space of a week, Father Blount was in a secret place under a stair, having one man with him, with very small provision; and when it seemed they could subsist no longer, Father Blount sent out his man, who offered himself to the searchers, feigning that he came out of another hole which he showed them, and was carried away for a Priest, and the other escaped.

About one year after, a household servant, or one employed in husbandry, a Protestant, plotted to betray

¹ *Indorsed* — "Mr. Will. Darell about Mr. Blunt's escape out of his father's house. 1598."

² Lasting.

the house, and three Justices of the Peace, with a pursuivant and their retinue, beset the house in the dead of the night about Christmas, and got into the house; which being perceived, Father Blount was awaked by the noise, and, putting on nothing but his breeches, with the same man got into another secret place, digged 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 the space of ten days; Father Blount and the man having no other sustenance but 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.

About the end of this time Mrs. Darell found means to go sometimes out of her chamber; and at the last got to the door of the place, where finding the end of a girdle used at Mass to be shut out, hanging on the outside of the door of the hiding-place (strange Providence!), she cut it off, but yet not so close but that some remained, which she thought might betray them, whereupon she called to them within, "Pull in the string," which presently they did. Those that, it seems, watched her came presently to her and asked her to whom she spake, 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 fell to search about the place, which was a little court with stone buildings about it, beating with a beetle upon the stones; and many times on the door of the place, which was a stone in show not differing from the rest. With many

great blows, the hinges of the door began to yield, at which they within set their backs to the door to support it against the blows what they could, but it was so much moved as that they saw the candlelight of the searchers, and could hear all they said.

It grew late in the evening, and it rained extremely fast, and the gutters poured down on the searchers; and one of the company that dwelt at the next town, a man very forward and a director of the rest, came to the searchers and persuaded them to desist, saying, if there were anything, they might 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. And 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, by all likelihood had died in the place, as resolving so rather than to put himself into the hands of the searchers, which had overthrown the house), taking the opportunity of the stormy and dark night, first sent out his man and soon followed himself. Barefoot, they got over two walls about ten feet high, and so to a broken tower about sixteen feet above the water of the moat, which was there about eighty feet broad, and so deep as could not be waded. From thence the Father leaped into the moat, by his courage out-leaping 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, he swam over; and being on the other side, said to his man on the tower [Father Blount told a friend afterwards that the moat was covered with a thin ice¹], "I am so weak as if I

¹ This, and two other sentences in brackets, were apparently inserted by Father John Darell. They are not in the Brussels MS.

should come back to fetch you, we should both be drowned," and so directed him to another place, where he might wade over and so meet him at a certain house where a Catholic servant of Mr. Darell did dwell, 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 them that followed the searchers sat by the fire drinking. The door from the garden into the hall had on the inner side an iron latch, which had no way of opening on the garden side. The man, thrusting at the door with his hand, it was opened, God knows how; and having no other clothes but his breeches and the Priest's cassock trussed short about him, 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, none of them reflecting on the man so strangely attired, they ran towards the stables, and he amongst them, and slipped out of 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 on the Father, 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, the Father'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, sometimes up to the knees, for by reason of the darkness they kept the highway. [It is said, as from himself, that in the morning, meeting a maid with a pail of milk, he begged a draught, and she answered that he should first wash his dirty face]. And not late in the morning they got to the house of a Catholic gentleman, where the Father lay sick three weeks, having the best cure that

the place could afford him. But his legs and feet being inflamed, and growing very ill, he was removed to London, where, Dr. Foster being his chirurgion, he hardly scaped death, and ever after he had aches in his thighs from the cold taken in the stone wall.

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 the 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 Culpepers is said to have affirmed) could by no means be brought to follow the scent]. It is said that the man that caused them to desist wished that he had been hanged before he gave the counsel. In that place it is still notorious that all they which 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 posterity¹ remaining; and the servant that betrayed, being a young man, soon after died amongst them, his limbs rotting and falling from him.

¹ The copyist of 1810 here says, "Probably *prosperity*."

CERTAIN NOTES CONCERNING THE DANGEROUS ESCAPE OF MR. BLOUNT AT SCOTNEY.

From the manuscript in the Archives de l'Etat, Brussels.

THE party mentioned was betrayed by one Henberry, a fallen Catholic, formerly a servant at Scotney, whose strange death was generally holden of all (and yet fresh in memory at Lamberhurst, within which parish Scotney stands) a just punishment for his perfidious villany. God visited this Henberry with a strange loathsome disease, and so loathsome it was that they made means he might be removed to London to a hospital; but they of the hospital, being not able to endure the loathsomeness, sent him back to Lamberhurst, where he lay awhile, but so that no man was able to come near him, and in the end died: whose death was, by the estimation of all, a just judgment of God.¹

The Justices of Peace with the pursuivants one night beset the house, and seized a maid-servant the next morning before day going out on some special business. They commanded her to carry them to her master's chamber, and to light them a candle; but she discreetly told them she could not light a candle, framing some excuse; and instead of carrying them to her master's chamber, stood at the bottom of the stairs calling aloud, "Mistress, here is Sir George Rivers, and such a Justice and such a Justice (naming all the Justices) come to speak

¹ This sentence is written across the first page of the MS.

with you." Whereupon they knew the house was both beset and taken, so that with all convenient speed they gave him notice, who incontinently, with his man Bray, with all possible speed they could, made haste to the place of refuge ; but the fright being so sudden, and the fear to be prevented so great, they were forced to go with little or no clothes but what they had on. What they wanted I cannot justly affirm, only as near as I can remember Mr. Blount wanted his doublet and stockings.

The gentleman of the house was carried to London and committed close prisoner at Newgate. Being possessed of the house, they go to searching generally over all the house, but most punctually. They performed that task in the night-time, with candles, having for that purpose both bricklayers and carpenters always at hand.

The last night-search was either on the fourth or fifth 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 the others, according to the mason's art and rules ; and presently says, "This stone was never put in when this wall was built ;" which said, he sounds it with his hammer, and perceiving it hollow, says, "Here is the place." Whereupon they all shouted, and one, Mr. Collins of Lamberhurst, a great enemy to that house, swore a great oath they would have the Priest to-morrow. Whereupon they left the place, and, which is to be wondered at, not so much as left a guard to guard it.

When the coast was clear thereabouts (for they were all gone to drinking, and for joy drunk deep) Mr. Blount told his man they must now change their resolutions, that is, they must now venture to escape, if it be possible ; "for if we stay here till to-morrow, we shall infallibly be taken, and then the gentleman will be undone."

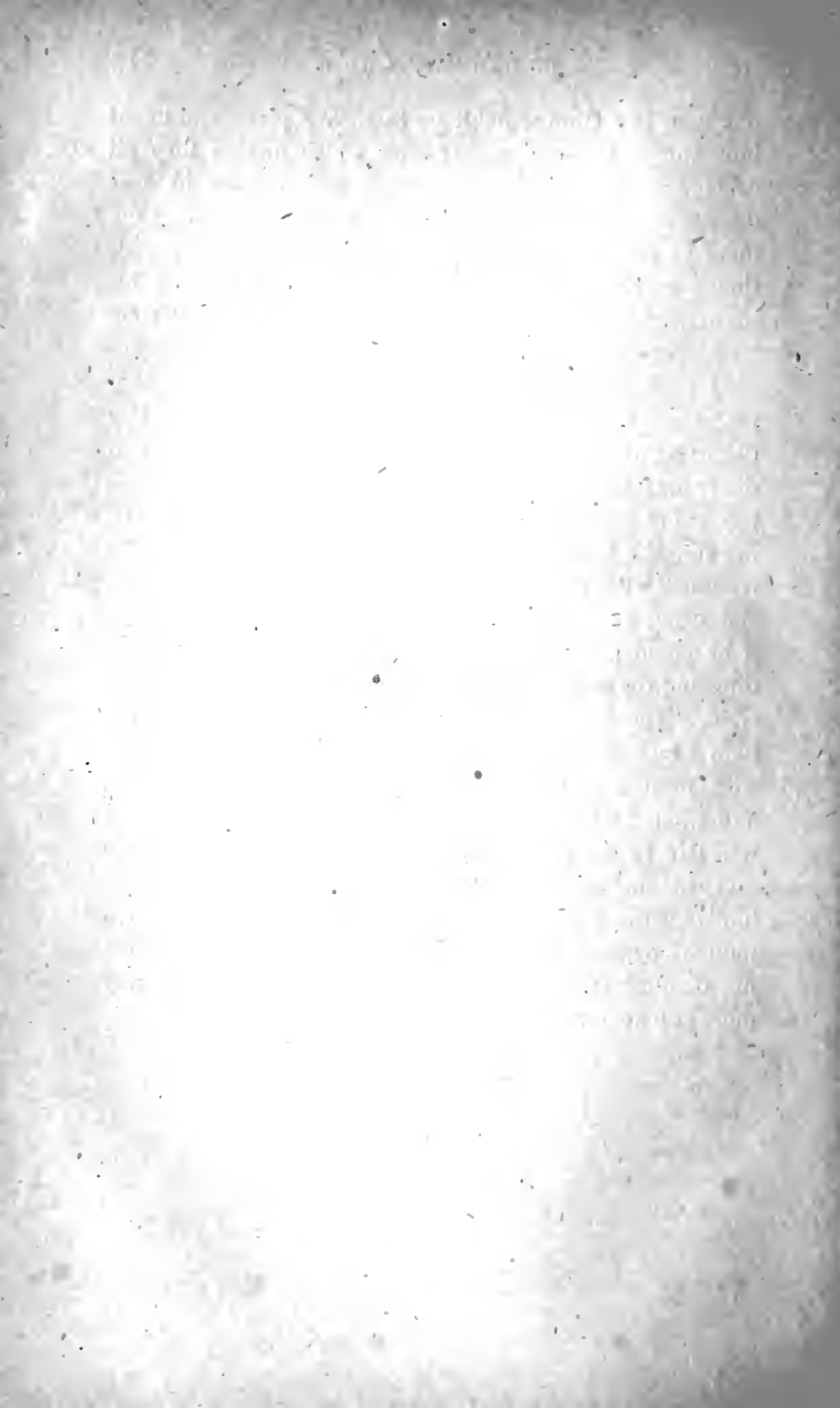
So a little after midnight they ventured forth, carrying the chiefest things with them, and threw them in the

weeds ; shutting the door after them, which could not be opened on the outside. Coming to the court, they perceived two men walking and talking, and taking opportunity when they turned, passed along by the house side, and so to the moat-wall, where Bray stooped and told his master to tread upon his back, that so he might reach the top of the wall ; which done, he helped his man also up. Then the man let his master down into the moat, and he so committing himself to the water, with much difficulty reached the land. But when he was over, he told his man he durst not venture to go back to bring him over according to his promise, by reason of faintness and weakness of body caused both by fasting, having had only one little white loaf betwixt them both all that time, and also too much watching as never daring to sleep ; and so told him he must shift for himself, and withal said if he could get into the outer court in such a place, he should find a window open, and there he might wade over under the trees. Which said, he went presently to an old man's house hard by, an old retainer to Scotney, who refreshed him with meat, and provided him with some clothes, and that night directed him towards Bentley, where 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 venture by water, but boldly came into the hall, where he found a great company lying asleep, and loudly cries, "Thieves, thieves in the stable! Drunken rogues, do you lie here and suffer my master, Sir George Rivers' horses to 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 opened the gate, and let them out, and Bray with them. They ran to the stable, and he to the window. When they found no alterations about the stable, they asked one another what was he that called them up, and where he was. One answered he saw

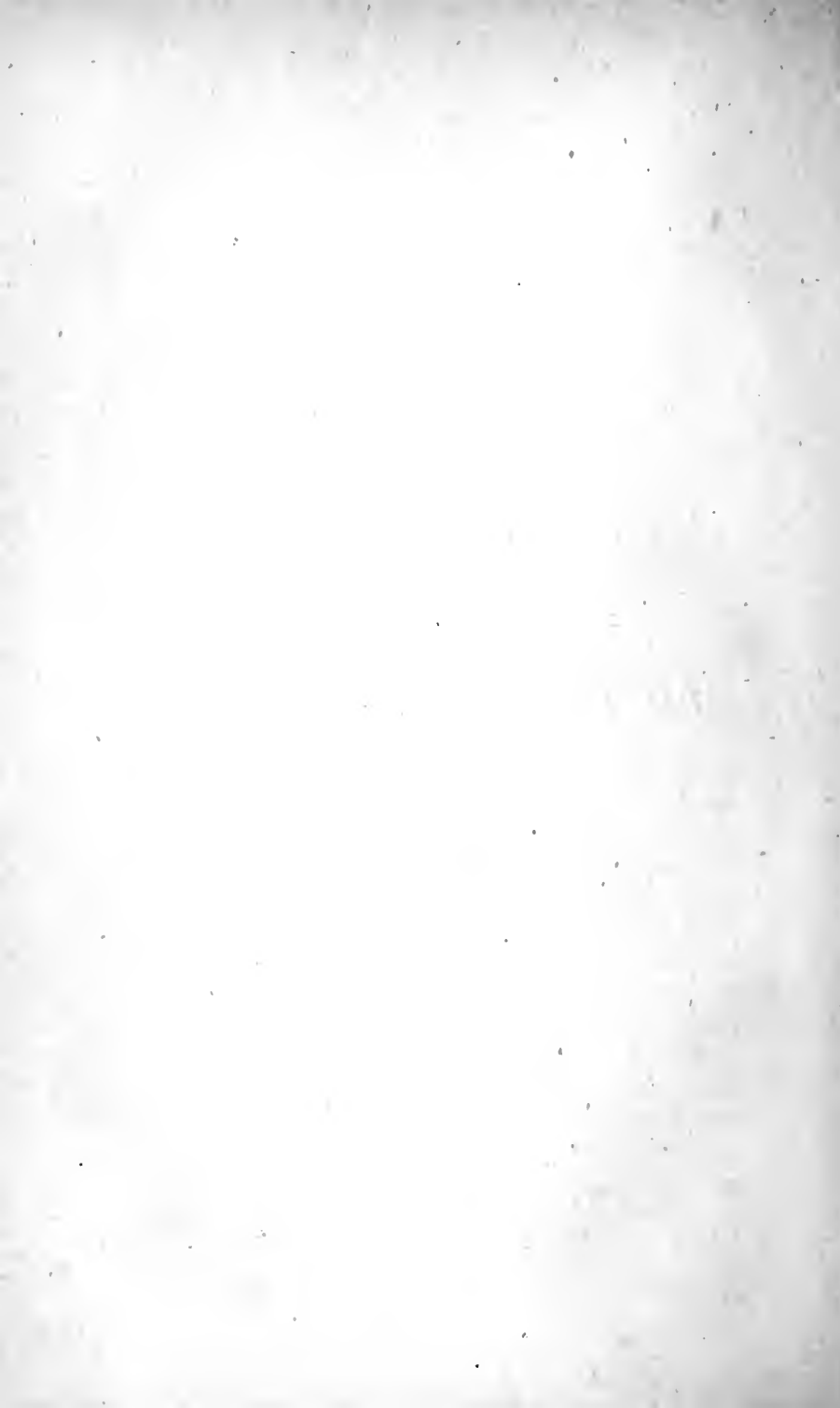
one man in a strange habit go to such a place, and heard him plunge into the moat; after which answer they all concluded it was the Priest, and undoubtedly he was drowned in the moat. Whereupon they begin to drag the moat to find the drowned Priest, and so long they continued in this conceit, that Bray had time to visit his master, and providing himself of clothes, that night took his journey for London.

I thought it not amiss to mention an accident that happened at this time to a Protestant plough-boy belonging to that house, which accident by God's Providence was in cause the gentleman saved his land. This boy being frightened that morning they entered the house, ran into the barn, and hid himself in the straw, and there remained without meat or drink all that four or five days. But being extremely hungry, he came creeping out to see if he could get any meat. Just at that time they were dragging the moat for the Priest; and being espied, they cried, "The Priest, the Priest!" and pursued him to the barn again, where he lay close till they pricked him out with prongs. This story the gentleman had notice of, and when he was called before the Council-table, and it was laid to his charge how he harboured a Priest which escaped, he made his case so good by telling their lordships the Priest escaped was no other than a frightened plough-boy, and so told them the story (the pursuivants not denying it) of the boy. They presently without any more ado acquitted him.



V.

THE
BABTHORPES OF BABTHORPE.



THE BABTHORPES OF BABTHORPE.

THE manor of Babthorpe,¹ in Yorkshire, is in the township of Brackenholm, in the parish of Hemingborough. It is about fifteen miles south of York, and four south-east of Selby. It gave name and residence for many centuries to a considerable family.

The pedigree of the Babthorpes begins with Ausbord, Ausbert or Osbert de Babthorpe, and the manor passed in eighteen descents from father to son till it came to Sir William Babthorpe, who, under the pressure of the persecution, sold it in the reign of James I. to Sir Richard Bowes, at the same time parting with the manor of Osgodby, that had been in the family for eight generations, to Sir Guy Palmes.

Sir Thomas Babthorpe was knighted by King Edward III. at the taking of Calais in 1347. He carried the sword before the King as he entered the town, and was afterwards made Comptroller of the Royal Household. His grandson, Sir Robert, was Esquire of the Body to King Henry IV., and afterwards Comptroller of that King's Household. He held both places under Henry V. and Henry VI., and died in the ninth year of the latter monarch's reign, 1431. His son, Sir Ralph, was Esquire to King Henry VI., and with his son Ralph, the King's Sewer,² was killed fighting under the royal banner at St. Alban's in 1455. Camden says,³ "Of this family, to give due praise to those who have faithfully served their King and country, a father and son serving together under Henry VI., fell in the battle of St. Alban's, and were both buried there with this epitaph :

¹ Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*. York, 1758, p. 435.

² "Sewer, *escuyer trenchant*, Fr., or *asseour*, old Fr.; from *asseoir*, to set down, for those officers set the dishes on the table: an officer who serves up a feast." *Todd's Johnson*.

³ Camden's *Britannia*. Ed. Gough. London, 1806, vol. iii., p. 246.

The Babthorpes of Babthorpe.

*"Cum patre Radulpho Babthorpe jacet ecce Radulphus
Filius, hoc duro marmore pressus humo,
Henrici sexti dapifer; pater, armiger ejus:
Mors satis id docuit, fidus uterque fuit.*

"Father and son Ralph Babthorpes here
Lie buried underneath this stone;
Sixth Henry's sewer and squire they were:
Their fealty in their death is shown."

Weever¹ gives in addition four lines that contain the date, and also tries his hand at a translation of the epitaph.

*"C. Domini quater, M. semel, L. semel, V. semel, anno
Hoc necat haud solos mors truculenta duos.
Lux his postrema Maii vicena secunda;
Det Deus his lucem, det sive fine diem.*

"Behold where two Ralph Babthorpes, both the son and father lie,
Under a stone of marble hard, interr'd in this mould drie:
To Henry sixth the father squire, the son he sewer was,
Both true to prince, and for his sake they both their life did pass.
The year one thousand and four hundred fifty five,
Grim death, yet not alone, did them of breath deprive.
The last day of this light was th' twentieth two of May;
God grant them light in heav'n, and without end a day."

Sir Ralph, the fifth in descent from King Henry's Squire, the husband of the Lady Babthorpe of the following papers, was the grandson of Sir William (*obit* 1555) and Agnes, daughter of Brian Palmes, Justice, of Naburne: and the son of Sir William (*obit* 1581) by his first wife Barbara, daughter of Sir Robert Constable of Evingham. Sir Ralph married Grace, heiress of William Birnand, Recorder of York in 1573,² who, after her husband's death in 1617, became a Nun at St. Monica's, Louvain.

Burton gives the names of seven of their children; the Sir William who sold the manor was born in 1580, and married Grace or Ursula, daughter of William Tyrwhitt, son of Sir Robert Tyrwhitt of Kettelby, county Lincoln; Robert; Ralph and Thomas (both Jesuits); Catharine, who married Sir George Palmes of Naburne; Elizabeth, who married John Constable of Carethorpe, and Barbara.

Sir William had ten children, Ralph, William, Robert, Richard, John, and Thomas; Frances, Grace, Elizabeth, and Ursula.

¹ *Ancient Funeral Monuments.* London, 1767, p. 342.

² *Drake's Eboracum.* London, 1736, p. 368.

Ralph, the eldest son, had four sons, William, Francis, John, and Albert; the last named entered the Society.

The death of Sir William Babthorpe's wife is thus mentioned in *St. Monica's Chronicle*. "In 1634, in our new Monastery at Bruges, upon St. Martin's Day in November, died Sister Elizabeth Lovel, of the plague; their Father's house being infected a month or two before by the young Lady Babthorpe, who, sojourning with their Father Confessor, got the plague, which was very hot in the town, and died there of it—Sister Frances Babthorpe's mother, who was come over the seas to her husband, Sir William Babthorpe, he being made a captain, having before lived some years only in the place of a common soldier." Her daughter Ursula came to Bruges with her, where she took the scholars' habit in 1639, was professed July 2, 1642, and died Oct. 3, 1662, aged forty, being at the time of her death Mistress of Novices.

Two others of Lady Babthorpe's grand-daughters, are mentioned in *St. Monica's Chronicle*. The one was Grace Constable, the child of her daughter Elizabeth, who followed her to St. Monica's. "In August, 1625, upon St. Laurence's Day, Sister Grace Constable was professed. She was grandchild to the Lady Babthorpe, her daughter's daughter, and was received with her when she entered into the Cloister, being then but a child; and so lived in the Monastery a scholar until the time came that she was to be clothed and professed." She was transferred to the newly-founded Convent at Bruges, October 11, 1629, and died there in 1673.

The other did not become a Nun at St. Monica's, but when the first five Sisters were sent to Bruges, September 11, 1629, "with them also went one scholar from hence, named Ursula Palmes, grandchild to the Lady Babthorpe by one of her daughters, that married Sir George Palmes, a good Catholic." She was professed at Bruges, November 21, 1631, and died November 20, 1679, aged 72, having been Subprioress of that Convent for seven years.

Two retainers of the family are mentioned in the *Chronicle*. "The year 1622, the 1st of August, was professed Ursula Whitseal, Lay-sister, whose father was Sir Ralph Babthorpe's bailiff, as also his godson. The Lady Babthorpe, hearing of her husband's death,

was resolved to come over to be Religious. Therefore she sought to bring a maid with her who might also be Religious, and so asked if she would go, who was well content, and so coming over with Lady Babthorpe, she presently got a great mind to be Religious, and would fain have entered here with her lady; but we denied this her maid, Ursula Whitseal, at first, by reason that we thought then we had Lay-sisters enough, but at length, seeing her so earnestly desire to be among us, we began to be moved to take her, for she served in the town Sir Thomas Leeds, and did so pine away with desire to be here that her health began much to decay. Wherefore we had compassion of her, and received her into our Monastery, and she made her Profession at the age of twenty-three years." She died September 1, 1640.

Anne Stonehouse, "daughter unto Christopher Stonehouse, a good man and most constant Catholic, dwelling in Dunsley, two miles from Whitby in Yorkshire. This man's father dying when he was a little boy, the officers took away a house which he had bought, because he was a Catholic, and left his (widow only a poor cottage and one cow, whereupon she lived and kept her son at school with the labour of her hands. Being a very towardly youth, he devised means to help his mother. Wherefore, the fashion being then to wear straw hats, he would dye straw of divers colours, and making extraordinary fine hats, got money; for they lived so poorly that when he went to school he had but a little bean bread and an egg. It happened once that a man who had a good trade of working in jet and amber, seeing the boy, liked him well and took him for to teach him his trade; which he learned soon, being very apt. This master of his being no Catholic, it pleased God by a strange means to convert him. For he saw a book lying on the stool where he used to sit, and looking in it, found it was a Catholic book, and reading therein was touched with such remorse that he said to this youth, 'Oh, what shall I do? I am damned unless I become a Catholic.' His servant needed no persuasion, because he knew what true religion was of his parents. After his master was reconciled he died, and leaving one son recommended him to his servant that he should teach him the said trade as he had taught him. He did so, and took care of him in such wise that,

by the young boy's work and his own, he hired a house and lived pretty well. Then also he set himself in most godly manner to harbour and receive Priests and Religious men. Whereupon he began to be so persecuted that he had scarce any quiet all his life long, but was either in prison or still in danger to go there again when he was out, for he never left receiving of Priests. They provided him of a wife named Frances Smith, a good Catholic like himself. It happened when his wife lay in of her first child, the officers of justice seeing him ever so constant and immoveable in his religion, put him into prison, thinking that for the love of his wife and child, and for not to be absent from them, he would yield: but perceiving he was all one they thrust him into a dungeon, and gave him only the straw whereupon a corpse had lain of one that was dead there a little before; and in the night the rats and mice did so vex him with noise as if the dead man's ghost had been thereabout. Afterwards, when he got himself released from prison, it was always to come again when they pleased. He begged of Almighty God that if ever a Priest were taken in his house he might be martyred with him, but God ordained so that never any was taken. Another thing he also purposed, that if our Lord did send him two daughters he would name the one Anne and the other Mary, and give them both to God, which indeed happened accordingly. For to speak now of his daughter Anne, her mother died when she was but ten years old; and after, the Priests provided her still of places in Catholic gentlemen's houses, and living once with the Lady Anne Ingleby, there was another maid in the house who had a mind to be Religious, and this wench, together with a man who afterwards became a Lay-brother in the Society of Jesus, would still be talking in praise of Religious life, whereupon she got also a great desire thereto, but kept it to herself for seven years, because she knew not how to attain it. Yet she hoped in God that He would ordain some means, and hearing a story of one that desired to be Religious, not knowing how to obtain such a good, fasted every Saturday in the honour of our Blessed Lady, that she would help her, and at length had her desire fulfilled by a means which was miraculous, and would be too long to recite here, she now also fasted on Saturdays for the same end. And

our Lady assisted her likewise, for the Lady Babthorpe, of whom we shall speak at large hereafter, sent into Yorkshire for the fore-mentioned maid who desired to be Religious, to come over to her that she might help her into some Monastery; but to see the inconstancy of minds if they be not still assisted by God, she who before talked so much of it, had now no mind at all, wherefore this our Anne, seeing it to be a fit time, dwelling then with the Lady Palmes, daughter to Lady Babthorpe, discovered her mind to her ghostly Father, who sent her in the other's place, and so she came and served that lady in this town about a year, and desired her lady to speak that she might enter here for a Lay-sister, and humbly desired to be always kept within doors, so was admitted, and her time of probation being passed, we liked her well, and she made her Profession upon St. Ursula's Day, 1618, at the age of twenty-seven years."

"In 1632 upon the 1st day of February was professed Sister Mary Stonehouse, of whose parents we have made large mention before: so it remains now only to show that Almighty God of His goodness drew her to Religion without herself scarce knowing what she did. For living with her parents, after that her father died, her brother, who was then a Priest, took care of her, and asked her if she would be Religious, that then he would seek to get her a place. She answered, Yes, although she knew not what Religion was. He then writ to our Reverend Mother, and by the mediation of friends obtained her place here. Thereupon they sent her over, but when she came to Bruges, she understood that she could not be received because we had enough. She thereupon, without any great trouble, resolved to go unto Antwerp, and serve Mr. Clifford, who it seems wanted a servant. Whereby appears plainly the providence of God that He would have her in this place, for she being at Antwerp, it chanced that two of our Lay-sisters were sent thither to Mr. Clifford, he being very ill, and meeting with her there, liked her so well, knowing also whose sister she was and that she had sought for the place here, that they brought her home with them, and so she was admitted, and after a good time of trial, made her holy Profession at the age of twenty-five years." The entry of her death is in these brief terms—"1674, May 26, departed this life

Sister Mary Stonehouse, Lay-sister, aged seventy-one, professed forty-two years. She was a downright good Religious."

The death of the elder sister is recorded at greater length, and it is followed by that of Sister Frances Babthorpe.

"In 1656 died Sister Anne Stonehouse, who always had been a good obedient Religious, very laborious and charitable, and served the Convent with great diligence and love. After she was appointed to serve without [the inclosure] in the Father's house, she gave great contentment to all, both the Father and boarders, and also to the strangers that came, serving them with great care, and after such a friendly manner that she pleased them much; being also charitable and kind to the poor folks, by giving them what the house could allow. Only to herself she was always strict, eating in a manner but one meal a day to any purpose; and if a good thing in common came to her, she would be sure to bestow it upon others. All the Lent she commonly gave away her collation cakes to Sister Frances Babthorpe, my Lady Babthorpe's grandchild, whom she served when she came to us. And though she was sickly, yet she surmounted all by taking pains in her office, until that having for three weeks a kind of ague upon her, she bore it with silence; yet those without could not but note that she was ill and could scarce draw her legs after her, till she grew so sick that our Reverend Mother put her into the infirmary, where soon it was perceived she had death upon her. So she received all the Sacraments, and happily rendered her soul to God at the age of sixty-four years, and thirty-eight of her Profession.

"The daily *Miserere* at her grave for thirty days, as our custom is, was scarcely ended when her beloved Sister Frances followed, as we shall declare.

"Upon St. Luke's Day, this year 1656, died Sister Frances Babthorpe, who was professed together with her grandmother Lady Babthorpe. She was very neat-handed, and so she was employed in the office of Vestiaria and others, giving contentment by reason of her good nature, though naturally passionate, yet withal so kind that she won the love of those who were placed under her to work. Afterwards she was some years Infirmarian, and served all with great care and kindness, and ordered things

so well that the sick were very glad of her, being by nature liberal and noble-minded. After some time, having buried many, she had such a horror of seeing folks to die that she humbly desired to be released of that office and to have some time to take her rest in observing the order, which was granted her. She took awhile the Exercise of our Reverend Father [made a Retreat] and lived after that above a year very regularly in observation of the order, and helping withal in offices when there was need, until when a cousin of hers was clothed here, she fell very sick of a fever, so that all what two doctors could do to her, she grew still worse and worse. So they ordered the last Sacraments, which she received very willingly, and spoke her fault most humbly unto all and so prepared herself to die, and drew nearer and nearer her end, and on St. Luke's Day entered into her agony, and the Convent praying about her, she rendered up her spirit at the age of fifty-two years, and of her Profession thirty-five."

The two papers that follow will help to rescue the name of the Babthorpes from oblivion. The one consists of the passages in the *Chronicle of St. Monica* that bear reference to Sir Ralph Babthorpe's widow. The other is taken from the original, formerly in Douay College. It is apparently a sequel to other notes of hers that have not come down to us. Alban Butler made a transcript of it for Dr. Challoner, who has made some use of it in his *Missionary Priests*. That copy is now at Oscott, and in it, after quoting the endorsement, Alban Butler says, "This is writ in the margin, but I have not yet found any other writing of the same lady. This seems in her own handwriting, if you remember it; a large woman's scrawl, full of false spells, as *Bushup*, &c., which I make bold to correct, when evidently the word meant."

Sheriff Hutton, where Lady Babthorpe and so many other Catholic ladies were imprisoned, eight miles from Easingwold in Yorkshire, was a royal castle. It had served as a prison for Princess Elizabeth, the heiress of the house of York, afterwards married to Henry VII., and again, for Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, only son of George, Duke of Clarence, elder brother of Richard III.¹

¹ Allen's *History of York*. London, 1831, vol. vi., p. 290.

SISTER GRACE BABTHORPE.

From the manuscript belonging to St. Augustine's Priory, Abbotsleigh.

IN the year 1621 were professed two Nuns; the one, Lady, widow of Sir Ralph, Babthorpe, and the other her own grandchild, Frances Babthorpe, who had lived in the Cloister from the age of thirteen years, and now made Profession with her grandmother, who came in after her; and they were also clothed together. At whose Clothings and Profession, her own son, Father Ralph Babthorpe, of the Society of Jesus, preached, and a daughter of hers was also present, who came here to these solemnities of her mother.

But to speak in particular of them both. First, the Lady Babthorpe, now named Sister Grace Babthorpe, was daughter of William Birnand, of Brimmon¹ in Yorkshire, Esquire, her mother, daughter of Sir William Ingleby, whose grandfather by the mother's side, Sir William Mallery, was so zealous and constant a Catholic, that when heresy first came into England, and Catholic service commanded to be put down on such a day, he came to the church, and stood there at the door with his sword drawn, to defend that none should come in to abolish religion, saying that he would defend it with his life, and continued for some days keeping out the officers so long as he could possibly do it. Thus much concerning her great grandfather. Her mother died of her at her birth, and had no more children, so that she was heir of

¹ Possibly Brimham; Burton says "of Knaresborough."

all her father's estate, who, although he was a younger brother, yet had gotten together a fair estate. She therefore was brought up with her grandmother, the Lady Ingleby, a good Catholic, and married at fifteen years of age, as heirs are commonly married young, unto Sir William Babthorpe's eldest son. They being both in equal degree, of ancient Knight's houses, and this her husband was afterwards also knighted, named Sir Ralph Babthorpe of Babthorpe, in Yorkshire, some ten miles off from the city of York.

After their marriage, being both very young, he was sent by his father awhile into the Inns [of] Court, so that for some years, to escape trouble, he went to church, only so little as might be, but she continuing ever a constant Catholic. It happened the Lord Huntingdon came to Yorkshire, being a most rank heretic, and made then President of York, had promised Queen Elizabeth that he would make all the Papists to go to their church if she would let him alone, whereupon he was permitted to do what he would, and so began to rage against Catholics like a furious lion; but yet Almighty God made His servants strong enough to cope with him. This President would also compel men's wives to go to church, and therefore sent forth a commandment that all who had Catholic wives should bring them before him against such a day, so as men upon pain of being contemners of the State, were forced to bring their wives forth, among whom this worthy woman was one.

The Lord President first examined her apart, and asked of her when she had gone to church. She answered him, "Never." He demanded then how many Masses she had heard. She said, so many that she could not reckon them. At this he began to stamp. He lastly, seeing her remain so constant, made her the next day to appear before the whole Council Table at York, where himself and their Bishop were chief, and seeing her to stand firm,

they thought to try all means possible; wherefore, first she was committed unto a lawyer's house in York, a most hot Puritan; and others also in divers houses, where they brought almost daily ministers and others to persuade her, as also even at table eating with them she could not be quiet from hearing their blasphemies against the Catholic faith. And having endured this for a fortnight, and seeing they prevailed nothing, the Lord President committed six of the best sort to prison in an old castle of the Queen's, where they were not permitted to come together nor converse with each other, nor yet to have any Catholic servants, but the maids that served them must be seen twice in the week to be present at the heretical service which was said in the castle. Besides that, their living there was very chargeable, for they paid a great deal to the keepers for attendance, as they termed it, which was for their continual watch over them, not to come into each other's company, and the keeper was a most hot Puritan, as also one of his servants inflexible, but the other, which was porter, they could move for money.

In this strait prison they continued for almost two years. Yea, the President intended never to have released them unless they yielded, sending every now and then ministers to dispute with them. Their names were these: first the Lady Constable, of whom we have spoken before, being Sister Dorothy Lawson's grandmother,¹ Mrs. Babthorpe, Mrs. Ingleby, Mrs. Mettam, Mrs. Lawson. All these gentlewomen became after[wards] Ladies, their husbands being knighted. They were kept so close in prison that, besides their separation from each other, they were every night locked up in their chamber, in such wise that if any sudden sickness or other accident had happened,

¹ Margaret, daughter of Sir William Dormer, sister of the first Lord Dormer, wife of Sir Henry Constable of Holderness, whose only son was created Viscount Dunbar.

they might have died there without help, for they were so far from the keepers as they could not have been heard though they called never so loud, and to help one another was not possible, because they were all locked up asunder. Yet, notwithstanding, Almighty God of His goodness preserved them there all the time that they endured this usage for His love.

Mrs. Lawson being with child when they took her, the Lord President, fearing she might die in prison in childbirth, and he be blamed of cruelty, determined, notwithstanding, that she should not go home by any means, but thought to have placed her in some heretic's house; yet his design was crossed therein, for she became so very ill with the stir of her committing to prison that there was no changing her out of that place, and so she was brought to bed in prison. Yet would they not permit the other Catholic gentlewomen to come unto her, except at the time when she was in labour, being indeed in great distress, having a very hard childbirth, and remaining very ill after it. The others had then only a little more liberty than ordinary to come sometimes to her.

But to go on with our courageous matron. She would not confer with ministers, saying she was sure enough of her faith, for when they be content to confer with them, they take it as though [they] doubted. Wherefore she wisely said that she came not there to dispute about her faith, but to profess it. Then they told her how others would confer (which perhaps they did but to move her to it). She answered that was nothing to her what others did, because she should answer but for herself. Nevertheless, sometimes, without show of disputation, she would hit the ministers home, and put them to silence in their objections. As once, she showed unto one of them plainly how that our religion hath all the signs of the true Church, which theirs hath not, and he, not knowing how to

disprove it, said that he would come again and bring with him in writing how their religion had the true signs, but he never came forth with them. 'Twas only a copy of his countenance.

Here in this place was also prisoner at that time Lady Constable, grandmother to Sister Dorothy Lawson, and although they were kept so strictly from each other, yet notwithstanding they had a hundred tricks and devices to cozen the keepers, which would be too long to set down here. Only thus much we cannot omit, that the keeper once having espied how the Lady Constable and Lady Babthorpe were gotten together, he was in fury at them both, and said he was bound in four hundred pounds they should not speak with each other. But our courageous woman replied to him that he was very simple to bind himself in such manner, "for," said she, "a man hath enough to do to keep one woman, and would you undertake to keep and rule six women?" He said then he would break the bar of her door, for she had put a bar in the inside, that the keepers should not come into her chamber when they would. And she answered that if he did so she would appeal to be no more under his keeping, "for," said she, "I stand upon my honour to answer my husband that no man shall have freedom to come into my chamber at his pleasure." Indeed, she had good reason to keep them out, considering what devices she made for the help of her soul. For, having a maid whom she durst trust, she wrote letters in such wise that she got a Priest to come into a grate window of a low room which looked forth out of the castle into a park, and there she went to confession and communicated; as also sometimes helped the Lady Constable there. But he was fain always to come in the night, for by day the keeper often walked thereabout. Yet not content with this, she invented a means how to get in the Priest; for taking a chisel and a hammer, and

getting some to play at shuttlecock, that they might not hear her at such times as she cut the freestone of the window on the inside, where bars of the grate went in, so long time till she could take in the whole window and let in the Priest; and when he was gone, put up the grate again, and nothing was seen on the outside, insomuch that she might well have broken prison herself, but she thought she should be then sent again. Therefore she took it for the best way to make rather her present profit thereof, for by this means she could keep a Priest a whole day within, and assisted also the others with spiritual help.

But to omit other good shifts, at last their husbands got them released, being kept so close that even they themselves might not come to see their wives without either the Lord President or the Bishop's hand with two others. Wherefore they procured some ladies of the Court to tell the Queen how a lady and other gentlewomen were shut up in an old castle, childbearing women, that had house and family to govern, humbly besought Her Majesty for freedom. By this means they obtained a grant for their release, signed with six of the Privy Council's hands. But here came yet another ill chance, if Almighty God had not assisted anew; for the man that was sent down with this licence, had himself a suit before the said Lord President. Wherefore, not daring to disgust him any way, he went and let him understand of all this, and give him time to cross it; who presently, taking it for a disgrace that they should be freed without his consent, sent up to London to have this grant disannulled, but could not prevail, for the ladies who had been bribed hereunto stood hard to have them released. Wherefore it was agreed that he should have the title of doing it, and so they were to be let forth as by his permission, although it was full sore against his will; who, for all that, ordained they should upon ten days warning be

ready to go again to prison when he should please; and in this manner set them free.

Yet, notwithstanding all the rest being got loose, our courageous woman was still detained, because of her great zeal, and for that she would not permit a little daughter of hers, who lived with her in prison, to go unto their service or prayers; and also her maids had still some excuse or other not to be present, because indeed she had commonly such a maid there as was well minded, that she trusted in the foresaid good shifts of her contrivance. But now to go on; seeing that she alone was kept still in prison, her husband sued for her, and desired that since their fault was alike, she might not be used worse than the rest. Whereupon she was to come before the Bishop, and her husband desired her to give him good words that she might get freedom, which she promised to do, and indeed called the Bishop, when she spake to him, "Lordship," much against her will. Who having rated her awhile for her constancy, bade her at length go away, saying he would tell her husband what should become of her, for she deserved not to know; and so released her, having stayed a fortnight longer than the others. After this she should have gone to prison again once or twice, but that she was still with child, and so escaped.

A good time after these turmoils, when her eldest son was married, she got her husband to become a good Catholic; inducing him unto it first by a book which showed plainly how there was no salvation but in the Catholic Church, and then with the Resolution adjoined to this; by the reading of which two books he fully resolved to become a Catholic, and was reconciled to the Church before Queen Elizabeth died. Afterwards, when King James came in, there was great hope that he would be good to Catholics. Wherefore many did give up their names to him, when he demanded

it; among whom Sir Ralph Babthorpe did the same; and thereupon began also to taste the cup of persecution, so well as his wife had done long before. For when he once had professed Catholic religion there was no more living for him at home, but he was fain to go into Lincolnshire, where his son was married (as we shall declare particularly hereafter). And if sometimes he came home he should find bills set upon his door to summon him to appear, and then was fain to depart again in haste. When they saw this way prevailed not to catch him, they would read the said bill of warrant openly in the church, and money was offered unto whosoever could take him and bring him before them. So that always some of the house was fain to go and swear he was not at home, therefore could not incur any penalty by the said warrant. Wherefore, if he chanced at any time to come home for one night, he was forced in the morning betimes to get away, that the aforesaid persons who were to take the oath might swear truly; and once when that great frost was in King James' days, he was in danger [of] drowning upon the way, being on a great river which [there] is to pass between these two mentioned shires. But our Lord preserved him to merit more.

Being therefore thus continually molested, they determined to leave their house in Yorkshire, and so came both to live in London, where also they escaped narrowly a great trouble, for one morning betimes come two pursuivants into their lodging, Sir Ralph being not at home, and said they came to hear Mass with them, which, so soon as the Lady Babthorpe heard, she bid her maid to shut the door, for she had a Priest at the present there, who would have hidden himself, but she said it would be worse if they found him out, for then they should know he was a Priest. Therefore she wished him to remain with her publicly, and let her find an excuse. So in they came, and she said that the Priest was her servant,

affirmed that they would do her an ill turn if they took him away, for he was going to the doctor for her daughter, who indeed was there sick. They would not believe her but had him away with them, which she perceiving got one man, who was a good shifter in such cases, to go and see if he could wring the Priest, by some trick, from the pursuivants. He went and met with them, had them away with him to the tavern, and used the matter so that he got means for the Priest to escape out of their hands, and thus our Lord delivered them from that great danger.

Afterwards they began to come in trouble about the oath of allegiance, for all the Catholics of the shire were summoned to appear within such a time to take the said oath. Upon this Sir Ralph determined to come over seas that he might end his days quietly here, so he procured a licence without date to come over unto the Spa for his health, having indeed had a great fit of sickness some time before, and the doctors affirmed that it was needful for his health to come over. So he came then with his wife and they brought with them their eldest son's daughter, of whom we shall soon speak more, whom she left at St. Omers, and came herself to live in the town in the year 1613, where she remained with her husband, Sir Ralph, until at length she had occasion to go into England to look after their temporal means, and in the meantime Sir Ralph Babthorpe died very blessedly in this town, at a happy time, being taken sick just the last day that he came forth of the Spiritual Exercise. It seems our Lord thereby prepared him for the next life.

When, therefore, this worthy lady heard in England of her husband's death, she presently determined to put her design in execution, remembering that from her young days she found in herself that once she must do something for God, which in later years she plainly felt was to enter Religion, and therefore if her husband would have consented she would have done it in his lifetime, but he

being sickly could not well spare her kind looking to him. Wherefore now, she made no more ado, but provided herself of temporal means for this purpose. But she passed no small difficulties to bring the same unto effect, for her friends and Priests would fain have persuaded her to stay still in the world, as thinking she might do much good there, yet she stood so constant that her vocation was to Religion, as that at length all were fain to yield. Wherefore, having gathered together sufficient means, she came over seas again unto this town, and desired very earnestly to enter in with us, bringing also over with her a young grandchild of hers, named Grace Constable, of whom we shall speak more in due place. So then we receiving her, she was professed, being of the age of about fifty years, having had nine children, one whereof was a Priest and Benedictine, who suffered imprisonment and other troubles, and two younger, Priests of the Society of Jesus. Two daughters of hers were married in England, some of whose children came to Religion, and her daughter Barbara had been at St. Benedict's at Brussels, but could not go forward for a defect in her throat, so she lived afterwards among the Jesuitrices.¹ Thus did this worthy woman, who had so constantly served God all her life, give herself in her old days wholly unto God, taking for Spouse [Him] Whom she had desired so long before, and was to her now *electus ex millibus*, chosen out most wisely above thousands; having also the joy to see her beloved husband so happily to end his days, and go before her to that glory whereunto she after desired to arrive with the greatest perfection she could; seeking to please God by the blessed state of Obedience, Holy Poverty, and Continency.

But to speak also of her grandchild, Sister Frances Babthorpe, she was daughter of Sir William Babthorpe,

¹ The Jesuitesses, founded by Mary Ward in St. Omers, Liège, Cologne, and elsewhere, were suppressed by Pope Urban VIII. in 1631.

Sir Ralph's eldest son, a most constant Catholic, who also suffered very much for his faith, and even when he was a boy sent to school, could never be induced to go to church, although he were never so much urged thereunto; and coming to years married the daughter of William Tyrwhitt, of Kettelby in Lincolnshire, Esquire, who was so devout a Catholic that when his father, Sir Robert Tyrwhitt, died, who had begun to build a fair house upon ground that was Abbey land, he made that which was begun of the building to be left unfinished, saying he would leave it against a Catholic time, that Religion might again live therein and make the building a Monastery.

But to return to Sir William Babthorpe. He came at length into great trouble, for his zeal in defence of religion, by reason that having two Priests found in his house, he would have agreed with the pursuivants for money to let them go, but when he saw by no fair means they would do it, he determined by force to rescue them out of their hands. Wherefore being a tall, strong man, he made no more ado, but drew out his sword, and made the Priests to depart away, keeping the pursuivants the whilst in such fear with his naked sword, that none of them durst to resist him. But afterwards they complained to the Justice, and it was esteemed a great contempt so to resist those vile officers; wherefore he was fined to pay such a sum of money as brought him to great poverty, besides imprisonment almost a whole year. Insomuch he was fain to come over seas, and lived here a long time, only in the place of a common soldier, enduring the want and miseries of such a needy life until at length Almighty God respected the humility of His servant, and ordained that he got a Captain's place,¹ and was able to live according to his degree, and divers of his

¹ "Archer says he was slain by the French near Ardres in 1635." Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 437.

children have entered into Religion, of whom this his daughter Frances was the eldest, who came over with her grandmother, being a child, and lived at St. Omers with the Jesuitrices, until that, being very sickly there, and not liking their kind of life, her grandmother sent for her to live with her in this town, who, so soon as she saw our Monastery, had such a desire to enter in, that her grandmother could have no rest with her unless she placed her here. So that we, seeing her so earnestly to desire it, although she was very young, admitted her until she should be of fit age to be clothed. Wherefore, after that her grandmother entering here upon the decease of her husband, they were both professed together, showing the wonderful work of God in joining one so aged with one so young to serve Him in holy Religion, for she was but seventeen, so that *senes cum junioribus* we do praise our Lord.

In the year 1635 died Sister Grace Babthorpe, who as is said, was the widow of Sir Ralph Babthorpe, and professed with her grandchild here. She lived in Religion devoutly, and gave special example of humility, nothing regarding what she had been before, but submitted herself willingly to all Religious discipline, and honoured the Nuns, though much younger than herself in years. By reason of her age, she grew contracted in her chest, so as she stooped always with her head in her bosom, which brought her at length to her end. For having been some time in the sickhouse, and finding herself very ill, she was removed to a room apart, where they tended her, although we knew not of any danger of death she was in. It happened that being cold weather one morning, as she came from the fire, upon a sudden, going toward her bed, her breath was stopped, and she died outright, though they came to her and used all means to bring her to herself. It was in vain, for the long contraction of her

chest did then as it seems stifle her ; wherefore she could not have the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. For Confession and Communicating she had a day or two before, so as although she died suddenly, but not unprovided, but ended this life happily by such means as the Divine Goodness had ordained as best and fittest for her. She was about thirteen years of her Profession in Religious life, wherein she lived not only with edification to others, but also with great contentment to herself, taking much pains in the reading of her great Office, for by reason of her years she was dispensed from reading and singing with the Choir. Therefore she kneeled by, and performed the divine service by herself, being bound to her Breviary in respect that she was professed a veiled Nun. So much reading apart was very painful to her aged sight, which notwithstanding she performed with great care and diligence for the love of God. As also she bore patiently such things as happened to her contrary to her nature and former breeding, not complaining thereof, though she felt it sometimes hard.

LADY BABTHORPE'S RECOLLECTIONS.

From the manuscript,¹ apparently the original, among the Douay Papers on the Martyrs (p. 260), in the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster.

TO my remembrance it is twenty-nine years since we were committed to Sheriff Hutton Castle. The President was the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Bishop's name was Piers, who was a Priest.²

And 'for the manner of Mr. Thorpe's taking and death, I can remember no more but that of a Palm Sunday evening he was by an evil neighbour of Thomas Watkinson's seen go into his house, or, as some said, that that neighbour of his saw some of Thomas Watkinson's servants to get palms, which was sufficient to assure them that he had a Priest in his house, but they could not be sure of the time. So now, thinking they were sure of one, they with speed went to Mr. John Gates, a Justice of Peace living in Howden, some three miles off, one who was ever ready in such evil employments. So he with his company came so early of Palm Sunday in the morning that, as I heard, they took them in their beds, so carried them away to York, where they were martyred; but the manner of their deaths I remember not; only this, that the good old man was offered his life if he would go to the church, which he refusing, was martyred with the Priest.

¹ *Indorsed*—"Another narration of the Lady Babthorpe, now Professed Religious of St. Augustine's Order in St. Monica's, at Louvain."

² John Piers, made Bishop of Rochester in 1576, translated from Salisbury to York February 19, 1588, died September 28, 1594. Lady Babthorpe's expression shows what she thought of his Anglican Orders.

There was a good Priest, one Mr. Atkinson, in our country, who lived long in doing great service to God, taking great pains in serving the poor, which, without such pains could not have had those helps and comforts that they stood in need of in these times. For divers years he travelled afoot, enduring all weathers, and many times when he had had a weary and wet day, the house to which he went could not receive him in, but that he must stay in some outhouse or corner, he being both wet and cold, and in time of frost and snow, to such times as the owners of the houses could for their safety receive him in. This he used so long, that in a great frost he got a fall and broke his leg, in the cure of which he suffered much, lighting on an evil surgeon; yet after his recovery he used his former charity and pains, but not able to travel afoot much, had a horse to help him. God showed wonderful signs at this man's taking and imprisonment; but what they were I know not well, for I was then in this country, but from York Castle you might have the certainty. One thing was that his irons fell off his legs when the keeper had fastened them on. This being reported, the Lord Sheffield, who was then President, sent for the keeper to know if it were true, who confessed the truth. Another charity the good man used, was that when he came to poor folks' houses, he would not let them be at any charge, but both found himself meat and them, and gave them money too. So that what he received of those that were able he bestowed on the poor.

There was a cruel and barbarous persecution used by the Earl of Exeter to the prisoners in York Castle, by forcing them to come to sermons against their consciences, for they endured imprisonment for that they would not go to church nor sermons; but he thought to win them by forcing them to hear the ministers' sermons; and when the prisoners would not go to hear them, he forced them

to be hauled and drawn by force, both men and women, and when they made such resistance as they could not drag them, they carried them upon coulstaffs,¹ and when they stopped their ears that they might not hear the sermons, then he made their hands be holden that they should not stop their ears. Then the poor prisoners helped themselves by making such a noise that the preacher could not be heard. Then he put gags in their mouths, that they could make no help for themselves. Two of the chiefest prisoners were Mr. Stillington and Mr. Danby, gentlemen of good account. Mr. Stillington took another course, for he, being a student, interrupted the ministers so in their sermons, presently as he heard them allege any falsehood, he spoke and told him as he lied, and himself alleged the place truly. This did so vex them that they were forced to break up, for the minister could not go on for him, unless he would have preached the truth, which he could not in their doctrine. Yet the President would not let it be left, but every week once or twice they must be forced to come to hear these sermons; for he alleged for his warrant in thus forcing them, that of our Saviour in the Gospel to compel such to come. At last, the ministers themselves caused this to be left, for they refused to preach any more to them, for they were much disgraced by Mr. Stillington's course he took with them. This relation you may have from our country much better and more than I can remember of it, for I know there are memories kept of it.²

¹ "Coulstaff, a large staff, on which a burden is carried between two on their shoulders." *Johnson*.

² "An account of the behaviour of the Catholic prisoners in York Castle, when by order of Lord Burleigh, at that time Lord President of the North, the said Catholic recusants, in number fifty-three, were dragged into the hall of the Castle, and there forcibly detained to hear Protestant sermons once a week for the space of one year, or thereabouts, written by W. R[ichmont], Priest." The manuscript is among the Stonyhurst papers. Bishop Challoner gives several pages of extracts in the appendix to the first volume of his *Missionary Priests*.

Another thing happened in York Castle to some prisoners there, which was this. There was a minister put into York Castle for his misdemeanour, but what his crime was I remember not, but he to relieve himself and win his credit again, he put a trick upon the Catholics. And this it was. He seemed to them to be so repentant for his former life and that he had not known the truth, which now he desired to know, and therefore with show of desire to be made a Catholic that they believed him, and in the prison they could not as it seemed help him, so means was made that he should have liberty for some time, and a Catholic which was but newly made so, but very zealous to do good, which lived in Howden, whose name was Abbott, this man the Catholic prisoners sent for, and commended this minister to him that he should procure him a Priest by whom he might be reconciled. This man did his best to procure him one, and as I remember carried him to Mr. Stapleton's of Carltons House, for I think Abbott was the best acquainted there but sped not, so when the minister had got so much as would put them all in danger of the law, he showed all to the magistrates, so both Abbott, and two or three, but I rather think three, of the men prisoners were hanged, drawn, and quartered as traitors, and two gentlewomen were condemned to be burned, all for this good help they would have made this ungracious minister. The men's names that were the prisoners I have forgot, all but one whose name was William Knight. The gentlewomen's names, the one was Mrs. Tesh, the other I cannot remember. The women were by means of their friends reprieved from time to time, to the King's coming, of whom their friends got their pardon. Now for Mr. Stapleton, both he and his wife were in great trouble for it, but how they escaped, I remember not, but if you desire any more knowledge of this, you may from York Castle, I suppose, have it.

Some other such things I remember but so imperfectly, yet so much as I do you shall understand, that knowing something you may of others learn more.

There was in the Queen's time one a lay Catholic in our county of Yorkshire, that was accused for giving a Priest a pot of ale, being in their journey. Whether they travelled together or met by chance at that house to drink I know not, nor how this man can be accused for this I remember not, it is so long ago. But this I know. He suffered death for paying for the drink the Priest drank. As I heard, it was but one pot, which was some penny or twopence. This layman died constantly. His name I remember not. He had a Priest to his brother,¹ whose brains and head was broken, so when he fell into their hands did not so well as his brother had done. Their names I remember not.

There was a gentleman, one Mr. Bowes, a married man, who had wife and children, and kept a schoolmaster to teach his children. This schoolmaster accused his master for receiving Priests into his house. This fellow was a Catholic, and so came to know such men for Priests which his master entertained, but the gentleman himself was no Catholic, but a poor schismatic. Upon his schoolmaster's accusation to the Council at York, this Mr. Bowes was sent for to answer this complaint made of him; after which answer he was suffered to go home and to appear again at the assizes, which he did, thinking himself secure; but at his coming again he was presently indicted, condemned, and hanged, and, as it was reported, in his boots and spurs as he came to the town. He died very willingly, and professed his faith, with great repentance that he had lived in schism.

There happened in Hemingborough parish a thing worth memory, which was this. There was a Catholic man that had been long in York Castle for his conscience,

¹ That is, his brother was a Priest.

and having procured liberty to come home after many years imprisonment, living at home, went one time to visit an old man of his acquaintance, and seeing him not likely to live long, entered into some good talk with him concerning his soul, and used some persuasions to move him to provide for death and the safety of his soul by making himself a Catholic. This came to the knowledge of one William Knight, who was uncle to the other of that name whom I have mentioned before, and was a martyr. This his bad uncle was the first cause of his imprisonment. Upon this occasion the good youth, coming to man's estate, came to his uncle about some land which was due to him. Whether the uncle had the land in his possession, or the writings by which the young man should come to his land, I remember not ; but knowing his nephew to be Catholic, took him and sent him to prison, where he remained till he got the crown of martyrdom. If he would have gone to the church, his uncle would not have sent him to prison, but have given him his land. This bad William Knight, hearing of this good counsel that the prisoner had given his neighbour, determined to bring him within the danger of the Statute of Persuasion, which is treason ; and for that end took the minister of the parish with him, whose name was Knighton, and some others to be witnesses, determining to take the old man's oath that the other had persuaded him. So as they were going, Knight was forced to stay to untruss, and in such manner handled that he was forced to turn back. So the minister and the rest, having no such malice, would not go on, but returned. And Knight's disease left him not till he died, which was within some short time. I am not certain how few days. I had this from the minister himself, who did acknowledge it to be God's just judgment upon him.

For the poor Catholics in our parish of Hemingborough, the persecution has been greater than I can relate, for no Catholic could keep any goods, no, not the

poor folks keep a cow to give their children milk, but it was taken from them; and of late years they forced them to pay 12*d.* every Sunday. And of such as had not money, they take their goods, and of the poor that had not great goods, they took such things as they found in their houses, as their vessels, of some their porridge pots, and of others clothes off their beds, and if they had more coats than that on their backs, they took them, and of one that had, with her work in the summer, got a piece of cloth to clothe her children with, they took it from her; and those they could get nothing of, they sent to prison.

For ourselves, my husband was so much persecuted after he was known to be Catholic, that although he paid the statute, yet he could not be permitted to live at home, but every fortnight or month at the farthest, he was sent for to appear before the Bishop and Commissioners at York; which if he did, he was sure to be committed to prison, and if he did not, he was to be fined by the Court 50*l.* every time; for the avoiding of which he was obliged to fly from home upon the hearing of the warrants coming forth against him. For he being well beloved as he was with his neighbours, he always got intelligence, and then to avoid the penalty, he must needs be forth of the country. So he could not live a week at home, and of necessity he must have one to go and appear for him, and take their oath that he was not in the country when the warrant came forth for him. Then they took a course to send to the minister of the parish a warrant to be read openly in the church against him, and after it was read, it was put upon the church door, there to be seen for his more disgrace, and withal command and warrant to all men to attach him, with promise of a good sum for their part. All this was only for his recusancy. Then when the oath was offered, he was one of the first that was sent for, which was the cause of his coming into this country,

where he suffered something considering how he had lived in his own country, especially before he fell into the troubles.

This, Reverend Father, is, for the present, all I remember, for it were too long and tedious to remember what we and our children have suffered. Yet it pleased God to be as much served in our house as in any other place, for we were never without the comfort of His Priests, and as often three or four at a time as one; and whosoever wanted a place till they were provided, our house was their stay, so good a man was my husband.

My son, after our coming away, used the same courses, so fell into a great trouble, having two Priests in his house taken, for whose delivery he offered the pursuivants money, which they were content to take to keep him forth of danger in not showing where they took them, but the men they would not let go, so my son would not agree with them, but forced the pursuivants to go without them, for he would not save himself and suffer them to be taken, for which act he paid dear both with imprisonment and a great fine imposed upon him.

Our latest trace of the ancient family of Bapthorpe is to be found in the *Chronicles* of the Convent at Bruges, and of the houses of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Burghausen and York.

Ursula Babthorpe, the great grandchild of our Lady Babthorpe, entered the Convent at Bruges as Convictress, at the age of eight years, in 1660, two years before the death of her aunt, whose name she bore. As she did not die till the Feast of All Saints, 1719, the house for eighty-five years was not without an Ursula Babthorpe. "She was born in these countries, but her parents were English, of very ancient families, though by misfortunes reduced to such low circumstances, that they had

not a sufficiency to maintain and settle their children. Nevertheless, God's special providence provided for each of them the most honourable and happy settlement in the state of holy Religion, and there are now none of the family left but one of the brothers, who is now an ancient Father of the Society of Jesus, and a sister, who is supreme Superior of an Order in Germany called *L'Institut de Ste. Marie.*"

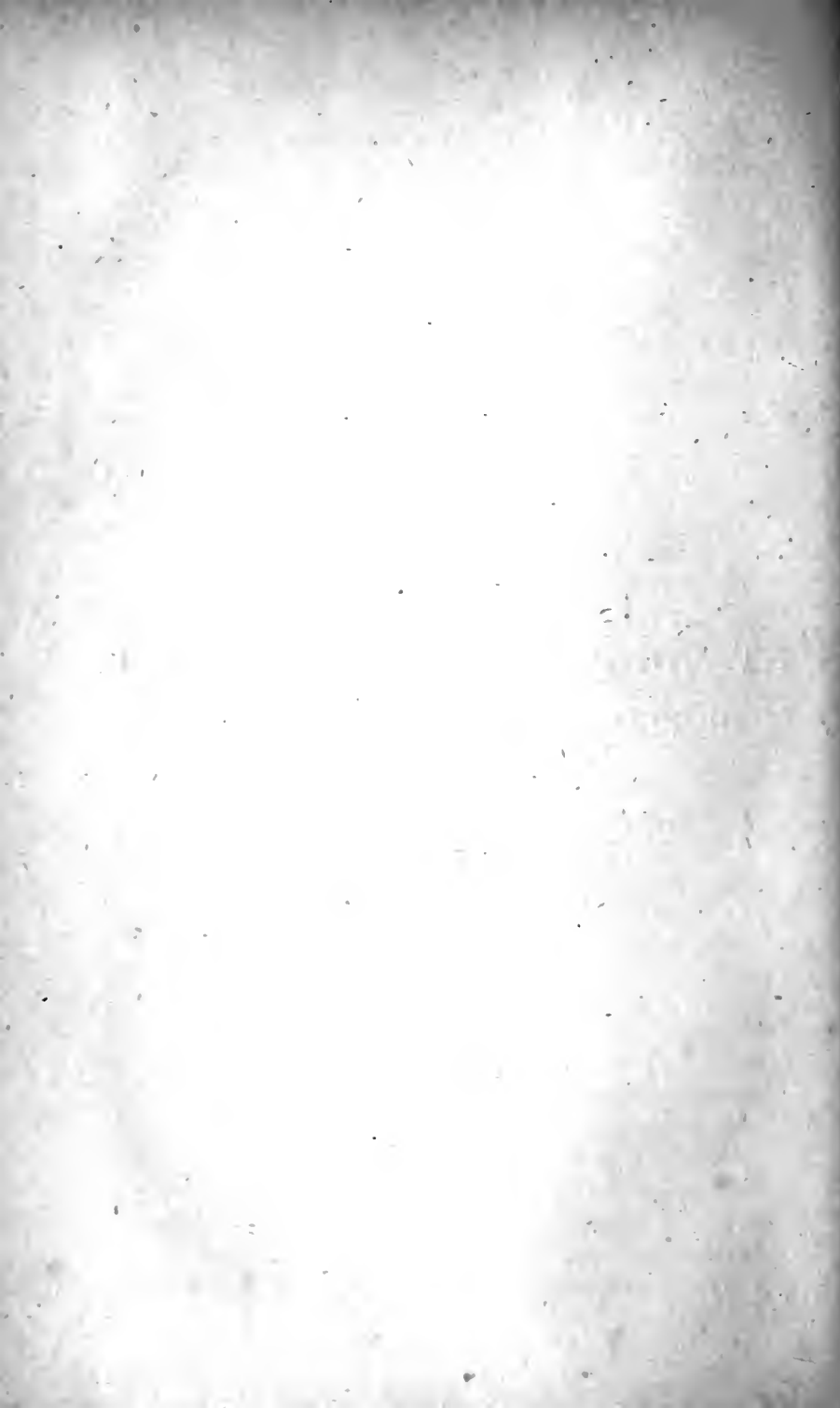
Three members of the Babthorpe family were Superioresses-General of the Institute of the Blessed Virgin. "Barbara Babthorpe filled the office of Superioress nine years, living at Rome, after which time she resigned her office, out of desire to die under obedience. She died April 23, 1654, aged sixty-two, and was buried at Rome in the church of the English College."

"Mary Anne Barbara Babthorpe, cousin of the aforementioned, guided the Institute with great wisdom thirteen years and six months, and transferred the seat of Chief Superioress from Rome to Munich, where she died March 10, 1711, aged sixty-four. The signal services she did the Institute, procured her the title of Foundress, for it was she who collected the Constitutions, settled the Customs, and laboured zealously to procure the confirmation of our holy rules. The approbation of the rules was granted by Pope Clement XI., June 13, 1703, who confirmed Mary Anne Barbara Babthorpe as Chief Superioress. She was succeeded by her sister, Mary Agnes Babthorpe, who, after a wise government of nine years, died at Munich, February 20, 1720, aged sixty-six years."

The last survivor of the Babthorpes was Father Albert Babthorpe, S.J., who died April 13, 1720, and thus this ancient family ended in the twentieth generation from Ausbord de Babthorpe.

VI.

ST. MONICA'S CONVENT IN WAR,
PESTILENCE, AND POVERTY.



ST. MONICA'S CONVENT IN WAR, PESTILENCE, AND POVERTY.

IN the Life of Mother Margaret Clement we have given the foundation of St. Monica's Convent in the words of its own *Chronicle*. We now proceed to extract from the same record the foundation of its colony at Bruges. And as it was at Bruges that one half of the Community of St. Monica's found refuge during the terrors of the siege of Louvain, this will serve as a preface to the story of that siege, as far as the Convent was affected by it. If we conclude with some few further extracts relating to the general history of the Convent to the date of its Jubilee, there will then remain the family histories of the Nuns, which we reserve for a place in a subsequent volume.

The siege of Louvain was an episode towards the close of the war between Spain and her enemies in the Netherlands, that had now lasted with more or less activity nearly eighty years. In 1515 Charles, afterwards the Emperor Charles V., became the ruler of Flanders, and in the year following he succeeded to the crown of Spain. His son Philip II., the husband of our Queen Mary, gave the Netherlands as a dowry to his daughter Isabella, the Infanta of Spain, on the occasion of her marriage with the Archduke Albert. "The Archdukes," as they were called, reached the Low Countries in 1599.

Twenty years before this, seven provinces of Holland had united against Spain under William of Orange, their Stadtholder. William was assassinated in 1584, and the war with Spain was continued by his son Maurice. The independence of Holland was for the first time recognized by Spain in the truce that was

signed at Antwerp in 1609. It lasted to the death of the Archduke Albert in 1621. On the death of Isabella in 1633, Philip IV. reunited the Netherlands to the crown of Spain, and sent his brother Ferdinand there as Governor-General.

The Dutch continued hostilities with Spain in 1625 under Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, successor to his brother Maurice, who died in that year. He took Oldenseel in 1626, Groll in 1627, Santvliet in 1628, Bois-le-duc in 1629, Venloo, Straelen, and Ruremonde in 1631, Maestricht and Limbourg in 1632. In 1635 Cardinal Richelieu, in alliance with the United Provinces, declared war against Spain, and the allied forces entered Brabant, sacked Tirlemont, and unsuccessfully besieged Louvain. The Spaniards captured Diest; in 1636 Ferdinand invaded Picardy; in 1637 he retook Venloo and Ruremonde. In 1641 the French took Arras, which had been accounted impregnable.

Such were the warlike events in the more immediate neighbourhood of Louvain, but the theatre of war was on a vastly larger scale, for the Thirty Years' War was then raging, in which all the chief States of Europe were engaged. It was closed by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The first mention in *St. Monica's Chronicle* of the state of war occurs when Mother Clement was Prioress of St. Ursula's. "For the Prince of Orange then revolting, and joining with heretics, the wars began in these countries, and one time there was a rumour spread in the town that the enemies were gotten in and were killing the people in the streets; but soon after this came news again that all was but a false rumour, and no such matter as was related, frightening all with a false alarm." As this was apparently in 1572, the Prince of Orange was William of Nassau, the first Stadtholder.

The second alarm, being in 1622, was while Prince Maurice of Nassau was at the head of the United Provinces of Holland. "After Whitsuntide we were much frightened with a sudden invasion of the Hollanders, our enemies, who through the carelessness of those who kept the waters had gotten the liberty to make a bridge, so that a good company of soldiers came over and got into these parts with armed might, burning houses and spoiling

the country, coming even to the gates of Brussels, and of this town also, which made us in heavy case, by reason there were no soldiers in the town to defend it. The Religious men were fain to run to the walls, and Priests were forced to turn soldiers. In the English College of St. John's was one Father who had been a soldier, to wit, Captain Stanley, who assisted well in this necessity, for he made them to trench up some of the town gates with earth, that the enemy might not break them open with their cannon shot; as also he set the rest in order, and taught them what to do. But the enemies (as God would have it) had not the heart to assault the town, thinking themselves too few for such an exploit. Only they burned houses even to the town gates, and so at length departed, to our great joy, who were all in extreme fear. For, not to omit what passed the whilst in our Monastery, here was almost continual prayer kept, and many had heavy hearts, not knowing what would happen. The Religious that lived without the town were gotten in to save themselves, and brought also their sheep and cattle for safeguard, so that in the night our great court, which is now taken in to ourselves, was full of sheep to be kept here. At one time we heard a false rumour that the enemies were gotten into the town and entered the market-place; whereupon we all went to the choir, and there, prostrate on the ground, prayed unto our Lord for help and assistance in this great distress. Many a bitter tear was then shed, until we heard again it was not so, that the enemies were not gotten into the town. Thus did Almighty God send us a trial to see how we would be prepared to stand constant if we should have been brought to that great misery. Some were not much afraid, but desirous of martyrdom. Others feared the violence of the soldiers more than to lose their lives. Finally, our hope alone was in God, that He would assist us to stand constant in His love, whatsoever might happen."

The Prince of Orange of the following narrative was Frederic Henry, the grandfather of William III., King of England and Stadtholder of Holland.

Richard Stanihurst is mentioned in the course of the *Chronicle*, and it may be well to give in this place two passages concerning him which are too long to be admissible in a footnote.

He was the son of James Stanihurst, of Court Duffe in Ireland, Recorder of Dublin and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in several Parliaments. He was born in Dublin about 1546, and in 1563 he was sent to University College, Oxford. Here he became intimate with the famous Edmund Campion. In Father Persons *Life of Campion*,¹ he is mentioned in the following passages. "When about some four years after this, Mr. Campion was departed out of the realm and gone over sea to Douay, Cecil said to a certain especial friend of Mr. Campion's, named Richard Stanihurst, gentleman, of Ireland, with whom Mr. Campion had left Oxford and gone to Ireland, as in the next chapter more in particular shall be declared,—Cecil, that old fox, affirmed that it was very great pity to see so notable a man as Campion was, to leave his country, for that indeed (said he) he was one of the diamonds of England."

"But yet for the present he [Father Campion] determined only with himself to leave the realm of England, and this resolution he imparted in secret with his friend, the forenamed Mr. Richard Stanihurst, a very Catholic gentleman and of good reputation in the University of Oxford both for his life and learning, who having his father alive at that time in Ireland, a grave and wise gentleman named James Stanihurst, very Catholic, and for that respect had declined the Chancellorship of that realm, which otherwise he might have had, he invited Mr. Campion to go with him into Ireland, which he accepted, and having ended his proctorship in Oxford and given very good accompt of the same to the University, he made an eloquent oration of thanksgiving, and after that, departed from Oxford the 1st day of August, 1569."

From this it would appear that the Biographical Dictionaries are wrong in saying that Richard Stanihurst *became* a Catholic when he returned to Ireland, or that his father ceased to be one. Father Persons could hardly have been ignorant of such an apostacy.

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., Father Grene's *Collectan. P.*, ff. 79, 83.

ST. MONICA'S CONVENT DURING THE SIEGE OF LOUVAIN.

From the manuscript belonging to St. Augustine's Priory, Abbotsleigh.

IT happened in the year 1629 that the Lady Lovel¹ departed this life without accomplishing the erection of her Monastery which she had long laboured to set up ; for having erected the Cloister of English Teresians at Antwerp, she was very desirous to set up also a Monastery of St. Bernard's Order, and to that purpose had bought a house in the town of Bruges in Flanders, and for Superior or Abbess she had procured an ancient English Nun named Margaret Lin, of St. Bernard's Order, that lived in a Monastery of Walloons. But it seems Almighty God would not have this work go forward, for he took away the said Lady Lovel just at the upshot of the business whereby all was dashed, and she left by her will the house of Bruges to the English Fathers of the Society of Jesus. Also the English Bernardine Nun died soon after.

About which time we here, finding our Monastery so burthened with persons that we had not convenient room to receive many more, agreed in our Council and yearly Consultation to seek for to amplify our Order by setting up of another Monastery, whereby sending thither ten Nuns we should make room here to receive more

¹ Mary Roper, the daughter of John, first Lord Teynham, and the widow of Sir Robert Lovel. She was the sister of Mrs. Elizabeth Vaux, Father Gerard's friend.

persons: and hearing that the English Jesuits were willing to sell the house at Bruges, which my Lady Lovel had left them, we agreed to buy the same, for to make our Cloister there, with the money of some rents of ours which were then laid off at Ghent at the Mount of Piety,¹ if the house were fit for our purpose. Whereupon our Reverend Father Barnes, who also was very desirous to have us increase to more Convents, went thither to see it, and liked it well, by reason that although it were but little, yet it was commodious to make a Cloister of. So then he spoke with the English Jesuits, who were desirous to sell the house because it was not fit for them; and one of them, Father Edward Silisdon, being then Rector of the College in Ghent, came hither and spoke with our Reverend Mother [Sister Mary Wiseman²] about the matter, so as we concluded and bought it, giving the same price which my Lady Lovel had given when she bought it.³ After this we consulted here to send thither ten Nuns, giving them 10*l.* a head every year, which amounted to 100*l.* yearly; but when we came to get the town's goodwill of Bruges, and licence of the Bishop there to admit, it was thought too little in respect of the dear time, so that the town would not consent [to receive] them unless we allowed every one 15*l.* a piece yearly, fearing lest otherwise they might become burthensome unto their town. This we were forced to yield unto, or else they could not be admitted, although we had procured the licence of the Infanta (of happy memory) who then lived. With this, all was concluded; and our Reverend Father went divers times to accommodate the

¹ A "Mount of Piety," that is, of pity for the poor, was a pawnbroking establishment, under ecclesiastical sanction and supervision. Its object was to lend money to the poor on deposits at a very low rate of interest. The plan originated at Perugia in 1450.

² She died July 8, 1633, and was succeeded by Sister Magdalen Throckmorton.

³ "It cost 340*l.* sterling," says the *Bruges Chronicle*.

house, being put in possession by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus.

Now remained to determine which of our Sisters should be sent thither to begin the new Monastery. Whereupon our Reverend Mother chose out for Superior and Prioress Sister Frances Stanford,¹ judging her to be a fit woman because she was wise and discreet, a peaceful person and well beloved; for Subprioress she appointed Sister Anne Tremaine,² one of our old Sisters that came from St. Ursula's in the later company; and for Procuratrix Sister Mary Best, the younger, who had well the Dutch language, and was handsome in exterior things, and charitable, being here a long time our Refectrice, and served the Sisters with great care and kindness. Next was chosen Sister Mary Altham,³ a good devout Sister, and very strict in regular observance, who was at that time mistress of the scholars here, and going with them, was made there Mistress of the Novices also. Another appointed to go was Sister Elizabeth Lovel,⁴ who had the Dutch language, and [having] a good voice, was made their Chantress. These five were sent first away upon the 11th of September, within the octave of our Blessed Lady's Nativity. We had, the night before, recreation in

¹ Professed in 1619 with Perpetua Best, the sister of Mary Best, who made her profession in 1615.

² Professed in 1601, died in 1637.

³ "A young gentlewoman, designed for our Monastery by Mr. Cooper, a worthy Priest then prisoner in Newgate;" professed June 12, 1616, died in 1661.

⁴ "In 1621, upon the 6th of July, being then Trinity Sunday, was professed Sister Elizabeth Lovel, niece to the Lady Lovel who lived in these parts with her grandmother, Lady Cross." "In 1634, after young Lady Babthorpe's death, of the plague, two of the Lay-sisters that had been about her got the plague too, and lying very sick in the Father's house, Sister Elizabeth Lovel was so fervent in charity that she got leave of the Mother with much intreaty to go out and serve them. After that, she took leave of the Nuns within, as one going to her end, and continued well one week's space, serving them very diligently, but after that she fell sick herself and died most happily, with great devotion and much contentment, having long before desired to die. The two Lay-sisters recovered."

the refectory; and the next day in the morning, after the first Mass, a coach came to fetch them away. At their parting was weeping on both sides, as necessarily it must be at the parting of Sisters. They were well provided of clothes and all such household stuff as was profitable, which filled up a waggon. With them went also one scholar from hence, named Ursula Palmes, grandchild to the Lady Babthorpe by one of her daughters that married Sir George Palmes, a good Catholic; and one of our Lay-sisters whom they desired, Sister Alexia Hobdey,¹ but she returned home again when they had taken their Lay-sisters to do their work. They had to accompany them a Dutch Canon Regular named Father Peter,² who used daily to say Mass in our church, and a worldly English gentleman, Mr. Fairfax, who studied in this town.

Our Reverend Father Barnes was at Bruges expecting them, having gone thither before with two of our Lay-sisters to accommodate the house, they visiting by the way the English Nuns at Ghent. When they arrived at Bruges,³ they surrendered themselves under the obedience of the Bishop, and, that see at the present being vacant, unto the Archdeacon of the bishopric, who supplied his place as the manner is. As also presently thereupon they made their election of a Prioress, and chose Sister Frances Standford as had been appointed here, Sister Anne Tremaine Subprioress, and the rest as hath been before

¹ "Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Hobdey; her parents were no Catholics, but well minded and of good moral life. She went to serve the Lady Jerningham, and in that house lived her own cousin, who was a Priest, but she knew it not. He, notwithstanding, took care of her, and instructed her in Catholic religion, and afterwards reconciled her to the Church at the age of thirteen years. She came to be a Lay-sister where her former mistress's niece was, to wit, Sister Magdalen Throckmorton." She was professed September 29, 1624.

² Father Peter Paris, a Canon Regular of Grinendal. *Bruges Chronicle*.

³ "On the 14th of September, the Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, which is therefore held the Feast of the Foundation of our house." *Bruges Chronicle*.

declared. Some time after our Reverend' Father Barnes returned home again with the two Lay-sisters that went to dress up the house as is said.

But he returned again to Bruges with the next company that went thither of five Nuns more, which were appointed by our Reverend Mother out of the younger sort, of such as had much kindred in the house, parting them. As of the four natural sisters Claptons,¹ which were professed here together, the two middlemost of them were sent away, Sister Barbara and Sister Lidwin Clapton, the eldest and youngest remaining here. Then also was sent Sister Grace Constable,² grand-daughter to the Lady Babthorpe, whom she brought into the Cloister with her. Next to her was Sister Mary Gifford, niece to Sister Anne Gifford, her eldest brother's daughter.³ The fifth was Sister Elizabeth Brunal,⁴ who, being a good housewifely woman and of great experience in the world, was judged fit to do them good service. These five were sent away in such wise as the others before, upon the 11th of October, our holy Father St. Augustine's Translation, and coming to their Monastery they made their obedience to the Mother at Bruges as the manner is, and then were placed in divers offices.

So was their Cloister begun and furnished with persons, dedicated in the honour of our Blessed Lady's Nativity, because it first began within her octave, and hath since, God be thanked, increased with the receipt of many gentlewomen that came out of England unto them. But

¹ Daughters of William and Anne Clapton or Clopton of Sledeswick, Durham, and Clopton, Warwickshire; nieces of Joyce Countess of Totness. Barbara (her baptismal name was Joyce) died in 1674, and Lidwin (whose name was Jane) in 1669. They were professed with their sisters, Mary and Catharine, August 29, 1622.

² *Vide supra*, p. 221. She died in 1673. "She wrote many antiphon and Mass books for the choir." *Bruges Chronicle*.

³ She was the daughter of Peter Gifford, of Chillington in Staffordshire, professed August 10, 1625, died in 1675.

⁴ The *Bruges Chronicle* calls her Brereton. She died in 1646.

Sister Mary Best, being before she went hence entered into consumption, after one year that she had been Procuratrix there, fell deep into her infirmity, and dying made a happy end. Our Reverend Father Barnes was forced to go still by whiles thither, and in his absence they went to confession to one Dr. Weston, an English Priest that lived at Bruges, until such time as they procured a ghostly Father out of the College at Douay, a Priest named Mr. Bourd,¹ a good scholar and devout man, who serveth them still when this was written.

In the year 1635 upon St. Thomas of Aquin's Day in Lent died the Prioress of our Monastery at Bruges, Sister Frances Standford, having been but sickly all the time of her government, and the last year of her life very ill with a lingering ague that consumed her. She made a very blessed end, having governed that Cloister above five years with good edification, wisdom, and mildness; laudably performing her office of Superior, though it was against her will and mind, for she loved better to obey than command. After her death they remained a good while, without a new Superior, by reason they could not well determine upon the election, for first they had chosen Sister Grace Constable, their Procuratrix, as the most fit among them for government, but the Bishop would not accept of her by reason that she was much too young, but desired them to choose a Superior from hence, whereupon they agreed together and elected Sister Mary Pole² for their Superior, and hither sent their servant for her, but she refused to accept the charge until they had agreed to some things which she required, so he was fain to go back for that time without her, until they sent him again with

¹ The *Bruges Chronicle* gives the name as James Blomfield, who came to them from Douay in 1630, and died in 1658.

² Mary Pole, or as the *Chronicle* always spells the name, Pool, was the great grand-daughter of Sir Richard Pole, K.G., and Margaret Countess of Salisbury. She was therefore the grand niece of Cardinal Pole.

satisfaction of what she demanded. In all which doings time passed away so that it was already the month of May, and she upon the eighth day of the said month departed hence, being dismissed with the consent and good liking of our Convent and theirs, as judged fit for the purpose, being a wise, prudent, and virtuous woman, and of good sufficiency for such a charge, but somewhat aged.

Our Reverend Father Barnes went with her and a Lay-sister which was to return home again with our Father. She went thither by Antwerp, because our good friend Mr. Clifford desired to see and confer with her about business, for he used to assist both our houses; as also being there she was most kindly and costly entertained by the English Teresians, who loved our house much, and so after that arrived at Bruges, and was very welcome to them, especially the Bishop there, being glad they had chosen a Superior that could speak the language, for she had the French tongue perfect, having lived some years in France before her entry into Religion. So she was installed in her office with the liking and joy of them who had so long wanted a Superior.

Soon after her departure hence came upon us that great tribulation memorable to posterity, for the Hollanders, assisted by the King of France, gathered a mighty army of Frenchmen besides their own, and got entry into this province, being let in by those of Liége, who were in league both with them and our Prince. These Hollanders, then, under the conduct of the Prince of Orange, having much confederacy with many chief men of this country, intended fully to have overrun and vanquished the whole country and abolished Catholic religion, bringing in heresy, but Almighty God ordained that the King of Spain had sent here at that time his own brother, a virtuous and innocent Prince, to govern this country after the Infanta's death (who was deceased), and he, obtaining help from the

Emperor, at length saved the country. But first the enemies made foul havoc, for having obtained in a skirmish the victory of our men through the treacherous proceedings of our horsemen, the Prince Ferdinando was fain to retire himself hither to fortify this town, and left Tirlmont, where before he lay, with a good garrison of soldiers therein. Upon his departure presently the enemy set upon the town and by violence took it, although composition was in hand between the town and the Prince of Orange. Nevertheless, they got in with such fury, and used such violence and abominations for the space of three days as is sufficiently known and therefore needeth here no further declaration. We hearing the news thereof upon the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, it struck a cold fear into those of this town, insomuch that the Religious women determined to fly hence in time, and many worldly women also, upon the report of the horrible outrages at Tirlmont, for it was most terrible and fearful to hear of. We, then, being in great perplexity, our Reverend Mother consulted with our Fathers what was best to be done, and at first they thought we must all have fled, the danger being so imminent; but afterwards it was agreed that only first they that were most fearful and timorous should go, and the rest stay with our Mother till this town was in more danger, for as yet the Prince lay here with his army. Hereupon we were all called together in the chapter house, and then our Reverend Mother, with a heavy heart, gave free leave to all that would, to fly, and she provided means for them, as also ordained that our second Father, Mr. White, shall have care of them. The rest that would stay with her behind till more danger, had also freedom to do as liked them best. Then did half the Convent choose to fly, and the other half chose to stay, and all things were ordered in the best manner we could, though with most bitter affliction in our hearts. Within a day or two waggons

were provided, and thirty-five persons went away upon St. Anthony of Padua's Day, as also all the Religious women of this town fled. We then remained here in great fear and suspence what would happen, for the enemies, after their vile and base ransack having set on fire the town of Tirlemont, came directly to this city, but by reason that the Prince was here then with a great army they durst not besiege it, only lay hovering here about a week, and then at length by a trick of treachery, they removed our Prince and army hence. For agreeing with some spies which got secretly in, that they should cast wild fire about in the night to set this town afire, they did so, and thought to have set it afire in four quarters of the city, as they afterwards confessed that were taken, but the wild fire did not take hold more than in one quarter, which was near the place where the Prince lodged, who seeing the town on fire commanded presently the soldiers should go to keep the walls while others were quenching it, as fearing some treachery. The fire consumed some houses before it could be stayed, and in the meantime the crafty enemy got on this side the town, not setting upon the walls as was imagined, but got further into the country, where before he could not come, so as our Prince was forced with his army to make away to defend other places, leaving here a strong garrison of five thousand men, and got himself into Brussels, not without great danger of his person.

We were then here in a pitiful case, hearing the enemies had taken hold of the waters, and no succour could come to us that way; so as we were then caged in and all safe means of flying barred. Then did we cast ourselves into the providence of God with resignation to suffer whatsoever He should permit, as knowing that nothing could befall us without His permission. Nevertheless, the fear of those wicked soldiers and cruel villains was most terrible and made us to live in great fear with heavy hearts, praying and calling upon God to defend us, and our Blessed Lady,

Queen of Virgins, for the loss of our lives we counted nothing in comparison of that other misery and danger. The enemies then made a bravado before the town of Brussels, but yet at length retired and only wasted the country and killed many of the clowns, taking their wives and daughters, and murdering children so as one hundred infants were found slain by them and laid in a church.

After this they determined to return hither, and take first our town into their hands, which they thought to do with small difficulty. Therefore upon Midsummer Day, being then Sunday, their whole army approached hither, and if Almighty God had not blinded the enemies not to see what was best for them, they might easily have taken the town at their first coming. But lingering about awhile as thinking and saying the town should be their breakfast next day, we had time to fortify ourselves; wherefore, after dinner on St. John's Day we perceived a great fire near the town, and sending out to know what it was, we understood that our men did burn up some houses that stood near the town, to the end that the enemies should not shelter themselves there and molest the town. We then went up into the high garret over the church, where we saw the fire, and perceived also the enemies upon the hills near the town riding fast up and down. At night also that day of Midsummer we saw a little village near the city on fire, which was likewise done by our own folks, who made fortifications and half moons beyond the walls on the outside for to keep off the enemies' near approach.

The Prince of Orange sent a trumpeter (as the manner is) to bid the town yield, or else threatened to batter it apieces, but our good Prince had placed here a stout and worthy man for Governor, one who before had been Governor of Bois-le-duc, and held it out bravely until the last, and when it must needs yield, yet brought the enemy to good conditions. This man then, wisely taking the letters and messages of the Prince of Orange, answered

him as he thought best, and never made the citizens acquainted therewith at the present, as knowing well their fearful minds would have yielded the town upon such threats.

Then our men day and night filled the walls and the fortifications, shooting almost continually. So as our cannons, beginning then to roar, made us learn to bear the noise and tumult of war, which continued of our side two or three days, for seeing the enemies labouring to set up their artillery against us, our men killed them still as they were working. Yet, notwithstanding, they continued their work (as the manner is) until they had set up (some say) thirty pieces of artillery and great cannons wherewith they intended indeed to batter the town wholly. And all this while our men and artillery did so shoot at them that we could not sleep in the night with the noise, only we had yet the comfort that the great shooting was of our side until Wednesday morning (being then the 27th of June and the day fortnight after our Sisters' departure), after our Prime was out, there came news to us in the choir that they thought our Cloister to be on fire, for some of the first shot of the enemies lighted full upon the Cloister, and had pierced through two thick walls of a low room, as also above battered down a cell, where one of our Lay-sisters took up a great ball of forty pounds weight, and brought in her lap by the choir to show us; but otherwise our house was not on fire, only the fury of the shot made folks to think so at first. So as our neighbours came to give us warning thereof, ringing so long a peal at the gate as struck us to the heart, fearing some ill news, which proved to be this.

Then did our Reverend Father come in, and we all flocked about him and our Reverend Mother, consulting what to do, whether we should go further into the town, for some had offered us their houses, or whether we

should stay here in danger of our lives, and our Father thought it best we should stay here, remaining on this side of the house, and in the new building, where the cannon shot had not yet lighted, as also to stay only in the low rooms, as in the church, vestry, and the places thereabout, the grate, and our Mother's low chamber; for that if we should go into the town, we might be in as much and more danger there than here. We therefore resolved to stay, only we removed our things to this side of the house. Our Office we said in the church below, and the grate was our refectory; but, being so little a room, the Lay-sisters did eat without in the gallery. Our beds were brought down, and some lay in our Mother's chamber, some in the infirmary, and some in the other low places, insomuch as one or two beds were laid in the vestry of the church, and one or two at the grate. Our kitchen was in the warm-chamber, and we were also forced to bring down all our clothes and other things out of the cells and high rooms, by reason a commandment came from the town nothing should be left in the high rooms that might take fire, because they feared the casting of wild fire with the shot. But Almighty God, out of His favourable providence and care of us, ordained so that the enemy removed his cannon, and set it higher: some say because one mocked him, saying that it would do the town no harm so low, and then all his shooting after that, for seven days and seven nights together, flew over our Monastery, and did us no more harm; excepting one ball that pierced our orchard wall, and one that broke into our long gallery and falling down, not passing along, but that was but of sixteen pounds weight in iron, and some small shot hurt and maimed one of our hogs and a hen or two, which we were fain to kill and eat. From further hurt God preserved us.

But the first night of our lying below on the ground we were called up with a great fright, by reason that

some of us heard them cry out in the street, "Arms, arms!" Whereupon we feared the enemy had broken into the town, and so went all into the church with heavy hearts, not knowing what would become of us, committing ourselves into the hands of God, and heartily desiring His divine assistance, where we continued in prayer about two or three hours. We understood afterwards that it was not the enemy, but that our Irish soldiers in the night, shooting at the enemy as they lay in their trenches without the town, and wanting powder, called to the citizens on the wall for some, which they not having so ready at hand to give them, raised up that commotion in the street for powder till they got it. We then went again to take some rest, if the noise of cannons would permit us, which was most terrible and fearful for the first twenty-five hours, without scarce any relaxation; but God guided the balls to light so as they did very little harm. This seemed almost a miracle, for of one thousand and five hundred great balls that were found shot in and brought to the town house, only six or seven persons were killed, two of the which were spies of the enemy sent into the town, which showed well the great goodness of God towards us, and how He did not despise the humble prayers and pitiful cries of His people. For in the time of this siege, whilst the men were day and night labouring in shooting at the enemies from the walls, the women went barefoot in pilgrimage to the church, and our Blessed Lady's picture of miracle at St. Peter's was dressed in the best manner, where women with their little children made their recourse for help in this distress, some also praying with their arms across.

It was an admirable thing to see, that although the enemy laboured with all his might to ruin the town, yet he could not prevail; but our men had still courage enough to hold out ten days, it seeming at first impossible to have held out and resisted an army of sixty thousand

men above two or three days. But God was on our side, and their wickedness deserved revenge. Upon St. Peter and St. Paul's Day, our troop of Irish soldiers (for Coronel¹ Preston was here among the garrison with his company) went secretly forth after dinner, getting through a place where they could break in suddenly into the enemy's trenches without being espied beforehand, and coming suddenly upon them, killed about two hundred of them. So as they took also a good spoil, and returned in again to the town as they saw help approach. By venturing thus desperately, they gained much honour and a good booty, being young, courageous soldiers, without thinking or reflecting in what danger they put themselves, as others more experienced would have done. At which time we, being at Evensong, heard them shoot off their muskets so thick and fast that we knew they were in a hot battle, which made us pray most heartily till we heard the good news of their victory.

This happened then on Friday, and the Sunday night after we were again frightened by hearing most terrible fight on the walls, insomuch that at the darkest time of the night, which perhaps was twelve, for no clocks went then in the night, but only in the daytime, we could see the walls like flames of fire with their continual shooting. Whereupon we went altogether again into the church and commended ourselves heartily unto God. Being thus praying, we heard as it were cries in the street, to our seeming of shrieking, but our Reverend Father went up into a high place to hearken better, and understood that it was rather a shouting of joy for some good luck our men had, and so came down again and told it us to our comfort. After that about daybreak we went again to take some rest, as the noise of cannon shot should permit

¹ The old form of the word "colonel," showing its probable derivation, through the Spanish, from the low Latin *coronellus*, which is probably from *corona*, a ring or company of men. *Todd's Johnson*.

us, and heard good news that all went well on our side, for commonly about daybreak some or other came from the walls to bring us news, we having then in our orchard two Irish soldiers, or some others, who watched continually, for else all our things would have been stolen by the garrison-soldiers, but our Reverend Mother hired two to keep them, as also for our comfort and safeguard in the night, which time was always most fearful and terrible. We then said daily, besides our Office, two or three Litanies, and sometimes one Litany of the Passion, which was half an hour long, as also those two nights that we were frightened up we said many prayers and Litanies in common.

After this, about our Blessed Lady's Visitation, we had good news, that that night succour was come unto the town of much gunpowder and horsemen, which were let in by a gate on the other side, and had come many leagues about for to get in safe on that part. This was a good comfort to us; yet again we were in fear the night after, by reason the rumour went they would give an assault to the town. But God of His goodness turned their design by the arrival of Piccolomini, with an army of Croats sent from the Emperor, which had been long expected, so that night which we most feared became most quiet, with far less shooting than before, for the enemy's courage was quelled by understanding that Piccolomini, arriving at Liége, had been the cause that two hundred waggons which they had sent thither for munition came back empty, and could get nothing, by reason that the Emperor threatened to fire their country of Liége if they assisted our enemies any more.

Upon this the Prince of Orange was much daunted (his army being ready to starve if he continued longer here), sat in council with the French what was best to be done, and on Tuesday, next day after our Blessed

Lady's Visitation, we heard little shooting on the enemy's side, but a false rumour went that they were undermining to get in upon us, and indeed some say they tried, but that way could not succeed because the earth was so dry, we having there in long time had no rain, that it fell down upon them as they digged. Nevertheless we were here in great fear upon this rumour, but God of His goodness freed us soon out of all danger, for the conclusion of their foresaid council was to raise the siege and make away with all speed, fearing much the incursion of them of Piccolomini and the German forces which were arrived. Also, having no victuals to live, necessity forced their departure, so as the night before Wednesday they got away secretly, and in the morning news came to us they were gone, which gave us great comfort; nevertheless, we were not secure, fearing still it was some politic trick of theirs to get the town by feigning a flight. Yet by little and little we were more secured, and the Friday after, passage was free again for the post to pass, so we received from Bruges a great packet of letters from our Sisters that went forth, which could not before come to our hands. Then was our joy redoubled in hearing how wonderfully Almighty God had also assisted and provided for them by moving many to show them charity: insomuch as, having now recounted the happy end of our doleful siege, and the great favour that our Lord did us in so admirably defending this town in such a manifest danger, we will now declare how our Sisters fared after their departure hence.

This, as we have said, was on the 13th day of June, at which time they went out in danger, and we remained here also with heavy hearts, not knowing what would befall or happen to this town. They, then, being gone forth, the providence of God began over them even at first, for a lieutenant which was in the army here then, and of kin to Sister Anne Mortimer, the Lay-sister, gave us

two waggons to carry them hence unto Brussels, which was a great pleasure at that time, when waggons were very dear and hard to be had. The third waggon was hired, and being in the way to Brussels, word came to them that their entertainment was provided for at Brussels, by reason that Father Port,¹ who was resident there, a good friend of our house, understanding of our flight and great necessity, when almost all the Religious women also fled, had taken order our Sisters should have good entertainment. So that when they came to Brussels, going in their waggons to the English Monastery of St. Benedict's, Madame Barlemont² having her Cloister close by their door, would needs entertain the English Nuns, and therefore stood ready there and called out of the window to stay them at her Monastery and house, for she offered Father Port to take in twenty-five, but there went to her only eighteen, and the rest went to St. Benedict's.

They were in both places entertained very kindly, and at Madame Barlemont's she caused two of her gentlemen to carry in chairs the two eldest of our Sisters from their waggon to her chamber. Then she came herself and bade them heartily welcome, showed them her chapel, and lent them books to say their Office. After that they had a good supper and were lodged, some upon pallets on the ground, for they had not bedsteads for all. At St. Benedict's also our sick Sisters were lodged with the rest, and entertained very kindly in the infirmary, and the next day they heard Mass there, as also the others that lodged at Madame Barlemont's, and so took their waggons for Ghent about seven of the clock in the morning, and one or two of the Fathers also accompanied them, and had sent word beforehand to the Lady Abbess of the English Monastery at Ghent for to entertain them in her Cloister,

¹ Father Thomas Port, S.J., died at St. Omers, January 7, 1661.

² The Countess Barlemont founded a Convent of Canonesses of St. Augustine for the Noblesse, and lived in the Convent.

and she had gotten leave of the Bishop to have them all in except the scholars, who lodged without. Our Sisters, then, having baited and taken their dinner at Alost, in the midway, arrived at Ghent late, and were all received into the English Monastery there and kindly entertained, insomuch that the Nuns there let our Sisters have their beds for that night and sat up themselves, we being as many or more than they. They supped them in their refectory, and the Lady Abbess sat at table with them. The next morning they stayed there until eleven of the clock, and Father Rector of the English College of Ghent, with other Fathers, came to see our Sisters and speak with them at the grate. My Lady Abbess also provided a coach to carry them unto the waterside, which was a great way off, where they were to take boat for Bruges, and the rest went on foot.

Our Father, Mr. White, sent word aforehand to Bruges unto Mr. Bourd, the Father of our Monastery there, to provide coaches to be ready for our Sisters (it being about a mile from the waterside to our Cloister, named Nazareth), and so all was ordered very well, for he and William Craft, their servant, was ready there attending for them, and at their arrival, which was late, they went so many as could in the coaches, and the rest on foot, and so arrived to our Monastery at nine of the clock at night, where Mother Mary Pole kindly received them, though with a heavy heart to see the great distress our Convent was put unto. The house there being so little could scarce hold them all, but with great difficulty they made a shift for a day or two. Arriving there on Friday night they staid Saturday, and upon Sunday our Father, Mr. White, went to seek out a house for our Sisters to live in, for it was impossible to remain in our Cloister, they being so many.

Then began Almighty God to show His liberal goodness towards them, for the Fathers of Ghent having sent word to the Dutch Fathers at Bruges of the distress the

Nuns of Louvain were in, being forced to fly thither, the Rector there being one that had before lived here at Louvain, took such compassion that he not only was ready to assist our Sisters in what he could, but also caused his Fathers to preach and exhort the townspeople for to relieve with their charity the English Nuns which were fled thither in that distress: which sermons took such good effect that many were excited to show their charity. So that one Canon of the great church there met with Mr. White as he was looking for a house, and offered him a house of his for nothing all the time they should remain there, as also gave them freely of his own cost two barrels of beer, one very strong, and the other small. With this good help our Sisters removed to that house on Monday, except five that were sickly and one Lay-sister to attend them, and still God provided that they were assisted with almost all things necessary of charity, for three or four Cloisters undertook to help them. The Cloister of the Annunciates lent them beds, tables, stools, benches, and other necessaries. The Cloister of the Rich Clares lent them other things, and the Cloister of Dominican women gave them also large alms and other things. The forementioned Rector of the Jesuits lent them church stuff, and made them a fair altar in one of the rooms, which served for their church and choir, as also to entertain strangers, for the house had but three rooms below, two above, and a garret over them. So in one room below they made, as is said, their chapel; the other served for their refectory to eat in, and the third was their kitchen to dress the meat; they also had a cellar underneath which did them great pleasure to keep things. In the rooms overhead they lodged, but for the most part they had no other beds than of straw, and their bolsters were faggots. They said their Office in the chapel, all except Matins, which they read by themselves, and kept some order, but could not as they should, by reason that

living most upon the charity of good folks, they were continually visited by them who would come and see what they wanted to provide it for them. Especially a good woman named Laurentia took them so to heart that being but poor herself, she would still go about unto rich folks and beg for the Nuns of Louvain, daily coming to their house to see what they wanted, and brought them acquainted with four sisters who were very rich and lived unmarried, one of which was a Devote, and the others lived a virtuous life with their mother, that was a widow; as also three other sisters of the like sort, who being rich assisted our Religious, together with the former and other worldly persons. There was also a Knight, named Monsieur Nicolas Scketere, who being a widower and a devout man, gave them large alms, commonly 12s. at a time.

But to show somewhat particularly these charities. At their first coming to the foresaid new house they were unprovided almost of all things, for they found in it but little furniture, yet after one day they were sufficiently assisted by the charity of others, for the Rich Clares sent them two hundred eggs, a great charger of custard, five great loaves of household bread, seven pounds of French butter, sweetmeats for the sick, and many other little necessary things, two wheelbarrows of wood, and lent them household stuff, with the promise of more helps still, heartily desiring our Sisters to ask but what they wanted and they should have it. The Cloister of the Annunciates sent their ghostly Father, who brought under his habit a basket of eggs, and made unto our Sisters a comfortable speech, bidding them be of comfort, for that all would be better than they expected, and promised they should want nothing. That very day also, being the second of their remove to that house, worldly gentlemen gave them ten loaves of household bread, a pot of butter, and other little things, desiring them but to make a bill of what they

wanted, and they would come again the next morning and bring more.

It happened that after three days, on the Wednesday, that one of our Novices, Sister Grace Bedingfeld¹ fell most grievously sick of a fever, which was feared to be the plague, and put them to great trouble, but sending for the doctor, it was found to be only a pestilent fever, and he ministered unto her physic, and came almost daily to visit her, with so great a care and love as was admirable, and would take nothing for his pains; as also the apothecary gave all for nothing: such was their charity. They laid the Novice then in the garret above, and Sister Clementia² was left with her to tend her, who had been formerly here sick mistress, and very fit to look unto sick persons. Of the rest they came not to her; but kept in the other rooms for a fortnight till the danger was past. After this, their charity never ceased all the time our Sisters remained there. The Cloister of Dominican women being very rich, assisted them also much, and not content with all this, those Cloisters of this Order and the Rich Clares did sometimes invite them to dinner, and made them great cheer with plenty of wine in their speakhouse, and some of our Sisters that taught them curious works did sometimes eat there a week together or more.

It was admirable to see how Almighty God did move the hearts of good people to show them charity. One Canon came and gave them three pounds sterling at once,

¹ Sister Grace Bedingfeld was the youngest of the twelve daughters of Sir Francis Bedingfeld, of Bedingfeld in Suffolk. She was professed at Louvain, September 30, 1635.

² Sister Clementia (Elizabeth) Skinner, daughter of Sir John Skinner, of Comslastrell in Essex, whose father, an Alderman of London, died when he was Lord Mayor. Her mother, a daughter of Mr. Markham of Sidebrock, Notts, died of the plague, caught in attending the sick in London. Sister Clementia, having had the plague in England, was the great authority on the subject in the Convent, and the nurse of those who were sick of the plague. She was professed August 24, 1625, and died June 7, 1675.

besides lesser alms, as patacons,¹ were ordinary; yea, oftentimes even the poor that wrought for their living would come and bring them ten or twenty stivers.² One poor woman at the week's end came and gave them thirteen stivers in honour of our Blessed Saviour and the twelve Apostles; and once, when a carrier brought some wood to the house, and was asking money for his pains, a poor man passing by out with his purse and paid him for the carriage. A woman that sold corn brought them a sack of wheat, saying she was moved to do this charity hoping she should not fare the worse for it. The whole town, it seems, was willing to relieve them, for from the town-house by common consent was sent them three loads of wood, and also beer they had from thence. An hospital gave them two barrels of beer. The forementioned devout sisters came almost daily to their house, and brought them still necessaries, insomuch that, having so good relief, our Father, Mr. White, who had the charge of our Sisters, for our Reverend Mother had put them under his obedience at their parting hence, resolved to send for the six sickly persons that had remained at our Cloister at Nazareth, and they came away the day after our Blessed Lady's Visitation. One of them, being very sick, found far better keeping there by their charity than she could have had here at home, having continually wine and sugar and other sweetmeats given her plentifully. It seems God Himself was become their Provisor, for oftentimes having almost no provision in the house left, before the next day they were well provided. Sometimes gentlewomen would come and dine with them, and bring withal a good dinner; yea, very good cheer sometimes was given them; two great tarts on St. Anne's Day by Monsieur Scketere aforenamed.

¹ "Patacoon, a Spanish coin worth 4s. 8d. English." *Todd's Johnson.*

² "Stiver, a Dutch coin about the value of a halfpenny." *Ibid.*

Now in this time, because some must bear the place of Superior, our forenamed Father appointed one of the elders that went forth, Sister Anne Bromfield,¹ to be called Mother, and the other officers he appointed to be as they were here, the grate Sister, Sacristan, Refectrice, and Procuratrix, but for the Cellaress and Sick Mistress which remained there, he appointed others of those that went forth. Their order was then, at six in the morning they read together Prime and Tierce, and upon holidays had then a first Mass by a friend of theirs that came there, afterwards the other Hours and Mass before dinner, and our Lady's Litanies that we used here for the wars before Mass, were there said for their benefactors awhile. In the afternoon at convenient time they read Evensong and Compline, and afterward at night, before they went to bed, they said the Litanies of the Saints for their benefactors. Their Matins they always said apart by themselves, and continued this order all the while they remained at Bruges.

Upon St. Alexius' Day they were invited all to dinner at the Cloister of Dominican women, and they provided a coach and waggon, which went and came so as to fetch them all, for it was a great way from their house. The Rich Clares and Annunciates were their near neighbours, but these not; wherefore, it being not fit for Nuns to walk the streets, they provided always very decently a coach for them. And being there at good cheer, with store of wine, Mr. Bourd [Blomfield], the Father of Nazareth, came and brought letters to Mr. White and them from our

¹ Daughter of Edward Bromfield in the county of Surrey. Her mother, whose maiden name was Elizabeth Formans [? Formondes], "being a gentlewoman of very fine behaviour and having good friends, was called to the Court of Queen Elizabeth, and made Mother of the Maids of Honour, not being a Catholic as her deceased husband, but only well-minded." Sister Anne Bromfield was converted by Father Gerard, "but he being taken and clapped up in the Tower, he left order with Father Garnet, his Provincial, to help her" to enter Religion. She was professed at St. Ursula's in 1599, and died April 16, 1638.

Reverend Mother, who sent for them home, not all together, because it was too troublesome, but with a competent company at once, it being left to the discretion of Mr. White to order all as he saw to be most convenient. Hereupon their joy began to make this a true feast, seeing now the coast clear for them to return home, for although once before they had news from us of our delivery from the enemies, yet our Reverend Mother would not so suddenly send for them till all was secure.

With this they began to strive who should go first, but it was appointed that eleven persons (eight Nuns, two White Sisters, and one of the Novices) should go. They stayed then one day to take leave of their friends there, and then came away, very carefully provided for by the way by their Father, Mr. White; and William Craft, the servant of our Cloister of Nazareth at Bruges, came along to serve them. So they arrived here upon St. Mary Magdalen's eve, with great joy both to themselves and us, who feared much we should never have seen each other more. Then Mr. White stayed here St. Mary Magdalen's Day, and so returned back with William Craft to fetch another company home.

But here we must not omit how the good people at Bruges continued still, as before, their charity to our Sisters that remained. Yea, they were so careful that some of them came thither still to see what they wanted, and provided from one house or other necessaries, and also good cherishing for the sick. They also grew acquainted with the Cloister of Bernardine women, who relieved them what they could.

It was then ordained that this second company should come home by Antwerp, because Mr. Clifford, our good friend, desired very earnestly to entertain them in his house. They did so, and arrived here upon the 6th day of August; seven Nuns, another Novice and one Lay-sister, and a scholar, which only of all the scholars returned

again, for her sister Agatha Brook,¹ remained at our Cloister at Bruges, and another, Frances Thimelby,² sister to this Novice that now came home, being in a great sickness and weakness, went into England for her health, with intention to come to us again; but the other two, thinking to return into England, for the present were stayed by some, and in the end went unto other Cloisters, not much against our will, for they were not so fit for us.

After that Mr. White returned again to fetch all that remained, and it was a wonderful thing to see the kindness of the people at Bruges, who were still sorry when our Sisters were to come home, although they lay then at their charges. They had taken so great a love unto them as some of them wept bitterly to part, especially when the last were to come away, they did weep pitifully, grieving so that they must leave them, and many gave them money. They then gave up the house again with great thanks unto the Canon, and restored the household stuff to those that had lent it them, and upon the day of our Blessed Lady's Assumption remained at Nazareth, our Cloister there, and the next day after took their journey homeward. But the Nuns of St. Dominic's Order, being near the waterside where they were to take boat for Ghent, invited them to breakfast, as they had done the other company before very kindly. They could not then come home directly, by reason that our Reverend Mother sent them word the Prioress of the English Teresians at Antwerp desired very earnestly they might also come by that way as the former had done, for she had gotten leave of the Bishop to entertain them within her Cloister. They did so then, and were exceeding much made of by the good Religious and kind Mother, insomuch that she made them great cheer, and showed them all the kindness she

¹ Agatha and Dorothy, daughters of Sir Basil Brook, came to St. Monica's as scholars in 1629. Dorothy, who never was professed, died in October, 1662.

² *Vide supra*, p. 156.

could. It seemed to her she never did enough. She kept them some days, it being impossible to get away, for between that Monastery and ours had always been good correspondence.

So then our Sisters at last came all home upon the 23rd of August, St. Bartholomew's eve, and in this last company seven Nuns, two Lay-sisters, and the other Novice which had been so sick at Bruges and was now almost recovered. So now were returned home thirty-one persons, for four scholars stayed away, as is said. We were then exceeding glad that Almighty God had so admirably preserved us here, and assisted them there with such favourable providence, and finally gathered us all together again, after so doleful a separation; wherefore upon a fit and convenient day after the Feast of our holy Father St. Augustine, on the — day of September, we sung here a very solemn Mass of the Most Blessed Trinity, for to give the Divine Majesty hearty thanks for these great benefits, and *Te Deum laudamus* after the Mass. We had also another day for recreation to be merry together and rejoice one with another, and with our good Fathers who suffered so much with us and had taken such pains.

THE PLAGUE AT ST. MONICA'S. :

ABOUT this time [1635] the plague raged much in the town, and among others it happened that Mrs. Mary Green, who lived by our Cloister, had her maid sick on the sudden, but thought it was something else and not the plague. Presently after, she herself fell sick, and then desired for charity of our Reverend Mother that one of our Lay-sisters might come there to tend her, in respect that her maid also lay very sick. Hereupon our Reverend Mother, not knowing that it was the plague, nevertheless, for fear of the worst, she would not command, but only asked one of the Lay-sisters if she would be content to go, and the Dutch Sister, Janneken, who, as is said, had been Dr. Clement's maid, undertook this charity and went to Mrs. Green, serving and looking both to her and the maid carefully. But Mrs. Green soon died, being an old woman of almost eighty years. The infection soon made an end of her, though yet none knew it was the plague, but we thought that she died of age, and therefore she was buried in our church as she had desired, for she left all that she had to our Monastery, and having, as she said, lived all her life a maid in the world, she would have that virgins should be her heirs, and rest among us. She had been always a good, virtuous woman, and did continually good works and charity abroad. She had lived fifty years out of England in these parts, for she would not marry, but came over to try if she could be Religious; but it seems it was not God's will she should

undertake a Religious life, for she was always crossed therein, having proferred herself to Religious houses divers times, wherefore she settled herself to live virtuously in the world, and so continued many years at Brussels, and going in the habit of a Devote or Jesutress, but not tying herself to anything. And after St. Monica's Cloister was begun she came here to this town, and continued to live here ever after, being now about the space of twenty-six years, and in her old age she grew blind, which was a great cross, because after that she could not help herself to devotion with reading of good things as before, yet she bore her cross with great patience and contentment in the will of God, and came daily to our church, spending most part of the morning at her prayers, and often saying her beads in the day because she could not see to do anything. Thus it pleased God at length to take her out of this painful life, having seen and felt the distress of this town in the siege, she remaining here all that time, and so by a short and easy death most happily rendered her soul unto her Creator. She left well to our house, for she had of a long time kept for us in store about eighty pounds in money, passing herself many an ill and hard meal for not to break the said sum from us. But out of that her maid should have had ten pounds and some of her goods, if she had lived, which now came all to us by reason that soon after Mrs. Green's death, the maid growing worse, it was discovered she had the plague, and then was carried unto the hospital that she might not die in the house. Soon after she died, and we permitted not our Lay-sister that tended her to come home again to us, but procured her a chamber in the hospital, and to live there until we should see whether she had taken any infection or no, for as yet she was well in health; but not long after her being there, she grew indeed sick of the plague, which showed that she had taken it before. She was carefully tended, and due remedies given her, the Sister of the

hospital being very kind to her, so as it pleased God that she recovered, and came home again in due time, with all Mrs. Green's goods, which had been well aired, washed, and cleansed. Nevertheless, we know not upon what occasion, it happened soon after that another of our young Lay-sisters sickened, Sister Anne Reading, and having been ill all night, in the morning we sent for the doctor to know what she had, who liked her not, but desired our Reverend Mother to sever her from the Community, for fear of the worst. Whereupon she was sent out into new buildings for the entertainment of strangers, and she was put into the chamber where Mrs. Margaret Stanten had lived before, who, after Dr. Clement's death, desired to board with us in the Father's house for some years; but at length we, finding inconvenience of boarders, had procured her to be dismissed hence by the Bishop's appointment. Which happened now well for us that room to be free where our Sister was kept, for it proved indeed that she had the plague, and the other Sister lately recovered and come home was sent now to serve and look to her. We also procured the hospital Sisters to come daily and minister to her all remedies for that disease; as also a good Franciscan, who used to go unto all infected persons of the plague, came very carefully to assist her, she having well the French language, so as this Sister also recovered, and our Cloister was free for this year.

In the year 1636, about the end of May, the servant of our Cloister, Giles, going abroad in the town, got the plague, which then continued still, and came home very sick, but kept himself close in his chamber for a day or two, thinking with rest to put away what he felt; but at length we were fain to send for the doctor, who doubted he had the plague, whereupon we sent also for the pest master and hospital Sisters, who applied all remedies to him possible, but nothing availed, for they found he was

infected with the worst kind of plague, called the peppercorn, so as within three or four days he was come to be past hope of life. Then did our Reverend Mother get the pest Father, a good Franciscan, to come and hear his confession, who also made his will for him, and he left us — pounds for a legacy to our Cloister, and disposed of other things as he pleased, leaving the most he had to his only sister: and after that the cell Brothers came and carried him to the hospital, as the manner is in this town commonly to go and die there, for to infect their own houses the less; and so, upon the second day of June he made a happy end in the hospital, as we may well believe, being a very honest and good man, who had served us faithfully about four or five years, and had before been servant to Dr. Clement, after whose death he served some time the English Benedictines at Brussels, and after that came to us. He was a good natured man, simple and innocent, and bore great affection to our Cloister.

After his death, which happened on the Monday, the Friday after, one of our Nuns was taken with the plague, Sister Mary Worthington,¹ who at that time tended our Reverend Mother, and she was well to our seeming the day before; yet it appeared afterwards the infection was in her body before, but how she took it none can truly affirm, only we suspected some cause. It happened that on the Friday night she felt herself very sick all the night, and in the morning at four of the clock got up and felt a swelling risen in her flank where the plague sore useth to be, whereupon before Prime she went and looked about for Sister Clementia,² who, having had the plague in

¹ Anne and Mary, the two daughters of Thomas Worthington and Mary his wife, Mr. Allen's youngest daughter (*supra*, p. 6), were both Nuns at St. Monica's. Anne was professed in 1615, and died July 27, 1654, having been Procuratrix twenty-five years. Mary was professed November 21, 1628, and died June 11, 1636.

² *Vide supra*, p. 275.

England, she thought could best discern what she had, and having been in the choir to look for her, at last she found her, and told her in what case she was, and how she had been very sick that night. She hearing this thing, and looking also on the swelling, affirmed presently she had the plague, thereupon carried the news to Reverend Mother, who, being thereat stricken with extreme grief, presently took order to have her severed from the Community, and so sent her forth to that outward building, where our Lay-sister had been laid the year before, which is not out of the inclosure; and the two Lay-sisters which had tended Giles, and were as yet there without, took her in charge to look to her with all diligence. Then were the hospital Sisters sent for, who seeing her, said she was very sorely infected, yet all remedies that could be devised were applied unto her, so that she remained five days alive, and we in suspense what would become of her. Then was the pest Father also sent for to come to her, for having the language very well, he could assist her, who also said that some little before he had in his sleep dreamt that St. Monica's Cloister called for him, because the plague was gotten there, which proved soon most true. He was a holy and fervent man, who assisted her with exceeding care and charity, even to the last, and she was very well content with him, but nevertheless our Reverend Father could not be satisfied till he wrote a letter to her for to know if there were any need, and if that she desired him he would willingly go to help her. She sent him word again, and assured him that she had nothing that troubled her conscience, but that for confession or anything else she could speak as freely to that good Father, though at first she was a little troubled that she must die so without the company of our Sisters and of our Reverend Mother, whom she loved most dearly, yet, notwithstanding, she resigned herself unto the will of God, and was content.

The Franciscan Father had great compassion that so young and able a person for God's service must die in the flower of her age, but yet he animated her so that, after all the remedies applied nothing availing to save her life, upon St. Barnabas' Day, late at night after Compline, she entered into her mortal agony, and seeing there was no hope of remedy, but that she must die, desired the two Lay-sisters that tended her to carry her down by any means into the little garden which joined to those rooms, that she might die in the air, and not so much infect the house, as they use to do in this town. They yielded to her request, and made her a shelter in the garden, and a bed and bedstead was set up thereunder, where being brought, the good Father assisted her with prayers and holy admonitions even to the last, and would not depart from her when she gave up the ghost, but yet caused the Lay-sisters to go aside, as she herself also desired them by signs to do. It was a pitiful thing for both our Fathers to hear her groan in her last pains, and the Franciscan read so loud the commendations as they could hear him, yea, some that were in the choir at that time heard him. She happily rendered her soul to God after ten of the clock at night, and we were in great sorrow when we knew of her death, especially our Reverend Mother felt this cross extremely, by reason that she loved her much and had been long her Mistress, and brought her up in Religion, and assisted her in matters of spirit.

She was a very virtuous Religious, and always, both in the world and in the Cloister, of an innocent life, so as it was thought she never committed mortal sin, for she was always of a set and womanly carriage, not wild or given much to play and sport as commonly young people are. Her mother also brought her up very carefully in virtue and the fear of God, and coming so young to the Monastery, as hath been heretofore declared, and her

life here so laudable and virtuous in all her conversation, we hoped that she soon got to Heaven, only it was pity to lose so young a person, and who was like to prove a very profitable member in holy Religion, for she was healthy and of a sweet and wise carriage, fit to be put to anything, a great lover of the choir, and laborious in outward things, fervent to do God service. She had been but eight years professed. We were compelled to bury her in our orchard, having hallowed some ground there, and the said Father buried her with the assistance of the two Lay-sisters, for our fear was too great to bury her within.

After that we kept close for six weeks, not writing abroad to any, and we had relaxation from work, as the manner is at such times, for to erect their minds out of fear, and leave to speak, but some turned that time of freedom to spend it more recollected, and give themselves to God, praying heartily for the good of our house. We also took generally every morning a kind of preservative against the plague, and burned every morning pitch to smoke the house all over, and did not rise at midnight to Matins because the doctor counselled us so, but we read our Compline after the grace of supper, and began the Matins at seven of the clock, when before we used to go to Compline. But this manner we found more painful than to rise at midnight, and were glad afterwards to come again to our old custom. We also sang daily to our Blessed Lady, after the High Mass, the Antiphon *Stella Cæli*, and for a while read our Lady's Litanies after Evensong, and it pleased Almighty God of His goodness to cease the infection so as none else took it, but after this we were wholly free of further plague and danger.

ST. MONICA'S CONVENT AND ITS BENEFACTORS.

THIS year [1644], about our Blessed Lady's Assumption, came hither to visit our Reverend Mother the Lady Stafford, who being sole heir of the Lord Stafford, had married the Earl of Arundel's second son, whom the King had made then Lord Stafford, and he also came hither with his lady and her mother, Mrs. Stafford, who was no lady, by reason that her husband died before his father, and before the lordship had fallen to him. She was our Reverend Mother's cousin-german, her father being old Mr. Wilford's son, of whom we spoke before, Sister Barbara Wilford's father. The lady and her mother, with a waiting gentlewoman, had leave to come into our Cloister, and so they saw our orchard, dormitory, and some cells, and looked into the Refectory when we sat at table, without table-cloths at supper, with an egg and bread and butter, or some other small thing, as we had tried to do that year. But at the year's end, finding that we had saved nothing by leaving off our supper, we returned again to our former custom of two meals a day, and our Lord provided such means as through His goodness we never wanted necessaries.

We also about this time had begun to take boarders in our Father's house; gentlemen who came out of England to escape the troubles of the time, and so, their board being well paid, assisted us something. Also some time before, when the wars began in England, our good friend, Mr. George Gifford, who had put out most of our means

there, got the monies in, so as he sent them over to us, and we laid the same here upon life rents, which somewhat increase them, and assisted us for the present to be able to live. But yet all was not sufficient for our competent maintenance, if Almighty God had not wonderfully assisted us, as shall be now declared in the ensuing year, 1645.

At the beginning of this year seeing how our means failed in England by reason of the wars and troubles there, and we being also in debt here, determined with ourselves to make our necessity known to the town, and to desire their assistance with some alms. Wherefore our Procuratrix desired of the land-deacon¹ leave to beg and see if the good people of the town would give us something, which leave he granted, and so we began to make our necessity known in the town. Here used to come of many years before (since about the year '30) a good Father of the Society that lived in this town, who preached here upon holy days. He was cousin-german to the Subprioress [Sister Mary Copley] and her sister, by name Father Stanihurst,² whose mother was their father's own sister married to an Irish gentleman³ of good worth in his own country. This good Father loved much our

¹ *Land-deken* is the Flemish for "Rural dean:" "deacon" in the same language is *diaken*.

² Father William Stanihurst, S.J., died January 10, 1663, æt. 61, Soc. 46.

³ Richard Stanihurst's first wife was Genet, aunt of the first Viscount Kingsland, third daughter of Sir Christopher Barnewall. Mary, the eleventh daughter of the same Sir Christopher, married the learned Patrick Plunket, seventh Baron of Dunsany. This relationship accounts for the following passage in a letter written from Calais, November 13, 1585, from one Thomas Doyley to the Earl of Leicester (*Queen Elizabeth and her Times*, by Thomas Wright. London, 1838, vol. ii., p. 268): "There remaineth in Dunkirk Mr. Stanihurst, the Lord of *Tunsan's* brother, and Mr. Copley, surnamed Lord, whose sister Mr. Stanihurst married." This "Mr. Copley, surnamed Lord," was William Copley, called Lord Welles (*supra*, p. 51), whose sister Helen was Richard Stanihurst's second wife. By her he had two sons, who both entered the Society, Peter on Sept. 18, 1616, and William, Sept. 25, 1617. After the death of his wife, and by dispensation as he had been twice married, Richard Stanihurst became a Priest, and was made Chaplain to the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. He died at Brussels in 1618.

Monastery, wherefore our Reverend Mother told him of our necessity and what poor suppers we had been forced to make, whereof he took such compassion that he promised to speak unto the Pastor of St. Peter's Church, and of St. James', our own parish, that they would recommend our necessity in their sermons unto the charity of the people, and incite them to assist us with their alms, which he did; and this took such good effect that it was a wonder how the people were moved to hear that gentlewomen who had left their country and plenty for God's love, should be brought here unto such necessity, and they assisted us very willingly with their alms. Some gave us money, others corn, others bread, and some also sent us sometimes flesh and white bread, sometimes strong beer upon fasting days, so as we were then well relieved. There was a good religious man in the town, who, stricken with compassion on hearing of our want, that he studied with himself how he might assist us, being himself poor. As he was in this mind and going along the way, he saw lying before him a piece of gold, which he gladly took up and sent it to our Reverend Mother with a kind letter declaring what hath been now said. The President of the Pope's College¹ gave us then one hundred florins [10*l.*], a gentleman of the town, who was professed among the Capuchins, gave us also one hundred florins; also a Carthusian at his Profession gave us this year forty florins, all which were very great alms among the Dutch people, and seldom given to their own nation; also divers other lesser alms of people in the town, and when sometimes our Lay-sisters went a-begging they would most kindly give them both bread and other things, and the Abbot of St. Gertrude did even hearten our Sisters to beg, saying that they should not be ashamed, for it was no disgrace for

¹ Collège du Pape, so named after its founder, Pope Adrian VI., a native of Louvain.

Religious persons to go a-begging, so as we could not enough admire at God's great goodness unto us, and the charity and kindness of the people. One week we needed not to bake because we had bread enough given us, and most part of the Lent we had still collation cakes given us. Yea, there were some who wrought for their own living and were themselves in greater need than we, who would come and give us alms of that little which they had. Divers Cloisters of women in the town, and some Colleges also of men, gave us weekly one great loaf of bread, which continued not only this year, but many after as we shall declare. And the good Abbot of Parck, of the Premonstrants Order, did give us a great alms every three weeks of twenty good big white loaves, and sometimes more. We had also for board of our sojourners without and children within this year above one hundred pounds sterling; we also did our own endeavour to get something for work, and our Lay-sisters gained this year for their bleaching of linen for others two hundred and fifty florins [25*l.*]: but afterwards finding that this painful labour did much break their bodies we were forced to give it over, only we still continued our charity to wash and starch the good Capuchins' church linen, who were our neighbours, which charity of ours was well rewarded by God and by them, for when they had any rich man professed among them (this Monastery here being their Novitiate) they would give us some great alms, as shall be further declared in the years following. There was a good Priest in the town who used often to come and give us alms; he would put his money in at the door, and give it to the first that came to him, then go away, and his alms was commonly six florins at a time, or else three, whereupon we used in merriment to call him the dumb Priest. The truth is that he was one that spoke French, and besides that did perhaps love to do his alms so secret as he could; but afterwards in the years following he

showed that he could speak, for he used to bring with him little papers written for to commend his business and troubles to our prayers.

This year [1646] our alms continued still, and we could not but admire the goodness of Almighty God towards us in moving persons so willingly to assist us and give us their alms, insomuch that we had this year and the last more white bread upon fasting days than before we begged. Most part of the collation cakes were given us the Lent past, and this also, besides white bread at other times, the Abbot of Parck continuing still every three weeks to give us many great white loaves, sometimes twenty at a time, and that which seemed most wonderful was to see the goodwill wherewith he relieved us, insomuch as he said once unto an English gentleman who spoke to him in our behalf that, if we should come yet to more want, he was ready to sell even his silver candlesticks to relieve us, which was more than we ourselves ever needed to do, through God's favourable assistance, for we having six fair silver candlesticks, were never driven to sell them, only once or twice we pawned them for the borrowing of money, but upon the payment released them again. One Mr. Holts, a merchant at Antwerp, left us this year thirty pounds for a legacy.

Here happened an accident, that a man of Antwerp, newly married, come to this town to see some of his friends, and being in the hospital, and some Beguines with him, and climbing upon their wall, which joineth unto our orchard, for recreation, his foot chanced to slip, and he fell down from a great height into our orchard, being almost past sense with the greatness of the fall. We had soon knowledge thereof, and our Reverend Mother hastened to him with other of our Sisters, and gave him such good cordial water as recovered him, and soon after he was perfectly well, and came hither with the

Beguines his friends to give our Reverend Mother thanks for her kind help and good assistance. Besides that, he and the said Beguines going to Antwerp, did speak so well of us there, and declared to some merchants that we were in present necessity, as moved two merchants to give us alms, one ten pounds and the other four pounds. A gentlewoman of Bois-le-duc sent us three pounds to pray for her. Mr. Constable, our Reverend Mother's cousin, who had boarded here one or two years when he was in some distress, sent us now five pounds to pray for the soul of his mother, who died in those miseries which she endured in the fright of the plunderings of goods. The foresaid Priest, which we named the dumb Priest, gave us this year eight pounds at divers times, and finally, in alms of the town, besides other things, we had this year in money one hundred and nineteen florins [IIl. 18s.], and for boarders we received this year a hundred pounds.

This year [1647] upon Trinity Sunday we had a great joy for the peace between Holland and the King of Spain being proclaimed here. Great triumph was in the town; all the bells did ring, and there were all night bonfires, and we had leave to speak then, and went up to the garrets, where we might see the brightness of the fires over all the town, and the squibs of fire reached even to us in fine works, and then went out. This year also our alms continued. Still the foresaid good Priest gave us at several times five pounds, and of divers persons in the town we had ten pounds. From England and elsewhere we received one hundred and ten pounds in alms. For the board of our children within and the sojourners without we had above two hundred and thirty pounds, besides the constant assistance of bread weekly from Cloisters and Colleges. Also this year we bought out our rent, which before we paid to our Sisters at Bruges, fifty pounds a year, and this we did

without ceasing any other rent, so well did God assist us, and we were freed of that great burthen. Sir Richard Farmer dying, left us one hundred pounds for his daughter Sister Cornelia's sake, and this paid part of the said rent bought out.

1648. This year our alms continued still, through God's great goodness. An English merchant died at Antwerp, and left legacies unto other Monasteries also, but our part was fifty pounds sterling; and of one that was professed among the Capuchins, a rich man, we had forty pounds, which was a great alms to be given to strangers. For children within and our boarders without we received this year two hundred and above seventy pounds, among which children we had here my Lady Stafford's two little daughters, for she being forced to go into England with her mother, Mrs. Stafford, about settling affairs in those hard times, did send her two daughters hither; the eldest was about seven years old and the other but four. Their father, my Lord Stafford, the Earl of Arundel's second son, came sometimes hither to see his children, as his business permitted him to pass this way.

This year, 1648, we sold our wood at Blandel, which had been bought in the year 1618 with Sister Winefrid's portion money, and somewhat of Sister Mary Windsor's, for we, finding that our wood was every year stolen and cut down in winter by soldiers and others, were fain still to give money unto one that should look to it, and yet all that did not suffice, so that we had thought a good while to sell it, but could not get enough for it, until that our good apothecary, being rich, resolved to buy it, and gave us 400*l.* for it, which money we laid upon rent again, and did not spend it out for necessity, so good was Almighty God still to us that we wanted not. This year also, the Abbot of Parck dying, his successor continued still the foresaid alms of white bread every three weeks very

friendly. The Teresians in this town assisted us much with their good word and procuring us alms, and other Cloisters continued still their charity to us.

1649. This year we received a great legacy, by reason that Mr. George Gifford, brother to Sister Ann Gifford, who had always been a good friend to our Monastery, died, and left our house 500*l.*, but by reason of the hard times in England, we were counselled to agree with Mr. Farmer, his executor, for present payment to give him in 100*l.*, and so we received of him 400*l.*, which was presently put forth to rent, making account that this rent would almost make up the 100*l.* which we gave, by reason it would have been four or five years, perhaps, before we could have been paid, besides the danger of losing it wholly, wherefore this was done with consent of our Convent. We had also good alms besides, for the President of the Pope's Collège dying, he left our Monastery 8*l.* for a legacy. Of two Capuchins professed we had 9*l.*; of the foresaid good Priest, — florins. A Priest that came out of Holland with some of his ghostly daughters, they gave us 5*l.*; of divers persons in the town we had 10*l.* In all, our alms this year came to 200*l.* and almost 30*l.*, besides other little alms of corn, bread, and other small things, for our Sisters went commonly once or twice a year in the country unto the farmers, a-begging of corn, and the good Pastors of the villages would invite them to come where was most likely for them to get well, and our kind apothecary did also send them to his sister at Tirlemont, who, together with other persons there, gave us alms very friendly; especially a good Prioress of our Order there was very kind and charitable unto us, and gave us two years a whole hog ready dressed, with money also to buy spice for the puddings, and sent many other tokens to our Reverend Mother, and once she sent her a new rochet for a token, with many other kindnesses.

This year we made two pumps, one in the kitchen to bring in water without labour of going to draw it at the well, and the other at the place where now the laver is, both which were very commodious for the Sisters, and also for the Nuns. That pump at the laver was very easy for any to fetch water for their cells, without needing to go out of doors, and both these pumps were made to draw by pipes water from the well in the inner court, which is very good water, and the little springs flow continually into it. We also changed the kitchen, making it greater, and the dresser was made now by the oven with the window, which makes it easy to serve the Refectory; we also, at the same time, built up the pothouse with the room over it.

This year, 1649, was taken in the town a great thief, who had many years haunted our Monastery, taking away things in the night, and when we had not yet any boarders, and our rooms without were empty, he got in and stole away a good down bed, and other times our coals that lay thereabout, and malt was taken away, missing also other things, and from the little altar in our Reverend Mother's garden one night he took a little silver cross with a medal. Wherefore, hearing that his house was full of things which he had stole in the town, we sent thither and had again our fair down bed, which Mrs. Green gave us at her death, as also the little silver cross and medal was restored to us, and the poor thief, being well disposed for death, was hanged, as his wife had often told him that he would never leave thieving till he came to the gallows; but he died well.

About this time, Mrs. Barbara Leeds, being returned out of England, and living poorly at Antwerp upon her work, and always sickly, died at Brussels, and desired to be buried in our Monastery. So her body was brought hither, and we buried her in her own sister's grave, Sister Mary Leeds.

[To¹ Sister Magdalen Throckmorton's profession in the year 1613 came a Reverend Priest, Mr. John Best, *alias* Johnson, who having known her in the world, was glad to see her so happily made a Nun. This good Priest, being a skilful musician, was content to stay and remain with us ever after, and did here set up all our music to the honour of God, teaching our Sisters to sing and play on the organs. And to say somewhat of him, he was one who truly contemned the world and desired to live poor all his life. For he had refused those preferments which he might have had in England, living two or three years in the Court of Queen Elizabeth, being in great request for his voice and skill in music; but the Court was most tedious unto him, being drawn by God to better things, for he had a great desire to become a Catholic, and therefore once seeing a fit time he stole away from the Court, and came to live among Catholics, where after some time he was reconciled, to his great joy. Although he had many allurements to seek after places of preferment, he would not accept of them, but desired much to come over the seas, which as yet he could not compass in some years.

The Queen having heard of his departure, fell out with the Master of Music, and would have flung her pantofle² at his head for looking no better unto him; but he lived secretly in gentlemen's houses, being welcome everywhere for his good parts. At length he fell into great trouble at the time that Topcliffe persecuted Catholics, who apprehended him for a Priest, but the wicked fellow was mistaken. Notwithstanding, he made him to be kept prisoner, and caused also irons to be put on him. He confessed that he was a Catholic, which alone was felony, for having been reconciled, but he cared not, and told

¹ The two passages in brackets are brought together from different pages in the *Chronicle*.

² *Pantoufle*, slipper.

simply the truth ; and our Lord took care of him and made his brother, who now is a Knight, to take his defence in hand. When the cruel Topcliffe sought to bring him torments that he might compel him to confess what he knew of Priests and Catholics, then did his friends so work for him that the Lady Rich wrote in his behalf a letter, having known him in the Court ; so that at length, after much ado, he got free out of danger. He presently sought means to come over, although it was even then offered him to live in the Court at his pleasure without any molestation for his conscience ; but he liked better to live in the Court of Christ, and therefore, coming to St. Omers, studied there in the College, and afterwards was made Priest ; and coming here to the Profession, as is said, we requested him to stay with us, which he was content to do, we taking him to keep as one of our Sisters without any pay, maintaining our music to honour and glory of God.]

[Upon the 3rd of August, 1640, after midnight, died our Reverend good Priest, Mr. John Bolt, *alias* Johnson, very happily although suddenly, for to such a virtuous and blessed life could not but succeed a happy death. He had about seven years or more before his death been taken with the gout, insomuch that for four or five years he was wholly lame therewith, and we were forced to have our Lay-sisters to bring him up unto the organ upon great feasts, when he was to play and govern the music. He lived all this time very recollected, lying upon his bed in his chamber alone, passing the time with God in prayer. He had one Sister to tend him, Sister Martha, the second professed in this Cloister, with whose help and looking to, he passed his great pains of the gout and other infirmities. He grew still weaker and weaker towards his end ; yet at great feasts when he was carried up into the organ house, and our Sisters came there to him, the musicianers and others, he would speak

so well of good things unto them as showed his fervent spirit. He would also sing to the organ sometimes with great devotion; but being now very old, although he looked young and fresh, it pleased our Lord to take him by a sudden but not unprovided death. For finding himself very ill, he said he had a great pain at his heart, and our Reverend Mother sent him two Lay-sisters to watch with him in the night, unto whom he spoke fervently of good spiritual things, as his custom was, saying he was well, but only felt his heart as it were oppressed. He said many litanies with them, for he could not sleep, till about two o'clock in the morning he would needs have them go to bed, for he also would give himself to sleep, and bade them put out the light. The Sister then who always tended him, Sister Martha Holman, took the light away and would have carried it out of the room, to have it ready whatever need should be, but he would not let her do so, saying, "Put it out; do as you are bidden." It seems he found himself well. She did so; and though he would have them go to bed, yet they remained there about him; and presently upon a sudden one of them, Sister Alexia Hobdey, heard him to rattle, whereupon she suddenly went to him, and speaking, he gave no answer. Then she said to Sister Martha, "He is dying." With that they were in a poor case, the light being out, only it was a glimpse of day at time of the year. Then Sister Martha ran in all haste to call our Fathers, and Mr. Richard White was more quick, only slipped on his cassock and came to him. But it was, as it seems, too late; for with one short breath he gave up the ghost, and died as we hope most blessedly, as he had lived. He used to confess and communicate every week, having not for some years been able to say Mass for his lameness of the gout, and so dying at the beginning of the week, about Tuesday, we may suppose he was ready prepared. He had always

loved holy poverty, and served us here in the music, and teaching our Sisters twenty-eight years without taking any pension, contenting himself with only meat and drink, and such clothes as we gave him. After his death our Reverend Mother found that he had yet by him the 10*l.* which she gave him at her Profession, which she took now for his burial and to get prayers for his soul. Thus did this good Priest end his happy days, having so well contemned the world as we have declared heretofore. He left after his death our Sisters so expert in music by his teaching, as they were able to keep up the same without any other master or help for many years. Sister Anne Evans was then our organist, who having learned in the world to play upon the virginals, was since become so skilful upon the organs by his teaching, she was able to keep up the music as before. And Sister Lioba Morgan was also very skilful in pricksong, so as with the help also of others, they kept up the music to the honour of God and the devotion of strangers who came to our church and heard them.]

This year also [1649] we had worthy men for boarders in the Father's house, as the Earl of Shrewsbury, my Lord Carrington also, new made Lord by the King, being before Sir Charles Smith, and brother to our Sister Frances Smith, and a young gentleman, Mr. Roger Copley, brother to the two Sister Copleys by their father's second wife, came hither to study philosophy in this town, having before passed his lower studies at St. Omers. In four years that he was there he also learnt the art to sing music. Wherefore my Lord Carrington, having also some skill, obtained leave of our land-deacon that himself and the young gentleman might help our Sisters to sing music in the organ house. So they furthered and helped our music, our Sisters decaying much in strength, and our

chiefest musicianer, Sister Lioba Morgan,¹ failing, by reason that getting the rose in her face, she was forbidden to sing music more, which drew up the humours to her face. So then Sister Dorothy Musgrave,² having a good voice, was fain to learn, and to sing in her place, and was much assisted by the said gentleman, her cousin, who was so skilful that he composed songs to the organ.

1650. This year our alms did not decay, but though the lesser alms sometimes failed, yet Almighty God provided us of greater. Good Mr. Evans, who desired that our Blessed Lady might dispose of his goods unto God's greater honour, finding himself now old, wrote to our Reverend Mother that our Blessed Lady did send us 100*l.*, which yet he did not plainly say he would give to us, but so as we should keep it till he called for it. This came in very good time, for now the Mounts of Piety whereon our stock was laid to rent in these parts, began to fail in payment, which before they had not done, but paid us very duly. The reason they said was, because monies had been taken there up by the Prince of the country for the wars, and was not repaid; yet by the Bishop's help we got payment after one year's stay. Mr. William Roper, Sister Mary Roper's³ elder brother, offered us either to pay in her portion presently, if we would give him 100*l.*, or else pay us, if he were able, a yearly rent; but our Convent, considering how little of her rent we could get in these years of war in England, the land assigned for it by

¹ Elizabeth, in Religion Sister Lioba, daughter of Anthony Morgan, of Lantenum in Wales, her mother being also a Morgan, of Shefford in Northamptonshire; professed April 1, 1625, died December 10, 1663, æt. 57, Rel. 39.

² Mary, youngest daughter of Sir Thomas Copley, married John Musgrave of Hexham. Their daughter Dorothy was professed January 26, 1632.

³ Sister Mary Roper was the grand-daughter of Sir William Roper, and he was the grandson of Margaret, the daughter of Sir Thomas More. She was professed July 20, 1642. Her father's name was Thomas Roper, her mother's Susan Winchcombe.

her father being most in the Parliament's hand, determined for the more surety to take present payment, and to give him in 100*l.*; so we were to receive of him 400*l.*, her portion being 500*l.*, and part of it was laid here to rent.

In this same month [August] and year [1650], the forementioned Mr. Evans, a rich English merchant, who had placed here two persons, his sister-in-law, Sister Susan Brook, and his own niece, Sister Anne Evans, as hath been said before, having long had a desire to die here, and be buried in our Monastery, being then at Antwerp, and having for some time been sick, on the day of our Blessed Lady ad Nives, unto which Feast he was much devoted, because he desired that our Blessed Lady would help him to leave his goods and money as should be most to God's honour, felt himself earnestly moved to come hither with all speed, and though his friends there at Antwerp were much against his coming, he being then so weak and ill, and dissuaded him all they could from this journey, yet nothing prevailed, for he went himself directly to the water side, and would needs come away, so that his man, seeing his resolution, was fain to follow him hither, together with his wife, and they arrived here very late at night, so that good man was compelled to stay some-time at the door, being so sick, before our Sister could come to let him in. He then, being here, came not much to the grate, but at first he would needs speak with our Reverend Mother, and told her that he came here to lay his bones among us, and so continued still very ill, yet went daily to our church, and upon St. Laurence's Day, intending to communicate, a sudden fit of vomiting took him with so much vehemency that all remedies availed him not, but the very same morning he happily rendered his soul to God, and was buried here with great solemnity, all the Nuns having wax candles in their hands. He was laid in our Cloister among the Religious, and his man,

Mr. Clay, was present with great grief, for he loved his master dearly, and his master loved him, and left him his heir after that he should have bestowed all his alms and legacies according to his will. Our Reverend Mother then understood that he had left to our house 600*l.*; and because his man, Mr. Clay, judged it not sufficient, he added thereto 300*l.* more, and he had the year before his death given 100*l.*, saying that our Blessed Lady sent it us, because he thought she moved him to it, so that in all we had by him 1,000*l.* sterling, besides the gain of his being buried here, having left monies for so many Masses for his soul, we got so many said by the help of good friends, and of those we sung ourselves, besides those of obligation for him, that we got even in this threescore pounds sterling.

Besides which, his man, Mr. Clay, knew that it was his will to adorn our church for a remembrance of him, and so he caused that great adornment of our high altar to be made, the fair pillars with the two pictures of our Blessed Lady's Conception and Assumption on each side of the high altar, together with a fair tabernacle of the Blessed Sacrament, and caused our Blessed Lady's image above to be painted white like marble, with all the adornment belonging to it. He also gave the pictures of St. Ignatius and St. Xaverius, and the other of St. Teresa, with the brass candlesticks for light to burn before them, as also the candlesticks before the two pictures of our Blessed Lady's Conception and Assumption, with maintenance awhile for candles to burn before these four pictures. He also caused the two side altars to be painted marble, so as he bestowed about 200*l.* sterling upon our church.

1651. This year in Holy Week the foresaid adornment with pillars and pictures for the church being finished at Brussels by a skilful workman, were brought to be set up in our church, so as we were forced to read our Office

and even the Tenebræ Matins in the work chamber, and there we also had a reading Mass and crept to the Cross upon Good Friday, and a sermon of the Passion we had at the grate ; but next day, Easter Eve, we came again to the choir, the work being set up ; and this summer we also whited the church and choir, with other parts of the house, so as our Monastery was made very handsome.

Upon the 17th of March, in Lent, one of our convictrices died most happily, daughter to my Lord Carrington, Sister Frances Smith's eldest brother, who lived among the other boarders in the Father's house. He had sent over for this his child Mrs. Elizabeth, but at her very coming in we found that she had diseases upon her, yet continued here pretty well by the help of physic, till at length oftentimes she was troubled with her nose bleeding, which still increasing and no remedy availing to help her, it brought her by degrees to a happy end. Her father, my lord, had leave to come in to see her before her death, as also to her burial, and he gave us very well, a good meal, and the charges of a worthy burial. She lieth in our Lady's pant [corridor], and hath a fair stone over her. She was a good natured and virtuous child of a humble disposition.

This year came here to board a Knight named Sir Francis Englefield, who had a friend of his who had long boarded here, Mr. Gifford, and for our Reverend Mother's sake, who was somewhat akin to him, he found in the house others of his acquaintance whom he knew not were professed in this house, so as he took so great an affection to our Monastery that he intended to end his days here, having before lived some years in France. He had here his only son with him, and being a man of great estate and very liberal, he intended to have been our great benefactor ; and to begin this summer, he built for himself the two rooms which join to the former building from the ground, with a little garret over head. Our

Reverend Father Barnes, being now old, as having been our ghostly Father forty years, and fifty years Priest, he would needs also build the two pretty rooms over the gate at his own charges, and so made the Father's house commodious as it is. But the good Knight, Sir Francis Englefield, when his building was almost finished, went to Newport to see his daughter, who was Novice at the Third Order of St. Francis, and near her Profession; and coming there in a sickly time, his man fell sick of a fever at Bruges, wherefore he went back to see him there, and fell also sick himself, which we hearing of, Mr. Gifford went presently thither, with one Mr. Thornbury, a young man who studied physic in this town, and boarded here. Their coming was a great comfort unto him, but all what could be done did not save his life, but he died happily, as we may hope, and was buried in the Friars at Bruges, being ever very much devoted to St. Francis and his habit. If he had lived he intended to have been a great benefactor to us, for he had taken a great love unto our house, and in his sickness did long much to have come home here, saying, that if he could but once get here again, he intended never more to depart. The building, being then so good as finished, was left to us without any charges at all. So did Almighty God assist us that although our rents on the Mount of Piety failed us, and we had almost no payment for a year's space, yet this year at the reckoning we found our house out of any debt to others, but very many debts owing unto us both of our rents and elsewhere.

This year came more young gentlewomen to us, so as now we had a pretty good company in the school for convictrices, but scholars for the Order we had not until the year following. These also were expecting, when they should be of sufficient years, to become scholars, some being of twelve or thirteen years. One was Mr. Farmer's daughter, niece to good Sister Cornelia, and my Lord

Stafford's eldest daughter¹ was now twelve years old, and my Lord Carrington brought here also two of his nieces, Andertons, and intended we should have another of his daughters in place of that which died here. She came to us the year following, as also two daughters of my Lord Dunbar, grandchildren to Sir Harry Constable, as also my Lord Stafford's youngest daughter was in the town, bred up with a dry nurse, to come unto us the next year, being too little before.

Now [1653] we were much troubled with fear of robbing, by reason that a garrison of soldiers were put to winter here, who had no pay, but lived upon stealing, and almost every night they broke into some house or other. Upon St. Nicholas' night they broke into our cellar, but it chanced that a Lay-sister heard them, and called up others, and going down, the thieves ran away and took nothing. At another time, about a month after, they broke a great iron bar to get into our Reverend Mother's chamber, but were heard by the waker of Matins, who got help, and they, seeing themselves discovered, ran away and took nothing; but that night they also broke panes in the windows in four places, and saw nothing but the cloister and the sacristy, yet entered not there, as God would have it, Who was our best keeper. Yet, notwithstanding, hereupon the good gentlemen who boarded in the Father's house took upon them to watch, two and two, by turns every night until twelve o'clock that we were risen to Matins, and from that time till morning two of our Sisters, both Nuns and Lay-sisters, watched also every night; yet for all this the thieves came again upon Whitsunday, and would have broken into the washhouse, as one of them did, but durst not stay, and so they all ran away without taking anything, for they were

¹ Ursula Howard or Stafford was clothed September 4, 1663, and professed August 22, 1664.

discovered by the watchers. This troublesome watching continued until that the soldiers were called away out of garrison into the field.

This winter [1653-4] we were not troubled with thieves as the year before, by reason that the garrison of soldiers in the town were Spaniards, and not so thievish as the other nations. Besides that, there was now a wall built towards the street in that piece of ground which we sold the year before to a good Priest, who bought it of us on that condition to make a wall there towards the street, where the thieves used still to come over. This little piece of ground we sold with consent of the Convent and leave of the Bishop for 50*l.* sterling in the former year 1653 in the month of December, and was forgotten to be set down there in due place.

This year [1654] the Prioress of our Monastery at Bruges, Mother Augustina Bedingfeld,¹ was ordered by her doctor there to get leave of the Bishop for to go unto the bath of Aquisgran [Aix la Chapelle], for remedy of her disease, a kind of palsy, wherewith she had some years been troubled, and was come so far as he said she could not pass the next winter with life, if she took not this remedy; whereupon the Bishop gave her leave, and

¹ Helen, in Religion Sister Austin, was one of the twelve daughters of Sir Francis Bedingfeld and his wife, Sir John Fortescue's daughter (*supra*, pp. 147, 275), who all became Nuns. She was professed June 19, 1622. In 1639 she was sent to the Convent at Eruges on the earnest entreaty of the Prioress there, Mother Mary Pole, who died Nov. 4, 1640, "most peacefully," says the *Bruges Chronicle*, "with great signs of content, expressing many times in her sickness, how truly willing and resigned she was to die, since God had granted her the comfort to leave behind her Sister Augustine Bedingfeld, foreseeing as it were that she would succeed her in her office, and also in a manner foretelling the same; for a few hours before she departed, being in her perfect senses, she called for that Religious, and embracing her, gave her hearty thanks for the comfort she had afforded her by coming hither from her own Monastery, and she recommended this house to her, entreating her to be resigned to what Almighty God after her death would impose upon her, and saying that she died most resignedly and willingly, leaving her here."

so she took two Nuns with her. One was Sister Mary Gifford, who went from hence to the foundation of that Monastery, and was Procuratrix there some years; the other was her own niece, Sister Mary Bedingfeld, who was there professed a year before. She also brought with her two scholars for their Order. One [Sister Barbara Caryll] was to go into the bath with her, being sickly, whose sister died at Bruges a little before, and made her Profession upon her death-bed. The other scholar [Sister Lucy Hamilton] was also a niece of hers, her sister's daughter; and she brought one Lay-sister, Sister Frances Reading. Our Reverend Mother desired her in any case to come hither with her company, but it happened that she could not come at her going, by reason that the bath was then in good season; but she promised us to come this way at her return, and to stay here some time. So she remained there at Aquisgran above a month, and found much good of the bath for her health.

After that she came hither, and kept her Profession Day here with us. We had then recreation in the refectory, though it was Friday, for her sake. After that she went to our Blessed Lady's of Sichem, having sent before their ghostly Father of her own Cloister, Mr. Bourd [Blomfield], with a Lay-sister, who was sister to the two Readings here. They went all to our Blessed Lady's together, and returned the next day, then remained with us all that week; and upon Midsummer Day the Mother of Bruges gave us 5*l.* for a feast, so we were very merry together; and commonly at dinner she came to the refectory with her company, but at night they supped with our Reverend Mother in her chamber. They remained also here the next week; but the day fortnight of their coming hither she departed towards Grinendal, a Cloister of men of our Order beyond Brussels, who entertained her kindly three or four days. After that she went to the English Teresians at Antwerp, where she had a sister, and stayed there some time, as

also at Lierre, the English Teresians there, for her doctor had desired her to take all the recreation she could by the way for her health. She also passed by the English Monastery at Ghent, both going and coming, and lastly arrived home at her own Cloister, and they were so glad of her return that they sang *Te Deum laudamus*, being very much beloved of her Convent, under whom they began now to flourish with the receipt of many persons, after she had builded up their house into a handsome Monastery, being before but a very poor place, and few came there for the space of about twenty years, till that they made those new buildings. So that now they had received so many persons as they were a pretty Community, and lived well united together in good order and Religious observance with edification.

About this time [September, 1654] the old Countess of Arundel died in Holland, and her son, the Lord Stafford, was with her at her death: whereupon his lady came over to look after the goods, and after that, she would also needs come hither to see her cousin, our Reverend Mother, and to look over the goods which she had here in keeping, so as she was present at this Profession [Sister Elizabeth Jones, of Dingeston, in Monmouthshire], and remained here some time, to her great comfort amidst the many crosses which she was in. This was the first Nun that was now professed of twelve years since the last Nun's Profession, by reason that for the troubles of England, we had not received any in so many years. But now Almighty God would increase us again, and sent us many young gentlewomen, so as we had about this time ten scholars for the Order, and six young convictrices in the school.

This year also the Lady Mary Weston, daughter to the Lord Treasurer of England, built those rooms beyond the chancel of our church in the orchard, for herself to

live in among us. She came hither the year before and boarded in the Father's house, but now desiring to live within among us in her secular habit apart in that house, where she made also the entry to pass into our choir to the divine service ; and she made an agreement with us to give 50*l.* yearly for her own board and her maid ; and if that rent should fail, then to give 500*l.* in money. And she built now this house all at her own charges. Her brother, Mr. Thomas Weston, who had, some good time before, boarded here with others, procured her coming hither out of England, that she might retire herself out of the world, having always lived unmarried, but had no calling to Religion.

This year [1655] Mr. Constable, our Reverend Mother's cousin, who in former times of the wars in England boarded here without, and had taken a great love to our house, came over of purpose only to see his cousin and all his friends, and stayed here some time with his two brothers, one of whom was a Benedictine Monk. Then he returned home again, for he was now a married man and had two children. The Lady Gage also came over to visit our Blessed Lady of Sichem, and to see her niece, our Procuratrix, Sister Margaret Plowden. She promised to send us one of her daughters when she should be of years.

This year also the Lady Mary Weston entered in, to live in the inclosure, her house being wholly finished and ready for her to dwell in, where she lived very contented. She came not to our refectory, but her maid served her in her chamber, unless it was upon such days as we had a feast or brides,¹ when it was recreation in the refectory. But the Nuns went sometimes to her upon recreation days, especially one whom she had taken a particular affection to, Sister Grace Bedingfeld, who was then our cellaress, sister to the Mother of our Monastery at Bruges.

¹ Clothing or Profession.

She had leave daily to go unto her, at the time when her office permitted her to be at leisure.

It happened this year [1658] to be a very cold and hard winter, so as it did freeze for a month within doors. Only sometimes a day came between, of a cold thaw with great snow, one upon another, which did not melt; insomuch that Sister Susan's grave,¹ was covered with snow and green box for three weeks together, that we went down there saying the *Miserere*. The snow did not melt all that time, until that a worse accident befell us, which was a great inundation of waters that fell upon this part of the town by reason of the great snows thawing, and besides that, the breaking of the sluices, the posts, being old and worn, could not hold the force of the water. Yet it came not so suddenly but that we had some warning thereof, to save what was in the lower rooms of the house. Whereupon our Reverend Mother hired three or four men to carry up all the things that were portable to the chambers above, and the cellar being then full of beer, they nailed the barrels fast upon the tressels; so that when the water came in, although it heaved up all, yet the barrels did not roll in the water loose, neither was the beer spoiled: but one barrel was lost and spoiled, and two or three vessels of land wine. They also carried two great barrels out of the cellar into the refectory, that we might not want drink when the flood came; and the pots and vessels of the kitchen we brought up, that we might dress our food above, which was in the vestry. Upon the eve of St. Matthias, the 23rd of February, which this year fell the day before Sexagesima Sunday, the inundation of waters came in, filled the pants [corridors], the kitchen, the bakehouse, and washhouse, and our orchard

¹ Sister Susan Brook, daughter of Robert Brook and his wife, who was a daughter of Alderman Prannel; professed November 11, 1618, died January 31, 1658.

was like a sea, so that a boat came to us to know if we wanted anything.

We were that day so puzzled that we were fain to take every one their porridge and portion in the vestry, where it was dressed, standing, there not being stools for all to sit down; but at night we placed there some benches for to eat our collation sitting. The flood continued that night, and the next day began to decrease, and seeing that the water had not reached so high as to come into the refectory, we came upon Sunday down and dined there, bringing the meat from above, and so continued all this week to eat there, at one of the side tables double, for our Reverend Mother gave us recreation after some little had been read, because it was then, as it were, Shrovetide, and to comfort the hearts of those who were fearful, until Friday. Then we kept silence again for two days.

But to return to the water. As is said, it decreased upon Sunday, so that we thought all had been done; but upon Tuesday the waters rose again worse than before, so as on Thursday night the alarum went in the town that all should look to their own safety, as also to call for help unto those who were then labouring hard upon the walls to stop the waters' violent breaking in; which at last a Hollander found means to do, having skill, and so the waters were stayed from breaking in further, which else might have almost drowned this part of the town. But we must not omit that our good *Mompere*¹ came in a boat in the street, and brought us bread, flesh, and other things, fearing we might have been in want of victuals. All which things he desired us to draw up out of the boat, and take them in at the upper school window, which looketh into the street.

In all this time we never wanted two Masses a day, for our two Priests came in by the door above, and said

¹ Evidently *Mon père* was the name by which the Chaplain was known in the house.

Mass at the high altar, although all the church below was in the water; and we read our Office always in the choir, but did not ring the bell, nor rise at midnight to Matins, but read our Compline after Evensong, and then read our Matins at night, so as to be out about nine of the clock.

Every night we had watchers to see if any further danger was towards us. Now it shall not be amiss also to declare other crosses which we had at the same time.

[Sister Cornelia Farmer,¹ daughter of Sir Richard Farmer,² was a White Sister or Converse. Her life was almost a continual miracle; for having been three years and three quarters in the Novices' habit, intending to be a Nun (but by reason of her weakness and tenderness of nature always deferred upon hope of recovery and better health), behold on St. Andrew's Day, in 1628, which was then the twenty-first of her age, she fell so sick that in four days she was given up by the physicians; whereupon she desired to make her Profession before her death, which desire of hers was granted on St. Barbara's Day, December 4, 1628. From this time she never recovered, but grew still weaker, little by little, till her dying day; so that she was dying, we may say, thirty years. She was perpetually in one posture, on her back, nothing able to move any member but her right arm and hand. Her head was much raised with pillows and bolsters, and fastened down to the pillows with pins; with the falling thereof she would otherwise have been suffocated. Few could hear her voice, which was so very weak that latterly she was obliged to make her confession by signs, and had the privilege of communicating in her bed as often as the Religious did in choir. She was from her entrance into Religion, modest, prudent, and silent, and was never heard

¹ She died January 19, 1660. The paragraph in brackets is transferred to this place in the *Chronicle* from a later page.

² Of Somerton in Oxfordshire.

to complain, being naturally mild and affable. She was an example of all virtues, especially patience and conformity.]

First, when all the things were a carrying up, we were in care what to do with Sister Cornelia, who had lain to bed about thirty years in the low room of the sick-house, and we feared that in removing of her she would die. Yet there was no remedy, but four or six men carried her up, and she was as it were out of herself, her head turning every way for a good space, until at length she came again to herself, and was after that better accommodated than before. For two cells were broken asunder to make her a fine room, and so she never went down again, but remained in a drier and better place.

Upon Sexagesima Sunday before Prime, Sister Anne Mortimer, Church Sister, going down about that which was to be done, it chanced that as she stepped down from the high altar with something in her hand, she fell off from the four steps flat upon the ground, and broke the bone of her leg a little above the knee. We were then troubled what to do to get the surgeon, for all the street was in water. Yet there was such order taken, that he came to us on horseback, and did set her leg; but she suffered great pain, and could not so much as turn in her bed for a long time, lying still flat upon her back; which pain put her into an ague, and so she lay almost a month, in great pain. Yet after the first or second week she could turn with help, or sit up in her bed a little; which pains she suffered with great patience, and was very desirous to die.

But first let us finish to declare the end of the inundation. Upon Thursday it retired and decreased again wholly, and came no more after. One or two things chanced at that time worth the recounting. Before Sister Susan's grave stood a crucifix, as the manner is, upon a little footstool. When the water came in, it took all up, and the crucifix remained standing upon the footstool

without falling down, and swam so along the pant [corridor], passing through the door which was then open, and came to the other door, which goeth up into the dormitory; and it chanced just then that two of the Nuns were coming down the stairs to see all the pant in water, at what time the crucifix came just swimming, standing upon the footstool, and one of them took it up with joy to come so luckily at that time. There was also in the said pant the Sepulchre of our Lord in great images, with our Lady kneeling before Him, and Joseph and Nicodemus at the head and feet of our Lord. It chanced, then, that the great image of our Lord swam along the water, and His Mother followed Him, but not the other two images.

After the water was all gone we saw the damage which it had done us. For the great room of the sick-house was wholly spoiled, all the boards rotten; as also our Mother's chamber was in like manner spoiled and the boards wholly rotten. The pants also; the water had in some places loosened the stones, and some graves were sunk in. All this time, Shrovetide, some worldly people came in to see the harm which the waters had done us, for they said it was then no inclosure. We permitted them only those three days of Shrovetide, but at Lent they came no more.

We were forced also the two days, Monday and Tuesday, as the Wednesday before, to eat flesh, because the Procuratrix could not well get other things for the whole Convent; yet at supper those two days we had no flesh, but the usual fare for that time. For all that the people came in to see our damage, yet none gave us any alms, but the good Prioress of the Teresians in this town sent us an alms with a very kind letter, as also my Lady Mary Weston gave us some alms, for she had tasted of our misery, being forced to leave her house because the room below was all in water, and for a while she made a shift to lie in one of our cells at the first time the water overflowed, but the second time she kept in her own room

above. She had at this time a child of five or six years old, named Dorothy, who being daughter to her own brother, and he deceased, she took the child to bring up here as her own, with our liking and consent.

Upon the 23rd of March, this year 1658, died Sister Anne Mortimer, who, as we have said, broke her leg with the small fall from the altar steps.

Upon St. Mary Magdalen's Day this year 1658, we kept here a festival time in honour of our Reverend Mother's half jubilee, to wit, twenty-five years of her being Superior, and she gave us 5*l.* for the feast. So we were very joyful in our Lord, and the next day after we had here a play in the refectory, of St. Mary Magdalen coming to wash our Blessed Saviour's feet, and of her conversion.

1659. Upon the 10th of February, St. Scholastica's Day, we kept here with great joy and solemnity the jubilee of our Cloister, fifty years since the erection thereof. We held solemn feast from the first Evensong, but did not sing *Lauds*. The next day we had a solemn Mass, and after that we sang *Te Deum laudamus*. Our Reverend Father preached after Evensong, and made a worthy sermon, and showed how that in the space of these fifty years we had Professed here just a hundred persons, seventy-two whereof were Nuns of the Choir, the rest White Sisters and Lay-sisters. This week we had recreation as upon a Profession, and one day in the week we had a fine play, by the young Religious, of the Ten Virgins—the five wise and the five foolish. Upon Sunday within the Octave we had a clothing of two Novices who had lived here from their young years convictrices, Sister Mary Bedingfeld, niece to Sister Agnes Tasburgh, and the other Sister Catharine Withrington.

VII.

THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR'S
CHAPLAIN.



THE VENETIAN AMBASSADOR'S CHAPLAIN.

THE following interesting narrative owes its place in this volume to the kind courtesy of Mr. Rawdon Brown, the well-known investigator of the Archives of Venice. That gentleman has sent over to the Public Record Office many volumes of transcripts of all that he has there found which was calculated to throw light on English history. Amongst these are the despatches of Giovanni Giustiniani, the Venetian Ambassador in London from September, 1638, to December, 1642, in which the arrest, trial, condemnation, and release of his chaplain, Cuthbert Clapton, *alias* Thomas Green, are minutely narrated for the information of his masters, the Doge and Senate. The Ambassador demanded a solemn apology for the infraction of the law of nations, and it is greatly to the credit of England that, though the demand was made by a Power of which it had no reason to be afraid, it was honourably fulfilled. The Earl of Warwick was sent, with the royal carriages, to bring the Ambassador to Court to receive the King's apology.

Further, it fortunately happens that a volume in the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster contains the Priest's own narrative of the same occurrence. To his account of that which concerned himself, Cuthbert Clapton has subjoined the circumstances of the condemnation and martyrdom of William Ward, his fellow-prisoner. This latter narrative has evidently furnished many details, and even phrases, to the writer of the "manuscript relation by a Priest who calls himself Mr. Ward's ghostly child," which is given at length by Bishop Challoner.¹

The manuscript volume from which we have copied Cuthbert

¹ *Missionary Priests*, vol. ii., p. 159.

Clapton's narrative is of the greatest value and interest. It consists of papers and letters relating to the English Martyrs, addressed either to Thomas More, the Agent for the Secular Clergy in Rome, or to his successor, Thomas Blackloe. The volume is lettered LM. In addition to the narrative which we print in full, it contains on this subject a draft letter¹ in the handwriting of Dr. Matthew Kellison, President of Douay, to Cardinal Francis Barberini, written after he had heard of the condemnation of the two Priests, Clapton and Ward, and before he had received the news of the reprieve of the one and the martyrdom of the other.

He says that his informant was the Queen's confessor, Havard, *alias* Jacson, a worthy Priest, who had laboured for forty years on the English mission; by whom, he adds, the Duchess of Lenox had been converted. His information, as far as it coincides with the narratives subjoined, need not be given here, but it is worthy of note that Clapton is called "a Priest of a good and very ancient family, connected by blood with many of the nobles of England."² Dr. Kellison remarks that Carpenter, the apostate and spy, was a nephew of Father Richard Blount, the Provincial of the Jesuits. Either for this reason, or more probably because both Clapton and his betrayer, Carpenter, were educated at the English College at Rome, which was under the care of the Society, the Ambassador apparently considered them both to be, or to have been, Jesuits. This is, however, a mistake.

Their names occur side by side in the list of the students of the venerable English College, as entering, Francis Carpenter in 1633, and Thomas Green in 1634.

¹ Vol. LM., p. 64.

² It seems probable that he was of the family noticed in the following entry in *St. Monica's Chronicle*. "In 1622, August the 29th, were professed together four natural sisters, Mary, Barbara, Lidwin, and Catharine Clapton, daughters of William Clapton, of Sledwick in Bishoprickshire [Durham], and their mother was of the chief house, named Anne Clapton, of Clapton in Warwickshire, who being with her sisters both heiresses, the elder was married unto the Lord Cary [Carew], afterward Earl of Totney [Totnes], and this other was matched unto the foresaid William Clapton, Esquire."

Father Christopher Grene, in his *Collectanea*,¹ notes from the *Pilgrim's Register* that "Cuthbert Claxton, who had been lately condemned to death in England for his priesthood, dined at the English College on the 24th of August, 1642;" and that "Cuthbert Green,² whose true name is Clapton [corrected from Claxton], the student of the College who was condemned to death with Mr. William Ward, the noble martyr, and then set free, died at Rome in 1644." He did not therefore long survive the exile to which the Venetian Ambassador thought it prudent to consign him.

The reader should bear in mind, while perusing the short story of the martyrdom of William Ward, that he is said by Dr. Kellison to have been a venerable old man of nearly eighty years of age.

Despatches³ of the Ambassador, a few months earlier in date than those which refer to the danger of his own chaplain, are given in English by Mr. Rawdon Brown, who appends to the first the following note.⁴

"This relates to one Goodman, a Jesuit. There remains a very singular petition of his, begging to be hanged rather than prove a source of contention between the King and his people. He escaped with his life, but it is more probable that he was overlooked, amidst affairs of greater consequence, than that such unrelenting hatred would be softened by any consideration of his courage and generosity. See Hume, vol. v., p. 260."

The first despatch is dated

"London, February 8, 1641.

"Last week a Catholic ecclesiastic of exemplary character was condemned to death. The Queen interceded for him with the King, who promised his pardon; whereupon the Parliament and the City of London remonstrated, declaring that unless the sentence passed against this individual were carried into effect,

¹ Stonyhurst MSS., *N.*, i., pp. 34, 111.

² "Grinus." Father Christopher Grene is himself often Latinized into *Grinus*, and Italianized into *Grino*.

³ P. R. O., Venetian Transcripts, vol. xlv., pp. 92—98.

⁴ Vol. xlv., note v., p. 8.

they would never more grant any subsidy, and threatening the Queen herself with every possible evil.

“The crime of this ecclesiastic consists in his having been convicted of being a Priest. The King has offered to banish him for ever, and to make all other Catholic Priests quit the country; but, as yet, this ample condescension is not sufficient to quell the outcry, and people are apprehensive lest the executioner's knife immolate this Churchman. The example is replete with the worst possible consequences, as it utterly destroys the ancient prerogative of the Crown of England, which had power to suspend capital sentences, and excludes all hopes of pardon, moreover, for the two favourites, the Lieutenant of Ireland [Earl of Strafford] and the Archbishop of Canterbury [Laud], for whose blood this rabid people is thirsting violently.”

“London, February 15, 1641.

“Last Saturday a deputation from the Parliament went to His Majesty, and by word of mouth of the Lord Keeper [Lord Littleton], again besought him earnestly that in order to still the universal outcry, he should be pleased to permit the law to take its course against the Priest who had been condemned to death, as written by me; or else refer the case for decision to Parliament. They also made a demand for the thorough observance of the penal statutes enacted against the Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and that His Majesty should no longer connive at the presence in this Court of a Minister from the Pope.

“The King, after listening attentively to these reiterated demands, took time to reply, and withdrew. Then, after a long consultation, he determined, having more regard for the very evil times than for the boldness of the Commons, to grant their request. Yesterday, accordingly, he sent for the Parliament, and announced his intention of readily meeting the wishes of the people. He said that he made over entirely to Parliament the case of the Priest, and conceded to it the execution of the old penal statutes against the Catholics. His Majesty, however, did not omit to request the Parliament men to act clemently towards the one, and with moderation respecting the others; observing to them that as there were many British subjects residing in the

territories of Catholic potentates, the rigour exercised against Catholicism here might give rise to acts of similar severity against the Protestants established there.

“With regard to the Papal Minister, His Majesty said that in virtue of the marriage treaty stipulated with France, the Queen was entitled to the free exercise of her own religion; to which effect she felt compelled to have somebody about her for the maintenance of personal intercourse with the Head of her Church. This individual, the King said, would only meddle with his wife's establishment, and he therefore besought his subjects to admit him, and not dissatisfy the Queen by a refusal. On the other hand, His Majesty promised that should this agent exceed his due limits, he himself would not tolerate it; and then, for the sake of showing himself averse to the Catholic religion, the King declared that he would frankly exert himself to prevent the Queen's chapel [in Somerset House], or those of the Ambassadors, from being frequented by the English.

“With these satisfactory replies the Parliament men took their departure, and it now remains to be seen whether this bland policy, which the King has been compelled to adopt out of dire necessity, will suffice to stay the tide of popular licence, or whether it will but widen the breach for yet bolder projects.”

“London, February 21, 1641.

“Since what passed between His Majesty and the Parliament men, concerning the Priest who was condemned to death, and the other Catholics of this kingdom, the Queen sent one of her gentlemen in waiting to the Parliament to testify her readiness to concur with His Majesty in giving satisfaction to the people; promising for the future not to protect any other Priests than those of her own chapel; and she likewise announced her intention of speedily dismissing the Papal Minister, who, perceiving his departure to be inevitable, is busily preparing for it, to the regret of the Catholics, who consider themselves irremediably doomed to the most intense persecution.

“Notwithstanding all this, the Priest is still in prison, and a report prevails that the Parliament will commute his sentence into perpetual exile. The fact thoroughly proves that a contu-

macious determination to deprive the Sovereign of his authority, and not religious zeal, was the chief cause of the late outcry on this subject."

These despatches are sufficient to show the state of the public temper at the time, and will render the story of the Ambassador's Chaplain more intelligible. King Charles I. was beheaded eight years later.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's transcripts contain a copy of the Letters Patent, granting a free pardon to the chaplain, Cuthbert Clapton, for the crime of being a Priest in the realm of England. They recite that at the Session held at the Justice Hall in the Old Bailey, in the parish of St. Sepulchre, in the Ward of Farringdon Without, London, on Wednesday, the 21st of July, in the seventeenth year of the King's reign, before Sir Edmund Wright, Mayor of London, Sir Edward Bromfield, Thomas Gardiner, Recorder of the City, Henry Bratt, one of the Aldermen, and other Justices, for the gaol delivery of Newgate, Cuthbert Clapton, *alias* Green, late of London, Clerk, was brought up in the custody of John Towsee and Abraham Reynardson, Sheriffs of London, and being placed at the bar, was tried and found guilty that he, being born in England after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John Baptist, in the first year of the reign of the late Queen Elizabeth, before the 10th day of July in the seventeenth year of the King's reign, was beyond the seas made and ordained Priest by authority derived and pretended from the See of Rome, and on the 10th of July aforesaid traitorously came from beyond sea to London, to wit, to the parish of St. Antholph,¹ beyond Aldersgate, in the Ward of Aldersgate, and there did on that day traitorously remain, "against our peace, our crown, our dignity, and against the form of the statute in that case made and provided." Such is the usual form of indictment under the Act of 27th Elizabeth, to the provisions of which most of our martyrs owe their crowns. It is, however, noteworthy that the usual clause, "not having the fear of God before his eyes," is omitted in this case, possibly to escape the ridicule of the good Venetians. They must have been sufficiently amused and puzzled

¹ St. Antholin or St. Botolph; probably the latter.

by the English law-Latin of the royal pardon. For instance, what can they have made of *Ad deliberationem gaolæ Nostræ* [our gaol delivery] *de Newgate tentam pro Civitate London. prædicta apud Justice Hall prædicta in parochia et Warda prædictis*; or again, the remission of *pœnas mortis, pœnas corporales, forisfacturas* [forfeitures], *fines, imprisiamenta, &c.*? The pardon is *Ita quod stet rectus in Curia Nostra si quis adversus eum loqui voluerit de præmissis*: that he might stand up in court, all accused persons being required to kneel.

As the manner in which the attempt was made to eradicate the Catholic religion was by preventing Priests from exercising their functions, and by rendering it impossible for the Faithful to have recourse to the Sacraments, the privileges of foreign Ambassadors naturally caused great embarrassment to the persecutors. It was universally recognized that an Ambassador could protect from arrest and molestation every member of his household; and his chaplains were necessarily included in the number of those who were thus exempt from the action of the English law. These Ambassadors were often zealous Catholics, who felt keenly the operation of the penal laws. Beyond their own household they were powerless to help the persecuted, except by intercession; and many Priests owed their lives after sentence of death had been pronounced against them for their priesthood, to the petitions of Catholic Ambassadors. But within their own doors they could do something more, for they could have for their chaplains English Priests, and they could permit the persecuted Catholics to hear Mass in their chapels. This they did, and it is no exaggeration to say that we owe it to their zeal for religion that the Catholic faith was not exterminated, at least in London.

This protection was naturally most vexatious to those whose occupation it was to hunt down Catholic Priests and prevent the administration of the Sacraments. It was not, however, till the Parliament took the persecution on itself that much was done to hinder the resort of the Faithful to the chapels of foreign Ministers. One interference there was in Queen Elizabeth's time, which deserves a place here. She was too politic to have it said that she infringed the sacredness of the rights of

Ambassadors, and she disowned the proceeding and visited the offender with a nominal punishment. It must be remembered that we have no account¹ but that of the person inculpated. The offence was a domiciliary visit paid to an Ambassador's house in 1576, during time of Mass. Signor Geraldi was the Portuguese Ambassador, living at that time at the Charterhouse, which was then the property of the Duke of Norfolk. The search was made by William Fletewood, the Recorder of London, accompanied by the Sheriffs Kympton and Barnes. The report is addressed to Lord Burleigh by the Recorder, and was written after he had been called before the Lords of the Council to account for his violation of the sanctity of an Ambassador's house. His plea was, "Whether Signor Geraldi were an Ambassador or not, surely, my lord, I knew it not until my Lords of the Council had told me thereof, upon Monday last at the Council board." However, he was summoned to Court, and report was made to the Queen, and the decision come to was that they "had done but according to the law, yet notwithstanding, for honour's sake, insomuch that Signor Geraldi was upon his despatch, and for that by his good means there was a honourable conclusion of traffic brought to pass, therefore it was thought meet by Her Majesty that they should go to the Fleet." Thereupon, "Mr. Sheriff, out of order, tumbled out a number of fond words," as Fletewood calls them, laying the blame on the Recorder, "where in very deed, my lord," says the Recorder to Burleigh in self-defence, in a letter written *Ex Fleeta*, November 7, 1576, "my going was by earnest request of Mr. Sheriff, and especially for that Mr. Sheriff's man, being light-fingered, might take things away."

Leaving Mr. Recorder in the Fleet, we will return to the search for which he was sent there. "Mr. Sheriff Barnes having by agreement gone to the back to see that no Mass hearers should escape, after divers knocking at the gate the porter came, being a Portingale who did speak English, and said my lord was not at home. 'Then,' quoth I, 'let me speak with you, Mr. Porter, for we have brought letters.' And the porter answered us very

¹ In a letter among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum (23, 58), printed by Mr. Wright in his collection of letters, called *Queen Elizabeth and her Times*. London, 1838, vol. ii., p. 37.

stubbornly, and at length he opened the gate, and I, the Recorder, put in my left leg, meaning to enter in at the gate, and being half in and half out, the porter knowing me very well, said, 'Back, villain!' and thrust the gate so sore upon my leg, that I shall carry the grief thereof to my grave. Sithens that time my pain hath been so great that I can take no rest, and if Mr. Sheriff Kympton had not thrust the gate from me, my leg had been utterly bruised into shivers; and besides, the porter began to bustle himself to his dagger, and took me by the throat; and then I thrust him from me, for indeed he was but a testy little wretch. And so I willed Mr. Sheriff and his officers to stay the fellow from doing any hurt to any other in his fury.

"After this we passed quietly, all doors being open, out of the hall up the stairs, and at the stair-head there was a great long gallery, that in length stood east and west. In the same gallery all the Mass hearers, both men and women, were standing, for the Priest was at the Gospel, and the altar candles were lighted, as the old mode was.

"After this, we knocked at the outer door of the gallery, and they all looked back, and then Mr. Sheriff Kympton and I charged all such as were Englishmen born and the Queen's subjects to come forth of that place; and then came all the strangers, coming towards us, some of them beginning to draw first their daggers, and then after they bustled themselves to draw their rapiers, and by that time two bailiff errants of Middlesex, whose names I remember not, being at the door, did draw their swords. And immediately Mr. Kympton caused the strangers to be quiet, and I caused the bailiffs to put up their swords. And then Mr. Kympton, with all the Mass hearers, with Mr. Gerald's wife and her maids, were all in a heap, forty persons at once speaking in several languages.

"And then I said to Mr. Sheriff, 'I pray you, let you and me make a way for my lady'; and so he making a way before, I kissed my hand, and took my lady Gerald's by the hands, and led her out of the press to her chamber door, and then made a most humble curtsey unto her; and after, I put out my hands to the rest of the gentlewomen, and first kissed it, and delivered them into their chamber also.

“And then Mr. Sheriff Barnes came into the gallery, and so we there examined every man what he was, and first such as were Signor Gerald's men, we required them to depart; and after many lewd and contumelious words used by them against us, we by fair means got them out of the gallery unto their lady's lodging, and then proceeded to the examination of the strangers that were not of Signor Gerald's house nor of his retinue; and truly, they most despitefully, against all civility, used such lewd words in their language against us, that if our company had understood them there might have chanced great harm. But in plain terms, I said unto them, ‘Sirs, I see no remedy but you must go to prison, for most of you be free denizens.’ And then I willed the officers to lay hand on them, and immediately every man suddenly most humbly put off his cap, and began to be suitors, and sought favour; and so upon their submission we suffered them to depart, all saving Anthony Gwarras, who was not willing to go from us, but kept us company.

“And all this done, we examined the English subjects, and sent them to prison, who, to say the truth, provoked the strangers into fury and disorder against us; for if the Englishmen had, according to our direction, departed from the strangers and come forth unto us, the strangers had been quiet, and we without trouble. But truly the greatest fault was that, as well the English Mass-mongers, as also the free denizens, for the covering of their own offences, practised rather to have murder committed than to be taken as they were.

“All this while the Mass-sayer stood at the north end of the altar, and no man living said a word to him, nor touched him, saving that he did give to divers of our servants singing cakes, wherewith I was offended with them for receiving that idolatrous bread. And all being done, and we ready to depart, it was said by a stander-by, ‘If you look in at that door near the altar,’ said he, ‘you shall see a number of Mass-mongers.’ And then did the Priest take a key out of his pocket, and smiling opened the door, and Sheriff Kympton and the Priest looked in, and there was nobody.

“And then Anthony Gwarras took me by the hand to see the altar, how trim it was, for Mr. Barnes and I stood afar off in the

gallery. And I said to Gwarras, 'Sir, if I had done my duty to you and to the Queen, I had taken two hundred here upon All Hallow Day last, and as many more upon All Souls Day also.' 'Ho! sir,' said Gwarras unto me, 'become of this religion and surely you will like it well, and I will be a ready means to make you a good Christian.'

"And so we went near the altar, but neither he nor I touched any manner of thing, and so we bade the Priest farewell, who gently saluted us, and I suddenly looking back saw the Priest shake his head, and mumbled out words which sounded *Diable!* and *male croix!* or to that effect. And then said I to Mr. Sheriff, 'Sir, let us depart, for the Priest doth curse.' And so we departed, and Anthony Gwarras brought us to the outer gate, where Mr. Sheriff and I invited him to dinner with us, but he departed back to hear out the profaned Mass.

"The foresaid Gwarras, at this business said that he himself was an ambassador to a greater person than ——, and so did shake his head. 'What,' quoth I, 'do you mean a greater personage than the Queen our mistress?' 'No, no,' said he, 'I mean not so.' 'No,' quoth I, 'it were not best for you to make comparisons with the Queen our mistress. Whose ambassador are you then?' quoth I, 'the Pope's?' and then he departed further off, in an anger. This Gwarras was a very busy fellow in this action.

"Amongst all these strangers I marked one, who is a free denizen and married to an Englishwoman. He is a broker and hath his chief living by our merchants. This fellow made himself more busy than it became him.

"There was a tall young fellow, an Italian, that was very wanton with us. And it hath been told me sithens that he and other are kept here for two causes, the one for uttering the Pope's alms, and the other to serve for intelligencers, which I think are very spies. This youth was very busy and bare him as though he had been treading of a galliard.

"There was one John Chevers, an Irishman, a student of the Inns of the Chancery, who as it appeared unto me, I having a vigilant eye of all sides, was a great stirrer of the strangers against us. This young man, when he could not prevail, then he gat up

to the south end of the altar, and there he confronted the Massayer with his cap on his head, who was at the other end, and stood there as though he had been an Italian. His garments were a cloak and a rapier, after the Italian fashion; and when I demanded what he was, he bowed on the one side and on the other, as though he had not understood me much, like the fashion of Signor Gerald, by which I did note that he had been often there.

"This is all that I do remember, and in my conscience, as I shall answer before God at the latter day, we used ourselves with such humble reverence unto the lady and her family, as more we could not do unto the Queen our mistress, save in kneeling. I sent Signor Gerald word, as I remember, at Easter last, by Mr. Benedick Spinello, that he should not suffer the Queen's subjects to repair to his Mass; and other things should also be amended, wherewith the people did wonderfully grudge him. And I am sure Mr. Spinello did my message unto him in a decent order."

In his letters from the Fleet the imprisoned Recorder says of his exploit, "I am not sorry for anything but that Her Majesty should be offended. If your lordship had seen the idolatrous dealing, it would, I am sure, have stirred your lordship's heart against them more than I can express." And of his prison he piously but ungrammatically says, "I do beseech you, thank Mr. Warden of the Fleet for his most friendly and courteous using of me, for surely, I thank God for it, I am quiet and lack nothing that he or his bedfellow are able to do for me. This is a place wherein a man may quietly be acquainted with God. O Lord God! bless your lordship, my good lady, and Sir Walter Mildmay."

This is the only instance with which we are acquainted when an Ambassador's house was actually entered; but when in the days of Charles I. the persecution grew even hotter than it was under Elizabeth, the Ambassadors' chaplains were sometimes taken prisoners when they were away from home, and the Catholics who frequented their chapels were marked men. One of the members of the French Embassy wrote an account of the condition of the English Catholics for the information of his countrymen, which

was published in 1646. In it occurs a passage¹ of which the following is a translation.

“The Spanish Ambassador lives in his house as in an invested citadel. His domestics are obliged to escort the Catholics who leave it, and it has happened that in striving to defend them from the hands of the pursuivants there have been grievous wounds inflicted on both sides. And indeed, to ruin an Englishman, no other pretext is needed than to have seen him come out from the Spanish Ambassador's house, and though he were a Huguenot of the first water they would maintain he had been hearing Mass.

“At the beginning of the troubles they imprisoned and condemned to death the Venetian Ambassador's confessor, who was also a member of his household; and his execution would have followed his arrest, if the prudence of the King had not stopped this violent proceeding, which was as pernicious as it was barbarous.”

This was, of course, our Cuthbert Clapton; and *St. Monica's Chronicle* enables us to identify another of the imprisoned chaplains. It would seem that the Ambassadors could only obtain their liberty on their promise to send them out of the country. This Richard Worthington was the son of the Thomas Worthington who married Cardinal Allen's niece,² and two of his sisters were in the Convent at Louvain.

“About this time [1643] we began to take in the Father's house boarders, and first came out of England Mr. Richard Worthington, Priest, who living at the Spanish Ambassador's house at London, was sent by him upon the day of our Blessed Lady's Assumption unto the Lady Tresham, for to minister the holy Sacraments unto her, being then sick. At his return in the Ambassador's coach, he was taken in the street by some that it seems had intelligence that he was a Priest, and brought before most malicious officers; who pleaded for himself that he was a stranger born, and indeed he was born here at Louvain, yet they threatened him that should not avail him; but the Ambassador got him freed, promising to send him over; so

¹ *Histoire de la persécution présente des Catholiques en Angleterre.* Par le Sieur de Marsys (p. 47).

² *Vide supra*, pp. 6, 284.

he came and boarded here, ever ready to assist us as his father before had been."

A somewhat similar case occurred a few years later, when Father Edward Lusher, S.J., was arrested, and liberated by order of both Houses of Parliament. The copy of these orders, with their peculiarities of spelling, and their Spanish endorsement, has evidently come from the Spanish Embassy to the College of the Society at St. Omers, amongst the papers of which they are still preserved in the Public Archives at Brussels. The stronger animus against the Priest is noticeable in the order of the House of Commons.

"An order of Parliament to the Keeper of Newgate for the release of Father Edward Lusher, 1645.

"Die 3 Julii, 1645.

"It is this day ordered, by the Lords in Parliament assembled, that Edward Lusher, a servant to the Lord Ambassador of Spain, being now in Newgate, shall be forthwith released and set at liberty on sight of this order. It having been resolved by both Houses that he shall be discharged of his said imprisonment, and to be sent to the said Lord Ambassador, and this to be a sufficient warrant in that behalf.

"J. BROWNE, Cleric. Parliamentorum.

"To the Keeper of Newgate or his Deputy."

"Die veneris, 4 Julii, 1645.

"It is this day ordered, by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that judgment be stayed, and shall not be given against Edward Lusher, committed for a Priest this present Sessions, being a servant to the Spanish Ambassador, and by a former ordinance of both Houses to be discharged. And it is further ordered that the Spanish Ambassador, according to his promise, with all speed send him out of the kingdom, not to return.

"H. ELSYNGE, Cler. D. Com."

Indorsed.—"Copia del Orden del Parlamento p^r librar a Eduardo Lusser despues de convencido de sacerdote."

The *Journals of the House of Lords*¹ have the following entries on the subject.

“*Die lunæ, 30^o Julii.* The Earl of Northumberland reported, ‘That the Spanish Ambassador made a complaint to the Committee for Foreign Affairs that an Englishman, a servant of his, being employed by the said Ambassador into Flanders, was, in his journey to the sea-side, apprehended and since committed to Newgate, upon suspicion of being a Priest, where he is in danger suddenly to be brought to a trial for his life; which the Ambassador conceives to be a violation of the privileges due unto all Ambassadors, and an injury unto the King his master, this man being only used by the Ambassador for an interpreter.’ Hereupon it is ordered, To communicate this to the House of Commons, and desire them, that the grounds of this suspicion and his commitment may be examined by the Committee appointed to meet with Ambassadors, and reported unto the Houses, before there be any further proceedings against him.”

“*Die martis, 1^o Julii.* It was reported to this House, ‘That an account hath been given to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, from the Committee of Examinations, of the causes of the commitment of Edward Lusher, servant to the Spanish Ambassador, to Newgate; and it appears it was but upon suspicion to be a Priest.’ Hereupon the House resolved to send to the House of Commons a message, to let them know, ‘That it appearing to the Lords, upon the report made from the Committee of Lords and Commons appointed to treat with Ambassadors, that the commitment of Edward Lusher was only upon suspicion of his being a Priest, there being no proof of it at all. In regard to the fair respects which hath always been expressed unto the Parliament by that Crown and the Ministers thereof, the Lords, approving the Report made from the Committee of Lords and Commons, think fit to suffer the said Lusher to depart out of the kingdom; the Spanish Ambassador engaging himself that he shall not return again. This civility, they conceive, may be of great advantage both unto our merchants and other affairs of public concernment

¹ 21 Car. I., pp. 466 b, 469 a, b, 470 b, 471 a, 476 a.

at this time;’ whereunto the concurrence of the House of Commons is desired.”

“A message was sent to the House of Commons by Doctor Aylett and Doctor Heath, to desire their concurrence in the paper concerning the servant of the Spanish Ambassador.”

“*Die mercurii, 2° Julii.* Doctor Aylett and Doctor Heath return with this answer to the message sent yesterday to the House of Commons, ‘As concerning the servant of the Spanish Ambassador, they will send an answer by messengers of their own.’”

“The House was informed ‘That the Spanish Ambassador desires to have an answer from the Houses concerning his servant, who is this day to be tried at the sessions.’ And it is ordered, To send to the House of Commons, to acquaint them with this further Address of the Spanish Ambassador. Which was done by a message to the House of Commons by Mr. Doctor Aylett and Mr. Doctor Heath; *videlicet*, ‘The Spanish Ambassador hath made a further Address this day to the House of Peers, to desire that his servant Lusher may be restored unto him; the Ambassador engaging his honour that the said Lusher shall be sent out of the King’s dominions within ten days, and that he shall not return into any of the King’s dominions again; which their Lordships are the rather inclined unto, in regard that the said Ambassador hath showed himself very respectful to the Parliament on several occasions. The Lords desire the concurrence of the House of Commons herein.’”

“Doctor Aylett and Doctor Heath returned with answer from the House of Commons, ‘That they agree with their Lordships in the business concerning the Spanish Ambassador’s servant.’”

“*Die veneris, 4° Julii.* A remonstrance of the Spanish Ambassador was read concerning his servant Lusher, who was condemned, for suspicion of being a Priest, before the Order of the House was issued out; therefore he desired he might be released, according to the former intentions of the Houses.”

In the *Journals of the House of Commons*¹ the corresponding entries are found, with the division on the 2nd July.

“The Question for concurrence with the Lords was propounded, and then the Question was put, Whether this Question should be now put. It passed with the Affirmative.

“And then the Question being put, Whether this House would concur with the Lords, the House was divided. The Yeas went forth

Lord Cranborne	{ Tellers for the Yea : }	} 70
Lord Herbert		
Mr. Holles	{ Tellers for the Noe : }	} 65
Lord Grey		

So that the Question passed with the Affirmative.”

“Ordered, That Mr. Holles and Mr. Reynolds do go to the Spanish Ambassador, and acquaint him from this House, That they have agreed with the Lords for the delivery of his servant, upon his Affirmation, that he is no Priest; and that they do declare that they do expect that, for the future, he entertain not, nor harbour in his family, any lay person, being a Papist, that is a subject of the Crown of England; or any subject of this Crown that is a Priest; and that, according to his engagements to the Parliament, this his servant be sent out of the King's dominions within ten days; and signify unto him, That they are content, out of respect to his person, to restore this his servant; but cannot conceive that he can have any pretence of right to have this his servant delivered; or that he should have any cause to complain, if he were proceeded against according to the laws of the land, he being a subject of this Crown.”

However, on the very day on which the artful insinuation was made that the Ambassador had affirmed that Father Lusher was not a Priest, he was found guilty of the crime of his priesthood, and thus we have the last entry in the *Commons' Journal* as follows :

“*Die veneris, Julii 4^o.* Ordered that judgment be stayed and shall not be given against Edward Lusher, convicted for a Priest this present session, he being a servant to the Spanish Ambassador; and by a former Ordinance of both Houses he be discharged.

¹ Vol. iv., pp. 193—195.

“It is further ordered, That the Spanish Ambassador do, according to his promise, with all speed, send him out of the kingdom, not to return again.”

The following extract from Dr. Lingard,¹ containing a valuable paper, the original of which was in his possession, will serve well to illustrate these cases. The pursuivants, Wadsworth² and Mayo, were two of the witnesses who obtained the conviction of Clapton and Ward. These were, it would appear, their first victims. The names of Goodman, Worthington, and Lusher, are all to be found in the list, which is deeply interesting for the sake of the holy martyrs named in it.

“I have not been able to ascertain the number of Catholic clergymen who were executed or banished for their religion under Charles I. and under the Commonwealth. But I possess an original document, authenticated by the signatures of the parties concerned, which contains the name and fate of such Catholic Priests as were apprehended and prosecuted in London, between the end of 1640 and the summer of 1651, by four individuals who had formed themselves into a kind of joint-stock company for that laudable purpose, and who solicited from the Council some reward for their services. It should, however, be remembered that there were many others engaged in the same pursuit, and consequently many other victims besides those who are here enumerated.

“The names of such Jesuit and Romish Priests as have been apprehended and prosecuted by Capt. James Wadsworth, Francis Newton, Thomas Mayo, and Robert de Luke, messengers, at our proper charge; whereof some have been condemned, some executed, and some reprieved since the beginning of the Parliament (3 Nov. 1640): the like not having been done by any others since the reformation of religion in this nation:—

William Waller [Ward], *als.* Slaughter, *als.* Walker, executed at Tyburne.

Cuthbert Clapton, condemned, reprieved and pardoned.

Bartholomew Row, executed at Tyburne.

Thomas Reynolds, executed at Tyburne.

Edward Morgan, executed at Tyburne.

¹ Lingard's *History of England*. London, 1849, vol. viii., p. 45.

² We shall meet with Capt. James Wadsworth again when we come to the ‘Journey of Twelve Students from St. Omers to Seville,’ in another volume.

- Thomas Sanderson, *als.* Hammond, executed at Tyburne.
Henry Heath, *als.* Pall Magdalen, executed at Tyburne.
Francis Quashet, died in Newgate after judgment.
Arthur Bell, executed at Tyburne.
Ralph Corbey, executed at Tyburne.
John Duchet, executed at Tyburne.
John Hamond, *als.* Jackson, condemned, reprieved by the King, and died in Newgate.
Walter Coleman, condemned and died in Newgate.
Edmond Cannon, condemned and died in Newgate.
John Wigmore, *als.* Turner, condemned, reprieved by the King and is in custodie in Newgate.
Andrew Ffryer, *als.* Herne, *als.* Richmond, condemned and died in Newgate.
Augustian Abbot, *als.* Rivers, condemned, reprieved by the King and died in Newgate.
John Goodman, condemned and died in Newgate.
Peter Welford, condemned and died in Newgate.
Thomas Bullaker, executed at Tyburne.
Robert Robinson, indicted and proved, and made an escape out of the King's Bench.
James Brown, condemned and died in Newgate.
Henry Morse, executed at Tyburne.
Thomas Worseley, *alias* Harvey, indicted and proved, and reprieved by the Spanish Ambassador and others.
Charles Chaney [Cheney], *als.* Tomson, indicted and proved, and begged by the Spanish Ambassador, and since taken by command of the Councill of State, and is now in Newgate.
Andrew White, indicted, proved, reprieved before judgment, and banished.
Richard Copley, condemned and banished.
Richard Worthington, found guiltie and banished.
Edmond Cole, Peter Wright, and William Morgan, indicted, proved, and sent beyond sea.
Philip Morgan, executed at Tyburne.
Edmund Lusher, *als.* Arrow, indicted, condemned, reprieved by the Parliament, and banished.
Thomas Budd, *als.* Peto, *als.* Gray, condemned, reprieved by the Lord Mayor of London, and others, Justices, and since retaken by order of the Councill of State, and is now in Newgate.
George Baker, *als.* Macham, indicted, proved guiltie, and now in Newgate.
Peter Beale, *als.* Wright, executed at Tyburne.
George Gage, indicted by us, and found guiltie, and since is dead.

JAMES WADSWORTH,
FRANCIS NEWTON,
THOMAS MAYO,
ROBERT DE LUKE.'"

There is apparently but one entry in the *Journals* of the Houses of Parliament respecting the Venetian Ambassador's Chaplain. It runs as follows in the *Journals of the House of Commons*.¹

“*Die lunæ, 19^o Julii, 1641.* Mr. Pymm brings from the Committee for the Ten Propositions a paper, which was read, *in hæc verba* :

““His Majesty hath commanded me to tell you that, upon a complaint of the Venetian Ambassador, for the imprisoning of a Priest, being His Majesty's subject, he thinks fit that two things be done :

““First, that all Ambassadors should have it declared to them, in His Majesty's name, that they retain no Priests, native of any of His Majesty's dominions.

““Secondly, that this Priest be presently sent out of the Kingdom, and not return again but at his peril.

““This favour His Majesty thinks fit to show the Venetian Ambassador, seeing this particular person, as His Majesty is informed, hath been his servant these three years, and was brought over with him when he came; the Ambassador himself being ignorant of the laws of this Kingdom.’

“Ordered, That the Committee for the Ten Propositions examine the truth of the business concerning the Venetian Ambassador's Priest; and whether he hath endeavoured to seduce the King's subjects from the true religion; and that they send for Mr. Carpenter, to inform themselves further concerning him, and represent to the House the true state of the business.”

¹ Vol. ii., p. 216.

CUTHBERT CLAPTON'S NARRATIVE.

Taken from the manuscript in the Archives of the Archbishop of Westminster, apparently the original holograph ; in the volume L.M., pp. 59—64.

ON Saturday, being the 3rd of July, passing down Aldersgate Street, Mr. Carpenter came to me, saluted me by the name of "Friend, I am glad to see you," and then laying violent hands upon me, proclaiming me *viva voce* to be a Romish Priest, and calling the assistance of all that passed. Sending for a constable, he commanded him to assist him, and carry me before Sir James Campbell, a Justice of Peace, who asked for the warrant whereby he apprehended me. He replying, said his warrant was the words and command of the Parliament, that gave him power to apprehend all such men as I was ; for he would prove me to be a Romish Priest, and formerly to have lived with him in the English College at Rome. The Justice replied, "We shall soon see it, for all Priests have bald crowns." He looked and searched my crown ; but Carpenter replying, said it was not the custom of England. He asked me then what I was. I told [him] a gent[leman] of the Venetian Ambassador's, serving him in the place of an interpreter, for which I came over with him, and always continued his household servant. He asked me then whether I was a Romish Priest or not. I told him that was for Carpenter to prove, and would give him no other answer. Hereupon he committed me to the Counter ; and the same night by his warrant removed me to Newgate, where I remained till the sessions.

On Friday, being the 23rd of July [1641], I was called to the Session-house, and there arraigned together with Mr. Ward. My indictment was read by the name of Green *alias* Clapton, for being a Romish Priest; which being done, Carpenter was called, his book was given him, and he swore to speak nothing but what was true.

He said he had lived with me in Rome in the English College, where I went by the name of Green, and had taken an oath to be a Romish Priest. He swore not directly that I was one, but that I had taken an oath to be one, and about the time, which was three years after, wherein I was to have finished my course, and to have taken Orders, he met me in London, being newly come over.

He swore also that I came over with the French Ambassador, and that I lived with him during his stay, and then came unto the Venetian's; and that I was a dangerous man, and that I kept correspondence between one Ambassador and another.

He took his oath that I did persuade him to turn to his former state and to come to us again, saying it was pity that a man of so good parts should be lost; and that I would speak unto the Queen [Henrietta Maria], who should prefer him to some place of honour, according to his deserts.

Then one James Wadsworth, a pursuivant, took his oath that he had lived in an English College in Spain; and that no man that ever entered in Colleges but they took their oaths to be Priests.

Hereupon Mr. Recorder asked me directly whether I was a Priest or no. I told him, *Nemo tenetur ad se accusandum*, but left it to Carpenter's proof. He asked me if I were an Englishman. I told [him] Yes; and that I served the Ambassador of Venice, with whom I came into England; and that it was *contra jus gentium* that any servant of an Ambassador should be taxed for his

religion. He told me that the privilege of an Ambassador was great, but he must leave it unto the King for to judge of that. Hereupon he referred it to the jury, by whom I was cast; and in the afternoon, at five o'clock, I received the sentence of death together with Mr. Ward.

In the time of my examination there came a letter with the King's own hand, brought by Secretary Vane's secretary unto Mr. Recorder, willing that I should be restored again to the Ambassador; but it did me no good; for they, for all that, proceeded to judgment; and on Sunday, I knowing nothing, received a reprieve.

William Ward, Priest, was apprehended upon Thursday night about midnight, the 15th of July, 1641, in the house of one John Wollan, a poor man and a Catholic, by one Thomas Mayo, a pursuivant, by virtue of a general warrant under the hands of the Speaker of the House of Commons, and by him brought to Newgate, never carrying him before any Justice of the Peace, or any other of His Majesty's officers, where he remained till the sessions following, which began at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, the 21st of July.

On Friday, the 23rd of July, he was indicted and arraigned upon the statute for taking Orders of Priesthood by authority from the Church of Rome.

The evidence brought against him was the said Mayo and two others, his comrades, whose names I yet know not. Mayo himself testified that he was a Catholic nineteen years past, and about that time he was at confession with Mr. Ward, and had absolution of him, and heard his Mass, and afterwards received at his hands. Mr. Ward told me that what Mayo testified was most false, and that he never heard his confession. It was demanded by Mr. Recorder what ornaments he had on.

Mayo replied he had an alb, a stole, a maniple, a vestment, and such other things as belong to a Priest.

The second witness testified that about seven years since, he apprehended Mr. Ward, and carried him to the Gatehouse, and then took from him a spiritual book, wherein was his faculties from the See of Rome. I cannot hear that the third witness said anything to any great purpose.

After the witnesses had given their testimony, Mr. Recorder asked Mr. Ward, and bade him answer directly, whether he were a Priest or no; who answered he was not bound to accuse himself, but let them prove it, and said that what Mayo had testified was not true. Then Mr. Recorder asked him whether the faculties that were taken were his, who answered he knew of no such thing.

Upon this evidence the jury found him guilty. In the afternoon of the same day he together with Mr. Clapton were sent for to the Session-house again, and had their sentence together, which was this: To be carried to the place from whence they came, and from thence to be drawn to the place of execution, and there to be hanged by the neck, and to be cut down alive, . . . and their bowels to be taken forth and burnt, and their heads to be cut off, and their bodies to be divided into quarters, which were to be disposed of at the King's pleasure.

After this sentence he was brought to Newgate, and from that time until the day of his death, which was upon the 26th of July, he prepared himself for his end, which he did with a free resignation to the will of Almighty God, and with an ardent desire to suffer for His sake; insomuch, that he said if any did attempt to procure his reprieve, he would hinder it if he could.

Upon the Sunday before he died I was with him a good while in private, where he made many acts of free resignation to the will of our Blessed Saviour, with desire

of the martyrdom which now he hath obtained. In the interim of our discourse we had several times exchange of tears, which from him I assure myself proceeded of abundant love and thankfulness to our sweet Saviour that thought him worthy to shed his blood for His sake.

Upon the Monday morning, which was the day of his suffering, I was with him by five o'clock, and found him very cheerful; and methought his countenance was very much altered at that time, for though he had at all times a good reverend aspect, yet at that time it so much exceeded as if he had been another man; but whether this was so attentively observed by any other then present as myself, I know not. After, he commended some things to me to be performed. He gave me money to be divided among the Catholic prisoners, and a piece to Mr. Johnson, the master keeper, to whom he willed me to give thanks for his kind usage. Then myself and some others prepared him for his journey by putting him on a clean cap, band, and cuffs; which no sooner done, but one of the keepers came to know whether he was ready, for the sledge was come. He answered very cheerfully that he was ready.

Within a short time after, another of the keepers came for him, and told him he must go up to the leads, and so that way through the common gaol, for that he was to go the ordinary way to the sledge. When he came up to the leads, he stayed there a pretty while, because the rest of the prisoners, that were to suffer, were in the chapel through which he was to pass, receiving the communion. When he was told so much, he smiled and said, "Is this the chapel?"

The keeper, one Meares, that brought him up, did there deliver him to one Snelling, another of the keepers, that was to carry him down; and Meares, taking his leave of him, said, "I hope we shall meet in Heaven." Mr. Ward answered, "No, in truth shall we not, unless you be a Catholic; for there is but one truth, one faith,

and one Church, wherein you can be saved. Therefore unless you be a Catholic, you can have no hope of salvation; which truth I am ready to seal with my blood."

Afterwards he spoke with a woman whom he understood to be of kin to Sir William Knevet, and was a prisoner. He exhorted her to be a Catholic, and to lead her life accordingly, using many effectual speeches to that purpose.

At eight o'clock he was laid upon the hurdle and drawn with four horses to Tyburn, where he made public profession of his priesthood, and that he was arraigned and condemned only for being a Priest. He prayed for the King, Queen, and royal issue, and he commended himself to the hands of our Blessed Saviour, where I doubt not but now he rests.

He hanged till he was dead, for he was ripped whilst he did hang; and being cut down, . . . the executioners ripped him up, and took his heart and threw it into the fire, which leaped out again, and no man touched it till the executioner a good while after threw it in again. His head and quarters were brought back to Newgate and boiled, and are to be set up on four gates of the city.

27th of July, 1641.

Indorsed in another hand—This Relation was made by Mr. Cuthbert Clapton himself, who was condemned with Mr. William Ward, P[riest], 1641.

GIOVANNI GIUSTINIANI'S DESPATCHES.

Translated from the Italian. Public Record Office, Venetian Transcripts,
Vol. xliv., Nos. 165, 166, 167, 169, 170, 174, 177.

London, August 9, 1641.

ALL my caution has not been sufficient to keep me clear of the combustion of this kingdom; but, praise be to God, I have overcome everything with decorum and glory to your Excellencies' name. You will learn from this letter the whole proceeding in all its stages in the detail needful for your complete information.

When I came to this Court, I brought with me an English Priest in my service as chaplain, as my predecessors had done, and as, at this present time, do the Ambassadors of France, Spain, Portugal, and even the Resident of Florence, all of whom fearlessly keep their chapels open, with the same publicity as they have been accustomed to in the past. I, on the other hand, was desirous of avoiding everything that might involve your Serenity in disagreeable affairs, at the beginning of the disturbances against Catholics, when rigorous decrees were issued against Priests, and therefore judged it better for the time to celebrate the Divine Offices in my chapel with closed doors, in order, without seeming to be wanting in zeal, to keep rumours from this house which would have been caused by people coming here in numbers.

I therefore sent the Secretary Agostini to Mr. Fildin, a Parliament man, charged to represent to him, as he did with great prudence, that I had heard the declarations against the English Priests, and as I desired to proceed in the way that would satisfy this Government within the limits of the honour of my charge, I therefore informed him that I had brought with me, for my own wants, a Priest of this nation; and that although I was aware that the Ambassadors were not subject to the operation of this law, yet I should be glad of further information whether there was sufficient security for this Priest. He thanked me for the confidence I placed in him, and answered that he would inform the Parliament of it, and then let me know its intentions. So, four days after, he came to my house and told me that the Parliament was much pleased with the caution of my proceedings, and that as the Priest was in my service, there could be no doubt whatever that he was perfectly safe. These promises are now shown to be false and capriciously made by him. I never could have imagined that he was taking in vain the name of Parliament. By great circumspection, as I have often written, I have succeeded hitherto, in the midst of great dangers and threats from the mob, in keeping troubles away from this house, to the surprise of the other Ambassadors, who have not been equally successful; but this particular I could never have foreseen.

Meanwhile there came to this city a certain Englishman, who, after having lived for awhile as a Jesuit, has changed his religion, and has become a preacher and an inexorable persecutor of Priests. This man desiring to distinguish himself by some conspicuous proceeding against this Order, it came into his mind to procure the imprisonment of my chaplain; so having laid his snares, he met him in the city, called out that he was a Priest, and summoned aid to arrest him. This arrest followed,

though he said that he was a gentleman of my household. The man declared that this was the very reason why he wanted to make him prisoner.

I was informed of this proceeding at the very time that I was in the house of the Earl of Arundel, the principal Minister, who, in consequence of the courtesies shown by your Excellencies to Madam his wife, shows a particular esteem for the Venetian Ministers. I communicated the event to his lordship, and being much grieved at it, he undertook to speak on the subject to the King [Charles I.] and counselled me not to delay opening the matter myself to His Majesty.

Meanwhile, I sent the Secretary Agostini to let Fildin know. He was greatly moved, and wanted, though it was the middle of the night, to come and see me. He promised to employ all his good offices to get the prisoner released, and the audacious preacher chastised. I thanked him for all, and repeated to him the things he had said to me, which, false though they were, he confirmed anew.

The day after, I saw His Majesty, and representing to him what had taken place, petitioned him for the liberation of the Priest and the correction of the temerity of the other. The King manifested great displeasure, and required me to give him a memorial, which the day following he himself carried to the Upper House of Parliament, where it was resolved that it was in His Majesty's power to release the prisoner, and to oblige the preacher to some acts of penance in my regard. He caused the Earl of Arundel and Fildin to communicate this discussion to me, and promised me that that very day all should be carried into execution; but when he commanded the Secretary of State [Lucius Viscount Falkland],¹ who is a Puritan, and an enemy of Catholics, to carry out what was arranged, he answered that it could not be done without the pleasure of the

¹ See Haydn, p. 171. *Mr. Rawdon Brown's Note.*

Lower House also. The King, regretting this opposition, sent the Earl of Arundel to me again, to give me warning of the impediments, and requesting me to speak to the Secretary and dispose him to satisfy me. This I did, and brought away courteous promises of a prompt and happy issue to the affair.

After all this, by one of the Queen's chief ladies, the King prayed me not to write to your Excellencies on this matter, which he knew well brought no honour to himself; and he assured me that he would have the safety of that Religious as much at heart as if it were the preservation of his own royal person.

To such humble and feeling expressions I returned my thanks, and, as to not interesting your Excellencies, I answered that I was a Minister of good intentions, that my end was to advance, and not to disturb, relations between His Majesty and your most Excellent Senate, and so I assured him that I would suspend the use of my pen with your Serenity, as I have thought it best to do, till the matter was complete.

When matters were brought to this stage, and every one was forecasting the issue according to their own feelings, the Ambassadors of France and Spain came to my house to proffer me their good offices, and if need be their protests, for they declared that my interests embraced their own. I contented them by testifying my perfect gratitude, but I did not think well to avail myself of their offers, not to prejudice the fame of your Excellencies or the vigour of my own endeavours.

Meanwhile I felt the advantage of the King's diligence, for when he perceived the little inclination of the Secretary to bring this affair to a conclusion, he secretly notified to me that he would not be sorry if, in an audience asked on purpose, I should make fresh instances, that under their pressure he might bring matters to a happy issue. I acted on the suggestion, and was answered by the King

in words that were strongly expressive of his personal feelings; that I was in the right, that he thanked me for my patience, that his reputation was at stake, and that on his royal word I should have satisfaction within the term of two days, with other expressions of his sense of the merits of your Serenity and of his satisfaction at my fulfilment of my duty.

After this, His Majesty made another attempt, by writing to the Upper House, to obtain the restoration of this Priest. The proposal was embraced, and sent down to the Lower House for their consent, which was promptly given. The King then ordered the Secretary of State to draw up the decree and to send me back the prisoner, but this Minister, through neglect or ill-will, delayed the execution so long that the term came within which, in this country, prisoners are irremissibly brought to justice. The prisoner, then, in company with another Priest, was brought up in the presence of a great number of persons, and was condemned, as being my chaplain, to be on the following day hanged on a gibbet, having first been drawn through all the city at a horse's tail, with other ignominious penalties.

Late in the evening I was made acquainted with what had happened, and, in order to hinder the injury and disgrace, I went at once to the Secretary, told him the stage matters had reached, and begged him for the remedy in the execution of the orders of the King and Parliament. He excused himself under vain pretexts, and caused the effect of the sentence to be suspended for a single day, promising that on the morrow he would expedite the affair to my complete satisfaction. But he did nothing, for up to mid-day preceding the day fixed for the execution of the sentence no orders had been received at the prison for the liberation of the prisoner.

I was informed that it was the King's intention to leave the city in a few hours, and not to return before

the evening of the following day, when it would be too late to save the man; so I resolved to see the Queen, and to beseech her to interpose her authority that His Majesty's command might no longer be delayed and that the Religious might not die. The Queen showed much indignation at the proceedings of the Secretary; she bore witness to the King's goodwill, and promised to speak to him immediately, as she did. When His Majesty was sensible of the emergency, he was greatly moved, summoned the Secretary, and in the Queen's presence reproved him sharply. The Minister, trying to invent excuses, increased the King's feelings, who, full of anger, replied that what he said was false. The Secretary began to fear lest with the loss of the King's favour he should lose his post, and so broke out into the following words—that he was surprised that His Majesty should permit the Ambassadors to have English Priests, in violation of the laws of the realm, and that if he would permit him, he would write in such a way as to make your Serenity disapprove of my offices, as well as of my having had a chaplain of this nation, affirming publicly that this most Serene Republic has not the same feeling towards the Court of Rome as other Princes, and that such an example would be a good lesson to the other Ambassadors. His Majesty gave no answer to these free and scandalous expressions, which were suggested by anger, and were uttered in the presence of many gentlemen of the Court, by one of whom I was immediately informed in confidence.

The King gave orders to the Master of Ceremonies¹ to come to my house and to assure me of his displeasure that things had gone so far, that he had no share in it,

¹ The wit and poet, the Master of Ceremonies, Sir John Finet, died in this very year 1641, at the age of seventy. See Collins, vol. ii., p. 487. He was succeeded by Sir Charles Cotterel. See Gregorio Leti, in his *Teatro Britannico*, part 2, bk. vii., p. 378. *Mr. Rawdon Brown's Note.*

that he would have the prisoner restored to me in the most honourable manner, and that he would give me whatever satisfaction his Council should judge fitting; and he bade the Master of Ceremonies, as if from himself, to draw from me what I should expect. I thanked His Majesty in the most ample terms for these his good offices, and I said that such was my esteem for his prudence and that of his Ministers, that I was sure that he would give me such open satisfaction as would make plain to the world, and to all the Ministers of Princes who reside at this Court, the esteem in which he holds the most Excellent Senate and its Ministers. I pointed out in the first place that he must revoke the sentence; and then that His Majesty should have the goodness to send an Earl with the royal carriages to take me to the Palace for a solemn audience, in the manner that is customary at an Ambassador's first entry, in order that he should excuse that which had occurred, declaring his feeling in public, as he had been pleased to do to me in private. I did not exclude other reparation, not to confine myself to this one only, the attainment of which the Master of Ceremonies did not think would be easy.

With this answer he returned to the Palace, and to-day he informs me in the King's name that, having examined the matter in Council, it was resolved that the sentence should be revoked under the Great Seal of England, that the prisoner should be restored in the most honourable manner, that on the morrow the audience should be given me in the way I had intimated, and that the Earl of Warwick, a great Lord and Councillor of State, was chosen to take me from my house.

Thus this matter properly ended, which has given me much pain. As to the reputation of the charge I hold, His Majesty could not have done more to do honour to your Excellencies' Minister. To make this audience more public and more honourable, I have given directions that

the Ambassadors, the Ministers of the Court, and other friends should be invited to send their carriages; for although I shall have to give the usual fees that are given at a first audience, and shall have to meet the other necessary expenses for the Great Seal and the King's Guards, I hold this money well expended in maintaining the dignity of my country. I will punctually bring the sequel to the knowledge of your Excellencies.

In order to avoid for the future similar disagreeable occurrences, after the Priest has stayed for some days in this house, I will cause him to pass the sea, and I will avail myself of foreigners in this ministry, feeling sure that such would be the wish of your Excellencies. And I trust that my proceedings on this urgent occasion will meet with your good pleasure. It has received the applause of both Catholics and Protestants alike, and has rendered very conspicuous at this Court the greatness of your most Excellent Lordships and the zeal of your Minister.

A Priest belonging to the Queen has also been imprisoned, and though she presses for his liberation, she has not yet been able to obtain it, which makes the restitution of mine all the more remarkable.

London, August 9, 1641.

When the officers of justice had, by the promises of life and other bribes, tried to induce the Priest [William Ward] who was condemned in company with my chaplain, to change his religion, and he with great constancy had rejected every proposal, on Monday, with much praise for his great zeal, he suffered by a public death the glorious pains of martyrdom, not without much feeling on the part of the Queen, of the King, and of the Catholics, but with so much the more fruit to the Catholic religion. This example of perfect constancy has persuaded many Protestants to enter into the bosom

of the true Church, so that by means of an innocent victim, the Roman religion, instead of being beaten down, is re-established in the hearts of the good.

London, August 16, 1641.

After it had been agreed upon, as I have already related, how I was to receive due satisfaction for the imprisonment of my chaplain, the Secretary of State has done his best to hinder its being carried out, and to take from me the public honours accorded me. But neither His Majesty nor the Parliament have chosen to lend an ear to his passionate persuasions. On the third day the King gave me the public audience, having sent the Earl of Warwick with the royal carriages to take me from my house, accompanied by those of the Ministers of the Court and of all the Ambassadors. With a very cheerful countenance, His Majesty bore witness to his own feelings regarding all that had happened; and as he had had no part in them, he hoped that I should excuse them; and if he could not give me that satisfaction sooner, as he had impatiently desired, he now expressed in abundant terms, not less the esteem he entertained for the infinite deservings of your Excellencies than his affection to my person; and he then communicated to me his speedy departure for Scotland. I replied to all in terms of the fullest gratification, and with assurances of the cordial observance of the most Excellent Senate towards His Majesty.

To-day the Queen also, in demonstration of an ever greater affection, would give me in public audience new marks of the particular esteem which she professes to the name of your Excellencies, so that this affair is terminated with all the most honourable signs of mutual satisfaction, the end of which has been so advantageous to the maintenance of the dignity of this charge, that I have no cause to regret that the awkwardness has

happened, as I have thus experienced in the presence of so many Ministers of Princes the affection borne for me, not only by their Majesties, but by the whole Parliament also.

Although I have been informed from a safe quarter that the Secretary of State, by his violent proceedings in all these matters, has given His Majesty small content, so that he is resolved to take his office from him, yet I have held it to be in every way the more prudent counsel to treat him with perfect dissimulation. I have therefore visited him to-day on occasion of his journey to Scotland, and cordial demonstrations passed between us, all which I humbly notify to your Excellencies, in order to assure you that I will not lightly stake your interests on any occasion. This has happily been my practice during the many years of my long peregrinations, and I have maintained the dignity of my Prince at the highest point of esteem in the greatest Courts of Europe.

Against the Portuguese Ambassadors also, three days ago, the Priest-hunters arrested two of their English chaplains, not far from their own dwelling-house. Their household and that of the French Ambassador were speedily warned of it, and without any great commotion, rescued them from their hands before they were put in prison.

London, August 23, 1641.

New disturbances have arisen against the house of the Ambassadors of Portugal, on the score of the numerous concourse of Catholics who frequent their chapel, and because they have many English chaplains. The King and the Parliament, nevertheless, have given good orders, that this people shall show more respect in future for that house, as is only right.

London, August 30, 1641.

The Lower House of Parliament is so desirous of maintaining its credit with the Puritans, that it has again placed on the *tapis* a proposal to exclude Bishops from this their false Church; but it has not been able to come to a conclusion on account of the resistance of the Upper House, and because of the absence of the King, whose approval is necessary.

After His Majesty's departure, the Superior of the Capuchins who serve the Queen was taken prisoner, and the Parliament, united with the relics of the Upper House, took that occasion for decreeing on the third day, that those Religious must leave the kingdom, with a view of strengthening themselves by the popular favour for such a vote. But the Ambassador of France having speedy notice of it, has by his vigorous intervention obtained the prisoner's liberty and for the present has averted the execution of the decree, as contrary to the chapters of the marriage contract agreed to with that Crown.

The Queen has felt this mishap greatly as well as the Parliamentary vote. She gives out that she will not remain in this realm unless the condition of the times shall change, and she repeats her assurances that she will pass into Holland, asserting that she has been invited in the most courteous manner to stay there by the States and the Prince of Orange.

London, September 27, 1641.

Now, most Excellent Lords, I will relate distinctly the sequel of the chaplain's liberation. His imprisonment was the fault only of the preacher I have mentioned, who has arrested many others. That he was not immediately liberated was due to the disinclination towards Catholics of the Secretary of State, who did not obey in due time the orders he had received. The King and the Parliament then showed a sincere displeasure, of all which I have

written already. Many Parliament men came to this house to testify to me that there was no Minister of any Prince whom they desired more to respect than that of the most Serene Republic, to which, they told me freely, they professed a greater inclination than to monarchies, to all of which I made answer with expressions of circumspect courtesy.

After having settled all those matters of which I wrote before I had the public audience of the King, the Earl of Warwick came to this house by order of His Majesty and of the Parliament, to take me to the Palace. He first gave utterance to many officious expressions of his feelings respecting the imprisonment of the Priest, and told me that to repair the misfortune, pains had been taken to use the most honourable means, and he presented me with the decree, with the Great Seal attached, by which the condemnation of the Priest was abolished,¹ entire liberty was granted to him, and that it might be better known, the Recorder and Sheriffs of London were charged to publish it in the presence of the very Judges who condemned him. The Sheriffs, who are public personages, brought back the prisoner to my house, and further informed me that, as by law the Judges could not be brought back excepting four times a year, Parliament had made a special order that a sessions (as they call the return of the Judges) should immediately be held, in order that the retractation might be as public as the sentence was. This particular may be read at the end of the decree, which I send with this despatch, for your Excellencies to see that the prisoner has been given back to me without any condition whatever and with all the most honourable forms.

For all this I thanked the Earl, and immediately sent the decree to the Recorder and Sheriffs, who, when they had diligently perused it, said that they would promptly

¹ It has been already said that the "decree" in question was a royal pardon.

obey it, that the prisoner in virtue of that order was free, the condemnation abolished, that they would order the return of the Judges to publish it, and would bring me the Priest in the way that was ordered ; but that as the Judges were not at that time in the city, having gone out as usual into the country (for it is usual that when their judgments here are over they go throughout all the kingdom to hold the sessions), that therefore they had sent a commission that without delay they should return and execute the orders of His Majesty and of Parliament. They then despatched a courier, by whom the Judges answered that they would soon return, but that if they did so immediately they must interrupt the course of justice in the country, which would cause much murmuring among the people as well as a serious burden on their purses ; they therefore prayed the Recorder and Sheriffs to interpose their good offices to induce me to delay this session to the ordinary time of Michaelmas, and not to put them to such grave inconvenience and loss for an affair that was not of importance, as it was a mere ceremony, done only for the greater safety of the Priest, who was in no way injured by the delay. They thus efficaciously besought me to suffer this delay, and oblige not only themselves and the Judges, but many prisoners also, who had been imprisoned since the last sessions. Amongst these were some Priests, who, if an extraordinary sessions were held, would be condemned to death, and would not have the advantage of the time to attend to their salvation. In any case, they said, my Priest was free, that he would remain in this house and could walk everywhere, and that the publication had no object but that mentioned above. They redoubled their instances, telling me that for a satisfaction of no great weight, I should be instrumental in shortening the lives of many men, and that my name would be stained by such a want of charity ; and further, that if the publication were made at the ordinary time of the sessions it would be

much better known on account of the greater concourse of people.

I took all these reasons into consideration, and as they seemed to me very weighty, and as in any case, if the Judges wished to delay their return, they could do so under other pretexts, I resolved to yield to them and to wait for the present for the publication, which will most certainly take place on the day after St. Michael. Meanwhile, the Priest was set at liberty, as I wrote before, and says Mass publicly in this house. As I am not yet acquainted with the intentions of your Excellencies, I will keep him till I receive your order, to assure you that his restoration was free, and without any condition whatever.

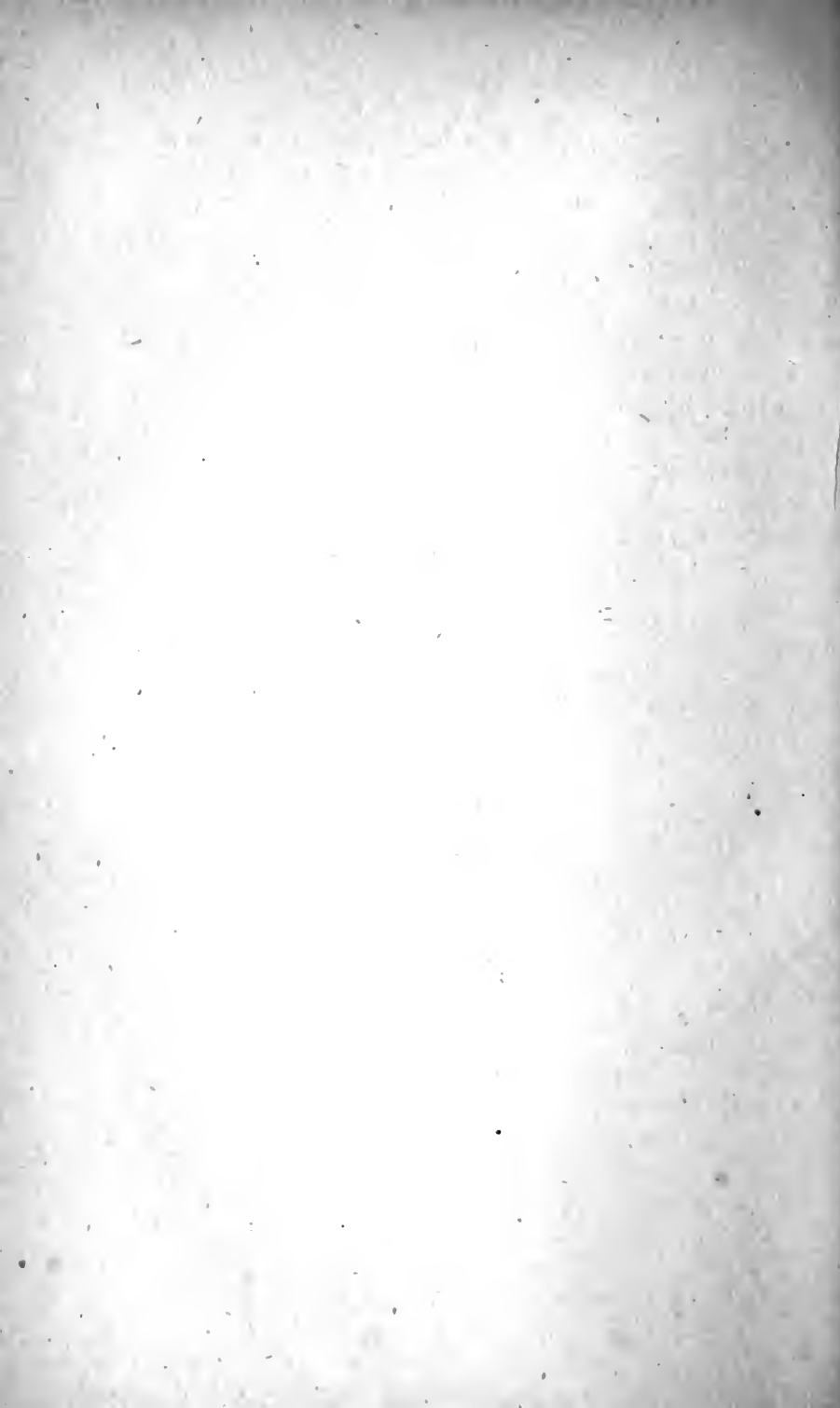
These particulars I have taken leave to relate to your Excellencies, and to abuse your patience on this occasion, that I might take away every shadow, in order to keep you punctually informed, and to show that, if the accident was unavoidable, occurring only through my ill fortune, the remedy has been so effectual and the steps taken so circumspect, that, please God, the reputation of this charge has not suffered and the result has advanced the credit of your Minister. I trust that this diligence will have given satisfaction to your Excellencies, for this is the sole and rich reward I desire for so much trouble and inconvenience.

Some members of the households of the Ambassadors of Spain and Portugal have been detained, and though they have pressed to obtain some notable satisfaction, not only have they been unable to obtain it, but they have found it difficult to gain liberty of their servants. This shows that misfortunes like this do not happen only to me, but to others also, and I hope that thereby I have not deserved to forfeit public favour.

Barvel, October 18, 1641.

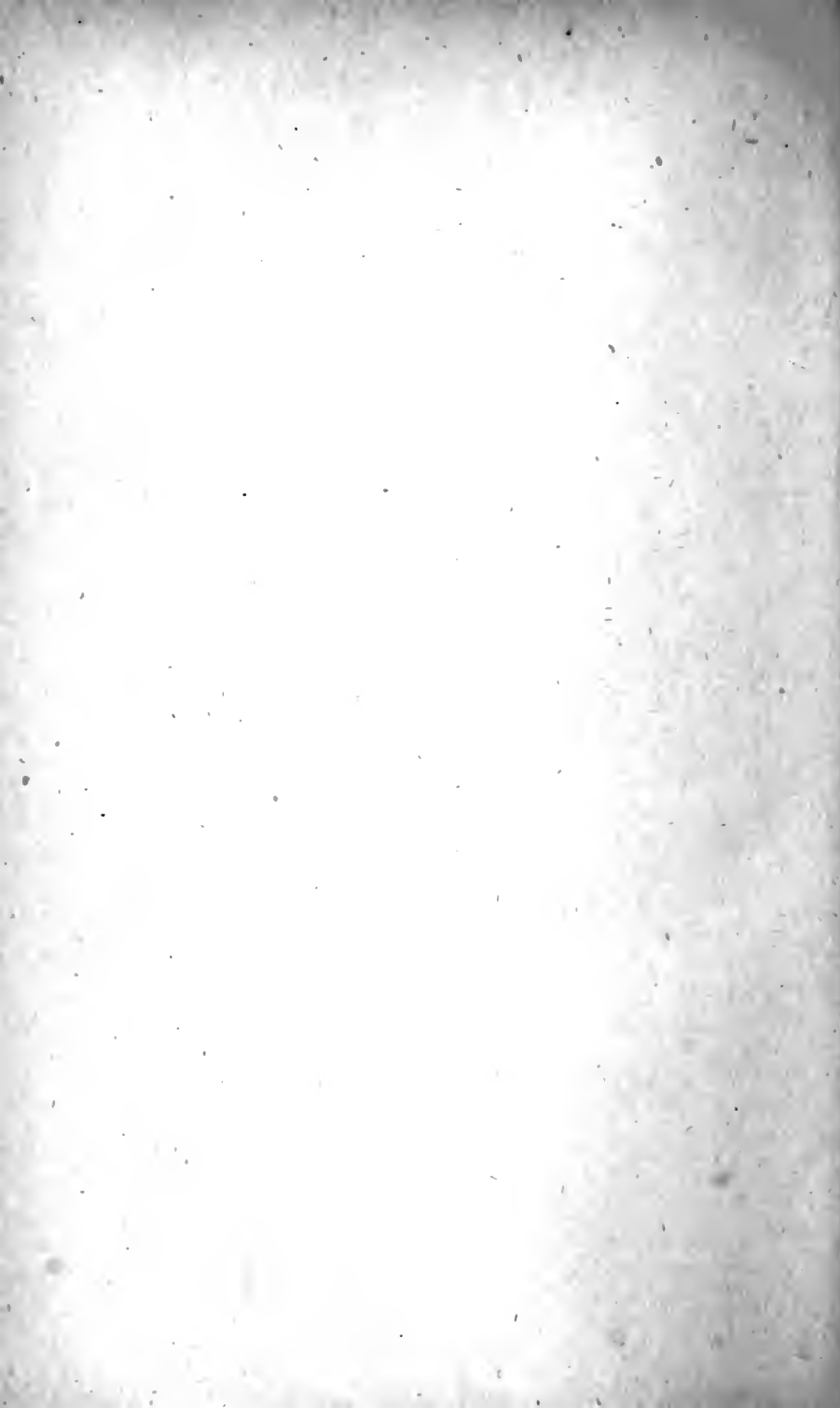
In conformity with my previous despatch, on the day after that on which the Feast of St. Michael is here

celebrated, the Judges who had condemned my chaplain, published the decree abolishing the sentence, and the news of his liberation has thus in every honourable way been made signally public. I notify this in fulfilment of my duty. This is all I have to represent to your Excellencies from the solitude of my room, where I sigh over the necessity of maintaining two houses, or else I reflect on the public munificence which has in all times been practised with all in this particular. It pleasing the Lord God to multiply my posterity, He has brought into the world a new most humble servant of your Serenity and of each of your Excellencies, who with his father and all his other sons will ever desire occasions of sacrificing himself for the benefit of this most Excellent Senate.



VIII.

THE SOUTHCOTE FAMILY.



THE SOUTHCOTE FAMILY.

SIR EDWARD SOUTHCOTE'S fragmentary Memoirs, which, put together from two different sources, we now proceed to publish, contain so much information respecting this fine old Catholic family, that it will not be difficult to complete the account.

Southcote, in Devonshire, was the cradle of the family, which traces its descent from Michael Southcote, who was settled there in the twenty-seventh year of Henry III.¹ (1243). His great-great-grandson, Nicholas Southcote, had five sons. The eldest son, William, had an only daughter, who by marriage took Southcote to the family of the Callards of Callard. The third son, Walter, was a Priest, the fourth, James, died childless, and the fifth, John, was the ancestor of the Southcotes of Boveley. The second² son, Nicholas, who married Alice Tregonwell, was the father of John Southcote the Judge, and the ancestor of this, the eldest branch of the family.

The Judge, whose resignation forms so grand a termination to his judicial career, was summoned to receive the coif in the last year of Queen Mary's reign, but he was actually made serjeant at law by Elizabeth, in her first year. Ten new serjeants, of whom he was one, were made on the 19th of April, 1559. Machyn³ describes the ceremonies on this occasion,⁴ and they deserve to be transcribed here, as far as the defective state of his manuscript

¹ *History of the Parish of Tixall*, by Sir Thomas Clifford, Bart., and Arthur Clifford, Esq. Paris, 1817, p. 226.

² Foss, in his *Lives of the Judges*, erroneously says the youngest.

³ *Diary*, Camden Society, 1848, pp. 26, 195.

⁴ "Anciently, at a call of serjeants at law each serjeant, saith Fortescue, spent sixteen hundred crowns in feasting, which in those days was more than 1,600*l.* now." *The Present State of England*, by Edward Chamberlayne. London, 1674, p. 59.

permits us to do so. "At nine of the clock they went to Westminster Hall, to take the oaths and hear a charge; to the Temple to dinner, and there dined the Council and divers notable men, and the Judges, and my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and the officers of the Chancery and the Fleet and the King's Bench and the Marshalsea; and the new sergeants gave [to the Judges and old sergeants] gowns of two colours, murrey [mulberry] and mustard, and to a hundred of their followers, parti-coloured coats. And at five o'clock in the afternoon the new sergeants went to St. Thomas of Acon in procession, in their [murrey] gowns, and scarlet hoods about their necks, and white hoods on their heads and no caps; and after they went unto Paul's with tipstuffs and officers of the King's Bench and other places, and they were brought by two old sergeants one after another in scarlet, [and so went up the steps, and so round the choir, and there did their homage, and so came back unto the] north side, and there they stood [upon the steps] till two old sergeants had fetched two new and brought them unto certain pillars, and then did fetch the residue unto sundry pillars of the north side; [and there was an oration read unto them by the old sergeants, and so done] they went back unto the Temple one alone [one by one] and afore went [the old sergeants] and the rulers of the Chancery and of the King's Bench two and two together, and after came a hundred in parti-coloured coats."

Sergeant Southcote was appointed Justice of the Common Pleas, February 10, 1562, and a Judge of the King's Bench on the same day in the following year. Foss adds that he resigned May 29, 1584, after a judicial career of twenty-two years. The monument on his tomb in Witham Church says that he died April 18, 1585, æt. 74. These dates give a shorter interval between his resignation and his death than his great-great-grandson's narrative would have led us to expect.

Mr. Justice Southcote had one son, John, and three daughters. Elizabeth, who married William Welche, had a daughter Mary, who was professed at St. Ursula's, Louvain, in 1599, and died at St. Monica's, June 19, 1624. The *Chronicle* of the Convent records that her uncle, John Southcote, came to Louvain to see her in 1610. The Judge's two other daughters, Martha and

Anne, formed alliances with Catholic families, the one marrying a Stonor and the other a Curzon, both of Oxfordshire.

The Judge had purchased Albery, in the parish of Merstham, before 1578, in which year (22 Eliz.) he held his first court as Lord of the Manor.¹ John, his son and heir, by indenture, October 14, 1588, settled his estates on his marriage with Margaret, the younger daughter of the Sir Edward Waldegrave who had died in the Tower in 1561. John, the first Lord Petre, married the elder sister, Mary. Robert Cooke, Clarenceux King of Arms, approved in 1572 a pedigree² which showed the right of John Southcote to quarter the arms of Keyns, Pury, Bosom, St. George and Robyns. The last of these alliances with heiresses was his father's marriage with his mother Elizabeth, whose sister Frances and herself were the sole survivors of the thirteen children of William Robyns, Lord Mayor of London. Frances married the Judge's first cousin, George Southcote.

John Southcote died June 12, 1637, at the age of eighty-five, when his eldest son Edward was fifty years of age. Edward, it seems, was dead in 1652, by which year he would have been sixty-five. His grandson, therefore, somewhat overstates it when he says that he "lived to a very great age." The family is remarkable for its longevity, and Edward's sixty-five years are exceeded by each eldest son for the five generations before us.

Edward Southcote had a brother, John, a Priest and Doctor of Theology at Louvain, and a sister, Magdalen, who died unmarried at Thorndon Hall. Edward's wife was Elizabeth, daughter of John Seaborne of Sutton St. Michael, co. Hereford. Catharine Seaborne, her sister, married Christopher, the second Lord Teynham, who was the brother of Father Gerard's friend and hostess, Elizabeth Vaux.

Edward Southcote had one son, John, and three daughters. Mary was professed in the English Benedictine Convent at Ghent, December 8, 1627, and died there February 12, 1641. To her we will shortly return. The marriages of her sisters, Dorothy and Catharine, are related in the following memoirs. John, the only

¹ Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii., p. 259.

² Brit. Mus., Harl. MSS., 1080, fol. 436.

son, who was knighted, married Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of Walter, the second Lord Aston, and died about 1685.

Sir John Southcote had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son was Sir Edward, the writer of these memoirs, who married first, Juliana, the daughter of Sir Philip Tyrwhitt, by whom he had ten children, and secondly, Jane Lister of Burwell, co. Lincoln, but he had not a second family. His brothers, John and Thomas, and his sister Anne, died unmarried. His other sister, Mary, married John, second son of the martyred William Viscount Stafford; and by her grand-daughter, Mary Plowden, the barony of Stafford descended to the family of Jerningham.

Sir Edward Southcote's seven sons all died childless, and with them the male line of the family expired. Edward died an infant; John, who married in 1709 Mary, daughter of Edward Paston of Town Bessingham, co. Norfolk, cousin of the Earl of Yarmouth, died in his father's lifetime; Philip died an infant; Francis, who was born April 17, 1691, and was the eldest surviving son in 1758; Thomas, born 1695, who in 1755 was a lunatic; Edward, born June 24, 1697, entered the Society of Jesus, March 18, 1719, and died the last of the name, at Woburn Farm, near Chertsey, February 25, 1780; and Philip, the youngest son, who married Bridget, daughter of Sir Francis Andrew, and died September 25, 1758.¹ Between Francis and Thomas came three daughters, Bridget, born in 1615, Mary Catharine in 1693, and Elizabeth in 1694.

The first and shorter memoirs, the property of Lord Petre, whose connection with the Southcote family has already been shown, were addressed to John, his married son. They were written at Merstham, and were evidently composed long before those that follow them. The fuller memoirs, which belong to the Dominican Fathers of the Priory of the Annunciation at Woodchester, are addressed to the youngest son, Philip, and were written at Witham. They cannot be earlier than 1714, as they speak of the third Lord Aston as "my late Lord."

The pedigree of the manuscript at Woodchester has been kindly traced for us by Father Raymund Palmer, O.P. Philip Southcote, he tells us, resided at Woburn Farm, near Chertsey, in

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xxviii. p. 453.

Surrey, and there introduced, or rather invented, the *Ferme Ornée*, thus apostrophized by Mason, in his poem, *The English Garden*.

On thee too, Southcote, shall the Muse bestow
No vulgar praise ; for thou to humblest things
Could'st give ennobling beauties : decked by thee,
The simple Farm eclipsed the Garden's pride,
Ev'n as the virgin blush of innocence
The harlotry of art.

His wife, Bridget Southcote, survived her husband many years and was a great benefactress to the Dominican Order.

Father Benedict Short, O.P., a near relative, was chaplain to the family from October 1759 to May 1762. His Christian name was William, and he was of the Shorts of Bury St. Edmunds and Farnham St. Genoveve. He became chaplain to Catharine Baroness Stourton till her death, January 31, 1785, and then he served the Portuguese Chapel in London. He was succeeded at Woburn Farm in 1762 by Father Edward Southcote, S.J., the brother of Philip.

Mrs. Bridget Southcote endowed the mission at Woburn Farm, April 30th, 1771, and willed that Father Edward Southcote, her brother-in-law, should continue his charge there as long as he judged himself capable, and that then her cousin Short, and after him the Dominicans, should undertake the congregation, and constantly reside at Woburn Farm. In 1779, the year before his death, Father Edward Southcote ceased to be the chaplain, and Father Peter Robson, O.P., succeeded him.

Mrs. Southcote's decease occurred October 14, 1783, and as the house fell to other occupants the chapel and Priest's residence were transferred September 1, 1785, from the Farm to Woburn Lower Lodge. Father Peter Robson had continued at Mrs. Southcote's desire, and he died at the Lower Lodge, February 4, 1788; he was once Provincial of his Order in England. Then Father Benedict Short removed from London, and served this mission till his death, May 30, 1800; he was four times Provincial, and was buried at Chertsey.

The mission continued in the hands of the Dominicans. In 1816, Woburn Farm was sold to Protestants, who soon pulled down the chapel and Priest's house, so that not a vestige of the Lower Lodge was left. The mission was then transferred to

Weybridge, and in December, 1834, it passed over to the care of the Secular Clergy.

The Dominicans who served Woburn from 1800 to 1816, were Father Vincent Bowyer, from May 1800 to June 1804; Father Benedict Caestryck until 1815, and then Father Pius Potier, who was also the first missionary of Weybridge.

On the death of Father Edward Southcote, who died after the suppression of the Society, his books fell to Father Peter Robson, and many of them are now at Woodchester Priory in Gloucestershire. In the same way Sir Edward Southcote's Memoirs passed from Mrs. Southcote to Father Peter Robson, from him to Father Benedict Short, and thus into the possession of the Dominican Fathers at Woodchester.

To revert now to Sir Edward Southcote. In his time there were two settlements of the estates. The first dated December 20, 1709, was on occasion of the marriage of his son John with Mary Paston. By this settlement some farms at Merstham were limited to Edward, then fourth son, with remainder to Philip, the fifth son; and the brothers united in 1758 with Francis, then the eldest surviving son, to convey these farms to Sir James Colebrooke.

Albery, or, as Sir Edward always calls it from the name of the parish, Merstham, long before this had ceased to be the family seat. An Act of Parliament, in 1727, 13 George I., recites the settlement made on the marriage of Sir Edward Southcote with Jane Lister, by which Witham in Essex was settled on John, and it said that John's four brothers then living were desirous of having the Witham estate preserved as "the ancient and only seat of the family," and had agreed to sell Albery in Surrey.

This mansion house is thus mentioned in the county history.¹ "The family were Roman Catholics, and are said to have quitted it in disgust on being refused burial for one of them in the chancel by the then Rector. The house was called by way of eminence, 'The Place.' It was taken down about 1750, but it has lived in the memory of old inhabitants. The chapel is said to have been very splendid. The loss of this family was long felt in the parish, and a grateful sense of their extensive charities

¹ Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*. London, 1809, vol ii., p. 260.

has been handed down to the present day. During their residence no calamity or casualty happened to an individual, no unproductive season occasioned a scarcity, but ready assistance was given. The last Lady Southcote is said to have been constantly stationed at certain well-known times on her garden terrace overlooking the road, prepared to hear every petition, and to answer every claim on her benevolence. 'Such,' adds the present worthy Rector, in giving this account, 'was the family to whom burial in this church was refused, because they were Roman Catholics.'" It is plain from Sir Edward's narrative that he never returned to Merstham after his father's death, about 1682. It seems, however, improbable that he should have wished to bury him anywhere but in the vault at Witham, in which Southcotes of several generations rested.

To turn now to the Astons, of one of whom Sir Edward gives us such a graphic picture. We learn from Sir Thomas Clifford's excellent *History of Tixall Parish*, that Sir Walter Aston, the eldest son of Sir Edward by his wife Anne Lucy, a descendant of Hugh Capet, was given in wardship by Elizabeth to Sir Thomas Coke, the well-known Lord Chief Justice. Soon after his coming of age he was made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of James I. In 1611 he was created a baronet. In 1619 he was sent Ambassador into Spain to negotiate a marriage between Charles Prince of Wales and the Infanta. During his residence in Spain he became a Catholic, and all his descendants steadily adhered to the Faith. He returned to England just after the death of King James, and was created by letters patent, dated November 28, 1627, Baron Aston of Forfar, in the Kingdom of Scotland. In 1635 he was again sent Ambassador to Spain, where he continued about three years. He returned to England in 1638, and died the year following.

As on other occasions, so also here, *St. Monica's Chronicle* comes to our help with some interesting details. "Upon Michaelmas Day, 1658, was professed a widow, named Sister Gertrude Thimelby,¹ wife to Mr. Harrie Thimelby, Sister Winefrid's younger brother; and she was daughter of the Lord Aston,

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 156.

Baron of Forfar, who had been twice Ambassador in Spain for King James. The first time he stayed six years and then took his wife and children with him. So this his daughter went into Spain when but three years old; but the second time he stayed but three years and did not take his daughter then with him. But in that space Almighty God did so assist him that he was reconciled to the Church, and so afterwards died a Catholic. Her mother had been long before one. It happened then that Sister Winefrid Thimelby's sister married the Lord Aston's second son, and this his sister Gertrude fell in love with Mr. Henry Thimelby and married him, being a fine gentleman; with whom she lived ten years and had only a daughter, who lived but eleven months, and then our Lord took her to praise Him for ever among the choirs of Angels. Afterwards it pleased our Lord also to take away her beloved husband, who died in England, and she resolved with herself to leave the world and betake her to holy Religion: and knowing that her husband's sister was here she desired to come hither, and by letters made her agreement with us, so as we were content to take her with a little niece of hers, named Catharine Aston, her brother's daughter, who, as hath been said, married our Sister Winefrid Thimelby's sister, who died most piously and left her husband many children, one whereof, this young Kate, her aunt took upon her to bestow in holy Religion, and so brought her over with her, being but twelve years old. She lived here as a convictrix very sickly, so as her aunt, Sister Gertrude, desired now at her Profession that she might be sent home to her father for a year or two, to see if she could recover her health, but with intention to return here again, for she had a great desire to be Religious. So our Sister Gertrude made now her holy Profession at the age of forty, some two or three years after her husband's death." "1668, July 24, died Sister Gertrude Anne Thimelby (widow), in the forty-eighth year of her age and tenth of her Profession." "August 19, was professed Sister Catharine Aston, niece to Sister Gertrude."

Sir Edward Southcote says that Lord Aston's expenditure as Ambassador in Spain amounted to 12,000*l*. His own descendants state it as a much greater amount. According to his grandson, the third Lord Aston, he parted with estates

of no less value than 10,000*l.* a year to meet his expences in Spain. But his son, the second Lord, names a much less sum when, after the defeat of the royal army, he was under the necessity of compounding for his estates. He then wrote, "In the year 1639, Walter Lord Aston, my father, deceased immediately after his return from his second embassy into Spain, in which employment for this kingdom he spent 4,000*l.* a year land, which should have descended upon me, and left me engaged for 6,000*l.* He left me an estate in present of 460*l.* a year, and other 800*l.* after my mother's decease." He adds, "I am now reduced to that necessity that I am not worth 200*l.* And then all those my creditors to which I owe the 6,000*l.* must starve, many of them having at this instant not bread to put in their mouths."

This was the afterwards magnificent Lord Aston. His mother, Gertrude Sadler of Standon, co. Herts, grand-daughter of Sir Ralph Sadler, knight banneret, became a great heiress at the death of her brother Ralph in 1660. Standon became from this time the chief residence of the family.

How faithful he had been to the King was shown all through the civil war, but especially in his defence of Lichfield. It had held out nineteen weeks, when Lord Aston, who was then joined in commission with Sir Thomas Tildesley, the Governor, sent a trusty servant in the habit of a labouring man, with a letter to the King, and in that disguise he got safe to Charles at Newcastle, and brought back the following answer written in the King's own hand.

"Newcastle, June 6, 1646.

"My Lord Aston, and Tildesley,—The greatest of my misfortune is that I cannot reward such gallant and loyal subjects as you are as I ought or would. For the present I must deal freely with you, and give you my directions; which is, that I can give you no relief, but I desire you to hold out till Oxford be rendered; which will be ranked amongst the rest of the good services done by you to

"Your most affectionate friend,

"CHARLES R.

"For the Lord Aston and Sir Thomas Tildesley."

How was Lord Aston rewarded for his fidelity and sacrifices? Let the following letter tell, written thirty years after this.

“Sir,—I shall, I believe, leave not only this country, but this nation, in May next. For I cannot conceive it prudence to live where I shall be put out of the protection of my King and the laws of the nation; which is to me severe, to be put to wander, at the age of sixty-seven; and being a hundred thousand pounds the worse in my estate for my father’s and my faithfulness to the King, and for the honour and service of this nation. Yet this is likely to be my condition; for I was, the last assizes but one, unjustly indicted as a Popish recusant. The last assizes I traversed it; and it will come to a trial, when and where I doubt not but I shall be most unjustly convicted. It is true I have long conversed with Papists, and truly love and honour them, and upon these grounds, that any person of that faith or profession, if he acts as that religion or belief directs him, he must love God above all things, obey the King as God’s sole deputy to him in all things, love his neighbour as himself, and must be the same, if he live so long, a hundred years hence as he is at this present; and certainly constant principles, never varied, is fitter for to be governed, and for society, than giddy changeable uncertainties. Rigid truth is my principle, and God’s will be done. Pray pardon this letter, and as you are a prudent person, pity, though you do not approve, all my weakness and follies, and I rest,

“Your faithful and humble servant,

“WILLIAM ASTON.

“November 1, [1676], Tixall.

“These—for my truly honoured good friend Mr. John Swinfen—these— In the House of Commons.—Frank.”

This Mr. Swinfen was member for Tamworth, and it was to him the Lord Aston addressed himself in 1646, in order to obtain some little mercy from the dominant Parliamentary party. As we find John Swinfen, though a Parliament man, for thirty years the steady friend of Lord Aston, so it was by the use of Sir John Thompson’s name, as we shall see, that Sir John

Southcote saved his estate. Yet this Sir John Thompson "was in the Parliament at the time of the Popish Plot, and appeared an earnest man in searching into it."¹ The Protestant country gentlemen of that time often defended their Catholic neighbours, out of sheer friendliness and good feeling, from the effect of the very laws that they themselves were clamorous to pass against them. Sir Edward Southcote could obtain a *Quietus* from the good nature of the Attorney General; but what became of hundreds of Catholic gentlemen and yeomen who had no friends in high quarters?

The prosecution of the grand Lord Aston for recusancy was one of the heavy drops before a storm. It is a symptom of the state of English feeling that was carried away by Titus Oates' Popish Plot. Sir Edward Southcote's grandfather died about two years before that storm burst, but his son Walter, the third baron, suffered from its fury. He was intimate with the martyr, William Howard, Viscount Stafford, to whom Stafford Castle had come with his wife Mary, the sister and heiress of the last heir male of the Staffords, Dukes of Buckingham. Stafford Castle was but five miles from Tixall.

On the 25th October, 1678, five Catholic peers, the Earl of Powis, Viscount Stafford, Lords Petre, Arundell, and Belasyse were committed to the Tower on the charge of high treason, preferred against them by Titus Oates. Not long after, Lord Aston was sent to the Tower on the evidence of Stephen Dugdale, his steward, whom he had discharged for fraudulent practices, who was afterwards one of the chief witnesses that swore away the life of Lord Stafford. On the 18th of May, 1680, Lord Aston was indicted for high treason at Westminster, and pleading not guilty, was liberated on bail till the next term. He was then, however, returned to the Tower, where he was in confinement during the trial of Lord Stafford. That trial commenced November 30, 1680, and the holy martyr was beheaded on Tower Hill on the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The imprisonment of Lord Aston lasted till 1684. When calmness returned to the English people, and Titus Oates was

¹ *The Peerage of England.* London, 1717, vol. ii., p. 169.

tried for his perjuries, Lord Aston and his nephew, Sir Edward Southcote, were subpoenaed to give evidence against him. Oates had sworn that on the 1st of September, 1678, he had seen Father William Ireland, S.J., the martyr, in London. The evidence of Lord Aston and Sir Edward Southcote showed "that in the beginning of August, 1678, Mr. Ireland came down to Lord Aston's, at Standon in Hertfordshire; that on the 5th, Lord Aston took him to St. Alban's, where they met with Sir John and Lady Southcote, and their sons, Sir Edward and John Southcote; that they travelled all together to Tixall; that on the 13th of August they set out from Tixall to Holywell, accompanied by the Dowager Lady Aston, and returned thither again on the 15th; and that on the 1st of September, Ireland was at Mr. Gerard's, at Hilderston in Staffordshire; that he was again at Tixall on the 8th of September; and on the 9th set out with Sir John Southcote, and accompanied him into Surrey."¹

Long before this, the whole Southcote family, that is, Sir John and Lady Southcote, their son Edward and a daughter, had appeared as witnesses to give evidence to the same effect on the trials of Father Whitbread, Father Harcourt, Father Fenwick, Father Gavan, and Father Turner at the Old Bailey, on the 14th and 15th of June, 1679.²

"Lady Southcote stood up.

Lord Chief Justice. How long were you in Mr. Ireland's company?

Lady Southcote. From the 1st of August to the 16th.

L. C. J. What, every day?

Lady Southcote. Yes, every day.

Then Sir John Southcote was called, and appeared.

L. C. J. Did you know Mr. Ireland?

Sir John Southcote. Yes, I did know him by face.

L. C. J. Where did you see him?

Sir John. I saw him the 5th of August at St. Alban's.

L. C. J. And did he travel along with you?

¹ Clifford's *History of Tixall*, p. 269.

² *The Tryals*, &c. Published by Authority. London, 1679, p. 72.

Sir Fohn. Yes, he did travel along with us, the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th.

L. C. F. How many days did he travel along with you?

Sir Fohn. He travelled along with us four days together, I am sure.

L. C. F. What, from the 5th to the 9th?

Sir Fohn. Yes, sir.

L. C. F. Is this all that you can say?

Sir Fohn. Yes, my lord.

L. C. F. But we would know where he was afterwards. Did you see him after the 9th?

Sir Fohn. My lord, I saw him at St. Alban's, and we went from thence to Northampton, and from thence to Coventry, and from thence to my Lord Aston's, that is four days; and I saw him Thursday, I saw him Friday, Saturday, and Monday following. Thursday I had occasion to go further into the country, and he went along with us; so I saw him Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday afterwards.

L. C. F. Why, then you saw him at least twelve days?

Sir Fohn. Yes.

L. C. F. Were you here when Ireland was tried?

Sir Fohn. No.

Then Mr. Edward Southcote stood up.

L. C. F. Did you see Mr. Ireland in August last?

Mr. Southcote. The 3rd of August he came down to my Lord Aston's at Stanmore [Standon]; they said so, but I cannot swear that he came that night, but I saw him very early the next morning; the 5th we went to St. Alban's, and we kept on till we came to Tixall; and I was in his company from the 4th to the 16th.

L. C. F. Why, you hear what he says; he was in company with him every day from the 4th to the 16th."

The use of their evidence was to discredit Oates, and so to break down the case against the five Jesuit Fathers. But "the Right Honourable Sir William Scroggs, Knight, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench," in his charge to the jury, passed it over as "not the proper business of the day, but it

hath received a former verdict before; for if so be the jury before had not been satisfied of the truth of that [Mr. Ireland's not being in London in August], they could never have found Ireland guilty."

But Father Ireland had been hanged on the 24th of January previous, and had had at his trial, not the Southcotes themselves, but the very Will Harrison who appears on horseback at the end of these memoirs.

Anne Ireland, Father Ireland's sister, who did her best to save him, said at his trial,¹ "Here is one Harrison, that was a coachman, that went with them."

Lord Chief Justice. Well, what say you, friend? Do you know Mr. Ireland?

Harrison. I never saw the man before that time in my life, but I met with him at St. Alban's.

L. C. J. When?

Harrison. The 5th of August. There I met with him, and was in a journey with him to the 16th.

L. C. J. What day of the week was it?

Harrison. Of a Monday.

L. C. J. Did he come from London on that day?

Harrison. I cannot tell that. But there I met him.

L. C. J. What time?

Harrison. In the evening.

L. C. J. Whereabouts in St. Alban's?

Harrison. At the Bull Inn, where we lodged.

L. C. J. Mr. Ireland, you say you went on Saturday out of town; did you stay at St. Alban's till Monday?

Ireland. No, I went to Standon that day, and lay there on Saturday and Sunday night; on Monday I went to St. Alban's.

L. C. J. What, from thence?

Ireland. Yes, my lord.

L. C. J. Why did you go thither? Was that in your way?

Ireland. I went thither for the company of Sir John Southcote and his lady.

¹ *The Tryals of William Ireland, &c.* London, 1678, p. 61.

L. C. F. How did you know that they went thither?

Ireland. I understood they were to meet my Lord Aston and Lady there.

L. C. F. What, on Monday night?

Ireland. Yes, my Lord.

Harrison. From thence I went with him to Tixwell [Tixall], to my Lord Aston's house: there we were all with him.

L. C. F. Were you my Lord Aston's coachman?

Harrison. No, my lord; I was servant to Sir John Southcote.

L. C. F. How came you to go with them?

Harrison. Because my Lord Aston is my Lady Southcote's brother.

L. C. F. How long was you in his company?

Harrison. From the 5th of August to the 16th, and then I was with him at Westchester.

Mr. Justice Atkins. You have not yet talked of being at Westchester all this while.

Harrison. My lord, I must talk of my journey by degrees.

L. C. F. Before, you said you were all August in Staffordshire; come, you must find out some evasion for that.

Ireland. In Staffordshire and thereabouts.

L. C. F. You witness, who do you live with?

Harrison. With Sir John Southcote.

L. C. F. Who brought you hither?

Harrison. I came only by a messenger last night.

L. C. F. Was not Sir John Southcote in that journey himself?

Harrison. Yes, my lord, he was.

L. C. F. Then you might as well have sent to Sir John Southcote himself to come.

Anne Ireland. I did it of myself; I never did such a thing before, and did not understand the way of it.

Ireland. It was a mere chance she did send for those she did.

L. C. F. But why should she not send for Sir John himself?

Ireland. She did not know that Sir John was there.

L. C. F. You were not denied to send for any witnesses, were you?

Ireland. I was expressly denied; they would not let me have one bit of paper.

L. C. F. Fellow, what town was that in Staffordshire? Tell me quickly.

Harrison. It was Tixwell, by my Lord Aston's. There we made a stay for three or four days; then we went to Nantwich, and so to Westchester.

L. C. F. Were not you at Wolverhampton with him?

Harrison. No, my lord, I was not there; I left him at Westchester."

However, Scroggs' summing up showed that Sir John Southcote's absence made no difference. "I must tell you," he said, in charging the jury, "it is impossible that both sides should be true. But if it should be a mistake only in point of time, it destroys not the evidence, unless you think it necessary to the substance of the thing. If you charge one in the month of August to have done such a fact, if he deny that he was in that place at that time, and proves it by witnesses, it may go to invalidate the credibility of a man's testimony, but it does not invalidate the truth of the thing itself, which may be true in substance, though the circumstance of time differ. And the question is, whether the thing be true?"

And he charged so strongly that the thing was true, that the jury, "after a very short recess," found a verdict of Guilty; and Lord Chief Justice Scroggs wound up the trial with this praise: "You have done, gentlemen, like very good subjects, and very good Christians, that is to say, like very good Protestants. And now, much good may their thirty thousand Masses do them!"

It may be well, as Father Raymund Palmer has suggested, to give Lord Clarendon's account¹ of the heroic death of the Earl of Northampton, as it presents a considerable contrast to the commonplace knock on the head described by Sir Edward Southcote.

¹ Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*. Oxford, 1717, vol. ii., part i., p. 150.

“It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when in the afternoon he marched out of Stafford; his party consisting of horse and dragoons and some very few foot, the whole number being under one thousand, and found the enemy, in very good order, expecting them, upon a place called Hopton Heath, some few miles from Stafford. Though the number was more than double to the Earl's, yet the Heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musket shot from inclosure on each side, and the number of his horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their horse; and, rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot; and so totally routed and dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field; and he took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon.

“In this second charge, the Earl of Northampton being engaged in the execution, very near or among their foot, had his horse killed under him. So that his own horse (according to their unhappy practice) with too much fury pursuing the chase, he was left encompassed by his enemies. What his behaviour was afterwards, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the testimony of the rebels, who confessed that after he was on his feet he killed with his own hand the colonel of foot who made first haste to him; and that after his headpiece was stricken off with the butt-end of a musket, they offered him quarter; which, they say, he refused, answering that he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were. After which he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving at the same time another deep wound in his face.”

It now only remains for us to give the life of Dame Mary Southcote, in all probability the same that Sir Edward received from the Lady Abbess of Ghent, and this we are enabled to do by the kindness of the Lady Abbess of Oulton, amongst the mortuary notices of whose Convent it occurs. It is only necessary to remark that Sir Edward Southcote has mistaken the length of his aunt's life, having evidently read 80 for 30, and

then having written it "fourscore." The mistake was rendered possible by the singular circumstance that the aunt predeceased her nephew one hundred and ten years, and had probably been dead seventy-five years when he wrote.

"Anno Domini 1641, February the 12th, most happily departed this life our most beloved Sister in Christ and Mother, Reverend Dame Mary Southcote, having made her vows of holy Profession 1627, on the 8th of December. Her most remarkable virtues were, singular devotion to our Blessed Lady, and zeal concerning the choir service, &c.

"Dame Mary Southcote, daughter to Edward Southcote, Gent., came timely to serve God in Religion, being about fourteen when she entered into the Novitiate. She was of a lively and active humour, a straight-timbered little creature, had a fine natural wit, a sharp and quick capacity, excellent at her book and pen, understood the Latin tongue, endowed also with a good voice both for singing and saying in the choir, which she performed strongly, movingly, and sweetly, being skilful in music. With these helps she went on in Religion in an ordinary way until two years before her death, for then it was when the Divine Goodness most efficaciously did begin to rouse and raise her up to an eminent degree of perfection, first casting into her interior many prevailing arguments to convince her in the true knowledge of what she had in her own stock, and what she had of an extraordinary liberality. Some six weeks or two months she was thoroughly tried in the forge of anxieties, aridities, scruples, and temptations, and the like, but behold the event, told by herself to a virtuous dear Religious friend. God Almighty determining in the latitude of His mercies to give a period to those her troubles, beginning this new and particular conversion of hers by inspiring her to treat with Spiritual Fathers, for before she seldom came at them; determining by their approbation to make a general confession, though withal she had great difficulty to go about it, in respect that in her whole life she never had experienced such perplexity of conscience and such interior difficulties. Earnestly begging prayers, two nights she spent in watching, preparing seriously all that while for this great and

extraordinary confession. At the end of which time, as little satisfied as before, being still in a labyrinth of difficulties, and a cloud of disturbed doubts, casting herself before her oratory, thinking what she should do (oh, the mercy of God!) at that very instant all the sins of her whole life were presented before the eye of her mind, as clear as the day, in every particular circumstance. Which, with gratitude to Almighty God, she acknowledged then and ever after, as a singular great favour. After which she made a general confession, and from that moment, in the whole two years of her remaining life amongst us, she lived as though she had indeed been raised to life, living a new life of grace, in strict poverty, casting all superfluous things out of her cell; in exact silence, great zeal in punctual performance of all Religious duties, very much attending to spiritual matters. In fine, she appeared, by her perseverance in these things, as an example of admirable perfection, coming forth (by the mercies and merits of our Saviour) like pure refined gold out of the furnace of affliction, giving a new lustre to the day of her death. She had performed very laudably the office of Chantress, Mistress of the Juniors, and Dean, keeping the young Religious (who were her charge) most exactly to all regular observances, both by word and example, duly applying themselves in every hour of the day, according to the mysteries of our Saviour's Passion divided to that number, having purposely a time keeper, who turned the hour-glass, with a sign then given, at each hour of the day, from morn till night. She was of a more than ordinary devotion to our Blessed Lady, doing many pious practices in her honour, singularly addicting herself to reverence and serve all the glorious Virgin's particular friends, as St. Joseph, St. Joachim, St. Anne, St. John Baptist and his holy parents, St. Bernard, and the rest of her chaplains, St. Casimirus, &c., making all her charge eminent in this. She had an extreme desire that all the Community might do her some peculiar service above the ordinary, so that divers, with her, invented and consented (with leave of Superiors) to sing upon Sundays, after Evensong, her hymn of praise called *Te Matrem*, at or before Loretto, which is in use to this day. Whilst she was Chantress, always when she sang the Martyrologe on Christmas Eve, it was so movingly

performed, that it moved even to tears of devotion. At last, in this full pursuit of perfection, she was struck with an air into a kind of palsy, which turned to a mixture of apoplexy and falling sickness. These infirmities came to such a violence that in some ten days it caused her death. She received, notwithstanding, blessed be God, piously, all the rites of Holy Church, and most happily reposed in our Lord the 12th of February, within the octave of our holy Mother St. Scholastica, leaving a sad house, full of resentment to lose one of such eminent qualities, natural and supernatural. But she being wholly God's, 'tis but just and right, at what time to His eternal sweet providence He knows most convenient, that He take possession of His own.

“She died about the age of thirty, having lived fourteen years in the world, and sixteen in Religion. *Requiescat in pace. Amen.*”

SIR EDWARD SOUTHCOTE TO HIS SON JOHN.

From the autograph in Thorndon Library, the property of Lord Petre.

DEAR SON,—Every one being naturally curious to know something of their own family, and not knowing whether it will please God that we may live any time together, I do here transmit to you some particulars I have received from my father and other relations of those that went before us.

The pedigree you will find in my closet at Witham, which will inform you that a house in Devonshire was the ancient seat of the family, called by the same name, where our ancestors had continued for many generations till the reign of Queen Mary; and 'tis now six generations including yourself since we removed from thence; and though there are several yet remaining in Devonshire and Lincolnshire, the pedigree shows they are all of a younger house.

I have never heard anything mentioned of any one whilst they remained in Devonshire, save only that none of the family ever married indiscreetly or were afterwards unhappy in their wives; but since we have been removed into these southern parts, I have heard many particulars of their lives and dispositions.

The first I can give you an account of is, as I said before, six generations ago, who was of your name; and having applied himself to the study of the law, Queen Elizabeth made him a Judge of the Common Pleas, and soon after he had probably been Lord Chief Justice but for a conceit of the Queen's, who said she should

govern too like a woman, if she suffered a woman to be Chief Justice of England. The occasion of this reflection was that he, being a good-natured man, had a reputation in the world of being governed by his wife.

He married the daughter and coheirress of Robyns, Lord Mayor of London, by whom he had one son and two daughters. The eldest married to Mr. Stonor of Oxfordshire, and the other to Sir Thomas Curzon, of the same county; both very good families and great estates. But as prosperity often makes us forget ourselves, so it fared with him, who suffered himself to go with the stream, which at that time overturned the Catholic religion. He had acquired a fair estate, and the reputation of an able and just Judge; but this could never have saved his soul, if it had not pleased God by his great mercy to call him again into the true Church, which happened in this manner.

Being in his circuit and on the bench at Norwich, a Priest happened to be tried for his life; which being the first time that anything of this kind had come before him, one may easily imagine he had no small conflict within himself; but, to the great glory of God, he behaved himself with so much courage upon this occasion that when he perceived he could not save the man's life by giving a favourable charge to the jury, rather than give the sentence of death against him, he stood up in the open court and pulled off his robes of Judge, declaring that he there resigned his office rather than he would bring upon himself and family the guilt of innocent blood. After which he retired to his house at Merstham in Surrey, where for three years he led a penitential life, and then happily ended his days. His body was brought to Witham, and there deposited in a vault, over which a handsome marble monument was erected by his son John, who was left sole executor to his last will, though his mother was still living.

This John, being a prudent man, and having been educated in the knowledge of the law, was very much esteemed for his learning as well as other personal endowments; and being left in possession of a fair estate, about four thousand pounds *per annum*, without debts, took to wife Magdalen, a younger daughter of Sir Edward Waldegrave, by which marriage comes in our relation to my Lord Petre, Baron of Writtle, who likewise married an elder daughter of the same Sir Edward Waldegrave. This John Southcote, living in very troublesome times for Roman Catholics, had the happiness to pay ten thousand pound for his faith before he obtained a *Quietus*, and for the payment of which he sold a very fine manor at Strettham in Surrey, within five miles of London, and was so well pleased with it, that he was heard to say, the King was never the richer, and he thought himself never the poorer, being paid on so good an account. He had two sons and one daughter, Edward, John, and Magdalen, who being with her aunt Petre at Thorndon, died there a young maid, and lies buried in that church. His eldest son Edward succeeded him, and his other son took to the Church, and was Doctor of Divinity at Louvain, who, I have heard my old Lady Stafford¹ say, had the reputation of a great scholar and a fine gentleman.

John Southcote, the father of these, lived to a very great age, and, as I have heard my father say, always kept a good decorum in his family. His children, servants, and grand-children living in great observance of him, being very strict in reproving whatever was amiss. His near relation to my Lord Petre's family made him often there, and, though he was no gamester himself, would be often amongst them when great sums were played

¹ Mary Stafford, the widow of William Viscount Stafford, the martyr. She was Baroness Stafford in her own right by descent and by patent; and five years after her husband's execution and attainder, she was created a Countess in rank for life.

for; whose only business was to single out the winner and get money of him for the poor. He had a great veneration for the Society, and had ever one of that Order in his family, and, as I have been told, was a good benefactor to them a little before his death, which happened in the eighty-sixth year of his age, at Merstham in Surrey; whose body was embalmed, then brought to Witham, and deposited in the vault he had made for his father, having lived a widower near forty years.

His son Edward, who had lived to a venerable old age before he came to the estate, married in his younger days Mary Seaborne,¹ of a very ancient good family. My Lord Teynham married another of the sisters, which brings in our relation to that noble lord. For the most part he lived in the same house with his father, during which time he had one son and three daughters, John, Mary, Dorothy, and Catharine. Mary, his eldest daughter, was a Professed Nun of the English Benedictines at Ghent, where some years ago the Lady Abbess showed me a history in manuscript of her life, having lived and died in great reputation of sanctity, many extraordinary things of piety being related of her.

Dorothy, the second daughter, was espoused to Colonel Stanford, of Perry Hall in Staffordshire, a fine seat and very fair estate; but in the civil wars and his own ill management together, the whole estate was wasted except some part of his wife's jointure, on which she subsisted many years after his decease. His only happiness was that he left no children to suffer by his ill conduct.

Catharine, the third daughter, married to Sir John Smith of Crabbit,² who had been formerly married without children, and now being past sixty years he had three sons and two daughters.

¹ Erroneously called Le Bourne in the Peerages.

² Sir John Smith of Crabbit or Crabett in Sussex, Knight, who, in 1634, married Anne, eldest daughter of Sir Nicholas Parker of Ratton, co. Sussex, Knight.

SIR EDWARD SOUTHCOTE TO HIS SON PHILIP.

From the autograph belonging to the Priory of the Annunciation, Woodchester.

DEAR PHIL,—Being you and your grandfather were both military men, I shall here, a little at a time, as I have leisure, give or leave you the line of his life for your amusement when you are under your tent.

Soon after your grandfather returned home from his studies beyond sea, the civil wars broke out here in England, and being naturally of a sprightly active disposition, he besought his father and grandfather very earnestly to give him leave to serve the King as a volunteer, which they were both very unwilling to comply with, being he was the only heir of the family, there being but one son and three daughters. The eldest daughter was Mary, who chose the better part, and was a Benedictine Nun at Ghent; whose life my Lady Abbess of Ghent sent to me in manuscript since I came to live here at Witham, who lived till fourscore,¹ and died with great marks of sanctity.

The second daughter was Dorothy, a very handsome woman, married to Colonel Stanford, of Perry Hall in Staffordshire, a fine house and fifteen hundred pounds a year, who was one of the leading beaux at that time, but they had no issue.

The third daughter was Catharine, not so handsome as her sisters, and remained unmarried until she was two

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 379.

and thirty, at which age they made a very good match for her with Sir John Smith, of Crabbit in Sussex, an old widower of sixty years of age. He had twelve hundred pounds a year and a monied man, and though they were both so advanced in years, had many children, Sir John having none by the first wife.

Your grandfather at last with much importunity gained his father's and grandfather's consent. They equipped him very handsomely with arms and horses for himself and two or three men, and so he set forward with letters of recommendation to some of their acquaintance in the army, to present this their son to the King, as one very ambitious to serve him as a volunteer, who met with a very gracious reception, and so took his post in the army.

The first adventure he went upon, he was placed in a *corps de reserve* whilst the two armies were engaged; and the enemy observing a body of about a thousand horse so placed, they fired with their cannon upon them, which killed some of their men and spoiled abundance of their horses; and I heard my father say it was very irksome to him to stand still there in cold blood to be shot at, in sight of the two armies that were very warmly engaged. But after they had kept their post for about an hour, the right wing of the King's army forced their way through the enemy, and nailed up the cannon that had galled them for an hour very severely, and Oliver's army beginning to give way, they were called upon to pursue them in the flight; and this was the first occasion he had to make use of his little battle-axe, a weapon all the King's troops made use of, hanging in a ribbon that was tied about their wrists, which did not hinder their arm from making use of their pistol or sword as need required, and was a dead-doing thing whenever the horse broke in amongst the foot. It was very like the mason's lathing hammers, had a sharp little axe of one side

and a hammer on the other, but most commonly made use of the hammer, which was sure to fell them to the ground with one rap upon their round heads. And they in return for this weapon (which was a new invention) took up the way, when they had discharged their muskets, to fight with butt-end of them, which did great execution, but it spoiled their own fire-arms by breaking their stocks or bending their barrels.

The army being now at no great distance from his brother and sister Stanford's, at Perry Hall, he went thither for one day to divert himself; and the doors being open, he rode on horseback into the hall, and seeing lights up the stairs, which were broad and of easy ascent, he rode up the stairs too, and never alighted from his horse till he came close to the table where they were sitting at supper, who were much pleased with his frolic and glad to see him. But the next day they had the great discomfort to hear of the Earl of Northampton's misfortune, who was quartered in Tixall House, where my lord having intelligence that a strong party of the rebels were come to Hopton Heath, which almost joins to Tixall Park pale [March 19, 164 $\frac{2}{3}$], he drew out his men and had a sharp dispute with them; but in the middle of this action his horse unfortunately set his foot into a rabbit-hole, which brought the horse upon his knees, and when he was in that posture was killed outright by one stroke of a halbert upon his head.¹

The next day after this defeat, the victorious rebels plundered Tixall House, our noble lord being then a Commander in Lichfield Close, and nobody in the house but my Lady Aston and my mother, who was about five years old;² but the officer had so much humanity

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 378.

² Sir Edward says that his mother died in her fifty-fifth year, about four years before the end of King James' reign, that is about 1684. In that case she was born about 1630, and was thirteen at this time.

as to order my lady should have no disturbance given her in her own chamber, which was the only room unplundered in the whole house. When they had eaten and drunk all, and packed up everything that was portable, they marched off about six in the evening, and then my lady sent to beg a little new milk of one of their neighbours, and a skillet to boil it in, which was all the breakfast, dinner, and supper that day.

My father now having stayed one day at Perry Hall, he returned to the army with the ill news of the Earl of Northampton's death, who were upon their march westward, in which there happened now and then some skirmishes, and in the town of Banbury, but did not come to any engagement till that which is called the first Newbury fight, in a plain field within a quarter of a mile of the town. In this battle he was placed in the main body of the army, and happened to come *tête-à-tête* with Captain Hall, who commanded that which was called "Oliver's own Troop," like one of our troops of guard of two hundred men, and as he was pointing his pistol at his breast, the captain's horse raised his head and received the shot in his forehead, which immediately felled the horse with his rider, and as the captain was endeavouring to get upon his own legs my father placed his hand upon his shoulder and claimed him for his prisoner, to which he submitted. He had lost his hat in the scuffle, and the next man to my father gave him a slight cuff over the head, not much more than a scratch, which my father resenting and going to draw his pistol, the man begged his pardon and said he did not know he was his prisoner. So with some difficulty he carried him off through the rear of the army in order to carry him into Newbury town; and all the inhabitants being gathered on that side to see the battle and wish success to the King's friends, he had another crowd to pass through, where an old woman seeing the captain's head bleed, and taking him to be a cavalier, took off her steeple-crowned hat and

placed it upon his head, desiring he would wear it to keep the cold from his wound ; so in this manner they both went laughing into the town, and had not been there above half an hour, when news was brought that the King's army was defeated and the rebels ready to enter the town, which gave my father but just time enough to set the captain on one of his men's horses and drive him before him to Reading, by which means he secured his prisoner.

The captain having desired leave to write to his friends and acquaint them whose prisoner he was and how to direct to him, in eight or ten days time they sent him a fine managed horse, a suit of armour, and a valuable diamond ring, to offer my father as a present for his ransom, with a promise that, if my father should at any time be made prisoner, he should be immediately released without making any exchange for him.

Upon this proposal my father accepted of the terms, and the King having heard of this feat, the first time he came into his presence he knighted him, but at the same time expressed some little dissatisfaction that he had released so noted a man without making an exchange for one of the same rank of his subjects that were prisoners on the other side, to which my father's friends made answer, that being he ventured his life in His Majesty's service, without receiving any pay for so doing, it was reasonable that he should make the best advantage for any lawful prize he could make.

Not long after this the armies having both received reinforcements, for their loss in the late engagement was very equal, they came to another engagement very near the place where the other was fought, called the second Newbury fight, where my father also had his part, without receiving or doing any hurt further than what might chance by the discharge of his fire-arms amongst them ; both which battles were fought with great obstinacy and their loss in both very equal, but as in the first the King's army

left the field of battle, in this they drove the rebels out of it and remained masters of the field.

Not long after this Oxford was besieged by the Parliament army, and my father was of the party that was ordered to get into the town before it was quite surrounded, which they did with some skirmishes by the way.

After the siege of Oxford my father still went with the King's army, very ambitious to get into Prince Rupert's favour, being he was the greatest hero as well as the greatest beau, who all the leading men strove to imitate, as well in his dress as in his bravery; whose way of fighting was, he had a select body of horse that always attended him, and in every attack they received the enemy's shot without returning it, but one and all bore with all their force upon their adversaries till they broke their ranks and charged quite through them; then they rallied and when they were in disorder fell upon their rear and slaughtered them with scarce any opposition.

The Prince was always very sparkish in his dress, and one day on a very cold morning he tied a very fine laced handkerchief about his neck, which he took out of his coat pocket; and this appeared so becoming that all his mimics got laced pocket handkerchiefs and made the same use of them, which was the origin of wearing laced cravats, and continued till of late years. It was very remarkable that in all the attacks he made after that manner he never met with one rebuff. I have heard my father say he had a little black dog that always followed him into the field, which the Roundheads fancied was the devil, and took it very ill that he would set himself against them.

Thus things went on until the fatal battle of Naseby; and even in that fight the Prince carried his point in forcing his way through the body of horse that opposed him and nailed up their cannon, but whilst he was doing this the main body of the rebels' horse broke in upon the foot of the King's army and made a most dismal carnage,

leaving upwards of twenty thousand of them dead in the field of battle, besides wounded and prisoners that were taken.

I once passed over that piece of ground in waiting on the late Lord Aston, from Standon to Tixall, where one of Naseby Little Town showed us where the Prince had forced his way to nail up their cannon, the windmill where the King sat to see the battle, and on the other side where Oliver placed himself under a hawthorn bush. The ground the armies fought upon was a little valley of about a quarter of a mile across and a rising little green sod full on each side, by which the foot were so hemmed in that there was no possibility of flight.

After this battle the King was never able to appear any more in the field, so my father returned again to Merstham, and being soon weary of that sedentary sort of life, he obtained leave of his father and grandfather to travel into Italy, who set forwards in the spring, stayed all the summer at Paris and then went on to Rome, stayed there all the winter and returned again to Merstham in little more than a year, where for a year or two he spent his time betwixt London and that place, and in his frequent journies to London, I never heard by what means, he grew so much into the favour of my Lady Elizabeth Claypole,¹ Oliver's daughter, that they kept a continual correspondence by letters, though I never heard of anything that was ill had passed betwixt them.

My father was grown now to be turned of thirty years old, and affecting something more of gravity in his deportment, he desired of his father and grandfather leave to make a pilgrimage to Loretto, and disguise it as if he were only going to see the other parts of Italy. This they consented to, so he trod in the same steps again, first to Paris and then to Rome, and in these journies he made himself perfectly master of the French and Italian

¹ Sir Edward spells the name "Cleopol."

languages, and in his first studies learned to speak Latin with great ease and fluency.

In this last journey to Rome, his grandfather died in the eighty-sixth year of his age [1637], and was brought to be buried at Witham, in the vault himself had made for the Judge his father.

As soon as my father had visited the place which was the occasion of his journey, he returned again to Paris, where he found letters from Lady Elizabeth Claypole, which informed him of a great remittance of money to a banker, who had received her order to lay it out by his choice and direction in buying two damask beds, one trimmed with gold and the other with silver fringes, and also a great many yards of the richest gold and silver stuffs for her own wearing. So, as soon as he had executed this commission, he contrived it so as to come to London just as these goods arrived.

When he came to London her ladyship was so extremely delighted with her fine things that she would willingly have introduced him to her father, but he was so much honoured with her acquaintance that his ambition reached no further. So he went down to Merstham, where his father and mother were now the only direction, and finding his sister still unmarried, he and his mother laid their heads together to get her matched with Sir John Smith of Crabbit, nine miles from Merstham, which they brought about in a very short time, and her mother was so well pleased with herself for marrying her daughter so well, after she was past her prime, that she went to London on purpose to receive the congratulation of her friends and make merry with them; but instead of that she fell sick and died there, and was buried in St. Clement's Church in the Strand.

The year following my father still diverted himself betwixt London and Merstham, but his father finding the want of a hand to help him in his family affairs, made a

match for himself with a sister of Mr. Weston's of Sutton, an ancient maid of about fifty, and being at London in order to seal the writings, he also fell ill there and died, from whence my father attended his corpse to Witham and returned to Merstham, now sole lord and master, and after some little time, the Earl of Essex being dead, he offered himself in marriage to the Countess, but whether it was upon the score of difference in religion or whether she had in her eye all that time an Oxfordshire baronet of a good estate who she afterwards married,¹ is hard to say, but she very civilly excused it, advising him as a friend to marry a younger woman.

My father now bethought himself of one whom he had called by the name of wife ever since she was five years old and was now come to be eighteen or nineteen,² the eldest daughter of our great Lord Aston, who then lived at Tixall in Staffordshire, and having made such proposals as were accepted by my lord, he had nothing to do but to prepare a handsome equipage for that purpose, and accordingly made new liveries, bought six good horses for his coach and five for men to ride with pistols.

In this manner he began his journey, passing through Kingston-upon-Thames, ten miles from Merstham, which lay in his road. When he came thither he found that Oliver had got intelligence of this armament of his, and not knowing for what purpose it was designed had sent order to the captain of a troop of horse that were quartered at Kingston, to seize on him and his men and carry them to Lambeth House, which was the Bishop's Palace, but now made a prison for the cavaliers.

This strange unexpected misfortune put my father into such a fret that he could not sleep all that night, but early in the morning he despatched a messenger with a letter to

¹ Elizabeth, Countess of Essex, married Sir Thomas Higgons, Knight, and died August 30, 1656.

² If she was born about 1630, this marriage was in 1648 or 1649. The Earl of Essex died in 1646.

my Lady Elizabeth Claypole, acquainting her with what had happened and the business he was going about, who immediately went to her father in a huff and told him that he was mistaken in his man, that Sir John Southcote meant him no more hurt than she did, that he was one she had been extremely obliged to for many services done for her in France, that he had only put himself into a handsome equipage going to marry a woman of quality, my Lord Aston's daughter, with intent to settle himself and live quietly the rest of his life.

Upon this there was a discharge immediately sent, with a complimentary excuse for the mistake that had been made, and so he went on his journey, having been hindered but two days in his way, and in a very short time after he came to Tixall, was married first by a Priest and afterwards by a Justice of Peace, according to Oliver's new law, Justice Crompton, a remote relation of the Aston family.¹

After their wedding my Lord Aston and my Lady very kindly invited my father and his bride to stay with them till she was brought to bed, which was a daughter, my sister Stafford; and now it was needful to stay a month or two longer, till so young a child was capable of travelling, and then set forward for Merstham, where they remained five years without having any other child.

My father being twice in France, had made acquaintance with several of the French men of quality, one of which happened to be the first Ambassador that was sent into England after the Restoration, and came to Merstham to see his old acquaintance, where, I have heard my

¹ "William Crompton, a rich mercer of London, at the Dissolution of Monasteries, purchased, 30 Henr. VIII., the site of Stone Priory with the demesnes thereunto belonging and the deanery of Stafford. It is remarked by Sir Simon Degge that it did him no good; and the family appears to be now extinct. His son William, who married Jane Aston, was Sheriff of Stafford, 39 Eliz., and died 4 Jac. I." Clifford's *Tixall*, p. 220. Jane was the eldest daughter of Sir Walter Aston, grandfather of the first Lord Aston.

mother say, he had a very fine and very expensive entertainment provided for him, but she went to Sir John Smith's, at Crabbit, till that bustle was over, before I was born. And, if I may be excused for the first four years, I remember very well, when I was five years old, the time of the great plague, by smoking the house with pitch, and the dismal stories that were brought in of people lying dead in the highway that nobody durst bury, and though there was such an infinite number died of it at London, and spread over almost all the kingdom, the first frosty weather that came it entirely ceased. And the next summer my father and mother, taking me with them, ventured through London to my Lord Aston's at Standon, remaining there till the beginning of September, and then in our return home passengers told us upon the road that London was so much on fire that there was no entering at that end of the town. However, my father would go on till we came to Enfield, and there it was so confirmed that we lodged there at one Mr. Cook's house, a Roman Catholic, whither my aunt Stanford had retired from London in the time of the plague.

As soon as it grew dark the fire appeared plainly to view as if all London had been in a flame, and in the night heard people as they passed along the road call out aloud, "Forty pound for a cart, any money for a cart," to carry their goods, &c., before the fire reached them.

The next morning we returned again to Standon for a fortnight longer, and when we passed through London the fire was still burning in the cellars on each side of the street. One of my father's servants being a Frenchman, and being heard to speak broken English, the constables and watchmen seized upon him as one of those Frenchmen they supposed threw fire-balls to set the town on fire, but bringing him to the coach-side, and my father telling them who he was and where he lived, and that he would be answerable for him, being his servant, upon this and

half-a-crown to drink they dismissed him, so we got home to Merstham that night; and being now six years old, where my last letter¹ took me up, have no more to say but that I am

Your loving father,

E. S.

This paper, waiting so long for an opportunity of conveying it to you without cost, it may not be without some entertainment to you to add the following by way of postscript.

The first time I went to the Bath, at about twenty years old, Sir James Long was there, and having heard somebody call me by my name, he asked whether I was related to Sir John Southcote, and being told I was his son he expressed great civilities to me, and said he had been intimately acquainted with my father in the civil wars; and it being the custom then to bathe every morning in the Cross Bath, he had frequent opportunities of relating many adventures they had together, too long for this paper, and shall mention but this. When they were in garrison at Oxford their diversion was in going a-birding together (as they called it), which was, each of them had a long fowling-piece, and these charged with a single bullet, they could hit any little mark as well as with a stone bow, so their way was to walk at a proper distance within the works, over which the Roundheads would frequently be peeping, just to look over them, by which they exposed their foreheads, which they scarce ever missed, and could knock down twenty or thirty of them in their morning's walk.²

This house was severely plundered just after the surrender of Colchester by a party commanded by Captain Foster, who left neither lock, latch, nor bolt upon any of the doors, nor a whole pane of glass

¹ This letter was written to supplement that which follows.

² It is to be feared that Sir James Long is here drawing the long bow.

in the windows, and also destroyed all the old writings that were evidence of this estate, and was not in a much better condition the first time I came with my father to Witham, he having only glazed two or three lodging-rooms and the parlour where he dined, the rest appearing like a skeleton.

And having paper-room enough on this last sheet, shall further relate a very odd adventure that happened to a son of the before-mentioned Captain Foster. When I was in Commission in King James' reign, this son of his was High Constable of this Hundred, where he gathered the county money and paid it in to me. One day, as I returned from hunting, was surprised to find the hall crowded with people calling out for justice against this Foster, they having for many years lost great numbers of their sheep from Tiptree Heath, and now it was plainly discovered that he was the thief, which seemed to me incredible, being High Constable, and better than 200*l.* a year of his own. So I told them that, this being a matter of great concern, it was needful that more than one Justice should have cognizance of it, and ordered them to meet me that afternoon at Major Ailot's, whose house was upon Tiptree Heath, very near their own homes.

So away they went, and I went to dinner, giving order for the coach to be ready at three o'clock, and found all the same mob huzzaing at Major Ailot's door, who was the next Justice of this division, where, having received their informations, it appeared that this Foster, whose house was on the edge of Tiptree Heath, where many thousands of sheep are pastured, had every year for many years past, at sheep-shearing time, drove with his own, thirty, forty, or fifty other sheep, and after shearing of them set his own fair mark upon them, by which means he got the wool and the sheep too, which was just then discovered by a very extraordinary event.

A poor woman upon Tiptree Heath had bred up a tame lamb, and being now come to its full growth, it pastured every day amongst the other sheep and returned to his old dame, and it being now some time after that season, Foster had drove up that lamb amongst the other sheep he meant to steal, which he also sheared and set his mark upon it, and returning home to the old woman in a little time this came to be known to all the neighbours that had lost their sheep, and being confronted by them he confessed the fact. Upon which I walked aside with Major Ailot, and told him that being everybody knew this man to be the son of Captain Foster, that had plundered so severely Witham House, it might be looked upon as malice or revenge if I should have a hand in anything that was severe against him, and so desired him as a good neighbour and friend to take it upon himself or join any other Justice with him, which he very frankly did; and I could not forbear smiling to myself to see the son of him that had done us so much hurt fall into such a delinquency, and was informed afterwards that they had bound him in a bond of 1,000*l.* to make réparation to all he had wronged, and to save his neck from the gallows.

December 9.

Dear Phil,—When you were here I intended to have given you some relation of the very grand manner of my lord grandfather's living at Standon, being there is scarce anybody but myself left that remembers it, but it went out of my mind again; but now, having a little leisure, and understanding the bearer of this is going to London, take this opportunity of sending you a little sketch of it.

Walter, Lord Aston, who was grandfather to the present lord¹ by the male side and mine by the female,

¹ Walter fourth Lord Aston, son of the third Baron by Eleanor, daughter of Sir Walter Blount of Sodington, co. Worcester, Bart; born about 1661; died 1747; married Mary, only daughter of Lord Thomas Howard, and sister to Thomas and Edward, eighth and ninth Dukes of Norfolk.

married the eldest daughter of the Earl of Portland, the Lady Mary Weston,¹ by whom he had three sons and four daughters, whilst he resided at Tixall, in Staffordshire, where, soon after his return from Spain with his father, who was many years there Ambassador from King Charles I., and who, to keep up the honour of his King and country, lived up to his character in a very grand manner from the income of his own estate, whilst the troubles here in England disabled the King from sending him the allowance usual for Ambassadors, by which he contracted a debt only of 12,000*l.*, but was never reimbursed by the Crown, nor any of his descendants.

Soon after his return from Spain, his father died, who had married into the family of the great Sir Ralph Sadler,² and by Mr. Sadler of Standon dying without issue male, that estate fell to my lord grandfather Aston, together with just such another estate in the west of England as my Lord Petre has there at present.

Just after the decease of Mr. Sadler, my Lord Aston removed his family from Tixall to Standon; and then began his very magnificent way of living, who had one hundred and one in his own family; and your grandmother being his eldest daughter, and much the most beloved both by my lord and my lady, they obliged our family to be with them at Standon every summer season for three or four months; and this custom continued from the time I was six years old till I came to be about fourteen.

¹ Lady Mary Weston, the eldest daughter of Richard first Earl of Portland, Lord High Treasurer, by his first wife, Eliza Pincheon, married Walter, second Lord Aston. The Lady Mary Weston who lived in the Convent at Louvain (*supra*, p. 309) was his half-sister, being Lord Portland's daughter by his second wife, Frances Waldegrave. The younger Lady Mary Weston was therefore Sir Edward Southcote's first cousin.

² Sir Ralph Sadler was made a Knight Banneret on the field of Musselburgh, 1 Edw. VI., which was the last occasion on which English Knights Banneret were made. Ralph, his son, died without issue, February 12, 1660.

My lord's table was daily served with twenty dishes at a course, three courses the year about ; and I remember it was brought up by twenty of his men, who, as they came up the great stairs and in the dining-room, affected to stamp louder than needed, which made a noise like a clap of thunder every course that was brought up. My lord had every day four servants that waited behind his own chair, his gentleman, his house-steward, his chief park-keeper, and a footman to fetch to them what my lord called for ; who was very curious in his wine, but Frontinac was his favourite : but he first drank a whole quart at one draught, either of malt drink or wine and water, being advised to it by his physician as a remedy for the stone and gravel, which he was sometimes troubled with ; insomuch that upon all the roads where he travelled, either into Staffordshire, or to us in Surrey, all the inns where he used to lodge kept a glass that held a quart, called "My Lord Aston's Glass." I saw one of them at the "Altar Stone" at Banbury not many years ago.

The Earl of Essex¹ lived within three miles of him, at Hadham, and on the other side my Lord Salisbury,² at a dining distance at Hatfield ; and when any of these noble lords came to him, he never added any to his dinner, and if nobody came he had nothing left, so that he had the vogue of the whole county for much the most noble housekeeper in it.

It was a great diversion to me to see all his servants at dinner, which I could do through a little window which looked into the hall ; and when they had all dined, there was nothing carried back, but the leavings thrown

¹ In 1641 Arthur Capel was made Lord Capel of Hadham ; and in 1661 his son Arthur became Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex. It is needless to say that this is no relation of the Earl of Essex who has been mentioned before, whose title expired with him.

² James, third Earl, succeeded his grandfather in 1668, and died in 1683. His son, James, the fourth Earl of Salisbury, was a Catholic.

altogether into a tub, which two men took immediately on their shoulders to the court gate, where they every day served forty or fifty poor people with it.

Such days as my lord did not go in the afternoon a-hawking (which sport he was a great lover of), he always played at ombre for an hour after dinner with his two sons; and at four o'clock would retire to a covered seat he had in his vineyard, where, like King Assuerus, he sat alone in solemn state where nobody durst approach him; and at five his chariot, with a pair of his six gray Flanders mares, made on purpose so narrow that nobody should have room to sit by him, and so, from five o'clock till seven, he would troll about the park, a very noble one, five or six miles about, with five or six hundred head of deer, with about thirty or forty red deer. So at seven o'clock he constantly returned home, and by eight o'clock would be in his bed, never eating or drinking anything at all at night. On his side of the bed he always lay without either pillow or bolster, and without any nightcap upon his head.

Winter and summer he always rose at four o'clock in the morning, going in his nightgown to a large closet near his chamber well stored with books, where he entertained himself until it was time to go a-hunting or hawking at wild ducks; and I was always ready at his closet door to wait on him, which I had leave to do, provided I did not ride above twenty yards before him, which was a hard injunction upon me that loved hunting of all things, and my lord never rode above a hand-gallop, he was such a corpulent, tall man, of six foot and two inches high, so that sometimes when we came into a large open field I used to ride round him and round him at twenty yards distance, till my horse was all of a lather, which used to make him laugh till he cried, to see my mettle for hunting, and my obedience to keep within distance, which was for fear I should not have leave to go the

next time. My lord would never suffer any but hunted venison to come to his own table, which made well for me, for all the season there was one buck killed every day but Sunday, and most commonly a brace, though my lord never appeared on horseback a-buck-hunting, unless when one was taken on purpose in a toil and turned out of the park.

I do not remember that my lord ever made or returned any visit, the whole court and address of that county being made to him; and in this grand manner he lived till my late lord, his son,¹ prevailed upon him to return again to Tixall in Staffordshire, which was so great a cross to his lady, who liked the way of living she had been bred up to in her father's house, and also being so far removed from her dear daughter Southcote, that she grew melancholy and lost her wits, not in a turbulent, distracted manner, but in keeping almost a perpetual silence, and refusing to take nourishment enough to keep her alive.

Not long after this I was sent abroad to travel, and at my return home, at about twenty years of age, was ordered to go and pay my duty, and show myself to my Lord at Tixall after my travels. Mightily set out in a velvet coat, a rich brocade waistcoat, and two men to wait upon me, and coming in this manner to Tixall, it was a strange surprise at entrance of the first great court betwixt the gate-house and the stable to see above a thousand people, many coaches, horsemen, and footmen, assembled together, without guessing at the occasion; and what should this be, as I was immediately told, but an assembly of all the chief part of Staffordshire to wait on my Lord Aston's corpse to Stafford,² the ancient burying-place of that noble family, and this account may properly enough.

¹ Walter third Lord Aston, died in 1714, æt. eighty-one.

² Walter, second Lord Aston, died April 23, 1678, æt. sixty-nine, and was buried in St. Mary's Church, Stafford.

be left in your hands, being such an ornamental branch of it.

Having thus given a short account of the Standon family, it may not be improper, according to the order of time, to say a word or two that concerned our own.

My lord grandfather being thus unexpectedly dead, I made but a short stay, and returned again to my father at Merstham, and being destined to a country life, which I was not very fond of, being just come from Paris, the remembrance of hunting, which I had formerly been so fond of, returned to my mind, so I petitioned my father for leave to keep a pack of hounds, to which he readily consented, whilst he diverted himself with a gosshawk for pheasants. In this manner a year or two ran on, till Oates' Plot broke out, and though there was nothing but noise and nonsense in it, it brought a great persecution on the Roman Catholics; and my father was one of the first that smarted for it in his estate, though he always lived very hospitably amongst his neighbours, and for many years had constantly kept open house at Christmas.

Soon after this Plot appeared, he was presented, indicted, and convicted at the county sessions to pay 20*l.* a month and two thirds of his estate, which soon ran up to 900*l.*; and for want of prompt payment, four bailiffs entered the house, who seized on all the household goods, and took from all his tenants their plough horses. So in this dismal condition he remained five weeks with the bombailiffs in his house till he could procure 900*l.* to pay off the debt. Which being paid, there was a little breathing time given, and the season of the year coming on for his usual time of going to Drayton,¹ my father, just

¹ The manor which belonged to the Abbot and convent of Abingdon was granted by King Henry VIII. to Sir Anthony St. Leger, K.G., by whose family it was sold in 1561 to John Southcote, Esq., Serjeant-at-Law. By the limitations of the will of Philip Southcote, Drayton became the property of his relation, Sir William Jerningham, Bart., father of the late Lord Stafford. Lyson's *Magna Britannia*, vol. i., part ii., p. 272.

before his journey, applied to Sir John Thompson¹ (afterwards Lord Haversham), his very near and very good neighbour. Sir John told him that Sir Robert Sawyer, who was then Attorney-General, was his particular friend and old acquaintance, who was just then gone before us into Berkshire, to a fine new house he was then about furnishing, called Highclere, at some distance from Reading on the left hand of it.

Upon this my father began his journey immediately for Berkshire taking me along with him, and when we came within five miles of Reading, he detached two of his servants to go along with me to Sir Robert Sawyer's, who by good luck I found without company, being but newly arrived and in a very good humour. He was much pleased with the forwardness of his building, so I told him I had the honour to bring a compliment to him from Sir John Thompson, in whose near neighbourhood my father, Sir John Southcote, lived, who by a conviction misapplied had been severely treated by four bailiffs continuing five weeks in his house, having seized all the furniture and taken all his tenants' horses from the plough, bearing themselves very rudely, living at discretion all that time in his house, on a demand of 900*l.*, pretended to be due on his conviction, which my father was forced to pay, though the estate was rested in Sir John Thompson before the conviction took place.

Sir Robert listened very obligingly to the relation I gave him, which was attended with an humble petition, to give my father some relief from the hard circumstance he was in, but did not return any immediate answer, his mind was so amongst his workmen, but he carried me into his house to see the fine apartments he had finished, and also those the workmen were about, and

¹ Sir John Thompson, made a baronet in 1673, and a peer in 1696, by the title of Lord Haversham of Haversham, co. Bucks. He died at his house at Richmond in Surrey, in 1710.

afterwards asked me to walk with him at some distance from the house, round about it, to see the very fine prospects on each side, which were very fine indeed; but I was all the while in pain that he said nothing to my business; and after walking in this manner about an hour we came to something easy to sit upon, which as I remember was a piece of great timber; and being seated upon this to observe the fine prospect before us, he called to one of his men and bade him fetch a sheet of paper with a pen and ink, and after he had writ three or four lines upon his knee as he sate, he folded up the paper and gave it to me, which was an order to the Pipe Office to issue out a *Quietus est*. So he desired me to return his compliments to Sir John Thompson and my Lady Frances, his lady, who was a daughter of the Earl of Anglesey; upon which I took my leave and came off without any expense but only half-a-crown to his groom that held my horse.

As people that carry good news commonly ride apace, I soon got into a grand gallop; and when got into the London Road to Reading, delivered the paper to Will Harrison, the father of him at Colchester, bidding him to make the best of his way to London, and deliver it to Mr. Musgrave, who was a Clerk of the Pipe Office, and had been apprized before that such a thing might happen. So as soon as he was got into a gallop with his face towards London, I faced about and made the best of my way towards Reading at the "Cardinal's Cap," where my father proposed to lodge.

When I came first in he seemed to be out of humour that I had made stay so long, for he would not go to supper till I came; but when I told him the good news, he clasped me in his arms and said, "Well done, good boy;" and the next morning we went on to Drayton, where having sped pretty well, at our return to Merstham we found Will Harrison already come with the *Quietus*,

which I intend to show you the next time you come, to which is annexed an inventory of all the household goods we had at Merstham.

After this we lived pretty quietly, the Plot losing credit every day, from the absurdities and contradictions that had been sworn to ; but my father lived to make but one journey more to Drayton, and was very ill all the journey, not being able to move about but as I helped him, who grew weaker and weaker till the 27th of May,¹ on which day he died, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, my Lady Marquis of Winchester² and my sister Stafford, on a visit from London, coming into his chamber the very instant he expired.

After my return from attending his corpse, to be buried in the vault here, my mother removed to her daughter Stafford's at Haley, eighteen miles from Merstham, a very pretty place, with about six score pounds a year, newly purchased with her portion, in Kent ; where my mother, your uncle Thomas,³ and I remained till Michaelmas following, and then we went to London, to a house that was hired for us in St. James' Street, within three doors of St. James' Gate, where she continued till the 25th of January, on which day she also died in the fifty-fifth year of her age. But about six weeks before, she had treated and concluded a match for me with your mother,⁴ charging me upon her death-bed not to defer my wedding above eight days after she was buried, which was accordingly observed by me, who also attended her corpse to the same vault.

¹ Apparently 1682 or 1683.

² Isabella, daughter of William Viscount Stafford, third wife of John fifth Marquis of Winchester, whose son Charles was made Duke of Bolton in 1689. "My Lady Marquis of Winchester and my sister Stafford" were therefore sisters-in-law.

³ Thomas Aston, second son of Walter, second Lord Aston.

⁴ Juliana, only daughter of Sir Philip Tyrwhitt of Stainfield, Lincolnshire, Bart.

According to what my mother had enjoined, I was married at Mr. Corker's¹ chapel in the Savoy, by Bishop Ellis;² my Lady Marquis of Winchester, my sister Stafford, Sir Philip Tyrwhitt, his lady, and Sir John Tyrwhitt, now living, the only persons present at it; and after about a fortnight remaining at Sir Philip Tyrwhitt's house in Great Russell Street, we hired one of the large houses in the same street for six months.

After this we went to Merstham for about six months more, and then removed with all our effects to Witham, where for the three years following we made no small figure without any great expense, in keeping six or seven horses for the coach, and four or five for the saddle, have oats and hay enough of our own growth. Our table also was very decent, all that time having constantly five dishes at a course, and three courses. The expense was also very easy, having nothing to pay for butcher's meat or poultry. I had also a dairy of ten cows, which supplied everything of that kind; and the tallow that came from the beef and mutton was more than enough to supply the house with candles the year about; and at the end of each of those three years the house account was better than poor.

¹ Father James Maurus Corker, O.S.B., was arraigned with the five Jesuit Fathers, but obtaining a postponement of his trial, his life was saved. He was tried with Sir George Wakeman, Bart., and FF. Marshall and Rumley, O.S.B., July 18, 1679, and acquitted. Scroggs who, by his charges to the jury, had taken away so many lives, saved these; so that their trial ended thus. "*Mr. Bedloe* (Oates' accomplice). My lord, my evidence is not right summed up. *Lord Chief Justice*. I know not by what authority that man speaks. *Clerk of Crown*. Make way for the jury there; who keeps the jury?" (*The Tryals*, &c. Published by Authority. London, 1679, p. 83.) He was sentenced to death for his priesthood January 17, 1680, and was set at liberty on the accession of James II., by whom he was received as Ambassador of Ferdinand of Bavaria, Elector of Cologne. Father Corker was elected the second President of the Anglo-Benedictine Congregation at Paris in 1689, and Abbot of Lamspring in 1693. He resigned in 1696, and died at Paddington, December 22, 1715.

² Philip Ellis, O.S.B., was consecrated Bishop of Aureliopolis, May 6, 1688, and in 1708 was translated to the see of Segni in the Papal States, where he died November 16, 1726.

Thus we continued to live for the three last years of King James' reign, and then came on the Revolution; and, having acted in three commissions by the King's dispensing power, without taking the oaths, Justice of the Peace, Deputy-Lieutenant, and Treasurer, each of them being by Act of Parliament liable to pay 500*l.*, I thought it advisable to step just to the other side of the water to observe what demands would be made on that account; but, by good luck, so many of the Non-Cons had also acted without taking the oaths, the Government to favour them dropt that prosecution; so in less than a year's time I returned into England, where I have lived ever since in an iron age of double taxes, the expense of which I had lately the curiosity nicely to examine, and found that the article of the double tax only amounts to something above 5,000*l.* of what your brother and I have paid; and had there been no land-tax at all, as in all other reigns before King William's, he and I might have had at this day 10,000*l.* in our pockets.

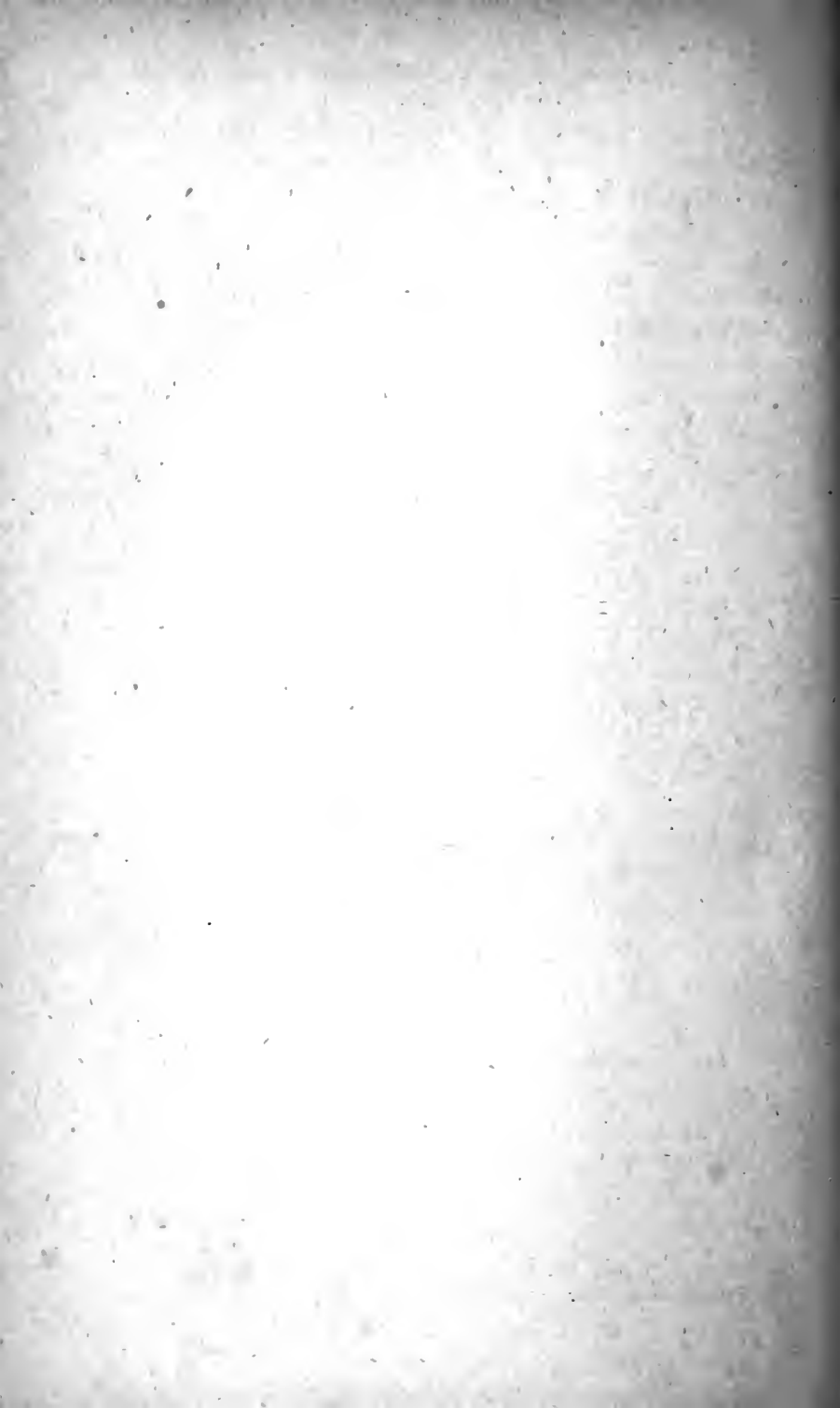
Pray take this small labour in good part from your loving father,¹

E. S.

¹ Sir Edward Southcote died February 14, 1751, æt. 93. Four of his sons survived him.

IX.

THE TICHBORNES
OF TICHBORNE HOUSE.



THE
TICHBORNES OF TICHBORNE HOUSE.

From a modern transcript at Stonyhurst College.

SON,¹—I had once written more at large, as I may say, the history of our family from our Saxon ancestors to our own times, wherein was set forth most of the marriages and material actions of their lives, as offices and employments, both civil and military, as well in foreign parts as at home, wherein they had no little share in the service of several Princes under whom they served ; which, partly out of some remaining records, partly by home retained traditions, I had for my own satisfaction collected. I had also not omitted to show the several branches of our family, how and in what time they parted from us, what estates they carried with them, and where they settled themselves ; nor did I think it immaterial to leave some remarks of those suits of law of greatest concern, that happened between ourselves and others, the better to be armed against such assaults if they should happen again, whereby the reader to assume those weapons by which they

¹ Sir Henry Tichborne, Bart., author of this letter, was actively engaged in the service of King Charles I., and hazarded his life in several enterprizes. He was in the battle of Cheriton in Hampshire, and with the Lord Ogle in Winchester Castle, where he behaved with great bravery. The Parliament sequestered his estate, and forced him to live in an obscure condition till the Restoration. Charles II. made him Lieutenant of the New Forest in Hampshire ; and James II. gave him the Lieutenantcy of the Ordnance. He died in 1689 ; and by Mary his wife, daughter of William Arundell, second son of Thomas, first Lord Arundell of Wardour, had issue, three sons ; Sir Henry Joseph, his successor in title and estate, to whom this letter is addressed ; and John and Charles, who died young ; and three daughters.

were defended ; and although we now possess scarce the quarter of the revenues which once belonged to our family, yet I had drawn the map of all, or most of it, to show you where it is, and how we parted with it ; not but it is in vain to show the rock when the ship is split, yet I had marked it, to make you take the more care of what yet remains. This being done, I thought to have left it more whole and perfect to you than now I can either recollect myself, or collect for you again ; for such hath been the unhappiness of these times wherein I have lived myself, that all that which with much labour and industry I have collected was in one moment destroyed, and, by the too much caution of some of our best friends, was committed to the fire, lest some things therein written of my own travels and transactions in Italy, Rome, Loretto (which in themselves were innocent, and tended only to private devotion), might by our malicious and misunderstanding times (as they feared) be urged against me. Nor can I blame their caution (though I condole the loss), since mere lies, that had in themselves no foundation or probability, had yet such prevalency as to make me a prisoner to the Tower a year and half or more ; at large upon bail so much longer. Thus had I drawn the pictures of our ancestors and the landscape of their estates and affairs, and left you to imitate what you saw best in them, and to avoid what you found pernicious to them ; and *si licet parvis componere magna*, not much unlike that painter, who, in one scheme, drew all the pictures of an ancient and noble family, which looked on, by one sight showed in little all the faces of his numerous ancestors ; and by another, the remaining noble persons ; one alone to show him that he ought to draw and imitate all those great perfections of his ancestors together in himself alone. Nor is it a vanity to praise the worthiness and virtues of our forefathers, for though ourselves perhaps

equal their perfections, yet it serves as a curb of shame to degenerate from their worth, and as a spur of emulation when we look on them, at least not to endeavour to imitate them; nay, there is something in the ancient stock itself that conveys generosity into our actions, as well as gentility in our blood. *Fortes creantur fortibus*, which holds as well in the intrinsic motions of the soul (although not *ex radice*) as in the outward organs of the body, by which she works and operates in all her exterior actions. What care don't we take in the breed of our horses, dogs, and cocks, that the least mixture of the jade, the cur, or the craven might not poison the breed? Why not much more of our own flesh and blood, which is too often vitiated for sordid interest of a rich mechanic's daughter? Let not therefore the bribes of portion bias your judgment in so important an affair of your family, but therein look upon the example of your ancestors, whose wives were in all their several ages of not less worthy production than themselves, and, as I may without vanity boast, all of them most remarkable for their virtues as their stock. Such was (not to go further in annals of our family) Dame Mabel of Limmerstone, wife of Roger de Tichborne. She was of the blood of the ancient Lords Proprietors, or rather Princes of the Isle of Wight, some of whose lands, and that of her name, we yet possess, though above five hundred years distant from this time; and many there pay homage to us even to this day. Her virtue was so admirable that she is said to have wrought some miracles, and so charitable to the poor as not content to exercise it all her lifetime, but she entailed it to her posterity, and left the dole in perpetual memory of it; and after a long and blessed age died in the odour of sanctity.

I will here omit three matches by which we are allied to the great and illustrious house of the Guises in France, for as I would not have you descend to low

and mean mixtures, so would I not have you aspire to greater allies than what is suitable to the secure and easy mediocrity of our own condition. Nor will I here make mention of many more noble and worthy parentages of your progenitors, which time hath now almost worn out of memory; at least the affinity is forgot, and only remains in the records of settlements, marriages, jointures, and the like. But to shorten this discourse and come nearer to our own times, I shall now speak only, and that briefly, of those to whom you are at present allied, and call you, as you them, cousins.

Your [great] great-grandmother, Dame Elizabeth; wife to Sir Nicholas Tichborne, was of the family of the Rythes, very ancient in these parts, and by whom we yet possess some lands. Her piety was the stay of our family in the Catholic faith of our ancestors, and her prudence the support of it in the greatest agonies of our affairs and most dangerous symptoms of our decays, which her providence restored again to its former health and thriving constitution. Your [great] grandmother, wife to Sir Benjamin Tichborne, was of the family of the Westons,¹ then Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Their successors, Earls of Portland, and Lord High Treasurer of England. And yet her virtue rendered her so humble that the least of her neighbours might be familiar with her, and she always in person visited the sick when there was occasion for her charity in it. Her mother was of the family of the Dormers, Counts of Carnarvon.

Your grandmother, Dame Susan, wife to Sir Richard Tichborne, was of the family of the Wallers, ancient and generous in their actions, and famous in the days of Henry V. for taking the Duke of Orleans prisoner with his own hand in the battle of Agincourt, and kept

¹ Amphyllis Weston, who married Sir Benjamin Tichborne, was daughter of Richard Weston of Skreenes, Justice of the Common Pleas. The first Earl of Portland was the son of her brother, Sir Jerome Weston, Knight.

him with honour in his own house till he had paid his ransom. Their estates were then answerable to the nobleness of their minds, which were profuse in hospitality, and not to speak of the good possessions yourself will have by them, nor of others largely dispersed over this and other shires, which need no mention, they being so near you. But something I may say of their alliance, being by the mother's side of the family of the Paulets, Marquises of Winchester, Earls of Wiltshire, and Barons of Basing, and then Lord Treasurer of England, which showed them to be of no mean extraction or account even in those days. Her virtues and charities I need not speak of; they are fresh and just recent in the memory of most yet living, and many who yet live by them.

Your mother, Dame Mary, is no less nobly descended than the rest of the house and name of the Lord Arundell. Her grandfather was with all his posterity made Counts of the Empire, for having bravely taken the Turkish Crescent from the walls of Strigonium and placing the Cross in its place. On her mother's side she descends from Lord Montague, her grandfather, whose goodness and greatness were equally exemplary in his time, and are too near you not to be known and esteemed by you. What her virtues are, is not for me to speak, nor for her modesty (she being still living) to hear; all that know her esteem her and admire her, yet some have blamed her for too much tediousness in prayer and retiredness in conversation; for myself, I have experienced her fidelity thirty years. Choose you the like, and I desire no better for you; and hope you will so carry yourself with that duty and obedience to your parents as they always rendered to theirs, that you may receive with them through God's goodness His promised blessings for it. For their days have been long in the land that the Lord their God has given them.

Nor would I have you slight these considerations of your family, since you will find the wisest of all people, and greatest of all nations, have esteemed and valued themselves by them. Thus among the Romans were Silvius, the Scipios, and Fabii, with some others that were nobly born, and whose ancestors had signalized themselves by their worthy actions either in civil or military employments, preferred to offices and dignities in that commonwealth, before the rest that pretended to it. And many other the like examples are extant in the history of other nations; and, as though it were imprinted in the volumes of nature itself, how zealous were the first men who lived under the law of nature to preserve in themselves the honour of their families; nay, and when dead, to be buried by them. How careful were the Jews, by the command of the God of Nature, to preserve their tribes entire; and of those tribes, some particular and worthiest of them were most valiant, as the House of Jesse, and the Asmonian race among them. Nay, our Lord Himself, though He would be born of a meek and humble Virgin, yet He would have her and His human blood descend from the Royal and Prophetical House of David. He chose not the Aristobulus, or the Hircanus, or the Herods, for his progenitors; they were great but not good, and too near His own time to show all that humility He would practise for our example in this world. He would fetch His great extraction as Man ancients, and from a longer series of virtue and piety than from those immediate earthly Princes only. I write this comparatively but exemplarily, and to show that not only all men, and all ages, but even God Himself setteth a value on nobility when it is joined with virtue. I wish that little share you have in it may stir up your emulation to it, especially in the better part of it; for he that will not imitate the virtues of his predecessors ought not to boast himself to descend of them, and is

rather a stain than a glory to his name. In vain do they inherit their possessions if they do not possess their virtues; for by how much the more they receive from them, by so much the more ought they to render their examples glorious to their posterity; and although I cannot say I have done so well myself, as so many worthy ancestors have left me example, yet such have been my part in the scene of our actions through so many troublesome and almost tragical adventures and accidents that have lasted all my time (with some little intervals) even to these my older years, wherein I found a broken and almost ruined estate, yet such hath been the goodness of God to me, that I have not only hitherto passed through them, but, as I may say without ostentation, so repaired these decays, that I doubt not you will find a more sound and substantial estate than many of our ancestors have had before you. 'Tis your part therefore (whose more refined education than so' bustling a time as mine could afford, and I hope better times to show it in) to beautify and adorn what your ancestors have found and repaired, to which I can add nothing now but my poor prayers and blessing, leaving you this little form and model of my life, which I daily used, to beg those blessings on me, which, though not worth regarding by any other but you, who am your father; yet I persuade myself if you find not better, will keep you in so constant exercise in prayer and praises of your Creator, that you may always have His presence before you, and if so, you need no other conduct to bring you to a happy end of your life, and with Him, and in Him, we shall see by that glorious light all the rest of our happy ancestors. For although we cannot live all together in this world, yet may we enjoy an inseparable fruition of them all in the next for all eternity. Amen.

In which are reposed the living hopes of your dying and loving father,

H. T.

After this letter follows a treatise entitled, "The order and rule of my life," &c.

Another MS. contains "A small diurnal of my journey to Rome, and pilgrimage to Loretto," which contains nothing worthy of notice but the conclusion. "We hastened home to Tichborne, there to pass the remainder of our days amongst our domestic friends, and in the innocent enjoyment of the private affairs of our family. But when we thought we arrived at the harbour, and casting the anchor of our hopes in the secure enjoyment of our own; when in appearance all things looked secure and serene, and not so much as the least cloud in our hemisphere, upon a sudden and unforeseen, the most dismal storm rises that ever the poor vessel of our affairs was lost in. Nor is it certain (though I hope the greatest part of it is over) whether we shall ever arrive at a quiet shore again. This was that dismal Plot, that horrid invention, that abominable lie, invented by those whom time will set forth, but publicly brought out into the world by one Titus Oates, and not long after seconded by one Will Bedloe, and others the most notorious ill livers, cheats, and fourbes,¹ this nation ever bred. The sad story of it will be no doubt set out more at large, but hardly ever believed, it is so incredible that so wise a nation, as we once thought ourselves, should be totally led away by the improbable untruths of such notorious gaol birds, counterfeits, and villains, as they were. *Sic dementat Deus, quos vult perdere.* In this violent hurricane was I blown away, and on the 21st of November, 1678, by warrant from the Lord Chief Justice Scroggs, I was committed for high treason to the prison at Winchester, a crime so very horrid to my very thoughts, that I stood amazed at it; where I remained till the 13th day of December, and then by order of the House of Lords,

¹ "Fourbe, Fr. A tricking fellow." *Johnson.*

was removed to the Tower of London, where, for a year and half I was kept close prisoner; and in that time, nor never before, ever knowing what I had done, nor ever examined nor brought to appear before the Lord Chief Justice, the House of Lords, the Council, or any committee, or other person whatsoever.

“Unlikely was this accusation, since that they never thought proper to bring it to light, but still endured with a long imprisonment, all the censures, misreports, reproaches, and indignities that could be cast upon me, [too many] here to be rehearsed. In the meantime my house was not only searched for arms, letters, and commissions, but board, ceilings, wainscots pulled down, and the very foundations undermined. Nay, the church itself was not spared; but the vaults and sepulchres of the dead opened, their coffins broken open, and their dry bones made as guilty of the Plot as those that were yet living. But yet by God’s grace having a good conscience and unspotted innocency as to any such crime committed, or so much as thought of by me, was and is my perpetual comfort; and finding it was my religion, and not my rebellion, was the true cause of my imprisonment, and the only crime I could be accused of, I blessed God that had made me worthy to suffer anything for Him, and joyfully as well as patiently sat down to expect His pleasure in it. To set down here how they came to so much as the pretence of putting me into this Plot is incredible to relate. The public face of it was my being at Rome; but finding nothing therein to accuse me, and many Protestants going thither as well as myself, they set up the most notorious of all these villains, Bedloe, to be my accuser. But how this fellow came so much as to the pretence of knowing me is as comical in itself as it was likely to prove tragical to me. I will not now enter into it, because it is too long for the intended brevity of this discourse; besides, I would willingly spare, although

I cannot forget the unhandsome and ungrateful return of my intended kindness and civilities to a great person, but newly raised family in this nation, for whose sake, and for my too forward respects to them, this rogue could only have a pretence to have once seen me ; but why I should at first sight (if I had spoken with him) discover such secrets as those to a *valet de chambre*, as he then went for, and in himself was but a fiddler's boy at Chester, I think it too impossible for prudence to imagine. Yet this person I speak of knowing this, being as it seems too much of the Plot's party to be just to any other, much less grateful to me for my kindness to him, suffered me to sustain all this knowingly, willingly, and being well informed of it ; but let that pass. Yet time, the mother of truth, began by degrees so to open men's eyes, especially in so public a concern, as might be their own hereafter, as to discern the truth through the mist of so many lies, and finding a most dangerous and real design hid under the fiction of the Plot, which since hath been more publicly and notoriously proved and brought to light not by poor necessitous gaol birds and basket-binders, by the prop of pardons, bribes, and pensions, but by noble families conscious of their own crimes, casting themselves at the feet of His all-merciful Majesty, who have confessed their offences without parliamentary preliminaries of pardons, or necessity of contribution to countenance and support them and others convicted of the same crime, at their deaths have confessed and declared it.

“This I say, though it cleared the point to all discerning men, yet so loth is human nature to withdraw itself though from a known and convicted error, that whereas they ought to have given as public a satisfaction as they had thrown a public and notorious scandal and reproach upon us, yet were they only pleased in some part to relax that heavy hand of severity they held upon us, as

would say, 'We think you innocent but will not declare it.' So I finding some hopes of a little benefit in the common law or justice to be done me, by writ of *Habeas Corpus* I was brought before the Judges of the King's Bench, and that time bailed to further liberty. But after all the indignities, charges, and scandal laid upon me, with a year and half's unjust imprisonment, I had no other reparations made me than being coldly told I might go home again, which notwithstanding I was glad of, since I then expected not so much indulgence and kindness from them ; and after another year and half I was totally discharged, but no reparation either of honour, losses, or credit ever to be made me. Thus by God's blessing and perpetual protection I returned to settle again at my ancient habitation and house at Tichborne, where by the same goodness and protection I now am ; there to love, serve, and thank Him whilst I live, *Laudabo Dominum in vita mea, quamdiu fuero.*"



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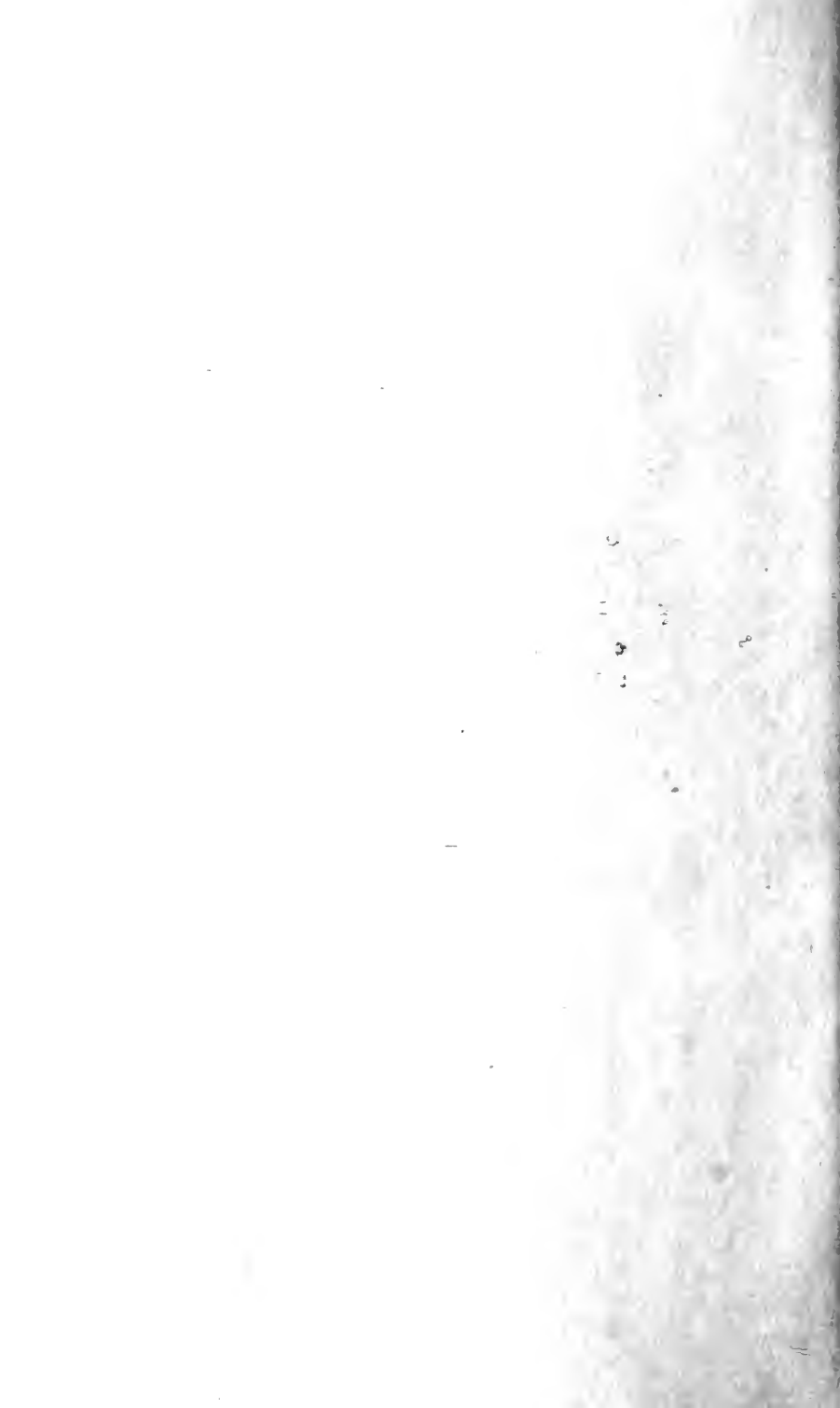
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